Parent Involvement and Educational Outcomes for Latino Students

Melissa Marschall[1]
Rice University

Abstract

This study focuses on the determinants and effects of parent involvement in schools, in the context of urban school districts, and particularly with regard to the schools that serve Latino students. Three research questions are investigated in this article: (1) What are schools doing to support parents, foster involvement and engagement in their children's schools, and generally create strong parent-school relations? (2) How effective are schools at fostering parent involvement? (3) Do schools with more effective parent involvement practices and greater parent participation perform at higher levels than those with less effective practices and lower levels of parent involvement? Data on Latino representation on Local School Councils (LSCs), school-level demographic and performance indicators, and information on effective school organization, parent involvement, and school practices regarding outreach and engagement with parents and communities are used to investigate these questions. The empirical analysis demonstrates that in addition to previously established aspects of effective school organization, governing arrangements and Latino political incorporation play a critical role in building stronger, more supportive school–parent relations and in encouraging higher levels of parent involvement in formal school activities. Moreover, these practices and relations were found to have important implications for Latino student performance.

The last 4 decades have witnessed large-scale U.S. immigration that is more racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse than in years past. One of the most dramatic changes has been the increase in the Latino population—both native and foreign born. Immigrant Latinos and their children have become substantially larger fixtures in public schools and urban neighborhoods since the late 1980s (McDonnell & Hill, 1993). For instance, while Latino children currently account for about 1 in 6 school-aged children, they comprised 41% of students in the top ten largest public school districts in 2000. Moreover, the percentage of Latino elementary schoolchildren in metropolitan public schools increased by more than 50% in the 1990s (to approximately 3.6 million), and their size was comparable to their African American counterparts by 2000 (Zhou & Logan, 2003).

As a result of these demographic changes, many school districts are faced with increasing demands not only for more classrooms and schools, but also for more teachers who have been trained to work with culturally diverse children and their communities. These relatively young migrants and families, whose children constitute a growing share of public, particularly urban, schools, face their own set of challenges and barriers when it comes to their children's schooling and education. For example, they are more likely to experience language barriers, visa and other immigration problems, and poverty than are Anglo and nonimmigrant parents (Gibson, 2002). These challenges are often compounded by the fact many parents must confront public institutions not accustomed to serving them (Fuller, Holloway, Liang, & Rambaud, 1996; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000; Singer, 2004).

One indicator of the inability of public schools to adapt to the changing demographics is the educational outcomes of Latino students. Although their schooling

Review of Policy Research, Volume 23, Number 5 (2006)

outcomes have improved gradually over the last 30 years, Latino students still lag far behind their Anglo and African American counterparts. For example, in 2000, the status dropout rate for Latinos was 28%, compared to only 7% for Anglos and 13% for African Americans (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2002). Additionally, Latino students consistently score lower on math and reading tests than Anglos, especially in central cities (NCES, 2002). Finally, recent studies also document the segregation of Latino students based on ethnicity (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002) and language (Orfield, 2001).

Though there are many causes for low academic achievement and high dropout rates among Latino students, including language barriers, low expectations of teachers, poverty, racism, and isolation (Gibson, 2002), the lack of cooperation among schools, parents, and their communities has also been found to play a role (Scribner, Young, & Pedroza, 1999). Indeed, several studies have documented the positive relationship between parental and community involvement and higher Latino student achievement (Aspiazu, Bauer, & Spillet, 1998; Haro, 2004; Jones & Velez, 1997). Other studies have shown that in districts where Latinos have high levels of representation on school boards and in administrative and teaching positions, Latino students are not only less likely to experience *second generation discrimination*,[2] but are also more likely to perform at levels comparable to their Anglo counterparts (Fraga, Meier, & England, 1986; Polinard, Wrinkle, & Longoria, 1990; Polinard, Wrinkle, & Meier, 1995).

In this research we focus on both the determinants and effects of parent involvement in schools, in the context of urban school districts, and particularly with regard to the schools that serve Latino students. This article is motivated by three research questions. First, what are schools doing to support parents, foster involvement and engagement in their children's schools, and generally create strong parent–school relations? To what extent do organizational, governing, and demographic factors influence these activities? Second, how effective are schools at fostering parent involvement? Do parents respond to the incentives, outreach, and support provided by schools? Third, do schools with more effective parent involvement practices and greater parent participation perform at higher levels than those with less effective practices and lower levels of parent involvement? Our empirical analysis is based on schools in the Chicago Public School system, a system which has not only had a relatively long period of decentralized governance and community involvement, but which has also granted noncitizens the right to vote in and run as candidates in Local School Council (LSC) elections. Given the greater opportunity for Latino political incorporation in schooling and school governance, we expect to find stronger links between governing arrangements, Latino representation on LSCs, and the development of stronger school–community relations and parent participation in Chicago than we might find in other urban school districts. These stronger links should, in turn, lead to better schooling outcomes for Latino students.

Background and Theoretical Framework

The persistent gap in Latino student achievement has been linked to a myriad of factors, including poverty and school segregation (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Orfield,

Schley, Glass, & Reardon, 1993), the lack of bilingual programs (Portes & Hao, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Schmid, 2001), as well as lack of parental involvement and underrepresentation of Latino school personnel. However, although each of these explanations is often discussed independently, many of the challenges facing Latino students go hand-in-hand and stem from insufficient Latino representation in school decision making. For example, extant research has demonstrated that increases in the representation of Latinos in various educational positions of authority translate into increases in schools' capacity to address the special educational needs and preferences of Latino students and parents. This process typically begins with the school board, which is not only responsible for hiring the superintendent, but which also has the capacity to enact formal policies and exert informal pressure on higher level school administrators to hire more minorities at lower administrative levels (Stewart, England, & Meier, 1989, pp. 295–296). School administrators, in turn, play an important role in the hiring of teachers and so can influence the extent to which Latinos are represented in these positions in the school district.

Increases in the level of minority representation have been linked to a wide range of political and educational outcomes. Research by Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1984) documents a link between minority representation in elective offices and levels of participation, while Marschall (2005) found that Latino parents in districts with higher levels of Latino school board representation were more satisfied with their local schools than were Latino parents in districts with little or no Latino school board representation. Satisfaction with schools has also been linked to greater parental involvement (Schneider, Teske, & Marschall, 2000). Finally, some research has found that school board representation is associated with greater representation in teaching and administrative positions, especially for African Americans (Fraga et al., 1986; Polinard et al., 1990; Shah & Marschall, 2005; Stewart et al., 1989), and through this effect, improvements in educational outcomes for minority students as well (Polinard et al., 1995).

Though less research has focused explicitly on Latinos, based on previous findings for African Americans, our expectation is that Latino school board representation will directly impact school policies and practices to promote Latino parental involvement and will also foster policies and practices that contribute to more effective school organization and functioning. These factors, in turn, will presumably have positive effects on student achievement and schooling outcomes. Figure 1 illustrates this set of relationships and the conceptual model that serves as the foundation for this study.

The Effects of Parent Involvement on Achievement and Outcomes

Over the past two decades, research on parental involvement in schooling has increased considerably. As the number of studies devoted to this topic has grown, so too has the accumulated body of evidence demonstrating the link between parent involvement and a wide range of schooling outcomes. For example, the impact of parent involvement has been found in mathematics achievement (Crane, 1996; Muller, 1998), reading achievement (Jeynes, 2001; Shaver & Walls, 1998) and other subjects (Jeynes, 2001; Zdzinksi, 1996). In addition to the strong correlations

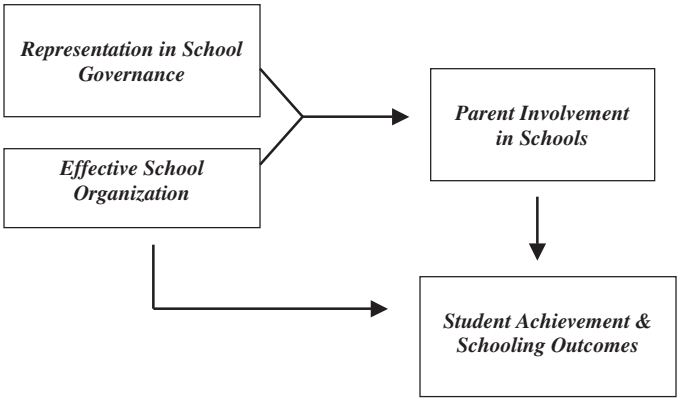

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

between parental involvement and student academic performance, research suggests that parent involvement enhances student self-esteem, improves child–parent relationships, and helps parents develop positive attitudes toward schools (Brown, 1989), while also benefiting educators. In particular, teachers gain confidence in their competence to teach children (Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie, 1987), tailor the curriculum to meet the special needs of their students (Gonzalez et al., 1995; Moll, 1988, 1992), and strengthen community relations (Coleman, 1991). Importantly, this evidence is irrespective of economic, racial, or cultural background of the family (Jeynes, 2003; Mau, 1997; Shaver & Walls, 1998); however, there have been far fewer studies focusing explicitly on minority, immigrant, or low-income parents, students, and the schools they attend.

At the same time, however, other recent work has shown that parental participation is lower for minority parents than for Anglo parents (Floyd, 1998; Moles, 1993), and also related to parents' income and education levels (Llagas & Snyder, 2003, p. 74). Yet, part of this variation stems from differences in school practices and teacher perceptions. For instance, in one study of a predominately Latino community, Delgado-Gaitan (2001) found that although 98% of teachers viewed parental involvement as critical, most teachers also believed that parents were not working enough with their children at home. However, some studies have shown that teachers often misinterpret parents' lack of involvement as lack of caring even though evidence suggests that this is not the case (Carger, 1997; Lopez, 2001). Research looking specifically at Latino parents consistently finds that they care very much about their children's schooling (Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995; Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2001), but that they tend to have different perceptions and expectations about the roles of teachers and parents in the educational process. For example, Chavkin and Gonzalez (1995) found that Latino parents perceived their role as providing nurturing, teaching values, and instilling good behavior, whereas schools were expected to handle the actual learning. As a result of these differences, when Latino parents are asked to take on responsibilities they traditionally view as in the domain of the schools, they may be uncertain about what role they should assume or feel that they are encroaching upon the school's territory (Tinkler, 2002).

Policies and Practices to Promote Latino and Immigrant Parent Involvement

Since teachers tend to define parent involvement as participation in formal activities, such as school events or meetings or volunteering at the school, most parent involvement practices tend to focus on these more traditional and formal roles (Scribner et al., 1999). One argument in the literature is that by privileging traditional or mainstream forms of participation, schools are not only neglecting culturally specific perspectives of minority populations, but also deflecting attention away from their responsibility to establish effective parental involvement programs for marginalized groups (Singh et al., 1995; Valencia, 1997). One way to address the lower levels of Latino participation in these traditional activities would be for schools to simply provide additional resources to help Latino parents overcome structural barriers that prevent them from participating. For example, by providing translation services, transportation, child care, or greater flexibility in scheduling events, schools might increase participation rates among Latino parents who may not be English proficient, have access to cars or child care, or work jobs with that allow them flexibility in scheduling.

On the other hand, effective parental involvement programs might require that schools focus more explicitly on cultural differences and find ways to accommodate them. For instance, studies have found that because Latinos hold teachers in relatively high regard, they often view certain behaviors (e.g., asking questions about assignments or grades) as disrespectful (Trumbull et al., 2001), or feel intimidated by teachers (Hyslop, 2000). As Scribner et al. (1999) found in their study of high-performing Hispanic schools along the Texas/Mexico border, providing a welcoming environment, stressing personal contact and communication, and facilitating structural accommodations serve to alleviate these views and ultimately increase Latino parental involvement.

Despite an increase in awareness of these cultural differences, efforts on the part of schools to involve not only Latino parents, but parents more generally, vary greatly (Lopez, 2001), with a large share of schools making little or no effort at all to involve parents in meaningful ways (Paredes & Schribner, 1999; Young, 1996). This may be partly explained by the fact that teacher education programs do not give much attention to parent involvement. For example, Chavkin and Williams (1988) found that only 4% of teacher educators taught a complete course on parent involvement, whereas 15% reported teaching part of a course on the topic (37% devoted only one class period to parent involvement). In contrast, 73% of teachers and 83% of principals and teacher educators agreed that an undergraduate course in parent involvement should be required.[3] Thus, since many teachers do not have proper training in working with parents, they often overlook opportunities to get Latino parents involved.

For all of these reasons, it is critical for schools to make more concerted efforts to communicate with parents and to engage in outreach activities that will not only improve parents' and schools' understanding of one other, including expectations, barriers, and resources, but that will foster mutually reinforcing and supporting relations.

In short, while Latino parent involvement purportedly produces the same set of benefits for student achievement and schooling outcomes as Anglo parent involve-

ment, Latino parents face a number of barriers that serve to discourage and reduce their participation in especially traditional school-oriented activities and events. While the general literature on parent involvement has focused much less on how school, district, and teacher practices contribute toward greater parent participation, there is even less research examining Latino parents or schools that serve predominantly Latino students. Thus, the current study breaks new ground by considering not only a broader definition of parent–school involvement, but by looking at how governing relations and Latino representation on school boards might serve to foster higher levels of participation in schools where Latino students comprise a sizable portion of the study body.

Chicago: Decentralized Governance, Noncitizen Voting, and Latino Political Incorporation

The present analysis focuses on parent–school involvement and schooling outcomes in a single urban school district—Chicago. There are several reasons for this focus. First, Chicago is one of the largest contemporary gateways and thus has a large population of immigrants and their offspring, particularly Latinos. As Chicago's largest immigrant group, Mexicans represented 46.5% of all foreign born in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Second, because Chicago experienced continuous immigration throughout the 20th century, its population varies considerably with regard to immigrant generational status, citizenship status, and English language proficiency. For example, among public school students, 14% were learning English as a second language in 2000 (Davenport, 2001). Third, despite the mayoral takeover of the school system, Chicago public schools continue to have decentralized governing structures and, importantly, substantial outreach to and incorporation of noncitizens and immigrants. This decentralized structure is the result of the 1988 reform, Illinois PA 85-1418, which completely reorganized the school system.

Drawing on a long history of community organizing and a well-established network of community-based organizations, in 1988 Chicago opted for an unparalleled level of parent and community control that was hailed as one of the most radical reforms of an urban school system in the United States since the mid-19th century (Katz, Fine, & Simon, 1997). It shifted from centralized bureaucratic control to local democratic control and established school-based management in each of its elementary and secondary schools. Parents and community members were empowered through their majority control over the Local School Council (LSC), which is composed of six parents, two community representatives, two teachers, and the principal. Parents and community representatives are elected every 2 years by parents and residents. Importantly, U.S. citizenship is not required for LSC selection—parents must have a child within the school, and community representatives must live within the school boundaries.[4]

Chicago's decentralization reform was intended to radically change the ways in which teachers, principals, and parents interacted within the schools. In particular, LSCs were given explicit powers and responsibilities, for example, enacting the school improvement plan, adopting the school budget, evaluating the principal, and until 2001, hiring and firing the school principal. Previous research has documented that Chicago's reform initiatives have positively affected student perfor-

mance, although not necessarily to the level desired (Bryk, Easton, Kerbrow, Rollow, & Sebring, 1993; Easton et al., 1991; Hess 1994). Additional studies have assessed the LSC as a governance structure, and have concluded that: "by devolving significant resources and authority to local school communities, and by expanding opportunities for local participation by parents, community members, and staff, [LSCs] have enlarged the capabilities of communities to solve local problems" (Ryan, Bryk, Lopez, & Williams, 1997, pp. 43–44).

While no study has looked explicitly at the link between LSCs and parent involvement, particularly among minority and immigrant parents, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that Chicago's decentralization has fostered the development of a broader and more institutionalized set of resources for these parents. One example is the Bilingual Parent Resource Center, established by the Office of Language and Cultural Education (OCLE) in 2002, and recently recognized by the nonpartisan Council of Chief State School Officers as a model for success. In the first 6 months, the center offered workshops on self-development, at-home learning, and family literacy to non-English-proficient parents, and served more than 4,800 parents in over 70 public schools. Another example is the Parent Training Unit. Sponsored by the OCLE, this unit provides training and technical support to Local Bilingual Advisory Committees, which, by Illinois state law, are required standing committees of every LSC. These committees are charged with advising school principals and the LSC about the planning, operation, and evaluation of bilingual program services (Chicago Public Schools Policy Manual, 2002; Spaulding, Carolino, & Amen, 2004, p. 46). Not only have more than 7,000 parents attended Bilingual Advisory Council meetings, but the Parent Training Unit also provided training for 228 officers of the Bilingual Advisory Committee. More generally, these programs are described as effective in providing outreach to non-English-proficient parents, improving parent involvement in education, and forging stronger family-school-community partnerships (Spaulding et al., 2004, p. 46).

The present study seeks to test more systematically the extent to which LSCs foster greater school engagement and outreach to parents and communities and higher levels of parent involvement in schools. In addition, given the focus here on immigrant and Latino parents, in this study we also investigate whether greater Latino representation on LSCs strengthens these outcomes. As Figure 2 shows, although Latino representation on LSCs is not proportional to the average percentage of Latino students in community area schools, it was close in 1999.[5] More

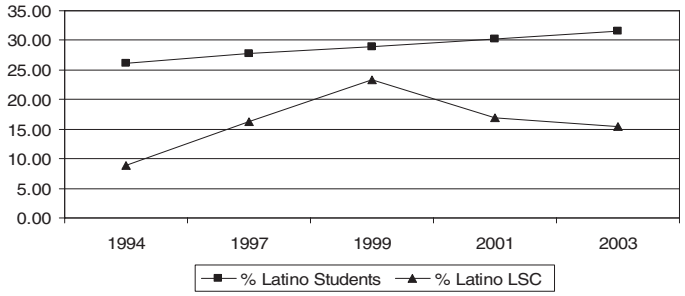

Figure 2. Percent Latino Students and LSC Members, by Community Area

generally, Latino office-holding increased steadily from 1994 to 1999; but witnessed declines in 2001 and 2003.

Data, Measures, and Hypotheses

To investigate the three research questions motivating this study, we constructed a dataset from several sources. Data on Latino LSC membership comes from annual rosters compiled by the National Association of Latino Elected Officials, whereas data on Chicago Public Schools (demographics, school characteristics, and student performance) comes from the Illinois State Board of Education. Finally, information on effective school organization, parent involvement, and school practices regarding outreach and engagement with parents and communities is based on teacher surveys conducted by the Consortium on Chicago School Research (CCSR). Since 1991, the consortium has been surveying all Chicago public school teachers and sixth- through 10th-grade students every other year. Teachers answer questions on classroom instruction, their professional development experiences, the conditions under which they work, and a host of other issues. Students report on their school experiences, attitudes, and activities. For this study, we rely on the most recent survey (2003), since all of our other measures are based on data from the 2003–04 school year. Since the unit of analysis for our study is the school, we collapsed teacher responses from the 2003 survey to create a single, school-level measure for all items.

The first step in our analysis is to investigate what are schools doing to support parents, foster involvement and engagement in their children's schools, and generally create strong parent–school relations. To do this, we constructed two dependent variables that combine survey items tapping these concepts. The first, *Teacher Cultural/Community Awareness*, measures teachers' efforts to understand their students better. Teachers responded to questions that asked how many teachers in their school talk with students about their lives at home and their cultures, and how many teachers were knowledgeable about issues and concerns in the school's community. The second, *School Initiated Efforts to Involve Parents*, measures the school's effort to work with parents to develop common goals and good communication and to strengthen student learning. Teachers were asked about their efforts to understand parents' problems, whether they invite parents to visit classrooms, seek their input, and generally build trusting relationships. The appendix includes more details on specific items, question wording, and index construction for all measures used in the empirical analysis.

These two dependent variables focus on school efforts to reach out and engage parents, particularly parents who might have culturally different expectations and understandings about their role and the school's role in education and schooling. For each of these measures, we investigate how organizational aspects of schools, governance and representation, and school demographics influence teacher responses regarding their schools' policies and practices to foster stronger parent–school relations. The basic empirical model we estimate can be summarized as follows:

$$\textit{Teacher Awareness/School Efforts} = f\,(\textit{Effective school organization}, \textit{Governance \& representation}, \textit{School characteristics \& demographics})$$

Effective school organization refers to the set of components identified by researchers studying how school characteristics, practices, and arrangements contribute to a school's capacity to create an effective learning environment and ultimately favorable student outcomes. The critical school variables most often cited include a clear school mission, administrative autonomy and professional capacity, a cohesive curriculum, high expectations for students, school leadership, and parent contact and involvement (see e.g., Hallinger & Murphy, 1986; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Although these variables are interrelated, some play a particularly important role in fostering the development of others. In particular, in schools where personnel communicate with one another effectively, where the school mission is clear and widely shared, and where there is strong leadership to foster communication, shared values, and the collective mission of the school, practices and policies to encourage parent involvement are also more likely to be present. Thus, we include three composite measures of these aspects of effective school organization in our models and expect each to have a positive effect on *Teacher Cultural/Community Awareness* and *School Initiated Efforts to Involve Parents*. These composite indicators, constructed by the consortium (see Sporte, 2004; Consortium on Chicago School Research, 2003, for more details), include: (1) *Collective Responsibility*, which measures the extent of shared commitment among faculty to set high standards of professional practice and take responsibility for school improvement, and to feel responsible for students' academic and social development; (2) *Reflective Dialogue*, which measures how much teachers talk with one another about school goals, instruction, and student learning; and (3) *Principal-Teacher Trust*, which measures the extent to which principals take an interest in teachers' professional development, have confidence in teachers' expertise, place students' needs before personal needs, represent effective managers, and look out for teachers' welfare.

In addition to these three composite survey measures, we include another indicator of professional capacity, *Percent Teachers with Emergency Teaching Credentials*, which comes from the Illinois State Board of Education. Since teachers with emergency credentials are typically hired to fill shortages and usually lack degree requirements, state certification, or both, they tend to be less qualified than certified teachers, to have much less experience teaching, and to be only temporarily employed at the school. We therefore expect that schools with a greater percentage of teachers with emergency teaching credentials will be less effective in fostering parent–school relations.

Governance and representation includes two measures. The first comes from the National Association of Latino Elected Officials and indicates the percentage of LSC members who are of Latino or Hispanic origin. The second, *LSC Outreach*, combines two questions from the consortium survey that asked teachers whether their LSC made a contribution to improve: (1) parent involvement and (2) community relations. We expect schools with a larger percentage of Latinos on the LSC and those with LSCs that have made notable contributions to improving parent involvement and community relations will be better able to assist school personnel in breaking down cultural barriers, increasing awareness and understanding of cultural and community issues, and facilitating school initiated practices that reach out to Latino parents in particular.

Finally, *School characteristics and demographics* includes a dummy variable, *Elementary School*, indicating whether the school includes grades pk-6 (1 = yes), as well as discrete variables for the total number of students enrolled in the school in the fall of the year (logged), the student attendance rate,[6] the percentage of low-income students in the school,[7] and a categorical variable measuring the percentage of Latino/Hispanic students in the school.[8] Lastly, we include a measure for the broader socioeconomic context in which schools are situated. Specifically, we use 2000 Census data to measure the mean education level of residents within the census tract. We expect elementary schools, schools situated in census tracts with more highly educated residents, as well as schools with higher attendance rates to be associated with greater teacher cultural/community awareness and more efforts to foster parent involvement. On the other hand, higher percentages of low-income and Latino students should be negatively associated with our measures of awareness and outreach.

In addition, the two models investigating what schools are doing to foster cultural awareness and parent involvement, we specify a second model to investigate how effective schools actually are at fostering parent involvement in schools. Do parents respond to the incentives, outreach, and support provided by schools? To test for this, we rely on our baseline model (see above) and add our measures of *Teacher Awareness* and *School Efforts* as explanatory variables. The dependent variable, *Parent Involvement*, is constructed from a set of survey questions that asked teachers to report on the frequency of parent involvement in a set of traditional, school-based activities. In this model, we expect that school efforts to increase teachers' cultural/community awareness and to engage in outreach with parents will be especially strong predictors of parent involvement in these activities.

In Table 1 we report summary statistics for all of our variables for both the full sample of schools included in the 2003 consortium survey and for a sample that represents only those schools that enrolled above average percentages of Latino students in 2003.[9]

Although we are interested in testing our hypotheses specifically for Latino parents, there is no way to isolate teacher- and school-level activities on this basis. In other words, the consortium surveys asked teachers only about their general cultural/community awareness and their efforts to engage in outreach with parents in general, rather than asking them to focus specifically on Latino culture, community, or parents. While focusing on the set of schools where Latino students are most prevalent reduces the sample by more than half (from 370 to 160 schools), it is this sample that provides the most leverage in testing our hypotheses.

Analysis and Findings

Since the dependent variables in our models are all interval level, we employ ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to estimate all the models. In Table 2 we report estimates for the *School Efforts* and *Teacher Awareness* models for both the full sample of schools and the sample restricted on only those schools enrolling above-average percentages of Latino students.

Looking at the general pattern of results, there appears to be quite a bit of similarity across the models estimated based on the full and restricted samples. In particular, the effects of the effective school organization measures are positive and

significant in nearly all cases, and schools with better attendance rates are consistently associated with higher levels of teacher awareness and greater efforts to engage parents. On the other hand, the percentage of low-income students in the school has a strong, negative effect in all four of the models. Finally, in larger schools teachers appear to be less aware of cultural and community issues than are teachers in smaller schools.

While LSC outreach has a positive and significant effect on school efforts to engage parents in the full sample, it is significant neither in the same models estimated only for the segmented sample, nor in either of the two teacher awareness models. Another difference across models pertains to the effect of Latino representation on the LSC. As we might expect, it is positive and significant in both models of teachers' cultural and community awareness. In addition, it is also positive and significant in the *School Efforts* model based on the sample of schools where Latino students are most prevalent.

Moving on to the results of the models focusing on actual levels of parent involvement in schools (Table 3), it appears that inclusion of the *Teacher Awareness* and *School Efforts* measures as independent variables has substantially attenuated the effects of the effective school organization variables. While this may be partly due to increasing levels of multicollinearity, there are substantive reasons as well. In particular, it is reasonable to argue that the effective schools measures have the strongest and most direct effects on the actual actions and behaviors of teachers to promote parent involvement and cultural awareness and thus work through these intermediate variables with respect to their influence on levels of parent involvement.

Table 1. Summary Statistics

	Full Sample		Schools w/Above Avg. Latino Enrollment	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev
Dependent Variables:				
School Initiated Efforts to Involve Parents	3.121	0.267	3.102	0.247
Teacher Cultural/Community Awareness	3.408	0.421	3.402	0.425
Parent Involvement	3.408	0.444	3.545	0.374
Effective Schools Measures:				
Collective Responsibility	5.510	1.175	5.616	1.036
Reflective Dialogue	6.138	0.751	6.125	0.669
Teacher-Principal Trust	6.261	1.320	6.347	1.281
Percent Teachers w/Emergency Credentials	4.333	4.431	5.438	4.843
Governance & Representation Measures:				
LSC Outreach	2.638	0.343	2.671	0.311
Percent LSC Latino	0.144	0.253	0.255	0.303
School Characteristics & Demographics:				
Elementary School	0.052	0.223	0.041	0.200
School Size (log)	6.471	0.582	6.683	0.604
Percent Attendance	92.718	3.597	93.868	3.103
Percent Low-Income Students	83.731	19.731	87.520	12.484
Percent Latino 0–0.2%	0.009	0.029	—	
Percent Latino 0.3–13.3%	2.264	2.820	—	
Percent Latino 13.6–61.3%	33.891	13.658	44.571	9.287
Percent Latino >61.3%	85.316	10.545	85.316	10.545
Mean Years of Education (Census Tract)	12.668	1.218	12.577	1.323

Number of observations (schools) for full sample = 370; for schools with above average Latino enrollment = 161. Mean percentage of Latino students in the full sample = 30.4

Table 2. Determinants of School Practices and Policies to Promote Parent Involvement

	Full Sample		Schools w/Above Avg. Latino Enrollment	
	School Efforts (A)	Teacher Awareness (A)	School Efforts (B)	Teacher Awareness (B)
Collective Responsibility	**0.052*****	**0.116*****	0.032	**0.099****
	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.041)
Reflective Dialogue	**0.035****	**0.075*****	**0.091*****	**0.185*****
	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.049)
Teacher–Principal Trust	**0.047*****	0.018	**0.054*****	0.028
	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.028)
Percent Teachers w/Emergency Credentials	0.001	0.001	–0.001	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.006)
LSC Outreach	**0.092*****	0.049	0.043	0.020
	(0.034)	(0.058)	(0.054)	(0.092)
Percent LSC Latino	0.088	**0.163***	**0.117***	**0.257****
	(0.058)	(0.097)	(0.064)	(0.110)
Elementary School	0.047	0.038	0.064	0.071
	(0.041)	(0.069)	(0.060)	(0.102)
School Size (log)	–0.000	**–0.079****	–0.021	**–0.108***
	(0.024)	(0.041)	(0.034)	(0.059)
Percent Attendance	**0.014****	**0.033*****	**0.033****	**0.065*****
	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.024)
Percent Low-Income Students	**–0.002*****	**–0.003*****	**–0.003****	**–0.005****
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Percent Latino	**–0.056*****	–0.042	–0.055	0.001
	(0.015)	(0.025)	(0.044)	(0.075)
Mean Years of Education (Census Tract)	**0.017***	–0.001	0.017	0.001
	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.024)
Intercept	0.812	–0.224	–0.970	–3.670
	(0.684)	(1.151)	(1.328)	(2.276)
Number of Obs (Schools)	360	360	151	151
F	24.47***	19.31***	11.34***	10.88***
AdjR^2	0.440	0.380	0.453	0.442

Table entries are OLS coefficients, standard errors in parentheses

***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.10$ two-tailed test. Bold numbers refer to significant coefficients

What the estimates in Table 3 show most clearly is the strong, positive effect of the *Teacher Awareness* and *School Efforts* measures on levels of parent involvement in schools. The relationship between each of these variables and the predicted value of *Parent Involvement* is depicted in Figures 3 and 4. In addition, in this set of results, we find that LSC outreach plays a key role in increasing parent involvement in schools across both models, whereas the percentage of Latino LSC members appears to be a significant predictor of parent involvement only when it comes to the full sample of schools. Finally, parent involvement in schools is also strongly influenced by both attendance rates and the percentage of low-income students, in a positive and negative manner, respectively.

We now shift our attention to the final research question motivating this study: What effect do parent involvement and parent–school relations have on student achievement and schooling outcomes? To address this question, we examine the 2003–04 report cards for Chicago public schools. We focus on the ISAT tests of reading and math, which are administered to students in grades 3, 5, and 8. Rather than look at results on these tests for each individual grade, we instead created a measure that represents the average performance across the relevant grades for each school. In addition, we utilize measures that compute the percentage of students in the school who either met or exceeded the state standards on the exams. Unlike our previous analysis, in this set of analyses, we can look exclusively at Latino

Table 3. Determinants of Parent Involvement in Schools

	Full Sample (A)	Schools w/Above Avg. Latino Enrollment (B)
School Initiated Efforts to Involve Parents	**0.209*****	**0.396*****
	(0.079)	(0.124)
Teacher Cultural/Community Awareness	**0.351*****	**0.232*****
	(0.047)	(0.072)
Collective Responsibility	0.026	–0.002
	(0.018)	(0.030)
Reflective Dialogue	–0.034	–0.022
	(0.022)	(0.038)
Teacher-Principal Trust	–0.016	0.004
	(0.014)	(0.021)
Percent Teachers w/Emergency Credentials	–0.000	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.004)
LSC Outreach	**0.086***	**0.164****
	(0.045)	(0.067)
Percent LSC Latino	**0.135***	0.049
	(0.075)	(0.081)
Elementary School	0.052	–0.010
	(0.053)	(0.075)
School Size (log)	0.016	–0.015
	(0.031)	(0.043)
Percent Attendance	**0.064*****	**0.086*****
	(0.009)	(0.018)
Percent Low-Income Students	**–0.005*****	**–0.004****
	(0.001)	(0.002)
Percent Latino	**0.038***	–0.024
	(0.020)	(0.055)
Mean Years of Education (Census Tract)	0.011	0.004
	(0.013)	(0.018)
Intercept	–4.437	–6.478
	(0.887)	(1.665)
Number of Obs (Schools)	360	151
F	55.02***	15.50***
AdjR^2	0.678	0.575

Table entries are OLS coefficients, standard errors in parentheses
***$p < 0.01$, $p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.10$, two-tailed test

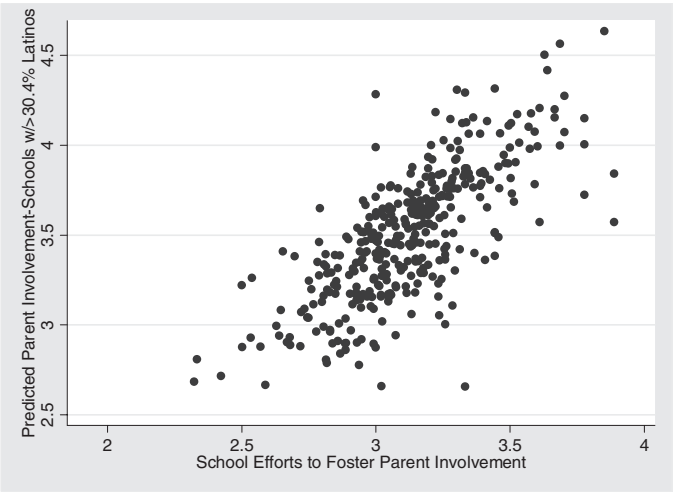

Figure 3. Relationship Between *School Efforts* on Predicted *Parent Involvement:* Schools With Above Average Latino Student Enrollments

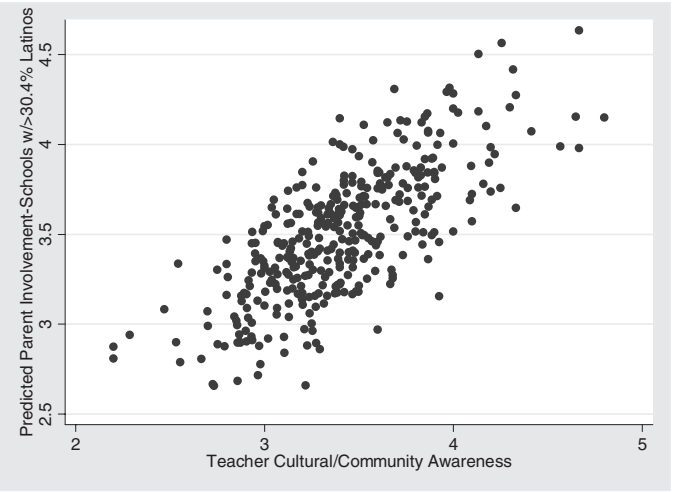

Figure 4. Relationship Between *Teacher Awareness* on Predicted *Parent Involvement:* Schools With Above Average Latino Student Enrollments

students since Illinois report cards now report scores separately by race/ethnicity. Thus, we have two school-level dependent variables that measure the percentage of Latino students performing at or above state standards in reading and math.[10]

Because the number of schools that report scores for Latino students is only 188, we are forced to specify a more parsimonious model than we otherwise would like to. In particular, given patterns of racial and socioeconomic stratification in housing and schooling, the variance in many of our independent variables is reduced in this smaller sample. Moreover, because the measures of effective school organization are already relatively highly correlated with one another, this problem becomes more severe as the sample size is decreased. The basic empirical model we estimate can be summarized as follows:

$$\textit{Student Reading/Math Performance} = f\,(\textit{Parent-school involvement}, \textit{Effective school organization}, \textit{School characteristics \& demographics})$$

Because we are interested in how both school practices to promote school–parent relationships and communication and more traditional forms of parent involvement in schools shape student outcomes, *Parent–school involvement* includes each of the three measures utilized in our previous set of analyses. In particular, the *Teacher Awareness* and *School Efforts* variables should be strong predictors of Latino student performance, since they focus directly on communication, breaking down cultural barriers, and facilitating mutually supportive school–parent relations. We have already shown that these factors play a significant role in increasing parent involvement in traditional, school-related parent activities. Here we consider whether they, in addition to the more standard forms of parent involvement, have a direct influence in increasing Latino student performance in math and reading.

In our more parsimonious model, we now include only one measure of *Effective school organization*: the percentage of teachers in the school with emergency teaching credentials.[11] We expect that students in schools with more such teachers will score lower on standardized math and reading tests. *School characteristics &*

demographics include many of the same variables as in our previous models, with a couple of exceptions. First, we exchange the *school size* variable with an *average class size* variable, since the link between class size and student performance is well established in the literature. Second, we drop the *elementary school* dummy, since performance, unlike parent involvement, has not been shown to decrease with more advanced grades of schooling. Third, we add a variable that measures whether the school is a magnet, charter, or selective enrollment school (*Choice* = 1 if yes; 0 otherwise). Since these schools tend to be smaller, more specialized, and often characterized by well-developed missions, they may be better able to meet the specific needs of their students. This, in turn, may be associated with higher performance on standardized tests, especially for Latino students, who, among other things, may benefit from specialized language instruction offered by these schools. Finally, we replace the categorical measure of percent Latino students with the interval-level measure since the categories are now less meaningful and because without the *Percent LSC Latino* variable, there is less worry about collinearity.

Since our dependent variables are again interval level measures, our analyses are based on OLS regression. In Table 4 we report results for our basic empirical model, where we include each of the three measures of *Parent–school involvement* separately.[12] The first three columns include estimates from the reading performance models, while the second three columns report results for math performance.

The first thing to note with regard to these results is that all three indicators of *Parent-school involvement* are positive and statistically significant. In addition, the effects are strongest for the *School Efforts* measure, followed by the *Teacher Awareness* and *Parent Involvement* measures. This is as hypothesized, since Latino parents have been found to have lower rates of participation in traditional school activities and since the other two measures represent forms of outreach that provide mutually beneficial support for schools and parents. This support in turn contributes to better schooling outcomes for Latino students. It is also interesting to note that the effects of the *Parent–school involvement* measures are consistently stronger for Latino student performance in math rather than reading. In fact, there are several interesting differences across the two sets of models. First, the percentage of Latino students in the schools has a strong negative effect on Latino performance in reading, but is significant in only one of the three math performance models. In addition, the percentage of teachers with emergency teaching credentials is also negatively associated with Latino reading performance, but is unrelated to Latino performance in math. Finally, schools of choice (magnet, charter, selective enrollment schools) have a more positive effect in the reading performance models, suggesting that these schools play an especially important role in increasing Latino student performance when it comes to reading.

Somewhat surprising is the fact that the average class size in the school did not have any effect on Latino student performance. On the other hand, schools with better attendance rates have significantly higher Latino student performance in both math and reading; whereas Latino performance is significantly lower in schools with larger shares of low income students. These results conform to expectation.

Table 4. Determinants of Latino Performance on ISAT Tests, 2003–04

	Percent Meeting/Exceeding Reading Standard			Percent Meeting/Exceeding Math Standard		
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*
Teacher Cultural/Community Awareness	**4.001****			**6.028****		
	(1.685)			(2.408)		
School Initiated Efforts to Involve Parents		**5.212***			**9.403****	
		(2.836)			(4.034)	
Parent Involvement			**3.860***			**5.860***
			(2.310)			(3.302)
Percent Teachers w/Emergency Credentials	**–0.343****	**–0.330****	**–0.335****	–0.159	–0.140	–0.146
	(0.142)	(0.143)	(0.143)	(0.202)	(0.203)	(0.204)
Choice School	**6.454*****	**7.128*****	**6.734*****	**6.979***	**8.163****	**7.401****
	(2.517)	(2.553)	(2.541)	(3.597)	(3.632)	(3.633)
Avg. Class Size	–0.160	–0.169	–0.167	–0.282	–0.291	–0.293
	(0.219)	(0.220)	(0.221)	(0.313)	(0.313)	(0.316)
Percent Attendance	**3.460*****	**3.452*****	**3.290*****	**3.973*****	**3.875*****	**3.713*****
	(0.577)	(0.590)	(0.630)	(0.825)	(0.839)	(0.901)
Percent Low Income Students	**–0.242*****	**–0.245*****	**–0.234*****	**–0.223*****	**–0.222*****	**–0.212****
	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.060)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.085)
Percent Latino	**–0.103*****	**–0.093*****	**–0.102*****	**–0.088***	–0.072	–0.086
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.053)
Mean Years of Education (Census Tract)	0.700	0.740	0.761	–1.405	–1.374	–1.315
	(0.602)	(0.606)	(0.606)	(0.860)	(0.862)	(0.867)
Intercept	–265.61	–268.10	–250.93	–289.44	–290.17	–267.00
	(53.17)	(53.55)	(55.80)	(75.96)	(76.17)	(79.80)
Number of Obs (Schools)	171	171	171	171	171	171
F	31.85***	31.15***	30.97***	11.76***	11.60***	11.16***
AdjR^2	0.592	0.587	0.585	0.336	0.333	0.324

Table entries are OLS coefficients, standard errors in parentheses
***$p < 0.01$, $p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.10$, two-tailed test

Conclusions and Implications

This study set out to test a set of research questions related to the determinants and effects of parent involvement in schools, particularly in the context of urban school districts and explicitly for Latinos. Extant research consistently finds less involvement among Latino and immigrant parents and documents the many barriers that discourage and reduce their involvement, especially in formal school activities (Floyd, 1998; Moles, 1993; Zhou & Logan, 2003). While longer exposure to schools and neighborhoods where poverty, language barriers, and isolation are pervasive often underlies the low academic achievement and high dropout rates of Latino students (Gibson, 2002; Scribner et al., 1999; Zhou & Logan, 2003), evidence suggests that the lack of cooperation among schools, parents, and their communities and the generally lower levels of school involvement among parents in these communities also play an important role (Scribner et al., 1999). Missing in prior studies however, is not only an explicit examination of how school and teacher practices, governing arrangements, and patterns of representation influence parent–school relations and involvement among Latino parents, but whether and how parents respond to these practices.

This study breaks new ground by providing empirical evidence to begin formulating at least some preliminary answers to these questions. For starters, it appears that decentralized governing arrangements, such as those implemented under the 1988 restructuring reform in Chicago, provide important opportunities and incentives for parent and community involvement in schools. Data on Latino representation on LSCs indicate that Latinos have achieved substantial gains in representation and political incorporation through their representation on these councils. In addition, evidence suggests that Chicago's decentralization has fostered the development of a broader and more institutionalized set of resources for these parents, for example, by contributing to the establishment of the Bilingual Parent Resource Center and the Parent Training Unit, and by high rates of parent attendance at Bilingual Advisory Council Meetings and high levels of parent participation in officer training for the Bilingual Advisory Committee.

The empirical analyses reported in this study indicate that higher levels of Latino representation on LSCs are associated with greater teacher awareness of cultural and community issues of their students and more school efforts to engage parents and forge stronger parent–school relations. These activities are critical since they focus directly on communication, breaking down cultural barriers, facilitating mutually supportive school–parent interactions, and fostering higher levels of parent involvement. Indeed, our empirical analyses demonstrate this latter point as well: schools with greater teacher awareness of cultural and community issues and with more efforts to engage parents had significantly higher levels of parent involvement in traditional, school-based activities.

With regard to the question of whether parents respond to efforts and outreach by schools, we also find that other aspects of governance matter as well. In other words, it is not simply the degree of Latino representation on LSCs that contributes to greater awareness and outreach by teachers, but also the direct efforts and activities of LSC members to engage parents and communities. Specifically, we find that schools where LSCs reportedly made contributions to improving parent

involvement and community relations had significantly higher levels of parent involvement in schools.

Thus, our first set of empirical analyses demonstrate that in addition to previously established aspects of effective school organization, governing arrangements and Latino political incorporation play a critical role in building stronger, more supportive school–parent relations and in encouraging higher levels of parent involvement in formal school activities. Our second set of empirical analyses, in turn, establishes that these practices and relations have important implications for Latino student performance. In particular, ceteris paribus, the full effect of school efforts to foster greater parent–school relations translated into a 7.8 (14.1) percentage point increase in the share of Latino students meeting/exceeding standards in reading (math), whereas the full effect of teacher awareness translated into a 9.6 (24.1) percentage point increase in the share of Latino students meeting/exceeding standards in reading (math).[13] These effects are clearly nontrivial and indicate just how important school practices and policies regarding parent and community outreach can be when it comes to improving educational outcomes for Latino students.

While there is still much work to be done in understanding this complex set of relations, the present study provides some initial insights about how to build more effective schools, improve the educational prospects of Latino children, and increase understanding about what schools can potentially do to foster more supportive and effective relations with Latino parents.

Notes

1 The author would like to thank Renita Miller and Paru Shah for research assistance on this project.

2 Second generation discrimination refers to the overrepresentation of minority students in certain types of classes or outcomes (e.g., bilingual, special education, EMR classes; dropouts, suspensions) and underrepresented in other classes or outcomes (gifted/talented, advanced placement classes; graduation, college or vocational school attendance).

3 In another study Rudner (1988) content analyzed professional knowledge subtests of the 24 states that required such certification tests and found that 6 of the 10 testing instruments measured a category called "extra classroom influences," which included parent involvement. However only 1.94% of the 826 competencies, skills, or objectives included in the exams dealt with the "extra classroom influences" category (Greenwood & Hankins, 1989). This evidence suggests that parent involvement is not a major emphasis in American teacher certification programs.

4 Teachers are nominated by a vote of the faculty but formally appointed by the board of education, whereas the principal serves by virtue of her office. In 1995, the Illinois state legislature modified the Reform Act to give Chicago's mayor more control over Chicago's Central Board and central administration as well as the power the intervene in failing schools.

5 Chicago is divided into 77 community areas. Since demographic data was missing for some schools, we look here at the relationship between percent Latino population and percent Latinos serving on LSCs by community area rather than by school.

6 This percentage is calculated as the aggregate days of student attendance divided by the sum of the aggregate days of student attendance and aggregate days of student absence multiplied by 100.

7 This includes pupils aged 3 to 17, inclusive, from families receiving public aid, living in institutions for neglected or delinquent children, being supported in foster homes with public funds, or eligible to receive free or reduced-price lunches. The percent of low-income students is the count of low-income students divided by the total fall enrollment multiplied by 100.

8 Due to the high level of collinearity between percent Latino and several other variables, most notably, percent Latino LSC and percent low-income students, we rely on a categorical variable for percent Latino rather than the original, interval level measure. We recognize this causes problems in term of

inferences about causality. Our decision is based on a belief that Latino LSC, in particular, is theoretically more meaningful than the Latino percent in the population. The percent Latino is recoded into quartiles of the distribution (see Table 1).

9 The mean percentage of Latino students for the full sample = 30.4.

10 The mean (standard deviation) reading performance for these schools is 50.88 (13.56); for math it is 55.78 (15.00).

11 Correlations among consortium measures of school leadership and professional capacity and between these measures and the parent–school involvement measures were unacceptably high in this smaller sample of schools (on average, between 0.5–0.7). Thus, we do not include survey-based measures of effective school organization in our performance models.

12 Again, this is for reasons of high multicollinearity among the three measures in the restricted sample.

13 This is computed by multiplying the coefficient for these variables (from Table 4) by the range for each of these variables.

About the Author

Melissa Marschall is Associate Professor of Political Science at Rice University. Her research interests include urban politics, education policy, and minority political incorporation. She is coauthor of the book *Choosing Schools: Consumer Choice and the Quality of American Schools*. Her work has appeared in such journals as *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Behavior*, *Educational Policy*, *Policy Studies Journal*, and *Social Science Quarterly*.

References

Aspiazu, G. G., Bauer, S. C., & Spillet, M. D. (1998). Improving the academic performance of Hispanic youth: A community education model. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *22*(2), 1–20.

Brown, P. C. (1989). *Involving parents in the education of their children*. (Document No. ED308988). Urbana, IL.

Browning, R. P., Marshall, D. R., & Tabb, D. H. (1984). *Protest is not enough*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bryk, A. S., Easton, J. Q., Kerbrow, D., Rollow, S. J., & Sebring, P. A. (1993). *A view from the elementary schools: The state of reform in Chicago*. Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research.

Carger, C. L. (1997). Attending to new voices. *Educational Leadership*, *54*(7), 39–43.

Chavkin, N. F., & Gonzalez, D. L. (1995). *Forging partnerships between Mexican American parents and the schools*. Document No. ED388489. Charleston, WV: ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools.

Chavkin, N., & Williams, D. (1988). Critical issues in teacher training for parent involvement. *Educational Horizons*, *66*, 87–89.

Chicago Public Schools Policy Manual. (2002). *Bilingual education policy* (Board Report No. 02-1023-PO01). Retrieved November 11, 2004, from http://policy.cps.k12.il.us/documents/603.1.pdf

Coleman, M. (1991). Planning for the changing nature of family life in schools for young children. *Young Children*, *46*(4), 15.

Consortium On Chicago School Research. (2003). Public use data set. *2003 Survey of students and teachers user's manual*. Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research. Retrieved November 11, 2004, from http://www.consortium-chicago.org/surveys/s0002.html

Crane, J. (1996). Effects of home environment, SES, and maternal test scores on mathematics achievement. *Journal of Educational Research*, *89*(5), 305–314.

Davenport, S. (2001). *Mapping school reform organizing in Chicago 1985–2000* (Working Paper). Chicago: Designs for Change.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (2001). *The power of community: Mobilizing for family and schooling*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Easton, J. Q., Flinspach, S. L., Ford, D. J., Qualls, J., Ryan, S. R., & Storey, S. L. (1991). *Decision making and school improvement: LSCs in the first two years of reform*. Chicago: Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance.

Floyd, L. (1998). Joining hands: A parental involvement program. *Urban Education*, *33*(1), 123–135.

Fraga, L. R., Meier, K. J., & England, R. E. (1986). Hispanic Americans and educational policy: Limits to equal access. *Journal of Politics*, *48*, 850–876.

Frankenberg, E., & Lee, C. (2002). *Race in American public schools: Rapidly resegregating school districts*. (ERIC Document No. ED468063). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Civil Rights Project.

Fuller, B. C. E-P., Holloway, S. D., Liang, X., & Rambaud, M. (1996). Rich culture, poor markets: Why do Latino parents forgo preschooling? *Teachers College Record*, *97*, 400–418.

Gibson, M. A. (2002). The new Latino diaspora and educational policy. In S. Wortham, E. G. Murillo, & E. T. Hamann (Eds.), *Education in the new Latino Diaspora: Policy and the politics of identity* (pp. 241–252). Westport, CT: Ablex.

Gonzalez, N., Moll, L. C., Tenery, M. F., Rivera, A., Rendon, Gonzales, R., & Amanti, C. (1995). Funds of knowledge for teaching in Latino households. *Urban Education*, *29*, 443–470.

Greenwood, G. E., & Hankins, A. D. (1989). *An analysis of professional knowledge content base commonalities among ten teacher certification exams*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Florida, Gainesville, College of Education.

Hallinger, P., & Murphy, J. F. (1986). The social context of effective schools. *American Journal of Education*, *94*, 328–355.

Haro, R. (2004). Programs and strategies to increase Latino students' educational attainment. *Education and Urban Society*, *36*(2), 205–222.

Hess, G. A., Jr. (Ed.). (1994). Outcomes of Chicago school reform. *Education and Urban Society*, *26*(3).

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Bassler, O. C., & Brissie, J. S. (1987). Parent involvement: Contributions of teacher efficacy, school socioeconomic status, and other school characteristics. *American Educational Research Journal*, *24*, 417–425.

Hyslop, N. (2000). *Hispanic parental involvement in home literacy*. (Document No. ED446340). Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading, English and Communication.

Illinois State Board of Education. (2005). 2003–2004 Report card data. Retrieved March 13, 2006 from http://www.isbe.state.il.us/research/htmls/report_card.htm

Jeynes, W. H. (2001, June). *Effects of parental involvement on the academic achievement of adolescents*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle, WA.

Jeynes, W. H. (2003). A meta-analysis: The effects of parental involvement on minority children's academic achievement. *Education and Urban Society*, *35*(2), 202–218.

Jones, T. G., & Velez, W. (1997, March). *Effects of Latino parent involvement on academic achievement*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.

Kao, G., & Tienda, M. (1995). Optimism and achievement: The educational performance of immigrant youth. *Social Science Quarterly*, *76*, 1–19.

Katz, M. B., Fine, M., & Simon, E. (1997). Poking around: Outsiders view Chicago school reform. *Teachers College Record*, *99*, 117–157.

Llagas, C., & Snyder, T. D. (2003). *Status and trends in the education of Hispanics*. (NCES Report No. 2003–008). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics.

Lopez, G. R. (2001). The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an (im)migrant household. *Harvard Educational Review*, *71*(3), 416–437.

Marschall, M. J. (2005). Minority incorporation and local school boards. In W. Howell (Ed.), *Besieged: School boards and the future of education politic*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Mau, W. (1997). Parental influences on the high school student's academic achievement: A comparison of Asian immigrants, Asian Americans, and White Americans. *Psychology in the Schools*, *34*(3), 267–277.

McDonnell, L. M., & Hill, P. T. (1993). *Newcomers in American schools: Meeting the educational needs of immigrant youth*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

Moles, O. C. (1993). Collaboration between schools and disadvantaged parents: Obstacles and openings. In N. F. Chavkin (Ed.), *Families and schools in a pluralistic society* (pp. 21–49). New York: State University of New York Press.

Moll, L. C. (1988). Some key issues in teaching Latino students. *Language Arts*, *65*(5), 465–472.

Moll, L. C. (1992). Bilingual classroom studies and community analysis: Some recent trends. *Educational Researcher*, *20*(2), 20–24.

Muller, C. (1998). Gender differences in parental involvement and adolescents' mathematics achievement. *Sociology of Education*, *71*(4), 336–356.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2002). *Status and trends in the education of Hispanics*. Washington, DC: Author.

Orfield, G. (2001). *Schools more separate: Consequences of a decade of resegregation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Civil Rights Project.

Orfield, G., Schley, S., Glass, D., & Reardon, S. (1993). *The growth of segregation in American schooling: Changing patterns of separation and poverty since 1968*. Alexandria, VA: National School Boards Association.

Paredes, A., & Schribner, J. D. (1999). Using student advocacy assessment practices. In P. Reyes, J. D. Scribner, & A. Paredes (Eds.), *Lessons from high performing Hispanic schools: Creating learning communities* (pp. 169–187). New York: Teachers College Press.

Polinard, J. L., Wrinkle, R. D., & Longoria, T. (1990). Education and governance: Representational links to second generation discrimination. *Western Political Quarterly*, *43*, 631–646.

Polinard, J. L., Wrinkle, R. D., & Meier, K. J. (1995). The influence of educational and political resources on minority students' success. *Journal of Negro Education*, *64*, 463–474.

Portes, A., & Hao, L. (1998). *E Pluribus Unum*: Bilingualism and loss of language in the second generation. *Sociology of Education*, *71*, 269–294.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (1996). *Immigrant America* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Purkey, S. C., & Smith, M. S. (1983). Effective schools: A review. *The Elementary School Journal*, *83*, 427–454.

Rudner, L. M. (1988). Teacher testing: An update. *Educational Measurement: Issues and Practice*, *1*, 16–19.

Ruiz-de-Velasco, J., & Fix, M. (2000). *Overlooked and underserved: Immigrant students in U.S. secondary school*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Ryan, S., Bryk, A., Lopez, G., & Williams, K. (1997). *Charting reform: LSCs—Local leadership at work*. Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research.

Schmid, C. L. (2001). Educational achievement, language-minority students and the new second generation. *Sociology of Education*, 71–87.

Schneider, M., Teske, P., & Marschall, M. (2000). *Choosing schools: Consumer choice and the quality of American schools*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Scribner, J. D., Young, M. D., & Pedroza, A. (1999). Building collaborative relationships with parents. In P. Reyes, J. D. Scribner, & A. Paredes (Eds.), *Lessons from high performing Hispanic schools: Creating learning communities* (pp. 36–60). New York: Teachers College Press.

Shah, P., & Marschall, M. (2005). The Latino student-teacher gap in immigrant gateways: Structural constraints and policy solutions (Working Paper). Houston, TX: Rice University.

Shaver, A. V., & Walls, R. T. (1998). Effect of Title I parent involvement on student reading and mathematics achievement. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, *31*, 90–97.

Singer, A. (2004). *The rise of new immigrant gateways*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Singh, K., Bickley, P. G., Trivette, P. L., Keith, T. Z., Keither, P. B., & Anderson, E. (1995). The effects of four components of parental involvement on eighth grade student achievement. *School Psychology Review*, *24*(2), 299–317.

Spaulding, S., Carolino, B., & Amen, K. A. (2004). *Immigrant students and secondary school reform: Compendium of best practices*. Washington, DC: Council of Chief State School Officers.

Sporte, S. E., with Luppescu, S., & Nanjiani, K. (2004). *Key measures of school development*. Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research. Retrieved November 11, 2004, from http://www.consortium-chicago.org/keymeasures/index.html

Stewart, J., Jr., England, R. E., & Meier, K. J. (1989). Black representation in urban school districts: From school board to office to classroom. *Western Political Quarterly*, *42*, 287–305.

Tinkler, B. (2002). *A review of literature on Hispanic/Latino parent involvement in K-12 education*. (Document No. ED469134). Denver, CO: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.

Trumbull, E., Rothstein-Fisch, C., Greenfield, P. M., & Quiroz, B. (2001). *Bridging cultures between home and schools: A guide for teachers*. Mahway, NJ: Erlbaum.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). [SF3 Data Files]. Washington, DC: Author.

Valencia, R. R. (1997). Conceptualizing the notion of deficit thinking. In R. R. Valencia (Ed.), *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice* (pp. 1–12). London: Falmer Press.

Young, M. D. (1996). *Reframing the parental involvement of low income mothers: A new approach to educational policy studies*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.

Zdzinksi, S. F. (1996). Parental involvement, selected student attributes, and learning outcomes in instrumental music. *Journal of Research in Music Education*, *44*(1), 34–48.

Zhou, M., & Logan, J. R. (2003). Increasing diversity and persistent segregation: Challenges of educating minority and immigrant children in urban America. In S. J. Caldas & C. L. Bankston (Eds.), *The End of Desegregation*. Nova Science Publishers.

APPENDIX

The following measures were created using simple, summated (additive) rating scales. Alpha values, which indicate the degree of linear association along a single dimension, are reported in parentheses.

Teacher Cultural/Community Awareness **($\alpha = 0.865$)**

How many teachers at this school (None, Some, About Half, Most, Nearly All):

- Are knowledgeable of issues and concerns in the school's community? (inv15q01)

- Talk with students about their lives at home? (inv15q02)
- Talk with students about their cultures? (inv1503)
- Read books, watch documentaries, or attend workshops that provide information about the cultural backgrounds of their students? (inv15q04)
- How many teachers feel they have good parent support? (inv15q05)

School Initiated Efforts to Involve Parents **($\alpha = 0.926$)**
Please mark the extent to which you disagree or agree with each of the following statements about your school (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree):

- Parents are invited to visit classrooms to observe the instructional program. (inv11q01)
- The principal pushes teachers to communicate regularly with teachers. (inv11q02)
- This school encourages feedback from parents and the community. (inv11q03)
- Teachers really try to understand parents' problems and concerns. (inv11q04)
- Parents are greeted warmly when they call or visit the school. (inv11q05)
- Teachers work closely with parents to meet students' needs. (inv11q06)
- We work at communicating to parents about support needed to advance the school mission. (inv11q07)
- This school regularly communicates with parents about how they can help their children learn. (inv11q08)
- Staff at this school work hard to build trust with parents. (inv11q12)

Parent Involvement in School **($\alpha = 0.869$)**
For the students you teach this year, how many of their parents (None, Some, About Half, Most, Nearly All):

- Attended parent/teacher conferences when you requested them? (inv12q01)
- Volunteered to help in the classroom? (inv12q02)
- Picked up their child's last report card? (inv12q03)
- Support your teaching efforts? (inv13q01)
- Do their best to help students learn? (inv13q02)

LSC Outreach **($\alpha = 0.876$)**
Has your LSC made a contribution to improving the following (Has Hindered, No Contribution, Has Helped):

- Parent involvement (lsc23q05).
- Community relations (lsc23q06)

The measures listed below were created by the consortium using Rasch models. Using a set of carefully selected survey items (questions), the Rasch model produces

an interval scale that determines item difficulties and person measures. The items are arranged on the scale according to how likely they are to be endorsed (item difficulty). The scale is then used to show person measure, a quantitative measure of a person's attitude on a unidimensional scale. In other words, the items are used to define the measure's scale, and people are then placed on this scale based on their responses to the items in the measure. The scale units are logits (log odds units), which are linear, and therefore suitable for use in simple statistical procedures (see Consortium on Chicago School Research, 2003, for more details).

Collective Responsibility

How many teachers in this school (None, Some, About Half, Most, Nearly All):

- Help maintain discipline in the entire school, not just their classroom (scm04q01)?
- Take responsibility for improving the school (scm04q02)?
- Set high standards for themselves (scm04q03)?
- Feel responsible for helping students develop self control (scm04q07)?
- Feel responsible to help each other do their best (scm04q08)?
- Feel responsible that all students learn (scm04q09)?
- Feel responsible when students in this school fail (scm04q10)?

Reflective Dialogue

This school year, how often have you had conversations with colleagues about (Less than once a month, 2 or 3 times a month, Once or twice a week, Almost daily):

- What helps students learn best. (scm02q01)
- Development of new curriculum. (scm02q02)
- The goals of this school. (scm02q03)
- Managing classroom behavior. (scm02q04)

Please mark the extent to which you disagree or agree with each of the following (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree):

- Teachers in this school regularly discuss assumptions about teaching and learning. (scm01q03)
- Teachers talk about instruction in the teachers' lounge, faculty meetings, etc. (scm01q04)
- Teachers in this school share and discuss student work with other teachers. (scm01q05)

Teacher–Principal Trust

Please mark the extent to which you disagree or agree with each of the following (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree):

- The principal has confidence in the expertise of the teachers. (ldr06q01)

- I trust the principal at his or her word. (ldr06q02)
- It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with the principal. (ldr06q03)
- The principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers. (ldr06q04)
- The principal looks out for the personal welfare of the faculty members. (ldr06q05)
- The principal at this school: Is an effective manager who makes the school run smoothly. (ldr07q08)
- The principal places the needs of children ahead of personal and political interests. (ldr06q10)