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The Role of Parental Beliefs and Practices in Children's Motivation in the Changing World

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Abstract

The role of parental involvement in their child's education and academic success has been widely acknowledged in recent educational theories, policies, and practices. Parental beliefs and expectations concerning their child's learning and success have been shown to be reflected in the parents' involvement in their child's education and their practices with their offspring, thereby shaping the child's motivational development in school. In addition, parental trust in their child's teacher is a key factor in enhancing the home-school partnership and in supporting a child's academic motivation and successful schooling. However, political, economic and technological changes in society and uncertainty about the future may present several challenges for raising children in the 21st century. The aim of this chapter is to present recent theories and empirical research focusing on the role of parental beliefs, expectations and trust in their child's teacher in supporting children's interest in learning, self-concept of ability, and achievement behaviors in the challenging and unpredictable future. We will also reflect on how the changing world and uncertainty in society may influence parental beliefs and expectations in their child's success.

Keywords: achievement behaviors, interest, motivation, parental beliefs, self-concept, trust

The Role of Parental Beliefs and Practices in Children's Motivation in the Changing World

Motivation and related achievement beliefs and behaviors play a pivotal role in shaping children's and adolescents' academic success and their future. The role of parental beliefs and practices in their child's education has been widely acknowledged in educational theories and empirical studies (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Hoover-Dempsey, Whitaker, & Ice, 2009; Pomerantz & Moorman, 2010). In recent years, policymakers have strongly emphasized parental involvement as a partnership between home and school, which acts as a mechanism for leveraging educational standards (Barr et al., 2012). Parents remain an influential driving force for their child's motivational development, although the child's environment expands to include peers and teachers when starting school. Parents have a strong effect on their children's schooling, especially in terms of encouragement and expectations that they transmit to their children concerning the importance of education (Cheung & Pomerantz, 2015). For example, authoritative parenting, a stimulating home environment, and positive parental beliefs, expectations, and support have been shown to foster children's motivation and engagement in school at all ages (Aunola, Nurmi, Lerkkanen, & Rasku-Puttonen, 2003; Virtanen, Lerkkanen, Poikkeus, & Kuorelahti, 2014). The role that parents play in their child's education, particularly in relation to the child's interest in academic learning, self-concept of ability, and achievement behaviors, is critical for the child's academic success (Eccles, Wigfield, & Schiefele, 1998). Consequently, parental involvement and beliefs require careful consideration in finding ways to enhance children's school motivation and engagement in the changing world and educational settings.

Parents can indirectly convey their values, for example, by having certain emphases, priorities, and beliefs regarding their children's abilities, schooling, and education in general. Parental involvement in their children's schooling includes parental beliefs, attitudes,

expectations, and interest in the child's education, as well as certain concrete practices at home, such as teaching and helping with homework (Dumont, Trautwein, Nagy, & Nagengast, 2014; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009). It is likely that parental beliefs concerning their child's abilities, motivation, and performance, for example, reflect on their practices with their offspring (Eccles et al., 1998). In addition, parental trust in their child's teacher can be expected to be reflected in their beliefs and practices with their child and discussions about the importance of school and the teacher's practices with their child.

Although the importance of parental beliefs for children's motivation has been demonstrated in several studies (for a review, see Lazarides, Harackiewicz, Canning, Pesu, & Viljaranta, 2015), the role of parental involvement and trust in the teacher has received less attention. Existing research on parental involvement has also been more heavily focused on its associations with student achievement, with less attention paid to the motivational domains of child development. Moreover, the recent societal, political, and economic changes in the world have presented new challenges for education and in raising children to face the unpredictable future and attain the skills needed in the 21st century. Consequently, the aim of the present chapter is to present recent educational theories and empirical research focusing on the role of parental beliefs, expectations, and trust in their child's teacher in supporting children's interest in learning, self-concept of ability, and achievement behaviors. Furthermore, the chapter aims to discuss the challenges that parents face as a result of the continuous societal, educational, and technological changes in the world.

Interest, Self-Concept of Ability, and Achievement Behaviors: Contemporary

Motivational Theories on the Role of Parents

In the present chapter, we focus on three motivational factors, namely academic interest (Hidi & Renninger, 2006; cf. task value or intrinsic motivation; Eccles et al., 1983; Nurmi & Aunola, 2005), self-concept of ability (Eccles et al., 1983; Nurmi & Aunola, 2005),

and the behavioral component of motivation, that is, achievement behaviors (Aunola et al., 2003; Onatsu-Arvilommi, Nurmi, & Aunola, 2002). By *interest*, we refer to a child's motivation in learning tasks or activities and their enjoyment with engaging in a certain task (Nurmi & Aunola, 2005). Previous studies have demonstrated that a high interest predicts favorable learning outcomes, such as good performance in mathematics (e.g., Aunola, Leskinen, & Nurmi, 2006; Viljaranta, Lerkkanen, Poikkeus, Aunola, & Nurmi, 2009) and reading (e.g., Ecalte, Magnan, & Gibert, 2006).

Self-concept of ability (Nurmi & Aunola, 2005) refers to individuals' perceptions and evaluations of their competence and abilities in general or in a particular subject area, such as math or reading (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Students who believe that they are capable and that they will be successful in accomplishing a certain task are much more likely to be motivated and invest effort in learning situations than those who do not believe in their abilities (Eccles et al., 1998). Having positive beliefs in one's own abilities and investing effort in learning are suggested to be linked to positive learning outcomes. The literature has also shown that a high self-concept of ability contributes to better subsequent academic achievement (Marsh, Trautwein, Lüdtke, Köller, & Baumert, 2005; for a review see Valentine, DuBois, & Cooper, 2004).

According to Nurmi and colleagues, *achievement behaviors*, refer to individuals' achievement-related beliefs and behaviors, which are manifested in a tendency to approach or avoid tasks when facing difficulties or challenges in learning (Aunola, Nurmi, Niemi, Lerkkanen, & Rasku-Puttonen, 2002; Onatsu-Arvilommi et al., 2002). Students form these achievement behaviors on the basis of their previous learning experiences and related feedback. Theoretically, positive self-concept and self-efficacy beliefs set up a basis for positive expectations for success, which typically lead to increased motivation, effort, and task-focused behavior in prospective learning situations. Task-focused (cf. task-persistent)

behaviors have been shown to predict students' high achievement in math (e.g., Hirvonen, Tolvanen, Aunola, & Nurmi, 2012; Mägi, Häidkind, & Kikas, 2010) and reading (e.g., Hirvonen, Georgiou, Lerkkanen, Aunola, & Nurmi, 2010), whereas task-avoidant behaviors have been shown to hamper the development of academic skills (e.g., Hirvonen et al., 2012; Onatsu-Arviolommi & Nurmi, 2000).

Contemporary motivational theories have suggested some mechanisms through which parental beliefs and practices shape their children's interests, self-concept of ability, and related achievement behaviors. First, *expectancy-value theory* by Eccles et al. (1998) has proposed that parents' general beliefs and behaviors (e.g., gender stereotypes, parenting styles, and practices) and individual child-related beliefs (e.g., expectations and beliefs concerning a child's ability and competence, perceptions of a child's interest) are important predictors of children's achievement-related beliefs (self-concept of ability), interests, and behaviors. According to expectancy-value theory, the linkages between parental beliefs and a child's achievement-related perceptions can be explained by direct or indirect mechanisms (Eccles et al., 1983; Simpkins, Fredricks, & Eccles, 2012). Parents can communicate their beliefs to their children directly by encouraging them to do better in school or by giving them positive feedback when they do well and work hard in school (Gniewosz, Eccles, & Noack, 2015). Furthermore, parents may communicate their beliefs and expectations indirectly in the way they behave with their children, such as when helping children with their homework (Gonida & Cortina, 2014; Viljaranta et al., 2018). These expectations are even stronger predictors of children's views of their abilities than their actual performance and skills (Gniewosz et al., 2015).

Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), in turn, highlights the importance of parental beliefs and behaviors that support children's feelings of competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Self-determination theory suggests that beliefs and behaviors that satisfy these

three innate psychological needs facilitate the development of students' intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000), which is theoretically related to the constructs of interest and task value (Eccles et al., 1983, 1998). Aunola and colleagues (2013), for instance, demonstrated that mothers' support for their children's sense of competence, autonomy, and relatedness, such as high ability expectations, warmth, responsiveness, and active encouragement for the child to try to finish his/her school tasks on his/her own, predicted their children's interest in math across the first school year. It can be suggested that if parents have positive beliefs about their child's abilities and performance, they promote their children's sense of competence and autonomy (Aunola et al., 2002).

Third, parents' and teachers' attitudes and behaviors, have been shown to be important determinants of students' interest and engagement in education (e.g., Hidi & Renninger, 2006). It can be suggested that a positive parent-teacher relationship helps a child feel confident in his/her abilities and be successful in school. This may be because it demonstrates to the child that s/he can trust the teacher since the parent does as well or because parents assign high value to school and teachers as school representatives. Parents' perceptions of a teacher might be communicated to the child in ways that enhance a child's engagement in the classroom (Powell, Son, File, & San Juan, 2010). When children perceive that their parents and teachers agree and are on the same side, it is easier for them to internalize the expectations and beliefs of parents and teachers. Furthermore, when children think that their needs are being met, and teachers and parents are trying to do their best in supporting their learning, they want to invest effort in learning and have favorable learning outcomes. Next, we will discuss two variables, namely *parental beliefs* and *parental trust* in their child's teacher, that may explain how parental involvement is related to a child's academic motivation and related achievement behaviors,

Parental Beliefs in Relation to Child's Motivation

The significance of parents' attitudes toward education and school is believed to comprise a key dimension of the relationship between parents and teachers (Eccles & Harold, 1996). Parents convey their attitudes about education and school to their children at home, and these attitudes are reflected in the child's classroom behavior and in the teacher's relationship with the child and the parents (Kellaghan, Sloane, Alvarez, & Bloom, 1993). Parents can indirectly convey their attitudes and values toward education, for example, by having certain emphases, priorities, and beliefs as well as in the way they talk about teachers, school, and education in general. Therefore, parents play a pivotal role in their children's motivation and in shaping their achievement-related perceptions and behaviors (e.g., Frome & Eccles, 1998; Pomerantz, Grolnick, & Price, 2005) as well as the development of their competence beliefs and subject-specific interests at school (e.g., Eccles et al., 1998). Parents can influence their children's academic achievement by fostering children's interests and activity choices via the environments they create, the experiences they provide in the home, and their specific parenting practices. For example, Silinskas and Kikas (2017) indicated that perceived parental support for the child is related to increased task persistence in homework situations. Furthermore, Viljaranta et al. (2018) showed that the more autonomy granting mothers reported in homework situations, the more task-persistent behavior children exhibited; and the more mothers helped their children without asking for help, the less task-persistent behavior was reported.

Parental beliefs have been shown to play an even stronger role in children's self-concept of ability development than their previous level of performance (e.g., Frome & Eccles, 1998; Gniewosz et al., 2015). In their model of parent socialization, Eccles et al. (1998) propose that the mechanism through which parents' beliefs and values influence their children's motivation is that parents transfer their values to their children through their

behaviors and the language they use concerning school. Therefore, parents might strongly support their children's achievement or undermine their development by having low expectations and lacking to encourage learning. Parents with low expectations of their children's success have been shown to express less encouragement (Bois, Sarrazin, Brustad, Chanal, & Trouilloud, 2005), and were found to be less involved in their children's educational process (Davis-Kean, 2005). For example, a study by Lerkkanen et al. (2010) compared three groups of children in terms of their motivation, parental achievement-related expectations and ability beliefs concerning their child, and the amount of parental teaching of reading at home from kindergarten to Grade 2. The three groups included a group of children at risk for reading difficulties (RD), a group of precocious readers who had learned to decode already in kindergarten, and a group of other children in the larger follow-up who were not early readers or had no RD risk (Lerkkanen et al. 2010). The results showed that the groups differed in the children's reading achievement and their motivation across all time points. Moreover, parents' expectations and beliefs were most positive among the group of precocious readers, and lowest among the group of children at risk for RD. Children at risk for RD also received the least amount of parental support or teaching of reading at home at kindergarten age.

A lack of parental support and encouragement may lead to a child's low self-concept of ability, low interest in schoolwork and task-avoidant behaviors when facing difficulties and challenges in learning. For example, Viljaranta et al. (2015) demonstrated that mothers' ability beliefs predicted the students' level of interest in mathematics, whereas fathers' ability beliefs were found to predict changes related to interest in mathematics across Grades 7 and 9. In addition, in a Finnish sample of first graders, parental beliefs in their children's general school competence increased children's task-focused behaviors at school, which further predicted the child's high level of math (Aunola et al., 2003) and reading performance

(Aunola et al., 2002). Aunola and colleagues (2002) further demonstrated in a longitudinal study that children's use of a task-focused achievement behavior increased parents' high beliefs in their children's general competence. Mägi and colleagues (2011) showed that children's task-avoidant behavior predicted mothers' subsequent beliefs about their children's school success but not vice versa, whereas a reciprocal effect was found between fathers' beliefs about success and children's task-avoidance (Mägi, Lerkkanen, Poikkeus, Rasku-Puttonen, & Nurmi, 2011).

Parental beliefs may provide a basis for their children's achievement behaviors in several ways. First, parental beliefs may be related to the way in which parents motivate their children and act, such as in homework situations (Gonida & Cortina, 2014; Lerkkanen et al., 2010; Viljaranta et al., 2018). For example, parents who think that their children are skilled and successful in accomplishing tasks may encourage their children to choose more challenging learning tasks, try to do things on their own, and work harder. This may then lead the children to invest extra effort and use task-persistent achievement behaviors in learning situations (Viljaranta et al., 2018). Second, parental beliefs about their children's competencies may influence the kind of feedback they give their children regarding performance. For example, parents who have positive beliefs and who are highly confident in their children's abilities may provide more positive feedback, whereby their child's sense of competence is enhanced (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Third, parental beliefs in their children's competence may be influential because children typically internalize the expectations of their parents (Eccles et al., 1998), at least when the relationship is warm and supportive. These children's perceptions of their own abilities may then influence the kind of achievement beliefs and behaviors they deploy when facing challenges in learning (Onatsu-Arvilommi & Nurmi, 2000). For example, Pesu et al. (2016) indicated that parents' beliefs about their

child's mathematical abilities in Grade 7 predicted a subsequent self-concept about math in Grade 9.

Parental Trust in the Teacher in Relation to Child's Motivation

Recently, the partnership between home and school has been recognized as an important mechanism for raising educational standards (Barr et al., 2012). The early school years, in particular, are the optimal period to promote the partnership between home and school, which may enhance a child's academic performance and motivation to learn (Galindo, & Sheldon, 2012; Tschannen-Moran, 2001). At the same time, the early school years are influential for development of children's self-concept of ability and domain-specific interest.

Kim et al. (2013) suggested that parent-teacher relationship quality may be one mechanism by which the benefits of parents' motivational beliefs are transmitted to children. One of the most important factors in facilitating parent-teacher partnerships and parents' involvement in their children's education is mutual *trust* between teachers and parents (Clarke, Sheridan, & Woods, 2000; Tschannen-Moran, 2001). Trust can be defined as a parent-teacher relationship whereby the persons involved act in a way that benefits or sustains the relationship, or supports the goals of the relationship, or creates positive outcomes for the child (Adams & Christenson, 2000; Tschannen-Moran, 2001).

The theory of trust (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985) consists of three progressing levels: predictability, dependability, and faith. Predictability refers to the reliability of the behavior and the stability of the emotional environment, wherein both the parents and the teacher behave as expected and are in agreement regarding relevant behavioral constraints. As trust progresses, it is seen as a personal attribute leading to dependability. At dependability level trust is placed on personal qualities rather than concrete behavior. The shift happens after the parents and the teacher demonstrate that their behavior is predictable and responsive to each other's needs. Finally, the faith level reflects an emotional security,

which goes beyond the available evidence or dispositional attributes. In trustful relations, both parents and teachers feel that their individual expertise and contributions are valued and respected (Clarke et al., 2000).

Previous research has shown that parent–teacher relationships have the most beneficial outcomes when they represent a true partnership, including two-way communication, mutual respect, and trust between parents and the teacher, as well as shared values and expectations concerning how to support the child (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 2000; Clarke et al., 2000; Galindo & Sheldon, 2012). However, while some parents and teachers have positive feelings and experiences concerning shared efforts and mutually valued achievements, other parents may experience relationships with teachers that include frustration, helplessness, conflicting perceptions, and misunderstandings. From the parents' perspective, different school practices, values and cultural beliefs related to the teacher's position and teaching practices may prevent trustful relationships between parents and teachers (Keyes, 2002). Moreover, parents' disdain of education, school or the teacher's role in their child's life and learning of future skills and competences may be one of the challenges derived from today's uncertainty and rapidly changing world.

At the beginning of the school career, parental trust in teachers is built up through parent–teacher interactions and is, therefore, dependent on each parent's and teacher's characteristics and behaviors exhibited in collaborative situations. For example, Lerkkanen et al. (2013) showed that mothers with a high level of education trusted their children's teachers more than mothers with a low level of education. It might be that the higher educated mothers had more positive experiences with teachers during their own school careers, which might have influenced their trust and positive beliefs in their child's teacher as well. It is also possible that teachers interact differently with parents with different educational background.

However, some research has demonstrated that teacher practices and classroom behavior are more important than parents' characteristics (e.g., education level) in getting families involved at school (e.g., Rimm-Kaufman, Pianta, Cox, & Bradley, 2003). Parents learn about a teacher's classroom behavior through their child's feedback and, for example, when helping their child with homework (e.g., Fantuzzo, McWayne, Perry, & Childs, 2004). Lerkkanen and colleagues (2013) showed that mothers trusted more those teachers who deployed more child-centered practices in observed classroom situations than teacher-directed practices. This might reflect the teacher's general style of emphasizing respect, cooperation, shared responsibility, and negotiation of conflicts toward the achievement of shared goals of the family and school. Teachers who emphasize child-centered practices usually create more structure within their teaching environment in order to facilitate learning and encourage children to explore new objects. However, they also offer experiences that enhance children's self-esteem, motivation, and positive attitude toward learning (Lerkkanen et al., 2013). A child's positive experiences and confidence in the teacher may also raise the mother's trust in the teacher.

Parental involvement and trust have been shown to be positively associated with child outcomes (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 2000; Galindo & Sheldon, 2012; Reynolds & Shlafer, 2010). When parents participate in their children's education, both at home and at school, and experience relationships with teachers characterized by mutuality, warmth, and respect, students have higher achievement, demonstrate increased achievement motivation, and show higher levels of emotional, social, and behavioral adjustment (e.g., Fan & Chen, 2001; Kim et al., 2013; Powell et al., 2010). However, the existing research has been less focused on how parental trust might affect the development of children's motivational factors. For example, Hughes and Kwok (2007) indicated that the quality of the parent–teacher relationship in the first grade predicted the child's subsequent achievement indirectly

via his/her classroom engagement. In a Finnish sample, Lerkkanen and Pakarinen (2016) showed that higher maternal trust in their child's teacher promoted the child's interest in math across Grades 1 and 4, whereas a child's higher interest in math and reading increased fathers' trust in the teacher. The results may suggest that when mothers talk about their child's teacher and school generally in a positive way, children's interest in learning increases, whereas fathers' trust in their child's teacher increases when they see that their children are eager to invest effort in learning and enjoy doing academic tasks. More research is needed to investigate the specific mechanisms through which home-school collaboration and parental trust are conveyed to children's higher learning motivation and academic outcomes.

Challenges for Parents in the Changing World

Global changes in societal, political, economic, and technological fields influence parenting and schools as well as the future of children. For example, the typical decline in school motivation after the first school years and the prevalence of students dropping out of school have increased societal and political concerns for the future of millions of children and adolescents worldwide (European Commission, 2011; World Bank, 2018). Most do well but still a marginal group of young people drop out from education and society, despite all the efforts in educational policymaking and practices. This early school leaving has an impact on individuals, societies, and economies. Since there is no single reason for leaving education and alienating oneself from society, there are no easy answers to the problem either. The reasons why some children or adolescents give up education are often individual, and include learning difficulties, social problems, a lack of engagement (e.g., low motivation, negative self-concept of ability, etc.), a lack of support in school and society, and a lack of parental support and help (European Commission, 2010).

There is also a need to prepare children and adolescents together with their parents to meet the challenges of the 21st century by modernizing educational systems to ensure high quality and to motivate education at all levels. However, besides the unknown and unpredictable future, the challenge focuses on fostering active engagement opportunities to serve as an impetus for all students, particularly those at risk for learning or motivational problems or marginalization. Parents play an important role in guiding their children and acting as role models in the field of education and their future working life, and by encouraging children to achieve their future goals and aspirations.

According to a meta-analysis by Hattie (2009), parental expectations and goals for their child's success have the strongest associations with the child's achievement, while communication with the child on homework or school progress has a moderate effect, and parental home supervision (e.g., home rules for watching television) has the weakest effect. From this perspective, it is important that parents hold high expectations for their child's success at school and in their future. Through partnerships between parents and school, teachers need to negotiate and keep parents' expectations appropriately high and challenging, and then work with the child and parents to reach these expectations.

Factors, such as parents' own level of education and school experiences as well as parental involvement, contribute to the complexity of the parental effect on the child's motivational factors. However, while several studies have focused on parental involvement, such as in parental homework engagement (e.g., Gonida & Cortina, 2014; Mägi et al., 2011; Viljaranta et al., 2018), findings are far from consistent. The fact that successful parental engagement at home seems not to be a matter of degree, in that more may not always be beneficial but could actually undermine students' self-regulation and child characteristics, could likely be responsible for the mixed pattern of findings (Johnson, McGue, & Iacono, 2006; Viljaranta et al., 2018). Global changes may also influence parents' ability to support

their offspring in their school careers as well as change parental trust in teachers and school in general. Many parents live with financial insecurity and uncertainty themselves, which may reduce their value of education as there is no guarantee of a job in the future despite one's investment in education. Parental beliefs related to children's abilities and their future success may not necessarily be so positive, which influences children's beliefs in themselves and their abilities to succeed in a changing world.

Technological challenges

The current educational environments of new technologies and the increasing consumption of social media have produced complexities, contradictions, and anxieties associated with raising children in the new millennium. The changes in learning environments and schools might raise challenges for parents to participate in children's learning processes, which might lean toward more virtual learning environments than traditional classrooms. For example, the rapid development and expanding range of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) and increased social media consumption have brought new challenges for parents in raising children. The children of the new millennium are the so-called digital natives who are familiar with the new technology and social media, and parents may no longer be able to help their children and support them in their school tasks. New technology has enabled the development of digital learning environments, which have different requirements for learning and in which parents are not aware or competent to support their children. Moreover, it has been argued that social media and its associated social practices is the third educator in addition to previous socializers, that is, home and school (Bolton et al., 2013; O'Keeffe, Clarke-Pearson, & Council on Communications and Media, 2011). The role of peers in shaping children's motivation and achievement typically increases with age, but with social media and related social behaviors playing a significant role in children's lives, peer influences have a new means and may be occurring much earlier. At the same time, some

children and adolescents are struggling with their motivation and inherent interest in schooling. Some of them are also lacking adequate abilities in reading comprehension and information seeking in digital learning environments, which require, for example, new multiliteracy skills from children (Anstey & Bull, 2006).

Challenges related to family-school collaboration

Nowadays, schools and parents have to respond to increased expectations, economic pressures, and time constraints. For example, the 24/7 economies require some parents to work at atypical times, which may produce challenges for their family life, home-school partnership, and parental involvement in their child's education. We should also have in mind that sometimes limited parental trust on teacher and school might be due to poor teachers' professional competence and profile which is reflected on their work as well as on their collaboration with parents. Similarly, parents from low socio-economic background and with low education may not be successfully involved in their children's education and school life for many reasons and their collaboration with teacher and school may take different forms and, consequently, may also require different kinds of interventions to support them.

However, little research has addressed the partnership between parents and teachers as well as parents' and teachers' beliefs, trust, and practices that affect the quantity and quality of parental involvement at school. While it is widely believed that parental participation in school matters and an integration of efforts on the part of the family and the school are vital to students' mastery of academic demands (Hughes, & Kwok, 2007), the relevant processes of how to be involved in future educational settings need to be followed. The literature has demonstrated that differences between parents in their involvement and beliefs may be associated with their socioeconomic status, cultural background, poverty, and also with their perception of their role in their child's schooling and their levels of confidence in fulfilling it.

Moreover, differences in parenting practices, communication styles, and educational beliefs between teachers and, for example, immigrant parents may be prone to a lower relatedness between parents and teachers. When parties do not share a common culture and values, it is more difficult to establish a shared understanding and to build trust (Hughes & Kwok, 2007). For example, parents in some cultures communicate more frequently with teachers and are more likely to criticize teachers and the school than parents from other cultures (Ritter, Mont-Reynaud, & Dornbusch, 1993). Parental expectations toward teacher practices might also vary compared to those that parents are used to in their own cultural contexts. For example, Finnish schools with a low hierarchy are very different compared to Estonia's more hierarchical school culture and teacher-directed teaching traditions (Kikas & Lerkkanen, 2011).

Practical implications for parents

In the current changing and challenging times, parents and teachers should strive for increasing mutual collaboration. Teachers are the key persons in providing feedback on children's school motivation and achievement. They can also offer guidance to parents on how to support children with their individual needs at homework situations. For example, mothers should adjust their homework assistance according to child's skills and behaviors (Viljaranta et al., 2018). It should be noted, however, the collaboration between teachers and parents may take different forms among parents from impoverished and low education levels. Therefore, parents might benefit from concrete examples of different types of homework assistance according to child's needs and their potential influence on child's motivation and task-persistent behavior not only at homework situations but also at classroom. Moreover, family meetings with the teacher where parents and child participate together and discussions on the learning goals and best practices of supporting the child's learning would help the parents to find appropriate ways to support their offspring (Epstein & Sheldon, 2002).

Moreover, O'Keeffe and colleagues (2011) have advised parents to work on their own participation gap in their homes by becoming better educated about the many technologies their children are using and to talk to their children about their online use and the specific issues that children face online.

In addition, by creating a positive attitude and talk concerning school and teacher at home and emphasizing the importance and value of education, parents can promote their child's interest in academic tasks and school life. It should be noted, however, that not all parents value school or do not have high expectations for their child's education. Moreover, to enhance their children's achievement, parents should encourage and praise their children's learning efforts, engage in cognitively demanding conversations with their children, engage in joint activities, provide cognitive stimulation at home, and provide autonomy-supportive behaviors (e.g., Aunola et al., 2013; Gottfried, Fleming, & Gottfried, 1998; Silinskas et al., 2015).

Conclusions

There is strong evidence to show that education is essential to equalizing opportunities in societies. High quality education improves health and reduces population growth, improves productivity, encourages sustainable lifestyles, reduces inequality, increases constructive political participation, and reduces crime (World Bank, 2018). Education has become even more important in a time of rapid economic and social change when dropout from education and marginalization can be serious problems not only for individuals but also for the whole society. The best way to prepare for the future is to improve the education for children and adolescents to develop inclusive policies the way that individuals can fully participate in society. In these changing and challenging times, effective partnerships between teachers and parents become essential to meet the needs of the children and enhance their learning and motivation to learn competences needed in future society and working life. However, parents

and teachers might lack of concrete tools to collaborate. While parental involvement has been found to be related to increased academic performance of their child, the specific mechanisms through which parental involvement exerts its influence on a child's motivation are not yet fully understood (e.g., Mägi et al., 2011; Silinskas et al., 2015; Viljaranta et al., 2018). Understanding these mechanisms would inform further research and policy and may lead to the development of more effective programs designed to increase children's motivation for life-long learning, which is definitely needed to better face the changes in learning landscape and working life in an increasingly uncertain, complex, multicultural and digitalized world. . The existing studies suggest that, family-oriented interventions fostering parents' positive beliefs about their children's school performance may strengthen children's positive self-concept of ability and task-focused behaviors, and decrease their task avoidance, and in this way, improve their academic performance and engagement in learning. In addition, as students achieve more when they and their parents have a supportive relationship with the teacher, attempts should be made to increase home-school partnership.

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