

ABSTRACT

A Holistic View of the Impact of Family Life on a Child's Education Outcomes

Lilac C. Ding

Director: Dr. Christopher M. Pieper, Ph.D.

Little research has focused on the self-perceptions of students and parents in affecting education outcomes. This thesis aims to identify the most influential factors for a child's academic success through interviews of both students and their parents. The project illuminates which factors students and parents value the most, and it provides a holistic analysis by comparing responses within an individual family unit. Interview data is analyzed based on fourteen specific factors of analysis grouped by themes such as family involvement, socioeconomic status, parental pressure and cultural background. Student and parent responses are analyzed separately and then compared, including student-parent pairs within the same family. The results indicate that the majority of students perceive parental involvement to be the most impactful for their academic success while parents attribute it to their child's intrinsic motivation. However, students reveal that their intrinsic motivation is linked to parental expectations and involvement during childhood. Further, parental involvement is primarily communicated through parental pressure and parental expectations, both of which are affected by factors of parenting style, parental philosophy of education, and cultural and socioeconomic background.

APPROVED BY DIRECTOR OF HONORS THESIS:

Dr. Christopher M. Pieper, Department of Sociology

APPROVED BY THE HONORS PROGRAM:

Dr. Elizabeth Corey, Director

DATE: _____

A HOLISTIC VIEW OF THE IMPACT OF FAMILY LIFE ON A CHILD'S
EDUCATION OUTCOMES

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
Baylor University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Honors Program

By
Lilac C. Ding

Waco, Texas

May 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Dedication	vi
Chapter One: Background and Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review	6
Chapter Three: Methodology	12
Chapter Four: Results	17
Chapter Five: Discussion	55
Chapter Six: Conclusion	74
Appendices	78
Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire	79
Appendix B: Student Interview Questionnaire	83
Appendix C: Parent Interview Questionnaire	85
Bibliography	87

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: *Student Perception: Most Influential Factor on Student's Academic Success* 24

Figure 2: *Parent Perception: Most Influential Factor on Student's Academic Success* 40

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: *Student and Parent Demographics*

18

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Christopher Pieper, for his time, energy, patience and dedication to this project and my overall success as a student. Not only has he been instrumental to this thesis, he has acted as a mentor both in my personal and professional life. His kind words and encouragement have inspired me in indescribable ways. The life he models, one of truth, virtue, justice and compassion, is one I will continually try to emulate. I can only hope to positively impact others one day in the way that Dr. Pieper has impacted me.

Second, I would like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Mackenzie Brewer and Dr. Andy Hogue. Dr. Brewer's passion for teaching and care for her students are extremely evident in the ways she has taught and mentored me from the beginning of my journey at Baylor. She introduced me to the study of sociology and for that, I am continually grateful. Dr. Hogue's mentorship has undoubtedly influenced my personal and professional path. His investment in me has deeply shaped my aspirations, perspectives and personhood. I have endless gratitude for the ways he has believed in me and called me to the pursuit of justice through service.

Third, I would like to thank the parents and students who were willing to participate in my thesis interviews. Hearing their stories was both educational and enlightening. Finally, I wish to thank my own parents. The sacrifices they have made for me give me the chance to hopefully impact others. For these things, and many more, I am forever grateful.

DEDICATION

To students, each and every one of whom deserves an equal chance to reach their full potential. And to parents, the ones who create and cultivate the potential of every generation.

CHAPTER ONE

Background and Introduction

Meet Anna Turner, George Scott and Catherine Wai. All three of these students have ended up at Baylor University as undergraduate students, yet their journeys to this point have been vastly different. Anna comes from a white, middle class family and attended a competitive public high school that offered extensive AP courses, extracurriculars and other opportunities. Both of her parents were heavily involved in her education as her mother served as president of the PTA and her father sat on the school board. Her parents moved based on the best school district and worked with a personal college consultant from the eighth grade to help her identify her academic interests and prepare her for college applications. George comes from a lower-middle- or working-class family based in a small, rural town in the Ozark mountains. Since the town primarily consisted of railroad and manufacturing jobs, his high school was not geared towards college enrollment. However, his parents, who were both schoolteachers, recognized the importance of education and supported his goal to attend college. Even though they could not afford tuition, George and his parents worked hard to find scholarships and financial aid. Catherine is culturally Burmese, as both of her parents immigrated from Burma to attend graduate school in the U.S. Catherine always heard stories about the difficulties her parents faced as low-income immigrants. Her parents' success modeled a strong work ethic and showed her how education could be used as an effective tool. Catherine's parents expected her to enroll in medical school and exerted extensive academic pressure on her to meet their expectations. These profiles represent

real students interviewed within this project. The diversity of their backgrounds brings up many questions in terms of academic success such as: Which factors possess greater influence on a student's academic success? Do factors differ based on student versus parent perceptions? How can a holistic picture of the impact of family life on student education outcomes be obtained? This research project attempts to answer these questions.

Analyzing the various causes of high educational achievement has been a significant area of research within the social sciences. Factors such as socioeconomic status, immigration and parenting style have all been found to correlate with a child's educational success (Fan and Chen, 2001). It is difficult, however, to compare these factors as they intersect with one another in complicated ways. At its core, family life encompasses most of the factors that heavily influence a child's education (McGrath et al., 1999). In determining which factors are most influential, it is helpful to look at family life as a whole.

Though large-scale data analysis provides useful general trends, current research lacks the individual perspectives of students and parents on this topic. By examining the personal attitudes that parents and students possess alike, this study is able to pinpoint self-identified factors that influence academic success. Understanding student and parent self-perceptions provides greater insight into effective means to influence education outcomes. Further, many of the current studies fail to examine individual family units holistically. In addition to looking at parents and students as separate populations, this study examines parent-student pairs within a family context. By comparing a student's

answers with their parents' answers, this study can provide insight into differing perceptions of how academic success is achieved within one family.

The aim of this research is to explore how family life impacts a child's educational outcomes. First, the data will identify what subjective ideas constitute the concepts of family life and educational achievement. Then, the study will examine which factors are the most influential in shaping a child's future educational achievement. Finally, the study will compare how students and parents differ in their answers to these questions. The objective is to gain a more comprehensive picture of academic achievement and how factors within family background may influence it. These goals are important as the data may reveal overlapping strategies that indicate effective tools for improving education. By improving overall understanding of the relationship between family and education, researchers can observe patterns of behavior within families that lead to higher educational achievement.

The paper will begin by explaining the research question as well as the initial hypothesis. An overview of current research will be presented, followed by a methodology describing how the data was collected. Next, the data will be presented and organized based on certain factors of analysis. Then, the results will be discussed, and individual family units will be analyzed. Finally, the conclusion will address how the findings can be incorporated to better education outcomes as well as potential future research.

Research Questions

The overarching research question in this study is to identify which factors have the most influence on a student's academic success. It also hopes to gain a broader

holistic picture of how family life impacts education. The study's interview format was designed to elicit subjective self-identified factors of influence from both students and parents. These factors were then compared across student and parent populations as well as within student-parent family pairs. Within the overarching question, the study also attempts to answer a few other questions. The question of how students and parents subjectively define academic success is investigated. The study also explores how students and parents differ in their experience of parental involvement, socioeconomic status, parental pressure and cultural background, especially those within the same family.

For the purposes of this discussion, it is helpful to note the standard definitions of these terms as presented in the current body of research. First, the definition of academic success has been proposed to consist of factors such as “academic achievement, acquisition of skills and competencies, persistence, satisfaction, attainment of learning objectives and career success” (York et al., 2015, p. 9). This definition can serve as a comparison to subjective definitions from students and parents presented later on. Second, the definition of parental involvement has included “parental aspirations for their children's academic achievement and their conveyance of such aspirations to their children, communication with children about school, participation in school activities, communication with teachers about children, and education-related rules imposed at home” (Fan and Chen, 2001, p. 3). Third, in the context of academic achievement, socioeconomic status has been defined as family income, parents' education level and parental occupation (White, 1982, p. 29). Fourth, parental academic pressure can be characterized by the use of commands, coercive language or even punishment (Boonk et

al., 2018). Finally, within this context, cultural background can be defined as values, beliefs, influences and outlooks that are tied to ethno-racial cultures or immigrant minority groups (Warikoo and Carter, 2009).

Hypotheses

*H*₁ Based on previous research, I anticipate finding that students identify parental involvement as the greatest influence on their education outcomes. Specifically, I believe students will attribute their success to guidance, support and encouragement from their parents.

*H*₂ I hypothesize that parents will identify socioeconomic status as the greatest influence on their child's academic success. I anticipate parents will reference school choice and outside resources that they were able to afford due to their income level.

*H*₃ I believe students and parents will generally differ in their perspectives on each factor of analysis, specifically in their identification of the most influential factor.

*H*₄ However, I hypothesize that answers from student-parent pairs within the same family will converge, resulting in more similar responses than the two broader groups.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

There has been continuing interest in researching which specific factors influence greater education outcomes among students. With the rising necessity of a college degree, it has become more pertinent to understand the reasons behind high academic achievement. Educational attainment has become a predictor of income level, financial stability, and how educated one's children are in the future (Fan and Chen, 2001). The literature primarily focuses on factors related to family involvement, socioeconomic status and cultural background.

One of the primary factors revolves around parental involvement and parenting style. Parental involvement comes in many different forms such as expectations for their child (Bloom, 1980), communication about school (Christenson et al., 1992), involvement in academic guidance, participation in school activities (Stevenson and Baker, 1987), communication with teachers (Epstein, 1991) and rule-based structures related to education within the home (Keith et al., 1993). In general, increased parental involvement has been correlated with higher academic achievement among students (Fan and Chen, 2001). Specifically, a quantitative meta-analysis found that the strongest relationship occurs between parental aspirations for their child and the child's education outcomes (Ibid). These findings suggest that academic achievement can be improved by working with parents to strengthen the ways they communicate their aspirations and expectations.

Similarly, parenting style encompasses the specific methods that parents utilize in raising their children. Baumrind's model depiction of authoritarian, permissive and authoritative parenting styles help distinguish between the different ways parents may approach their child (1971). An authoritarian parenting style is typically characterized by parents who expect a strict obedience to their authority with little communication between parent and child. In contrast, a permissive parenting style has little enforcement of rules or authority and allows the child to have full independence. Finally, an authoritative parenting style exhibits a balance of clear expectations of the child while also encouraging autonomy and communication (Baumrind, 1971). The effect of varying parenting styles lies primarily in the socialization aspect of a child. Socialization refers to the learning of skills that facilitate a successful transition into adulthood and society in general (Ladd and Pettit, 2002). As parents raise their children, they imbue these values, attitudes and behaviors into their children to varying degrees. The degree to which a child accepts and embraces this socialization is largely dependent on the parent. Thus, parenting styles directly affect how receptive children are to successful socialization (Grusec et al., 2000).

Besides socialization, parenting styles have also been related to affecting a child's confidence, positivity and motivation (Gonzalez and Wolters, 2006). Research has suggested that psychosocial maturity is a major factor in linking how parenting styles may improve academic achievement (Jeynes, 2007). Psychosocial maturity consists of three factors including work orientation, self-reliance and self-identity (Ibid). All three factors correlate with higher academic achievement within students. Parenting style has a direct effect on psychosocial maturity which then impacts education outcomes. In one

study, researchers measured how perceptions of parenting style differed between parent and child (Cohen et al., 1997). The study found that though parents tended to define their parenting style as authoritative, children often perceived a more authoritarian style (Ibid). High achievement in school was directly correlated with perceptions of authoritative parenting styles. Furthermore, a student's own perception of their parent's parenting style held greater influence on their achievement than the perceptions of their parents (Ibid). Another study further confirmed the effect of parenting styles by examining the achievement strategies of students in different families. Within families characterized by authoritative parenting styles, students exhibited higher tendencies to stay on task, levels of self-enhancement and proactive engagement (Kordi et al., 2010). In contrast, students from families characterized by neglectful parenting styles exhibited higher tendencies of distracted behavior, low confidence and passivity (Ibid).

Aside from parenting style, family involvement manifests in a student's education in other ways. The extent to which parents value education has been associated with how children perceive their own academic abilities (McGrath et al., 1999). If parents placed greater importance on education, children tended to view themselves as more academically capable. This self-perception directly affects a student's confidence and self-image in the school environment. In addition to the mental and emotional effects of parenting style, there are physical and material effects as well. One study examined the correlation between neglectful parenting styles and a child's increased chances of substance abuse (Dishion and Loeber, 1985). With less parental guidance and monitoring, these students tend to be more involved in deviant behaviors such as drug use. Moreover, without a strong influence from an adult presence in their life, children often look to

peers for guidance (Ibid). Another study confirmed this tendency by showing that children with low levels of parental monitoring were more likely to engage in marijuana use (Shedler & Block, 1990).

Another primary factor that influences student achievement is socioeconomic status (SES). Socioeconomic status has been traditionally identified as the most influential factor when measuring one's social advantage, especially in education (McGrath et al., 1999). This advantage is directly linked to opportunities provided through parental income and education. This advantage can be broken down into several different aspects. One study looked at the impact of socioeconomic status on social attachment. Social attachment is defined as the way individuals approach social interaction, often distinguished as secure or insecure attachment (Ibid). Secure social attachment is characterized by less anxiety surrounding social situations as well as greater self-confidence and optimism. Securely attached individuals are also more likely to ask for help when they need it as they believe others to be trustworthy (Ibid). On the other hand, individuals with insecure attachment suffer from greater social anxiety and less self-confidence, making them less likely to ask for help in an academic context. The study links parental income with social attachment by showing that students have a 23% higher chance of secure social attachment when their parents are high income (Ibid).

Not only does socioeconomic status affect a student internally, it has a direct impact on their external education access as well. In a study dedicated to examining how school environments may favor higher SES students, research found that teachers tend to adjust their punishment and disciplinary measures based on the student's perceived SES (Calaraco, 2020). The study argues that schools have a vested interest in serving higher

SES families in order to derive greater wealth and status (Ibid). However, when these families contradict school rules and policies, the study finds that teachers are more willing to bend the rules for them. Teachers cited their fear of losing support from certain “helicopter” parents. Thus, they tended to avoid punishing students or punish them to a lesser degree if they are associated with supportive parents (Ibid).

The influence of cultural background on student achievement has also been examined by the various studies. One study focused on the children of immigrants and found that the effects of national or cultural background remained significant even after controlling for other factors such as socioeconomic status (Portes and MacLeod, 1996). In fact, the study posits that well integrated cultural and immigrant groups retain a resilient advantage for their students despite family income level or school context (Ibid). This advantage is primarily maintained through parents’ communicated aspirations and plans for their child. The study presents an example of how Cuban and Vietnamese families view their child’s college education as a predetermined future plan, while Mexican and Haitian families fail to maintain the same optimism (Ibid). These perspectives are formed because families in more established communities are able to provide one another with greater social and academic support (Portes, 1999). Furthermore, factors such as language fluency and acculturation level may impact the student as low achievers are often found to struggle with fitting in (Ibid).

Though there is an abundance of literature on how individual factors may impact a student’s achievement, there is little research that focuses on self-perceptions from both students and parents. Determining self-identified factors of influence is key to understanding how parents choose to educate their child and how students experience

their own education. These self-perceptions provide a more holistic picture of how education outcomes are determined. Furthermore, by comparing student and parent responses within the same family, this study analyzes family units as a whole. By eliciting self-perceptions from individual family units, this study attempts to illustrate a clearer picture of the factors that impact education outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Sampling Design

In order to explore a variety of family backgrounds, a survey was created and distributed as broadly as possible. Thus, the unit of analysis was individual students attending colleges across the United States, with a majority from Baylor University. The study drew from a sample size of 173 participants. After creating the survey in Qualtrics, it was released on May 4, 2021. The survey was primarily distributed to professors via email. I contacted professors from a wide range of fields, including biology, chemistry, engineering, social work, sociology, public health, political science, religion and business. Professors were then encouraged to distribute the survey to their classes. The survey was primarily distributed to gather a pool of possible interview participants. Within the survey, students are asked whether they are interested in participating in a more in-depth interview afterwards. Those who indicated that they were willing were then funneled into the pool of possible interview participants. In addition to these responses, I partnered with a Baylor professor to offer extra credit in an attempt to incentivize interview participation. Thus, many of the interviews originate from this class in particular. These various methods of convenience sampling were rather effective and efficient.

Once the survey had secured enough interview participants, I shifted to conducting qualitative research which makes up the bulk of this study. Although quantitative research may provide the ability to generalize, qualitative research provides a

more in-depth look at participant attitudes. With a focus on communication, qualitative methods give interviewees the opportunity to provide deeper personal thoughts and examples. The point of this study is to examine how family life influences a student's educational achievement. The study must provide the student opportunities to express subjective feelings relating to family background. Therefore, the level of flexibility that qualitative research provides is essential to this study. Within qualitative research, the interview method was chosen in this study because it provides an open-ended question format that encourages deeper participant responses. Since interviews are conversational, respondents had more freedom and flexibility to express their full thoughts.

In order to choose the participants, I drew from the randomly distributed survey. The sampling technique used in this study was convenience sampling. The sample resulted in twenty student participants. After interviewing each student, participants were asked whether their parents would be willing to be interviewed as well. I utilized snowball sampling in order to obtain corresponding interviews with their parents. The final sample resulted in a total of thirty-five interview participants, including twenty students and fifteen parents. Within these participants, there were eleven student-parent pairs.

It is important to note the limitations of this sampling design as well. This research primarily occurred at Baylor University, which is a private, Christian university based in Waco, Texas. Since the student sample is only composed of college students enrolled at Baylor University, it is less likely to be representative of students as a whole. Specifically, this sample is limited in its diversity of age, race, class and level of

educational attainment. Furthermore, parent participants are limited to those who were willing and able to send their child to Baylor University. Neither student nor parent samples may act as a fully representative sample of current college students in the United States.

Data Collection

Interviews began on October 25, 2021 and continued over the span of five months. I allotted around one hour for each student and parent interview which was conducted and recorded over Zoom. Each respondent was generally prompted by the same questions, though the order and wording may have varied slightly. Participants were asked a total of 27 open-ended questions. Questions for parents were tailored to have their child as the subject when relevant. Questions were divided into four main modules. The first module of questions focuses on measuring the dependent variable of education attainment. The interviewee is asked about their subjective definition of academic success and who or what they feel has impacted their education the most. These questions lay the foundation for discovering which factors within family life have the most influence on a student's education.

The second module directly tackles the question of how family life influences education. The first few questions are aimed at understanding the parent's philosophy on education and how the student perceives their philosophy. The participant is asked how much their family values education and how that has been shown. Interviewees are also asked how the parent's philosophy has been shaped by their own background. These questions provide insight into what the student perceives to be his or her family's priorities which can then be contrasted with responses from parents themselves. Next,

questions shift towards understanding the family's current and past involvement with the student's academic career. The key variables in this module are the ways in which families have shown students the value of education.

The third module contains only three questions aimed at gauging where participants view their family on the socioeconomic scale. Interviewees were asked to self-identify their family's perceived income bracket and how they believe it affected their education. In addition, they were asked whether they ever worried about costs associated with attending school. The key variable in this set of questions is determining whether socioeconomic status had a perceived influence in the student's family life and education.

The final module of questions examines cultural, social and religious background. The participant is asked to elaborate on their family's cultural background and whether it had an effect on their education. Specifically, I asked if their cultural background ties them to a larger community that values education and may provide resources or guidance. The purpose of these questions is to further investigate how variables such as ethnicity, religion and region influence education values and attainment. Finally, the interview concludes with an overall question asking the interviewee if there is any other significant influence on their education that has not been discussed yet.

Data Analysis

After completing the interviews, recordings were transcribed via in-app transcription tools on Zoom. Transcripts were then exported into NVivo which is a qualitative data analysis software. In order to analyze the interviews, data was organized into fourteen factors of analysis including:

- Background
- Definition of Academic Success
- Greatest Influence on Academic Success
- Socioeconomic Status
- Childhood Family Involvement
- Current Family Involvement
- How Family Has Shown the Value of Education
- Parental Pressure and Expectations
- Parental Philosophy of Education
- Religious Background
- Cultural Background
- Community Groups
- Social Pressures
- Additional Factors

Each factor aligns with key variables identified from the interview questions. Within NVivo, I created a top-level code for each factor, coding all relevant information within each category. Student and parent data were coded separately with fourteen factors for each. For each factor, I compared responses within their respective groups, pointing out notable and recurring themes. Then, each factor was analyzed across student and parent populations. Finally, student-parent pairs were analyzed within each individual family unit.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

In answering the question of which factor has the greatest impact on a child's education outcomes, this study will analyze the parent and student responses to various major themes surrounding education. Student responses will be compared separately as an entire group. Then, parent responses will be analyzed in the same way as a separate group from students. Within the discussion, student and parent populations will be compared. Finally, parent-student pairs will be analyzed to point out nuances within families themselves.

Prior to analyzing the in-depth qualitative responses from students and parents, it is helpful to understand a general picture of the research participants. The table below presents a basic overview of student demographic data:

Student Demographics										
Student Name (Adjusted for Anonymity)	Gender	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Student Classification	GPA (4.0 scale)	Family Socioeconomic Status	Mother's Education Level <small>*Based on student estimation</small>	Father's Education Level <small>*Based on student estimation</small>	Did Father immigrate to the U.S.?	Did Mother immigrate to the U.S.?
Addison Baker	Female	19	White	Sophomore	4.00	Middle Class	Ph.D.	Ph.D.	No	No
Lisa Collins	Female	19	White	Sophomore	3.70	Middle Class	Bachelor's	Master's	No	No
Abigail Kim	Female	19	Asian	Junior	4.00	Middle Class	Bachelor's	Master's	Yes	Yes
Catherine Wai	Female	19	Asian	Sophomore	3.60	Upper Class	Ph.D.	Bachelor's	Yes	Yes
Jennifer Morrison	Female	19	Native American/White	Sophomore	4.00	Middle Class	Master's	Ph.D.	No	No
Shreya Patel	Female	19	Asian	Sophomore	3.91	Middle Class	Bachelor's	Master's	Yes	Yes
Evan Robinson	Male	19	White	Sophomore	4.00	Upper Class	Master's	Bachelor's	No	No
Eva Smith	Female	18	White	Sophomore	3.87	Middle Class	Bachelor's	Master's	No	No
George Scott	Male	19	White	Sophomore	4.00	Middle Class	Master's	Master's	No	No
Anna Turner	Female	19	White	Sophomore	4.00	Middle Class	Associate's	Bachelor's	No	No
Peter Williams	Male	19	White	Sophomore	3.97	Middle Class	Bachelor's	Bachelor's	No	No
Bhavana Kumar	Female	19	Asian	Sophomore	3.94	Upper Class	Bachelor's	Master's	Yes	Yes
Prisha Khatri	Female	19	Asian	Sophomore	4.00	Middle Class	Ph.D.	Bachelor's	Yes	Yes
Iris Franklin	Female	18	White	Sophomore	3.48	Upper Class	Bachelor's	Bachelor's	Yes	No
Jordan Hunter	Male	19	White	Sophomore	4.00	Upper Class	J.D.	J.D.	No	No
Ramresh Singh	Male	19	Asian	Sophomore	3.78	Middle Class	Bachelor's	Master's	Yes	Yes
Jake Jeong	Male	19	Asian	Sophomore	4.00	Middle Class	High School	High School	Yes	Yes
Lauren Lawson	Female	19	White	Sophomore	3.91	Middle Class	Master's	High School	No	No
Madison Murphy	Female	19	White	Sophomore	3.91	Middle Class	J.D.	J.D.	No	No
Molly Zhang	Female	21	Asian	Junior	4.00	Upper Class	Ph.D.	Ph.D.	Yes	No

Table 1: Student Demographics

Student Responses

Background

Twenty undergraduate students were interviewed about factors that influenced their education outcomes. The first module of interview questions examined the academic background of students prior to college. Specifically, students were asked about their high school environment, college preparation process and their education goals. Responses regarding high school are separated into three categories: those who attended public school, those who attended private school and those who were homeschooled. Within the twenty student interviews, thirteen students (65%) attended public high school, three students (15%) attended private high school and four students (20%) were homeschooled or received some sort of hybrid education. One student within the homeschool category also attended a private middle school prior. When describing their high school environment, a majority of students described their high school as supportive and academically rigorous. These schools were characterized by many AP course offerings, attentive teachers and a majority of the graduating class attending a traditional university post-graduation. Only three students indicated that their high school was less supportive of postsecondary education or more geared towards community college and helping students obtain an associate degree. Notably, these students attended a public high school. When asked about their college application process, nearly every student stated that they felt supported either by their family, school counselor or outside sources. Multiple students indicated that their parents possessed higher degrees and had undergone both undergraduate and graduate application processes. Most students mentioned that they received help from a school guidance counselor, or a class dedicated

to helping them write and improve their application essays. In addition, four students (20%) mentioned that their parents hired an outside college counselor or coach to specifically guide the student through the college application process. One student began working with a college coach in eighth grade to identify her potential career path and education goals. Due to the method of sample collection, a majority of students stated that their education goals involve attending medical school to eventually become a doctor. One student indicated interest in pursuing a graduate degree or Ph.D. Students unanimously agreed that earning a bachelor's degree was one of their goals, with most seeking further higher education.

Defining Academic Success

In order to examine which factors have the greatest influence on education outcomes, it is necessary to understand how students define academic success for themselves. Nearly every student replied with a two-pronged answer which described academic success as not only high grades and GPA but also the ability to learn the knowledge necessary for achieving one's goals. The latter portion of that answer had a few variations. Some stated that character formation and personal growth were a part of academic success. Others emphasized the effort put in and defined success as trying your best. Though the students valued grades and a high GPA, they prioritized learning the knowledge above all, even if that did not reflect in their transcripts. Only two students believed that academic success is solely defined by one's grades and GPA.

Greatest Influence on Academic Success

After defining what they believe to be their personal definition of academic success, students were asked to identify the greatest influence on their academic success thus far. Ninety five percent of students answered that their parents played a major or at least a significant role in their education outcomes. Parental influence came through many avenues. In the most direct way, students recalled instances where parents read to them as young kids, helped them with homework after school or hired outside tutors and resources to aid in their academic journey. One student recalled how her dad would sit at the kitchen table for hours and help her with math no matter how long it took (Eva Smith). Another student recalled how her parents encouraged her to read from a young age often by taking her to the library or buying her additional books (Jennifer Morrison). This type of parental involvement both directly aided the student in their studies and also signaled the value they placed on education. Another major type of parental influence involved providing students with motivation or a certain philosophy on education. Multiple students expressed that their parents imparted the belief that education was integral to future career and personal success. One student explained how her parents believed that education was a necessary background for any personal pursuits in the future (Prisha Khatri). Another student stated:

“My parents pounded into me from a young age you're going to go to college and you're going to do well because that's what you need to do to be successful in this world and you know the usual spiel. That drove me into caring more because I didn't want to disappoint them” (Lauren Lawson).

Along with emphasizing the power of education, parents also helped motivate students and cultivate a strong work ethic. One response illustrates this by saying, “My parents really instilled that in me it's like you may not get it the first time, but if you work at it another 50 times, you will get it” (Jennifer Morrison). Not only did parents instill in their children the value of education, but they communicated these values at a young age. Several students shared that their parents created a rigid academic structure at a young age so that once they grew older, the students already knew to push themselves and were self-motivated. Besides verbally communicating these values, students also pointed out how parents led by example. One student described observing how their parents struggled in the past because they did not take the traditional university route (Lauren Lawson). In turn, the parents pushed the student to attend college in order to reach a better place than them. Other students saw positive examples of parents working in their field of interest or parents who worked as teachers and educators. These professions gave parents an educational advantage to better inform and encourage their student’s academic endeavors. One student described how both of her parents worked within education, allowing her to grow up in the school environment (Jennifer Morrison). Parents were also mentioned as an influential factor in the context of home school. Students explained that their parents’ choice to homeschool them allowed them to tailor their education and help them find their specific interests and passions (Evan Robinson).

Besides parental influence, students also mentioned a variety of other notable factors when asked about the greatest influence on their academic success. Alternatives to public high school, such as private school and homeschool, were listed as important factors. One student’s private school was designated as a Montessori school, meaning it

followed a teaching method that emphasized a child's natural interests rather than the standardized public curriculum. The student described the school as having a heavy focus on individual based learning and independent problem solving (Addison Baker). Within schools, teachers were mentioned as a major influential factor. Four students specifically described how certain AP and extracurricular teachers inspired their interest in certain subjects and invested in them personally. Students seemed to greatly value academic investment by adults in their lives besides their parents. One student equates the impact of teachers to that of their parents by saying:

“There's only so much motivation your parents can give you, especially when you're in middle school and some of those informational years when you don't want to listen to them. I think the other adults in my life that encouraged me to do well and those that again, especially in middle school and high school, would pull me aside and say you're really smart or you have so much potential here, I want to see what you can do with it, and encouraged me to research different things or read different books” (Anna Turner).

The pie chart below shows a visual representation what students perceive to be the most influential factor on their academic success:

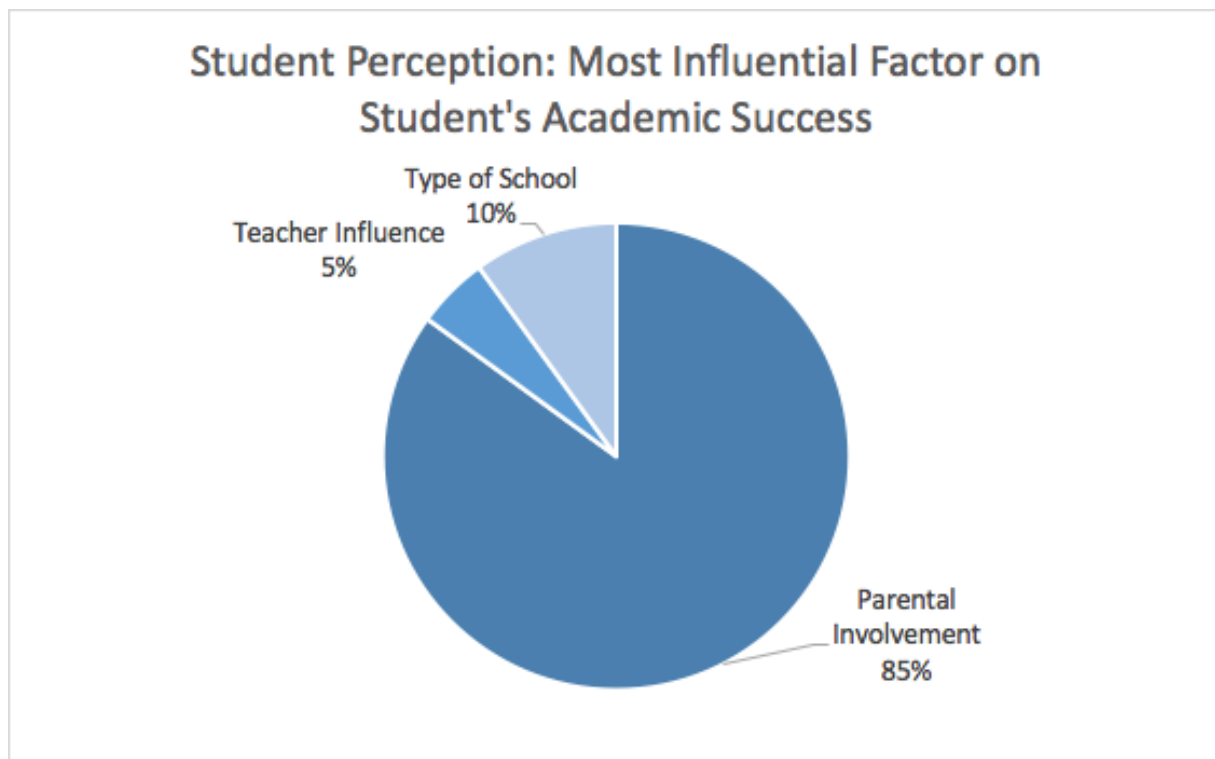


Figure 1: *Student Perception: Most Influential Factor on Student's Academic Success*

Socioeconomic Status

Besides the factor of family involvement, socioeconomic status (SES) plays a major role in education outcomes. When asked about their subjective perception of their family's SES, students unanimously identified as middle class. However, there was a notable range within this category as ten (50%) students identified as upper middle class, eight (40%) as middle class, and two (10%) as lower middle class. The biggest discrepancy between income levels was found in how parents approached paying for their student's college education. This discrepancy is likely magnified due to the high tuition charged by Baylor University as a private institution. Three students stated that their parents were unable to pay for their full or partial tuition. Subsequently, they relied on student loans, extended family and scholarships. One student explained that because she

“chose to go to a private school, my parents decided to transfer my little brother's portion of the G.I. bill to me, which I feel guilty about, but they did that to help me pay through it and then, once I'm out of G.I. bill, I still have my Baylor academic scholarships” (Eva Smith). In contrast, four students recalled that their parents were willing to fund any college of their choice. Higher family income creates greater academic opportunities throughout childhood as well, providing the ability to obtain resources such as a private school education, academic tutors and college coaches. Financial freedom allows parents to make sure students focus solely on academic performance rather than the struggles that come with lower SES.

Family Involvement During Childhood

Since parental involvement was so widely cited by students as the greatest influence on their academic success, the next set of questions attempted to further explore how parents specifically impacted students. When asked how involved their parents were in their education during their childhood, a majority of students reported a high level of involvement. Similar to their answers regarding parental influence, students mentioned a variety of ways in which parents structured their childhood academics. Most parents provided help with school homework, were involved with extracurriculars and monitored the student's grades. Specifically, parents knew the due dates of papers and tests and would make sure to check that their student had completed the assignment prior to school. In other cases, parents provided the money and resources for students to work with tutors and other supplemental instructional programs. Students revealed that parents aimed to help their children stay ahead of the curriculum in order to make school easier for them academically. All of these factors combined allowed parents to create a

household that was conducive to academic success. One student described how her parents established habits such as starting homework immediately after school, making the home environment an easy place to learn (Jennifer Morrison). In the case of extracurriculars, many students explained that their parents required them to do at least one sport or musical instrument. Most students felt pushed to join extracurricular activities that helped them discover their future interests. Seven students explicitly mentioned how their parents were involved in their extracurriculars, both in the choosing of activities and the activity itself. Parent involvement could look like being the child's baseball team coach, acting as a girl scout leader or joining parent groups for the swim team, all of which are examples found in the student testimonies.

Outside of the student's home environment, many parents were also directly involved in the school itself. Some parents were teachers at their student's school and others purposefully joined school boards and parent committees in order to become involved. One student revealed that her dad was the president of the school board and her mom was the president of the PTA. Both parents were intentionally involved in how the school was run. Their involvement allowed them to have a personal relationship with all of the teachers, making it easy to ask for additional help or advocate for their student (Anna Turner). Another student shared their story of transitioning from private school to homeschool due to parental involvement (Lisa Collins). In fact, the parent quit their current job to work at the school her children attended in order to better understand if the school was serving them well. After witnessing the private school environment, the parent decided to pull her student out and opted for homeschool in order to give them more challenging courses and greater support. Not only does this type of parental

involvement require immense sacrifice, but it also signals to the student the value of education. The same parent also had direct confrontations with her child's teachers. The student told the story as following:

“I had a couple issues with the teachers, and you know, towards the end of my time at that school, she would go in and she would ask questions and figure out what was going on. So she was very hands on and made sure that I had the best situation and if I wasn't in the best situation now, what can we do to fix that. She even bought a textbook for my Texas history class and the teacher in the class was just texting and just not really teaching at all. It was not a good situation, and my mom said you know what we're going to do this at home and so she buys the teachers manual and she teaches it to me after school every day” (Lisa Collins).

Current Family Involvement

In contrast to childhood involvement, when students were asked about current parental involvement within academics the answers ranged far less in variety. All students except for one indicated that parental involvement significantly decreased since childhood. Although students still classified their parents as involved, the relationship is typically much more lenient and “hands off” in terms of academics. Since students are now in college, most parents do not have access, nor do they request to monitor their student's grades. In fact, students are the first ones to bring up conversation surrounding their school life. One student described it by saying, “I would say they're moderately involved, but it's not her checking or her asking, it's more just like me bringing it up” (Eva Smith). Students report that parents are involved to the extent that they need, whether in the form of emotional support or encouragement. One outlier reported that her

parents carefully monitor her academic scores and ask for regular updates. In general, it seemed that most parents tended to trust students to manage their academics independently once they reached college.

How Family Has Shown Value of Education

After asking them to describe parental involvement in academics from childhood to now, students were specifically asked how their parents showed them the value of education if they did. Parents conveyed the value of education both through explicit and implicit methods. Explicitly, parents made academics a frequent topic of conversation, making sure to stress the importance of doing well in school. By asking about a student's school life and encouraging them to form a strong work ethic, parents showed that they were willing to dedicate significant time and energy to their student's academics. One student stated the following:

“It's manifested in different ways. Sometimes, my dad would come into my room late at night and just be like Jackson, I know you can do better than this, like, I see that you're smart I just know you don't try as hard as you could. And my mom was more like ‘Can I get a tutor for you and what can I do to help you?’ and my dad was more just disappointed” (Jordan Hunter).

Another student mentioned how good grades were always rewarded within their household, incentivizing her to work hard (Prisha Khatri). Furthermore, parents encouraged learning in general through educational activities during free time such as home science experiments or strategy-based board games. One student described how her parents turned her brother's fascination with roller coasters into an academic interest:

“I know that whenever my brother first told them he was obsessed with roller coasters, my parents suggested he head in the path towards engineering. And the minute that he told them that, they were always super supportive and started helping him look for programs that could best support that dream and things like internships, summer camp and just any way that they could support, so like he went to a NASA camp one summer” (Eva Smith).

Implicitly, students understood the importance of education through observations they noted around them. Parents implicitly communicated the value they placed on education through the type of school they chose. Seven students attended private school or were homeschooled, indicating that their parents were willing to pay more or sacrifice time and energy. According to multiple students, parents often research the public schools in their area and subsequently move to desirable school districts or consider private school and homeschool if they are able. These actions signal the value placed on education. Students could also infer the importance of education by observing the experience of their parents and extended family. Within families, students reflected on how other family members held careers as doctors, lawyers and engineers, creating an expectation that they must live up to. One student also observed how all of her cousins had earned graduate degrees, emphasizing how much her family valued education (Abigail Kim). Further, extended family members would bring up academic achievements and college prospects during family gatherings, often comparing siblings and cousins (Abigail Kim).

Parental Pressure and Expectations

Part of how parents demonstrated the value of education was through the academic pressures and expectations they placed on students. All students except for two

stated that their parents expected them to attend and complete college. Two students stated that their parents expect further education including graduate school and medical school. Further expectations from most parents asked that students choose a career path that would allow them to become self-sustainable. In terms of pressure, students unanimously expressed that they felt some degree of pressure to meet their definition of academic success. Pressure stems from fear of letting their family down, fear of failure, and fear of falling short of certain cultural or social standards. However, most students clarified that this pressure was not applied by their parents but rather by themselves. One student clarified by saying, “I definitely feel pressure to meet this definition of academic success and I think it actually comes mostly from me like I'll put that pressure on myself” (Addison Baker). Seven students explicitly stated that the academic pressure they currently feel is self-inflicted. Yet, their answers were typically prefaced by an explanation of how parental pressure during childhood ingrained a drive for success within them that has translated to self-motivation. One student described it in the following way:

“I feel like that kind of pressure since I had it throughout my childhood so, even though they weren't directly saying you have to do well and pressuring me that way, it's the pressure I put on myself because of them if that makes sense” (Shreya Patel).

Parental Philosophy of Education

These parental pressures and expectations are directly influenced by parental backgrounds themselves. When asked about parental philosophies on education, student responses split into two main categories: those who value education as a tool and those who value education for the sake of learning. Out of twelve students who explicitly

mentioned parental philosophy, ten (83%) students expressed that their parents view education as a tool to help one achieve their career and life goals. One student described this philosophy by saying, “The thing that they would sort of tell me and my siblings is that education is a tool for you to go do what you want to do with your life” (Evan Robinson). They encourage higher education to the extent that it aids in your career advancement. This philosophy often coincided with parents who were first generation college students or grew up in lower income families. Two (17%) students stated that their parents value education primarily as a means to learn and gain knowledge. This philosophy was presented in tandem with ideas of human flourishing and a greater purpose. One student identified that this value system was influenced by religious background. These philosophies on education are strongly connected to parental background. Five students described how their parents faced barriers to higher education such as being an immigrant, first-generation college student or coming from a low-income household. One student stated the following:

“My parents are first generation college students. My grandparents on my dad's side are farmers and grandparents on my mom's side worked in a factory so they had no help really getting into college or that whole the whole application process. I've heard all the stories about how they had to figure it all out on their own, because their parents had no idea what's going on. So, they view education highly and they know that it's good to be educated and you don't want to drop out at the first chance and go work” (George Scott).

Among parents who possessed greater access to college, four students mentioned how their grandparents overcame similar barriers, allowing their parents to earn a degree. This

type of generational success allows parents to see the transformative effects of education. Parental background shapes education philosophy which then affects how much they value education and the expectations they place upon students.

Religious Background

Another potential influence on education outcomes is religious background. Within this study, twelve students (60%) identified as Christian, including both Catholic and Protestant denominations. When asked how religion affected their education, student responses were unanimously positive. The greatest impact that continued to resurface was how Christianity shaped students' education philosophies. Four students explicitly described how Christianity provided them with intrinsic motivation to work hard and use their gifts to honor the Lord. Furthermore, their religious background encouraged them in the face of academic "failure" since students knew that they were not defined by their GPA or performance:

"My faith kind of like centered me and gave me peace and like it's okay if you don't get a 4.0 GPA, it's okay if you are struggling, because in the end, like yes we're trying to get an education we're trying to get a degree, but like there's a bigger picture of eternity and what God says. Who I am is not defined by success or academics or education or like a job or an occupation or whatever it is, it's defined by who God says I am and that's all that matters" (Jennifer Morrison).

Christianity encouraged students to view education as a tool for themselves rather than as a measure of self-worth or identity. Students explained how their religious faith allows them to focus on a "bigger picture," giving them peace when they encounter academic struggles. In addition, one student shared that her father would often provide

encouragement in the form of a Bible verse whenever she experienced academic stress (Lisa Collins). The church environment itself also helped inform students' views on education. Some students depicted their church congregation as majority college graduates which reinforced the value of education to them. Others saw the trajectory of non-college graduates which also helped inform their own pursuits. Eight out of twelve students (67%) directly stated that their church valued education. These values were typically communicated through church classes such as Sunday school or through the congregation in general.

Cultural Background

Cultural background also had a substantial impact on education outcomes. Cultural background consisted of a multitude of factors including racial and ethnic culture, immigration, and regional culture. When describing how cultural background influences education, students often associated racial and ethnic culture with an increased emphasis on work ethic, success and the use of education as a tool. One student explained how his mother's Mexican cultural values influenced her to adopt the perspective that hard work can make anyone succeed (Jordan Hunter). A Chinese student characterized her family's view on education as "the typical Asian stereotype of valuing education a lot" (Molly Zhang). She also felt additional pressure due to the model minority stereotype in which people often expected her to be academically successful due to her cultural background (Molly Zhang). Another student revealed that her mother especially valued education because her grandmother was forced to drop out of school in India because she was a girl (Shreya Patel). A Korean student recounted how her parents believed Korean

culture over-emphasized education and as a result, they intentionally sought to balance their perspective with Christian values (Abigail Kim).

In addition, accounts were often accompanied by stories about how one or both of their parents immigrated to the United States. Among the participants, nine students (45%) indicated either one or both parents immigrated from another country. Out of the nine, four families originated from India, two from Korea, one from China, one from Myanmar and one from Bolivia. When asked how growing up in an immigrant household impacted their education, students unanimously believed that it made them value education more:

“My parents are both immigrants. My mom comes from a very low middle-class background so she didn’t receive the education she wanted because they couldn’t afford it. So, I feel like I have no excuse for failure if that makes sense. And I want to give back to them and make them happy and so, for that you need to study and do well, so that subconscious pressure is always there” (Shreya Patel).

Students see the sacrifices their parents made in order to immigrate, making them appreciate the opportunities they are given especially within education. Students also expressed additional pressures of wanting to make their parents proud and repay them for the sacrifices they made. One student observed that immigrant students within his class were typically ahead of the class due to outside tutoring and prior knowledge of the material (Ramesh Singh).

Cultural background also encompassed regional cultures within the U.S. One student from a small town in the Ozarks of north central Arkansas described how only ten students went on to attend college from his graduating class of fifty (George Scott). He

explained how the community was defined by the railroad industry, pushing most students to work factory or farming jobs after high school. Though some of his high school peers joke that they have a higher income in the railroad industry without needing a college degree, most admire and support those who choose to pursue higher education.

Community Groups

Cultural and social community groups can also aid families in their educational journey. When speaking about community groups, it is helpful to apply the theory of social capital. Social capital can be defined by “associational or relational networks among neighbors, friends, schools and communities that often provide helpful information and facilitate the pursuit of collective interests” (Acar, 2011, p. 457). In terms of education, higher social capital has been linked with greater academic achievement (Ibid). Families may leverage social capital found in community groups and associations to increase their children’s chance of academic success.

When asked if their family was a part of any larger community that valued education, students primarily touched on the influence of cultural groups. One student described the Korean community in northern Virginia where there is a deep-rooted culture surrounding academic achievement (Abigail Kim). From a young age, she was surrounded by high-achieving peers and the community encouraged education by openly comparing class course loads, academic awards and college acceptances. The student felt that the Korean community highly valued prestige, leading her and other students to be extremely achievement oriented, both for their self-worth and family pride (Abigail Kim). Furthermore, she described the exchange of social capital in the following way:

“My mom was a part of the moms group for that school so definitely like those moms exchange, a lot of information and they talked a lot about where you're like in college, internship things you can get in high school and other resources you know, like science and math Olympiad. I think my mom got a lot of information from there that she kind of used for all of us” (Abigail Kim).

Similarly, two students described how the Indian community emphasized the importance of education. One student shared that the Indian community in her hometown was naturally formed by families who connected at the Hindu temple (Shreya Patel). In regard to education, the community directly influenced her parents to put her in Kumon tutoring classes starting from fourth grade. She recognized a common exchange of advice within the community, especially regarding the best schools, classes and other academic opportunities. Other non-cultural community groups include those formed through schools and jobs. One student stated that the local homeschool association was integral in providing academic opportunities (Evan Robinson). Parents’ jobs also created small communities as one student described the experience of growing up in the school environment since her mom worked as a teacher (Jennifer Morrison).

Social Pressures

When asked if there was social pressure on their family to use education as a means of achieving status or prestige, four students (20%) explicitly agreed that this social pressure exists. A student described her mindset surrounding social pressure:

“I was determined to achieve a lot because prestige was one of the biggest ways to be valued in the community and to be worthy. And it’s one of the things that

matters the most in terms of how much pride your parents will have in you”
(Abigail Kim).

A student explained that she indirectly felt pressure to choose a career with greater status and prestige in order to make her parents proud within their community (Bhavna Kumar). Another student revealed that her parents outwardly deny valuing prestige, but she subconsciously believes it still affects their perception of status in society (Shreya Patel).

Additional Factors

When asked if any additional factors affected their education outcomes, four students (20%) asserted that their friends and peers played a role. Both healthy encouragement and unhealthy competition among peers were mentioned as factors that motivated achievement. Students also mentioned the positive effects of teacher influence and small class sizes.

Parent Responses

Background

Fifteen parents were interviewed with the same set of questions as student participants, though questions were adjusted to reference their child as the subject. The first module of interview questions asked parents about their child’s high school environment, college preparation process and any education goals they had for their child. Twelve parents (80%) explicitly stated that they expected their child to obtain a college degree, with six parents (40%) expecting further education including medical school and graduate school. When describing their child’s high school, most parents believed the school to have a positive impact on their child’s education. The schools in

reference include public, private and homeschool options. Common characteristics that were mentioned include supportive teachers, a wide range of AP and dual credit course offerings, competitive environment, extracurricular opportunities and a high college acceptance rate. In contrast, one parent believed their child's high school to be less adequate, citing a lack of resources, limited college preparatory classes, and limited assistance in the college application and financial aid process due to its location as a small rural high school (Cecilia Scott). In the same vein, parents unanimously felt that their child was adequately prepared to attend college. Parents primarily attributed this preparation to the school their child attended as well as their child's own hard work and determination. Two parents stated that an outside college coach was utilized to help guide their student through the application process. Without the direct assistance of a school, one homeschooling parent detailed how she researched the college admissions process in depth in order to prepare her student as a competitive applicant (Danielle Robinson).

Defining Academic Success

In the process of determining which factors have impacted their student's education outcomes, parents were asked to define what academic success means to them. Eight parents (53%) defined academic success as gaining knowledge in order to identify your interests and pursue a self-fulfilling path. These parents denoted GPA and academic scores as less important than retaining knowledge. Two parents (13%) believed academic success to be solely defined by effort, emphasizing to their child that they are successful as long as they are trying their best. Finally, three parents (20%) stated that academic success is determined by grades and GPA. However, one parent makes a distinction between academic success and being educated, stating that one can be educated without

achieving a high GPA or even attending college (Danielle Robinson).

Greatest Influence on Academic Success

After defining what academic success looks like for their student, parents were asked what factors they believe had the greatest influence on their child's academic success thus far. Parental responses generally fell into two main categories. Eight parents (53%) attributed their child's education outcomes to the student's intrinsic motivation, intelligence and drive. Though they agree that other factors such as upbringing play a role, these parents primarily believe their students strive for success due to their natural personality and predispositions:

“My son is naturally gifted and has had most academia come easily to him.

However, it is his intrinsic motivation that has always had him strive for success.

We did not have to remind him of the need to do his best, he just naturally wanted to” (Cecilia Scott).

In contrast, four parents (27%) attribute student success directly to parental involvement.

Notably, three out of these four parents were involved in homeschooling their child.

These parents described how they provided structure, expectations and support for intellectual exploration within their household. Beyond these two factors, parents also cited the impact of private school, inspiring teachers and God-given intelligence.

The pie chart below shows a visual representation what parents perceive to be the most influential factor on the student's academic success:

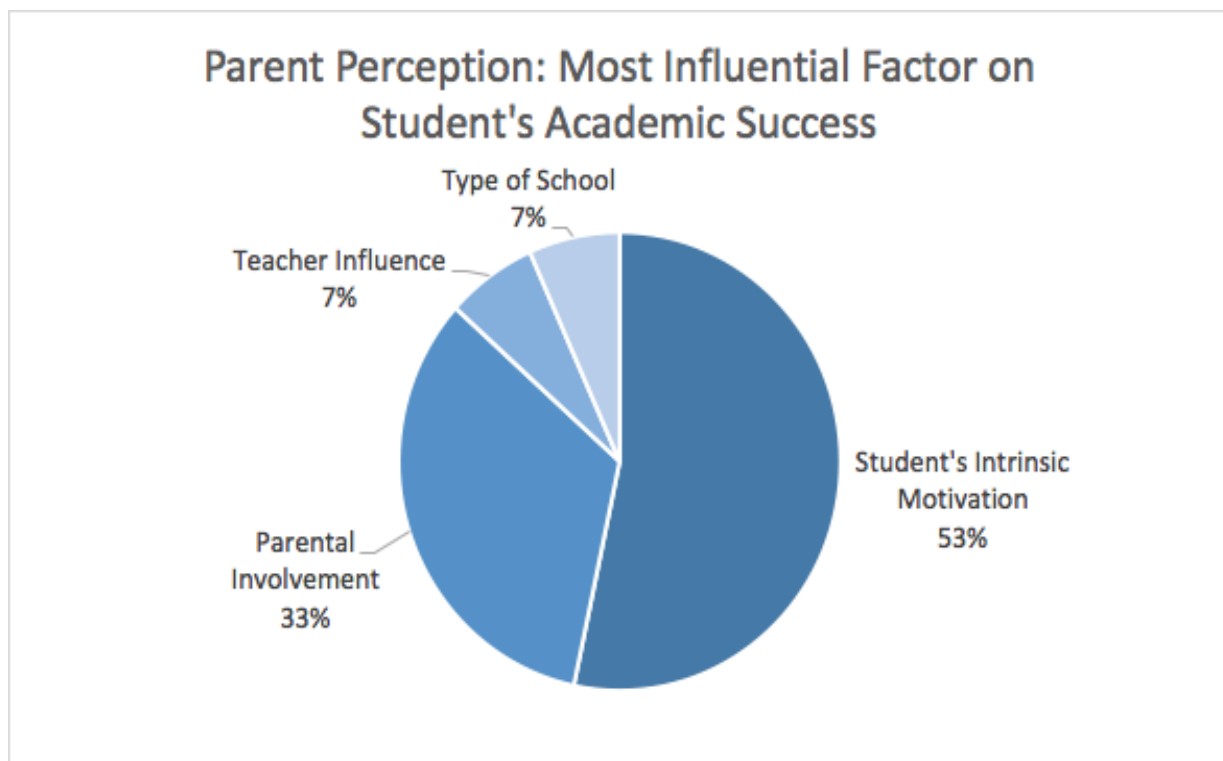


Figure 2: *Parent Perception: Most Influential Factor on Student's Academic Success*

Socioeconomic Status

Another potentially influential factor is socioeconomic status and family income. Parents were asked to subjectively identify what income bracket their family was in as well as how they believe this affected their child's education. Two parents (13%), who are husband and wife, self-identified as being in the top 2-5% income levels. Both parents believed their financial status offered them the freedom to homeschool their child and live as a single income family:

“Well, it made it a whole lot easier for me to homeschool because we could live on my husband's income. In California, it's hard to live on one income and a lot of the homeschoolers that I knew made huge sacrifices to either live on one income or the mom was even working part time or even full time, believe it or not, and

still homeschooling their kids and that's pretty hard so I always had the luxury of not having to work and my full time pursuit was caring for my kids and educating them so yeah that's a huge advantage for me” (Danielle Robinson).

Next, six parents (40%) identified as upper middle class. Most of these parents believed their economic status benefited their child’s education by allowing them to pay for private school and other resources they might need. However, one parent asserted that their income put her child at a disadvantage as she had less access to financial aid compared to other students (Rachel Wai). Further, five parents (33%) self-identified as middle class. Similar to prior answers, these parents cited advantages such as being able to move to higher SES neighborhoods for access to better schools and having the freedom to choose a school consistent with their values. Finally, two parents (13%), who are also husband and wife, identified as either lower working middle class or working poor. These parents stated how their income negatively affected their child’s education as they may not have been able to provide all of the educational experiences that would have been beneficial (Cecilia Scott). Further, they often had to worry about costs associated with attending school, particularly college. Parents stated that one positive benefit was the scholarship money available due to their low-income level (Cecilia Scott).

Socioeconomic status also significantly impacted how parents approached paying for college. Five parents (33%) stated that their child would not have been able to attend Baylor University without significant outside financial help. Help came in the form of scholarships, financial aid, student loans and retired military benefits. Two parents explicitly explained to their children that they would have responsibility over the full cost

of their higher education if they chose to attend Baylor University. Some parents were willing to pay up to the tuition cost of an in-state public university while others told their children they would cover all costs no matter where they chose to attend.

Family Involvement During Childhood

The next set of interview questions aimed to deeply understand how family involvement affects a child's education outcomes. First, parents were asked how they were involved in their child's education growing up. Within the home environment, many parents tried to spark a love for learning by reading to their children out loud and taking them to educational museums and exhibits. One parent translated her love for science into a weekly science experiment with her kids (Alice Williams). She explained that her intent was to show her children that science and learning could be fun and further inspire them to pursue their academic interests (Alice Williams). Another parent, who homeschooled her child, shared her aim to provide a classical Christian education:

“I did really start following a classical Christian education, which has a lot of emphasis on history and language with lots and lots of reading. He taught himself how to read very young, so his typical education always consisted of a lot of reading, but I always read aloud to my kids. I still read aloud to my eighth grader and I read until you know as long as they would listen with lots of classic literature and lots of history. We did math starting from age four and I'm a math and science person, so we always did math and we did all the old-fashioned things like spelling and handwriting and grammar” (Danielle Robinson).

Every parent mentioned that they helped or were available to help their child with homework growing up. Some parents told stories about staying up late to help their child

study while others allowed their child freedom to manage school independently as they proved to be reliable students.

Seven parents (47%) were directly involved with the school their child attended either as a teacher, volunteer or PTA member. Multiple parents shared how their proximity to the school environment allowed them to better connect with their child's teachers and be more involved overall. One parent shared how their approach to education was to view it as a family event because she wanted to make sure her child was academically and socially prepared for their college and career trajectory (Eleanor Turner). Thus, this parent served as the president of the PTA as well as various other school committees and her husband served on the school board. Another parent shared how she transitioned to become a schoolteacher, consequently missing out on other career opportunities in order to match her children's academic schedule and support their education (Alice Williams). Similarly, another parent decided to work at her child's private school in order to assess the school environment after encountering a conflict with her child's teacher regarding their teaching style (Grace Collins). In response to the conflict, the parent immediately approached the principal to no avail. Thus, the parent purchased the class curriculum and began teaching her child the material, making sure to stay one week ahead of the class.

In terms of extracurriculars, twelve parents (80%) valued structure when choosing activities. One parent shared that structure was important so that they knew what their child was doing and who they were with (Amelia Smith). Another parent involved in homeschooling shared that structured activities were especially important since she wanted to overcome the stigma that homeschoolers were less socialized (Danielle

Robinson). Furthermore, a majority of parents used extracurriculars to help their child explore different interests. Five parents (33%) served some role in support of their child's extracurricular activities, either as team managers or volunteers. During the summer, most parents continued to incorporate structured activities into their child's routine through educational summer camps, sports lessons or community activities.

Current Family Involvement

In terms of current involvement in their child's education, nearly every parent characterized themselves as "semi-involved" in the sense that they are there to support the student but do not micromanage or act as a "helicopter parent." Most parental involvement at this stage takes the form of financial, emotional and social support. Parents often listened to their student's academic struggles and gave advice or encouragement. Two parents stated that they are still academically involved in terms of helping their child learn specific concepts due to the similarity in the field they are studying. The majority of parents believed that their involvement in their child's education had decreased from childhood until now. In contrast, one parent has increased their involvement since their child left for college because they feel the increased freedom requires greater supervision (Rachel Wai). In fact, she shared that this supervision has caused conflict as her child has expressed frustration and asked her to stop (Rachel Wai). Another parent brings up a caveat, stating that although they do not micromanage their child's education, they do feel a greater responsibility to guide them because the student had to take out loans in order to afford college (Grace Collins).

How Family Has Shown Value of Education

Parents unanimously stated that they highly value education, though some made the distinction that education is not necessarily equivalent to a traditional college degree. When asked how they showed their child the value of education, parents' answers generally fell into three main categories. First, parents described ways in which they directly verbalized the importance of education to their children. One homeschooling parent tied the value of education to the pursuit of truth and virtue (Danielle Robinson) while another parent explained to their child how getting a good job gives you the lifestyle you want (Alice Williams). Parents also tried to encourage learning in general by taking their kids to the library and talking about academic topics at the dinner table.

Second, parents showed the importance of education through parental sacrifice. Four parents (27%) explicitly stated that their child's education majorly influenced where they chose to live, with many moving based on school district. Parents who chose to homeschool or attend private school also demonstrate additional time and money they are willing to sacrifice. Furthermore, multiple parents changed career paths or sacrificed career opportunities in order to accommodate their child's academic life. Notably, mothers more often than fathers chose to work at their child's school or take on the role of homeschool teacher. Finally, parents believe they communicated the importance of education by providing their child a model of hard work and success. Five parents (33%) believed that their own experiences served as a testament for their child to see the impact of education. One parent reflected on how her experience obtaining a degree as a first-generation college student gave her child an example of hard work paying off:

“I think through hard work and the fact that we've proven that with the degrees that we have, we have been able to obtain jobs through the years. My husband and I both showed them you know our path, how we were able to do it. I am a first-generation college student, so my parents did not attend college and it's a pretty good example that she can see where my parents came from. They worked hard and long hours and they've worked blue collar and middle-class jobs all of their lives and worked until the very end” (Grace Collins).

Similarly, another parent emphasized the opportunities education gave him through his story of immigrating to the U.S. (Arjun Patel). Parents believed that modeling a strong work ethic and appreciation for education would motivate their child to do the same. Students were also able to imply the effects of education by seeing how extended family members without a college degree fared. One parent remembered pointing out to her child how family members without degrees tended to struggle mentally and financially (Amelia Smith). Another parent primarily encouraged her child to pursue education in order to avoid the negative health effects suffered by her parents who did factory work (Cecilia Scott).

Parental Pressure and Expectations

When asked if they put pressure on their child to meet their definition of academic success, parents gave a wide range of answers. Six parents (40%) stated that they tried not to apply any additional pressure since they felt that the majority of pressure comes from the students themselves. Three parents (20%) believed they did not apply any outright pressure on their child. However, parents clarified that students may have felt pressure since they had great expectations for them. In contrast, four parents (27%)

admitted to applying direct pressure on students. Their reasoning is that they hold their students to high standards so that they know they have potential for great things. One homeschooling parent shared that her child believed she was the hardest teacher they have had, even in comparison to college professors (Danielle Robinson).

Parental Philosophy of Education

In order to better determine a parent's approach to education, parents were asked what they believe to be the role of education. Eleven parents (73%) gave an answer that identified education as a means to achieve a greater end. In fact, one parent stated that being educated without a reason, just to be educated, is pointless (Dylan Robinson). Specifically, eight parents stated that education is used to create greater personal and career opportunities within an individual's life. One parent explained that the role of education for most Americans is to further their ability to make it one step further from where their parents were (Grace Collins). Three parents (20%) identified education as a means to equip someone to help others and serve their community. Specifically, one parent stated that college is a steppingstone to medical school which will then allow her child to help those in her home country who may be struggling financially (Rachel Wai). In contrast, one parent believed that there is value to education for the sake of education itself as opposed to any career or financial motivations (Danielle Robinson). This parent believed that the role of education aligns with the Christian pursuit of truth and virtue (Danielle Robinson).

After explaining what they believe to be the role of education, parents were asked how their personal backgrounds have affected their philosophy on education. In response, three parents described similar sentiments in which education was always a priority and

expectation within their families growing up. These parents felt that it was communicated to them that education was the path to financial security and personal freedom. Similarly, two parents described their experiences as first-generation college students, stating that they learned the value of education and hard work. Two other parents recounted their experiences immigrating to the U.S., explaining that education was the means to a better life:

“Education was the only tool that would have helped me to come out of where I am so if you need to scale up from where you are right now, the only way to do that is education. Education is how you move up the ladder of society” (Arjun Patel).

One parent stated that since she came from an Asian background, she has never questioned the purpose of education since its value has always been deeply ingrained (Helen Kim). Parental philosophies have also been affected by their career choices, with three parents stating that their profession as a teacher has influenced the way they view education. Though the majority of parents communicated that they highly value education, some parents also noted that they do not believe college is for everybody. Two parents explicitly explained that education matters to the extent that it helps you achieve your goals, stating that education is to be valued but not overvalued.

Religious Background

Out of all the parent interviews, seven parents (47%) stated that they regularly attended church with their child. When asked how their religious background affected their child’s education, parents gave a wide range of responses. Three parents explained that their religious faith guided their philosophy on education, prompting them to

homeschool their children. One parent became interested in homeschooling after observing the character of children who were homeschooled at her church (Helen Kim). She noted that these children exhibited greater respect, patience and kindness. When she decided to homeschool, this parent valued religious faith above all else, beginning each school day with morning Bible study with her child (Helen Kim). Similarly, two other parents from the same family expressed how their choice to homeschool was directly influenced by God's command for parents to raise their children with Christian virtues:

“I think it was really about control over education and this feeling, you know we're Christian family and we believe that God has given us children and a responsibility to educate those children and bring them up in the you know, in the training that they need, and we felt that giving our children over to the state and letting the State do it, was sort of an abdication of our responsibility” (Dylan Roberts).

In contrast, two parents stated that religion affected the structure rather than the content of their child's education. Sunday church service and Wednesday night Bible study provided necessary habit and structure for their children (Amelia Smith). Two other parents believed religion to influence their child's career choice. Specifically, one parent indicated that she wants her child to earn a degree in order to financially aid those who do mission work abroad (Rachel Wai). Finally, three parents (20%) expressed that religious background specifically influenced their decision to send their child to Baylor University.

Cultural Background

When asked how their cultural background has affected their child's education, parents listed a variety of factors that may have been influential. Three parents (20%)

described how their white Anglo-Saxon Protestant background influenced their view of education. One parent stated that the Puritan work ethic was taught to her in early childhood that she should always work hard and never complain (Danielle Robinson). This background has translated into her parenting style through teaching her child to be humble, grateful and never entitled (Danielle Robinson). Another parent referenced his background as one of the generations of families from the Ozarks who worked farm and factory jobs (Michael Scott). He explained that his background modeled a life that showed him the value of hard work and faith in God which he has tried to pass on to his child (Michael Scott).

For many parents, cultural background encompassed their stories of immigration from their home countries. One parent described how education was always the first priority growing up in Korea (Helen Kim). However, after immigrating to the U.S., she intentionally tried to break away from this philosophy as she attempted to prioritize religious faith. When homeschooling her child, this parent felt that the traditional Korean view of education conflicted with Christianity in regard to what one should prioritize in life (Helen Kim). Another parent described his background immigrating from India to the U.S. In India, he explained that one's education is directly tied to their career prospects, much more so than in the U.S. (Arjun Patel). Education was the tool that allowed him to immigrate and work towards a better life. This parent stated that he shares his stories of hardship and sacrifice so that his child can see the value of education (Arjun Patel). Similarly, another parent who immigrated from Burma shared how she came from an extremely low-income family, providing an example for her child of how education can

lift people up (Rachel Wai). She shared the impact of her cultural background in the following way:

“My family was originally from Burma. My parents don't have a very high level of education. They didn't really care much about other things, it was all you know you have to be educated because that's what's going to help you later on in life” (Rachel Wai).

When asked about their cultural background, three parents also mentioned the impact of their parents' careers. Two parents grew up in military families, causing them to move around quite often. One parent grew up abroad in Argentina due to his parents' missionary work (Tom Baker). Growing up around people studying to be missionaries greatly impacted his worldview and encouraged him to value learning and education (Tom Baker). Finally, two parents also mentioned the effects of regional culture. In her homeschooling experience, one parent compared how Californian culture pressured children to start school as young as possible while children in Texas were often held back so that they would grow bigger for the football team (Danielle Robinson). Another parent described how his regional background from the Ozarks influenced his sense of community and taught him to value hard work and family (Michael Scott).

Community Groups

Families often rely on various social, cultural and religious groups within the community to help guide their decisions surrounding education. When asked if their family was a part of any larger community that valued education, four parents brought up their church community. Parents stated that church was often a group of like-minded people with similar education levels. Furthermore, two parents were introduced to the

practice of homeschooling through their church small groups. Homeschool associations were also integral in the lives of students who were homeschooled. Formal homeschool provided official instructional resources while informal community groups allowed families to gather and exchange resources and advice (Dylan Robinson). Homeschool groups would host social gatherings, holiday parties, and field trips to provide children the chance to socialize and have experiences students at public school would typically have (Danielle Robinson). One parent stated that her child attended homeschool co-op every week since kindergarten (Helen Kim). Another parent depicted the intersection of two community groups in their family's life:

“You know the church was our community, but the homeschoolers within the church were really our community within our community. This group of five to ten families is who my kids grew up with which was just amazing because everyone felt normal for homeschooling” (Danielle Robinson).

This intersection of community groups provided the necessary support for Christian homeschool education. The parent described how her kids grew up in this tight-knit community, helping them feel normal and not left out which directly correlated to their academic success (Danielle Robinson).

Cultural groups also played a role in impacting education. One parent described how she is involved in her local cultural community which aids refugees from Thailand (Rachel Wai). She stated that seeing and interacting with these refugees within their community has academically motivated her child in order to help them in the future (Rachel Wai). Another parent described how the Korean community surrounding her often over-values education and slips into a comparative mindset which she is mindful to

avoid (Helen Kim). Two parents also mentioned the impact of their social groups. Due to school choice, most people within parental circles come from the same educational background and hold similar views towards education. Further, career choice can also cause the formation of community groups. One parent's career with NASA has provided many opportunities to learn from educational speakers and events (Alice Williams). Another parent's career as a university professor has created a community of intellectuals who highly value education (Tom Baker). Similarly, one parent's career with the military has provided their family with a supportive military community (Amelia Smith). The parent described how they chose their child's school district based on advice from other parents in their military network. Furthermore, this community provided support for another through free childcare, exchange of resources and sharing of advice.

Social Pressures

When asked if there was any pressure on their family to use education as a means of achieving status or prestige, most parents responded that they did not feel that pressure. Rather than to achieve status or prestige, parents want their child to succeed in order to better their own lives and help those around them.

Additional

When asked if any additional factors influenced their child's outcomes, two parents noted the impact of a particular teacher or mentor. One parent described the positive impact of AP courses and other classes that inspired her child to be intellectually curious (Alice Williams). Another parent stated that an outside college consultant majorly helped her child by working with her since eighth grade to determine her interests and

which colleges would be the best fit (Eleanor Turner). Two parents reiterated their belief that their child's academic success is due to their own intrinsic motivation and individual personality.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

In order to gain a better understanding of how student and parent perceptions differ, responses from both populations presented in the data analysis section will be compared. Comparisons will be organized in a similar manner according to the fourteen factors of analysis presented prior. Following a comparison of the general populations, specific student-parent pairs will be analyzed to present a holistic picture of individual family units.

Comparison of Student and Parent Responses

Background

Within the first block of questions, participants were asked about the student's high school environment, college preparation process and education goals. These questions provide context for a student's academic background. Responses between students and parents had little variation within this section. Nearly every student and parent described a supportive high school environment, whether that was through public school, private school or homeschool. There were a few exceptions with three students and one parent citing schools that lacked resources or were less supportive of the traditional college route. Similarly, students and parents both believed the student in question to be prepared for college. One notable difference is that students most commonly cited schools, family and outside help as sources of preparation while parents attributed it to the students themselves. When looking at student education goals, a

majority of students and parents indicated an expectation to complete college and an interest in pursuing further higher education in the form of medical school or graduate school. It is relevant to note how parent and student expectations align in regard to education goals. Though some parents did not explicitly require their child to attend college, most students felt it was necessary to achieve their personal and career goals.

Defining Academic Success

When asked to define academic success, students and parents demonstrated a similar understanding. The majority of interviewees stated that academic success is characterized by gaining the knowledge that is necessary for achieving one's future goals. Notably, most students and parents believed academic success to be more than a high GPA or academic scores, with the exception of two students and three parents. Other answers measured academic success by the amount of effort put forth or whether one was pursuing self-fulfillment and personal growth.

Greatest Influence on Academic Success

In identifying which factor had the greatest influence on a student's academic success, students and parents presented differing perspectives. Nearly every student identified parental involvement as being a major factor in their education outcomes. However, students identified parental involvement in varying contexts, describing their roles in providing motivation, imparting their educational philosophy and cultivating a strong work ethic. In contrast, parents attributed much of a student's academic success to their own intrinsic motivation. Parents cited students' personality, intelligence and natural predispositions as the reasons behind their academic drive. Their reasoning was often

rooted in instances in which their student demonstrated individual motivation from an early age apart from any parental pressure. However, many parents also acknowledged the effects of parental involvement, stating that their ability to provide an academic structure and set high expectations likely set their student up for success. These two opposing perspectives are notable as they represent two sides of the “nature vs. nurture” argument. It raises the question of whether students are successful due to their inherent nature as individuals or due to their environment which was conducive to academic success. While both students and parents recognized the impact of environmental factors such as family involvement, parents placed greater value on the individual nature of the student.

Family Involvement During Childhood

Students and parents unanimously reported a high level of involvement within childhood education. Both populations noted an emphasis placed on education during early childhood through various efforts that encouraged the student to develop academic interests. By establishing academic expectations and then providing the necessary support for students to meet these expectations, parents exhibited characteristics of an authoritative parenting style. Identifying authoritative parenting is relevant as this parenting style has been linked to greater student achievement. Parents communicated their academic expectations to their child through direct and indirect signaling methods. These methods included direct communication about academic performance, help with homework and creation of academic habits and structure. In turn, most students testified that they felt supported in their home environment, which encouraged learning and fostered academic growth. Aspects of an authoritative parenting style are further seen in

many parents' approach to extracurricular activities. Though parents often required students to pursue either a sport or musical instrument, students were allowed to choose their extracurriculars based on their personal interests. Further, nearly every student described their extracurriculars as structured. Parents revealed that they valued structure because it provided an avenue for parental involvement as well as a means to monitor who their student was with and where they were. As discussed in the literature, parents who practiced a permissive parenting style were often less aware of their student's activities, leading to the possibility of negative peer influence and increased risk of undesirable behavior. Thus, parents within this population exhibited more authoritative tendencies by giving students clear expectations while involving themselves in order to provide necessary support. Not only did parents describe their parenting with authoritative characteristics, students seemed to view it in the same light, as students stated they felt adequately supported and benefited from the academic structure. Both student and parent perceptions are aligned in this manner.

Parental involvement extends into schools as well, with multiple parents who either worked within the school, volunteered or served on the PTA. Participants testified that parental involvement in schools provided parents greater leverage to advocate for their child. The parental perspective revealed that parents often chose to sacrifice their time, energy and even potential career opportunities in order to be more involved in their child's school environment. In turn, students perceived these parental sacrifices as a signifier of education's value and importance. It is important to note that every parent that was directly involved in their child's school administration also identified as either middle or upper middle class, with the exception of two parents who worked as public

school teachers. Parents that identified as lower or working class stated that their child's school did not have as many capacities for parental involvement such as PTA or other parent organizations. This correlation supports the theory that higher SES parents have the capital (time, energy, resources) to assert greater influence on their child's education. Furthermore, it alludes to the possibility that schools in higher SES areas may have more built-in mechanisms for parental engagement. Many methods of parental sacrifice that were brought up are directly tied to high SES, as they are direct indicators of how much time and money families have at their disposal. For example, multiple parents revealed that the school district played a major role in deciding the neighborhood in which they would live. Enrolling their child in private school or home school often required even more financial sacrifices.

Current Family Involvement

Nearly all participants stated that parental involvement in academics has decreased since childhood. This current relationship can be associated with characteristics of more permissive parenting styles. Since going to college, students have become mostly independent, stating that their parents are only involved to the extent that they need. Similarly, parents perceived themselves to be less involved in their child's academics, generally providing support only when asked. In contrast, one student-parent pair described going in the opposite direction towards a more authoritarian parenting style as the parent believed greater freedom in college required greater supervision. Both the student and parent noted that the increased supervision has caused tension and conflict surrounding the student's academic life.

How Family Has Shown Value of Education

Both students and parents described similar methods in which the value of education was shown to the student. Responses from both populations demonstrated great alignment in this aspect. This alignment is important since previous studies have found that parental expectations have the greatest effect on education outcomes. If parents effectively communicate the value of education and students perceive it as intended, parental expectations have a higher likelihood of being translated between the two groups. Parents unanimously stated that they highly valued education and student perceptions confirmed this belief. When asked how they showed the value of education, parents described methods of direct communication, parental sacrifice and providing a model of hard work and success. Similarly, students perceived how their parents signaled the value of education both explicitly and implicitly. Parents described how they intentionally brought up academics in conversation. In turn, students perceived these conversations as encouraging and beneficial. Parents sacrificed time, money and energy for their child's education and students expressed gratitude for these sacrifices. Parents modeled hard work and perseverance and students felt inspired to emulate their parents' success. Students explicitly stated how these factors created an expectation for academic success and clearly communicated the importance of education.

Parental Pressure and Expectations

Since parental expectations play an influential role in academic success, students were asked to describe parental expectations that they perceived as well as whether they felt pressure to meet those expectations. Nearly every student believed it was expected that they complete college and choose a sustainable career path. Parents also expressed

expectations that were aligned with those statements. Notably, only two students felt it was expected of them to pursue higher education beyond college, while six parents stated that they expected their child to pursue further graduate education. In terms of pressure, students unanimously experienced academic pressure. A small group of parents admitted to applying academic pressure on their child, explaining that their goal was to create high academic standards for the student. In this way, parents exhibit more authoritarian parenting styles while effectively communicating their academic expectations. However, most other students believed their academic pressure to be self-inflicted. Interestingly, a majority of parents also stated that they do not or try not to apply academic pressure on their student. In fact, six parents also perceived the majority of pressure to stem from the students themselves. However, parents admitted that indirect pressure may result from parental expectations. Similarly, students explained how their self-inflicted pressure has been shaped by parental pressure early on and parental expectations. Although a majority of students and parents denied the existence of current parental pressure, students' self-inflicted pressure often stems directly from parental expectations and involvement. This observation is important as it helps to explain why parents may attribute a student's academic success to their intrinsic motivation.

Parental Philosophy of Education

When asked about parental philosophies regarding the role of education, student and parent responses had great overlap. Most parents viewed education as a tool to help one achieve their personal and career goals. A majority of students perceived this same parental philosophy and felt encouraged to pursue higher education only to the extent that it would benefit their career. When explaining their philosophy, parents referenced how

education was viewed as the path to financial security growing up. Due to their experiences as first-generation, immigrant or low-income students, many parents witnessed the power of education in shaping their life trajectory. Thus, it is important to note that parents who subscribed to this philosophy of education often grew up in lower-income families or were first-generation and immigrant students. These barriers directly impacted how parents interpret the purpose of education and thus, influence the academic expectations they have for their child.

Socioeconomic Status

When asked to categorize their family's socioeconomic status, students unanimously labeled themselves as middle class, with variations between lower and upper middle class. Notably, parents presented a wider range, with some identifying in the top 2-5% income level and others identifying as working poor. While students all generally believed their SES to have a positive impact on their education, parental responses had greater variation. Most parents believed that their SES provided them with financial freedom, access to academic resources and time to dedicate to their child's education. Notably, SES directly shaped a child's school environment as it allowed parents to move to better school districts, enroll in private school or choose a school consistent with their values. One parent explained that their financial freedom gave her the ability to homeschool her children, allowing her to dedicate her full attention, time and energy to her child's education. However, parents of a lower SES believed that their income level negatively limited their child's opportunities. Lower SES families demonstrated less freedom surrounding academic choices and increased stress about the affordability of education. The variation in perceptions between students and parents may

signal that students possess a different view of their family's SES from their parents, possibly due to parental communication.

Additionally, students and parents were asked how their SES played a role in college finances. Student and parent perceptions aligned as many parents communicated that the student would be partially or fully responsible for the cost of their higher education. Interestingly, some students noted that this financial stress further motivated them to take responsibility for their own education. On the other hand, parents who were willing and able to fully fund their child's college education made it clear that the student should pursue the best academic options without financial restraint. It is clear that a higher SES provides families greater freedom and opportunities surrounding education both in primary and higher education. However, differing student and parent perceptions of SES reveals how parental communication may affect student attitudes towards education.

Religious Background

Both students and parents believed religion to have a positive impact on education. However, each population cited very different reasons. Within the student population who identified as Christian, students primarily emphasized how religion provided them with intrinsic motivation to pursue academics as a means of honoring God. Further, religion shaped students' education philosophies by pushing students to view education as a tool and encouraging resilience in the face of failure. In contrast, parents primarily stated that religion influenced their child's educational experience by providing necessary structure and routine via church activities. A few parents explained how religion influenced their decision to homeschool their child and tailor their

curriculum to prioritize biblical values. Although parents previously cited intrinsic motivation as a major influence on student academic success, it is interesting to note how parents do not believe religion to contribute to said motivation despite student perspectives.

Cultural Background

Both students and parents described how their family's cultural background shaped their educational philosophy and emphasized the value of hard work. Specifically, students reported multiple immigrant parents who viewed education as a tool to leverage a better life. Students recalled how immigrant parents tended to emphasize and communicate the value of education due to the transformative role it often played in their lives. Parents affirmed this viewpoint as many recounted the ways in which education benefited them and how they intentionally modeled this for their child to see. This connection illustrates how cultural background influences parental communication and expectations. One can observe how racial minorities and immigrant parents have a greater tendency to view education as a tool and clearly communicate that to their child. As a result, many students felt pressured to make their immigrant parents proud in order to justify their sacrifices.

Community Groups

When asked about the impact of community groups on education, students and parents focused on different aspects of cultural, social and religious groups. Students primarily shared how cultural groups based on race and ethnicity surrounded them in an environment of high-achieving and competitive peers. Specifically, students felt

increased pressure as they perceived their cultural groups to value achievement-based prestige. The effect of cultural community groups further extended into the sharing of academic resources and advice between families. One parent acknowledged the pressure caused by cultural communities and was intentional to mitigate it. Parental responses focused more on how communities within their church, homeschool associations and social circles provided support throughout their child's education. One parent noted that the intersection between their church and homeschool community groups created a haven of like-minded people who directly impacted her child's academic success. Other parents mentioned how their careers in academia and the military provided a network of people willing to share opportunities and support. It seems as if students perceived community groups to increase academic pressure while parents perceived their communities to provide greater support and resources.

Social Pressures

When asked whether there was social pressure on their family to use education as a means to achieve status or prestige, students and parents presented opposing perspectives. Parents unanimously stated that they did not perceive any social pressure. In contrast, 20% of students perceived some amount of social pressure, pushing them to equate achievement with family pride and status. One student hypothesized that their parents may outwardly deny valuing status or prestige, but that it subconsciously pushes them to emphasize education.

Additional

Both parents and students listed the influence of teachers and mentors as additional factors impacting education. Multiple students emphasized the positive effects of their peers on their own academic motivation. In contrast, parents reiterated their belief that students' intrinsic motivation played a primary role in their academic success.

Comparison of Student-Parent Pairs

Among the thirty-five interview participants, there were eleven student-parent pairs that represented individual family units. Some family units included interview responses from both parents. This section attempts to analyze responses from students and parents within the same family according to the fourteen factors of analysis. Analyses are organized by family.

Baker Family

Within the Baker family, student and parent education goals were strongly aligned as both viewed medical school as the end goal. Further, they possessed a similar definition of academic success that included both objective high scores and the ability to pursue your academic interests. In terms of academic pressure, both the student and parent believed existing pressure to stem from the student them self. However, when asked about the most influential factor on the student's academic success, student and parent responses were very different. The student attributed her academic success to the impact of her private school which was a Montessori school. In contrast, the parent believed the student was successful due to her intrinsic motivation and personality. He cited how she has never needed external pressure or motivation from her parents and has

always pushed herself to achieve academically.

Collins Family

Both the student and parent had similar perceptions regarding education goals, definition of academic success and perceived academic pressure within the Collins family. The most notable difference occurred when identifying the greatest influence on academic success. The student perceived parental involvement as a major determinant of her success. She described how her mother, who is also the parent participating in research, continuously encouraged her in the face of academic setbacks and taught her how to deal with failure. In contrast, the parent attributed her child's success to particular teachers who invested in her child and were able to inspire their academic interests.

Kim Family

The student and parent had similar perceptions regarding most factors of analysis in the Kim family. It is especially interesting to note how both respondents depicted the impact of their cultural background and how their family responded to it. Within the Kim family, the mother described how Korean culture puts a heavy emphasis on academic achievement, prioritizing it above all else. However, due to her faith as a Christian, the mother intentionally communicated to her child that she values religious faith above cultural pressures. This communication was effective as the student's response reflected how she perceived the way her parents tried to temper the effects of cultural academic pressure. Thus, this type of parental communication was able to relieve some academic pressure from the student. Similarly, both the student and parent perceived parental involvement to be the greatest contributing factor to the student's success thus far. This

type of alignment across the board may be indicative of greater communication within the family. However, this alignment may also be due to the fact that the parent homeschooled the student.

Wai Family

Within the Wai family, perceptions surrounding education goals, parental pressure and the definition of academic success are similar between student and parent. Notably, this is one of the only student-parent pairs to define academic success as solely based on GPA and ability to enroll in medical school which both the student and parent agreed upon. Similarly, both members of the family described how their cultural background as Burmese immigrants influenced them to heavily value education. The parent explained her hardships as a low-income immigrant and the student perceived how her family used education as a tool to get where they are now. Interestingly, this alignment between responses did not translate when they were asked to identify the most influential factor on the student's academic success. The student attributed her success to parental involvement, specifically to seeing her parents' model of success and the expectations they have for her. Though the parent acknowledged the impact of family involvement, she primarily attributed her child's success to her own intrinsic motivation and abilities.

Morrison Family

When asked about education goals, parental pressure and the definition of academic success, this student-parent pair provided similar responses. In terms of the most influential factor on her academic success, the student listed the guidance from her

parents and teachers. Specifically, she described how her parents taught her to be resilient in the face of academic obstacles and the way they modeled academic success through their careers. The parent's response brought up similar themes of modeling work ethic and communicating the importance of education. However, the parent also believed her child's academic success to be largely the result of her own motivation to succeed.

Patel Family

In terms of education goals, the student provided a rigid concrete goal of attending medical school. In contrast, the parent expressed how they were flexible in supporting any goal the student had, as long as they attained a bachelor's degree at the minimum. Another notable difference between student and parent perceptions in the Patel family is their view of parental pressure. While the parent did not believe they exerted any pressure, the student felt as if pressure was inadvertently applied due to her parents' cultural background which heavily valued academic achievement. The student described it by saying, "Even though they weren't directly saying you have to do well and pressuring me that way, it's the pressure I put on myself because of them if that makes sense" (Shreya Patel). Similarly, there were major differences when the respondents were asked to identify the most influential factor on the student's education. The student identified her father as the primary source of academic support through his encouragement and advice. Meanwhile, the father believed the student to be responsible for her own success, citing her internal drive and perfectionist tendencies from a young age.

Robinson Family

Within the Robinson family, both parents were interviewed along with the student. Notably, this student was homeschooled with his mother as the primary teacher. Family perceptions of education goals, parental pressure and the definition of academic success were comparably similar. Further, there was even greater alignment between family members as they were asked about the greatest influence on the student's academic success. The student directly credited his success to the fact that he was homeschooled, which afforded him the opportunity to tailor his education to his interests and discover his academic passions. In turn, both parents identified the mother as the primary influence in the student's academic life since she homeschooled him from kindergarten to high school. The family also shared similar perceptions regarding how community groups, such as the local homeschool association and church, provided a positive impact on the student's education.

Smith Family

Both parents as well as the student were interviewed within this family. In terms of parental pressure, both the parents and the student perceived existing pressure to be self-inflicted by the student. However, the student revealed that she aims to hold herself to a high standard due to implicit expectations her family has communicated. When asked about the definition of academic success, parental answers diverged as the mother measured success solely through the amount of effort put in, while the father gauged success through the obtainment of knowledge. Further, the student placed a greater emphasis on objective scores and GPA than her parents. When asked about the most

influential factor in her academic success, the student cited the impact of her parents and teachers, specifically mentioning the ways they encouraged her and taught her perseverance. In contrast, both parents attributed the student's success to her internal makeup and intrinsic motivation. Her father stated, "It's almost internal with her wired in that she wants to do great academically and really work towards that goal. I'm not sure you know, we support that, but I don't know if that necessarily came from us" (Daniel Smith).

Scott Family

Within the Scott family, both parents and the student were interviewed. Family responses regarding education goals and the definition of academic success were greatly aligned. When asked about parental pressure, the mother stated that she does exert pressure on her child in order to push them to reach their potential. In contrast, the father stated that he tries not to pressure his child as he knows there is already self-imposed pressure. Family responses addressing the impact of socioeconomic status also demonstrated great alignment as both the student and parents recognized the limitations of their lower SES and worked to overcome that barrier together through various means. When asked about the most impactful factor on the student's academic success, both parents credited their child's intrinsic motivation and God-given intelligence. In contrast, the student cited the help of his parents and teachers. Specifically, he noted that despite his parents' status as first-generation college students from a predominantly blue-collar town in the Ozarks, they offered him immense support in his goal to attend college and ultimately medical school.

Turner Family

This student-parent pair had similar perceptions regarding education goals, parental pressure and the definition of academic success. Though both the parent and student acknowledged existing parental pressure, they presented nuanced differences for the reasoning behind this pressure. The mother attributed it to the fact that the student is an only child with two very involved parents. Meanwhile, the student perceived parental pressure to stem from the fact that her parents have financially invested in her education both through private school and college. When prompted about the most influential factor in the student's education, there was some alignment within the family responses. The parent attributed her child's success to the impact of her private school as well as their parental involvement. Similarly, the student described how her parents laid the foundation for her academic success and also gave her the opportunity to experience impactful teachers who helped guide her.

Williams Family

Within the Williams family, both parents as well as the student participated in interviews. When asked to define academic success, both the student and his mother believed success to be measured by the knowledge and wisdom gained within the subject. In contrast, the father perceived academic success to be linked with achieving the necessary grades for one's career goals. On the topic of identifying the most influential factor in the student's education, the Williams family presented a variety of responses. The mother believed influential teachers and her own career expertise to play a major role as she guided the student in his interest towards the medical field. The father cited the impact of parental influence as well, but also pointed to the student's inherent intelligence

and strong work ethic. The student primarily attributed his success to the influence of his parents, specifically pointing out his mother's extensive involvement in his school and academic life which helped him to identify his interests.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

Findings

This project began with one overarching question: which perceived factor has the most influence on a student's academic success? The study determined the answer by interviewing both students and their parents. The findings revealed that students largely attributed their academic success to parental involvement. Within the students' description of parental involvement, most cited the impact of emotional support, encouragement and guidance on how to overcome academic obstacles. Besides parental involvement, the second and third most frequently cited factors included type of high school and teacher influence. Though parents also acknowledged the impact of parental involvement, more than half attributed academic success to the student's intrinsic motivation. Within the parents' depiction of intrinsic motivation, parents brought up concepts of self-motivation, internal drive and natural personality traits. Besides intrinsic motivation, parents also pointed to the impact of parental involvement, teacher influence and type of high school attended.

Through the interview process, students revealed how their academic motivation is influenced by external factors such as parental involvement, expectations and pressure. When asked whether they felt parental pressure to achieve academic success, many students stated that any existing pressure was largely self-imposed. This answer seemed to align with parental perceptions of intrinsic motivation. However, when prompted about where this self-imposed pressure originated from, many students pointed to parental

expectations and involvement from childhood. These revelations contradict parental perceptions and indicate the root source of students' intrinsic motivation as well as the reason behind their academic success.

Since parental involvement is at the root of students' academic success, it is essential to analyze how this mechanism is translated from parent to student. Two primary methods are identified: parental pressure and parental expectations. These two factors are directly affected by parenting style, parental philosophy of education, cultural and socioeconomic background. In terms of parenting style, parents who exhibited characteristics of an authoritative parenting style tended to apply less pressure while maintaining clear expectations of their child. Parents who exhibited characteristics of authoritarian parenting tended to apply direct pressure while communicating clear expectations. Within this study, both parenting styles seemed to result in academic success for the student. Both cultural and socioeconomic background contribute to a parent's philosophy on education. Parental philosophy is relevant as it directly translates to how they view education, how much they value education and their expectations for their child's education. As evidenced in the study, parents who had less access to education growing up (low-income, first-generation, immigrants) were more likely to view education as a tool or a means to advance their career. This parental philosophy is then communicated to their child and translated to their academic involvement.

Clarity of parental communication can be measured through the degree of alignment between student and parent responses. Between the general student and parent populations measured in this study there was little alignment on the most influential factors. In contrast, when analyzing individual family units, student-parent pairs

demonstrated greater alignment. However, perceptions surrounding the most influential factor on student academic success still diverged between student and parent. Notably, there was the highest level of alignment across all factors within family units that homeschooled their child. This alignment could be credited to increased communication between student and parent.

Further Implications

Since parental involvement has a notable effect on academic achievement through the channels of parental pressure and parental expectations, there must be a greater focus on helping parents utilize these mechanisms effectively. Strategic methods should improve the effectiveness of parental involvement through targeted methods of developing better communication between student and parent regarding both parental pressure and parental expectations. Strategies could include homework assignments that encourage increased student-parent communication, school initiatives that require parental involvement and collaboration, and the formation of greater student and parent academic expectations. However, it is clear that factors such as SES may act as barriers to the implementation of these strategies. In these cases, the role of effective education policy and supportive school administration will be integral to serving these families.

Potential Future Research

Though this project helped provide a more holistic picture of the effect of family life on student's education outcomes, the sample was not representative enough to draw any larger conclusions. Current findings could also be skewed due to the sample population. Furthermore, this study lacks the perspective of students who chose not to

attend college as well as those who chose an untraditional education path. Perhaps, students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds would identify factors such as school choice or access to academic resources as more influential than parental involvement. Future research should be conducted on a larger and more diverse population. Furthermore, though this study was able to interview a small sample of homeschool students, it would also be interesting to compare the effects of homeschooling within a larger sample.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire

1. What gender do you identify as?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Other (Short Answer space)
2. Please specify your ethnicity.
 - a. White
 - b. Black or African American
 - c. Latino or Hispanic
 - d. Asian
 - e. American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - f. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - g. Other (Short Answer space)
3. Please specify your age.
 - a. 18
 - b. 19
 - c. 20
 - d. 21
 - e. 22 and older
4. Are you currently enrolled in college?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
5. If yes, what year of college are you currently in?
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Other (Short Answer space)
6. If no, what year did you graduate?
 - a. (Short Answer space)
7. Are you a first-generation college student?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
8. What is your GPA (On a 4.0 scale)?
 - a. Short Answer Space
9. What income bracket would you consider your family to be in?
 - a. Low income
 - b. Middle income
 - c. High income
10. What income bracket would you consider your family was growing up?
 - a. Low income
 - b. Middle income
 - c. High income
11. What is your mother's ethnicity?

- a. White
 - b. Black or African American
 - c. Latino or Hispanic
 - d. Asian
 - e. American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - f. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - g. Other (Short Answer space)
12. What is your father's ethnicity?
- a. White
 - b. Black or African American
 - c. Latino or Hispanic
 - d. Asian
 - e. American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - f. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - g. Other (Short Answer space)
13. What is the highest level of education your mother achieved?
- a. Some High School
 - b. High School
 - c. Bachelor's Degree
 - d. Master's Degree
 - e. Ph.D. or higher
 - f. Trade School
 - g. Not applicable
14. What is the highest level of education your father achieved?
- a. Some High School
 - b. High School
 - c. Bachelor's Degree
 - d. Master's Degree
 - e. Ph.D. or higher
 - f. Trade School
 - g. Not applicable
15. Did your mother immigrate to the US?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
16. Did your father immigrate to the US?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
17. Did either of your grandparents immigrate to the US?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Please state how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

18. My education is a top priority in my life.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree

- d. Strongly Agree
19. Educational success was a major priority for my family growing up.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
20. My parents were extremely involved in my childhood education.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
21. My parents are still extremely involved in my education.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
22. Growing up, I was always involved in multiple extracurricular activities.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
23. Growing up, I had ample free time with little structured activities by adults.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
24. My family's cultural/ethnic values impacted how I viewed education.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
25. My parents were involved in a larger community that prioritized education growing up.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
26. Success in school was my major focus growing up.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
27. I felt able to easily ask my teachers for help growing up.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree

- d. Strongly Agree
28. Higher/postsecondary education is something my parents have always wanted for me.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
29. I felt prepared to apply for college.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
30. I felt prepared to succeed in college.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
31. I had more than one option when considering postsecondary education.
- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
32. Would your parents be willing to be interviewed?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
33. Do you know of anyone in your life who chose not to attend a higher education institution?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
34. Would they be willing to be interviewed?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Appendix B: Student Interview Questionnaire

Preface:

Please state your full name.

Do you agree to participate in this study?

Do you consent to having your answers recorded?

Throughout this entire process, you always have the right to withdraw at any time.

Your interview answers will be entirely confidential, and you will remain anonymous.

You have no obligation to answer any question you feel uncomfortable answering.

These questions are intended to guide you, but I encourage you to expand upon and clarify your answers. Providing personal examples and details are very relevant.

Background:

1. What is the highest degree of education you have attained?
2. What are your education goals?
3. Did you feel prepared to apply and be accepted into college?
4. Can you describe your high school environment? Was it supportive? Did most students attend a traditional college?
5. How did finances affect your college decision?
6. How do you define academic success?
 - a. Where do you think that definition came from?
7. Do you feel pressure to meet this definition of success?
 - a. Where does that stem from?
8. Who or what do you feel has had the greatest influence on your academic success?
 - a. If parents, what did they do that impacted you the most?

Family Involvement:

1. How much does your family value education and how have they shown that?
 - a. How did their background affect this? (financial, social)
2. What are your parents' philosophies on education based on their background?
3. What expectations does your family have regarding your education?
4. How involved is your family in your education now?
5. How involved was your family in your education growing up?
6. Did you participate in structured extracurriculars growing up?
7. How did you spend your summers growing up?

Socioeconomic Status:

1. What income bracket would you consider your family to be in?
2. Has this been the same throughout childhood to now?
3. Did you ever worry about not being able to afford school supplies and/or other costs associated with attending school?

Cultural/Religious/Social Background:

1. What is the cultural background of your family?

2. Did your family immigrate to the U.S. and if so, how long ago?
3. How did your cultural background affect your education growing up?
4. If you are religious, has that affected your education? If so, how?
5. Is your family a part of any larger community that values education?
6. Does your extended family hold similar beliefs to you regarding education?
7. Is there any social pressure on your family to achieve educational status/prestige?

Additional:

1. Is there anything that we didn't cover that represents your family's influence on your education?
2. Would your parents be willing to be interviewed (if given monetary incentive)?
3. Do you know of anyone who did not attend higher education? If so, would they be willing to be interviewed (if given monetary incentive)?

Appendix C: Parent Interview Questionnaire

Preface:

Please state your full name.

Do you agree to participate in this study?

Do you consent to having your answers recorded?

Throughout this entire process, you always have the right to withdraw at any time.

Your interview answers will be entirely confidential, and you will remain anonymous.

You have no obligation to answer any question you feel uncomfortable answering.

These questions are intended to guide you, but I encourage you to expand upon and clarify your answers. Providing personal examples and details are very relevant.

*Note: When referencing your child, I am referring to the student who participated in this interview prior.

Background:

1. What is the highest degree of education you have attained?
2. What education related goals do you have for your child, if any?
3. Did your child feel prepared to apply and be accepted into college? Did you utilize
4. Can you describe your child's high school environment? (I.e. Was it supportive? Did most students attend a traditional college?)
5. How did finances influence your child's college decision?
6. Do you have children who decided not to attend a traditional university? If so, briefly explain why.
7. How do you define academic success?
 - a. Where do you think that definition came from?
8. Do you put pressure on your child to meet this definition of success?
9. Who or what do you feel has had the greatest influence on your child's academic success?
 - a. If parental influence has the greatest influence, what do you do to help your child succeed?

Family Involvement:

1. How much do you value education and how have you shown your child that?
2. What do you believe is the role or purpose of education?
3. How has your philosophy on education been affected by your background?
4. How involved are you in your child's education right now? Please give examples.
5. How involved were you in your child's education growing up? Please give examples. (I.e. helping decide classes, check grades, homework, PTA)
6. Did you place your child in structured extracurriculars growing up? If so, why? If not, why?
7. How did your child spend their summers and why?

Socioeconomic Status:

1. What income bracket would you consider your family to be in?
2. How do you believe your income affected your child's education?
3. Did you ever worry about not being able to afford school supplies and/or other costs associated with attending school?

Cultural/Religious/Social Background:

1. What is the cultural background of your family?
2. Did you immigrate to the U.S.? If so, how long ago?
3. Has your cultural background affected your child's education? If so, how?
4. If you are religious, has that affected your child's education? If so, how?
5. Is your family a part of any larger community that values education?
6. Does your extended family hold similar beliefs to you regarding education?
7. Is there any social pressure on your family to achieve educational status/prestige?
Do you place any pressure on your child in this regard?

Additional:

Is there anything that we didn't cover that you believe has a major influence on your child's education outcomes?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acar, E. (2011). Effects of social capital on academic success: A narrative synthesis. *Educational Research and Reviews*, 6(6), 456-461.
- Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental psychology*, 4(1p2), 1.
- Bloom, B. S. (1980). The new direction in educational research: Alterable variables. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 49(3), 337-349.
- Boonk, L., Gijssels, H. J., Ritzen, H., & Brand-Gruwel, S. (2018). A review of the relationship between parental involvement indicators and academic achievement. *Educational Research Review*, 24, 10-30.
- Calarco, J. M. (2020). Avoiding us versus them: How schools' dependence on privileged "helicopter" parents influences enforcement of rules. *American Sociological Review*, 85(2), 223-246.
- Christenson, S. L., Rounds, T., & Gorney, D. (1992). Family factors and student achievement: An avenue to increase students' success. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 7(3), 178.
- Cohen, D. A., & Rice, J. (1997). Parenting styles, adolescent substance use, and academic achievement. *Journal of drug education*, 27(2), 199-211.
- Dishion, T. J., & Loeber, R. (1985). Adolescent marijuana and alcohol use: The role of parents and peers revisited. *The American journal of drug and alcohol abuse*, 11(1-2), 11-25.
- Epstein, J. L., & Dauber, S. L. (1991). School programs and teacher practices of parent involvement in inner-city elementary and middle schools. *The elementary school journal*, 91(3), 289-305.
- Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational psychology review*, 13(1), 1-22.
- Gonzalez, A. L., & Wolters, C. A. (2006). The relation between perceived parenting practices and achievement motivation in mathematics. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 21(2), 203-217.

- Grusec, J. E., Goodnow, J. J., & Kuczynski, L. (2000). New directions in analyses of parenting contributions to children's acquisition of values. *Child development, 71*(1), 205-211.
- Jeynes, W. H. (2007). The relationship between parental involvement and urban secondary school student academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Urban education, 42*(1), 82-110.
- Keith, T. Z., Troutman, G. C., Trivette, P. S., Keith, P. B., Bickley, P. G., & Singh, K. (1993). Does parental involvement affect eighth-grade student achievement? Structural analysis of national data. *School psychology review, 22*(3), 474-496.
- Kordi, A., & Baharudin, R. (2010). Parenting attitude and style and its effect on children's school achievements. *International journal of psychological studies, 2*(2), 217.
- Ladd, G. W., & Pettit, G. S. (2002). Parenting and the development of children's peer relationships.
- McGrath, D. J., & Kuriloff, P. J. (1999). " They're Going to Tear the Doors Off this Place": Upper-Middle-Class Parent School Involvement and the Educational Opportunities of Other People's Children. *Educational Policy, 13*(5), 603-629.
- Portes, P. R. (1999). Social and Psychological Factors in the Academic Achievement of Children of Immigrants: A Cultural History Puzzle. *American Educational Research Journal, 36*(3), 489-507.
- Portes, A., & MacLeod, D. (1996). Educational progress of children of immigrants: The roles of class, ethnicity, and school context. *Sociology of education, 255-275*.
- Shedler, J., & Block, J. (1990). Adolescent drug use and psychological health: A longitudinal inquiry. *American psychologist, 45*(5), 612.
- Stevenson, D. L., & Baker, D. P. (1987). The family-school relation and the child's school performance. *Child development, 1348-1357*.
- Warikoo, N., & Carter, P. (2009). Cultural explanations for racial and ethnic stratification in academic achievement: A call for a new and improved theory. *Review of Educational Research, 79*(1), 366-394.
- White, K. R. (1982). The relation between socioeconomic status and academic achievement. *Psychological bulletin, 91*(3), 461.
- York, T. T., Gibson, C., & Rankin, S. (2015). Defining and measuring academic success. *Practical assessment, research, and evaluation, 20*(1), 5.