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# Predictors of the quantity and different qualities of home-based parental involvement: Evidence from parents of children with learning disabilities



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#### ABSTRACT

Although home-based parental involvement (HPI) remains critical to children's learning and achievement, there is limited evidence for children with learning disabilities (LD). The present study explores and examines parental characteristics that may predict the quantity and different qualities of HPI in LD children. Predictor constructs include SES, educational aspiration, parental role conception, and shame in having an LD child. Using self-determination theory, qualities of HPI were defined in terms of parental control and structure. As a secondary issue, this study also examines the mediating roles of parental aspiration and shame in the relationship between school setting (exclusion versus inclusion) and parental control. A sample of 357 German parents of LD children participated. Path analyses indicated that SES, parental aspiration, and role conception were predictive of the amount of involvement. Higher degrees of role conception determined parents' use of structure. Higher aspirations and feelings of shame motivated parents to be more controlling. Bootstrap analyses confirmed the fully mediating effects of aspiration and shame on an inclusive setting through parental control.

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#### 1. Introduction

In parental involvement literature, numerous studies have shown that unlike other aspects of involvement, home-based parental involvement (HPI)—for instance, helping the child with homework, assisting the child in preparing for tests—is critical to a child's learning and achievement (e.g., Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003; Emerson, Fear, Fox, & Sander, 2012; Hattie, 2009; Izzo, Weissberg, Kasprow, & Fendrich, 1999; Sacher, 2008; Sheldon & Epstein, 2005). It must be noted, however, that most existing studies investigating HPI have primarily focused on children without learning disabilities (LD), whereas children with LD have received less attention.

Some evidence from families of children without LD has shown that parents may not be motivated to help their children with learning at home, and may even give up doing so when they find it difficult to deal with their children (Grolnick, Benjet, Kurowski, & Apostoleris, 1997). It is, thus, not surprising that general situations of HPI for children with LD could be more difficult than those of their peers without LD. Although research on parental involvement in children with LD is scarce, limited existing studies have suggested that general situations of HPI differ negatively from those of children without LD. For instance, having a child with LD may result in conflicts in parent–child relationships (Amerongen & Mishna, 2004). Children with disabilities may

appear to require more help from their parents compared to their peers without disabilities (Ferrel, 2012). Compared to families without disabled children, parents who have disabled children<sup>1</sup> were found to be less engaged in their children's schooling because (a) they felt less efficacious in doing so, (b) their time and knowledge were limited, and (c) they felt less welcome and received less support from school (Rogers, Wiener, Marton, & Tannock, 2009). The present paper attempted to shed light on present situations of home-based involvement in children with LD, which seem to be different from those of children without LD. Specifically, we highlighted the differentiation between the quantity and qualities of HPI. The distinction between parental structure and control was used to operationally define the qualities of HPI. As a starting point, we were interested in factors that may contribute to the quantity and qualities of home-based involvement. The role of school setting for special educational needs in shaping parental involvement was also taken into consideration as a secondary issue.

#### 1.1. Defining learning disabilities in the German context

The concept of LD has been defined in a variety of ways, depending on the country providing the definition. According to the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision (ICD-10) version 2015, LD can be described as "specific developmental disorders of scholastic skills." There are three main types of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This study referred to children with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD).

specific disability of scholastic skills, including (a) reading disability, (b) spelling disability, and (c) arithmetic disability (World Health Organization, 2015). Basically, LD children perform academically lower than one may expect at their academic age (Büttner & Hasselhorn, 2011).

The current research was conducted in the German context. The term LD taps into "special educational needs<sup>2</sup> in the area of learning" (SEN-L<sup>3</sup>). This refers to "[c]hildren who cannot or only partially reach the goals and content of the curricula of regular school because the relation between the individual and the environment is permanently or temporarily difficult" (Drave, Rumpler, & Wachtel, 2000, p. 300). Most notably, students with SEN-L are the majority (41%) of learners with special educational needs in Germany (see Klemm, 2013, for statistical report).

In Germany, an intelligence quotient (IQ) of below 85 (but above 70) is considered to be a main criterion for identifying children with SEN-L (Grünke, 2004). Yet, it must be noted that children who have three specific types of LD defined by ICD-10 (i.e., reading, spelling, and arithmetical disabilities) are not necessarily identified as children with SEN-L in Germany (Büttner & Hasselhorn, 2011). That is, simply stating, a child with arithmetical disability may not need to be identified as SEN-L as long as his/her IQ is above 85. All 16 federal states of Germany (in German: Bundesländer) have established their own procedures for identifying children with SEN-L (see Schädler & Dorrance, 2012, for an overview of the SEN-L assessment procedure in NRW; see also Schulministerium NRW, 2014, for the original legal texts on this issue).

In addition to this, it must be noted that diagnostic instruments for assessing SEN-L may vary from federal state to federal state. In most cases, a child's intelligence is assessed by using the Culture Fair Intelligence Test (CFT; Cattell, Weiß, & Osterland, 1997). A child's writing performance is often assessed by using the Hamburg Writing Probe (HSP; May, 2010), and the Reading Comprehension Test for 1st- to 6th-Grader (ELFE 1–6; Lenhard & Schneider, 2006) is usually used for assessing a child's reading performance.

1.2. Quantity and qualities of home-based parental involvement: definitions and consequences

In past research, parental involvement often has been assessed in terms of the quantity or "the amount" of involvement. This concerns the question of *how often* parents take part in a wide range of the child's school-related activities (e.g., Eamon, 2005; Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007; Shumow & Lomax, 2002; Shumow & Miller, 2001). However, several researchers have argued that children may not benefit in terms of learning progress from the amount of time parents are engaged, but rather by the ways in which parents interact with their children (e.g., Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack, 2007; Wild & Lorenz, 2010). Accordingly, research on qualities of HPI has received more attention in the last few years. In term of qualities of HPI, the question of *how* parents help their children in learning situations at home becomes important.

To operationally define qualities of HPI, the present study took the perspective of self-determination theory (SDT), an approach to human motivation and well-being (see Deci & Ryan, 2000, for a theoretical overview). The SDT framework has highlighted the role of parents in *satisfying* the child's three basic needs—need for autonomy, relatedness, and competence. That is, when parents are more likely to fulfill the child's basic needs, the more likely the child is to internalize societal values—values that might not be enjoyable, but nonetheless are socially

prescribed (e.g., completing homework, solving school tasks)—into his or her personally relevant behavior. In turn, the process of internalization fosters the child's performance as well as positive development outcomes in terms of psychological health and well-being. In contrast, the more parents *frustrate* the child's basic needs, the more likely the child's positive development will be impaired (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Grolnick, 2009).

On the basis of SDT, past research has proposed three dimensions of parenting that may contribute to need satisfaction and thwarting. There is a positive and negative pole in each parenting dimension. The three dimensions include (a) autonomy-supportive versus controlling parenting (e.g., Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010; Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013), (b) warm/responsive versus cold/indifferent parenting (e.g., Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991), and (c) structure versus chaos (e.g., Farkas & Grolnick, 2010) (see also Grolnick, 2009; Joussemet, Landry, & Koestner, 2008, for an overview of SDT perspective on parenting).

As (a) the relationship between parents and their children with LD has been said to be more difficult than that of parents and children without LD (e.g., Amerongen & Mishna, 2004; Rogers et al., 2009) and (b) a learning environment for LD children seems to be generally delivered in a more controlling manner compared to that of their peers without LD (e.g., Grolnick & Ryan, 1990), the current paper emphasized on parental control in particular. In the SDT literature, there has been, in recent years, much debate on multiple forms of parental control. Most notably, it has been argued that parental control can have two different meanings: negative and positive aspects of control. The negative aspect of parental control refers to pressuring and domineering parenting (i.e., pressurizing the child to do, think, feel, or behave in particular ways; Grolnick, 2009). This type of parenting would frustrate a child's needs for autonomy and competence. As for the positive aspect, parental control can also be defined as parents' provision of structure, which is at the same time supposed to be another separate dimension of parenting (structure versus chaos). In fact, the issue of parental structure has received less attention by SDT researchers compared to other parenting dimensions (Farkas & Grolnick, 2010; Grolnick, 2009).

From an SDT perspective of parenting, parents' provision of structure should support a child's competence (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). In the parenting literature, it has been documented that parental structure contains several features. Some of these features are more proximally related to satisfaction of the need for competence than others. On the one hand, parental structure is defined as the extent to which parents provide their child with clear expectations and rules. One the other hand, parental structure also refers to parents' provision of competence-relevant feedback as well as parents' provision of support to their child when he/she engages in a task. Most importantly, parental structure could be either implemented in a more autonomy-supportive or rather controlling manner. Compared to a controlling manner of parental structure, an autonomy-supportive manner of parental structure is more beneficial to a child. Because, this feature of structure is more likely to increase child's experience of autonomy (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009; Grolnick, Raftery-Helmer, Marbell, Flamm, Cardemil, & Sanchez, 2014; Reeve, 2002; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010).

To shed light on the current debate about the multiple forms of parental control, we operationally characterized qualities of HPI by particularly focusing on the distinction between controlling and structuring parental instruction at home. Specifically, we emphasized on parents' provision of structure in terms of help and positive feedback.

Earlier studies have revealed mixed results for consequences of the quantity and qualities of HPI. In general, the amount of parental involvement—including both types of school-based and home-based involvement—has been found to be associated with the child's achievement and school success (e.g., Eamon, 2005; Shumow & Lomax, 2002; Shumow & Miller, 2001; see also Fan & Chen, 2001; Hill & Tyson, 2009, for meta-analyses). According to consequences of qualities of HPI, there is evidence that a higher degree of parents' provision of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since 1994, the conference of the German Ministers of Education (KMK, 1994) has classified pupils with SEN into nine areas, namely, (1) learning, (2) blind, (3) deaf, (4) language disorder, (5) physical disabilities, (6) cognitive development, (7) emotional and social development, (8), ill/sick children, and (9) multiple disabilities. Overall, a recent survey has found that 6% of German students are labeled as having special educational needs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In German: sonderpädagogischer Förderbedarf mit dem Schwerpunkt Lernen.

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