

Educational Psychologist

ISSN: 0046-1520 (Print) 1532-6985 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/hedp20

Diversity and complexity in the theoretical and empirical study of parental involvement during adolescence and emerging adulthood

Aryn M. Dotterer

To cite this article: Aryn M. Dotterer (2022) Diversity and complexity in the theoretical and empirical study of parental involvement during adolescence and emerging adulthood, Educational Psychologist, 57:4, 295-308, DOI: 10.1080/00461520.2022.2129651

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2022.2129651

Published online: 07 Nov 2022.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 2696

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Citing articles: 18 View citing articles

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=hedp20

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST
2022, VOL. 57, NO. 4, 295–308
https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2022.2129651

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

Diversity and complexity in the theoretical and empirical study of parental involvement during adolescence and emerging adulthood

Aryn M. Dotterer

Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Utah State University

ABSTRACT

Trends in past research note parental involvement in education tends to decline as students get older. This targeted review draws on the bioecological model of human development and parental role construction to understand how parent involvement changes across developmental periods. Three distinct issues were identified from research on the effectiveness of parental involvement in secondary and higher education. First, in early adolescence and the middle school context, we explore whether too much involvement is possibly harmful rather than beneficial. Second, in mid- to late adolescence and the high school context, we explore racial/ethnic differences in level of involvement and the longitudinal effects of involvement on academic achievement. Third, in emerging adulthood, we reexamine the definition of parental involvement as it relates to the college context. Implications for the consideration of parental role construction in relation to these three issues and developmental periods are discussed.

Adolescents and emerging adults are embedded within educational contexts that prepare them for future roles in order to productively participate in society. Parents undoubtedly provide needed support in helping their children succeed in these settings. The nature of parent involvement however, changes across development and in response to different demands that coincide with middle school, high school, and college. Though there is consensus that parental involvement in education is a multidimensional construct that includes the various ways that parents support their children in educational endeavors, there is tremendous diversity in how researchers define and measure parental involvement. Adding to the intricacy of parental involvement in education, how exactly parents are involved and the effectiveness of their involvement may change across phases of development as well as, by race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

The focus of this article was to review our research on parent involvement in education during adolescence and emerging adulthood over the past 15 years and to identify key themes that have emerged from this work. To do so, we used parental role construction from Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995) model of the parental involvement process and the bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) to draw upon and illustrate points of convergence. Although these two approaches are distinct, they are complementary and together provide greater understanding of how changes in parental involvement unfold across phases of development and contexts. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's concept of parental role construction follows a more psychological orientation to understand parents' motivations and beliefs about parental involvement, whereas Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development takes an ecological approach emphasizing the ways in which the home context, school context, and the overlap between these contexts contributes to students' development. When utilized together, parental role construction and the bioecological model of human development jointly consider both parent and adolescent/emerging adult roles.

In this targeted review, we begin by discussing the key frameworks and definitions of parental involvement in education used in theory and research. Next, we show that changes in parental involvement occur across phases of development and educational contexts and use parental role construction and the bioecological model of human development to explain the needed shift. Guided by these two perspectives, we examine the diversity and complexity in parental involvement in education through a targeted review of scholarship on parental involvement across developmental periods and within the educational contexts of middle school, high school, and college. Three issues were identified that illuminate pertinent considerations regarding the diversity and complexity of parental involvement:

1. Associations between parental involvement and educational outcomes are dynamic and may be nonlinear.
2. There are racial/ethnic variations in the level of involvement as well as the longitudinal effects of involvement on academic achievement.

CONTACT Aryn M. Dotterer aryn.dotterer@usu.edu Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Utah State University, 2905 Old Main Hill, Logan, UT 84322-2905, USA.

© 2022 Division 15, American Psychological Association

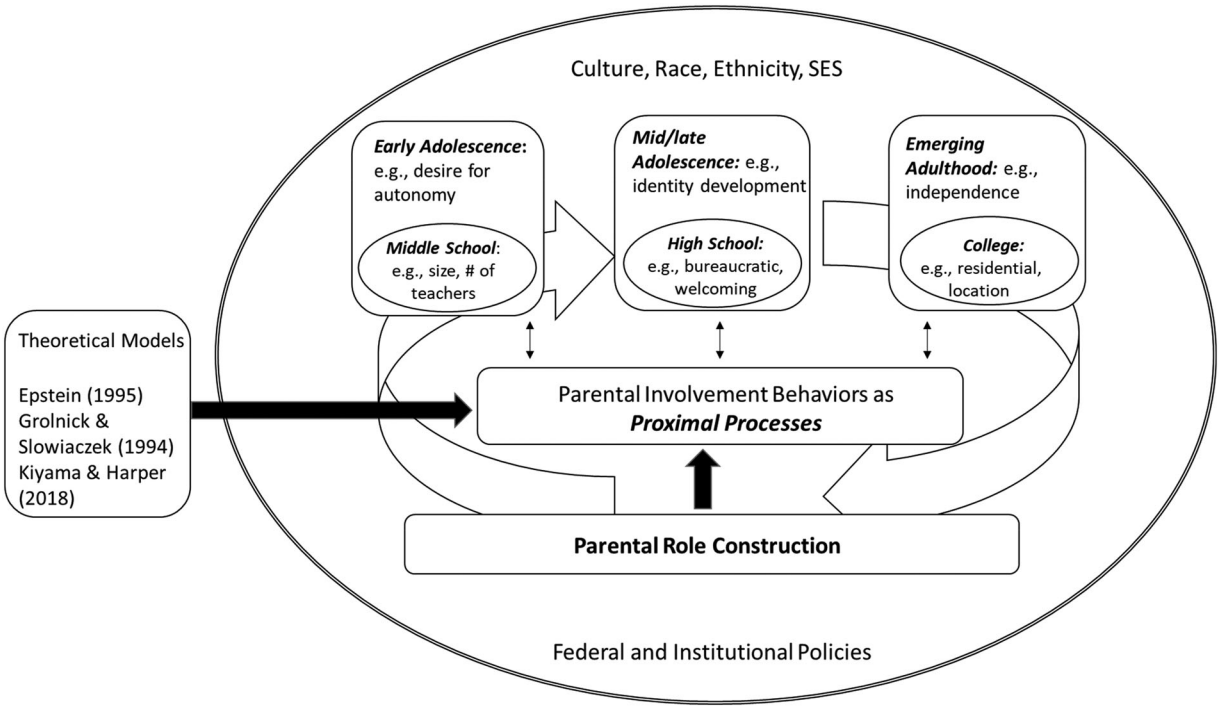

Figure 1. Parental involvement in education during adolescence and emerging adulthood.

3. The conceptualization of parental involvement in education should be reexamined across phases of development and educational settings.

Although these issues may be relevant across various periods of development (e.g., childhood, adolescence, young adulthood), we utilize past research conducted in the context of middle school, high school, and the transition to college and offer considerations for each of these issues, respectively. Finally, implications for parent involvement policy and programming are discussed. Figure 1 is a heuristic model that illustrates the approach taken in this targeted review. As shown in Figure 1, key theoretical models inform parental involvement behaviors and parental involvement behaviors emerge from how parents construct their roles in education. Figure 1 also illustrates that parent involvement and role construction change as a function of developmental phases and educational settings; all of which take place within a broader context of culture, race/ethnicity SES, and policy (more detail on Figure 1 is discussed later within the article).

Theoretical underpinnings and conceptualizations of parental involvement

Several theoretical models are used within the literature to conceptualize parental involvement in education (Epstein, 1995; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Kiyama & Harper, 2018). Epstein's model, Hoover-Dempsy and Sandler's model, and Grolnick and Slowizczek's models have been primarily used in the context of elementary and secondary education, whereas Kiyama and Harper's model was developed to address inclusive family engagement in higher education. Interestingly, both Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's model and Kiyama and Harper's model each acknowledge parents' own efficacy as an important component of why parents become involved (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995) and how effectively they can navigate the educational system to support their children and be engaged in college students' lives despite changes in contexts as students move into higher education (e.g., Kiyama & Harper, 2018). Rather than describing each of these models in depth, we focus on key elements and definitions that are based on these prominent models of parent involvement and serve as the basis for understanding how (via proximal processes) and why parents are involved (via parental role construction; see Figure 1). In the sections that follow, we describe in greater detail Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995) concept of Parental Role Construction, both of which form the primary theoretical basis for this paper.

Definitions of parental involvement include the ways in which parents work with schools and with their children to benefit educational outcomes and future success (Hill et al., 2004) and often include the dedication of resources (time, energy, money) to support academic development (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Pomerantz et al., 2007). Researchers have often explored different dimensions of parental involvement that include involvement in various settings. *Home-based involvement* strategies typically encompass involvement at home and includes parental behaviors such as monitoring schoolwork, assisting with homework or school projects, and providing intellectually engaging materials or opportunities (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Hill & Tyson, 2009; James et al., 2019). Home-based involvement is beneficial because it reinforces what students are learning at school and alignment between home and school is

advantageous for success in school. Further, home-based involvement may entail parents providing direct instruction, which can help students with their schooling or by modeling the importance of schoolwork and sending messages about educational expectations (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009).

School-based involvement often includes parent participation at school and parents' interactions with their child's teacher. Through these behaviors, parents demonstrate the importance of school and show that they care about their children and their success. As such, this type of involvement fosters adolescents' motivation and achievement (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009). During adolescence, school-based involvement often changes from volunteering in the school to attending school events (Hill & Tyson, 2009).

Researchers have posited that parental involvement shifts toward more indirect forms of involvement (from direct involvement at school or direct homework assistance) during early adolescence and this type of involvement is termed *academic socialization*. Hill and Tyson (2009) contend that academic socialization provides space for parents to maintain their involvement and simultaneously affirm adolescents' autonomy, independence, and advancing cognitive abilities. Academic socialization includes the ways in which parents communicate the usefulness or value of education, linking work at school to current events, fostering educational and occupational aspirations, and plans for future career opportunities. Researchers speculate that adolescents internalize these indirect messages from parents, which in turn facilitates academic adjustment (Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014).

Research on parental involvement in higher education has examined different components, as parental involvement in this new environment necessitates different strategies given the developmental stage of students along with the features of higher education institutions. Another challenge is that researchers vary in how they conceptualize parental involvement in college. For example, critiques astutely point out that parent involvement is inconsistently defined in both education policy and empirical research (Tierney & Auerbach, 2005). Despite the lack of agreement, various forms of parental involvement in higher education mirror those of K-12 education, including direct forms such as support (e.g., emotional, financial) and engagement, as well as indirect forms such as communication between parents and their children (Alfaro, 2020; Kiyma & Harper, 2018; Suizzo et al., 2016).

Changes in parental involvement across development and context

Researchers have argued that both educational contexts and developmental needs change as students get older. We contend that these changes have implications for parental involvement in education and we frame the interactions using the bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and parental role construction (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; see Figure 1). Together, these perspectives provide a strong theoretical rationale that explains why parental involvement must change in concert with the developmental stages of students and the educational contexts in which they are embedded.

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) posits that proximal processes, including parent-child interactions, will have a primary influence on an individual's development. Proximal processes such as parent-child interactions are referred to as the "engines of development," in other words a primary driver of development, which become more complex over time (i.e., what Bronfenbrenner referred to as Proposition I). Parental educational involvement therefore can be thought of as proximal processes that involves the various ways parents engage with their child and child's school that increase in complexity and change over time. Proximal processes are shaped by individual characteristics, such as child age or parents' beliefs about parenting, as well as nested, interacting systems—microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems—which include families, schools, and neighborhoods, along with widespread cultural beliefs or values that influence individuals in these environments. Following Proposition I, we would expect that the nature of parent involvement will change over time as parent-child interactions increase in complexity. Accordingly, parental involvement in education should change across phases of development throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood. Proposition II of the bioecological model of human development states that how proximally processes affect development are a function of interactions among the biopsychological characteristics of the developing person and the environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Thus, in order to understand the effectiveness of parental involvement on students' outcomes, we must pay attention to the person, the context, and the developmental outcome under consideration. In other words, person characteristics such as competence/achievement or need for autonomy and contexts including educational contexts of middle/junior high, high school, and college will interact with parental involvement as they contribute to students' well-being or academic outcomes (Figure 1).

Just as child characteristics such as age and competence shape parental involvement (Pomerantz et al., 2007), so do parent characteristics influence parental role construction. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997) described parental role construction as parents' beliefs about their role in their children's education and the patterns of parental behavior that follow those beliefs. Parents' beliefs about how children develop, what parents must do to effectively rear their children, and what parents should do at home to help their children succeed in school will influence how parents construct their roles regarding educational involvement. Parental role construction suggests that parent involvement is dynamic and parents' role regarding education must change in concert with the needs of the developing adolescent/young adult. Parents' role construction is also influenced by social conditions and cultural beliefs of parenting and their involvement in the educational process.

Figure 1 illustrates how key theoretical models of parental involvement inform the conceptualization of parent involvement behaviors (e.g., proximal processes in the bioecological model of human development) which are guided by parental role construction (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997) and differ across phases of development and educational contexts (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As shown in Figure 1, the arrow from Theoretical Models (e.g., Epstein, 1995; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Kiyama & Harper, 2018) to parental involvement behaviors as proximal processes, illustrates that elements from these models informs our understanding of parent involvement behaviors. Drawing on the bioecological model of human development, we contend that various types of parental involvement (e.g., school-based involvement, home-based involvement, etc.) reflect proximal processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) which increase in complexity over time. The arrow from parental role construction to parental involvement behaviors as proximal processes illustrates the view that the types of behaviors parents engage in, are rooted in their beliefs about their role in their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997).

The circular arrows in Figure 1 depict the process by which parental role construction and parental involvement behaviors may change over time, in response to developmental needs and educational contexts in which students are embedded. This argument has been well-articulated in previous research (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009) which asserts that parents' strategies for staying involved in their children's education must keep pace with the developmental changes that occur in adolescence and the middle school context. We posit that this shift is also necessary during mid/late adolescence and in the high school context and in emerging adulthood and the college context (Figure 1). For example, in early adolescence as youth strive for more autonomy, parents may engage in less direct involvement. When adolescents are engaged in identity exploration, parent involvement may focus on academic socialization that connects adolescents' skills and interests with future careers. During emerging adulthood and the quest for independence, parent involvement might focus on reflective listening and support as youth make more of their own decisions.

Following Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's model of parent involvement, parents may also feel less confident (e.g., efficacy in Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler's model) in direct involvement as homework assignments and course content become increasingly complex across adolescence. Further, opportunities for involvement at school may decrease (e.g., fewer school-sponsored parent events than at elementary schools), or what Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler referred to as general invitations from school or teachers. In line with Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development, these changes in the school structure reflect characteristics of the educational settings that youth are embedded in (Figure 1). Schools also become larger and more impersonal as students move from elementary into secondary and post-secondary schools, posing challenges for parent involvement (Hill & Tyson, 2009). Among colleges and universities, the geographical distance or whether the school is residential or commuter, may restrict parental involvement. Moreover, secondary and post-secondary institutions may also have subtle or explicit policies and practices that spur changes in parental involvement as young people are expected to take more personal responsibility in their academic pursuits.

Thus, unique developmental needs and tasks such as autonomy and identity development along with opportunities and constraints afforded within educational contexts, have implications for the type of parental involvement that is enacted and effective. As suggested by parental role construction and the bioecological model of human development, parents that continue to hold the belief that their involvement is important will likely shift what involvement strategies they employ in order to support their adolescent/emerging adult's success in school. Figure 1 also shows that parent involvement in education occurs within a broader context of culture, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status as well as federal and institutional policies. As such, we posit how parents' construct their roles in their children's education and their involvement behaviors may differ by culture, race/ethnicity, and SES. Further, we recognize the importance of federal and institutional policies that shape parental role construction and involvement in education.

Parental involvement considerations

In the sections that follow, we review parental involvement during secondary (middle school and high school) and higher education (the transition to college). Within these educational settings we shine a light on a distinct issue that has been understudied. In doing so, we point out three considerations (or reconsiderations) as scholars move forward in this research. In early adolescence and the middle school context, we explore whether too much involvement is possibly harmful rather than beneficial. In mid- to late adolescence and the high school context, we explore racial/ethnic differences in level of involvement and the effects of involvement overtime. In emerging adulthood, we reexamine the definition of parental involvement as it relates to the college context.

Parental involvement in secondary education

Adolescence is one of the most rapidly changing periods of human development as signified by profound biological, psychosocial, and cognitive changes (National Academies of Sciences et al., 2019), making it a salient developmental period to examine parental involvement and adolescents' academic outcomes. Developmental changes in early adolescence typically occur during the middle school years, coinciding with drops in motivation, self-confidence, school grades, and increases in test anxiety (Dotterer et al., 2009a; Eccles & Roeser, 2009). Indeed, adolescence is a period of both tremendous opportunity and risk. Adolescents are maturing in

cognitive abilities, yet there is also increased pressure, scrutiny, and importance placed on academic pursuits.

Complex patterns of parental involvement

Against this backdrop of changes in early adolescence, research also indicates that some aspects of parental involvement tend to decline (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Singh et al., 1995). Cross-sectional studies have shown that parents of eighth graders attending junior high had lower levels of involvement compared to parents of fifth graders attending elementary school (Gonida & Cortina, 2014). School-based involvement such as attending school meetings, conferences, events, or volunteering at their child's school, is highest during elementary school compared to middle and high school (Hanson & Pugliese, 2020). Bhargava and Witherspoon (2015) studied the longitudinal changes in parent involvement from middle school to high school and found that both home-based and school-based involvement declined from 7th grade to 11th grade.

In addition, the effectiveness of some components of parental involvement on adolescents' academic outcomes decline during middle school (Singh et al., 1995; Wehrspann et al., 2016). Mo and Singh (2008) for example, found that involvement at school was positively associated with middle school students' school engagement and performance, but the effect size was small. Other dimensions of involvement such as parents' aspirations and relationships with their children had larger effect sizes that were positively associated with engagement and school performance. Parents likely alter their involvement in ways that are better suited for the middle school context and their children's developmental needs during early adolescence. Although parent participation at school occurs more frequently in elementary school, parents of adolescents may have fewer opportunities to do so given differences in the middle school environment. It has also been posited that school-based involvement or forms of involvement that do not align with the developmental needs of adolescence may be less relevant, having weaker links to academic outcomes (Hill & Tyson, 2009). As such, it is possible that the effectiveness of some aspects of parental involvement become weaker throughout adolescence, while other aspects increase in effectiveness.

Although many studies demonstrate the positive associations linking parental involvement and adolescents' academic outcomes (Barger et al., 2019; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014), *more* parental involvement may not be the key. For example, some findings have shown that involvement is not related to academic outcomes or in some instances, is negatively related to adolescents' academic outcomes (Banerjee et al., 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Karbach et al., 2013). These mixed findings may reflect nuances associated with different types of involvement and how they connect to adolescents' academic outcomes.

Many of the modeling strategies employed in developmental and educational research test linear associations as we often expect a linear function such that as parental involvement incrementally increases, so too will grades or achievement for instance. By contrast, a nonlinear effect of parent involvement means that the degree of association may vary depending on the intensity of parent involvement. Much of the previous literature does not tell us whether the effect of parental involvement at high (or low) levels has the same benefit or association on the outcome. There is consensus that over-involvement is harmful and past studies have connected too much involvement from parents with higher levels of depression and anxiety among their children (Breinholst et al., 2019; Chyung et al., 2022). Recently, researchers have begun to challenge the assumptions that more parent involvement is better as it pertains to children's educational outcomes. A. Li et al. (2022) noted that positive linear relationships among parent involvement and children's academic outcomes may be concealed by possible curvilinear relationships. The researchers questioned whether "more is less" regarding too much parent involvement among elementary students and found some students experienced diminishing returns of parental involvement on academic performance and would benefit from moderate levels of involvement rather than too much involvement.

Research illustration: Nonlinear effects of parental involvement during middle school. As shown in Figure 1, the need for autonomy increases in early adolescence and too much parental involvement has the potential to undermine autonomy. Therefore, Wehrspann et al. (2016) employed nonlinear effects by constructing quadratic and cubic terms to statistically examine how parent involvement at home and in terms of academic socialization was linked to motivation among urban middle school students. In this study, home-based involvement and academic socialization were examined separately to disentangle previously mixed findings. Another focus was to gain a deeper understanding of parental involvement in middle school among racially/ethnically diverse students (approximately 80% students of color) attending a Title 1 urban school as these are salient contextual features (see Figure 1). Importantly, Wehrspann et al.'s analysis accounted for parent-adolescent relationship quality and adolescent academic competence as these variables may be linked to both parental involvement and adolescent academic motivation. For example, parents may become involved (or more involved) at times when adolescents are having difficulty in school or struggling with motivation. Similarly, parent involvement may be more likely to occur in the context of positive or well-functioning parent-child relationships. Results from this research provided evidence that links between some aspects of parental involvement and academic motivation are in fact non-linear. Specifically, Wehrspann et al. found that the benefit or effectiveness of academic differed across levels of academic socialization. Their results revealed a negative, nonlinear cubic effect which showed that there was a positive association between academic socialization and intrinsic motivation at low and average levels of academic socialization. However, at high levels of academic socialization when parents engaged in more messages that communicate the utility and value of education, the effect was negative and showed *higher* levels of academic socialization were related to *less* intrinsic

motivation. Further, there was a positive association between academic socialization and extrinsic motivation, but only at high levels of parental involvement. At low or moderate levels there was no association with extrinsic motivation.

Taken together, these results suggest that more involvement is not necessarily associated with more optimal student outcomes. In the case of intrinsic motivation, the benefit of academic socialization had diminishing returns at high levels. Instead of parent involvement fostering intrinsic motivation, adolescents were less intrinsically motivated when their parents engaged in too much academic socialization. In the case of extrinsic motivation, high levels of parental involvement were associated with more extrinsic forms of motivation, a potentially problematic pattern given that higher levels of extrinsic motivation are associated with more academic problems including worse school performance (Ryan & Deci, 2020). It may be that too much involvement, even more indirect strategies such as academic socialization, potentially undermine adolescent autonomy.

Racial and ethnic diversity in parental involvement in education

Racial and ethnic disparities in educational outcomes are pervasive and parental involvement is often discussed as a way to close achievement gaps (LaRoque, et al., 2011). An important question, however, is whether parental involvement differs across race/ethnicity. Some have argued that when a school is representative of the dominant culture, parents from marginalized racial/ethnic groups may have less involvement because of previous negative experiences with school and the dominant culture (Hill & Tyson, 2009; James et al., 2019). Further, teacher report of parental involvement may underestimate the involvement of racial/ethnic minority parents if their estimates are derived from participation at school and do not include other forms of involvement at home or outside of school (Jeynes, 2010). As such, home-based involvement may be a better predictor of GPA. Although there are different ways parents are involved, there is also similarity regarding parents' desire for their children to do well among all parents, regardless of their race/ethnicity (LaRocque et al., 2011; J. Li et al., 2008).

Bhargava and Witherspoon (2015) noted substantial declines in several dimension of parental involvement during high school including home-based involvement and school-based involvement (e.g., attending parent-teacher conferences; volunteering at school). Parent's use of academic socialization however, increased slightly. Bhargava and Witherspoon (2015) also examined differences between African American and European American parents. Their results revealed some initial mean level differences (at 7th grade), but rates of change concerning involvement were similar across groups, with the exception of volunteerism. Over time, African American parents reported reduced volunteerism at a faster rate compared to European American parents. Using the same dataset, Wang and Sheikh-Khalil (2014) also examined parental involvement in 10th grade and adolescents' academic achievement in 11th grade. Differences by race/ethnicity indicated that European American parents reported higher levels of school-based involvement than African American parents, who tended to be more involved at home than European American parents. Though school-based involvement was not directly associated with academic achievement, home-based involvement and academic socialization were linked to academic achievement. Importantly, Wang and Sheikh-Khalil (2014) noted that the longitudinal associations between parental involvement in 10th grade and academic achievement in 11th grade did not differ across groups.

Research illustration: Racial and ethnic diversity in parental involvement during high school. Prompted by divergent trends in variations by race/ethnicity and the lack of longitudinal research, James et al. (2019) examined differences in parental involvement during high school across racial/ethnic groups as well as the longitudinal associations of parental involvement on later academic achievement. They focused on two components of parental involvement—school-based involvement that included parents' participation at school (e.g., attending meetings at school, volunteering at school) and home-based involvement characterized by indirect, but cognitively stimulating activities that promote academic success (e.g., visiting museums, attending concerts, etc.). Their study used a nationally representative dataset (HSLS:2009; Ingels et al., 2011) which included 944 public and private schools, with random selection of students, resulting in 23,503 participating students. The researchers found that African American and European American engaged in significantly more school- and home-based involvement compared to Asian American or Hispanic parents. This was observed after accounting for background characteristics including child age, child gender, parent education, parent income, and family structure. Further, results from their longitudinal growth models (which included the control variables noted previously) showed that school-based involvement was positively associated with GPA among African Americans, European Americans, and Hispanics but not among Asian Americans. Results also showed that after accounting for school-based involvement, home-based involvement significantly predicted subsequent GPA trajectories in high school and did not differ by race/ethnicity. Despite the recognition that some aspects of parental involvement decline during high school, while others may increase or remain stable (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015), these findings along with those of Wang and Sheikh-Khalil (2014) demonstrate the continued importance of parental involvement on later academic achievement, particularly home-based involvement.

Key considerations of parental involvement during adolescence

We urge researchers, practitioners, and policy makers to reconsider the diversity and complexity of parent involvement as it relates to academic outcomes, particularly in adolescence. The need for such considerations is highlighted by research findings that showed nonlinear associations and racial/ethnic variations in the links between parental

involvement and academic outcomes. Several meta-analyses have pointed out some forms of parent involvement may be more advantageous than others and the form of parent involvement that is most effective varies with children's developmental age (Barger et al., 2019). As such, recommendations for parents to be more involved should be mindful of the type of parent involvement that is recommended. Relatedly, it may not be wise for all parents to increase their involvement given the potential for nonlinear effects of parent involvement on adolescents' academic outcomes. Some students may benefit from increased involvement, particularly in the case of lower levels of initial involvement or academic needs of the individual. Therefore, we emphasize that too much involvement, or involvement that reaches a tipping point and has diminishing returns, will hinder rather than help adolescents.

Regarding future directions for this work, it is important that these nonlinear associations be examined by race/ethnicity. Although Wehrspann's study was primarily comprised of students of color, analyses were not conducted by race/ethnicity given the sample size. For example, other work has suggested that parenting and views on adolescent autonomy may differ by race/ethnicity (e.g., Benito-Gomez et al., 2020; Smetana & Chuang, 2001) and has implications for grade point averages and educational attainment. Among older adolescents, Day and Dotterer (2018) found that differences in level and combination of parental involvement strategies varied by race/ethnicity. Using recursive partitioning, which is an advanced modeling strategy that tests higher order nonlinear interactions, the researchers found African American students benefited from higher levels of both home-based involvement and academic socialization, but when home-based involvement was low and academic socialization was moderate, they had lower GPAs. Among White adolescents a different pattern emerged in which high academic socialization along with low home-based involvement was positively related to GPA and educational attainment. These differences may reflect cultural variations in how adolescents' construe parents' involvement in which White adolescents may view lower home-based involvement as autonomy-supportive and higher home-based support as restrictive. Whereas African American adolescents may not view higher involvement as intrusive and benefit more from parenting that has been described as "no-nonsense" (Brody & Murry, 2001) which combines high levels of monitoring and control along with supportive, involved parent-child relationships.

From a theoretical perspective, parental role construction suggests that parent involvement is dynamic and parents' role regarding education must change in concert with the needs of the developing adolescent (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009). As children transition into adolescence, they gradually become more autonomous. However, too much parental involvement could stifle or undermine adolescent autonomy. As parents reconstruct their roles, they may shift from using more direct, hands-on approaches to involvement to more indirect forms of involvement and must be cognizant of too much involvement. Greater alignment of research, practice, and policy could improve messages to families, the ways in which school and families work together, and provide guidance on the most effective parental involvement during early adolescence.

Regarding racial/ethnic diversity in longitudinal associations among parent involvement and academic outcomes, researchers should consider missing elements in measures of involvement. As shown in Figure 1, we posit that how parents construct their roles regarding involvement in education may differ by sociocultural groups, and the associations among parental involvement and academic outcomes also differ by sociocultural groups. For example, lower levels of school-based and home-based involvement by Asian American and Hispanic parents observed by James et al. (2019) might reflect that these parents construct their roles differently (thereby engaging in alternative forms of parental involvement) than do African American and European American parents. The sociohistorical significance of race in education includes systemic racism and could affect parents' feelings about involvement in education. Further, factors such as language barriers and acculturation play into the ways that parents are involved in their children's education (Holloway & Jonas, 2016; J. Li et al., 2008). These processes are depicted in Figure 1 as parental role construction (parents' beliefs about their involvement) precede their behaviors (proximal processes) and occur within a broader context that includes culture, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

Building on Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's work, Holloway and Jonas (2016) showed that cultural models of parenting and involvement shape parents' beliefs about their role in their children's education as well as their sense of efficacy regarding their ability to support their children's educational goals. Researchers and school personnel should be cautious in concluding that some racial/ethnic minority parents are less involved, when in reality our research designs and measurement of parental involvement do not provide a complete picture of the different ways parents construct their roles in supporting their children's education. Although accumulated research evidence notes racial and ethnic differences in the levels or amount of parental involvement, it is likely that cultural reasons regarding how parents construct their roles, along with systemic barriers explain such differences. If we move beyond quantity (i.e., level of parent involvement) and focus more on quality (i.e., what kind of involvement is most effective), we could build greater understanding of what works and for whom.

Ethnic comparative research designs tend to ignore the great variability that exists within racial and ethnic groups (Coll et al., 1996) and fail to explore the factors that may be uniquely important to racial and ethnic minority groups. DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2014) urged the field of educational psychology to move beyond race/ethnicity as a background variable and instead consider race-reimaged approaches that involve viewing a traditional construct, such as parental involvement, from a sociocultural lens. Building upon this, we contend that there are cultural aspects of parenting that have been overlooked in current conceptualizations of parent involvement. Cultural aspects of parenting

are critical to understanding racial/ethnic diversity in parent involvement (Ceballo et al., 2014). For example, Latino families' socialization goal of familism that includes caring foremost for the well-being of the family, is related to greater academic engagement and achievement (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008). Notably, Ceballo et al. (2014) found that *respeto* (respect) moderated links between parental involvement and educational outcomes, such that mothers' educational aspirations were more strongly linked to adolescents' educational expectations, among Latino adolescents who reported higher levels of *respeto*. Among Chinese immigrant families, J. Li et al. (2008) reported that instead of school- and home-based parent involvement, parents used other strategies that involved connecting children to a network of supportive resources for the purpose of bolstering children's achievement in school. Further, racial socialization which includes parental messages about race and race relations, is not only a central aspect of parenting among African American families (Coard & Sellers, 2005), but also positively linked to some dimensions of adolescents' school engagement such as school self-esteem and school bonding (Dotterer et al., 2009b). Yet these culturally specific aspects of parenting (e.g., familism, respeto, social capital, racial socialization) are not typically considered in models of parent involvement in education. Taken together, it is clear that there are a variety of strategies used by parents of color that are not captured in common measures of parent involvement and may reflect variations in parental role construction. Given the racial/ethnic diversity in parent involvement in education along with the recognition that culturally specific aspects of parenting are salient, we recommend that researchers examine missing elements in current measures of parent involvement.

Parent involvement and the transition to college

The transition to college is a major event in the lives of emerging adults, as approximately 69% of young adults enter college immediately after high school. There are, however, notable differences in enrollment by race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status. For example, while the rates of immediate college enrollment in 2018 for White (70%) and Hispanic students (63%) have increased since 2000, the rate of college enrollment among Black students is not only lower (62%), but has also remained stagnant over the last 20 years (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020). Further, over 80% of students from high income families entered college immediately after high school, whereas only 67% of those from low income families immediately entered college after high school.

This educational transition also signals changes in parent-child relationships, including involvement, as relationships move toward increasing symmetry during adulthood. The transition to college is nested within a new developmental period (e.g., emerging adulthood; Arnett, 2006). As youth gain greater independence in this stage and are immersed in the college context, it is an interesting time to examine parental involvement. Students often turn to their parents to help them adjust to their new life in college (Dawson & Pooley, 2013). Maintaining connections to parents in this new life stage, though important and perhaps necessary, can also pose challenges and require renegotiating how much parents are involved as well as the type of involvement that is needed during emerging adulthood. The developmental task of autonomy requires a careful balance of both separateness and connectedness to parents for a successful transition to college (Aquilino, 2006). Yet, the lack of a clear conceptualization of parent involvement during the college years is evident across research literature in developmental psychology and higher education. Consequently, limited research on the characteristics and impact of parent involvement during the transition to college is remarkably small in comparison to the extensive body of research on parent involvement within the educational contexts of elementary, middle, and high school.

Theoretical and empirical conceptualizations of parental involvement in childhood and adolescence describe involvement as a multidimensional construct that includes the various ways in which parents work with their children and schools to foster academic success. As discussed previously, scholars have noted that as the developmental needs of their child change, along with changes in school contexts, so too must parents' strategies for involvement. For example, past research suggests that during adolescence, when parents use more indirect strategies or play a more distal role, they align better with the developmental needs of adolescents' growing autonomy (e.g., Hill & Tyson, 2009; James et al., 2019). Similarly, parent involvement likely changes to align with the new challenges and opportunities afforded by the college context during emerging adulthood (see Figure 1). Parents may adopt more indirect involvement strategies because they are more supportive of emerging adults' growing self-reliance and more conducive to the context of higher education in which students are viewed as independent. As an indirect strategy, parents may ask "What are you learning in your classes?" versus direct strategies such as calling professors to intervene on their child's behalf or texting every day to keep tabs or monitor their child's activities. Research evidence also indicates that autonomy-supportive parenting is more beneficial for students during the transition to college, than is over-controlling, helicopter parenting (Greene et al., 2019). Aspects of the college environment such as living away from parents may pose constraints on the type and/or level of involvement (i.e., person-process-context interactions; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Yet, as suggested by parental role construction, parents with an active view of their role in their children's education, will engage in behaviors that align with the affordances and constraints of the college context.

Given the need for parental involvement to be renegotiated as youth become self-sufficient while pursuing higher education, Lowe and Dotterer (2018) proposed a conceptual definition of parental involvement that recognizes changes in parental involvement are necessary in order to allow for greater autonomy, independence, and self-sufficiency during the transition to college. Their multidimensional construct is operationalized as *parental support giving*, *parent–student*

contact, and *parental academic engagement*. This conceptualization is important given research and programming that reflects the continued presence of parents in college students' lives. Although parents may no longer be attending parent-teacher conferences or helping with homework as they did in the past (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994), their involvement continues as they show interest in their students' lives in college and provide guidance or encouragement (Wartman & Savage, 2008). Lowe et al.'s (2018) conceptual definition of parental involvement during emerging adulthood is in line with parent role construction (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995) and recognizes that parents' role in education is reconstructed during this new phase of life.

Parental support giving

In the phase of emerging adulthood, parents remain a critical source of support and provide both tangible (e.g., financial) and nontangible (e.g., advice, empathy) forms of support. Parents not only provide substantial monetary support (Arnett & Schwab, 2012), they also routinely listen and provide advice (Fingerman et al., 2016). Parental involvement in the form of providing support to youth undergoing transitions, including the transition to college, seems to foster progress in adult role attainment. Parents act as "scaffolding" and "safety-nets" to assist children in making progress on adulthood role attainment (Swartz et al., 2011). For example, being enrolled in school increased the likelihood of receiving financial support by 52% and housing support by 36% (Swartz et al., 2011), presumably because parents view this status as needing greater assistance. Parental Role Construction suggests that parents remain involved and provide support to their college students because they believe they are supposed to be involved.

Support has long been recognized as an important feature of relationships among African American and Latino families (Ceballo et al., 2014; Franklin, 2007). Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth framework posits that students of color bring cultural strengths including family support into their classrooms and college experiences. Past research shows that supportive parent-child and family relationships are linked to the academic success of racial and ethnic minority college students. For example, Brooks (2015) noted that African American college students attending an HBCU cited numerous ways in which parents provided support (including financial support, emotional support, communication, and involvement in college experiences) that help them in their persistence toward graduation and all participants in this qualitative study said family support was an important part of their college experiences. Among Latino college students, Matos (2015) reported that although parents' ability for direct involvement was contingent upon whether or not parents had access to a college education that however, did not influence parents' ability to provide moral support in college. Rios-Aguilar and Deil-Amen (2012) reported that Latino college students in their study experienced continuity in family relationships. This seemed to help during the transition to college by providing a source of motivation and reciprocal obligation in which students remained motivated by the sacrifices of their families and the expectations their families held for them.

Importantly, recent research has explored differences in parental support by family socioeconomic status. More affluent families provide considerable financial support in addition to offering academic, social and career advice in a parenting style described as "college concierge" in which parents help navigate the college experience (Hamilton et al., 2018). In contrast, Hamilton et al. (2018) found less affluent parents were described as "the college outsider" as they viewed their parental role as "outside" of college life. In line with parental role construction, this finding reflects the idea that parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds, view their role in education differently. Examining parental support among low-income college students, Roksa and Kinsley (2019) found that although financial support was not related to academic outcomes, family emotional support was beneficial for student achievement, credit accumulation, and persistence in college.

Parent–student contact

Over 65% of college students live away from parents (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016) and the widespread availability of communication technologies, means that parents and students have a cheap and easy way to stay in frequent contact. Past research reported that communication technology by college students and their parents were used not only to communicate frequently but also as a means to facilitate positive family relationships (Ramsey et al., 2013). Chen and Katz (2009) for example, showed that cell phones were key to better relationships among college students and parents, because it enabled them to stay in frequent contact, share experiences, fulfill family roles, and feel supported without compromising students' independence. This finding has also been echoed in qualitative research with African American students. For example, Brooks (2015) reported improved relationships with parents following the transition to college that included greater communication, feelings of closeness, and emotional and material support. Alfaro (2020) noted that among Hispanic college students who lived near their parents, 96% of students still communicated weekly with their parents and communication with parents was viewed as a way of integrating parents into their academic lives. Phone calls are also a way for ethnic minority parents to ensure that students do not feel alone (Matos, 2015). A similar sentiment was expressed by parents of first-generation college students (Harper et al., 2020).

Parent–student contact may also be important because it promotes greater satisfaction in relationship with parents. Past research has documented benefits of the frequency of contact, support, and relationship quality (Ramsey et al., 2013). Returning to the idea that "more is not necessarily better," Rogers et al. (2018) reported that "better" parental involvement during the college transition was not characterized by greater contact between parents and students, but by establishing a level of contact with which the student felt

satisfied. Harper et al. (2020) also reported that parents of first-generation college students sought a "happy medium" in their involvement and contact that supported their students' development.

Parental academic engagement

Parental academic engagement during college has primarily been described as parental involvement including help with course selection, discussing courses, interest in academic progress, and expectations around student performance (Dorsch et al., 2016; Sax et al., 2012). This component of involvement most closely resembles parental involvement in education at earlier stages of development in preparing students for upcoming academic tasks. It is fairly common for parents to be academically engaged as Dorsch et al. (2016) reported that over half of their college student athlete sample "strongly agreed" their parents were academically engaged. Research has also shown that parents' own view of their academic involvement during college is considerably less than their pre-college involvement levels (Harper et al., 2020). The extent to which parents are involved with their college student's education appears to differ by class standing. Parental academic engagement was highest among first-year students and was lowest among seniors (Sax & Weintraub, 2014; Wolf et al., 2009). Importantly the type of parent involvement behaviors that students reported emphasized performance rather than mastery or learning. As an example, Wolf et al. (2009) found that students overwhelmingly reported that their parents emphasized getting good grades (e.g., performance emphasis) compared to discussing what they were learning in their classes with their parents (e.g., learning emphasis). It seems to be rarer that parents are directly involved in choosing courses, which likely reflects parents' respect and support for their adult children's independent decision-making. Further, Alfaro (2020) found that supportive messages from Hispanic parents included uplifting comments, meeting goals, and making academic decisions that emphasized students' autonomy in decision-making (e.g., "do what you think is best"; "take time to think about what you are doing").

Key considerations of parental involvement during emerging adulthood

Given the unique features associated with entry into young adulthood and the college context, it is necessary for the field of educational psychology to consider what parental involvement means during this period. Over the past 35 years, the parental role has been conceptualized in different ways. Historically, the parental role in higher education was not central in theories of college students' development (Pascerella, 1985) and independence from parents was emphasized (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Wartman and Savage (2008) noted a culture shift following the 1990s in which the parental role became a core component in theories of college student development and in educational practices focused on student recruitment and retention (see also Sax & Wartman, 2010). The shift in how the parental role is viewed, requires a reexamination of how parental involvement is conceptualized during this developmental period. As Hill and Tyson (2009) pushed the field of educational psychology to consider parental involvement strategies that aligned with the developmental needs of adolescence, we contend that researchers must reexamine parental involvement strategies that are most beneficial during emerging adulthood within the college context.

Given this, Lowe and Dotterer (2018) put forth a conceptual definition of parental involvement during the transition to college that includes parental support, parent–student contact, and parental academic engagement. As shown in Figure 1, changes in parent involvement are necessary in order to promote greater independence and integration within the autonomy-supportive context of college. As such, parents must reconstruct their roles during emerging adulthood and the transition to college as they seek a careful balance between involvement and independence. The next step in future research is to develop measures that empirically test the conceptual definition proposed by Lowe and Dotterer (2018). Future research in this area might explore the effectiveness of each component (i.e., parental support, parent–student contact, parental academic engagement) as well as variations across race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

Policy and programming implications

Parent involvement is at the cornerstone of the U.S. Department of Education's mission to promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access. As such, parental involvement has been crafted into policies that target children in K-12 schools (e.g., No Child Left Behind, Every Student Succeeds Act), but is notably absent from policies that pertain to older, college-going students. Perhaps this difference reflects that educational policy geared toward elementary and secondary students is more tightly informed by longstanding theory and research regarding the importance of parental involvement during childhood and adolescence. Or perhaps this difference reflects the diversity and complexity of college students who are in some cases dependents of their parents and in other cases viewed as adults.

Though not a policy focused on student achievement, the Buckley Amendment to the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) is a prime example of the complexity in the relationship among students, parents, and higher education institutions. FERPA established parameters for access to education records and at the elementary and secondary levels, parents have access to their children's' education records. Senator Buckley who sponsored the bill, argued that access to student education records was essential to parental involvement in elementary and secondary education. The rights regarding access to education records transfer from the parent to the student when the student turns 18 and is enrolled in an institution of higher education (though there are some exceptions). The legislative purpose of FERPA is

to promote communication between institutions and the parents of students (Weeks, 2001). Yet, some have viewed FERPA as a barrier to communication between higher education institutions and families (Kiyama et al., 2015), especially given the transfer of rights from parent to student. However, there are several ways parents may still access the educational records of students enrolled in an institution of higher education. For example, enrolled students may provide consent for their educational records to be released to their parents. Further, if the student is a "dependent student" (defined in Section 152 of the Internal Revenue Code and generally refers to the student claimed as a dependent on the parents' most recent income tax return), schools may disclose educational records to parents, without the consent of the eligible student (U.S. Department of Education, 2022b). Schools are required to notify parents and eligible students annually of their FERPA rights, though how schools communicate this information is at their discretion. Across education levels (primary, secondary, post-secondary), many schools post this information on their websites. Additionally, organizations such as College Parents of America, seek to promote parents' awareness and understanding of complex issues such as FERPA by providing advice to parents and easy access to FERPA consent forms through their website.

Federal policy seems to be incorporated less often into parental involvement programming or research in higher education compared to elementary and secondary education (e.g., NCLB is often cited as the reason for parental involvement efforts). As such, there is less scholarship on parental involvement federal policy and higher education (Kiyama & Harper, 2018). One area in which federal policy may incorporate parental involvement is through programming and partnerships regarding financial aid. The Higher Education Act seeks to "strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education," but it has not been reauthorized since 2008. The Biden presidential administration and Congress have acknowledged the need to overhaul the financial assistance structure and student loans (U.S. Department of Education, 2022a). Recent research shows that financial parenting (e.g., ways that parents socialize their children to manage their own finances) is related to higher levels of financial self-efficacy among student loan borrowers (Rudi et al., 2020) yet too much help from parents can be problematic for debt ignorance (Letkiewicz et al., 2019). Thus, parents may also benefit from guidance on how to structure their involvement and higher education institutions may benefit from guidance on creating effective partnerships with students and families. For example, The Every Student Succeed Act requires that school districts serving elementary and secondary schools develop a written family and community engagement policy, build schools' capacity to engage parents, and evaluate its family engagement policy and practices with meaningful input from families (Every Student Succeeds Act). At the post-secondary level, policymakers could consider crafting similar guidelines into the Higher Education Act which could be especially helpful as parents and students navigate the financial aspects of funding their education.

Despite the lack of federal policy regarding parental involvement and student achievement in postsecondary education, there are numerous examples of institutional programs that recognize and value the importance of parental involvement in student recruitment, retention, and success. Admissions offices often address parent concerns and questions; university orientation sessions routinely include parent/family sessions in addition to student orientation; campus events such as parent/family weekend are regularly scheduled activities (Savage & Petree, 2015). Further, the Association of Higher Education Parent/Family Program Professionals has more than 200 college/university institutional members and provides resources such as program planning and self-assessment guides to its member institutions (McKinney, n.d.). Yet, there is no federal coordination or oversight of such efforts and little research has been conducted that investigates the effectiveness of such programs.

Considering the current state of parent involvement in policy and programming, we make the following observations:

1. An active role of parents has been crafted into policies and programs across stages of students' development from elementary education to higher education.
2. Exactly what parental involvement entails changes across phases of development and educational contexts.

Previous research on parental role construction notes parents are viewed as active players (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009), and they may construct their roles to reflect the expectations and guidelines from various policies and programs. As shown in Figure 1, policies pertaining to parental involvement signal to parents that they *should* be involved in their children's education. For example, when parents receive information from the school their child attends about how to access educational records, it sends a message that parents should know about their child's educational progress. Details on procedures also guide parents on how to construct their role in the educational success of their child. Matos (2015) reported that despite financial constraints, Latino parents would send college-advertised care packages and attend Family Weekend programs because they did not want their children to feel alone at college. From a parental role construction perspective, these university programs and offerings may assist parents in constructing their roles.

In line with the bioecological model of human development, we also see new challenges and issues arise as parental involvement during college might involve financial socialization and concerns over too much involvement that were not previously of concern during other developmental phases or educational contexts. Figure 1 depicts this process as new forms of parental involvement (e.g., proximal processes) may emerge based on how parents construct their roles (e.g., parental beliefs that they should be involved), in the context of various policies or programs, race/ethnicity, SES,

across phases of development and educational settings. As student loan debt has soared to over $1.7 trillion (Hanson, 2022), parents may be involved in a variety of ways such as Parent Loan for Undergraduate Students (PLUS) or helping their children understand various financing options. Income Share Agreements (ISA) in which a student borrower receives a loan, then pays a percentage of their income after graduation, appeal to some families because parents do not have to cosign as they do for student loans. Though once lauded as one of the most noteworthy ISA's, Purdue University's "Back a Boiler" has also generated a considerable amount of controversy as students and parents have struggled to understand the long-term implications of such borrowing practices (Kelderman, 2022; Salmon, 2020). This is a compelling reason for the overhaul of the Higher Education Act to include guidelines and resources on parental involvement.

Conclusion

Parents play a critical role in their children's education. Given that parental involvement in early childhood continues to be the most common topic within the parental involvement literature (Addi-Raccah et al., 2021), attention on other important developmental periods is needed. Guided by parental role construction (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, 1997) and the bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), this targeted review focused on parental involvement during three developmental periods with salient education contexts: early adolescence and middle school/junior high, mid-adolescence and high school, and emerging adulthood and the transition to college. The research presented in this review highlighted three key issues. First, there is evidence that the associations between some dimensions of parental involvement and academic outcomes are nonlinear. This means that more parental involvement is not always better. Too much involvement can stifle or undermine adolescents' autonomy resulting in less intrinsic motivation or increases in extrinsic motivation (Wehrspann et al., 2016). Second, there are racial/ethnic differences in parental involvement and some racial/ethnic differences in the longitudinal effects of parental involvement on adolescents' academic achievement (James et al., 2019). Third, parental involvement in college has garnered more recent research attention as universities have responded to increasing parental engagement during this period (Kiyama et al., 2015; Weintraub & Sax, 2018). Lowe and Dotterer (2018) proposed a new conceptual definition of parental involvement during the transition to college that reflects the developmentally appropriate ways parents continue their involvement. Informed by parental role construction, these research contributions indicate that parental involvement is dynamic and is responsive to developmental needs and the contexts in which students are embedded.

ORCID

Aryn M. Dotterer http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4199-0165

References

Addi-Raccah, A., Dusi, P., & Seeberger Tamir, N. (2021). What can we learn about research on parental involvement in school? Bibliometric and thematic analyses of academic journals. *Urban Education*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859211017978

Alfaro, E. C. (2020). Communication frequency and types of supportive messages: A mixed methods approach to examining Mexican-origin college students' relationships with their mothers and fathers. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *19*(1), 52–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192718772663

Arnett, J. J. (2006). Emerging adulthood: Understanding the new way of coming of age. In J. J. Arnett & J. L. Tanner (Eds.), *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21st century* (pp. 3–19). American Psychological Association.

Arnett, J. J., & Schwab, J. (2012). *The Clark University poll of emerging adults, 2012: Thriving, struggling, and hopeful*. Clark University.

Aquilino, W. S. (2006). Family relationships and support systems in emerging adulthood. In J. J. Arnett & J. L. Tanner (Eds.), *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21st century* (pp. 193–217). American Psychological Association.

Banerjee, M., Harrell, Z. A., & Johnson, D. J. (2011). Racial/ethnic socialization and parental involvement in education as predictors of cognitive ability and achievement in African American children. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *40*(5), 595–605. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-010-9559-9

Barger, M. M., Kim, E. M., Kuncel, N. R., & Pomerantz, E. M. (2019). The relation between parents' involvement in children's schooling and children's adjustment: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *145*(9), 855–890. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000201

Benito-Gomez, M., Williams, K. N., McCurdy, A., & Fletcher, A. C. (2020). Autonomy-supportive parenting in adolescence: Cultural variability in the contemporary United States. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *12*(1), 7–26. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12362

Bhargava, S., & Witherspoon, D. P. (2015). Parental involvement across middle and high school: Exploring contributions of individual and neighborhood characteristics. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *44*(9), 1702–1719. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0334-9

Breinholst, S., Walczak, M. A., & Esbjørn, B. H. (2019). Do parental behaviours predict anxiety symptom levels? A 3 year follow up. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *28*(12), 3425–3432. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01524-3

Brody, G. H., & Murry, V. M. (2001). Sibling socialization of competence in rural, single-parent African American families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *63*(4), 996–1008. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00996.x

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological modelof human development. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.) *Handbook of child development: Vol 1. Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp 793–828). Wiley.

Brooks, J. E. (2015). The impact of family structure, relationships, and support on African American students' collegiate experiences. *Journal of Black Studies*, *46*(8), 817–836. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193471560

Ceballo, R., Maurizi, L. K., Suarez, G. A., & Aretakis, M. T. (2014). Gift and sacrifice: Parental involvement in Latino adolescents' education. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *20*(1), 116–127. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033472

Chen, Y. F., & Katz, J. E. (2009). Extending family to school life: College students' use of the mobile phone. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, *67*(2), 179–191. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhcs.2008.09.002

Chickering, A. W., & Reisser, L. (1993). *Education and identity* (The Jossey-Bass Higher and Adult Education Series). Jossey-Bass.

Chyung, Y. J., Lee, Y. A., Ahn, S. J., & Bang, H. S. (2022). Associations of perceived parental psychological control with depression, anxiety in children and adolescents: A meta-analysis. *Marriage & Family Review*, *58*(2), 158–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2021.1941496

Coard, S. I., & Sellers, R. M. (2005). African American families as a context for racial socialization. In V. C. McLoyd, N. E. Hill, & K.A. Dodge (Eds.) *African American family life: Ecological and cultural diversity*., 264–284.

Coll, C. G., Lamberty, G., Jenkins, R., McAdoo, H. P., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Garcia, H. V. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Dawson, M., & Pooley, J. A. (2013). Resilience: The role of optimism, perceived parental autonomy support and perceived social support in first year university students. *Journal of Education and Training Studies*, *1*(2), 38–49. https://doi.org/10.11114/jets.v1i2.137

Day, E., & Dotterer, A. M. (2018). Parental involvement and adolescent academic outcomes: Exploring differences in beneficial strategies across racial/ethnic groups. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *47*(6), 1332–1349. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0853-2

DeCuir-Gunby, J. T., & Schutz, P. A. (2014). Researching race within educational psychology contexts. *Educational Psychologist*, *49*(4), 244–260. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2014.957828

Dorsch, T. E., Lowe, K., Dotterer, A. M., & Lyons, L. (2016). Parent involvement in young adults' intercollegiate athletic careers: Developmental considerations and applied recommendations. *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport*, *9*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1123/jis.2015-0013

Dotterer, A. M., McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (2009a). The development and correlates of academic interests from childhood through adolescence. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *101*(2), 509–519. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013987

Dotterer, A. M., McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (2009b). Sociocultural factors and school engagement among African American youth: The roles of racial discrimination, racial socialization, and ethnic identity. *Applied Developmental Science*, *13*(2), 61–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690902801442

Eccles, J. S., & Roeser, R. W. (2009). Schools, academic motivation, and stage-environment fit. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology: Individual* (pp. 404–434). John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Epstein, J. L. (1995). School/Family/Community Partnerships: Caring for the children we share. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, *76*(9), 701–712.

Esparza, P., & Sánchez, B. (2008). The role of attitudinal familism in academic outcomes: A study of urban, Latino high school seniors. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *14*(3), 193–200. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.14.3.193

Fingerman, K. L., Cheng, Y. P., Kim, K., Fung, H. H., Han, G., Lang, F. R., Lee, W., & Wagner, J. (2016). Parental involvement with college students in Germany, Hong Kong, Korea, and the United States. *Journal of Family Issues*, *37*(10), 1384–1411.

Franklin, J. H. (2007). African American families. In H. P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black families* (4th ed., pp. 3–6). Sage.

Gonida, E. N., & Cortina, K. S. (2014). Parental involvement in homework: Relations with parent and student achievement-related motivational beliefs and achievement. *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*, *84*(Pt 3), 376–396. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjep.12039

Greene, N. R., Jewell, D. E., Fuentes, J. D., & Smith, V. C. (2019). Basic need satisfaction in the parental relationship offsets millennials' worries about the transition to college. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *159*(2), 125–137. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2019.1570905

Grolnick, W. S., & Slowiaczek, M. L. (1994). Parents' involvement in children's schooling: A multidimensional conceptualization and motivational model. *Child Development*, *65*(1), 237–252. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1994.tb00747.x

Hamilton, L., Roksa, J., & Nielsen, K. (2018). Providing a "leg up": Parental involvement and opportunity hoarding in college. *Sociology of Education*, *91*(2), 111–131. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040718759557

Hanson, M. (2022). *Student loan debt statistics. Education data initiative.* https://educationdata.org/student-loan-debt-statistics

Hanson, R., & Pugliese, C. (2020). *Parent and family involvement in education: 2019 (NCES 2020-076).* U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

Harper, C. E., Zhu, H., & Marquez Kiyama, J. (2020). Parents and families of first-generation college students experience their own college transition. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *91*(4), 540–564. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2019.1647583

Hill, N. E., Castellino, D. R., Lansford, J. E., Nowlin, P., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2004). Parent academic involvement as related to school behavior, achievement, and aspirations: Demographic variations across adolescence. *Child Development*, *75*(5), 1491–1509. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00753.x

Hill, N. E., & Tyson, D. F. (2009). Parental involvement in middle school: A meta-analytic assessment of the strategies that promote achievement. *Developmental Psychology*, *45*(3), 740–763. https://doi.org/10.037/a0015362

Holloway, S. D., & Jonas, M. (2016). Families, culture, and schooling. In K. R. Wentzel, G. B. Ramani (Eds.), *Handbook of social influences in school contexts: Social-emotional, motivation, and cognitive outcomes* (pp. 258–272). Taylor & Francis.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Ice, C. L., & Whitaker, M. C. (2009). We're way past reading together: Why and how parental involvement in adolescence makes sense. In N. E. Hill & R. K. Chao (Eds.), *Families, schools, and the adolescent* (pp. 19–36). Teachers College Press.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1995). Parental involvement in children's education: Why does it make a difference? *Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education*, *97*(2), 310–331. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146819509700202

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1997). Why do parents become involved in their children's education? *Review of Educational Research*, *67*(1), 3–42. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543067001003

Ingels, S. J., Pratt, D. J., Herget, D. R., Burns, L. J., Dever, J. A., Ottem, R., & Leinwand, S. (2011). *High school longitudinal study of 2009 (HSLS:09): Base-year data file documentation* (NCES 2011-328). National Center for Education Statistics.

James, A. G., Rudy, D., & Dotterer, A. (2019). Longitudinal examination of relations between school-and home-based parent involvement and GPA across ethnic groups. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *28*(11), 3000–3010. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01475-9

Jeynes, W. (2010). The salience of the subtle aspects of parental involvement and encouraging that involvement: Implications for school-based programs. *Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education*, *112*(3), 747–774.

Karbach, J., Gottschling, J., Spengler, M., Hegewald, K., & Spinath, F. M. (2013). Parental involvement and general cognitive ability as predictors of domain-specific academic achievement in early adolescence. *Learning and Instruction*, *23*, 43–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2012.09.004

Kelderman, E. (2022, May 20). How Purdue U.'s income-share agreement confused students. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. https://www.chronicle.com/article/how-purdue-u-s-income-share-agreement-confused-students

Kiyama, J. M., & Harper, C. E. (2018). Beyond hovering: A conceptual argument for an inclusive model of family engagement in higher education. *The Review of Higher Education*, *41*(3), 365–385. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2018.0012

Kiyama, J. M., Harper, C. E., Ramos, D., Aguayo, D., Page, L., & Riester, K. A. (2015). Parent and family engagement in higher education. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, *41*(6), 1–94. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.20024

LaRocque, M., Kleiman, I., & Darling, S. M. (2011). Parental involvement: The missing link in school achievement. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, *55*(3), 115–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/10459880903472876

Letkiewicz, J. C., Lim, H., Heckman, S. J., & Montalto, C. P. (2019). Parental financial socialization: Is too much help leading to debt

ignorance among college students? *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, *48*(2), 149–164. https://doi.org/10.1111/fcsr.12341

Li, A., Cheng, S., & Vachon, T. E. (2022). Too much of a good thing? Testing the curvilinear relationship between parental involvement and student outcomes in elementary school. *Social Forces*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soac001

Li, J., Holloway, S. D., Bempechat, J., & Loh, E. (2008). Building and using a social network: Nurture for low-income Chinese American adolescents' learning. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, *2008*(121), 9–25. https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.220

Lowe, K., & Dotterer, A. M. (2018). Parental involvement during the college transition: A review and suggestion for its conceptual definition. *Adolescent Research Review*, *3*(1), 29–42. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-017-0058-z

Matos, J. M. (2015). La familia: The important ingredient for Latina/o college student engagement and persistence. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *48*(3), 436–453. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2015.1056761

McKinney, L. (n.d.). *AHEPP: Family engagement in higher education*. https://aheppp.memberclicks.net/

Mo, Y., & Singh, K. (2008).) Parents' relationships and involvement: Effects on students' school engagement and performance. *RMLE Online*, *31*(10), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1080/19404476.2008.11462053

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2019). *The promise of adolescence: Realizing opportunity for all youth*. National Academies Press.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2016). *National postsecondary student aid study*. U.S. Department of Education. Institute of Education Sciences.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2020). *The condition of education*. U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences.

Pascarella, E. T. (1985). Students' affective development within the college environment. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *56*(6), 640–663. https://doi.org/10.3102/003465430305567

Pomerantz, E. M., Moorman, E. A., & Litwack, S. D. (2007). The how, whom, and why of parents' involvement in children's academic lives: More is not always better. *Review of Educational Research*, *77*(3), 373–410. https://doi.org/10.3102/003465430305567

Ramsey, M. A., Gentzler, A. L., Morey, J. N., Oberhauser, A. M., & Westerman, D. (2013). College students' use of communication technology with parents: comparisons between two cohorts in 2009 and 2011. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking*, *16*(10), 747–752. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2012.0534

Rios-Aguilar, C., & Deil-Amen, R. (2012). Beyond getting in and fitting in: An examination of social networks and professionally relevant social capital among Latina/o university students. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *11*(2), 179–196. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192711435555

Rogers, A. A., Updegraff, K. A., Iida, M., Dishion, T. J., Doane, L. D., Corbin, W. C., Van Lenten, S. A., & Ha, T. (2018). Trajectories of positive and negative affect across the transition to college: The role of daily interactions with parents and friends. *Developmental Psychology*, *54*(11), 2181–2192. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000598

Roksa, J., & Kinsley, P. (2019). The role of family support in facilitating academic success of low-income students. *Research in Higher Education*, *60*(4), 415–436. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-018-9517-z

Rudi, J. H., Serido, J., & Shim, S. (2020). Unidirectional and bidirectional relationships between financial parenting and financial self-efficacy: Does student loan status matter? *Journal of Family Psychology*, *34*(8), 949–959. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000658

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2020). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation from a self-determination theory perspective: Definitions, theory, practices, and future directions. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *61*, 101860. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2020.101860

Salmon, J. (2020). Financing higher education through equity, not debt: The case for income share agreements. *Journal of School Choice*, *14*(3), 371–394. https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2020.1769447

Savage, M., & Petree, C. (2015). *National survey of college and university parent programs: Survey conducted spring 2015*. https://theoxfordconclave.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/2015-National-Parent-Program-Survey.pdf

Sax, L. J., & Wartman, K. L. (2010). Studying the impact of parental involvement on college student development: A review and agenda for research. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 219–255). Springer.

Sax, L. J., & Weintraub, D. S. (2014). Exploring the parental role in first-year students' emotional well-being: Considerations by gender. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *51*(2), 113–127. https://doi.org/10.1515/jsarp-2014-0013

Singh, K., Bickley, P. G., Trivette, P., Keith, T. Z., Keith, P. B., & Anderson, E. (1995). The effects of four components of parental involvement on eighth-grade student achievement: Structural analysis of NELS-88 data. *School Psychology Review*, *24*(2), 299–317. https://doi.org/10.1080/02796015.1995.12085769

Smetana, J., & Chuang, S. (2001). Middle-class African American parents' conceptions of parenting in early adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *11*(2), 177–198. https://doi.org/10.1111/1532-7795.00009

Suizzo, M. A., Pahlke, E., Chapman-Hilliard, C., & Harvey, K. E. (2016). African American and Mexican American youths' college adjustment and perceptions of parental academic socialization: Interactions between ethnicity and parental education. *Research in Human Development*, *13*(3), 241–257. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2016.1194709

Swartz, T. T., Kim, M., Uno, M., Mortimer, J., & O'Brien, K. B. (2011). Safety nets and scaffolds: Parental support in the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *73*(2), 414–429. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00815.x

Tierney, W., & Auerbach, S. (2005). Toward developing an untapped resource: The role of families in college preparation. In W. G. Tierney, Z. B. Corwin & J. E. Colyar (Eds.), *Preparing for college: Nine elements of effective outreach* (pp. 29–48). State University of New York Press.

U.S. Department of Education. (2022a). *Biden-Harris administration extends student loan pause through August 31* [Press release]. https://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/biden-harris-administration-extends-student-loan-pause-through-august-31

U.S. Department of Education. (2022b). *Family educational rights and privacy act*. https://www2.ed.gov/policy/gen/guid/fpco/ferpa/index.html

Wang, M. T., & Sheikh-Khalil, S. (2014). Does parental involvement matter for student achievement and mental health in high school? *Child Development*, *85*(2), 610–625. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12153

Wartman, K. L., & Savage, M. (2008). Parental involvement in higher education: Understanding the relationship among students, parents, and the institution. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, *33*(6), 1–125. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.3306

Weeks, K. M. (2001). Family-friendly FERPA policies: Affirming parental partnerships. *New Directions for Student Services*, *2001*(94), 39–50. https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.10

Wehrspann, E., Dotterer, A. M., & Lowe, K. (2016). The nature of parental involvement in middle school: Examining nonlinear associations. *Contemporary School Psychology*, *20*(3), 193–204. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40688-015-0071-9

Weintraub, D. S., & Sax, L. J. (2018). The relationship between student-parent communication and first-year academic performance. *NACADA Journal*, *38*(1), 61–76. https://doi.org/10.12930/NACADA-16-045

Wolf, D. S., Sax, L. J., & Harper, C. E. (2009). Parental engagement and contact in the academic lives of college students. *NASPA Journal*, *46*(2), 325–358. https://doi.org/10.2202/1949-6605.6044

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*(1), 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006