

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND SCHOOL INVOLVEMENT
IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES:
UNDERSTANDING PARENTING SOCIAL PRACTICES
BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION

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Mariah M. Contreras

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Adviser: Jayanthi Mistry, Ph.D.

Abstract

New immigrant parents in the United States face a challenge learning to adjust to the American school culture and system. In the context of diverse immigration circumstances, parents' capacity to navigate American schools also varies widely. Yet should parents demonstrate engagement in their children's U.S. education, evidence shows that such parental practices are associated with optimal child outcomes. Using the construct of *social capital* to frame potentially advantageous practices across migration, the purpose of this study was to help understand new immigrants and their social practices in the U.S. and the home country. Using data from the 2003 New Immigrant Survey (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, & Smith, 2006), the study examined relationships between what immigrant parents ($N=1,215$) reported practicing prior to migration and their reported school involvement once in the U.S. Multinomial and logistic regression analyses revealed participation in religious practice prior to migration to be a significant predictor for increased odds of parental involvement at school and home.

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Social Capital and School Involvement in Immigrant Families:
Understanding Parenting Social Practices Before and After Migration

Historically, the United States has seen multiple large waves of immigration. While it did experience record-level proportions of a foreign-born population at the turn of the 20th century (Urban Institute, 2002), the wave at the turn of the 21st century takes on other claims of notice. The key distinction between the former waves of newcomers and the contemporary landscape of immigrant groups in the U.S. is the current diversity of immigrant groups; or, as Portes and Rumbaut (2006) claim “never before has the United States received immigrants from so many countries, from such different social and economic backgrounds, and for so many reasons” (p. 13). Across metropolitan, suburban, and rural communities alike, the increasing visibility and impact of new immigrant populations have far reaching implications, especially for communities that have experienced unprecedented new growth in foreign-born populations but do not have the social and organizational infrastructure necessary to absorb these newcomers. As the U.S. becomes an increasingly diverse nation there remain many unknowns about its “new wave” of diverse immigrant groups.

Alongside the increasing diversity of communities is the increasing diversity of U.S. schools with children of immigrants. In 2007, nearly 20 percent of U.S. school-aged children spoke a language other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). Immigrant families with school-aged children face a unique challenge in learning to adjust to the U.S. school culture and system. In the context of diverse immigration circumstances, immigrant parents’ capacity to

navigate U.S. schools also varies widely. While children mainly face adjustments within the school setting, immigrant parents face adjustments outside of the immediate school setting as but one domain of their parenting. Parents face potential adjustments in attitudes about schooling, expectations about roles in schooling, and decisions about the extent to which they wish to participate or engage in their children's education. While adjustment may be more streamlined for some immigrant parents, other parents may face challenges adjusting to U.S. school culture due to language barriers, employment or home demands, and/or gendered customs of who in the family interacts with school, among others (Fuligni, 1997).

Yet should immigrant parents demonstrate involvement and engagement with their children's education in the U.S., there is evidence that the attitudes and behaviors parents exhibit (or are perceived as exhibiting) are associated with children's improved self-regulation and peer relations (Hossain & Shipman, 2009; McWayne, Hampton, Fantuzzo, Cohen, & Sekino, 2004), their aspirations (Hill et al., 2004), their perceptions of support and closeness to family and peers (Kao, 2004), decreased risk behaviors (Wong & Hughes, 2006), and higher educational attainment (Hossain & Shipman, 2009; Keith & Lichtman, 1994; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Perna & Titus, 2005). Clearly there is a link between parenting practices and beliefs around schooling and positive child outcomes; and with this is the opportunity to understand immigrant families' adjustments to U.S. schools through their practice of parental school involvement.

Portes and Rumbaut (2006) maintained that immigrant parents who have higher human capital—as measured by income, education, and stability of occupation, all of which suggest access to resources—are better able to promote children’s adaptation to American culture, including adaptation to school. However, high income, high education attainment, and job stability are not characteristics of all immigrant parents, nor do they represent all the capital that immigrant parents can access to promote children’s adjustment. The authors, along with others (e.g., Allen, 2010; Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; Perna & Titus, 2005), have contended that for immigrant families who do not possess the optimal amounts of human capital, parental *social capital* is a key facilitator of children’s positive outcomes. Social capital is defined in the present study as *the extent to which individuals (or parents or families) make formal and informal connections to outside familial individuals and organizations as a way to access resources*. Resources can be thought of generally as items or actions that promote attainment of positive well being such as information, social support, or assistance with a problem.

How immigrants access social capital in the U.S. context has been an inquiry of scholars across multiple disciplines, for example; in education (Perna & Titus, 2005); in health (Veenstra, 2000); in labor economics (Whalen, 2008); in community development (Gittell, 1998); and religion (Allen, 2010). However, one must acknowledge that establishing social networks takes time and this is an important factor to consider when understanding social processes of new immigrants. How new immigrants have accessed social capital in their former

countries of residence is a process that remains largely unexamined and is a central feature of the present study. The purpose of the present study is to help understand new immigrants and their parenting social practices in the U.S. and in their home countries. This study examined what immigrant parents practiced in the varied contexts of their social worlds prior to migrating to the U.S., and how that relates to their practices of school involvement once in the U.S. Data were used from the 2003 New Immigrant Survey (Jasso et al., 2006) and the sample consisted of immigrant parents in the U.S. who had at least one child of school age at time of the research interview. Data were analyzed at multiple levels (i.e., individual and household levels) in two domains (i.e., school and home).

New Immigrants

Rumbaut (1994) has suggested that new immigrants to the U.S. well reflect the “polar-opposite types of migrations embedded” in the present day United States; they include the most educated sub-populations and least educated sub-populations, the most impoverished groups and those with the lowest poverty rates in U.S. society (p. 751). This expanse of sub-populations is readily seen in the diverse sampling examples of immigrant research. While Amer and Hovey (2007) examined second generation Arab-Americans, who “compared to the rest of the American population... tend to be younger, richer and better educated,” (p. 337), Kupersmidt and Martin (1997) studied migrant and seasonal workers in North Carolina, whose children are exposed to conditions of chronic poverty, and familial, residential, and school instability. Khuwaja, Selwyn, Kapadia, McCurdy, and Khuwaja (2007) provided the example on adolescent Ismaili

Muslim females from Pakistan and studied the prominent influence of religion and gender upon the females' acculturative stress (unique stressors of immigrants as they adapt to their new host culture); while Lorenzo, Pakiz, Reinherz, and Frost (1995) and Lorenzo, Frost, and Reinherz (2000) have provided examples of Asian American (Chinese, Hong Kong-ese, and Vietnamese) youth who face peer and social isolation as they reconcile mixed messages of autonomy and collectivist cultures.

The immigrant population expansion of the last three decades, especially marked by rapid growth in the 1990's, has resulted in a doubling of the foreign-born presence in the United States. In 1990, estimates of the country's foreign-born population fell just short of 20 million (approximately 7.9% of the population); estimates of the country's foreign-born population reached 31 million in 2000 and 38.1 million in 2007, or 12.6% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). While in 2000 more than two-thirds of foreign-born resided in the six major "gateway" states of California (28% of foreign-born), New York (12%), Texas (9%), Florida (9%), New Jersey (5%), and Illinois (5%), nineteen other states experienced doubling of foreign-born populations (Larsen, 2004; Urban Institute, 2002). Truly the impact of diverse new immigrants has permanently changed the landscape of the country.

Framework for diversity. Amidst needing to know from where new immigrants originate, what they face, and where they settle, Portes and Rumbaut (2006) have suggested it is important to understand the "socioeconomic origins" and "motives for departure" of new immigrants (p. 19). In other words, what do

new immigrants bring to the U.S. and under what circumstances are they allowed to enter the U.S. From this stance, the diversity of new immigrants is succinctly reduced to a “typology of contemporary immigrants” (p. 21). In this kind of typology, Portes and Rumbaut maintained that new immigrants could be distinguished along two principal dimensions; *personal resources* and *classification by the U.S. government* (p. 20). In terms of the personal resources of new immigrants, the authors categorized the extent of capacity in material capital and human capital (as defined above). Then the authors scaled capital in terms of the ability to sell labor (as in unskilled laborers), the ability to offer skilled or professional labor, and the ability to invest in entrepreneurial ventures. In terms of U.S. government classification, the authors categorized new immigrants by likely Visa application status, which extends from no status or unauthorized residency, to legal temporary residency, to legal permanent residency, and beyond that to refugee or asylee status (a special circumstance because unlike any other Visa status, these legal residents are eligible to receive U.S. government assistance). The resulting typology provides clarity about how new immigrant groups might enter the U.S. It also provides a general framework for understanding how to manage and examine the great diversity of new immigrants.

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement among immigrant populations. Whereas there are vast literatures, both empirical and qualitative in nature, that have examined the potential associations between parental school involvement and child

outcomes in the native-born U.S. population (for reviews see Fan & Chen, 2001; and Jeynes, 2003), the study of parental involvement in immigrant populations has only recently been gaining attention. Griffith (1998) has described the immigrant literature as belonging to three main areas: (a) at-risk studies, (b) descriptive studies of belief phenomena, and (c) outcome based studies (p. 54). From the emerging scholarship, prominent discussions have involved what traits and outcomes are associated with parental involvement, which mainly include language barriers (Fuligni, 1997), outcomes based on generational status (Kao, 2004), socio-economic status (Wong & Hughes, 2006), and cultural distance between home and school culture (López, et al., 2001; Tinkler, 2002).

Conditions that influence parental involvement. In addition to understanding the longitudinal impact of parental involvement, it is most central to the purposes of the present inquiry to understand the development of parental school involvement. In other words, what influences parental involvement? Scholars have given a great deal of attention to this question as they have described the different levels of context in which parental involvement takes place, the agents or participants in the practice of involvement (or decision to be involved), and the personal psychological features that influence to decision making and attitudes about school involvement.

Griffith (1998) has provided an example of the physical and social environmental influences upon parental involvement, in which the author reviewed why school characteristics and attitudes of school staff have shown significant effects upon parental involvement. Grolnick, Benjet, Kurowski, and

Apostoleris (1997) have focused at the family level, suggesting that parent-child relation characteristics, the family context, and the parents' interpretations of teacher behavior and attitudes are important contributions to parental involvement. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) have argued for inquiry in the rationalization of parental involvement; the authors have maintained that there is much to be learned from the psychology of parents in their constructions of their role in schooling and their senses of efficacy in involvement, especially when mapped upon what opportunities or invitations (or lack thereof) are presented to them to be involved.

Others have examined influences on parental involvement using a demographic lens in an attempt to find the best predictors of involvement. These types of inquiries lend themselves well to immigrant research because therein lies the opportunity to delineate both between-group and within-group differences that are essential for understanding immigrant diversity. For instance, Keith and Lichtman (1994) used data from the National Education Longitudinal Study and found that child previous achievement, child gender, parent country of birth, and language all had significant direct influence on school involvement for Mexican-American parents. Hossain and Shipman (2009) found significant differences between Mexican immigrant mothers and fathers, but were also able to predict increased paternal involvement by father's education and the presence of extra-familial supports, and decreased paternal involvement by larger family size. García Coll et al. (2002) have approached socio-demographic variables such as income, occupation, and education as a reflection of the extent to which parents

can gain the “structural benefits” of mainstream populations, and language and cultural practices as a reflection of immigrant parents’ extent of acculturation. By examining multiple domains of involvement, the authors found that English language comfort was an influential factor in reports of parental involvement within Cambodian, Dominican, and Portuguese enclaves.

Measuring parental involvement. Prominent in the literature on parental involvement has been the debate on how to define (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Wong & Hughes, 2006), operationalize (Fan & Chen, 2001; López et al., 2001) and measure involvement (García Coll et al., 2002; McWayne et al., 2004; Tinkler, 2002). For instance, Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) discussed parental involvement as a general function of parenting, in which parents show commitment and effort to distal “optimal” outcomes for children: School involvement is but one example of this grander functioning, of “dedication of resources within a domain” (p. 238). Wong and Hughes (2006), on the other hand, prepared this definition of parental school involvement:

Parent involvement in school refers to the efforts made by parents or primary caretakers that directly support the academic success of their children or administrative needs of their children's schools as well as perceptions of the quality of home-school interactions. Parent involvement practices can be initiated by parents or by teachers and can be based at home or in school (p. 3).

Discussions around operationalizing parental involvement are especially germane to immigrant populations; key cultural differences in the “home” beliefs, attitudes,

and practices of immigrants might not map onto U.S. school system norms.

These norms focus on what López et al. (2001) referred to as “formal views” of the institution of schooling (as realized by its administrators and teachers), and the authors argued that research needs to examine the imbued or “informal views” of immigrant families. Similarly, Wong and Hughes (2006) conceived how parental involvement may manifest differently in different groups.

Fan and Chen (2001) have claimed that too much of the field’s empirical measures of parental involvement remain unidimensional, and that parental involvement would be “better to be perceived as multifaceted because [it] subsumes a wide variety of parental behavior patterns and parenting practices,” (p.3). Supporting the authors’ critical praise for Joyce Epstein’s influential work on “involvement types,” the emphasis on dimensionality has indeed been seen across both empirical and qualitative frameworks. For instance, Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) measured the dimensions of behavior, affective and non-verbal expression, and the intention of intellectual exposure in the domains of home and school to capture parent’s “dedication of resources.” García Coll et al. (2002) measured dimensions of values, school-based involvements, home-based involvements, and echoed Grolnick and Slowiaczek’s emphasis on resources. In an investigation that considered the historic barriers to involvement for Latino parents, Tinkler (2002) measured dimensions of school environs, home culture and language, the education level of Latino parents, psychological relationships and attitudes of schooling, and logistic issues. McWayne et al. (2004) and Fantuzzo, Tighe, and Childs (2000) have supported the value of measuring

parental involvement within school-based, home-based, and inhibitory-based dimensions for historically low-income, ethnic minority-majority communities in the U.S. Furthermore, López, et al. (2001) have also discerned involvement as school-based and home-based in their consideration of migrant children and family hardships.

Gaps in the literature. In addition to the call for multi- and cross-dimensionality of measures, gaps that exist in the literature regarding the influences of parental involvement for immigrant parents surround migration itself. Measures, regardless of dimensionality or integrity, have captured the attitudes, beliefs, and reported practices of families as they function in the U.S. context, that is, to date there has been little captured to determine *what practices and processes are rooted in pre-migration experiences*. Parental involvement as a form of social practice could be what Fernández-Kelly (2008) has argued exists as *habitus* in the transference of cultural capital among immigrants from pre-migration to post-migration and further through second-generation life; in which families maintain key dimensions of cultural heritage in order to reach objectives for future generations. This has led to the question: Could there be potential to examine features of parental attitudes, beliefs, and practices throughout the process of migration?

Social Capital

Social capital is a sociological concept that has been used to help explain certain implications of social interactions and relationships between individuals, organizations, and communities. Social capital has been defined loosely by many

different scholars, but for the purposes of the proposed study it is cogent to consider Portes' (1998) explanation of how "the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks and other social structures" (¶ 17) enables one to understand community, familial, and individual outcomes. This notion has been readily applied as an asset within the networks of new immigrants. In fact, Portes has also reviewed how empirical literature illustrates the basic functioning of social capital as a "source for familial support [and] as a source of benefits through extrafamilial networks" (¶ 26), which suitably align with the dimensional emphases in frameworks on parental involvement.

Social capital as participation. In considering the definition above, the task of measuring social capital is thus essentially the task of measuring membership in social networks and structures. One way in which to do this is to enumerate the members of relevant social and civic groups. However, membership can more meaningfully be measured through participation, or, the existence of practices and efforts put forth by individuals in or for social and civic groups. While recognizing that social capital takes on many forms, Putnam (2000) focused his examination of the historic post-industrial trends of social capital and civic engagement in the U.S. through participation. The author has provided a framework for measuring social capital as participation in four principal "formal" domains; (a) political life, what he terms the country's "most public forum" (p. 27), (b) community and civic life, (c) religious life, and (d) work and professional life. The author has also acknowledged the importance of "informal" domains such as cliques, leagues, and gatherings, as well as clear ties

between social capital and perceptions of philanthropy, community, and trust of groups and individuals.

Social capital as a practice-oriented way to understand relations. The overarching concept of social capital is heavily ingrained in the existence and promotion of social networks (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2001; Onyx & Bullen, 2000). In light of the present study, this process relates to immigrant parents' ability and practice of being social and making ties. Coleman (1998) has distinguished two roles of social networks; the first is the development of obligations and expectations of network members and the second is the channeling of information to network members. The author defines social capital as a product of its function. The functioning parts are contained within a social relation sphere and a social structure sphere. The former details how participants are active social agents who trust and are extended by obligations to other agents; who provide, receive, and build "information channels" with one another; and who collectively reinforce social norms of community. Whereas the latter describes the settings of the active social agents (he refers to them as "actors"), that promote the function of social capital, mainly having close community ties in and between agents and having institutions that provide spaces for social information transference. Coleman (1988) has empirically demonstrated how potential deficits in one functional sphere of social capital, mainly intergenerational closure, can have negative effects on school outcomes.

Onyx and Bullen (2000) have summarized the tenets of social capital literature as residing in the interlocking of networks, the reciprocity of the

obligations and expectations within a network, and finally the derived trust of network members. The authors have also emphasized the resulting variation in how the social capital is enacted upon, and how the density and commitments of certain networks are both supportive and restrictive to its network members while other networks receive more illusory support but are able to be more fluid amid intersecting networks. This echoes the idea of “bonding” and “bridging” capital introduced by Putman (2000): Here, “bonding” capital reinforces identity and norms through inward-drawn ties of common relations and “bridging” capital exposes individuals to new inputs through outward-oriented ties of non-obvious relations. Mistry and Wu (2010) have provided an example of this: The authors described how established immigrant enclaves might serve as a support network for community members, but concurrently they might limit the extent to which an individual member can venture past the thickly integrated ties and obligations of that community.

As the Mistry and Wu (2010) example starts to reveal, the above is not to suggest that social capital is linked solely to positive outcomes. Portes (1998) forewarned that social capital should not be considered a “cure-all” for societal problems and Putnam readily suggested that “there are some forms of social capital that are good for some things and not for others” (2001, p. 42). On the extreme end, acts of human terror, aggression, and neglect can also be supported and reinforced through the social participation in networks. Less apparent is the notion that deep ties and obligations to others may chronically stress individuals in certain circumstances. However, for the purpose to the present study, it is

important to consider social capital as the advantageous promotion of positive social practices.

Considering social capital at neighborhood, community, and individual levels, researchers have posited that benefits to optimal well being in many domains of life comes via access to resources, diffusion of information, and the promotion (or social norming) of healthful practices (Veenstra, 2000). Kawachi (1999) demonstrated that social capital influences health in a study in which trust and, more so, reciprocity showed positive correlations to health status, though results were aggregated at the state level. The author rationalized the use of social capital because it “provides a useful framework for identifying the potential resources available within a community to improve the health of its members” (p.128). Veenstra (2000) also examined the relationship between social capital and health status. The author considered the influence of an individual’s social capital on personal health, controlling for socio-economic status and found that religious service attendance and club/league participation were related to health status.

Allen (2010) has illustrated how religious institutions “can play a bonding role by reaffirming national or ethnic identities and allowing immigrants to practice familiar rituals and maintain transnational connections” and also a “bridging role by conceptually and practically connecting them to the wider American society and culture” (p.1050). In the author’s qualitative study of Catholic (“religious majorities” in the study’s northern New England city) and Muslim (the city’s “religious minorities”) refugees, participation in religious life

served as an entrée to the benefits of social capital, however the two groups gained capital differently. Whereas the Catholic refugees were able to access both bonding and bridging social capital through their church, the Muslim refugees primarily accessed bonding social capital through their mosque.

In the schooling literature, parental involvement has been assessed as part of the dimensional qualities of social capital. Horvat et al. (2003) show that increased efforts to access material and non-material resources (as opposed to increased efforts in creating network ties) is embodied *in* parental involvement, parent-child relationships (e.g., modeling), and intergenerational closure in which community adults act as guardian eyes to all children. Perna and Titus (2005) illustrated the link between parental involvement, as a form of social capital, to increased enrollment in two and four year colleges for minority students, though the authors also acknowledged the need for increased material resources in families that lack traditional forms of human capital.

Social capital within the settings of family life: NAC conceptual model. Developed from sociocultural and cultural psychology perspectives, Mistry and Wu's (2010) Navigating Across Cultures (NAC) conceptual model has identified potential interactions of community, familial, and individual settings and practices which bring meaning to an individual's development and capacity, or "expertise," to navigate multiple cultural worlds. The NAC model has addressed the unique challenge posed to individuals who experience minority status within their community context and, emphasizes the strengths these individuals have in regards to reconciling contexts of minority and majority

cultures from the position of the minority. In U.S. society, immigrant parents experience this unique challenge and face circumstances that non-immigrant parents do not face. Thus the present study drew upon NAC as a way to provide a conceptual depiction for the circumstances of the immigrant experience.

In an effort to gain a more robust understanding of the immigrant experience, much of the literature on immigrants has produced a “call to action” for future research. Scholars have recommended the use of static socio-demographic control variables, such as socio-economic status or country of origin, and aggregated variables, such as family stress or acculturation scores, in analyses of families and individuals (Neto, 2009; Pawliuk et al., 1996; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). However, Mistry and Wu (2010) have pushed further and have stressed examination of the “function of human activity” (p. 7) whereby human participation in cultural activities and use of cultural tools are what they argue ultimately brings to bear on the development and outcomes of an individual. Thus, whereas static variables or labels such as *ethnicity* might be useful in grouping individuals, the authors intimated that such variables should not be used to explain behavior or outcomes. Rather, the authors have pushed for a further experiential understanding of the socio-demographic variables. Individuals who share the same ethnic heritage may experience their ethnicity differently. Consider, for example, how a seasonal worker who is Salvadoran might interact with children’s school teachers in a rural, homogenously European-American town as opposed to a young Salvadoran mother’s interaction with her children’s school teachers in an ethnically diverse metropolitan setting.

In addition to the activity and use of cultural tools at an individual level, Mistry and Wu (2010) have built upon existing frameworks to understand how familial settings, ethno-theories, and practices structure individual experiences (see Figure 1). The authors have argued that family-level context provides the “daily settings of life” for both the family and the individual. Thus from an examination of characteristics at this level, researchers can understand *how* families respond to their environment by what economic and social resources families access to move through life and concurrently what challenges they face. Further the authors suggested that just as characteristics at the family-level provide the “daily setting” for an individual, these characteristics could also represent the larger community context. Wherein knowing that a family perceives itself as facing discrimination could shed light onto the experiences of a child in that family, this family characteristic could also bring meaning to the racial/ethnic diversity characteristics of the community.

Lastly, the NAC framework tolerates the heterogeneity of the immigrant experience and enables the plotting of the variation of family experiences along multiple, non-linear trajectories. The authors have pointed specifically to the impact of a “salience hierarchy” (2010, p. 15) for groups, families, and individuals who experience life as minorities, noting that the timing and importance of exposure to one’s existence as a minority is individually interpreted. Thus NAC allows for multiple trajectories across the community, familial, and individual levels, as well as multiple outcomes at the individual level all the while maintaining its integrity to the overall process of gaining skill in

“navigation.” For families who experience the process of migration, this conceptualization suggests that although migration itself is sequential, the timing of critical events, the climate and composition of settings, and ultimate aims of migration, might not unfold in the same manner across groups. Further understanding of the variation of influences within the migration process has potential to contextualize on the “salience hierarchy” for new immigrants.

Social capital as a family- and community-based asset. In alignment with a central construct of the Mistry and Wu (2010) “Family Settings Characteristics” (see Figure 1), indicators of family and social capital emerge as promising features of families throughout the migration process.

Linking back to the framework of NAC, Mistry and Wu (2010) have asserted that “human capital and the nature of [a family’s] social capital are features of the family setting that represent relevant community characteristics” (p. 15-16). In the present investigation, the representation of social capital at the family-level can provide a more contextualized picture of the communities in which new immigrants reside as well as how an individual child’s schooling is situated within that family’s daily setting. A prevailing discussion in social capital literature has been how social capital provides the opportunity to increase any given individual’s human capital. This is also a discussion of Hyatt (n.d.), who has described how when represented at the family-level, social capital capacity emerges from within the family structure. The author has presented how “affective and instrumental supports” (p. 4) within the family structure are the essential practices needed to “produce” individuals who are capable of adding to

the supportive family structure. This implies that at the group-level, families have the potential, through practices, to structure individual outcomes, (e.g., involvement, achievement, or well being) and bolster an individual's human capital via social capital.

Acknowledging Cultural and Migration Influences

Influence of culture. A review of the current literature indicates there is a need in the field to understand potential influences of immigrants' "home" culture. Currently, there are some measurements that reflect attitudes and values regarding differences in culture; however what Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) term "process variables" of practices remain static and are situated within the U.S. context only. Understanding the practices of immigrants' "home" culture within the context of their "home" culture could shed light on some of the barriers for parental involvement in the U.S. for immigrant parents. Learning what practices took place in the "home" culture could also show the derivation of involvement practices in the U.S. or conversely highlight which practices immigrant parents extinguish in the U.S.

Influence of time. Furthermore, current literature on social capital in immigrant groups has focused, and with good rationale, on continuity of culture, intergenerational closure, and adjustments to social norms. The maturation and development of relationships is certainly acknowledged in the literature, but overall there has been less emphasis on temporal effects. The experiences of new immigrants to the U.S. might illuminate the influence of time on building social capital in a new country. Due to the limited time new immigrants have in their

new setting, it is plausible that a triage of parenting practices might dictate life at first and so investigators can examine these questions: Which practices show ease in continuity, or, which practices “stick”? Conversely, which practices take longer or are more difficult to revive in routines of immigrant families, and again, which practices are extinguished all together after migrating to the U.S.?

Influence of migration. Migration is the dynamic and influential process central to the experience of immigrant families in the U.S. It is the quintessential experience that remains distinct for foreign-born individuals and families. Therefore, it is necessary to consider circumstances of migration as relevant features of variation that are potentially associated with immigrant parental involvement.

Much of the reviewed literature examined features of immigrant families in the U.S. context. However, it is important to remember that the U.S. context does not, alone, constitute the migration process. While many of the parental involvement studies have highlighted the U.S. context, there are theoretical literatures that have addressed themes across migration experiences as well as the overall structure of migration. The reflection on the “uprooting” experience (James, 1997), the loss of the familiar (Davies & McKelvey, 1998; Hicks, Lalonde, & Pepler, 1993; Salehi, 2009), and separation-and-reconnection of family who migrate at separate junctures (as reviewed by Chuang & Gielen, 2009; Khanlou & Crawford, 2006; Garcia, Duckett, Saewyc, & Bearinger, 2007) are common themes that have addressed the experiential heterogeneity of immigrant populations.

In regards to the structure of migration, Salehi (2009) has addressed the migration process as two-fold; the pre-migration phase and the post-migration experience. The author claimed the natures of these two periods differ quite a bit, as the pre-migration phase focuses on what is normative for the individual and the post-migration phase calls for a focus on adjustment and connectedness of the individual within a new, unfamiliar environment. The author has also recognized the existence of a “point of entry” period in which journey experiences and the switch from familiar to unfamiliar occur and have the potential to impact post-migration experience. Davies and McKelvey (1998) addressed the process, conditions, and experiences of migration as three-fold; premigratory, migratory, and post-migratory. The authors focused on the great complexity of the experience, but overall discuss a linear “process of adapting” that leads to change in individual behavior and attitude.

In regards to literature on immigrant parental school involvement, it is clear that there has been great emphasis on the post-migration experience. Given this context, one must assume that much of the experience of migration is suppressed or absent when reporting on migration influences on immigrant families and practices. Therefore there is a need to bolster the inquiries on parental involvement to include pre-migration and migration experiences so that a more holistic understanding of the many different factors can be considered in analyses and reporting. Further, there is potential that each phase of the migration experience is distinct from others and that factors that reside in one phase might not be present in either of the other phases. Examining such specificity may well

enable the field to better understand the complexity and variation found in U.S. immigrant family research.

Research Aims and Hypotheses

The principal aim of this study was to analyze post-settlement parental involvement in the dimensions of school and home life by examining prominent characteristics of parental social capital in pre-migration lives. Using a secondary data resource, the 2003 New Immigrant Survey (Jasso et al., 2006), the study operationalized parental involvement by measuring involvement practices at school and homework monitoring within the home; and social capital by measuring the extent to which parents participated in religious, social, and political activities prior to moving to the U.S. Thus, the first research question the study addressed was: What is the relationship between the social practices, support, and engagement of immigrant parents in their respective pre-migration communities and the patterns of their involvements at school and within the home in their post-settlement life?

In view of the fact that research on social capital has been operationalized and measured as processes that are positively associated with parental involvement, but are subject to social/cultural norms and timely relationship building, the study tested three main hypotheses:

1. The practice of religion provides parents access to community members, resources, and support for cultural adaptation. Religious participation also provides structure within familial life, and given that many school-aged children join in religious life with their parents, this increases parent-child

interaction. Thus, the author hypothesized *religious activity* would be positively associated with parental involvement and significantly predict both parental involvement at school and home.

2. Being engaged in social and civic life has shown to provide individuals and families with the networking, support, and informational resources that would help the adjustment of immigrant parents in the new U.S. setting. Thus, the author hypothesized that *social activity* would be positively associated with parental involvement and significantly predict both parental involvement at school and home.
3. Being engaged in community political life and having an interest in public affairs also reflects ties to community, understanding networking, and informational resources that might also assist in practices of school involvement for new immigrant parents. Thus, the author hypothesized that *political activity* would be positively associated with parental involvement and significantly predict both parental involvement at school and home.

Method

Sample

The present investigation examined 1,215 adult immigrants 18 years of age and older who were a sub-sample (14%) of the first full cohort of Princeton University's 2003 New Immigrant Survey (NIS) adult sample ($N= 8,573$) (Jasso et al., 2006). The sub-sample consisted of new immigrants who, at the time of baseline interview, indicated that they had at least one child who was of school-

age in the U.S school system and were able to complete the survey's "Section L: Parent-Guardian" measure. It is important to note here that the present subsample of parents is not representative of the full NIS adult sample (which is described below).

The full NIS adult sample is geographically representative, covering the top 85 metropolitan statistical areas of the U.S. It is representative of all adult immigrants who have visas as principals or as accompanying spouses to a principal visa holder. All participants have admission as a lawful permanent resident (LPR) to the U.S. as either a "new arrival" immigrant or an "adjustee immigrant" (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, & Smith, 2004, p.2), the former having acquired LPR status abroad, and the latter having obtained LPR status while already in the U.S.

New Immigrant Survey Design

The present study employed a cross-sectional design drawing upon survey data from a secondary source, the NIS dataset (Jasso et al., 2006). In an effort to understand the nature of immigration in the United States, the Office of Population Research at Princeton University surveyed myriad features of the background, circumstances, and post-settlement experiences of foreign-born individuals. Additionally, the NIS was designed with the intention that the instrument surveys could provide a practical comparison to those instruments used in major U.S. longitudinal surveys, thus facilitating a comparison of new immigrant and U.S.-born populations. With emphases on pre-immigration and migration histories, employment and health-based statuses, and social interactions

within communities and families, NIS is able to detail many aspects of the circumstances and statuses of new immigrants (Jasso et al., 2004).

Moreover, the NIS survey explicitly targets the constructs of parental involvement, human capital, and social capital which was advantageous for the purposes of the present investigation. Additionally, it contains the indicators that previous research has deemed necessary for the purpose of statistical control, such as country of origin, gender, and other socio-economic variables.

Measures

The key constructs and variables to address the above research question were derived from the frameworks discussed in the literature review to address gaps in the field. The study framed parental involvement and social capital as types of parenting social practices with regard to Putnam (2000), in multiple domains (vis-à-vis García Coll et al., 2007) in the family setting (Mistry & Wu, 2010). With these priorities in mind, the study pursued the NIS database to determine whether there were survey items that represented the constructs of interest, mainly (a) parental involvement at school and at home in the U.S. context, (b) social capital in pre-migration experience, and (c) demographic predictors common in the literature. The resulting variables from this construction are listed below.

Dependent Variables

Parental Involvement at School is an additively computed variable that reflects the respondent parent's report of (a) having attended a school meeting, (b) having phoned or spoken to a school teacher or counselor, (c) having visited

child's classes, and/or (d) having volunteered to help at school. The variable is indexed from 0 (no involvement) – 4 (affirmation of involvement via all 4 items).

Additionally, the present study examined Parental Involvement at school as a dichotomous variable, which was additively derived from the variable described above, in which no involvement, 1 affirmation of involvement, or 2 affirmations of involvement indicate 0 = “Low Parental Involvement”; and 3 affirmations of involvement or 4 affirmations of involvement indicate 1 = “High Parental Involvement”. This split emphasizes the increasing level of interaction residing in the items, meaning that respondents who are in the “High Parental Involvement” level must have reported having visited and/or volunteered in their child's class and thus have had practiced involvement in the school setting of their child. “Low Parental Involvement” may include those items, but does not necessarily mean so, because a parent could report phoning and attending a school meeting instead, neither of which necessarily involve the child nor guarantee interaction in the school setting.

Parental Monitoring of Schoolwork reflects the respondent parent's report of homework monitoring. The respondent reports either having never, rarely, sometimes, or often checked child's homework in the home. The variable is indexed from 1 (never) to 4 (often).

Likewise, the study also examined Parental Monitoring of Schoolwork at home as a dichotomous variable parallel to the Parental Involvement dichotomous variable described above. The variable is derived from the Parental Monitoring categorical variable in which “never” or “rarely” responses indicate 0 = “Low

Parental Monitoring”; and “sometimes” or “often” responses indicate 1 = “High Parental Monitoring.”

Independent Variables

Religious Activity reflects the respondent’s frequency of participation in religious services prior to living in the United States. It is indexed low-to-high frequency, 1-4; the respondent reports attending religious services never/rarely, monthly basis, a weekly basis, or on a daily basis (more than once a week).

Social Activity reflects whether or not the respondent supported or participated in various types of social groups prior to living in the United States. The dichotomous variable is indexed 0 (no affirmations) to 1 (affirms activity). Affirmative response in any of the following six items then indicates social activity, (1): Having given to an ethnic or national association, given to a labor union, given to a professional organization, given to a charity organization, given to a sports association, and/or given to a social or community group.

Political Activity reflects whether or not the respondent supported or participated in various types of politically-aligned groups or efforts prior to living in the United States. The dichotomous variable is indexed 0 (no affirmations) to 1 (affirms activity). Affirmative response in any of the following seven items then indicates political activity, (1): Talked politics, signed a petition, contacted a public official, attended a public meeting, supported a political candidate, worked for a political party or a candidate, and/or having given money to political party or a candidate.

Demographic Variables (listed alphabetically)

Adjustee indicates whether the respondent is an 'adjustee' Visa applicant, meaning the individual has been residing in the United States and is eligible to adjust to a lawful permanent resident, or a 'new arrival' applicant who acquires Visa documents abroad. It is categorized as 0 (New Arrival) or 1 (Adjustee).

Education is a measure that represents the number of years of schooling reported by the respondent which, though no exact measure is available, approximate the number of years in the U.S. school system (vis-à-vis Akee & Yuksel, 2008). The variable is categorized by number of years; 1 = 6 years of schooling experience or less, 2 = 7 through 12 years of schooling experience (or high school experience), 3 = 13 through 16 years of schooling (or undergraduate/post-high school training experience), and 4 = more than 16 years of schooling (or graduate level experience).

Employment The demographic control variable is a category representing the nature of the respondent's employment status. The variable's categories include Working, Laid off / Cannot Work / Not Working, Homemaker, Other.

English Proficiency reflects the respondent's English proficiency along the dimensions of comprehension (How well do you understand spoken English?) and speaking ability (How well do you speak English?) that were categorized as 'not at all', 'not well', 'well', and 'very well'. The variable is indexed 1-4, in which 1 indicates low English understanding and low English speaking skills, 2 indicates high English understanding but low English speaking skills, 3 indicates low

understanding but high English speaking skills, and 4 indicates high skills in both understanding and speaking.

Household is a measure of the number of people, including respondent, who at the time of the interview were living at the respondent's place of residence. The variable is categorized by size; 1 = 4 or less individuals is Moderate, 2 = more than 4 but less than or equal to 9 individuals is Large, and 3 = more than 9 individuals is Very Large.

Region of Origin reflects the respondent's "home" country, measured by her/his self reported "country of nationality". For grouping purposes, the 27 regions originally computed were grouped into 4 larger geographic regions (vis-à-vis Akee & Yuksel, 2008); categories include 1 = South, East, and South East Asian / Pacific Oceania Regions, 2 = African Regions, 3 = Mexico, Caribbean / South and Central American Regions, and 4 = Northern North American, Arctic, and European Regions.

VISA Status The demographic control variable indicates under which major Visa categories the respondent falls. The current study will collapse the original 9 categories found within the data set into logical summary categories (vis-à-vis Portes & Rumbaut, 2006); the 6 compiled categories are 1 = Spouse Preferences, 2 = Family Preferences (non-spousal), 3 = Employment Preferences (Visa preference given to agent- or employment-based and sponsored immigrants, of which there are 5 tiered categories), 4 = Diversity Preferences (Visas which are drawn from countries that have low rates of migration to the United States, for which immigrant applicants do not need a sponsor), 5 = Refugee / Asylum /

Legalization (former legal permanent residents who lost residency for reasons outside of individual's control, and 6 = Other (as left undefined by the original authors).

Procedure

NIS researchers conducted sampling procedures from May to November in 2003, in which NIS and the Office of Population Research obtained records of all new legal immigrants from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Office of Immigration Statistics. The NIS principal investigators refined the records via study parameter exclusions and then referred the revised list to the National Opinion Research Center for random sample selection (Jasso et al., 2004, p. 7).

The NIS first cohort interviews took place from June 2003 through June 2004. Approximately 60% of the total adult sample interviews were administered over the phone, while 40% were administered in-person (Jasso et al., 2004). Phone and in-person interviews were conducted with the adult immigrants and, when available, the sampled adults' spouses and children. The authors have maintained that a crucial element of their data collection procedures was that first contacts with participants occurred as soon as possible following a participant's attainment of lawful permanent residence status. The research team found that successful first contacts were made by the research assistants when contacting the address to which the permanent resident card was mailed as soon as the information became available to them from INS.

Another important component to the data collection was that a participant was given the opportunity to respond in her/his choice language (Jasso et al., 2004). The surveys were fully translated into Mandarin, Korean, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Tagalog, and Vietnamese, while main concept pieces and consent forms were translated into seven additional languages (Jasso et al., 2004). In total, approximately 40% of interviews were conducted in English, 30% were conducted in Spanish, and 18% of interviews were conducted in the other languages mentioned above (Trustees of Princeton University, 2005). Bilingual interviewers and foreign language interpreters were used for non-English interviews (Jasso et al., 2004).

Analytic Approach

The present study used parallel logistic and multinomial regression models in order to examine the relative relationships between participation and non-participation in parental religious activity, social activity, and political activity prior to migration to the U.S. on the odds that, in the U.S. setting, the parent was (a) involved with her/his child's education at the school and (b) involved with her/his child's education at home via homework monitoring. For the purposes of comparing potential large group influences, logistic regression analysis was considered the most useful because it could explain differences. For the purposes of understanding more specific relationships that occur between the different levels of the dependent variables, multinomial regression analysis was considered the most useful. The study also examined bivariate correlations prior to regression analysis to assess the extent to which significant covariation might

occur within the model. In addition, cross-tabulations were conducted to examine trends that surfaced in the regression models.

Missing Data and Sample Weights. Cases from the sample were deleted listwise in the present study if any of the 12 model variables (as described above) were missing from the respondent's profile. The full sub-sample of parents who completed the NIS "Section L: Parent-Guardian" sub-measure was 1,354, thus a decrease of 139 (or 10.27%) from the original sub-sample represents the 1,215 cases that were considered in analyses. Sample weights were not used in the analyses of the present study.

Results

In review, the present study asked the following research question: What is the relationship between the social practices, support, and engagement of immigrant parents in their respective pre-migration communities and the patterns of their involvements at their children's school and within the home in their post-settlement life? To examine this aim, three hypotheses were tested:

1. Religious Activity will positively predict both parental involvement at school and parental monitoring of homework.
2. Social Activity will positively predict both parental involvement at school and parental monitoring of homework..
3. Political Activity will positively predict both parental involvement at school and parental monitoring of homework.

These hypotheses were addressed using a series of two parallel multinomial regression analyses on the Parental Involvement 1-5 and Parental

Monitoring 1-4 categorical dependent variables, followed by two parallel logistic regression analyses on the two dichotomous dependent variables.

Descriptive Analysis

Demographic backgrounds provide an initial understanding of the NIS 2003 cohort respondents who were parenting school-aged children at the time of data collection (see Tables 1 and 2). As shown in Table 1, over 94% (n= 1,146) of respondents in the present study were female and over 52% (n= 632) of the respondents were born in the 1960's, thus a majority of the sample was approximately 34-44 years of age at the time of interview.

The sample was certainly diverse in geographic origins, with over 27 countries represented at present in four expansive regions (described above, see Table 2). Over 22% of the sample originated from Mexico (n=268). Additionally, the sample was racially/ethnically diverse; over half of the sample reported being White (55.4%), 47.2% of respondents self-reported as being Hispanic/Latino, 26.6% of respondents self-reported as being Asian, and 7.2% self-reported as being Black/African American. This tally supports the well-documented notion of the overlapping nature of race and ethnicity self-reports in immigrant groups that do not adhere to the U.S. Census-standardized categorization of race and ethnicity [see Rodríguez, 2000]. Moreover, just under half (49.1%) of the sample self-reported their religion as Catholicism, followed by Protestantism (15.4%), and Orthodox Christianity (9%). Non-Christian denominations were less frequently reported: Muslims made up 5.9% of the sample, Hindus 7.9%, Buddhists 3%, and Jewish respondents made up 1%.

“Other Religion” respondents, such as Jehovah’s Witnesses, Mormons, or tribal communities, represented 3.2% of the sample, while 7.9% of respondents reported having “No Religion.”

Model variables are summarized in Table 2. In terms of the outcome variable, 42% of the sample fit the Low Parental Involvement category (see Figure 2), while the remaining 58% fit the High Parental Involvement profile (see Figure 3). The sample is less evenly distributed in the consideration of Parental Monitoring because 8.1% fit within the Low Parental Monitoring profile and 91.9% fit within the High Parental Monitoring profile. The High Parental Monitoring was bolstered mostly by the high proportion of the item, “Often Checks Homework,” over three-quarters of the sample (78.8%) reported this highest occurrence of monitoring. The predictor variables of interest show that the sample respondents were frequent religious service attendees prior to migrating to the U.S. (see Figure 4), with 43.3% of the sample reporting that s/he attended religious services on a weekly basis prior to migration and 14.7% reported they had attended services more than once a week; while 21.6% of the respondents mentioned having never or rarely attended religious services prior to the U.S. The frequencies also show that 28.5% of the sample affirmed social activity prior to migration and fewer (15.9%) affirmed political activity prior to migration.

Along the model control variables, respondents were more frequently “new arrival” immigrants (58.6% of sample). New arrival status in this study was highly correlated with being in the U.S. for less than a year, whereas those

respondents who were “adjustee” immigrants had a wide range in how many years they had been in the U.S. As permanent resident applicants, approximately one-quarter of the sample qualified as refugee or asylum seekers, another 23% applied as spouses and 11.9% as family preferences, while employment preferences represented 14.3% and diversity initiates represented 13.4% of the sample. At the time of the interview, the majority of respondents reported living in small-to-moderate sized households (58.7%), over a third reported living in “large” household (36.1%), and approximately 5% lived in households with more than 9 individuals.

The sample mean for years of schooling was 11.51 years, which includes schooling in the U.S. and abroad. Overall, there were high frequencies of post-high school education and training, in which a quarter of the sample had at least some undergraduate or post-high school training (25.9%) and 13.7% reported having at least some graduate-level experience. At the time of the research interview, over half of the sample was employed (51.8%), another quarter self-reported as being a homemaker (25.4%), while the remaining quarter (22.8%) reported being either out of work or not in the work force. The English proficiency as indexed in the present study showed that the sample was primarily of low English proficiency (54.7%), however there was also approximately one-third (34.9%) of respondents who fit into the high English proficiency category. As expected, very few respondents fit into the “low understanding with high speaking ability” category (1.2%), but there were just under 10% of the sample who fit into the “high understanding with low speaking ability.”

Preliminary Analysis

Bivariate correlations of dependent and predictor variables for the multinomial and logistic models were examined prior to conducting regression analyses and are shown in Table 3. *Parental Involvement* (both 5-category and dichotomous iterations) was positively and significantly related to *Parental Monitoring* 4-category ($r=.335$ and $r=.269$), *Parental Monitoring* dichotomous ($r=.296$ and $r=.226$), and *Religious Activity* ($r=.081$ and $r=.101$). *Parental Monitoring* (both the 4-category and dichotomous iterations) was also positively and significantly related to *Religious Activity* ($r=.096$ and $r=.059$). *Religious Activity* was positively and significantly related to *Social Activity* ($r=.129$); and *Social Activity* and *Political Activity* were positively and significantly correlated ($r=.305$).

The variables included as demographic controls also had significant associations to the outcome variables (see Table 4). *Parental Involvement* (5-category) was positively and significantly related with *Adjustee* status ($r=.293$), *Education* ($r=.108$), and *English Proficiency* ($r=.235$). *Parental Involvement* (5-category) was negatively and significantly associated with *Household* size ($r=-.093$). *Parental Involvement* as a dichotomous variable was also positively and significantly associated with *Adjustee* status ($r=.243$) and *English Proficiency* ($r=.196$), however, it did not reach statistically significant levels with *Education* or *Household* size; in these two instances, there was a “trending” in which significance levels were $.05 < x < .10$. Next, *Parental Monitoring* (4-category) was positively and significantly associated with *Adjustee* status ($r=.080$) and

English Proficiency ($r=.072$). Similarly, the *Parental Monitoring* dichotomous variable was positively and significantly associated with *Adjustee* status ($r=.058$), though the relationship to *English Proficiency* weakened to a “trending” level.

The bivariate correlations between predictor and control variables are also listed in Table 4; analyses showed *Religious Activity* was negatively and significantly related to *Education* ($r=-.140$), and positively associated with *Household* size ($r=.181$). *Social Activity* was negatively and significantly related to *Adjustee* status ($r=-.162$), while positively associated with *Education* ($r=.198$) and *English Proficiency* ($r=.133$). Moreover, *Political Activity* prior to migration was negatively and significantly associated with *Adjustee* status ($r=-.064$), *Education* ($r=-.060$), and *Household* size ($r=-.088$), while it was positively associated with *English Proficiency* ($r=.118$).

Lastly, the demographic control variables *Adjustee* status, *Education*, *English Proficiency*, and *Household* size were all significantly correlated. Of note here is the strong correlation between *English Proficiency* and *Education* level ($r=.458$) which supports previous measures of how high human capital functions. Larger household size was associated with shorter residency in the U.S. ($r=-.088$), lower education levels ($r=-.166$), and lower English proficiency ($r=-.115$). Interestingly, having (on average) longer residency in the U.S. is negatively associated with higher education levels ($r=-.168$).

Regression Analyses

The regression analyses were conducted as follows: Initially, all 12 model variables were used as categorical variables within two parallel multinomial

regression analyses with eight nested models. These analyses were mimicked by conducting two parallel logistic regression models for the dichotomous outcome variables. All regression analyses had eight nested models so that the influence of each predictor variable of interest could be examined in isolation, as well as in additive combination with the other predictor variables. Model 1 included the seven demographic control variables; Model 2 included *Religious Activity* and the control variables; Model 3 included *Social Activity* and the control variables; Model 4 included *Political Activity* and the control variables; Model 5 included *Religious Activity*, *Social Activity*, and the control variables; Model 6 included *Religious Activity*, *Political Activity*, and the control variables; and Model 7 included *Social Activity*, *Political Activity*, and the control variables. The last nested model, Model 8, was the full model with all predictor and demographic control variables.

Consequently, *Education*, *English Proficiency*, and *Region of Origin* were computed into dichotomous dummy variables because the results of these initial regression analyses indicated that there was sufficient reason to examine these statistically significant control variables independent of their contributions as sub-categorical predictors, or, because complexity of interpretation (e.g., *Region of Origin*) required a dichotomous variable. These variables were added into the second, (and final) set of regression analyses as dichotomous variables, maintaining the prior reference categories. Using the new dummy variables, the initial regressions were run again; two parallel multinomial regressions and two logistic regressions, each with eight nested models. For the purpose of reporting

here, only the second, final round of regression analyses will be considered because they reflect the trends that were occurring in the first round of regressions, but also provide more nuanced relationships because of the addition of the dummy variables.

Multinomial regression analysis. The final model of the multinomial regression analyses is provided in Table 5, with the reference category “No Reports of Parental Involvement at School.” The relative odds of *Religious Activity* upon an increasing frequency of *Parental Involvement* indicated that there was no greater likelihood to affirm involvement in school in *lower* counts of involvement (OR = 1.02, 95% CI = 0.80 – 1.31 for 1 Affirmation; OR = 1.05; 95% CI = 0.83 – 1.32 for 2 Affirmations). However, in support of the first hypothesis, there was a significant relative ratio in the *higher* counts of involvement when compared to no involvement. Respondents with higher frequency of religious service attendance prior to migration were 32% more likely to affirm 3 types of parental involvement than no involvement (OR = 1.32, 95% CI = 1.06 – 1.64) when controlling for all other model variables. Likewise, respondents with higher frequency of religious service attendance were 33% more likely to affirm 4 types of parental involvement than no involvement (OR = 1.33, 95% CI = 1.05 – 1.69) when controlling for all other model variables.

In consideration of the second hypothesis, the present results can neither significantly support nor reject the relationship of social activity and parental involvement. *Social Activity* did not influence any significant relative odds at any level of parental involvement when compared to no involvement, (OR = 1.35,

95% CI = 0.79 – 1.31 for 1 Affirmations; OR = 1.03, 95% CI = 0.60 – 1.77 for 2 Affirmations; OR = 0.86, 95% CI = 0.51 – 1.44 for 3 Affirmations; and OR = 0.99, 95% CI = 0.57 – 1.71 for all 4 Affirmations).

Similarly, the third hypothesis was neither significantly supported nor rejected because *Political Activity* prior to migration did not influence any significant relative odds at any level of parental involvement when compared to no involvement (OR = 1.10, 95% CI = 0.50 – 2.42 for 1 Affirmation; OR = 1.70, 95% CI = 0.84 – 3.42 for 2 Affirmations; OR = 1.36, 95% CI = 0.69 – 2.69 for 3 Affirmations; and OR = 1.19, 95% CI = 0.58 – 2.44 for all 4 Affirmations).

The other final model of the multinomial regression analyses is provided in Table 6 and the reference category is “Never Checks Homework.” There were no significant relative odds for any of the predictor variables of interest. Thus, there was no significant support for the hypotheses regarding the positive influence of *Religious Activity*, *Social Activity*, and *Political Activity* upon *Parental Monitoring*.

Logistic regression analysis. The final model of the logistic regression analysis on *Parental Involvement* is provided in Table 7, in which “Low Parental Involvement” is the reference category for the dependent variable. The relative odds for *Religious Activity* upon *Parental Involvement* again supported the first hypothesis. In Model 2, in which the influence of *Religious Activity* was examined in isolation of other predictor variables, when controlling for demographic variables, respondents who reported pre-migration *Religious Activity* of any frequency were twice as likely to have high *Parental Involvement*, (OR =

1.96, 95% CI = 1.33 – 2.88 for monthly-basis attendees; OR = 2.00, 95% CI = 1.42 – 2.80 for weekly-basis attendees; and OR = 2.10, 95% CI = 1.37 – 3.22 for daily-basis attendees). This relative ratio of double odds remained fairly stable, and even strengthened, when *Religious Activity* was combined with the other predictor variables in Models 5 and 6. In the final model (see Table 7), when controlling for all other model variables, those who attended religious service on a monthly basis were twice as likely to have high parental involvement than those who reported never or rarely attending services; those who attended services on a weekly basis were 107% more likely to have high involvement than those who reported never or rarely attending services; and finally, those who attended services on a daily-basis (more than once a week) were 123% more likely to have high involvement than those who rarely or never attended services prior to migration.

In consideration of the second and third hypotheses, *Social Activity* did not have any significant influence upon level of *Parental Involvement*, though in Model 5 there was a decreased odds that was trending (OR = 0.79, 95% CI = 0.46 – 1.14) when controlling for *Religious Activity* and demographics that was phased out by the inclusion of other combinations of predictors in subsequent models. Similarly, *Political Activity* did not have any significant influence up level of *Parental Involvement*.

The next, final model is presented in Table 8, in which “Low Parental Monitoring” is the reference category. In support of the first hypothesis, *Religious Activity* at the weekly-basis level had significant influence on the

relative odds of having high monitoring practices compared to no/low monitoring practices. Model 1 had indicated that weekly-basis attendance almost doubles the odds of having high monitoring practices (OR = 1.96, 95% CI = 1.10 – 3.49). This influence remains relatively stable across relevant models including the final model, in which respondents who reported weekly-basis attendance were 81% more likely to have high *Parental Monitoring* when controlling for all other model variables (OR=1.81, 95% CI = 1.01 – 3.24). However there were no significant findings in support or rejection of the second and third hypotheses. *Social Activity* did not have any significant influence upon extent of monitoring odds, although, again, there were trending influences this time in Models 2 (OR = 1.65, p=.06) and 4 (OR = 1.60, p=.09). *Political Activity* did not have any significant influence upon extent of monitoring odds.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to help understand new immigrants and their parenting social practices in the U.S. and their home countries. The investigation sought to accomplish this by examining the relationship between what new immigrant parents practiced in the varied contexts of their social lives prior to migration and their practices of school involvement once in the U.S. The three main hypotheses were based on the different practices being considered; and only the first of which, *Religious Activity*, was significantly supported by the regression analyses. The findings were mainly that *Religious Activity* in pre-migration life was positively associated with, and significantly predictive of, both domains of parental school involvement in the U.S., while *Social Activity* and

Political Activity in pre-migration life did not significantly predict either domain of parental school involvement in the U.S.

The Story of Religious Practice

Religious participation at *any* level, but especially at weekly and daily participation levels, was shown to predict higher relative odds of a parent being involved at the school and interacting with school personnel. The fact that pre-migration religious participation was the lone significant predictor variable in the present study suggests that there are qualities about the social practice of religion that are meaningfully distinct from the other forms of social capital investigated here. At present, it is plausible to suggest that religious participation as a social practice seems to be a valuable conduit in terms of the implicit functioning of social capital, meaning that relationships, networks, and resources that promote skills and comfort in reaching out to teachers and school administrators could very well be found alongside the communal and spiritual functions of religious services. This finding is very much in line with the qualitative work of Allen (2010), who detailed the divergent functions of religious life for new refugee groups in the U.S. In terms of strengthening ties within immigrant groups, the author featured the structuring of hierarchies, the comfort of familiarity, and the service programs launched from within houses of worship. In terms of bridging across groups, the author described how houses of worship that pre-existed the refugee groups were well-established institutions and thus once the refugee groups joined in practice, the existing infrastructure was able to promote their access to outside networks. Given the present findings, it is plausible that there

are assets gained through religious practice that assist in the social practice of school involvement *at school*. It is also plausible the two practices might share limited but essential aspects of practice that are not fully explained by their modest correlation.

Alternatively, there remain many other potential influences of the practice of religious participation. Spirituality and morality—though not exclusive of the idea that social capital assists in the norming of social values within a group—remain strong, central potential influences on the parenting practices of school involvement. Parents whose psychology is influenced by their relationship to and understanding of a Divine entity could possibly have different practices of parental school involvement, and this relationship could be influenced by the frequency of religious participation. It is also plausible that the volunteering and altruistic values often associated with devout religious practitioners might influence the differences in parental school involvement for new immigrants.

At present, the author considers all of the above explanations as part of the story of religious participation; however, the central condition investigated here was the *frequency* of exposure to religious life. Social capital research has explained the peripheral benefits of exposure to religious communities; such that increased exposure (e.g. attendance) increases potential to access resources or benefit from membership and so it is from that aspect here that participation in religious service is viewed as bringing to bear upon predicting parental school involvement.

Considering the influence of *weekly* practice upon parental monitoring at home, there is another story of religion. The finding of the logistic analyses suggests that there is an influential element about the individuals who practiced weekly prior to migration upon parent monitoring. Alternatively, this could mean there is an influential element about the religious groups who typically practiced weekly, or that there is an influential element within the structure of religions that typically hold services weekly that is distinct from those that do not. Though this source of influence is difficult to discern at present, the analyses reveal religious practice is related to a social practice of parent-child interaction in the home. It is of interest to note here that in the multinomial analyses no such distinctions were found, so that in consideration of all the variables within the model, religious participation did not have higher predictive odds for level of monitoring of homework. This notion assists this story by suggesting that weekly participation was only significant when considering moderate/high frequencies of monitoring to the absence of monitoring.

The Potential Influence of Social and Civic Engagement

The present investigation hypothesized that *Social Activity* would predict level of involvement at school or degree of monitoring at home. However, the logistic analyses did not reveal any significant findings. What the analyses did uncover in parental involvement at school was a trending of a 20% decreased likelihood of being more highly involved when *Social Activity* was combined with *Religious Activity* in Model 5. This was in isolation and thus at present difficult to decipher why this trend occurred.

Moreover, in parental monitoring there was also an emerging trend of *Social Activity* that suggests by itself parents who performed philanthropic and civic acts in pre-migration life were 65% more likely to be high monitors of homework. Philanthropic and civic participation are highly predictive of social capital, and at present, it is plausible to consider that the practice of being socially involved outside of the home might predicate keeping up practices that promote good social and moral standing within the home. However, the continuum of motives could be vast: The households whose children “work hard” in school could reflect a genuine notion for positive, social promotion but also could reflect a more superficial keeping up of appearances. The relative maintenance of this trending (at 60% high odds) with the addition of *Religious Activity* suggests that while modestly positively correlated to one another, there are aspects of religious participation that account for monitoring practices that are distinct from participation in philanthropic and civic engagements.

The Significance of Human Capital and Time

The impact of human capital is clear in the findings of the logistic analyses: high English proficiency, with emphasis on high speaking capability, and high educational attainment (at present, the graduate level specifically) are significant predictors of high parental involvement at school. The fact that an immigrant parent who is a proficient English speaker is 2.5 to over 5 times as likely to be involved at school and interact with school personnel supports the previous findings on the impact and value of English language comfort. These differences were even more extreme in the multinomial analyses, in which those

parents who had the highest English proficiency were 6.2 times more likely to affirm all four involvement types than affirm no involvement.

Furthermore, immigrant parents with graduate level experience, regardless of all other factors, will be 70% more likely to be highly involved at school; which suggests that regardless of language ability, reasons for entering the U.S., or how long they have resided in the country, there is ability within these parents to connect to schools. These differences were also sizeable in the multinomial comparison of groups. It is plausible to suggest that, in contrast to the more social practices discussed in regards to religious parents (and note there is a negative correlation between the two variables), here it might be the specific schooling practices and mentalities of parents that influence the schooling experience and academic expectations of children.

Additionally, the influence of an immigrant's length of residency within the U.S. setting is a significant and practical way to examine group differences. "New arrival" immigrants in the sample had for the most part been in the U.S. for less than a year at time of data collection, whereas "adustee" immigrants had both been here longer than a year and varied much more in terms of years in the U.S. It may be plausible to suggest that there is a tipping point in terms of length of residency, in which the relative odds are much smaller, or even null. That is difficult to address given the present study's indicators, however the fact that more settled immigrants are more likely to be involved at school and interact with school personnel does suggest that it might be "just a matter of time" before the newest immigrants gain in those same social practices.

Limitations of the Present Study

Conventionally, the discussion of significant findings in the present investigation must be reconciled with the limitations of the research. A primary concern of the study is that the sub-sample used for analyses was not representative of the full 2003 NIS cohort. Since over 94% of the respondents in the study were females, much of the conclusions drawn about parenting practices of immigrants might be more accurately considered in the light of maternal practices of immigrants. The study's sample is also predominantly Christian in its religious affiliation, so that much of the influence on weekly practice might be a reflection of the mandates or routines of the religious group, as opposed to the individual "choice" to practice. The inclusion of women and children in Christian religious services might also differ from other religious traditions represented in the sample and might be yet another factor affecting the predictive relationships found at present.

In the case of the dependent variable for *Parental Monitoring of Homework*, there was also a positively lopsided self-reporting of monitoring at home. Given that there was very little to report in terms of significant findings supports the notion that this variable might be skewed as such because of respondents' over-reporting the socially favorable response.

Moreover, a central concern lies with the use of secondary data: Most of the frameworks that influenced the construction of variables in the NIS were either theoretically conceived or brought to fruition through the authors' intentions and duties. In the case of the present study, the constructs and variables

were negotiated first by the availability of items in the NIS measures that were robust enough for analyses and second, conceptually analogous to the present study's framework.

Consistent with other literature, the present study had conceptual limitations: In choosing to operationalize parental involvement as practices at school and homework monitoring in the home, the findings of the present study do not necessarily inform literatures that exclusively operationalize parental involvement in other ways such as teacher attitudes about parents or parental aspirations for child's education. Additionally, the data used were from one respondent parent within the household and because spouses or other parental figures of the child were not represented at present, it is difficult to draw conclusions about family practices. At present, conclusions are at the individual level within the family setting.

Conclusions and Future Prospects

In future research there lies the potential to address the concerns of operationalizing "sticky" constructs like parental school involvement and social capital. As the fields grow more critical and more meta-analyses of the use of these constructs are conducted, the present author is confident that definitions, alongside dialogue, regarding involvement and capital will become well pruned. Given the leading examples of contemporary empirical literature in the fields of parental involvement, it is also plausible that future research can prioritize and examine the full picture of parental involvement, meaning that all participating parental figures be considered in analyses. Additionally, promoting

dimensionality of parental involvement will be an important pursuit of the field, highlighting both the main effects and bi-directionality of the contexts of parental involvement, the interactions of parental involvement, and psychologies of parental involvement for immigrant parents and families.

In closing, the present investigation was able to draw significant predictive value regarding religious practice on the odds of high parental involvement; and this was drawn from a tremendous and unique resource of data focused on the circumstances, experiences, and perspectives of new immigrants to the U.S. Whereas the present study can illustrate that social practices are both distinct in character and distinguished in predicting future social practices, there remains much to be learned about how these social practices function in the lives of immigrants and what they mean and serve to individuals and groups. The present study supports the place of social and human capital in the dialogue of “what” immigrants bring with them to the U.S. setting; the practices and traits by which they are measured remain central to understanding the means by which immigrants adapt and function in their families, their households, in their schools, communities, and broader social systems.

Tables

Table 1
Sample population descriptive statistics (N= 1,215).

Variable	N	%	M (SD)	Min / Max
Sex			1.94 (.23)	1.00 / 2.00
Female	1146	94.30	--	--
Male	69	5.70	--	--
Year of Birth*	1214	99.90	1965.21	1941 /
1940 – 1944	2	.20	(6.72)	1982
1945 – 1949	14	1.20		
1950 – 1954	54	4.40		
1955 – 1959	168	13.80		
1960 – 1964	298	24.50		
1965 – 1969	329	27.10		
1970 – 1974	265	21.80		
1975 – 1979	78	6.40		
1980+	6	.50		
Largest 4 of 27 Geographic Cohorts				
1. Mexico	268	22.10		
2. El Salvador	125	10.30		
3. Europe / Central Asia	105	8.60		
4. India	89	7.30		
Race / Ethnicity*				
Hispanic / Latino	574 / 1209	47.2		
American Indian / Alaska Native	34 / 1114	2.8		
Asian	323 / 1114	26.6		
Black / African American	88 / 1114	7.20		
Native Hawaiian / Pacific Isl	8 / 1114	.70		
White	673 / 1114	55.40		
Religion*	1211	99.70		
Catholic	596	49.10		
Orthodox Christian	109	9.00		
Protestant	187	15.40		
Muslim	72	5.90		
Jewish	12	1.00		
Buddhist	37	3.00		
Hindu	63	5.20		
No Religion	96	7.90		
Other Religion	39	3.20		

Note: * = variable is missing data, percentages represent percent of total sample.

Table 2
Summary of model variable descriptions (N=1,215).

Variable	N	%
Parental Involvement		
No Reports of PI at School (<i>reference</i>)	128	10.50
1 Affirmative	138	11.40
2 Affirmatives	244	20.10
3 Affirmatives	417	34.30
All 4 Affirmatives	288	23.70
Low Involvement (dichotomous)	510	42.00
High Involvement (dichotomous)	705	58.00
Parental Monitoring		
Never Checks HW [<i>reference</i>]	46	3.80
Rarely Checks HW	52	4.30
Sometimes Checks HW	159	13.10
Often Checks HW	958	78.80
Low Monitoring (dichotomous)	98	8.10
High Monitoring (dichotomous)	1117	91.90
Religious Activity		
Never / Rarely (<i>reference</i>)	262	21.60
Monthly Basis	248	20.40
Weekly Basis	526	43.30
Daily Basis	179	14.70
Social Activity		
No Social Activity (<i>reference</i>)	869	71.50
Reports Activity	346	28.50
Political Activity		
No Political Activity (<i>reference</i>)	1022	84.10
Reports Activity	193	15.90
Adjustee		
New Arrival Applicant (<i>reference</i>)	503	41.40
Education-(Years of Schooling)*	712	58.60
	11.51 (4.67)	0.00 / 27.00
6 th Grade or Less	211	17.40
7 th Grade – High School Completion	522	43.00
Undergraduate /Post HS Training Experience	315	25.90
Graduate Education Experience	167	13.70
Employment Status		
Working (<i>reference</i>)	629	51.80
Laid Off / Cannot Work / Not Working	225	18.50
Homemaker	309	25.40
Other	52	4.30
English Proficiency Index		
Low Understanding / Low Speaking (<i>reference</i>)	665	54.70
High Understanding / Low Speaking	111	9.10
Low Understanding / High Speaking	15	1.20
High Understanding / High Speaking	424	34.90
Household		
Moderate Household ($x \leq 4$) (<i>reference</i>)	713	58.70
Large Household ($4 < x \leq 9$)	439	36.10
Very Large Household ($x > 9$)	63	5.20
Region of Origin		
African Regions (<i>reference</i>)	88	7.20
South, East, & SE Asian / Pacific Oceania Regions	333	27.40
Mexico, Caribbean / S & Central American Regions	605	49.80
Northern N American, Arctic, and European Regions	189	15.60
Visa Application Category		
Spouse Preferences (<i>reference</i>)	280	23.00
Family Preferences (non-spousal)	144	11.90
Employment Preferences	174	14.30
Diversity Preferences	163	13.40
Refugee / Asylum / Legalization	296	24.40
Other	158	13.00

Note: *= Variable description includes mean, standard deviation, and minimum / maximum values.

Table 3.

Bivariate correlations between model dependent variables representing Parental Involvement and Parental Monitoring and the predictor variables, Religious Activity, Social Activity, and Political activity, (N=1,215).

	Parental Involvement (5 cat)	Parental Monitoring (4 cat)	Parental Involvement (dichotomous)	Parental Monitoring (dichotomous)	Religious Activity	Social Activity	Political Activity
Parental Involvement (5 cat)	1	.335***	.855***	.296***	.081**	-.023	.028
Parental Monitoring (4 cat)		1	.269***	.867***	.096***	.045	.039
Parental Involvement (dichotomous)			1	.226***	.101***	-.040	-.005
Parental Monitoring (dichotomous)				1	.059*	.040	.029
Religious Activity					1	.129***	.003
Social Activity						1	.305***
Political Activity							1

Note: ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 4.
Bivariate correlations between model dependent variables representing Parental Involvement and Parental Monitoring, predictor variables, and the original demographic control variables, (N=1,215).

	Adjustee	Education	English Proficiency	Household
Parental Involvement (5 cat)	.293***	.108***	.235***	-.093***
Parental Monitoring (4 cat)	.080**	.011	.072*	.005
Parental Involvement (dichotomous)	.243***	.054~	.196***	-.056~
Parental Monitoring (dichotomous)	.058*	-.006	.054~	-.012
Religious Activity	.028	-.140***	-.025	.181***
Social Activity	-.162***	.198***	.133***	.025
Political Activity	-.064*	-.060*	.118***	-.060*
Adjustee	1	-.168***	.112***	-.088**
Education		1	.458***	-.166***
English Proficiency			1	-.115***
Household				1

Note: ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 5

Odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for full logistic regression model that describes the relative probability of the model variables in predicting Parental Involvement at each level of reported involvement in reference to no involvement (N=1,215).

Variable	1 Affirmative	2 Affirmatives	3 Affirmatives	4 Affirmatives
Religious Activity	1.02 [0.79 – 1.31]	1.05 [0.83 – 1.32]	1.32 [1.06 – 1.64]*	1.33 [1.05 – 1.69]*
Social Activity	1.35 [0.75 – 2.41]	1.03 [0.60 – 1.77]	0.86 [0.51 – 1.44]	0.99 [0.57 – 1.71]
Political Activity	1.10 [0.50 – 2.42]	1.70 [0.84 – 3.42]	1.36 [0.69 – 2.69]	1.19 [0.58 – 2.44]
Adjustee	1.76 [0.96 – 3.21]~	2.86 [1.66 – 4.92]***	3.18 [1.89 – 5.32]***	6.17 [3.54 – 10.76]***
Household	0.79 [0.53 – 1.17]	0.79 [0.55 – 1.14]	0.77 [0.55 – 1.08]	0.77 [0.53 – 1.13]
Visa Application Category	1.04 [0.90 – 1.20]	1.02 [0.90 – 1.17]	0.96 [0.84 – 1.09]	1.00 [0.87 – 1.14]
Employment Status	0.89 [0.67 – 1.17]	0.96 [0.75 – 1.23]	0.94 [0.74 – 1.19]	1.17 [0.91 – 1.49]
S, E, & SE Asian / Pac Oceania Reg	1.04 [0.38 – 2.85]	1.16 [0.46 – 2.93]	0.65 [0.28 – 1.49]	0.97 [0.39 – 2.38]
Mexico, Caribb. / S & Cen American Reg	2.29 [0.79 – 6.63]	3.13 [1.18 – 8.29]*	3.14 [1.31 – 7.54]**	3.89 [1.51 – 9.98]**
NorthN American, Arctic, & Euro Reg	1.94 [0.58 – 6.52]	4.39 [1.48 – 13.09]**	2.63 [0.95 – 7.24]~	4.05 [1.38 – 11.89]*
High Understanding / Low Speaking	1.36 [0.48 – 3.87]	1.37 [0.53 – 3.52]	1.97 [0.80 – 4.87]	1.59 [0.61 0 4.14]
Low Understanding / High Speaking	--- [0.00 – 0.00]	--- [0.00 – 0.00]	--- [0.00 – 0.00]	--- [0.00 – 0.00]
High Understanding / High Speaking	2.03 [0.98 – 4.20]~	2.35 [1.22 – 4.55]*	4.16 [2.21 – 7.82]***	6.20 [3.22 – 11.95]***
7th Grade – High School	1.83 [0.91 – 3.70]~	1.56 [0.82 – 2.98]	1.50 [0.82 – 2.75]	2.37 [1.20 – 4.66]*
Undergraduate /Post HS	1.21 [0.50 – 2.90]	1.47 [0.67 – 3.23]	1.49 [0.71 – 3.13]	2.30 [1.01 – 5.20]*
Graduate Experience	0.66 [0.21 – 2.09]	1.97 [0.78 – 4.96]	1.52 [0.63 – 3.68]	4.20 [1.63 – 10.85]**

Note: ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 6

Odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for full logistic regression model that describe the relative probability of the model variables in predicting Parental Monitoring at each extent of reported monitoring in reference to never monitoring (N=1,215).

Variable	Rarely Checks HW	Sometimes Checks HW	Often Checks HW
Religious Activity	1.02 [0.68 – 1.52]	0.90 [0.64 – 1.27]	1.13 [0.83 – 1.55]
Social Activity	0.79 [0.28 – 2.23]	1.21 [0.54 – 2.74]	1.46 [0.70 – 3.06]
Political Activity	1.26 [0.34 – 4.69]	1.27 [0.44 – 3.65]	1.43 [0.55 – 3.72]
Adjustee	1.02 [0.41 – 2.54]	0.72 [0.34 – 1.54]	0.78 [0.39 – 1.55]
Household	0.92 [0.46 – 2.54]	0.75 [0.42 – 1.35]	0.87 [0.51 – 1.48]
Visa Application Category	1.16 [0.89 – 1.51]	1.20 [0.96 – 1.49]	1.10 [0.90 – 1.35]
Employment Status	0.77 [0.49 – 1.20]	0.91 [0.64 – 1.30]	0.93 [0.68 – 1.29]
S, E, & SE Asian / Pac Oceania Reg	1.49 [0.25 – 8.67]	0.76 [0.19 – 3.14]	0.71 [0.19 – 2.59]
Mexico, Caribb. / S & Cen American Reg	1.21 [0.18 – 8.30]	1.80 [0.38 – 8.47]	4.64 [1.11 – 19.51]*
NorthN American, Arctic, & Euro Reg	0.23 [0.03 – 1.60]	0.32 [0.08 – 1.39]	0.31 [0.08 – 1.15]~
High Understanding / Low Speaking	3.02 [0.30 – 29.99]	4.58 [0.56 – 37.63]	4.66 [0.60 – 36.10]
Low Understanding / High Speaking	0.58 [0.00 – 0.00]	-.-- [0.00 – 0.00]	-.-- [0.00 – 0.00]
High Understanding / High Speaking	0.36 [0.12 – 1.07]~	0.86 [0.37 – 2.02]	1.42 [0.66 – 3.05]
7th Grade – High School	0.77 [0.22 – 2.71]	0.74 [0.25 – 2.18]	1.25 [0.45 – 3.45]
Undergraduate /Post HS	1.96 [0.44 – 8.84]	1.04 [0.28 – 3.82]	2.15 [0.64 – 7.26]
Graduate Experience	0.82 [0.15 – 4.39]	0.47 [0.12 – 1.92]	1.27 [0.36 – 4.53]

Note: ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 7

Odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for the full logistic regression model (8) that describe the relative probability of the model variables in predicting high Parental Involvement, controlling for demographic variables (N=1,215).

Variable	OR	95% CI
Religious Activity		
Monthly Basis	2.00	[1.36 – 2.96]***
Weekly Basis	2.07	[1.47 – 2.90]***
Daily Basis	2.23	[1.45 – 3.44]***
Social Activity	0.80	[0.59 – 1.08]
Political Activity	0.93	[0.65 – 1.33]
Adjustee	1.99	[1.40 – 2.83]***
7th Grade – High School Completion	1.15	[0.80 – 1.65]
Undergraduate /Post HS Training Experience	1.34	[0.86 – 2.10]
Graduate Education Experience	1.70	[1.01 – 2.87]*
Employment Status		
Laid Off / Cannot Work / Not Working	0.96	[0.68 – 1.36]
Homemaker	1.25	[0.91 – 1.71]
Other	0.96	[0.51 – 1.80]
High Understanding / Low Speaking	1.42	[0.90 – 2.23]
Low Understanding / High Speaking	5.26	[1.38 – 20.11]*
High Understanding / High Speaking	2.55	[1.82 – 3.56]***
Household		
Large Household (4 < x ≤ 9)	1.21	[0.85 – 1.47]
Very Large Household (x > 9)	0.55	[0.30 – 1.01]~
South, East, & SE Asian / Pac Oceania Regions	0.83	[0.48 – 1.46]
Mexico, Caribbean / S & Central American Regions	1.59	[0.91 – 2.77]~
Northern N American, Arctic, and European Regions	1.12	[0.63 – 1.99]
Visa Application Category		
Family Preferences (non-spousal)	0.85	[0.52 – 1.40]
Employment Preferences	0.93	[0.58 – 1.50]
Diversity Preferences	1.11	[0.65 – 1.90]
Refugee / Asylum / Legalization	0.93	[0.63 – 1.37]
Other	0.71	[0.45 – 1.12]

Note: ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 8

Odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for the full logistic regression model (8) that describe the relative probability of the model variables in predicting high Parental Monitoring, controlling for demographic variables (N=1,215).

Variable	OR	95% CI
Religious Activity		
Monthly Basis	1.27	[0.68 – 2.39]
Weekly Basis	1.81	[1.01 – 3.24]*
Daily Basis	0.95	[0.49 – 1.84]
Social Activity	1.52	[0.87 – 2.65]
Political Activity	1.24	[0.62 – 2.46]
Adjustee	0.60	[0.32 – 1.15]
7th Grade – High School Completion	1.34	[0.69 – 2.59]
Undergraduate /Post HS Training Experience	1.43	[0.64 – 3.20]
Graduate Education Experience	1.29	[0.52 – 3.18]
Employment Status		
Laid Off / Cannot Work / Not Working	0.66	[0.38 – 1.14]
Homemaker	1.48	[0.80 – 2.72]
Other	0.69	[0.27 – 1.80]
High Understanding / Low Speaking	2.29	[0.85 – 6.19]
Low Understanding / High Speaking	---	[0.00 – 0.00]
High Understanding / High Speaking	2.06	[1.13 – 3.74]*
Household		
Large Household (4 < x ≤ 9)	1.02	[0.61 – 1.68]
Very Large Household (x > 9)	0.87	[0.36 – 2.11]
South, East, & SE Asian / Pac Oceania Regions	0.75	[0.28 – 2.00]
Mexico, Caribbean / S & Central American Regions	3.18	[1.12 – 9.02]*
Northern N American, Arctic, and European Regions	0.52	[0.19 – 1.41]
Visa Application Category		
Family Preferences (non-spousal)	0.71	[0.31 – 1.64]
Employment Preferences	0.73	[0.33 – 1.65]
Diversity Preferences	1.05	[0.41 – 2.71]
Refugee / Asylum / Legalization	1.38	[0.63 – 3.03]
Other	0.82	[0.34 – 1.97]

Note: ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Figures

COMMUNITY	FAMILIAL	INDIVIDUAL
<p>Economic Characteristics <i>Indicators of potential human capital</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population density • Income levels <p>Sociocultural Characteristics <i>Indicators of potential social capital and for experiencing discrimination</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racial/ethnic diversity of community • Ethnic enclaves 	<p>Family Setting Characteristics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family's human capital & economic resources • Nature of family's social networks (representing social capital) • Experienced discrimination <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <p>Ethno-theories (or Belief Systems) <i>Community context experienced as a "minority"</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived public regard • Importance of navigating across cultures <p>Practices <i>Community context experienced as familiarity with multiple communities</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of multiple communities • Participation in multiple communities • Communication proficiency 	<p>Developmental Trajectory</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age at awareness of race/ethnic difference • Circumstantial triggers • Transitions <p>Structural Organization of Multiple Affiliations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple identification • Multiple affiliations • Multiple role repertoire • Flexibility principle • Reconciling conflicting representations • Salience hierarchy • Commitment <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <p>Meaning Making Processes <i>Psychological experience of "being different"</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salience of being different • Affective dimensions • Perceived cultural distance • Perceived cultural conflict <p>Processes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appraisals (e.g. efficacy of living in multiple worlds) • Negotiating (e.g. fusion, hybridity, integration) • Navigating (e.g. alternating, separation) <p>Content or Domains</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language & discourse • Dress & appearance • Behavior routines

Figure 1. Mistry and Wu (2010) Navigating Across Cultures conceptual model.

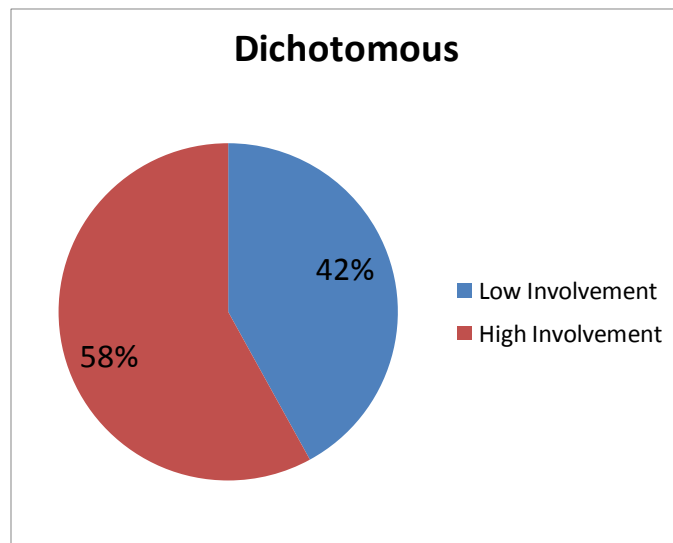
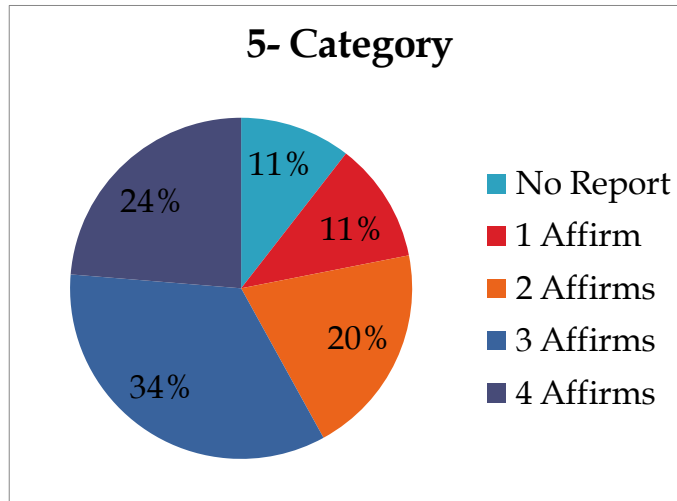


Figure 2. Frequency charts of the dependent variable, Parental Involvement, in its two iterations.

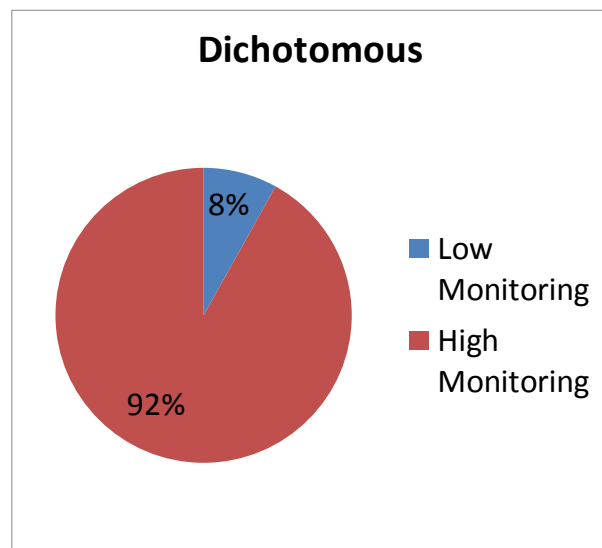
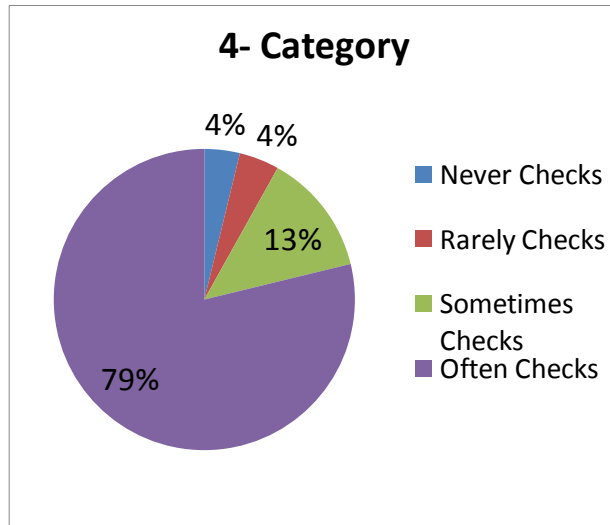


Figure 3. Frequency charts of the dependent variable, Parental Monitoring, in its two iterations.

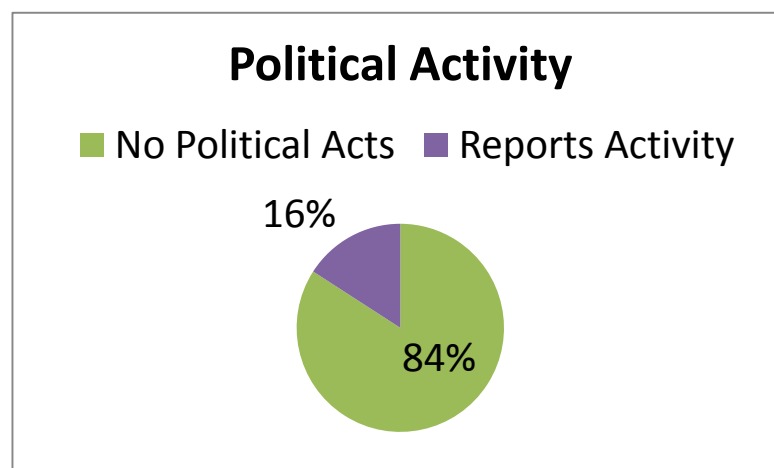
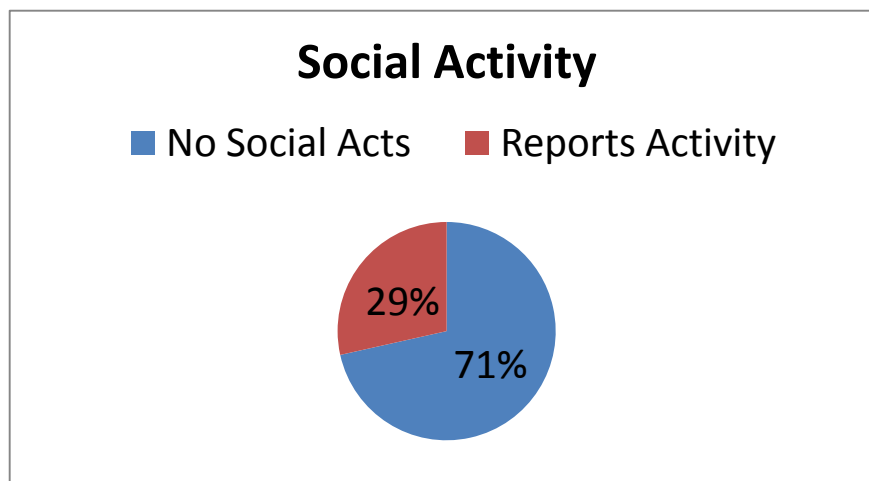
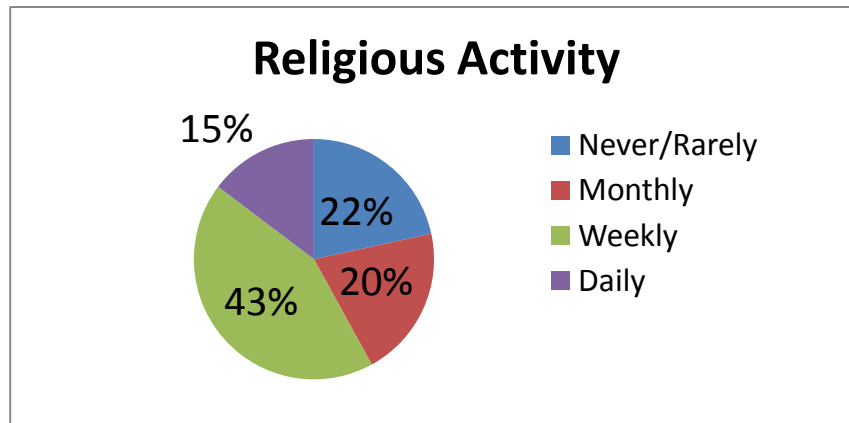


Figure 4. Frequency charts of the independent predictor variables, Religious Activity, Social Activity, and Political Activity.

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