

Engaging Latino Families for Student Success: How Parent Education Can Reshape Parents' Sense of Place in the Education of Their Children

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The importance of parent involvement in children's education has been identified repeatedly as a critical factor contributing to children's school success in a general way (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Epstein, 1991; Henderson & Berla, 1996; Kellaghan, Sloane, Alvarez, & Bloom, 1993; Valdés, 1996) as well as in more specific subject areas such as reading (Tizard, 1982; Toomey, 1989; Topping & Wolfendale, 1985). Research indicates that when parents engage with their children in learning activities at home, provide for basic needs, and communicate with the school, their involvement can mitigate the negative impacts of poverty and prevent students from dropping out (Clark, 1983, 1987; Dornbusch & Ritter, 1988; Epstein, 1991; Henderson & Berla, 1996; Kellaghan et al., 1993).

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Conversely, poverty, low levels of education, and immigrant status strongly influence the nature and levels of parent and school interaction. The dilemma is especially acute among Latinos (26.2% of whom have low incomes, compared to 11.6% of non-Latinos), who often find their children placed at a considerable educational disadvantage (Carrasquillo & London, 1993). According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (1992), only 51% of Latinos graduate from high school, and those who earn a high school diploma frequently are unprepared to pursue further education (Suarez-Orozco, 1988; National Center for Educational Statistics, 1992). School staff and Latino parents, however, have often found it difficult to form partnerships that would ensure greater parent involvement and student success.

Trueba and Delgado-Gaitan (1988) found that Latino immigrant families have a genuine interest in their children's education but can face a mismatch between their expectations and those of the school. Immigrant parents hold assumptions and expectations based on their own schooling experiences in Mexico. These perspectives, however, often are not heard or understood. Parents frequently feel intimidated by teachers, and teachers may give up trying to reach and engage parents across the cultural divide. Parents' perceptions of their roles may come into conflict with those of teachers who have an image of what constitutes a "good" parent (Valdés, 1996).

Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991), Valdés (1996), and others have argued that teachers' perceptions that Latino families do not care about their children's education often derive from misunderstandings of actions by these families. These differing perceptions of a parent's role and place in school and in his or her children's educational lives can vary across both cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. We use the concept of role to describe "patterned forms of behavior, social positions, specializations, and divisions of labor" as well as processes such as "communication, learning and socialization, sanctioning, and conformity and interdependence" (Thomas & Biddle, 1966, p. 3). Many immigrant parents bring to the school a concept of their role and a developed sense of place that is derived from deep-seated cultural beliefs and patterns of behavior and interaction that a member should assume within a social system and context. When roles are in transition or a new culture is entered, individuals' past behaviors and patterns of interaction may not be appropriate, and new behaviors and patterns need to be learned. This learning occurs through sent messages and repeated interactions with different players within the system (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, & Snoek, 1964).

Given contrasting perceptions of the role of parents in their children's education, a critical area in need of investigation is how the cultural divide

might be bridged. Can perceptions and, consequently, roles and actions of parents, teachers, or both be altered to facilitate collaboration? The purpose of this study was to explore the effect on immigrant parents' sense of place in their children's education when they were afforded the opportunity to learn about the American educational system through a series of eight parent education classes offered by the Parent Institute for Quality Education (PIQE). To address this purpose, we explored, through an intertextual analysis of presurvey and postsurvey responses, videotapes of the training sessions, and interviews of graduates of the program, the following overarching research question: How do Latino parents define their role and perceive their place in their children's education and their relationship with the school? The two subquestions flowing from this overarching question were:

1. How did parents perceive their sense of place before attending the PIQE?
2. How did parents reconstruct and redefine their sense of place after attending the PIQE?

Conceptual Framework

The literature on parent involvement suggests that there are differences in how parents define their place in their children's education based on cultural and socioeconomic status (Coleman et al., 1966; Lareau, 1989; Lightfoot, 1978; Van Galen, 1987). The differences in definition lead to variations in the levels and types of parent involvement. For this study, we drew on the parent involvement typologies of Chrispeels (1992, 1996), Epstein and Becker (1982), Epstein (1992), and Swap (1993) as a way to conceptualize parents' sense of place in their children's education. Although there are slight variations in the typologies, they all recognize that parent involvement is a multidimensional construct and encompasses a variety of roles and responsibilities. In large measure, these typologies reflect expectations of schools for the way parents can and should be involved with their children's education. For example, Chrispeels (1996) conceptualized parent–community–school partnership as encompassing five major types of interactive relationships involving (a) two-way communication; (b) support of the child, family, and the school (including meeting children's basic needs and parental expressions of support through attendance at school functions and fund-raising events); (c) learning about each other and how to work together; (d) sharing teaching responsibilities (including the presence of parent volunteers in the classroom); and (e) collaborating in deci-

sion making and advocacy. These five roles and responsibilities served as a framework for the conceptualization of parents' sense of place in their children's education before and after attending the PIQE.

Although the typology captures the more pragmatic and programmatic aspects of school–family partnerships, it does not account for the factors that motivate parents and teachers to collaborate. The theoretical and empirical work of Hoover-Dempsey and Jones (1996), Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997), and Reed, Jones, Walker, and Hoover-Dempsey (2000) provided a second conceptual framework that guided the study. They described three factors that they hypothesized motivate parents to be involved and explain why some families are more engaged with the school than others. These variables suggest one explanation for the differences found among families in both the level and type of engagement they have with their children and with the school. The variables are:

1. How parents define or construct their role, responsibilities, and place in their child's life.¹
2. How capable (efficacious) parents perceive they are to help their children succeed in school.
3. How parents perceive the school's invitations, demands, and opportunities for parent involvement.

This theoretical model has not been empirically used to explore role construction of Latino parents; prior research, nevertheless, provided some insights into how these three factors might be applicable to Latino families. Carrasquillo and London (1993), Delgado-Gaitan and Treuba (1991), Delgado-Gaitan (1996), and Valdés (1996) suggested that Latinos define their place, roles, and responsibilities in their children's education as to meet basic obligations and provide support. The families see their essential role as ensuring that their children have food, clothing, and shelter and that they are socialized into the norms and expectations of the family. Above all, they expect children to acquire "buena educación" (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991, p. 35), or good manners, and to know their own culture and their expected role within the culture. Latino parents express their support for the school by attending open houses and parent–teacher conferences, if they interpret each invitation as one that needs their response (Valdés, 1996). They also are willing to attend festivals and fund-raising

¹This role construction is composed of a) parental values, beliefs, goals, and expectations for the child's behavior, b) parental beliefs and behaviors related to responsibility for the child's day to day education, and c) parental beliefs and behaviors related to responsibility for common conflicts or major decisions in the child's education" (Reed et al., 2000, p. 4).

events that involve their children. They do not necessarily see it as their place to initiate communication and contact with the school staff or to volunteer in the classroom. As Valdés (1996) found:

Even when asked to come, however, it was often the case that parents did not respond. ... In many families neither of the two parents felt competent enough to deal with school personnel. They were embarrassed, and found almost any excuse not to go to the school and “ponerse en evidencia” (show how ignorant or incapable they were). Even when some parents were deeply committed to their children doing well in school, they hesitated to speak to the teacher herself. (p. 162)

As a result of both their concept of place and their lack of sense of efficacy to be involved, most Latino family involvement can be categorized as support in the parent involvement framework. Their involvement often does not extend to other levels of the typology in part because “Hispanic parents tend to see the school as the main force responsible for their children’s education and academic development” (p. 44). Existing school structures, such as “parent meetings and parent advisory councils, which have historically been effective in drawing Anglo parents into the schooling process, have not proven useful” (Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez, & Shannon, 1994, p. 43) for Latino parents. In summary, prior research on Latino family engagement with the school indicates that the levels of involvement are limited in comparison to the full range of possibilities identified in parent–school partnership typologies. We attribute this more circumscribed sense of place to differing cultural perceptions about parents’ role construction and language barriers that separate schools and families.

Given the potential for a much wider range of involvement by Latino families, it is important to investigate a program like the PIQE to understand the ways it might influence parents’ role construct, sense of efficacy, and actions both at home and at school. Drawing on the work of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997), Figure 1 presents a conceptual model that informed the study and provided a framework for analyzing the data. In particular, the model framed the investigation of how the parent’s prior knowledge and concept of their place were affected by a program such as the PIQE. The model began with an adaptation of the three motivational factors identified by Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler and indicated that the PIQE was serving as an intervening variable that may have influenced parents’ sense of place in their children’s education and the roles that parents were willing to assume. In this article, we adopted the term *cultural broker* from Delgado-Gaitan (1996), who used it to refer to a White educator who, because of his long affiliation with the Latino community, was able to

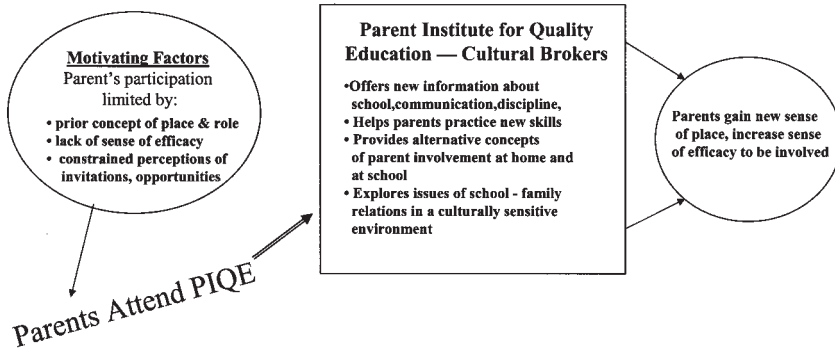


Figure 1. Conceptual model of how the Parent Institute for Quality Education influenced latino parents' participation in their children's education.

translate between his ethnic and cultural group and the Latinos (p. 28). We applied this term to the PIQE instructors. In fulfilling its purpose, we suggest that the PIQE program, through the instructors, was playing the role of cultural broker. The instructors were selected because their life experiences were similar to the participants, they had succeeded in the U.S. educational system, and they were able to interpret this system for Latino parents.

As cultural brokers, the PIQE instructors provided parents with a forum to consider current beliefs, role construct, and practices and to explore alternative ideas. Parents were afforded the opportunity to value and consider their place in their children's education. We hypothesized that attending PIQE influenced parents in three ways: (a) it affected or altered parents' concept of ways they could be involved, (b) it opened opportunities for new knowledge and skills of how to interact with their children and the school, and (c) it affected how parents perceived school invitations and opportunities to attend specific functions. The hypothesized outcome was a new sense of place and increased sense of efficacy to be involved, which would lead to higher levels and expanded types of involvement with their children and with the school.

Methodology

To study the phenomenon of parents' sense of place in their children's education, we took an ethnographic perspective to examine a slice of the parents' lives and cultural practices (Green, Dixon, & Zaharlick, 2002). Such a perspective allowed us to examine how parents described everyday life and their roles, relationships, rights, and obligations in regard to their

children's education. Green and Bloome (1997) argued that an ethnographic perspective as a tool and as a conceptual framework offers the researcher an opportunity to take old issues in education and understand them in new ways. Such a perspective provides the researcher with a method to capture the beliefs, values, and thoughts of the participants, in the case of this study, Latino families. Green and Bloome further pointed out that the decisions made by the ethnographer must be directly related to the world and knowledge of the people being studied. In this way, we can study how the participants explore, know, and act in and on the world. By following the participants over time, we are better able to grasp the meaning the actors give to their experiences and to discover patterns of response to common events, such as the PIQE classes (Spradley, 1980). Furthermore, Athanases and Heath (1995) emphasized the importance of identifying the knowledge and essence of a group from the members' perspective and not imposing on the group what needs to be changed from an outsider's perspective. We can explore what access to knowledge about the American educational system is provided to parents and how they take up information and ideas about their role (Spradley, 1980).

Through analysis of data collected over time and from multiple sources, we are able to offer a cultural interpretation of the context behind the actions of actors (Fetterman, 1989). Exploring these issues was particularly relevant to this study because they have much to do with understanding parents' previous and current sense of place in their child's education. The exploration could show how perspectives were altered and new roles constructed as parents interacted with the American school system and with the PIQE.

Context of the Study

Parent Institute for Quality Education

The PIQE program was initiated in San Diego County in 1987 by a retired Baptist minister who was dismayed at the high dropout rates and lack of school success for many Latino students. His goal was to build a bridge between the largely Latino school population and teachers. The underlying principle guiding PIQE is that parents, especially those who have low incomes or are recent immigrants to the United States, need information about (a) the educational system, (b) how to interact with the school and teachers, and (c) how to help their children at home. The program consists of eight 90-min sessions (six content sessions, one orientation, and a graduation ceremony). All PIQE instructors use a prescribed curriculum that is translated into the parents' language. Table 1 presents a summary of the topic, content, and class objectives for each session.

Table 1

Parent Institute for Quality Education Program by Topic, Content, and Objectives

<i>Program Topic</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Objectives</i>
Home–school collaboration	Focuses on how the child’s future depends on an active partnership between teachers and parents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explain roles of each partner 2. Help parents identify community resources 3. Identify ways parents can help ensure success
The home, motivation, and self-esteem	Discusses the importance of building children’s self-esteem and motivating them to engage with school work	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explore what self-esteem means 2. Identify strategies for promoting self-esteem and motivation
Communication and discipline	Explores how discipline and communication in the home and the school facilitate growth and maturity of a healthy child	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify current rules operating in the home 2. Explore ways of establishing clear rules 3. Know the components of open and clear communication
Academic standards	Presents information on the consequences of children falling behind in their academic work	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide parents with information about academic standards and expectations 2. Give parents tools for checking their child’s progress
How the school system functions	Builds the understanding that children do better when their parents are involved and explores the intricacies of the American educational system	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explore how the system is organized and decisions are made 2. Explain the current system of testing 3. Reinforce the importance of reading for academic success
The road to university	Explores how a college education can open doors for a better life for all children	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explore the financial and work benefits of a college education 2. Provide information on what is required for college admission. 3. Provide information on how low-income families can secure financial aid for college

Each PIQE session stresses how important parents are to their child’s future. Parents talk and interact with each other and with the instructor about the topic being discussed. Multiple classes are scheduled to accommodate the family’s needs (e.g., morning or evening classes). The classes are conducted by instructors from the same culture as the participants who speak the language fluently. In its 13 years of existence, PIQE

has graduated 154,000 parents from schools throughout California. Although mainly focused on Latino families, the Institute has offered classes and has materials translated into Russian, Cambodian, Korean, Chinese, Armenian, and English.

The Community and the School District

The two schools in the study are located in a fast-growing small city. The rapid growth, especially in the Latin population, can be attributed to three factors: (a) the city's proximity to one of the largest metropolitan areas in California; (b) the cost of housing, which is approximately 50% below its neighboring county; and (c) the prevalence of low-skill jobs in the agricultural and service sectors.

The district serves over 16,000 primarily middle- to low-socioeconomic-status students. The average per pupil expenditure for the district was \$4,276, with 70% of that amount expended on classroom teachers. Seventy-nine percent of the students are Latinos, and approximately half of those students were limited English proficient. Thirteen percent of the students were White. Key district demographics, including parent income and student English proficiency rate, suggested that the student population in the district is representative of Latino elementary students in the state of California in general and closely matched the demographic profile of many inner-city schools. On a recent statewide test, the district schools were ranked among the lowest performing in the region.

The district has 13 K–6 elementary schools, 15 K–6, and three 7–8 junior high schools. Two of the elementary schools, Bradley and Kingston (pseudonyms), agreed to participate in this research project and offered to host the PIQE program beginning in April 1999. Similar to the other elementary schools in the district, both were large, with enrollments of 800 to 1,000, and operated on a year-round schedule.

Participants

The participants of this study were the parents who attended the PIQE classes at Bradley and Kingston schools in 1999. In March–April 1999, all parents at Bradley and Kingston schools were sent a flyer and were then called to invite them to attend PIQE. An orientation session was scheduled at each school at the beginning of April, which over 300 parents attended (approximately 150 at each site). At this session, the project was explained, and participants were asked to sign a release giving permission to videotape and to review their children's cumulative records. Anonymity was as-

sured. After the orientation, families were called each week to remind them about the class. Attendance at each school averaged approximately 100 parents, but these were not always the same parents (based on names on weekly sign-in sheets).

PIQE Graduates

To be a PIQE graduate, parents needed to attend at least four of the six content sessions. Ninety-nine parents received a certificate of graduation at each school (10 of the 99 came as couples at Kingston and 18 were couples at Bradley). All but two graduates spoke Spanish, but not all were monolingual. The two English-speaking parents had their own class at Kingston School in the morning. A large majority of the parents in the study could be considered intact families, where there were two parents in the home. The level of education ranged from a third-grade education in Mexico to a few who had some college education either in Mexico or the United States. The income for the graduates derived primarily from low-wage positions in the agriculture or service sectors.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data-collection procedures for this project included the following: (a) prequestionnaire and postquestionnaire, (b) participant observation and video-taping of all sessions, (c) in-depth interviews, and (d) review of artifacts. All of these records were collected between March 1999 and March 2000.

Questionnaires

During the orientation or at the first class of the institute, parents completed an 84-item Likert-scale questionnaire (to serve as a preassessment) in either English or Spanish. The survey was designed to ascertain parents' perceptions of their current practices related to supporting their children in school, attendance at school activities, communication with teachers and the school, and their sense of efficacy in assisting their children with schoolwork. In addition, parents provided information about their educational and career aspirations for their children and other demographic information about the family. Families were encouraged to give a single, composite response and were asked to focus their answers on their oldest

child in the elementary school. Because many families found it difficult to read the questions, the instructors read the questions aloud to parents. The questionnaire, without the demographic questions, was administered in a similar way at the end of the last session. Matched presurvey and postsurvey data were obtained for 95 families. Prepared and postpaired two-tailed *t* tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences in responses.

Participant Observation

Participant observations involved video-taping all PIQE classes and three of the follow-up interviews where there were more than two parents participating. All videotapes were transcribed, and taxonomies (Spradley, 1980) were developed to identify parents' past and current perceptions of their sense of place in the school.

In-Depth Interviews

After attending PIQE, 11 families (19 individuals) from both schools were contacted and interviewed between May 1999 and February 2000. Table 2 summarizes key demographic variables of the families interviewed. A purposeful sample was chosen reflecting several factors: (a) parents who came by themselves and those that came as couples, (b) parents from both instructors' classes, (c) parents who had minimal educational levels and those with some college, and (d) those with a child just starting school and those who had several children with varied school experience. Interviews were conducted in the parents' home or at the school based on the parents' preference and were scheduled at times most convenient for them.

A semistructured interview protocol was used, but parents often volunteered information and took the interview in new directions. The interviews gave parents an opportunity to express their opinions about the PIQE, to share their attitudes and practices of parenting, and to describe their relationship with and activities at the school.

Artifacts

One of the main sources of information given to parents was the curriculum used by the PIQE instructors. The PIQE curriculum was reviewed to identify the major themes and to summarize the information being

Table 2

Demographic Information of Parents Who Participated in the Follow-Up Interviews

<i>Families (Pseudonyms)</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Grade of Oldest Elementary School Child</i>
Mr. Chico ^a	United States	3	Kindergarten
Mrs. Chico	Mexico		
Mrs. Oro	Mexico	4	Fifth grade
Mr. Castillo ^a	Mexico	2	Kindergarten
Mrs. Castillo	Mexico		
Mr. Gonzaga ^a	Mexico	2	Fourth grade
Mrs. Gonzaga	Mexico		
Mr. Pedro	Mexico	2	Third grade
Mr. Cerbin ^a	Mexico	2	Kindergarten
Mrs. Cerbin			
Mrs. Rosas	Mexico	2	Third grade
Mr. Briza	Mexico	2	Fifth grade
Mrs. Souza	Mexico	3	Third grade
Mr. Andres ^a	Mexico	3	Fifth grade
Mrs. Andres	Mexico		

^aBoth parents present during the interview.

shared with parents (shown in Table 1). A taxonomic analysis was used to identify the reoccurring themes and their subcomponents, which surfaced throughout the curriculum and class discussions. The subcomponents reflect the multiple dimensions of parents' sense of place, roles, relationships, and responsibilities.

Triangulation

These multiple sources of data provided a way of analyzing and understanding how parents previously understood their roles and responsibilities in their child's education and how their participation in the PIQE classes influenced their perceptions and actions, thus redefining and reconstructing their sense of place in their child's education.

Findings

To uncover the constructs of parenting, parent involvement, and school participation, we compared and contrasted the parents' reported past and

current attitudes and practices toward their children and their education. Through an analysis of survey, observations, and follow-up interview data, seven themes surfaced. These themes were observed throughout the eight PIQE sessions and reconfirmed in the survey results and interviews where parents described how they had incorporated what they heard in class into their current practices.

We clustered the seven themes under two primary cover terms (Spradley, 1980): the concept of parenting (Section I) and the concept of the parent's place in the child's education (Section II). Three themes characterized parents' concept of parenting: discipline, communication, and self-efficacy. Four themes emerged in relation to parents' concept of their place in their child's education: parent participation, parent aspirations for their child, literacy, and homework. Figure 2 shows the primary categories, themes, and subthemes.

Section I: The Concept of Parenting

As we analyzed the PIQE program documents, videotapes, and interviews, three differing concepts of parenting emerged. In the literature on parenting (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), these three styles have typically been referred to as

- *Indulgent, permissive, or nondirective parenting*: Parents “are more responsive than they are demanding, allow considerable self-regulation, and avoid confrontation” (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62).
- *Authoritarian parenting*: Parents are directive, demanding, and expect children to obey their orders without explanation and to accept their judgments, values, and goals without questioning.
- *Authoritative parenting*: Parents “monitor and impart clear standards for their children's conduct ... and their disciplinary methods are supportive, rather than punitive. They want their children to be assertive as well as socially responsible” (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62).

The fourth style of parenting, *uninvolved or neglectful*, did not emerge in this data set. All parents appeared to be meeting their basic parenting obligations of providing food, shelter, and care. These three styles had relevance for analysis of the themes of discipline, self-esteem/efficacy, and communication and helped to show parent actions in relation to aspects of the parent involvement typology.

		Discipline	Norms for home Norms for school
	Concept of Parenting	Self-esteem and Self-efficacy	Parent Esteem/Efficacy Student Esteem/Efficacy
		Communication	Within Family With School
Cover Terms			
		Parent Participation	Parent Initiated School Invitation
	Concept of Place in Child's Education	Aspirations for Child	Academic Life
		Literacy	Adult Adult/Child Child
		Homework	Parent Assisted Child Initiated

Figure 2. Cover terms and related themes that emerged from Parent Institute for Quality Education data analysis.

Pre-PIQE Parenting Styles and Practices

Table 3 summarizes the analysis of the 19 parents' description of family interaction prior to attending the PIQE workshops and indicates the number of parents in each category. The descriptions for their behavior matched closely descriptions of each style found in the literature. A

Table 3

Summary of Pre-PIQE Parenting-Style Behavioral Descriptions of Parents and the Number of Parents in Each Category

<i>Permissive^a</i>	<i>Authoritative^b</i>	<i>Authoritarian^c</i>
Little interaction or supervision of child, especially their schoolwork.	Positive parent-child interactions.	Controlling, yelling by parents.
Child has more control than parent.	Parent and child share decisions.	Child not included in decisions.
Child can select leisure time and type of activities.	Child is assigned reasonable responsibilities.	Child must comply with parent wishes.
Child involved in recreational activities rather than homework.	Child is supervised and guided but expected to do own homework.	Closer supervision.
Communicating with teacher delegated to child.	Communicating with teacher delegated to child.	Communicating with child, except in the case of two parents.

^aSeven PIQE parents. ^bFour PIQE parents. ^cEight PIQE parents.

unique finding was that regardless of the category, except in the case of two parents in the authoritarian category, the parents reported minimal contact with the school. They expected the child to serve as the primary messenger. Two of the authoritarian families, Mrs. Oro and Mr. Cerbin, reported active engagement with the school and with their children’s learning and schoolwork. In both families, one parent was reported to be permissive, whereas the other was the authoritarian. Thus, the children of these two families were exposed to two different parenting styles. In the case of the Cerbin family, the father was authoritarian and controlling, and the mother was permissive. The Oro family was the reverse. Mrs. Oro established norms for the house and meted out punishment. Mrs. Oro reported that children followed the rules and things ran smoothly around the house:

Yo siento que tengo que hacer hijos de bien. En mi casa hay muchas reglas y mucha disciplina.	I feel that I have to raise good children. In my house, there are many rules and much discipline.
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Post-PIQE Parenting Styles and Their Effects on Discipline, Communication, and Self-Esteem

All 11 families reported that there were shifts in their parenting styles as a result of their participation in PIQE. Table 4 indicates the shifts reported

Table 4

Post-PIQE Parenting-Style Behavioral Descriptions of Parents, Indicating Shifts in Behaviors to a More Authoritative Style

<i>Permissive</i>	<i>Authoritative</i>	<i>Authoritarian</i>
Oro (dad): Communicates well with children, dad and mom more aligned.	Briza (dad): Increased communication with teacher and child.	Oro (mom): Takes into account the child's feelings, less yelling.
Cerbin (mom): More willing to have norms, more alignment, less friction.	Briza (mom): Increased communication with teacher and child.	Cerbin (dad): Less hitting and more talking, listen more to mother.
Chico (dad): Recognized change in mom, sees need for norms, more aligned with mom.	Pedro (dad): Increased communication with teacher and child.	Chico (mom): Less yelling and more patience with children, listens to dad.
Souza (mom): Sets norms and controls TV watching.	Pedro (mom): Increased communication with teacher and child.	Castillo (dad): Less punishment and more dialogue.
Gonzaga (mom): Sets norms for home and school work.	Yolo (mom): Increased communication within family.	Castillo (mom): Same change as dad.
Gonzaga (dad): Sets norms for school work and expectations.		Rosas: Less yelling, more communication.
Andres (mom): More aligned with father.		Andres (dad): Less yelling, more communication.

by each parent. The primary change reported by the permissive parents indicated small shifts in asserting parental authority. The authoritative parents reported their communication within the family became stronger after attending PIQE. In general, the data from authoritarian parents suggests that they became more understanding and kinder, especially in regard to discipline practices. With less harsh discipline for misbehavior, these parents also indicated greater communication within the family. Although all families reported increased communication with the teacher, it was most pronounced in the authoritative families.

Post-PIQE permissive parents. After attending PIQE, the permissive parents understood the importance of setting norms and expectations for the children. The parents indicated that they were asserting more control over their children's activities, they were assigning more responsibilities, and the children were doing better in school due to the efforts the parents

were placing on homework. Mrs. Gonzaga reported how she limited television watching after attending the PIQE:

Antes no, el niño estaba viendo televisión y haciendo su tarea y ahora no, ahora se apaga la televisión un rato.	Before, the boy was watching television and doing his homework but not now; now, the television is turned off for a while.
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In the area of schoolwork, Mrs. Gonzaga reported progress with her son. However, she stated that her son continues to have difficulty in helping her with house chores:

Pues en mi hogar tengo un niño que ni la basura me tira. Pero eso es probablemente culpa mía. Todavía necesita uno aprender. En mi casa yo hago todo el quehacer. Entre semana llega de la escuela y no tiene ganas. En fin de semana le digo: anda mi hijo agarra un libro, y no porque ya vino a la escuela y esté cansado. Tal vez debería enseñarle a que haga algo. Si le traigo por las buenas pues si me ayuda.	In my home, I have a boy that does not even throw out the garbage. But it is probably my fault. One still has to learn. In my house, I do all the housework. During the week, he comes home from school tired. On weekends, I ask him to get a book, and he is tired because he went to school. Maybe I should teach him to do something. If I ask him in good terms, he helps me then.
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These data suggest that for the permissive parents, establishing norms is still difficult; however, the PIQE classes contributed to the parents' awareness that children need to be responsible for certain tasks and to assist with housework. The video data confirmed that urging children to take responsibility was a reoccurring theme stressed by the PIQE instructors. The norms recommended addressed both schoolwork and household chores. In the following statement, one can see how PIQE instructor, Maribel, recommended to the parents how to establish homework rules:

También lo importante es la disciplina no tanto que haga la cama como que tire la basura. Lo importante es la disciplina, y la disciplina es también leer todos los días.	Also, discipline is very important, not only that he makes his bed or throws out the garbage. The importance in discipline is that they have to read every day.
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In closing, Maribel emphasized, "It is very important that children know exactly what you expect of them."

Post-PIQE authoritative families. The parents in the authoritative category reported that their communication became stronger because they learned how to work with their children in school-related activities. Mr. Briza reported that before attending the PIQE, he communicated with his children and recognized that through “good communication we get self-esteem.” He indicated that they had a positive relationship but that PIQE had helped strengthen his communication:

Nosotros ya teníamos comunicación con los niños, pero después de las clases eso se apretó más porque ya era una cosa que se puede decir es como una tarea.	We had good communication with the children, but after the classes, that tightened up because it was, like you can say, our homework.
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Even though Mr. Briza’s communication was good in the family, he reported that he had little communication with the teacher. He explained that at PIQE, he learned that it is not enough to communicate with your child and ignore the communication with the school. He recognized that to be an advocate for your child he needed to have communication with the school and with the child. These families reported that they now relied less on the child to be the messenger with the school and were taking responsibility to contact the teacher directly.

Post-PIQE authoritarian parents. These parents reported that after their PIQE experience they were attempting to construct a more positive relationship with their children and were moving toward a more authoritative stance. They reported that the yelling and harsh punishment had decreased. Mr. Andres shared his attempts to change his approach to discipline and his use of the strategies he learned at PIQE:

Yo digo, con las clases nos enseñó a hacer, a hablarles no con gritos, no con regaños, sino a hablarles bien y que ellos entiendan. Como decía Maribel de ojo a ojo. Si pasa el tiempo y no se practica pues ya anda uno otra vez gritando.	I say that in the classes, they taught us to react, how to speak to them, not yelling and nagging, but talking nicely to them so that they understand. Like Maribel would say, look them in the eye. As time goes on and we do not practice, we go back to the yelling.
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Mr. Andres recognized that there are better ways of talking to his children, and at the same time, he realized that he had to practice these new skills.

Mrs. Rosas also stated that the yelling had been replaced with more talking and dialogue with her children:

Es que yo antes no hablaba, yo gritaba "haz esto pero ya correle" y ahora doy el chance de que les hablo y le cuento las veces a la de tres. A veces no llego ni al dos.	Before I did not talk, I yelled "do this but now hurry," and now I give them an opportunity, I talk and count to three. Sometimes I don't even get to two.
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The video data revealed that the instructors frequently emphasized the importance of treating children with respect when disciplining them. For example, Maribel stated, "disciplina y su castigo si lo necesitan pero no a cinturonzos" ("discipline and punishment is needed but it cannot be by hitting with the belt"). She offered suggestions such as:

Privándolo de lo que más le gusta y teniendo en cuenta la edad del niño y la gravedad de la falta del niño.	Keeping him from doing what he likes the most. But you have to keep in mind the age of the child and the offense.
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Among the authoritarian families, we found two who reported profound shifts in their discipline and communication practices. Mr. Cerbin and Mrs. Oro reported making significant changes in their interactions with their children after PIQE. For example, Mr. Cerbin shared that he had reached 60% of his goal to use less physical punishment:

Yo siempre he mirado que su debilidad de él es cuando yo lo regaño, no le importan los juguetes, no le importa con quién hace deporte, sino la forma en que yo le trato. Entonces en la clase que tuvimos a cerca de cómo ser mejor padre con un hijo a mí me ha ayudado en un 60 por ciento en la relación con mi hijo. Ahora mi esposa me dice ya déjalo y yo opto por hacer otras cosas y llamarlo y salirnos con el, platicar de lo que le pasó.	I have always seen as a weakness in him that when I scold him he has no interest in toys, to do sports with someone, but only a concern with the way I treat him. The class, we had on how to be a better parent has helped me 60 percent in my relation with my child. Now, my wife tells me let go of him, and I opt for doing other things. I call him, and we go out and talk about what happened.
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Mr. Cerbin discovered that discipline can still happen, but now he had options that would contribute to a more positive relationship with his son. He noticed that his harsh punishment instilled fear in his son and that was

not in his best interest. A similar discovery occurred with Mrs. Oro, who at the PIQE, came to the conclusion that the children's self-esteem is extremely important for their development and well-being:

Pero la primera clase fue muy bonita que me hicieron sentir bien culpable. Me sentí más apachurrada que el niño porque explicaron que el niño es como un algodón y uno le va apachurrando su autoestima, cuando le hablas "mira tonto cómo te levantas." Yo era una de esas mamás que decía aquí yo mando. Ese día aprendí que mis hijos son seres humanos y que tienen su corazoncito, sus sentimientos que se los lastima uno. Cuando llegué a la casa hasta se reían de mí porque les dije voy a tomar una clase para ser buena mamá. Ese día yo descubrí que la mayor parte de las veces esta uno equivocado.

Well, the first class was beautiful, and it made me feel very guilty. I was feeling more squished than my child because they explained to us that the child is like a cotton candy and that we pick at the child's self-esteem when we talk like "you dummy get up." I was one of those mothers that used to say I am boss here. But that day I learned that my children are human beings and have a heart. They have feelings that we sometimes hurt. When I got home, they laughed at me because I told them I was going to take a class on how to be a good mom. That day I discovered that most of the time, we are wrong.

Recognizing and acknowledging the feelings of the children was one of the themes that greatly impacted Mrs. Oro who stated that after PIQE she had more positive communication with her children because she addressed them with respect. In the interview, she reported that she promised her daughter to never again call her *cochina*, or pig.

In summary, parents attributed to PIQE several changes including changes in their discipline methods, communication within the family and with teachers, and increased awareness of how to build the child's self-esteem. Most parents felt they had improved their parenting skills, which provided them with the tools needed to increase their basic support for their children and enhance communication with the school.

Section II: The Concept of the Parent's Place in the Children's Education

Four major themes were identified in relation to parents' concept of their place in their child's education: (a) parent participation, (b) aspirations for their child's future, (c) literacy, and (d) homework (see Figure 2).

Parent Participation Before and After PIQE

Pre-PIQE participation. Parent participation was found to be either parent initiated or as a response to invitations sent by the school. Based on both interview and questionnaire data, parent participation ranged across the full spectrum of the typology of parent–school partnership activities (as discussed in the Conceptual Framework section). Types of involvement included contacts with teachers, praise and recognition for the child, attendance at meetings and events, assistance with homework, and advocacy. We discovered, however, two distinct patterns of participation, minimal or involved, which reflected parents’ different understandings of their sense of place within the school. Parents falling into the first, or minimal, pattern prior to attending the PIQE reported only meeting basic requirements with the school. They indicated very infrequent attendance at meetings, school events, or visits to the classroom. Their perception was that they had little influence on what happened at school and left the decisions in the hands of the teacher or their child. They did not question teacher decisions nor did they advocate for their children even when they felt the teacher was unfair. Nine of the 11 families interviewed conveyed this level of participation. For example, Mrs. Andres report was typical of these nine families:

Antes no sabíamos y dejamos pasar eso. Las calificaciones de mi hija cuando entró a cuarto llegaron todas “Bs.” Ella en tercero salió con excelencia pura “A.” Esperamos al segundo reporte y trajo otra “B.” En su segundo reporte yo le pregunté que no mejoraba ni empeoraba y ella me dijo “mi maestra dice que ella no da ninguna ‘A,’ porque los niños porque tienen ‘F’ se van a sentir mal.” Mi hija dijo que ya no le iba a echar ganas porque no le iba a dar una “A.”

Before we didn’t know, and we would let things go. My daughter’s report card from fourth grade arrived with all Bs. In third grade, she came out with excellence and an A. We waited for the next (fourth grade) report card, and again, she got all Bs. With the second report card, I asked her if she was not getting better or worse and she told me “My teacher says that she will not give any As because that will make the children who get an F feel bad.” My daughter said that in that case, she would not try hard because she was not going to get an A.

In the previous situation, the parents did not ask the teacher for an explanation of her criteria for grading. The parents with little knowledge of the teacher’s requirements and afraid of confronting her, relied on the daughter for interpretation of the system. Mrs. Andres shared her lack of confidence:

En cierta manera sentía que la maestra podía decir, “bueno y a usted quien le dice que su hija merece una ‘A’?” Yo tuve miedo a esa respuesta y no fui a preguntar.

In a way, I felt that the teacher could say, “well who tells you that your daughter deserves an A?” My fear of that comment kept me from going to ask.

The parents found themselves unprepared to discuss issues related to academic work because they lacked strategies. Mr. Andres said, “¿Nos hubiera gustado saber como venir, en son de paz con la maestra, decirle oiga por que?” (“We would have liked to come in good terms and speak to the teacher and ask why?”). This apprehension to meet with the teacher was shared by most parents with the exception of two.

From the interviews, we identified two parents, Mr. Cerbin and Mrs. Oro, who typified a second pattern of fuller participation. These parents reported an active role within the school. They said they attended conferences, volunteered in the classroom, and advocated for their children. As Mr. Cerbin said, “Nosotros siempre estamos al pendiente de eso, queremos ser consistentes en todo lo que ocurre en los programas (información) que el trae” (“We are always alert. We want to be consistent in everything that happens and with the programs [information] he brings”). Even though these two parents articulated their interest in being involved, their approach and success differed. Mrs. Oro had more years of experience working with schools and was able to gain access. Mrs. Oro reported that school personnel knew who she was and that talking to teachers and other staff was natural for her. On the other hand, Mr. Cerbin, with a kindergartner, described his lack of success in volunteering:

Siempre le ponemos atención, cualquier cosa, inclusive en los programas que mandan nos hemos puesto, especialmente yo. En los papeles que yo he firmado, en todos los papeles que digan voluntario ahí estoy, yo puse mi nombre, hasta ahorita no me han llamado para nada, y yo me he presentado en varias ocasiones. Fui a la dirección, me presenté con varias maestras y les dije que yo estaba a disposición de ellas en la tarde, para ayudarlas a hacer el trabajo, yo sé hacer muchas cosas, podía enseñar a los niños, podía enseñar a los papás de los niños.

We always pay attention to everything. As a matter of fact, we put our name in anything, especially me. I have signed the papers, all the papers that ask for volunteers. I put my name in, but to this day they have not called me for anything. I have gone to the office on several occasions, and I have introduced myself to several teachers. I told them that I am available in the afternoons. I can help and do many things. I can teach the children or teach the parents of the children.

Although Mr. Cerbin took the necessary steps to enter the system, he was unsuccessful in gaining access. Although his volunteering efforts were not accepted, this did not negatively influence his positive attitude toward the school nor did it deter his involvement in other situations. For example, he reported that he attended 100% of the meetings, conferences, and events for which he received an invitation from the school.

Post-PIQE reports of participation. For the parents in the second pattern, who were actively involved before attending PIQE, their involvement was reaffirmed, and they continued to work with the school. For example, for Mr. Cerbin, the PIQE institute served to encourage his search for new strategies to enter the school, and his plans were to continue his quest for acceptance:

Yo me voy a presentar ahí y al tener el material yo voy a crear una especie como de volantes que cada vez le voy a mandar a los maestros de la escuela de mi hijo para que cuando quieran me llamen con mi teléfono, y que yo les puedo ayudar.	I will go there and have the material ready. I will create some kind of flyers with my phone number so that I can give them to my son's teacher so that if he needs me, he can call, and I could go and help.
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The interview and questionnaire data indicated that parents who had minimal involvement prior to PIQE increased their contacts with teachers in response to the PIQE instructors' admonishments to become involved. For example, Mrs. Gonzaga reported:

Fijense que uno antes no venia a hablar con el maestro ni nada, y esperábamos que el niño saliera el sólo de su problema.	Look, before we did not come to talk to the teacher or anything, we would expect the child to solve his own problems.
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After they were given a form by the PIQE instructors to use in conferencing with their children's teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Andres also went to talk to the teachers:

Cuando empezaron nos dijeron que teníamos de tarea traer un papel firmado por la maestra en que se verificara que habíamos ido a hablar con ella. Y la verdad es que lo hice, tengo dos niñas y fui con las	At the beginning of the class, they told us that we had to go and meet with the teacher, and we had to bring this paper signed by her verifying that we had talked to her. And I really did that. I have two girls and
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dos, y se sorprendían de lo del papel yo le explicaba que era para lo del curso y eso y como que bueno que están haciendo eso, y no mas me firmaba mi papel.

went to speak to both [teachers]. They were surprised to see the paper, and I explained to them that in the course we had been asked to go and get their signature.

These parents' reports of increased contact with their children's teachers were partially confirmed in the quantitative data. As shown in Table 5, three parent-initiated activities showed significant increase after PIQE. These were observing the classroom, conferencing with the teacher, and volunteering at school. The gains in these three areas were supported by the qualitative data.

At PIQE, parents learned about building a partnership between home and school. Maribel stated that parents must not think that their only responsibility is dropping the children at school and never asking about their progress. PIQE classes provided participants with information about what questions to ask the teacher and how to monitor grades and school performance to understand their children's progress.

Parents reported that before PIQE, their questions to teachers centered around discipline, such as "Como se porto mi niño?" ("How did my child behave?"). The instructors provided the parents with a practical tool to find out the actual level of achievement of their children (a card with an arrow to indicate grade-level standing). Mr. and Mrs. Andres proudly reported in the next class that they set up an appointment with two teachers and had the card filled out. Mr. and Mrs. Andres learned that they had the

Table 5
Pre-PIQE And Post-PIQE Parent Responses Regarding Parent-Initiated Contacts With School or Teacher

Item Related to Parent Initiated Participation ^a	M		p
	Pre-PIQE	Post-PIQE	(Two-Tailed Test)
Attend committee meeting	0.58	0.81	.188
Observe classroom	0.88	1.38	.018*
Attend PTA meeting	0.63	0.58	.717
Volunteer at school	0.15	0.46	.012*
Conference with the teacher	0.71	1.23	.012*
Telephone the teacher	0.90	1.13	.268
Talk to the teacher before or after school	1.16	1.51	.109

^aReported as number of times in the last month.

*p = .01.

responsibility to speak up for their daughters instead of expecting their children to be their own advocates:

Pero en las clases ví que debíamos haber hecho algo y ahorita le dieron su primer reporte y tiene tres "A" y dos "B."

But in the classes, we saw that we needed to do something, and now they gave her the first report card and she has three As and two Bs.

Mr. Briza shared another example of parent-initiated contact with a teacher to monitor progress:

Después de las clases yo vine a preguntarle a la maestra de mi hijo por qué iba atrasado, pero yo quiero saber en qué va atrasado para desde ahí poderle ayudar y fue en la lectura, su hijo necesita más lectura, necesita ayudarle más para que aprenda bien a leer, entonces yo me fuí y cuando llegó mi hijo de la escuela me senté con él y le dije, mira mi hijo vas un poco atrasado, necesitas leer más. Tú estas bien, pero si aprendes más vas a tener mejores calificaciones y nosotros al hablar con tu maestra nos vamos a sentir más a gusto y vamos a ir más seguido. Siempre veníamos, y estábamos satisfechos pero ahora puedo ver en que puedo yo ayudar a mi hijo.

After the classes, I came to ask the teacher because my son was behind. I wanted to know in what area he was behind so that I could help him. It was in reading. She said your son needs to read more and you need to help him learn to read. I left and waited for my son to come from school. We sat down, and I told him that he was a little behind in his reading. You are doing well but if you learn you will have better grades, and we will feel better when we go and meet with the teacher. And we will be going to meet with the teacher more frequently. I have always gone to the school and felt satisfied but now I can see in what ways I can help my son.

The parents learned new vocabulary and strategies at PIQE that several parents reported they used when talking to the teachers. Not all parents, however, gained the needed confidence or understood adequately how to interpret grades. For example, Mrs. Gonzaga and Mrs. Rosas expressed their frustration with their inability to understand. In addition to monitoring the performance of the child, 4 of the 11 parents interviewed mentioned praising and recognizing their children more. Before PIQE, these parents indicated they were not properly recognizing their children, which they later realized may have been contributing to the child's lack of motivation to do well in school. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Gonzaga stated that

their son was more eager to perform well at school now because they were more concerned about his progress. Mrs. Gonzaga talked about the last parent–teacher conference:

Cuando salimos de las conferencias él nos preguntó, “¿papi, mami están contentos?” y le dije ay si mi hijo y le agarramos y le dije que sí que ahora era mejor porque el año pasado sabíamos que jugaba en la clase y las calificaciones del año pasado y las de éste tú míralas y compáralas. Vamos a echarle muchas ganas a la escuela, tanto tú como nosotros vamos a intentar ayudarte en lo que se pueda, y ya siempre le decíamos te vamos a llevar a tal parte o tal otra.

When we came out of the conference, he asked “Daddy, Mommy are you happy?” and we answered him yes, my son, and we told him that now is better than last year because last year we knew he was playing in class. I said, look and compare the grades. Let’s put a lot of effort into school, both you and us. We will try to help you as much as we can. We always tell him we will take you to this or that other place.

Mr. Chico mentioned that his daughter received an award for attendance. This award was placed in a plastic envelope as recognition for her interest in school. Mr. Briza mentioned how he praised and rewarded his son with a gift after he brought home an award from the school. The survey responses to the question “how often in the last month did you praise your child’s work or performance?” also indicated a significant difference from pre-PIQE to post-PIQE ($p = .01$).

Aspirations for Higher Education

PIQE instructors suggested to parents various ways of motivating children to continue with their education until they reached their expected outcome. Maribel often reminded the parents in the following manner:

Maribel: ¿Cuál es el motivo por el que ustedes empezaron a venir?
Mother: Para que se gradúen.
Maribel: ¿En dónde?
Mother: En la universidad.
Maribel: No se puede olvidar eso, ustedes tienen que tener esa idea diariamente.

Maribel: What is the reason you started coming here?
Mother: So that they graduate.
Maribel: From where?
Mother: The university.
Maribel: You can not forget that, you will need to keep that in your head every day.

As seen in the previous quote, one often-repeated PIQE message to parents was that a college education should be one of the aspirations for their children. Two classes at PIQE directly discussed how parents could prepare their children for college. Being one of the central themes, this topic permeated all other classes, thus raising the parents' awareness of the importance of grades.

Parents learned at the institute that grades can be as important as money to pay for a college education. They heard from the instructors that scholarships might be available and that money does not present a barrier when it comes to education. For example, Emilio told the parents:

Ya llegaremos a esa parte para que nos quede claro que ni el dinero, ni el idioma ni nada son obstáculos.

We will get to that part so that it will be clear to us that not money, not language, nothing will be an obstacle.

The cultural brokers used various techniques to test whether or not the parents had understood their messages. For example, Emilio asked parents what they could do to send their children to college: "What are you going to do?" A father at one of the PIQE sessions answered Emilio's question with the following comment:

Primero enterarnos en qué nivel académico est, si esta en algún problema buscar alguna manera de ayudarlo y motivarlo siempre para que estudie una carrera universitaria.

First, knowing what is their academic level. If they have a problem, we will look for a way to help them and motivate them so that they go to the university.

The notion of a college education had crossed the minds of some of the parents but not all. This idea of higher education for their children was shaped by the cultural brokers, who helped the parents visualize not only the importance of a degree but how to get there. Mrs. Andres expressed her surprise to find out that grades accumulate and that there is a cum (cumulative) file that follows the child throughout their school life. Mrs. Andres said:

Otra cosa muy buena que aprendimos de esto, es que no sabíamos que para que entren en la universidad, sus calificaciones cuentan casi desde el principio. Y eso fue algo que también se nos enseñó, y

Another thing that we learned that we did not know before was that a child's grades count from the very beginning. That was something they taught us at the institute and that we had to help the child to ob-

tenemos que hacer siempre que el niño tenga muy buenas calificaciones para que entre mejor en la universidad. Y antes no pensábamos que era no más con lo que hiciera en la high school o en los últimos años.

tain good grades so that he can enter the university. Before, we did not know that. I thought that only high school grades counted during the last years.

Attendance at PIQE increased the parents' aspirations for a college education for their children. The qualitative data was supported by the survey data, where there was a significant difference (.006) in pre-PIQE and post-PIQE responses with regard to parents' career aspirations for their children. Mr. Cerbin spoke of his plans to save money that would be used for a university education:

Ahorita nos hemos enfocado económicamente en construir el futuro de ellos, un futuro que sea sólido, que no sea un futuro incierto. Nosotros ya comenzamos, puedo decirle que ya tengo mis planes. Ahorita tengo una cantidad bastante considerable que es para ellos y otra parte para la casa. En el momento en que lleguen a la edad de 18 o 19 años no van a tener que hacer lo mismo que nosotros dejar de estudiar para trabajar; y eso es lo que yo quiero.

Now, we are focusing economically in constructing a future for them. We want a solid future, not an uncertain one. We have begun to make our plans. I have a substantial amount of money for them, and the other part is for the house. At the moment they reach 18 or 19 years of age, they will not have to do what we did. We had to leave school to go to work and that's not going to be them; that's what I want for them.

Both the video data and the interviews revealed that all parents hoped their children had more opportunities than they did and wanted a better future for them. Before attending the institute, a better future was not clearly understood because they did not fully grasp what to expect of their children and what kind of education they should pursue. Knowing that a better future required becoming a good student with adequate literacy skills, the parents were then engaged in various literacy activities that are discussed in the next section.

Pre-PIQE and Post-PIQE Literacy Activities

One of the most prevalent changes among the parents in this study was the increased number of literacy activities for both adults and children. To

Table 6
 Summary of Pre-PIQE and Post-PIQE Survey Responses to Literacy Activities

Item Pertaining to Literacy Activities	M		p
	Pre-PIQE	Post-PIQE	(Two-Tailed Test)
Listen to my child read	3.27	3.63	.032*
Read to my child	3.53	3.77	.003**
Visit the library	2.35	2.61	.118
Do fun things with my child	3.19	3.41	.029*
Spend time talking to my child	3.64	3.80	.233

*p= .05. **p= .01.

understand the influence of PIQE in this area, we analyzed the parents’ comments, comparing them between pre-PIQE and post-PIQE practices, along with the recommendations that were given by the cultural brokers during the course. Most activities centered on reading, oral discourse, and trips to the library. Table 6 summarizes the pre-PIQE and post-PIQE survey data related to literacy activities and their levels of significance. As can be seen in Table 6, there was a significant increase in reading to the child, listening to the child read, and doing fun things with the child.

The interview data indicated that prior to attending PIQE, parents infrequently engaged in literacy activities with their children. As a result of attending PIQE, most parents reported being more involved in reading activities. Some of the following examples explicate the changes parents undertook to help their children attain better grades. Ten of the 11 families interviewed explicitly reported that they had established reading routines for their children and that this had improved the children’s reading level and interest in books. Both Mrs. Rosas and Mrs. Souza reported:

La lectura es diaria. En la escuela despues de que sale de la clase lee media hora, y después que llegan a casa yo les pongo de 25 a 30 minutos ... le leo yo o le lee mi esposo o él nos lee a nosotros. Así nos turnamos. (Mrs. Rosas)

The reading is every day. At school, after classes. They read for 30 minutes, and later, when they get home, I have them read 25 to 30 minutes. I read to him, or my husband reads to him. Or we ask him to read to us. That’s how we take turns. (Mrs. Rosas)

Pues nos ponemos a leer. Como tienen muchos libros leemos unos 20 minutos. Mi hijo de primero ya sabe

Well, we read. They have many books, and we read 20 minutes each day. My son is in first grade, and he

leer porque el más grande no aprendió a leer cuando estaba en primero sino hasta que estuvo en segundo y éste ya sabe leer y apenas que va entrando a primero. (Mrs. Souza)

knows how to read. My older one was in second grade when he learned how to read. This one already knows, and he is just entering first grade. (Mrs. Souza)

Antes no ponía atención a esto pero ahora sí. Les apago la televisión y les pongo a leer un rato, y antes yo no hacía caso de eso. (Mrs. Souza)

Before, I did not pay attention to this, but now I ask them to turn the television off, and they read for a while, but before I did not do this. (Mrs. Souza)

These new practices included scheduling time for reading and setting reading as a priority for the family. For example, Mr. Cerbin made the following statement during his interview:

Si quieren que les lea alguna cosa, algún libro, tengo que sacrificar se puede decir mis intereses por darles un momento a ellos.

If they want me to read something, some book, I have to sacrifice my own interests so that I can give them the time.

Other parents also indicated they established times for reading:

Pues a veces nos ponemos a que él nos lea a nosotros y otras veces le leo yo a él también. Pues tratamos de ayudarnos. Leemos 30 minutos diarios. (Mrs. Gonzaga)

Well, sometimes I ask him to read to us, and other times I read to him also. That is the way we help each other. We read about 30 minutes each day. (Mrs. Gonzaga)

Mi hijo antes iba atrasado pero ya se está superando. Ahora agarramos un horario para ponernos a leer, yo le leía a él y luego le ponía a él a leer, luego entre los dos la lectura que se leía se escribía, y leíamos entre los dos la misma lectura. Era lo que yo he hecho con él para tratar de que se superara. (Mr. Briza)

My son was behind before, but he is getting over it now. Now, we have a scheduled time to read. I read to him, and then, he reads to me, and then, from that reading, he writes something, and we both read what he wrote. That is what I have done to help him improve. (Mr. Briza)

This father realized that reading is important enough to sacrifice his interests. Another activity parents did was check with the teacher to see how

their children were reading in school. Mrs. Souza reported meeting with the teacher and discussing her son's reading abilities:

No le gusta estudiar a él. Con la maestra ya hablé y dice que en lectura no va bien y que le van a poner a leer otra vez.	He doesn't like to study. I talked with the teacher, and she says that he is not doing well in his reading but she will put him in [remedial] reading again.
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When parents discovered that their children were behind, they indicated that they read to their children more. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Chico reported that they were reading more to their daughter because she was not learning her ABCs:

De lo que nos enseñaron a nosotros. Le leemos más, le decimos que haga dibujos, su nombre para que vaya preparada. Que haga su ABC, las letras. Leerle un libro en la noche y pedirle a la niña que apunte con el dedo. Y a veces ella lo va repitiendo y a veces ella trae el libro con palabras chiquitas y ella va diciendo las palabras chiquitas.	From what they taught us. We read more, and we tell her to do drawings, her name, so that she is better prepared. To do her ABCs, the letters. Read her a book at night asking her to point to things with her finger. Sometimes, she repeats, and sometimes she brings a book with small words, and she can say the words.
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Among the literacy activities reported by parents were visits to the library. In some cases, it was a parent-child activity, whereas in other cases, it was a family event where all the children and both parents attended. For example, Mrs. Andres reported:

Después de PIQE, ha cambiado mucho porque ahora ya leen mejor como lo practica uno todos los días, pues ya leen mejor. Por ejemplo, la niña de tres años está en un programa de biblioteca ambulante. Entonces, yo voy y ellas pueden agarrar un libro todos los lunes y la pequeña le habla del libro, de lo que se trató, y todo eso. Y la verdad es que captan muy bien, la verdad, yo con la primera creía que cuando tenía	After PIQE, it has changed a lot because now they read better; because they practice every day, they now read better. For example, my little girl, who is 3 years old, is in a program called mobile library. I go and let them get books every Monday. To the young one, they tell her about the story in the book, about what took place, and she really captures what is going on. When my older daughter was 3 years, I thought she
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tres años estaba chiquita y todavía no podía entender. Pero con las clases ve uno que cuando les lee incluso si son muy chiquitos aprenden a hablar más rápido y correctamente. Vamos a la del parque del sol, es una más pequeña, donde está el estacionamiento de bomberos es una biblioteca también, pero más pequeña.

Mr. and Mrs. Briza shared their experiences with their son in the library:

Cuando llegamos a donde estaban las computadoras, yo ni idea. Entonces cada niño era como el papá y nos decían: cómo teníamos que manejar la computadora. Y nos decían mami tienes que dar aquí y esto se pone aquí, o sea, que él me enseñó cómo manejar la computadora.

Si, a él le gusta que lo llevemos a la biblioteca porque hay computadoras. Él dice, ven que te voy a enseñar que tú no sabes de computadoras. Eso le entretiene, y le llevamos allí a que lea un rato.

was too little and could not understand. But with these classes, we see that when we read to them, even if they are little, they learn to talk faster and more correctly. We go to the one by the Park of the Sun. It is a smaller library next to the fire station.

When we got to the computers, I had no idea. Then, the child pretended to be the father, and he would teach us how to use the computer. He would tell me, Mommy you have to do this and you have to put this here. In other words, he taught me how to work the computer. (Mrs. Briza)

Yes, he likes us to take him to the library because they have computers. He tells me, I will teach you how to use the computer because you don't know. That entertains him, and we take him there so he can read for a while. (Mr. Briza)

Reading activities were strongly promoted at PIQE classes, in particular by one of the cultural brokers. The following dialogue typifies the exchange heard frequently between Maribel and the parents:

Maribel: ¿Para llevar a los niños a la universidad y graduarlos qué tenemos que hacer?

Mother: Leer.

Maribel: ¿Y que más?

Mother: Leer.

Maribel: ¿Cada cuándo? ¿Cada mes?

Maribel: What do we have to do to take the children to the university and graduate them?

Mother: Read.

Maribel: And what else?

Mother: Read.

Maribel: How often? Every month?

- Mother: No, todos los días.
Maribel: ¿Qué hacen con los libros los niños?
Mother: Los niños los leen. Yo tengo un cuartito chiquito unos tres pies cuadrados que le decimos el “study room,” ahí tienen todos los libros.
Maribel: En su casa busquen una esquina y los organizan.
Mother: Al principio le pusimos a leer en la casa y ahora lee mejor.
- Mother: No, every day.
Maribel: What do the children do with books?
Mother: The children read them. I have a little room about three square feet that we call the “study room;” that’s where they have their books.
Maribel: At home, find a corner and organize them [the books].
Mother: At first, we had her read at home, and now she reads better.

Furthermore, Maribel pointed out to the parents that they needed to be role models for their children. She suggested that if they wanted to have children who read, they had to read themselves instead of watching television. Maribel asked parents to buy the newspaper and have other materials available in the house that would encourage the children to read.

In addition to promotion of reading at home, the cultural brokers reinforced adult reading in the classes. Parents were asked to read aloud sections of each PIQE curriculum handout. They also introduced the parents to new vocabulary that related to school activities. Parents at PIQE classes learned new words and their meaning. Learning words such as *standards*, *curriculum*, and *cum file* gave the parents the language to enter the school and ask for pertinent information. For instance, in the May 25, 1999 class, one of the mothers raised her hand and shared her experience of when she went to the teacher and asked to see her son’s cum file:

- Mother: Yo fui y pregunté si podría ver el expediente de mi niño.
Emilio: ¿Cómo le dijo, el expediente de su niño o dijo cum?
Mother: No, yo dije expediente de mi niño.
Emilio: ¿Cómo pidió verlo?
Mother: Yo dije quiero verlo.
Emilio: Ok.
Mother: Entonces él (referring to the teacher) me dijo que por qué lo quería ver, que si el niño estaba mal, y le dije que no, que el niño ahorita estaba muy bien pero que yo lo
- Mother: I went and asked if I could see my child’s file.
Emilio: And how did you ask, file or cum?
Mother: No, I asked for my child’s file.
Emilio: How did you ask to see it?
Mother: I told him I wanted to see it.
Emilio: Ok.
Mother: Then, he [referring to the teacher] asked me why I wanted to see it. He asked if there was something wrong. I told him, no, everything is going fine now but

quería mirar. Entonces me dijo que bien, pero dijo que al menos que el niño ande mal o usted haya visto alguna falta es por lo que usted lo quiere ver. Y yo le dije que no que sólo lo quería ver y luego ya hice la cita y tengo la cita.

Emilio: No necesariamente tiene que haber algo mal.

that I wanted to see it [the cum file]. He told me fine, but you don't see the file unless something is wrong. And I told him, no, that I just wanted to see it. Then, I made the appointment, and I have an appointment.

Emilio: No there is no need to have something go wrong to see the cum file.

The cultural broker introduced the words and then checked to see if parents had grasped the concept by asking questions about concepts they had learned the week before.

Emilio: ¿De qué palabras se acuerdan?

Mother: Curriculum.

Emilio: ¿Que es?

Mother: Un plan de estudios.

Emilio: Muy bien, ¿qué es rubric?

Mother: Una guía.

Emilio: What other words do you remember?

Mother: Curriculum.

Emilio: What is it?

Mother: A plan of studies.

Emilio: Very good, what is a rubric?

Mother: A guide.

In summary, the data suggest that family literacy activities were greatly enhanced after attending PIQE. All of the families reported reading more and going to the library more frequently.

Pre-PIQE Homework Practices

Although on the pre-PIQE surveys most parents indicated they asked about homework or helped with homework 7 to 10 times in a month, during the in-depth interviews, most parents indicated they were not supervising or helping with homework prior to attending the PIQE. Both permissive and authoritative parents indicated that they expected their children to take responsibility for completing the work and turning it in to the teacher. Parents attributed this lack of supervision or assistance to (a) lack of knowledge, (b) not understanding the language, (c) limited time to assist, and (d) lack of clarity about how they could help. The first and most frequent explanation was that parents were not familiar with the content area; therefore, the contribution they could make was minimal. One mother said:

La verdad es que a mí me gustó mucho, porque yo de matemáticas sé bastante poquito y muy diferente las que yo sé que las que les están enseñando a los niños y creo que me ayudó bastante para ayudarles.

To be honest with you, I like it very much because, for me, I know very little about mathematics and it is very different what I know than what they are teaching the children. I think it really helps me because now I can help them [referring to her children].

The second reason reported by parents was the language barrier. Some parents had children in English-only classrooms where the homework was in a language they did not understand. Even if parents had the desire to help, it was not possible because they could not read or understand the assignment.

Yo la verdad no pude ayudar porque no la entendía, tampoco su papá le pudo ayudar. Como ellos ya llevan muchá tarea en inglés no pudimos ayudarlo, le dábamos muchas ideas pero él decía que no era eso, él se desesperó poque no podíamos ayudarlo. (Mrs. Rosas)

I really could not help him because I did not understand. His father could not help either. Because they now have more homework in English, and we can't help. We gave him ideas, but he said that wasn't it. He used to be frustrated because we could not help. (Mrs. Rosas)

The third reason given by parents for not helping with homework was that they worked and had several children and little time to assist with homework. These working parents were expecting the after-school programs to assist the children with completion of their homework so that when they got home they did not have to worry about it. Mrs. Oro explained her approach to homework:

Primero les pregunto como les va. Y ya después ¿ya hiciste tu tarea? Ayuda en realidad no se las dí porque cuando yo llego me dicen aquí está. A todos los niños los tuve en el after school porque yo trabajaba muchas horas. Por eso enseñé a los niños a ser responsables y motivarlos a hacer la tarea pronto sin estarles diciendo la hiciste o no la hiciste. Yo no tengo

First, I ask them how they are doing. Next, if they did their homework. Help, in reality, I have not given because when I get home, the homework is already done, and they say here it is. I had all the children in the after-school program because I was working a lot of hours. That is why I taught them to be responsible and motivated them to do their homework quickly without having to ask

mucha experiencia con ayudar porque cuando llego ya está. did you do it or not. I do not have a lot of experience with helping because when I come home it's done.

The fourth reason given by parents was that they did not see it as their place to help with homework:

Pues la verdad que en el tercer año les ayudé muy poco, a veces nada, aunque trato de ayudarlos en lo que sé. (Mrs. Souza) Well, to be honest, in third grade I helped very little, sometimes nothing. Although I try to help with what I know. (Mrs. Souza)

The two families with kindergarten children were not aware that homework was given to the child nor did they fully grasp the connection between homework and the child learning important concepts:

Lo que más le cuesta trabajo es el ABC, es el ABC. Si le digo cual es esta letra y me dice no sé. (Mrs. Chico) What is hard for her is the letters, the ABCs. If I ask her what letter is this? And she doesn't know. (Mrs. Chico)

Pero todavía está chiquita. (Mr. Chico) But she is still little. (Mr. Chico)

Apenas está en Kindergarten y en primero va a seguir aprendiendo. (Mrs. Chico) She is in kindergarten, but in first grade she will continue to learn. (Mrs. Chico)

En Kinder casi no traía. Apenas cuando terminó el viernes 25 le dejaron un libro y ya hasta lo acabamos. (Mrs. Chico) In kindergarten, she did not bring any homework. Just when she finished on Friday the 25th, they gave her a book, and we have finished it. (Mrs. Chico)

Post-PIQE Homework Practices

Both the survey and the interview data indicate that there were shifts in parents' attitude and practices in regard to homework. They reported they had learned (a) about the benefits of homework, (b) how to build positive attitudes toward school and homework and instill responsibility, (c) strategies to help their children with homework completion, and (d)

how to find outside resources. Similar to other topics covered at the PIQE, homework was introduced in one class (see Table 1, Home–School Collaboration), but strategies were suggested or repeated throughout the sessions. For example, in the class on discipline, Emilio stressed the need for parents to establish a set time and place to do homework. During the interviews, parents reported that they were following many of the instructor’s recommendations (e.g., to turn off the television, to make homework time a routine).

Increased knowledge. Prior to attending PIQE, the parents did not think of homework as a tool to help children better understand the concepts that they were being taught at school. In the classes, parents gained awareness of the benefits of homework and how parents could monitor what the child is learning:

Mother: Yo sentí que a nosotros nos ayudó más que nada porque más que nada queremos que el niño aprenda. Nosotros lo sentimos como una obligación él que el traiga sus tareas y así ver si él está aprendiendo.

Mother: I feel that we were helped more than anything; more than anything, we want our child to learn. We feel that our obligation is to see that he brings his homework so that we can see how he is learning.

Tips and strategies. Parents reported that the strategies they learned at the institute benefitted the children in many ways. They reported that placing more emphasis on schoolwork resulted in children’s motivation for completing their homework and doing better in school. For example, Mrs. Rosas reported that her actions had changed and that she worked with the children on their homework:

Porque antes le gritaba, desde donde quiera que andaba yo ocupada, que hiciera su tarea. Y ahora no, le digo vamos a hacer la tarea.

Because before I used to scream at him from wherever I was busy doing something to ask him to do his homework and now I tell him let’s do your homework.

For this family it was a major shift for the mother to now sit with the child to get their homework started and to give more support and encouragement during the process. As the mother reported:

A nosotros nos sirvió venir aquí. En nosotros hay mucho cambio, más motivación antes el niño estaba viendo televisión y haciendo su tarea. Ahora no, ahora se apaga la televisión un rato.

For us, it helped us to come here. There has been a lot of change in us. More motivation for our son before he was watching television and doing his homework, but now the television is turned off for a while.

Another mother also indicated a similar change:

Sí, eso es una de las cosas que yo aprendí. Yo a veces lo mandaba al cuarto y le decía, vete a hacer tu tarea y él agarraba y veía su televisión, pero ahora se va al cuarto y sí está haciendo su tarea.

Yes, that is one of the things that I learned. I used to tell him go to your room and do your homework. He would go and watch television but now he goes to his room, and he does his homework.

The cultural brokers heavily stressed doing homework as a discipline. Emilio made explicit recommendations with regard to homework time and the building of routines so children would know what was expected of them:

Un niño disciplinado ya sabe lo que tiene que hacer. Que tiene que hacer su tarea todos los días a determinada hora. Porque si nosotros acordamos todos los días tú vas a hacer tu tarea a las cinco de la tarde. Y si los niños están jugando o viendo televisión y son las 4, 5 o 6, ustedes le pueden decir al niño ¿"y tu tarea?" El niño dice ya voy. No, ya voy no, mira el reloj.

A child who is disciplined knows what he has to do. He has to do his homework every day at a predetermined hour. Because if we agreed that he was going to do his homework at 5 in the afternoon, and the child is playing or watching television, and it is 4 or 5 or 6 then you will say to him, "What about your homework?" The child can say, "Oh, I'll be there." And you will say, "No, I'll be there, look at the clock."

Instilling a sense of responsibility for homework. The parents explained that homework shifted from being a problem to a positive activity where the parent and child share the responsibility. For example, Mrs. Gonzaga told a story of her son, who now looked forward to doing his homework.

Mrs. Souza also came to a similar conclusion, acknowledging that her daughter had a much more positive attitude toward schoolwork:

Trato de ayudarles en lo que sé. Si en algunas cosas no entiendo él les ayuda. Les miro los papeles cuando llegan de la escuela. A mi niña le gusta mucho estudiar. No más que llega de la escuela, se pone a hacer la tarea y ya está toda la tarde y hasta que no la acaba no se duerme. (Mrs. Souza)	I try to help them in whatever I can. If there are things I can't understand, he [referring to father] helps them. I check their papers when they come from school. My daughter likes to study. As soon as she comes from school, she starts doing her homework, and she spends all afternoon and does not go to sleep until she is finished. (Mrs. Souza)
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These two parents learned at the institute that encouragement and support are needed. As Emilio explained in one of the classes, the child must receive a message that school is important:

Emilio: ¿Cómo se comunica con sus hijos? Father: Ayudándoles con las tareas. Emilio: Ayudándoles con sus tareas, eso además de comunicar con ellos les va a comunicar que ustedes tienen un gran valor por sus estudios, que es de gran importancia.	Emilio: How do you communicate with your children? Father: Helping him with his homework. Emilio: Helping him with homework, besides serving to communicate, lets him know that you place great value in his studies, and that is of great importance.
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Parents learned that it is important to teach children to give priority to schoolwork and that dedicating the time could bring satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment. In one class, a mother talked about her efforts to help her child:

Otra cosa por ejemplo, le pregunté cómo iba en sus estudios, y me dice que algunos trabajos no los había terminado. Entonces le dije, mire por favor, reúname todos los trabajos que no ha terminado y me los lleva casa para que los haga.	Another thing, for example, I asked how he was doing in his studies, and he said that he was missing a few projects. Then, I told him to gather for me all incomplete work, and I was going to take it home so he could do it. Then, I talked with him
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Entonces yo hablé con él y le dije, mira mi hijo, todo este trabajo lo podías haber terminado cuando lo dijo la maestra, pues ahora lo vas a tener que hacero ahora. Y en un día terminó todo lo que no había terminado.

and said, "Look son, all of this work you could have finished when the teacher told you to do it, but now you will need to do it." He finished it in 1 day.

In the interviews, two other parents shared how they helped:

Por ejemplo les ayudamos a hacer su tarea, leemos libros, hay cosas que él quiere que yo le dibuje y pintamos o hacemos tarea. (Mr. Cerbin)

For example, we help them to do their homework, we read books to him; he likes to do things like drawing or painting, or we do homework. (Mr. Cerbin)

Ayudarles pues cuando hacen la tarea. Ahora ya les pongo a estudiar. Si, antes veían mucha televisión y ahora todavía, pero menos. Antes no les revisaba la tarea y ahora que fui a las clases del ya les pongo mas atención. (Mrs. Souza)

Help them to do their homework. I now put them to study. Before they watched too much television and now less. Before, I did not review their homework, but after the institute, I pay more attention. (Mrs. Souza)

Finding outside help. Parents discovered that they did not always have the skills or knowledge to help their children. However, they had an understanding of the importance of homework, and after attending the PIQE, they sought outside support. Mrs. Rosas explained her approach:

No podíamos ayudarlo, entonces yo le dije, ok, yo le voy a poner una nota al maestro que diga que no podemos ayudarlo. Él me decía, no mami, que voy a recibir nota mala, y yo le dije, no hijo porque va a estar escrito que no pudimos ayudarte. Y yo le dije mira si tú que eres niño te desesperas ponte de nuestro lado, tener dos hijos es desesperante y no saber que vendrá. Llevó la nota y el maestro dijo que cuando yo no

We could not help him. Then, I told him OK I will write a note for your teacher telling him we were not able to help you. He told me but mom the teacher will give me a bad note, and I told him no because it will be in writing that we could not help. I told him look if you are a child and get desperate just put yourself in our side and think how desperate we are when we have two children and don't know what will come our

pueda ayudarlo él le puede ayudar.	way. He took the note and the teacher told him that when I can't help he will help him.
Pues ahorita está en el programa de "Logrando Horizontes." Yo creo que es buena idea, porque son tutores que ayudan a los niños, creo que fue una buena idea tener a alguien aquí en la escuela.	Well, right now I have him in a program "Reaching Horizons." And I think that it is a good idea because they have tutors that are helping the children at school.

In this case, Mrs. Rosas tapped into two resources that could assist with completion of homework. The steps she took demonstrated for her child that she was interested and wanted to help. She also confirmed that she was going to see that he got help.

Discussion and Conclusions

Among educators, there is considerable concern about perceived low levels of Latino and immigrant parent involvement (Delgado-Gaitan, 1996). A number of researchers have identified unrealistic expectations by the school and the inability of parents and teachers to fully communicate as significant barriers that create tension between home and school (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Trueba & Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Valdés, 1996). In this study, we explored parents' role construction and sense of place in the school as a third factor that limits parent participation. To guide this study, we drew on both the types of roles identified in the literature that parents might fulfill as well as on motivational factors identified by Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997). The factors, parents' role construction, their sense of efficacy to be involved, and their perception of the schools invitations, served as the focal point of the study. These factors were explored in the context of the PIQE, an intervention designed to provide guidance to Latino parents on how to support their children school success within an American context.

In Figure 1, we hypothesized that Latino parent participation was limited by a mismatch between their sense of place and the school's expectations. We postulated that PIQE could serve as a cultural broker, assisting parents in redefining their roles and sense of place and enhancing their efficacy to be involved.

The participation of the parents in the PIQE program was a strong indicator of the parents' aspirations for better futures for their children. How-

ever, many lacked an understanding of the relation of future success and children's academic achievement. As Delgado-Gaitan (1987) pointed out, "In spite of their desire to have their children achieve, [Latino parents] do not know the precise steps that they should take to advise their children about a particular career" (p. 155), nor do they know how to make the school and home more congruent so that their children can realize their parents' aspirations. These limitations stem from lack of knowledge of the U.S. system, a mismatch between parents' concept of parent involvement and the school's expectations, and a concept that the teaching of academic skills is the responsibility of the school. These concepts of parents' roles and responsibilities and identified levels of participation are consistent with the findings of other scholars who have studied Latino immigrant families (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Trueba & Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Valdés, 1996). Furthermore, our data and previous studies have shown that there is little direct communication between Latino parents and the schools: "In most cases, it was the children who acted as go-betweens" (Vasquez et al., 1994, p. 43).

Prior to attending PIQE, parents articulated their role and responsibilities primarily as (a) ensuring their child's attendance; (b) instilling respect for the teacher; (c) encouraging and expecting good behavior in school by their child; (d) meeting their obligations to provide clothing, shelter, and food for their children (sometimes in the face of considerable poverty); and (e) socializing the child to their family responsibilities. The survey results showed that before attending PIQE, parents indicated that they were supervising homework, reading to the children, and attending parent-teacher conferences and school functions such as open house. The interviews, however, revealed that prior to attending the PIQE, the supervision of homework or engagement in reading activities was at a minimal level. Parents also indicated that it was sometimes difficult for them to help their child, especially when the homework was in English. Delgado-Gaitan (1996) found in her study of Latino families that "parents were intimidated by the language barrier posed by an all-English homework curriculum. This intimidation is a distancing factor in the parent-child relationships, which is crucial to a supportive system for children" (p. 10).

As shown through both the presurvey and postsurvey and the interview data, parents' construction of their role evolved as they gained new information at the classes and tried to fulfill these roles at home and at school. Table 7 summarizes the data in terms of levels of parent involvement according to types of partnership activities. As indicated in the table, the primary shift was in the parent side of the partnership rather than school side. Through the learning opportunity provided by PIQE, parents

Table 7
Types and Levels of Parent Involvement Before and After PIQE

Type of Parent–School Partnership Activity	General Patterns of Involvement	
	Pre-PIQE	Post-PIQE
Two-way communication	Parental response to teacher-initiated communication.	More parent-initiated contacts with teachers.
Supporting child, families, and school	Support for child in meeting basic needs, but limited in terms of positive interaction. Basic support for major school events.	Continued support for basic needs, but now more positive interaction with child as well.
Learning about each partner	Some attendance at family math nights, open house.	Parents active participation in PIQE and other workshops.
Sharing in teaching	Limited involvement in reading and homework support.	Greater involvement in reading and homework support.
Collaborating in advocacy and decision making	Few parents served as advocates.	Greater advocacy for child with teacher.

indicated shifts in their actions in four major areas: (a) more parent-initiated communication; (b) more positive support and interaction with their children; (c) more engagement in teaching activities at home, such as reading and homework help; and (d) more advocacy for their child to see records and press for an understanding about academic progress. It is important to note that these increases in the range and level of activities occurred without any active effort on the part of teachers to increase their invitations and opportunities to participate.

The findings suggest that after attending the PIQE, parents had expanded their concepts of involvement in their child’s education both at home and at school. A major discovery by parents was that they could initiate contact with the school and did not have to wait for the teacher to extend an invitation. For some, contacts became more frequent. They advocated for their children and recognized they could not delegate to their children the sole responsibility for resolving problems or serving as the messenger between home and school. Some parents were also taking advantage of other learning opportunities offered by the school. Although parents indicated a greater interest in interacting with the school, our findings, both qualitative and quantitative, do not indicate that parents substantially increased their participation in two areas of the typology: volun-

teering and serving on advisory or decision-making councils. However, except for PIQE, we had no evidence of new initiatives by the school to involve parents in such activities.

Both the quantitative and qualitative data suggest that parents recognized they needed to assume a more active role in their child's literacy development, the parent-as-teacher role. This recognition led all families to report that they were reading more and utilizing other literacy resources such as libraries and computers. More important, our findings suggest that after attending PIQE, parents understood the connection between reading and academic achievement. They better grasped the relation between reading comprehension and access to a university education.

Similar to the findings of Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991), parents in this study previously took a passive role in regard to homework when "they felt their children knew more than they since they had not been schooled in this country" (p. 129). After PIQE, they saw as their place a more active role. Parents were more likely to meet with the teacher or send a note with the homework if their child did not know how to do it. In addition, they knew about tutoring resources and enrolled their children in these after-school programs. A few of the parents went to workshops about Mathland, the adopted math curriculum, to learn how they could help. The findings also suggest that parents understood what it meant to supervise homework. Yelling from the kitchen for the child to do their homework was now seen as counterproductive. They learned that if they valued homework and expressed that value by setting homework norms, turning off the television, and establishing a specific time to do homework, their children took their responsibilities more seriously.

According to Reed et al. (2000), in the first empirical test of the Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) motivational model, "role construction and perceptions of teacher invitations are proximal to parents' involvement decisions, while efficacy is important but more distal" (p. 9). They found that self-efficacy to be involved was fully mediated by role construction. The qualitative data from this study tends to support their findings. The PIQE program did not provide detailed instruction to parents on homework, reading, or conferencing with teachers that would have increased parents' capabilities to help. The primary message was that it was the parents' role to read to their children, supervise their homework, conference with the teacher, and set high expectations for academic success. The interviews revealed that all the parents were trying out these new roles. Some who felt they lacked specific skills and capacities to help experienced frustration. Further research is needed to know if parents will persist in the new role if additional opportunities are not provided to help them develop their capabilities to assist.

Similar to Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997), parents' role construction was conceptualized as a broad, unified construct (Reed et al., 2000). Our findings suggest that it is multifaceted and that future studies may find it useful to tease out these facets. Although our initial focus was on parents' construction of their role in relation to schooling and their children's education, parenting styles in general emerged as a major construct. Although parenting style is related to sense of place in education, we suggest that the relation between the two constructs may need to be explored more fully.

Impact of Parenting Styles on Parent Involvement

In the analysis of the interview data, parenting styles emerged as an important theme. We found that all three commonly identified types of parenting styles were represented among the 11 families interviewed. These findings suggest that family life and household norms may not be as consistent as portrayed in previous discussions of Latino families. For example, Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991) stated that "parents required children to obey adult instructions in all cases. Children's appropriate behavior was rewarded and infractions were punished. Being obedient meant not talking back to adults" (p. 55). This characterization indicates a more authoritarian parenting style. Our findings suggest that parents in the permissive category, similar to previous descriptions of such families (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), had few norms, required few household chores, and were not able to limit the amount of leisure time. They were not engaged extensively with their child at home or at school. Television watching often prevented children from doing schoolwork. We also found families in the authoritative category who were actively and positively engaged with their children at home but, similar to the permissive parents, participated in the school only minimally. Among the authoritarian parents, we found active but somewhat negative engagement with the children. All but two of these parents were also minimal participants at school. This general lack of active school participation across parenting styles found prior to attendance at PIQE, is consistent with the findings of other studies of Latino families.

Parents have an absolute trust in teachers and the school administration. In many instances they do not question the quality of education their children receive because they feel they are not educationally prepared and equipped to question those who are better prepared than they to teach their children. (Carrasquillo & London, 1993, p. 44)

Our analysis of the data suggests that the parenting style impacted the relationship with their children and, thus, with the school. On one hand, the authoritarian parents were so strict that children often performed out of fear of punishment. As they explored their parenting practices in the supportive PIQE classes, these parents perceived their actions as adversely affecting their children's self-esteem. The authoritarian parents discovered new strategies for dealing with discipline and communication issues that included more dialogue and involving the child in the decision-making process. The parents reported a desire and described actions they were taking to move toward a more authoritative style. The permissive parents, on the other hand, tended to be extremely lax in their supervision and, as a consequence, reported that their children were not doing well in school. They learned from PIQE to set norms and expectations for their children, which then helped to move schoolwork to a higher priority. PIQE offered the two authoritative families opportunities to strengthen their family and a way to expand their interactions to the school.

As parents became more aware of the impact of parenting styles, they recognized that they were not communicating and collaborating within the family on behalf of their children. This was especially true in the cases where parenting styles differed between the two parents. After attending PIQE, parents reported improved communication, less fighting, and increased negotiation on how to support their children. The parents indicated they made agreements to alternate attendance at meetings or events in cases where both could not attend. These findings suggest that the parents' limited involvement results from lack of information about the impact of parenting styles on children and children's school success, what is required to succeed in school, and how to get involved. Our findings in regard to parenting style are important in three ways. First, the variability in parenting styles among Latino parents needs to be acknowledged and studied in more depth to fully understand its implications for parent involvement. Second, previous findings indicate that authoritative parenting styles among Hispanic Americans do not have as great an impact on student's academic achievement compared to European American authoritative families (Steinberg, Darling & Fletcher, 1995; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Our findings suggest that the reason for this is that Hispanic families with an authoritative style are as reluctant to become engaged with their child's school as are permissive or authoritarian Latino parents. Third, this study suggests that parents will shift both their parenting styles and their engagement with the school when given information and an opportunity to explore how their attitudes and practices affect their children.

Parent Aspirations

Attending a series of eight parent education classes required considerable commitment on the part of parents. On the basis of 8 weeks of observing participants in the classes and the interview data, we would argue that a strong motivator propelling these parents to attend was their love and aspirations for a better life for their children. The parents reported that they believed that attending the classes was a demonstration of their commitment to their children's future. We believe this sense of hope for a brighter future is a unique aspect of role construction that also needs further study. Our data suggest that although parents responded to PIQE because of their aspirations, their aspirations were also impacted by the classes. After attending PIQE, parents realized it was not sufficient to just have dreams of a better future for their children, but that they had to assume a significant place and role in helping realize those dreams. In particular, they understood the relationship among literacy activities, homework, and the close monitoring of academic progress as essential steps needed for higher education. Although PIQE instructors stressed that lack of financial resources need not be an obstacle to college attendance, some parents proactively opened a savings account to increase the possibility that their children would be able to go. These actions suggest that with further information about possible ways to support their children's school success, parents were able to respond and express their love and aspirations in more concrete forms.

In conclusion, our study suggests that through the information provided by PIQE, parents developed higher levels of engagement both with their child and with the school, especially the teacher. They were able to negotiate new relationships with their spouse, their children, and their children's teachers. As they gained an understanding of what is required for success in school and for admission to university, parents set more specific goals for their children. The final outcome was increased parent participation in the child's education both at home and at school, reflecting a much fuller range of types and levels of involvement.

Furthermore, the data indicate that concepts about a parent's role, based on cultural traditions brought from Mexico and prior experiences, can limit the range of types and level of involvement and can affect how parents interpret a school's invitations and opportunities to participate. This study, however, demonstrates that these concepts are not fixed but can be altered by information provided by a cultural broker, such as the PIQE, and that parents will respond when given new ways to construct their roles. The role and the importance of a cultural broker have not been adequately studied. The findings from this study, however, are consistent with

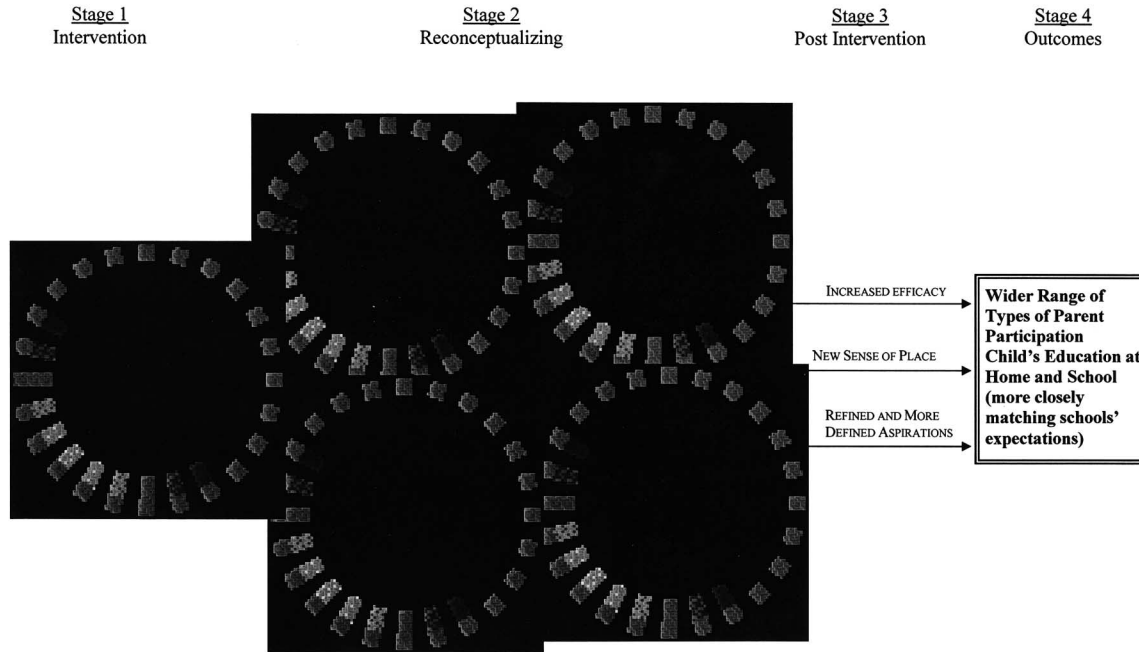


Figure 3. Revised conceptual model of how the Parent Institute of Quality Education impacts parents' sense of place and involvement in their child's education.

those of Delgado-Gaitan (1996) that a cultural broker can be effective in helping parents learn strategies for interacting with teachers and expanding their role construction. Little has been done to understand if such a role could similarly facilitate teachers' interactions with immigrant and diverse parents.

Finally, our results suggest a refinement of our conceptual model. The data indicate role construction and parents' sense of place is multidimensional rather than a single, broad construct. Three components are suggested by data from this study: parents sense of place in their child's education, parents concept of parenting, and parents' love and aspirations for their children. The revised model as conceptualized in Figure 3, indicates five variables that motivate parents to become involved with their children. The five, shown as the interlocking circles in Figure 3, are (a) actual and perceived school invitations and opportunities to be involved, (b) parents' sense of place in their children's education, (c) parents' knowledge and skills about how to be involved, (d) parents' concept of parenting, and (e) parents' aspirations and love for their children.

Future research should focus on testing this model to more fully understand the interaction among these variables and their predictive power in achieving the outcome of a fuller range of parent involvement activities and the ultimate influence on children's school success. In addition, more work needs to be done to understand the impact of school invitations on parent involvement and the role of cultural brokers in facilitating home-school partnership.

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