Adolescent homework management strategies and perceptions of parental involvement.

Nathalie Oubrayrie-Roussel
University of Toulouse 2
Toulouse, France

Claire Safont-Mottay
University of Toulouse 2
Toulouse, France

Throughout adolescence, the school, family and peer group can play an influential role in a young person's psychological development and adjustment to school. This study focuses on the importance of the family during the adolescent period as it applies to developmental opportunities and the self-regulation necessary for the acquisition of psychological autonomy and new skills. How do adolescents perceive parental involvement? Does this parental support meet their need for autonomy and help adolescents acquire the necessary academic skills? This study examines the way in which French adolescents perceive the topic of homework and the interest their families show in it. Research is based on the parental involvement models of Epstein (2001) and Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995), which focused on parental practices of monitoring schoolwork. These practices reflected the overall roles, involvement, and support of parents in their adolescent's education. On a voluntary basis, 504 adolescents aged 12–15 responded to a questionnaire, with questions adapted from the 'Child perceptions of parent's structuring and activities related to homework' (Cooper et al., 1998). The results of this study show that the perceived involvement and efficacy of parents have an effect on adolescents' self-regulation strategies. This parental interest, then, is implicitly passed on to the adolescent by way of parental homework assistance.

Keywords: Parental involvement, Homework management strategies, Adolescence, Self-regulation, Schoolwork monitoring.

International literature provides unequivocal evidence of the importance of parental involvement in a child's education and academic career (Epstein, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler & Burow, 1995; Deslandes & Bertrand, 2005). Through educational strategies which then translate into educational practices, the family aims to mould the personality of a child, thereby preparing him or her to acquire a certain social level and professional status, and to build his or her moral references and values (Kellerhals & Montandon, 1991; Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Parental involvement in a child's homework is in itself a specific educational parental practice which is meant to further learning by encouraging the development of abilities and the improvement of learned skills (Deslandes, 2007). Such involvement reflects both the parents' investment in their child's academic career and the roles and presence they assume in their child's education. In this area of research, many studies are based on the parental involvement studies of Epstein (Epstein & Sanders, 2002) and Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler (1997).

Multiple studies have examined children's perceptions of their parents' educational practices (Schaefer, 1965; Baumrind, 1971, Maccoby & Martin, 1983, Steinberg et al., 1992, Darling, 1999). In the French-speaking context, interest in this question has arisen only relatively recently (e.g., Durning & Fortin, 2000).

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Nathalie Oubrayrie-Roussel, e-mail: oubrayri@univ-tlse2.fr

These studies posit that the consideration of children's perceptions of family education could constitute an important link for understanding the relationship between educational practices and intellectual and academic performance in children and adolescents (Desmet & Pourtois, 1993; Montandon & Osiek, 1997; Durning & Fortin, 2000; Safont-Mottay & Lescarret, 2008). From this interactionist perspective, the child is an actor who modifies his or her environment by interacting with it. This relative autonomy of the actor is recognized through his or her representations and strategies and the meaning he or she attaches to his or her actions and projects. Great importance is given to institutional and cultural contexts (Wallon, 1954/1959; Bruner, 1996), the social-interactionist perspective of which deems these influences neither mechanical nor universal, but rather reinterpreted by the actor through his representations and strategies.

From an interactionist approach, the goal is to focus upon the loss of balance which tends to occur during certain life cycle periods. The chosen period is that of the beginning of secondary school, a moment of transition before a new academic period with new expectations and demands. From the outset, integrating into secondary school is no easy task for a young person, as it requires a new kind of adaptation to academics, both in terms of attitudes and behaviours.

The current study seeks to better understand adolescents' representations of the parental involvement they perceive in their homework. What are the repercussions of the adolescent's representations of parental homework assistance on his or her own behaviours? This is the central question of this study.

The hypothesis here is that family education exercises a decisive influence upon learning and school, as well as upon a child's investment in academics. Therefore, it is essential to examine the relationships between the representations of parental educational practices held by adolescents and the strategies these young people claim to employ when doing their homework. In order to explore these areas, an acknowledgment must be made of the diversity of family structures (traditional and non-traditional families) and the educational experiences and realities associated with them. In this context, a traditional family is defined as a family composed of two parents, and a non-traditional family as a family where the presence of two adult parents (father and/or mother) is lacking.

Theoretical context and research questions

Today's adolescents are not only expected to be fully engaged while in class, but also to continue their school day at home within the family setting. 'Homework' refers to tasks assigned to students by teachers, which are completed by the students outside of school (Cooper, Lindsay, Nye & Greathouse, 1998; Cooper, 2001). This after-school work inevitably implicates the involvement of parents.

Parental involvement in monitoring homework refers to the specific interactions between parents and their children during learning activities. This involvement may take on a variety of forms, such as furnishing a physically and psychologically structured environment, encouraging autonomy, offering direct help, etc. (Cooper et al., 2000; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). Using the parental involvement model of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995) as a reference, four dimensions of involvement can be found: the parental role construction, the parental efficacy for helping the student succeed, the parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement from children and adolescents, and the parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement from teachers.

Homework is a complex domain in which a multitude of factors come into play, such as the characteristics and resources of the students' families, the practices of the teachers and the parents, the subject being taught, the academic level, the teaching degrees and cycles, etc. (Cooper et al., 2000). A point of intersection between families and school (Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler & Burow, 1995; Corno, 1996; Glasman & Besson, 2004), homework can also be a source of difficulties and tension for parents in their relationships with their children (Cooper, 2001; Xu & Corno, 2003; Deslandes, 2009). Parents of children with academic difficulties find themselves particularly affected and confronted with their own difficulties in helping their child. Empirical studies describe the excessive load that homework represents, especially for non-traditional families, families with two parents working outside of the home, and families of children experiencing difficulties (Cooper, Lindsay, & Nye, 2000; Epstein, 2001). In families where the parents themselves have a limited education, homework

becomes a difficult challenge for both the children and the parents. Nevertheless, some authors are convinced of the usefulness of homework since, were these assignment not to exist at all, school would seem even more impenetrable to working-class families (Thin, 2008). Homework makes it possible for such families to see the serious nature of academic learning as compared to pedagogical activities which are more recreational and removed from knowledge accumulation (Symeou, 2009).

Contrary to lessons carried out under the watch of a teacher, homework requires an autonomous mode of functioning, as the student in question must find in him or herself the necessary resources to engage in the lesson, resist distractions and adapt his or her behaviour to the situation at hand, especially when difficulties arise. In an effort to comprehend certain elements of academic mobilisation, the strategies of self-regulation as identified by Xu and Corno (2003) are a helpful point of reference, relating to the practices which students claim to use while doing their homework. These practices aid students in becoming responsible for their own learning, finding in themselves the necessary resources to begin and finish their homework, and regulating their effort and degree of involvement in schoolwork done at home. In their studies, Xu and Corno (2003; 2006) demonstrated the important role which parental participation can play in the development of these homework management strategies. Considering that very few studies in France have investigated this topic, we have chosen to examine the representations of parental involvement in the monitoring of homework in adolescents between the ages of 12 and 15, as well as on the strategies these young people claim to employ while doing their homework.

More specifically, we have chosen to consider the case of adolescents starting secondary school. This age group was chosen due to the multiple upheavals—psychological, relational and identity-based—which are typical during this period due to the great amount of re-organization which tends to take place within the overall school experience. We also deem it paramount to consider to the adolescents' personal comments concerning how they perceive their parents' involvement in their school career. In this way, students develop their representation of social reality, create their response to academic demands and give meaning to their schooling in terms of the norms and values to which they adhere, but also in reaction to their parents' educational practices towards them, in terms of parental attitudes towards work, knowledge and practices, whether or not transmitted by experience. Therefore, the family plays a determining role in the young person's learning and socio-cultural knowledge, by way of its educational practices which are more or less effective at developing successful academic strategies. It is not so much the direct assistance of parents with academic activities which has the greatest influence on children's results, but rather the attitudes held by parents within the family and towards school. Thus, our research question is: Depending on the family structure, and in response to varying forms of parental involvement, which strategies of self-regulation do adolescents put into place?

This research is a follow-up on the few French studies which have attempted to illuminate the understanding of students' homework management and the difficulties they face.

Method

Participants

The study sample was composed of 504 adolescents, 244 boys and 260 girls, between the ages of 12 and 15: 150 students in the first year of secondary school (78 girls and 72 boys, mean age = 12), 165 in the second year of secondary school (78 girls and 87 boys, mean age = 13), 124 in the fourth year of secondary school (69 girls and 55 boys, mean age = 14), and 65 in the third year of secondary school (35 girls and 30 boys, mean age = 15). Of these participants, 95 came from non-traditional families and 409 from traditional families.

Procedure

The participants were recruited from public secondary schools in south-western France and participated in the study on a voluntary basis and with the permission of their parents. The adolescents completed questionnaires during a group session held during regular class hours.

Measures

The French-language versions of the questionnaires were validated in Quebec by Deslandes & Bertrand (2005). During an earlier stage of research in France, a verification and cross-cultural adaptation of the French-Canadian questionnaires were carried out with the

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Samples (%)

		Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4
		N (%)	*N (%)*	*N (%)*	*N (%)*
Child Gender	Female	78 (52)	78 (47.27)	69 (55.65)	35 (53.85)
	Male	72 (48)	87 (52.72)	55 (44.35)	30 (46.16)
Family Structure	Traditional	120 (80)	138 (83.63)	101 (81.46)	50 (76.92)
	Non-traditional	30 (20)	27 (16.37)	23 (18.54)	15 (23.08)
Student Achievement Level	In difficulty	50 (33)	65 (39.6)	58 (46.8)	21 (32.3)
	Successful	100 (67)	99 (60.4)	66 (53.2)	44 (67.7)

participation of students, parents and teachers (Oubrayrie-Roussel & Safont-Mottay, 2008; Bardou et al., 2010). The responses to the statements were presented in the form of a 5-point scale: 1 = never, 5 = always. Parental involvement in adolescents' schoolwork was measured using three existing scales.

The 'Child perceptions of parent's structuring and activities related to homework', which was adapted from Hoover, Dempsey, Bassler, & Burow's (1995) *Thinking about my Homework*, was the first scale. The statements describe what parents do when they involve themselves in their children's homework: assist the student, check the student's homework performance, ask the student what work needs to be done, and remind the student of the importance of homework. This instrument reflects the perception that adolescents hold of these types of parental involvement. The validation of the scale by our sample of young people highlighted 15 items (α = .85), such as *One of my parents asks me about my homework*.

The feeling of parental efficacy in providing homework assistance was measured using an adaptation of a scale developed by Hoover-Dempsey, Reed, Jones, Walker, & Barreno (1999) and Deslandes, & Bertrand (2005). The four initial statements refer to the perception adolescents have of their mother's and father's abilities to assist them in doing their homework. The validation of the scale highlights only two negative items (α =.63), such as *My mother, my father has difficulty helping me with my homework*.

Homework management strategies were measured using an adaptation of Xu & Corno's (2003) *Features of Homework Strategies*. This work brought to light five strategies of self-regulation: arranging environment, managing time, handling distraction, monitoring motivation, and controlling emotion. The validations which were carried out highlighted 19 of the 23 initial items, distributed in the following manner for each category and strategy. Six items (α = .80) dealt with strategies of handling distraction, such as *When working on my homework, I often stop to do something else* (inverted item). These are considered strategies of protection against distraction which make it possible to combat boredom and remain concentrated.

In terms of monitoring motivation (self-motivation), four items stood out (α = .77), such as *I usually look forward to doing my homework and tell myself that I am capable of doing it*. The function of these strategies is to find reasons to keep working, with the strategy perhaps being, as in the preceding statement, to keep a positive attitude, thus bolstering the feeling of personal efficacy.

Three items (α = .61) dealt with *managing time*, such as *When doing my homework, I tend to set priorities and plan in advance*. These strategies of work planning make it possible, not only to choose the best time, but also the necessary amount of time, to complete homework.

Concerning the strategy of arranging environment, three items (α = .66) stood out, among them, *I usually find a quiet, peaceful place in which to do my homework*. By changing the layout or modifying characteristics of the homework area (turning off the television, going to a different room, tidying up the desk), the control of the environment indirectly acts upon the student's efforts by intervening in the context of learning.

Among the strategies of controlling emotion, three items (α =.55) were highlighted, including *When working on my homework, I tend to phone my friends for assistance*. These strategies aim to calm the tension that arises when one is alone and confronted with difficulty. A variety of actions can help evacuate this stress, such as relaxing or seeking out support from others; this last action stems from a specific form of emotional regulation dealing with social interaction.

Results

First of all, so as to retain the principal effects of these combined variables, an analysis was carried out of the differences in mean scores for the strategies according to family structure. The comparisons of the mean scores revealed only two significant differences for the strategies of handling distraction, t (502) = 2.17; p < .04, and arranging environment t (502) = 2.24; p < .03,

with adolescents living in a so-called traditional family with two parents being at an advantage.

Correlational analysis

The five self-regulation strategies were significantly correlated (p < .01) with the perception of parental involvement. In descending order, the strategies were: controlling emotion (r = .45), monitoring motivation (r = .39), arranging environment (r = .41), managing time (r = .29), and handling distraction (r = .25). Only two strategies were significantly correlated with the perception of parental efficacy in assisting the adolescent: monitoring motivation (r = .11, p < .05), and handling distraction (r = .18, p < .01).

Multivariate analysis

Multivariate analyses were carried out using SPSS with the objective of analysing the combined influence (MANCOVA) of the perception of parental involvement and parental efficacy in assisting with homework on strategies of self-regulation. These analyses did not reveal main effects of either the gender variable or the family structure variable. The strategies of controlling emotion were influenced by parental involvement combined with the perception of a feeling of efficacy in assisting the young person (R^2 = .103; F = 57.70; p < .000).

Table 2

Means of Self-regulation Strategies According to Family Structure

Strategies	Family structure	N	M	SD	t	P <
Handling Distraction	Non-traditional	95	19.65	6.043	3.7	.000
	Traditional	409	21.74	5.118		
Monitoring Motivation	Non-traditional	95	12.07	3.846	2.09	NS
	Traditional	409	13.09	3.791		
Arranging Environment	Non-traditional	95	9.12	3.654	1.23	NS
	Traditional	409	9.47	3.149		
Controlling Emotion	Non-traditional	95	8.13	2.530	2.39	.017
	Traditional	409	8.85	2.454		
Managing Time	Non-traditional	95	9.31	3.300	1.62	NS
	Traditional	409	9.94	3.226		

The strategies of monitoring motivation were influenced both by the adolescents' perception of parental involvement and by the perception of a feeling of parental efficacy in offering assistance ($R^2 = .11$; $F = 61.56$; $p < .000$). High parental involvement is therefore associated with an appreciation by the adolescent of the parents' efficacy in offering assistance, which in turn facilitates the establishment of strategies aiming to undergird the feeling of personal efficacy.

Concerning the adolescents' strategies for handling distraction, a combined influence was observed of parental involvement and a feeling of efficacy in relation to these strategies ($R^2 = .079$; $F = 43.08$; $p < .000$). However, on a more cognitive level, the strategies of managing time were influenced in a combined manner by the perceived parental involvement in homework and the perceived feeling of efficacy ($R^2 = .064$; $F = 34.15$; $p < .000$). As far as the strategies of arranging environment were concerned, a combined effect was noted between parental involvement and the perceived feeling of parental efficacy on these strategies ($R^2 = 18$; $F = 111.02$; $p < .000$). Between the ages of 12 and 15, behavioural autonomy increases as the young person becomes more able to manage the organisation of his or her space, therefore necessitating less parental assistance.

Discussion

The strategies of self-regulation were all encouraged by a high level of family involvement and a perceived parental efficacy where helping with homework was concerned. However, the study results demonstrated that the strategies of arranging environment, monitoring motivation and controlling emotion were especially influenced by the combined effect of parental involvement and perceived parental efficacy. This configuration of strategies concurs with the typology of Corno (2001), which is structured around, on the one hand, the regulation of internal processes and, on the other hand, the regulation of external processes. The former deals with attention, motivation and emotion, while the latter deals with control over one's environment. The three strategies of motivational regulation and emotional regulation, underlined in this study, are complementary. Thus, the strategies of control over one's environment are not limited to remaining concentrated by preventing distractions from surfacing, but also function by creating an emotional climate which encourages the completion of homework. Furthermore, the results of this study highlighted the role that parents can play in accessing these types of strategies. In the French context, as with Xu and Corno (2003; 2006), the importance of parental involvement in completing homework is clear.

In France, due to a lack of true co-ordination among teachers of the same group of students, adolescents seem confronted with a heavy workload, heavier than in Quebec, for example (Safont-Mottay, Oubrayrie-Roussel, Deslandes & Rousseau, 2008). This fact underlines the importance of parental support and supervision in the completion of homework. This parental support seems to be maintained throughout the first part of secondary school, contrary to studies carried out in France by Thin (2008), showing a more removed parental posture as a child moves ahead in his or her school career. The current study underlines just how important adolescents consider the attention their parents give them rather than the actual ability of their parents to assist them in completing their homework. Even though a young person often has the feeling of being lost in unknown and confusing territory, parental supervision still proves very important. According to this study's findings, it can be concluded that parents are perceived positively by young people as guardians of the adolescent's best interests and potentialities, able to follow the young person's evolution throughout his or her school career.

In addition, the establishment of self-regulation strategies by means of parental involvement must be analysed through the eyes of secondary school students, whose school career has begun in earnest and who are especially interested in acquiring their independence. It is paramount to recognize the historicity and the specific nature of each individual's environment upon implementing and explaining these behaviours. Furthermore, adolescents appear to attach special importance to parental support and parents' appreciation of completed schoolwork; such support helps the young person remain academically motivated and mobilized at school.

In fact, it seems important to make sensitive adolescents in the importance of the communication with their parents about school but also by questioning earlier in the academic career their school mobilization, conceived as a process in co-construction, elaborating from their involvement in the schoolwork and their report at the school and at the knowledge.

References

Baumrind, D. (1991). The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 11(1), 56–95.

Bardou, E., Deslandes, R., Rousseau, M., Oubrayrie-Roussel, N. & Safont-Mottay, C. (2010, in press). Facteurs prédictifs de l'engagement parental dans l'accompagnement aux devoirs et leçons des adolescents: une étude comparative France–Québec. *Pratiques Psychologiques*. 16.

Bruner, J. (1996). *The culture of education*, Harvard Univ. Press.

Cooper, H., Lindsay, J. J., Nye, B., & Greathouse, S. (1998). Relationships between attitudesabout homework, the amount of homework assigned and completed, and student achievement, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 90, 70–83.

Cooper, H., Lindsay, J. J., & Nye, B. (2000). Homework in the home: How student, familyand parenting style differences relate to the homework process. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 25, 464–487.

Cooper, H. (2001). *The battle over homework. Common ground for administrators, teachers, and parents*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Corno, L. (1996). Homework is a complicated thing, *Educational Researcher*, 25, 27–30.

Corno, L. (2001). Work habits and work styles: volition in education. *Teachers College Record,* 106, 1669–1694.

Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting styles as context: an integrative model. Psychological Bulletin 113 (3), 487–496. Reprinted as: Darling & Steinberg (2007). *Parenting style as context: An integrative model.* In B. Laursen & R. Zukauskiene (Eds). International Library of Psychology: Interpersonal Development. Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishers.

Darling, N. (March, 1999). Parenting style and its correlates. ERIC Digest EDO-PS-99-3.

Deslandes, R., & Bertrand, R. (2005). Parent involvement in schooling at the secondary level: Examination of the motivations, *The Journal of Educational Research*, 9 (8), 164–175.

Deslandes, R. (2009). *International Perspectives on Student Outcomes and Homework: family-school-community parternships*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Cloutier, R., & Deslandes, R. (2005). Pratiques parentales et réussite scolaire en fonction de la structure familiale et du genre des adolescents. *Revue française de pédagogie*, vol. 151, (1), 61–74.

Deslandes, R. (2007). Rôle de la famille, liens école-famille et résilience scolaire. In J. P. Pourtois, B. Cyrulnik, & P. Duval (Eds.). *École et résilience*, (pp. 270–295),Paris: Odile Jacob.

Desmet, H., & Pourtois, J.P. (1993*). Prédire, comprendre la trajectoire scolaire*. Paris: PUF.

Durning, P., & Fortin, A. (2000). Les pratiques éducatives parentales vues par les enfants. *Enfance*, 52, 375–391.

Epstein, J. L. (2001). *School, family, and community partnerships: Preparing educators and improving schools*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

Epstein, J. L., Sanders, M. G., Simon, B. S., Salinas, K. C., Jansorn, N. R., & Van Voorhis, F.L. (2002). *School, family, and community partnerships: Your handbook for action (2nd éd.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Glasman, D. (2009). Parents and children's homework in France. In R. Deslandes (Ed.) *International perspectives on student outcomes and homework. Family-school-community partnerships*, (pp. 95–109), New York and London: Routledge.

Glasman, D., & Besson, L. (2004). Le *travail des élèves pour l'école en dehors de l'école*. Haut Conseil de l'Évaluation de l'École, Paris.

Grolnick, W. S., & Ryan, R. M. (1989). Parent styles associated with children's self-regulation and competence in school, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 81, 143–154.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Bassler, O. C., & Burow, R. (1995). Parents' reported involvement in students' homework: Strategies and practices, *Elementary School Journal*, 95, 435–450.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1995). Parental involvement in children's education: Why does it make a difference*?, Teachers College Record*, 95 (5), 310–331.

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

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Battiato, A. C., Walker, J. M. T., Reed, R. P., DeJong, J. M., & Jones, K. P. (2001). Parental involvement in homework. *Educational Psychologist*, 36, 195–210.

Kellerhals, J., & Montandon, C. (1991*). Les stratégies éducatives des familles*. Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé.

Maccoby, E.E., & Martin, J. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interaction. In E.M. Hetherington (Ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology, 4: Socialization, personality, and social development* (pp. 1–101). New York: Wiley.

Montandon, C., & Osiek, F. (1997). L'éducation du point de vue des enfants: un peu blessé   au   fond   du cœur. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Oubrayrie-Roussel, N., & Safont-Mottay, C. (2008). Stratégies des parents français utilisés   dans l'aide aux devoirs. In R. Deslandes (Ed.), *La collaboration de l'école, de la famille et de la communauté à l'apprentissage*, 75th Congress of the ACFAS   (Association Francophone pour le Savoir) "L'esprit en Mouvement", Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 7–11 May 2007. *Cahiers Scientifiques* de l'ACFAS 109,   (pp.11–29), Montréal: ACFAS.

Safont-Mottay, C., & Lescarret, O. (2008). Education familiale et mobilisation scolaire des adolescents en milieu défavorisé. In G. Pithon, C. Philip-Asdhi, & S. Larivée (Eds*.), Construire une "communauté éducative". Un partenariat famille-école-association* (pp. 91–110). Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Safont-Mottay, C., Oubrayrie-Roussel, N., Rousseau, M., & Deslandes, R. (2008). Parents and Homework at the Secondary Level in France and in Quebec. Roundtable: Partnerships for Secondary Students: Navigating the Worlds of School, family, and Community. Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, (AERA) New York, 24–28 March 2008.

Schaefer, E.S., (1965). A configuration analysis of children's report of parental behavior. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 29, 552–557.

Steinberg, L., Lamborn, S. D., Dornbusch, S. M., & Darling, N. (1992). Impact of parenting practices on adolescent achievement: Authoritative parenting, school involvement, and encouragement to succeed. *Child Development*, 63, 1266–1281.

Symeou, L. (2009) Mind The Gap ! Greek-Cypriot Parents and Their Children's Homework. In R. Deslandes (Ed.), International Perspectives on Student Outcomes and Homework : family-school-community parternships. (pp.76-94). London: Taylor & Francis.

Thin, D. (2008). Les familles populaires face aux devoirs, *Cahiers pédagogiques*, 468, 23–24.

Walker, J. M., Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Reed, R. P., & Jones, K. P. (2000). Can you help me with my homework ?, *Paper presented at the symposium: Parental involvement in homework: What do we know and how do we really know it?*, Conference of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), Seattle, WA.

Wallon, H. (1954/1959). Les milieux, les groupes et la psychogénèse de l'enfant, Enfance, 3-4, 287-296.

Xu, J., & Corno, L. (2003). Family help and homework management reported by middle school students, The Elementary School Journal, 103(5), 503–536.