Parental Involvement in Homework

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The article reviews research on parental involvement in student homework. It is focused on understanding: why parents become involved in their children's homework; which activities and strategies they employ in the course of involvement; how their homework involvement influences student outcomes; and which student outcomes are influenced by parents' involvement. Findings suggest that parents involve themselves in student homework because they believe that they should be involved, believe that their involvement will make a positive difference, and perceive that their children or children's teachers want their involvement. Parents' involvement activities take many forms, from establishing structures for homework performance to teaching for understanding and developing student learning strategies. Operating largely through modeling, reinforcement, and instruction, parents' homework involvement appears to influence student success insofar as it supports student attributes related to achievement (e.g., attitudes about homework, perceptions of personal competence, self-regulatory skills). Recommendations for research focused on the processes and outcomes of parents' homework involvement are offered, as are suggestions for school practices to enhance the effectiveness of parental involvement in homework.

Parental involvement in education has received much attention in recent decades as various school-improvement efforts have sought to enhance student learning. Although careful to suggest that parental involvement is an adjunct to well-developed educational programs, many investigators have reported that parental involvement, including involvement in student homework, is related to student achievement and personal attributes conducive to achievement (e.g., self-regulation, perceptions of academic competence; e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Xu & Corno, 1998). Although questions have been raised about the value of parental involvement in homework (e.g., Casanova, 1996; Cooper, 1989; Levin et al., 1997), most school practice suggests that elementary and secondary students throughout the United States are asked to do homework, and parents are often asked to become involved in supporting students' homework performance (e.g., Cooper, 1989; Roderique, Polloway, Cumblad, Epstein, & Bursuck, 1994).

This review is focused on parents' motivation for involvement in homework, the content of their involvement, the mechanisms through which their involvement appears to influence student outcomes, and the consequences of their involvement. Its purpose is to integrate research findings across a variety of studies within a theoretically sound framework to allow the identification of empirically grounded themes and the derivation of warranted suggestions for research and practice.

We have drawn on a broad range of primarily recent literature across several disciplines (e.g., psychology, sociology, anthropology) as related to varied levels or domains of educational interest (e.g., early childhood, elementary, secondary, special education). This literature base includes studies incorporating explicit attention to parents' homework involvement as well as related sources helpful in understanding parents' involvement decisions, the content of their involvement, and its outcomes. Key characteristics[1] of studies focused on some aspect of parental involvement in homework (summarized in Table 1). As evident, this set of studies is var-

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[1]Key characteristics include study purposes, design, participants, and homework involvement measures. *Purposes* are described as the study's general goals, which in many of these studies extended beyond focused examination of parents' homework involvement. *Design* is designated in three general categories: *survey* defines studies focused primarily on examining and describing naturally occurring phenomena; *intervention* defines studies focused on the development and testing of efforts intended to change some element of the homework involvement process; *case study* defines those studies examining and describing in some detail elements of the homework involvement process in a very small sample of children, parents, or families. *Participants* include basic characteristics (as available in each report) of students, parents and teachers examined in the study. *Homework measures* describe those portions of instruments or methods used to derive data on homework involvement (measures related to other study variables or purposes are generally not included).

TABLE 1
Characteristics Studies Included in the Review

Authors	Purpose	Primary Research Design, Sample Size, Characteristics	Homework Measures
Ames (1993)	Examine effectiveness of program to increase teachers' school-to-home communications, including those related to parent help with learning activities at home	Design: intervention; participants: 37 2nd- and 4th-grade teachers (15 control, 25 experimental), parents, students in their classrooms; generally diverse SES, ethnicity	Teacher reports of communication practices; parent responses to questionnaire including time spent with student related to schoolwork
Anesko & O'Leary (1982)	Examine effectiveness of a program designed to help parents of children identified as "having difficulties with homework" manage their homework	Design: intervention; participants: parents of 13 students (x = 8 yrs) noted by parents as having difficulties with homework; middle class, suburban (treatment = 6, waitlist = 7)	Parent responses to questionnaire, interview on homework problems, student feelings about homework, observation of homework behavior
Anesko, Schoiock, Ramirez, & Levine (1987)	Develop measure to assess frequency and intensity of children's homework problems	Design: survey; participants: parents of 319 2nd- through 4th-grade students; predominantly middle class, White	Parent questionnaire on varied student problems with homework
Baker & Stevenson (1986)	Examine maternal strategies for helping 8th graders transition to high school as related to student achievement	Design: survey; participants: 41 mothers of 8th graders; varied SES, 74% White, 26% non-White	Parent interviews with items on parent strategies for homework (knowledge, help, encouragement)
Balli, Demo, & Wedman (1998)	Examine effects of intervention (no prompts, child prompts, child and family prompts) on family involvement in math homework	Design: intervention; participants: 74 6th graders, and families; predominantly middle class, White	Parent responses to questionnaire assessing family involvement in math homework, other homework
Baumgartner, Bryan, Donahue, & Nelson (1993)	Examine parental views of homework, reports of involvement in homework	Design: survey; participants: 509 parents of elementary, intermediate students in regular, resource, and self-contained classes; generally middle class, ethnically diverse, suburban	Parents' unstructured comments on larger questionnaire focused on homework, tests, grades
Brody, Flor, & Gibson (1999)	Examine links between selected family, parent characteristics (e.g., resources, efficacy beliefs, parenting) and student academic psychosocial competence	Design: survey; participants: 139 single, head-of-household mothers of children ages 6 through 9; predominantly low income, African American	Parent questionnaire, interviews regarding family routines, including homework routines with child
Bryan & Nelson (1994)	Examine student perceptions of homework	Design: survey; participants: 1,527 students (9–15 years) in regular (1,242), resource (234), special education (51); generally diverse SES, ethnicity	Student questionnaire items on homework frequency, type, working conditions, parent assistance
Bryan, Nelson, & Mathur (1995)	Examine student experiences and feelings about homework across regular, resource, and special education classroom	Design: survey; participants: 809 1st- through 3rd-grade students from regular (701), resource (91), special education (17) classrooms; diverse SES, ethnicity and race, suburban	Student questionnaire with items on homework, including parental help, interactions related to homework
Callahan, Rademacher, & Hildreth (1998)	Examine influence of home-based student self-management program to improve homework performance and achievement	Design: intervention; participants: 26 6th and 7th graders in program for at-risk youth, parents; predominantly middle and lower middle class, White	Parent questionnaire on homework attitudes; student, parent ratings of homework performance, parents' program implementation activities
Carrington, Lehrer, & Wittenstrom (1997)	Examine effectiveness of homework management intervention for students under conditions of parent participation versus no parent participation	Design: intervention; participants: 42 2nd- through 8th-grade students with homework problems, parents; predominantly middle class, White	Parent questionnaire on child homework problems; description of child's specific homework problems
Chavkin & Williams (1993)	Examine parents' involvement attitudes and practices	Design: survey; participants: 2,967 parents of elementary children; 1,779 Anglo, 682 African American, 506 Hispanic	Parent responses to questionnaire items on homework involvement (e.g., monitoring, helping)
Chen & Stevenson (1989)	Examine and compare (across four component studies) elementary students' homework experiences in the United States, China, and Japan	Design: survey; participants: students (primarily 1st and 5th graders), parents, teachers from Japan, China, United States (sample sizes: 447 to 1,446); generally mixed SES, urban	Student, parent, teacher interviews focused in part on parent help with homework, beliefs about the importance of homework

Clark (1993)	Examine parents' homework attitudes and practices as related to variations in student achievement and family demographic variables	Design: survey; participants: parents of 460 3rd graders; generally diverse SES, primarily Hispanic, African American, Asian	Parent responses to questionnaire items on teacher, student homework practices, parent homework activities
Constantino, Cui, & Faltis (1991)	Examine parental involvement among Chinese immigrant families in the United States	Design: survey; participants: 15 parents of elementary students, 10 teachers; Chinese immigrants to the United States	Parent, teacher interviews with items on parent, teacher homework activities and responsibilities
Cooper, Lindsay, Nye, & Greathouse (1998)	Examine relationships among student, parent, teacher attitudes toward homework, amount of homework, student achievement across grade levels	Design: survey; participants: 709 elementary, middle, high school students, parents; primarily middle class, White; 82 teachers	Student, parent, teacher responses to questionnaire including items on beliefs about affective reactions to homework
Dauber & Epstein (1993)	Examine parent ideas and desires regarding involvement and extent to which involvement patterns differ across elementary, middle school	Design: survey; participants: 2,317 parents of elementary, middle school students attending Chapter I schools; predominantly low income, inner city	Parent responses to questionnaire items on parent homework help, home learning activities, teacher practices to involve parents at home
DeBaryshe, Buell, & Binder (1996)	Examine influence of parental help on student writing task outcomes (two conditions: student completion of task alone, student work on task with help of mother)	Design: experiment; participants: 20 5- to 6-year-old children, mothers; relatively high SES; 17 European American, 3 African American	Examination of student task performance and videotaped student, parent behaviors during task
Delgado-Gaitin (1992)	Examine home environment as related to education issues, parent roles in education, learning outcomes in Mexican American families	Design: case study; participants: 6 2nd graders and their families (3 novice readers, 3 advanced readers); working-class, Mexican American families	Parent attitudes, behaviors, ideas as related in part to homework/home learning, observed over 9 months, field notes, audiotapes, videotapes
Epstein (1986)	Examine parents' awareness of, experiences with parent involvement, perspectives on teachers' parent involvement practices including involvement in learning activities at home	Design: survey; participants: 1,269 parents of 1st, 3rd, 5th graders, teachers (36 "strong" parent involvement, 46 control); mixed SES, 62% White, 36% African American	Parent questionnaire responses on involvement experiences, responses to teacher involvement practices, including home learning activities
Epstein & Dauber (1991)	Examine links among school programs of parent involvement, teacher attitudes, teacher practices to involve parents	Design: survey; participants: 171 teachers in 5 elementary, 3 middle schools serving economically disadvantaged families in a large urban area	Teacher responses to questionnaire with items on attitudes, practices related to parental involvement in learning activities at home
Epstein, Polloway, Foley, & Patton (1993)	Examine homework problems experienced by students with learning disabilities, behavioral disabilities, and general education students	Design: survey; participants: 37 parent, student (7–16 years), teacher triads; students predominantly White	Parent, teacher responses to parallel checklists of student problems in completing homework
Fehrman, Keith, & Reimers (1987)	Examine direct effects of parental involvement on grades and indirect effects through time on homework, TV viewing	Design: survey; participants: 28,051 12th graders from High School and Beyond Study; varied family SES, ethnicity	Student responses to questionnaire with items on parent involvement in academic life, homework time
Forgatch & Ramsey (1994)	Examine effectiveness of a videotape-based intervention providing information on home study practices and strategies to families of students having academic problems	Design: intervention; participants: 49 junior high students with academic problems (25 experimental, 24 control), parents; generally middle class, rural	Parent, student responses to parallel questionnaires, structured telephone interviews on homework (time, quality, parental monitoring)
Ginsburg & Bronstein (1993)	Examine family factors related to student motivational orientation and academic performance	Design: survey; participants: 93 5th graders, parents, teachers; generally diverse SES, predominantly White	Parent responses to interview items on parental checking, supervision, surveillance of homework
Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter (1997)	Examine contemporaneous and predictive relations among parenting style, adolescent attributions, educational outcomes	Design: survey; participants: 2,353 high school students; diverse SES, 62% White, 15% Asian American, 14% Hispanic American, 9% African American	Student responses to questionnaire including items on time spent on homework in four academic subjects

TABLE 1 (*Continued*)

Authors	Purpose	Primary Research Design, Sample Size, Characteristics	Homework Measures
Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci (1991)	Test process model of relations among student perceptions of parents, motivation, and school performance	Design: survey; participants: 456 3rd- through 6th-grade students, parents; diverse SES, predominantly White, urban; 20 teachers	Student responses to questionnaires including items on motivation for doing homework
Grolnick & Slowiaczek (1994)	Examine children's motivational resources as mediator of relationship between parent involvement and student school performance	Design: survey; participants: 302 6th- through 8th-grade students; predominantly middle class, White; 18 teachers	Student responses to questionnaires including items on motivation for doing homework
Hong, Milgram & Perkins (1995)	Examine cultural differences in student homework style, parent awareness of style, links among parent awareness, student homework achievement, attitudes	Design: survey; participants: 182 Korean 5th and 6th graders and parents; varied SES; 93 American 5th and 6th graders and parents, predominantly middle and upper middle class	Student, parent responses to questionnaires assessing student homework style and behavior
Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie (1992)	Examine relationship between parents' sense of efficacy for helping child succeed in school and student outcomes	Design: survey; participants: 390 parents of elementary students; heterogeneous SES; 50 teachers	Parent, teacher responses to questionnaires including items on parents' involvement in homework
Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Burow (1995)	Examine parents' thinking, strategies, actions related to student homework	Design: survey; participants: 69 parents of 1st- through 5th-grade students; generally diverse SES, 83% White, 17% African American	Parent responses to interviews including questions on homework involvement
Hutsinger, Jose, & Larson (1998)	Examine effects of academic home environment on student social adjustment and achievement	Design: survey; participants: 36 Chinese American, 40 European American 1st and 2nd graders and parents; generally well-educated families, suburban	Parent responses to interview including items on teaching methods used at home for math and reading work
Jayanthi, Sawyer, Nelson, Bursuck, & Epstein (1995)	Examine parental ideas, recommendations about teachers' homework communications	Design: survey; participants: 8 parents, 13 special education students, and 11 classroom teachers of 5th- through 12th-grade students with mild disabilities; suburban and rural	Parent responses to questions about homework communications generated in parent–teacher focus groups
Kay, Fitzgerald, Paradee, & Mellencamp (1994)	Examine parental perspectives on homework	Design: survey; participants: 14 4th, 8th graders with disabilities, parents, 11 parent liaisons, teachers; rural	Parent, teacher perspectives on homework involvement (focus groups, interviews, research logs)
Leone & Richards (1989)	Examine links among variables related to student experience of homework (time, subjective experience, companions) and achievement	Design: survey; participants: 401 5th- through 9th-grade students; varied SES, urban, suburban	Student experience sampling, questions on homework thoughts, feelings, context, companions
Levin et al. (1997)	Examine relationship among maternal help with homework, dynamics of helping, mother–child affective relationship, and student achievement	Design: survey; participants: mothers of 92 1st, 3rd graders, teachers (4 at each grade level); Israeli, predominantly middle and upper middle SES, urban	Mother, teacher responses to parallel questionnaires assessing aspects of maternal help with homework, related variables
McDermott, Goldman, & Varenne (1984)	Examine family interactions related to homework	Design: case study; participants: 2 students (3rd, 4th graders) and families; working class, "Irish heritage"	Parent interviews, observations focused on student, family homework context and interactions
Milne, Myers, Rosenthal, & Ginsberg (1986)	Examine influence of maternal status variables (employment, single parenthood) and varied parent, student behaviors on achievement	Design: survey; participants: 12,429 1st- through 6th-grade students (from Sustaining Effects Study of Title I), 2,720 secondary students (High School and Beyond Study); generally diverse SES, African American, White	Parent interview, questionnaire responses including items on student homework time, parent homework help, monitoring
Muller (1995)	Examine how parent involvement intervenes in links between maternal employment and student math achievement	Design: survey; participants: 13,881 8th graders, parents drawn from NELS 88 data set; varied SES, ethnicity	Student, parent responses to questionnaires including item on parental checking of homework
Natriello & McDill (1986)	Examine effects of teacher, parent, peer standards on student homework effort and achievement	Design: survey; participants: 12,146 high school students; varied SES, predominantly White	Student responses to questionnaires including parent rules for time on homework, actual homework time

Okagaki & Frensch (1998)	Examine relationship between parenting and student school performance in multiple ethnic groups	Design: survey; participants: 275 parents of 4th and 5th graders; varied SES, 109 Latino, 75 Asian American, 91 White	Parent responses to questionnaires including items on parent help with student schoolwork, study, reading
Okagaki, Frensch, & Gordon (1995)	Examine parental encouragement of school achievement among Mexican American children	Design: survey; participants: 82 parents of high (33) or low (49) achieving 4th, 5th graders; varied SES, Mexican American, suburban	Parent responses to questionnaires including items on involvement behaviors related to schoolwork
Paulson (1994)	Explore influence of parenting style and parent involvement on student achievement	Design: survey; participants: 247 9th graders, parents; diverse SES, predominantly White; urban, suburban, rural	Parent, student responses to questionnaires with items on parent interest, monitoring of homework
Peng & Wright (1994)	Examine links between Asian American, other minority groups' student achievement and qualities of home environments (including activities conducive to learning)	Design: survey; participants: 1,527 Asian American, 3,171 Hispanic, 3,009 African American, 299 Native American, 16,317 White 8th graders and parents (NELS 88 data set)	Parent, student responses to questionnaire items on frequency of parental assistance with homework, student time on homework
Pratt, Green, MacVicar, & Bountrogianni (1992)	Examine relationship between authoritative parenting and achievement as mediated by quality of parent teaching strategies (including scaffolding)	Design: observation; participants: Study 1: 13 5th graders, parents; predominantly middle class; Study 2: 24 5th graders, diverse SES, ethnicity	Parent interview including items on homework; observation, ratings of parent behaviors while helping student do math homework tasks
Reynolds (1992)	Examine correspondence among parent, teacher, and student ratings of parent involvement	Design: survey; participants: 481 7 year olds, parents, teachers drawn from Longitudinal Study of Children at Risk; low SES, predominantly African American, urban	Parent, student responses to questionnaires including items on parental involvement in homework, learning activities at home
Roderique, Polloway, Cumblad, Epstein, & Bursuck (1994)	Examine school district homework policies, including communications with parents, expectations about parents' homework roles	Design: survey; participants: 550 U.S. school districts; urban, suburban, rural districts; geographically diverse	District survey responses, including items on district family homework communications, expectations for parents' homework roles
Sanders (1998)	Examine influence of teacher, family, church support on school-related attitudes, behaviors, achievement of urban African American students	Design: survey; participants: 827 8th graders; predominantly lower income, African American	Student responses to questionnaire including items on parental support and monitoring of homework
Schneider & Lee (1990)	Examine influences of sociocultural factors, interpersonal interactions on academic performance among East Asian and Anglo students	Design: survey; participants: 95 6th and 7th graders (46 East Asian, 49 Anglo), parents; varied SES, urban, suburban; teachers, administrators	Parent, teacher, student responses to interviews including focus on parent help with schoolwork, home teaching, homework monitoring
Scott-Jones (1987)	Examine role of 'mother-as-teacher' in student achievement in high- and low-achieving, low-income African American families	Design: observation; participants: 24 1st graders (8 high-achieving, 16 low-achieving), mothers; low income, African American	Parent interview items on educational practices; behaviors with child in natural and teaching task situations
Shumow (1998)	Examine influence of intervention (generally including information about student development, math homework, conversations with researcher about homework) designed to increase effectiveness of parental help with homework	Design: intervention; participants: 35 2nd graders (½ in general intervention; ½ in general intervention + individual conversations), parents, teachers; varied SES, White	Parent behaviors during homework, observations on student's thinking; conversation transcripts; analyzed for parent scaffolding, knowledge of student's math development

TABLE 1 (*Continued*)

Authors	Purpose	Primary Research Design, Sample Size, Characteristics	Homework Measures
Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts (1989)	Examine relation among authoritative parenting, student psychosocial maturity, and school achievement over time	Design: survey; participants: 120 students ages 10 through 16; varied SES, predominantly White	Student responses to questionnaire items including parent control over homework
Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling (1992)	Examine the influence of authoritative parenting, parent involvement, parent encouragement to succeed on achievement	Design: survey; participants: 6,357 9th- through 11th-grade students; varied SES, ethnicity	Student responses to questionnaires with items on parents' homework help, encouragement of schoolwork
Stevenson, Chen, & Uttal (1990)	Examine relation between parent and student beliefs, and attitudes about schooling and achievement	Design: survey; participants: 1,161 1st, 3rd, and 5th graders, mothers; mixed SES, White, Black, Hispanic; 120 teachers	Parent, student interview items on attitudes about schooling, student ideas, and reactions to homework
Strukoff, McLaughlin, & Bialozor (1987)	Examine effectiveness of intervention (daily report to parent on homework completion) to increase student homework performance	Design: case study–intervention; participant: one 5th grader in special education, her parents, teacher, and same age peers	Proportion and accuracy of homework assignments completed, parent comments on intervention
Sui-Chu & Willms (1996)	Examine relations among parents' home- and school-based involvement, background variables, student learning problems, achievement	Design: survey; participants: 24,599 8th graders, parents, teachers (NELS 88 data set)	Parent and student responses to questionnaire items on schoolwork, discussion, homework supervision
Voelkl (1993)	Examine home environment characteristics distinguishing low-achieving African American students holding low versus high academic expectations	Design: survey; students: 2,847 8th graders drawn from NELS 88 data set; presumably varied SES, African American	Student responses to questionnaire including items on parent–child homework interactions, monitoring, checking of schoolwork
Xu & Corno (1998)	Examine dynamics of homework and its contributions to the development of student self-responsibility	Design: case study–observation; participants: six 3rd graders, parents, teachers; "well-educated professional" families, diverse cultural backgrounds	Parent and student interviews (including stimulated recall), observation during homework sessions, analyzed for themes
Zellman & Waterman (1998)	Identify variables underlying link between parent involvement and selected student outcomes	Design: survey; participants:193 2nd and 5th graders, mothers; varied SES, 35% Latino, 32% White, 17% African American	Parent and student responses to questions regarding frequency of mother–father help with homework

Note. SES = socioeconomic status; NELS = National Educational Longitudinal Study.

ied along several dimensions. For example, some examined parental involvement in homework as a central study purpose, whereas others included it as a relatively minor portion of a broader investigation. Across this literature, we focused on identifying patterns that may illuminate critical features of parental involvement at this most common intersection of families' and school's interests in the learning of the children they share.

WHY DO PARENTS BECOME INVOLVED IN CHILDREN'S HOMEWORK?

Parents appear to involve themselves in their children's homework for three major reasons: they believe that they should be involved, they believe that their involvement will make a positive difference, and they perceive invitations to involvement (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, 1997).

Parental Role Construction

Parental-role construction for involvement in children's education reflects parents' expectations and beliefs about what they should do in relation to children's schooling. Roles are generally constructed from personal experience and expectations as well as the perceptions and expectations of pertinent others (e.g., Biddle, 1986). Applied to parents' involvement in children's education, parental-role construction appears to define the range of activities that parents believe important, necessary, and permissible for their own engagement in children's schooling (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Consistent with role theory, several investigators have reported parents' beliefs that involvement in children's schooling is a normal requirement and responsibility of parenting (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Burow, 1995; Okagaki, Frensch, & Gordon, 1995; Stevenson, Chen, & Uttal, 1990). Related work has identified parents' beliefs about the importance of helping with homework, opinions about homework goals and quantity, and interest in knowing more about effective homework helping strategies (e.g., Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Baumgartner, Bryan, Donahue, & Nelson, 1993; Dodd, 1996; Epstein, Polloway, Foley, & Patton, 1993; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Kay, Fitzgerald, Paradee, & Mellencamp, 1994). Findings that parents often continue their involvement in children's homework despite concerns about personal limitations or children's learning difficulties (e.g., Anesko, Shoiock, Ramirez, & Levine, 1987; Bryan, Nelson, & Mathur, 1995; Chen & Stevenson, 1989; Kay et al., 1994; Levin et al., 1997) underscore the power of role construction as a motivator of involvement.

Parents' Sense of Efficacy for Helping the Child Succeed in School

Parents appear to become involved in their children's homework also because they believe their activities will make a pos-

itive difference for the child (e.g., Bandura, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Self-efficacy theory suggests that parents' behavioral choices are guided in part by the outcomes they expect to follow their actions; the stronger the perceived self-efficacy for a task (e.g., helping with homework), the higher the goals they are likely to set and the greater the persistence they are likely to exhibit in reaching those goals (Bandura, 1997). Consistent with these suggestions, parents have reported reasonable confidence in their ability to help with homework; their confidence, in turn, has been associated with involvement (e.g., Ames, 1993; Balli, Demo, & Wedman, 1998; Chen & Stevenson, 1989; Cooper, Lindsay, Nye, & Greathouse, 1998). Even where parents have recorded doubts about involvement, their misgivings have been related not to doubts about their capability but often to lack of adequate information (e.g., Kay et al., 1994). In general, parents higher in efficacy are more likely to be involved in homework help (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie, 1992) and those who help children with homework are likely to believe that their help positively influences student outcomes (e.g., Chen & Stevenson, 1989; Stevenson et al., 1990).

Parents' Perceptions of Invitations to Involvement

Parents also appear to involve themselves in homework because they perceive invitations from their child or child's teachers suggesting that their homework involvement is wanted and expected (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Invitations from students may emerge as a function of age (younger children appear to elicit more involvement than older ones: e.g., Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Eccles & Harold, 1993), performance level (poorer performance may invite more parental help: e.g., Clark, 1993; Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Levin et al., 1997), or characteristic patterns of parent–child interaction (e.g., generally positive or frequently antagonistic: e.g., Ames, 1993; DeBaryshe, Buell, & Binder, 1996; Eccles & Harold, 1993). Teacher invitations have been positively associated with parents' involvement decisions (e.g., Balli et al., 1998; Epstein & Dauber, 1991), and have been found more influential than socioeconomic status in motivating involvement (e.g., Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Walberg, Paschal, & Weinstein, 1985). The power of invitations in eliciting involvement is underscored by the success of several homework-involvement intervention programs reported in this literature (e.g., Anesko & O'Leary, 1983; Balli et al., 1998; Forgatch & Ramsey, 1994; Pratt, Green, MacVicar, & Bountrogianni, 1992; Shumow, 1998).

WHAT DO PARENTS DO WHEN THEY HELP WITH HOMEWORK?

Parents as a group engage in a broad range of homework involvement behaviors. The very diversity of these efforts ap-

pears related in part to variations in the skills, commitments, and family situations that individual parents bring to the homework process; they also appear to emerge from varied school practices related to homework involvement (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). The diversity may also be due to the fact that investigators have seldom defined homework involvement in clearly comparable ways; operational definitions have ranged from single items on broad questionnaires (e.g., "I check my child's homework") to complex patterns of attending to child understanding and scaffolding activities based on those observations. Involvement behaviors in the literature are summarized within broad descriptive categories in Table 2. Specific studies exemplifying typical involvement behaviors within each category are noted in the table. The categories were derived from rational organization of descriptors employed in the studies reviewed and are arrayed from less to more complex forms of involvement. Consistent with Epstein's (1992) widely cited typology of parental involvement, these categories of parents' homework activities fit generally within two involvement types: families' "basic obligations" in children's education (e.g., establishing physical and psychological structures for homework performance, interacting with the school or teacher about homework) and "involvement in learning activities at home" (e.g., engaging in homework processes and tasks with the child, engaging in interactive processes supporting the child's understanding of homework).

Establish Physical and Psychological Structures for the Child's Homework Performance

Homework is often presented as a school requirement for successful child learning, and parents often create school-like structures to support homework success (e.g., arranging the environment, establishing schedules for time use). In some instances, parents control these structures; in others, parents follow the student's lead or work in other ways to fit homework involvement into the "flow" of family life. Variations in these strategies have been linked to patterns of child-rearing values (e.g., beliefs that the child should conform to external authority; beliefs that the parent should support the child's unique needs; e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; McDermott, Goldman, & Varenne, 1984; Scott-Jones, 1987). They have also been linked to broader familial cultural values (e.g., Hong, Milgram, & Perkins, 1995; Hutsinger, Jose, & Larson, 1998; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Schneider & Lee, 1990).

Interact With the School or Teacher About Homework

Parents also respond to expectations about their homework involvement by initiating or responding to school communi-

cations about homework. These parental activities may be quite varied, ranging from simple responses to teachers' requests (e.g., sign homework papers) to committed engagement in programs designed to increase support of student learning at home. They may involve parent-initiated requests for information about homework or the creation of shared home–school goals for student learning. Across studies, parents' interactions with schools appear focused on increasing parents' effective homework help.

Provide General Oversight of the Homework Process

At the broadest level, investigators have examined general oversight of homework processes as parental monitoring or surveillance, often assessed by single questionnaire items. Considered in more specific terms, oversight activities have included varied degrees of "checking" on the child's homework processes (e.g., ascertaining the child's understanding of a particular homework requirement, encouraging performance) and securing others' help in the homework process.

Respond to the Student's Homework Performance

Parents' involvement activities may also focus more specifically on the child's homework efforts, completion, and accuracy. Parents may employ specific approaches to reinforcing desired behavior, including praise, reference to family standards, and extrinsic rewards. They may focus on enhancing students' self-perception of ability and the value of effort. They may also include corrections intended to help the child conform to the learning or performance goals implicit in homework tasks.

Engage in Homework Processes and Tasks With the Child

Parents' active engagement in homework assignments has been examined in several investigations in relatively general terms (e.g., assisting, helping, tutoring, "doing homework with" the child). Researchers have also examined two more specific parental approaches to involvement: structured, convergent (often task centered) efforts to help the child with assignments, and informal, student-responsive (often child centered) patterns of involvement in homework tasks. Some investigators have associated these two general approaches with varied patterns of student outcomes (e.g., more structured approaches have been associated with poorer student performance, less-structured approaches with better student performance: Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; McDermott et al., 1984; Scott-Jones, 1987). Others have reported that parents

tend to use both general approaches to homework involvement, apparently responding to specific homework task demands and individual children's learning preferences (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995).

Engage in Metastrategies Designed to Create a Fit Between Task Demands and the Child's Skill Levels

Parents' involvement activities also include the use of strategies designed to create a "fit" between the child's skill levels and task demands. These strategies may involve efforts to break homework tasks into manageable parts and may involve shaping homework demands to child capabilities while supporting the child's "reach" for understanding. Such scaffolding may be based on theoretical assumptions that children learn through guided interaction within a "space" representing the relationship between what the child knows and is capable (with guidance) of learning next (e.g., Rogoff, 1990). Parental activities within this space often require understanding of homework and knowledge of normative developmental processes derived through personal knowledge or teacher guidance. Parents' involvement activities in this category have been examined most often in the context of interventions designed to improve the role of homework in supporting specific learning outcomes (e.g., Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998).

Engage in Interactive Processes Supporting the Child's Understanding of Homework

Parents may also employ strategies supporting children's understanding of homework that engage modeling and demonstration, discussion of problem-solving strategies, and evaluation of conceptual understanding. These efforts to enhance understanding of homework tasks may transcend the tasks addressed by any given assignment and focus as well on the development of generalizable problem-solving skills and understandings pertinent to a broad range of learning tasks.

Engage in Metastrategies Designed to Help the Child Learn Processes Conducive to Achievement

Finally, parents' homework activities may focus on the child's development of learning processes and self-awarenesses conducive to achievement in general. Such activities may focus on helping the child assume developmentally appropriate independence for managing learning tasks. Parents' activities in this category may also enhance the child's self-management skills (e.g., for coping with distractions) and the child's skills

in regulating emotional responses to homework and related learning tasks.

Parents' Involvement Activities in Sum

Parents' choices of specific activities within this wide range appear grounded in their (a) child-rearing values and assumptions about learning, (b) understanding of the purposes and goals of homework, (c) personal knowledge of strategies appropriate for supporting child performance or learning, and (d) responses to specific information, from teachers or children, about homework tasks and processes. As possible within the context of broader demands of family life, parents appear to engage these categories of involvement activity with an eye toward "filling the parental role" in relation to children's educational success. Consistent with assumptions–by parents, teachers, schools, and often children themselves–that parental involvement will "make a difference" in student learning, parents' activities have been linked to a variety of student outcomes. Before examining these outcomes, however, we consider briefly the mechanisms likely responsible for parental involvement's influence on student learning.

HOW DOES PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT INFLUENCE STUDENT OUTCOMES?

Parental involvement in children's homework appears to influence student outcomes because it offers modeling, reinforcement, and instruction that supports the development of attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors associated with successful school performance (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). Parents' homework involvement activities give children multiple opportunities to observe and learn from their parents' modeling (of attitudes, knowledge, and skills pertinent to learning), to receive reinforcement and feedback on personal performance and capability, and to engage in instructional interactions related to homework content and learning processes.

Modeling

Parents often serve as salient models from whom children learn. Modeling theory (e.g., Bandura, 1997) suggests that children acquire knowledge of skills, processes, concepts and personal capabilities through observation. In observing parents' involvement behaviors, children learn through processes involving attention, retention, symbolic representation of observed events, and subsequent production of related behaviors (Bandura, 1997). Modeling is particularly influential when models are perceived by the child as competent and powerful, possessing skills and abilities that they value, and similar to self (conditions often pertaining to parents and chil-

dren). Modeling is also particularly influential when the tasks at-hand are unfamiliar or not immediately followed by observable consequences (conditions that apply to much school learning). Familiarity as well as shared history of context and experience often function to make the parent an especially salient and powerful model for the child (e.g., Bandura, 1997).

Reinforcement

Reinforcement as a mechanism through which parents' involvement influences student outcomes suggests that behavior patterns occur and are maintained because of their consequences (e.g., Skinner, 1989). Thus, children learn behaviors when they consistently associate them with desired consequences. Insofar as the parent's involvement activities include use of positive and valued consequences in response to the child's homework behaviors, reinforcement influences learning because it increases the likelihood that the child will demonstrate similar skills, attitudes, and behaviors again. Parents are particularly well suited for helping children learn through reinforcement, in part because teachers (because they work with groups of students) may find it difficult to administer contingencies of reinforcement with sufficient frequency or consistency (Skinner, 1989). Parents are well suited also because they often have direct knowledge of reinforcement contingencies effective for the individual child and are often able to respond to behavior directly and immediately.

Parental Instruction

Parents' involvement activities also appear to influence student outcomes through instructional interactions that range from simple queries to processes intended to develop strategic understanding and problem-solving capacity. Especially insofar as they reflect what theorists have identified as guided or collaborative learning (e.g., Rogoff, 1990), parents' instructional activities appear salient to students' learning of attitudes, skills, and knowledge associated with school success. In collaborative learning, parents share information and structure task-related processes in ways that enable the child to learn effectively and assume appropriate personal responsibility for learning. Such instructional activities may include directing child attention to task components, simplifying the task as needed, explaining new information, relating information to similar contexts, or responding to questions. Even when parents have less than comprehensive knowledge of content or pedagogical strategy, they sometimes have advantages over teachers in instructional roles; for example, they tend to respond to their children's unique learning preferences and styles (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Miller & Davis, 1992) and may thus offer help particularly appropriate to child abilities and understanding.

WHICH STUDENT OUTCOMES ARE INFLUENCED BY PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN HOMEWORK?

Parents' homework-involvement practices have been associated, sometimes causally, with student learning outcomes. Not surprisingly, student achievement has been the most frequently examined outcome. Perhaps more intriguing, however, are the varied learning outcomes associated with parental involvement that are more proximally related to student achievement.

Student Achievement

Examination of parental involvement's influence on achievement has yielded mixed findings. Some have reported positive links (e.g., Callahan, Rademacher, & Hildreth, 1998; Fehrman, Keith, & Reimers, 1987; Reynolds, 1992); others have found negative relationships (e.g., Muller, 1995; Natriello & McDill, 1986; Voelkl, 1993). The findings may be mixed in part because multiple motivations appear to underlie parents' decisions about involving themselves in their children's homework. For example, parents and students may find involvement enjoyable when the student is successful, and involvement may allow the parent to see the student's learning. On the other hand, parents may experience demands for involvement in homework (from self, the child, or teacher) when the child's school performance lags behind expectations.

Ultimately, however, a solitary emphasis on student achievement is unfortunate. Parents' homework involvement behaviors are more logically related to proximal student outcomes (e.g., attitudes about homework, perceptions of personal competence) than to student performance on summary assessments of achievement. The power of these proximal variables rests in the reality that student achievement ultimately depends not only on parents' behaviors, but on variables that are often (and increasingly, across the course of development) outside of parents' control (e.g., classroom instruction, student decisions to use skills, knowledge and related strategies in learning tasks). Thus, the most critical outcomes associated with parental involvement in homework may be found in the attitudes, ideas, and behaviors enacted by students in the course of school learning (see also Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989).

Student Attributes Associated With Achievement

Positive attitudes about homework and school learning. Positive parental attitudes toward homework have been related to students' development of positive attitudes about homework and school learning (e.g., Ames,

1993; Cooper et al., 1998; Hong et al., 1995; Sanders, 1998). Parental involvement appears to support positive student attitudes toward learning in part because it is associated with more positive student mood (Leone & Richards, 1989) and greater student enjoyment of homework tasks (Shumow, 1998). More positive student attitudes toward homework, in turn, are related to student decisions about time and effort to be spent on homework, sense of personal responsibility for learning, and persistence in task completion (e.g., Cooper et al., 1998; Corno, 1996; Fehrman et al., 1987; Hong et al., 1995).

Perceptions of personal competence, ability, and academic self-concept. Parents' attitudes and ideas about child abilities and competence conveyed during homework involvement also influence student variables subsequently associated with school performance. These student variables include perceptions of personal competence, self-concept of ability, and academic self-concept (e.g., Ames, 1993; Frome & Eccles, 1998; Shumow, 1998), attributions about the causes of successful academic performance (e.g., Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter, 1997), and sense of mastery as well as tendency to trust one's own judgements (e.g., Ginsburg & Bronstein, 1993). Such effects may occur because parental involvement activities offer a forum within which parents express high expectations, encouragement, reinforcement, and explicit "instruction" about the learning outcomes associated with effort (e.g., Sanders, 1998). When combined with observation and understanding of the child's developmental level and accomplishments (e.g., Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998), parental involvement is likely to support students' sense of competence and ability, which is in turn related to positive student learning outcomes (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994).

Student knowledge of task demands and performance strategies. When parents have adequate knowledge of homework tasks and related work strategies, their involvement has been found to support positive student perceptions of task difficulty and manageability (e.g., Frome & Eccles, 1998). Reasonably informed parental help may also function to increase student understanding of the task, especially as parents offer instrumental help and model task-appropriate skills (e.g., Okagaki et al., 1995). Parental involvement has also been linked to effective student work habits (e.g., Cooper et al., 1998; McDermott et al., 1984; Xu & Corno, 1998), and the development of self-regulation, both of which are critical to effective student assumption of responsibility for learning outcomes (e.g., Brody, Flor, & Gibson, 1999; Zimmerman, 1986). Parents' contributions to self-regulation appear related to their involvement efforts across the grades, their effectiveness in offering developmentally appropriate assistance, and their support for skills and attributes such as goal-setting, planning, and persistence (e.g., Brody et al., 1999; Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998).

Student homework behaviors. Parental involvement also appears to benefit students' homework behaviors and performance through its links with student time on homework (e.g., Fehrman et al., 1987; Leone & Richards, 1989). Whether precipitated by parental rules and standards for homework behavior (e.g., Natriello & McDill, 1986; Voelkl, 1993) or parent-supported positive mood and interest (e.g., Leone & Richards, 1989), more student time on homework often allows for more parental assistance, more student persistence, and better understanding than may be attained in shorter time periods. Parental involvement has been related as well to more student attention to homework, increased likelihood of homework completion, and better homework performance (e.g., Balli et al., 1998; Callahan et al., 1998; Forgatch & Ramsey, 1994; Hutsinger et al, 1998). Parental involvement in homework has also been linked to more positive student behavior at school (Sanders, 1998), perhaps because involvement conveys high expectations about the importance of schooling and school effort. Better school behavior is logically linked to greater in-class attention to learning tasks, further supporting the likelihood of homework success.

Parental involvement in student homework is thus associated with several student attitudes, skills, and behaviors important to school learning and achievement. Many of the studies offer correlational evidence, which of course suggests that student skills, attitudes, and behaviors may influence parents' involvement decisions and behaviors. Nonetheless, the analyses offered by some investigators suggest clearly that parental involvement behaviors influence and lead to student learning and success (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1989; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992).

Toward Integrating Involvement Activities, Mechanisms of Influence, and Outcomes

Children learn from the processes of parental modeling, reinforcement, and instruction across many homework involvement behaviors. For example, in interacting with the teacher about homework, parents model the acceptability of asking questions; in successful parent–teacher interactions, parents also increase consistency of task and expectation across the child's learning settings and receive information helpful in "fitting" homework requests to the child's learning characteristics. In establishing physical and psychological structures, parents model the creation of contexts for effective work. To the extent that structuring activities are reasonably consistent with the child's developmental capabilities and the demands of the learning tasks, parents' oversight and structuring offer information and reinforcement of task-related attitudes, efforts, and learning.

Through such specific manifestations of modeling, reinforcement, and instruction, parents' involvement activities influence not only child achievement, but students' development of learning pertinent attributes, including positive attitudes toward learning tasks, positive perceptions of personal competence and ability, productive attributions about the causes of successful performance, and knowledge of personally effective learning strategies. In their influence on such proximal outcomes, parents' homework involvement activities develop student attributes directly associated with school success.

CONCLUSION

Taken together, this literature suggests that parents decide to become involved in students' homework because they believe they should be involved, believe their involvement will make a difference, and perceive that their involvement is wanted and expected. Parents' homework involvement, once engaged, includes a wide variety of activities, ranging from the establishment of home structures supportive of learning to complex patterns of interactive behavior intended to enhance the child's understanding of homework in particular and learning processes in general. The literature also suggests that parents' involvement activities influence student outcomes through modeling, reinforcement, and instruction. Operating through these broad mechanisms, parents' involvement activities have been positively related to student achievement and, perhaps even more importantly, to student attributes proximally related to achievement (e.g., attitudes toward homework, perceptions of personal competence, self-regulation).

Although the literature as a whole supports these summary observations, the body of empirical work on parental involvement in homework might be strengthened in several respects. The most critical need is for theoretically and empirically grounded research focused specifically on the content, processes, and outcomes of parents' involvement in homework. The studies summarized in Table 1 have illuminated several aspects of parents' involvement, most notably the range of activities included in parents' efforts to help their children with homework and selected outcomes associated with those involvement behaviors. The majority of these studies, however, have defined homework involvement in relatively unidimensional terms or have embedded the topic within inquiry focused more directly on related issues.

The importance of parents to children's school accomplishments and the success of notable homework intervention programs underscore the importance of continued inquiry into parents' roles and influence in their children's homework performance. Particularly in need of specific examination are parents' motivations for engaging in homework help, the dynamics of effective parent–child interactions during homework involvement (e.g., examining the contributions of involvement activities within categories outlined in Table 2 to

specific student outcomes), and the specific mechanisms responsible for involvement's influence on student outcomes. Similarly important are continuing efforts, building on interventions examined in some of the studies reviewed here, to develop and test well-designed approaches to improving school invitations to involvement. Developmental and curricular considerations also suggest the importance of examining appropriate variations in parents' homework involvement across time, as well as shifts in outcomes associated with parental involvement across the years of schooling. This set of efforts seems particularly important in light of findings that many parents—across socioeconomic, ethnic, and geographic groups—assume that they should be involved in homework and value-specific guidance for involvement from schools and teachers.

Implications for schools in this body of work center in part on responses to parents' motivations and abilities for involvement in homework. Parents become involved in homework insofar as they believe they have a role to play, believe their involvement will make a difference, and perceive that their children and teachers want their involvement. Schools may take specific steps to enhance each of these motivations. For example, they may communicate directly and specifically why and how involvement is important to children's learning; they may offer specific suggestions for involvement that support parental assumptions that they do indeed have a role to play in their children's success and that their activities make a difference. They may also offer explicit and specific invitations to involvement. Such steps have been successful in eliciting and enhancing parental involvement as reflected in studies incorporating both broad examinations of teachers' involvement practices and relatively detailed inquiries into parents' responses to school invitations.

School practices may also be informed and improved by understanding the broad range of activities that characterize parents' homework involvement and the varied student outcomes associated with involvement. The range of activities offers a wide set of suggestions for specific school invitations to involvement, appropriate for specific developmental levels or grades, learning content, and family circumstances. The range of student outcomes associated with parents' involvement suggests that schools might well focus on specific proximal outcomes—for example, attitudes about homework, perceptions of personal competence, self-regulatory strategies—as particularly amenable to parental influence.

The observed and potential benefits of parental support for children's homework learning suggest strongly the wisdom of increased support for well-grounded research designed to illuminate—systematically, across developmental levels and varied learning tasks—why and under what conditions parents' involvement benefits student learning. The success of schools and the children they serve can only be enhanced by increased understanding of parents' roles, activities, and influence in the development of student success.

1. *Establish physical and psychological structures for the child's homework performance*

Provide space and materials for accomplishing homework, arrange environment for successful student learning (e.g., Clark, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; McDermott et al., 1984; Scott-Jones, 1987; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Specify regular times for homework, establish structured patterns of time use (e.g., Brody et al., 1999; Clark, 1993; Hutsinger et al.,1998; Schneider & Lee, 1990)

Develop rules and procedures protecting student from distractions (e.g., Clark, 1993; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Articulate and enforce expectations, rules and standards for homework behavior (e.g., Clark, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Natriello & McDill, 1986; Steinberg et al., 1992)

Control homework processes (e.g., remind student, insist on or ensure homework completion; e.g., Bryan & Nelson, 1994; Carrington et al., 1997; Ginsberg & Bronstein, 1993; Hutsinger et al., 1998; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Paulson, 1994; Sanders, 1998; Schneider & Lee, 1990)

Help student structure time, space, and materials for homework (e.g., Carrington et al., 1997; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Follow student lead in scheduling and structuring homework time (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; McDermott et al., 1984; Scott-Jones, 1987)

Structure homework time within the "flow" of family activities; parental "availability on demand" (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; McDermott et al., 1984; Scott-Jones, 1987)

2. *Interact with the student's school or teacher about homework*

Communicate with the teacher about student performance, progress, needs related to homework (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Jayanthi et al., 1995; Shumow, 1998)

Meet school requests related to homework (e.g., sign completed tasks, offer requested help, participate in homework intervention program; e.g., Balli et al.,1998; Callahan et al., 1998; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998)

Create mutual home–school goals for student outcomes (e.g., Shumow, 1998)

3. *Provide general oversight of the homework process*

Monitor, supervise, or provide surveillance of the homework process (e.g., Balli et al., 1998; Callahan et al., 1998; Clark, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Forgatch & Ramsey, 1994; Ginsberg & Bronstein, 1993; Milne et al., 1986; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996; Voelkl, 1993; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Check for or establish student understanding of homework tasks (e.g., Bryan & Nelson, 1994; Clark, 1993; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998)

Attend to signs of student difficulty or success related to task or motivation (e.g., Bryan et al., 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Motivate, show interest in student performance (e.g., Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; McDermott et al., 1984; Paulson, 1994; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Coordinate or secure others' help with homework (e.g., Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Balli et al., 1998; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Xu & Corno, 1998)

4. *Respond to the student's homework performance*

Reinforce and reward (using extrinsic or intrinsic approaches) student's homework efforts, completion, correctness (e.g., Callahan et al., 1998; Forgatch & Ramsey, 1994; Ginsberg & Bronstein, 1993; Strukoff et al., 1987; Sanders, 1998; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Recognize and offer emotional support for student performance, ability, effort (e.g., DeBaryshe et al., 1996; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Scott-Jones, 1987; Shumow, 1998)

Review, check, correct homework (e.g., Bryan et al., 1995; Bryan & Nelson, 1994; Callahan et al., 1998; Clark, 1993; Constantino et al., 1991; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Muller, 1995; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Voelkl, 1993)

5. *Engage in homework processes and tasks with the student*

Assist, help, tutor, "work with" or "do" homework with student (e.g., Ames, 1993; Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Bryan & Nelson, 1994; Clark, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1992; Leone & Richards, 1989; Milne et al., 1986; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Okagaki et al., 1995; Peng & Wright, 1994; Shumow, 1998; Steinberg et al., 1992; Zellman & Waterman, 1998)

Teach student in direct, structured, convergent ways (e.g., learn facts, derive answers, drill, practice, memorize; e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992 Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Hutsinger et al., 1998; Okagaki et al., 1995)

Teach student using less direct, more informal methods (e.g., respond to questions, follow student lead; e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Hutsinger et al., 1998; McDermott et al., 1984; Okagaki et al., 1995; Scott-Jones, 1987)

6. *Engage in metastrategies designed to create a fit between the task and student skill levels*

Break learning tasks into discrete, manageable parts (e.g., Forgatch & Ramsey, 1994; McDermott et al., 1984)

Observe, understand, "teach to" student's developmental level (e.g., Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998)

Enact scaffolding processes (e.g., DeBaryshe et al., 1996; Pratt et al., 1992; Shumow, 1998; Xu & Corno, 1998)

7. *Engage in interactive processes supporting student understanding of homework*

Model or demonstrate appropriate learning processes or strategies (e.g., Clark, 1993; DeBaryshe et al., 1996; Okagaki et al., 1995; Pratt et al., 1992)

Discuss problem-solving strategies (e.g., Shumow, 1998)

Help student understand concepts, check for understanding (e.g., Hutsinger et al., 1998; McDermott et al., 1984; Shumow, 1998)

Develop student's problem-solving skills, ability to apply or transfer learning (e.g., Kay et al., 1994; McDermott et al., 1984; Shumow, 1998)

8. *Engage in metastrategies helping the student learn processes conducive to achievement*

Support student's self-regulation skills, strategies, and personal responsibility for homework processes and outcomes (e.g., Carrrington et al., 1997; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Ginsberg & Bronstein, 1993; Hutsinger et al., 1998; Shumow, 1998; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Help student organize personal thinking about assignments (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Shumow, 1998)

Encourage student to self-monitor, focus attention (e.g., Hutsinger et al., 1998; Shumow, 1998; Xu & Corno, 1998)

Teach and encourage the student to regulate emotional responses to homework (e.g., Xu & Corno, 1998)

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