



The Strategies of Parental Involvement in Adolescents' Education and Extracurricular Activities

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Abstract

Different parental strategies in education are bound to produce various effects: not all of these strategies are equally productive in their application. At the same time, the impact of parental involvement in general education on their children's extracurricular activities has not been thoroughly studied. This article attempts to fill this gap by analyzing the relationship between strategies of parental involvement in education and adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. The data source for this study were parents whose children attend general education institutions ($N = 3,887$; $M_{\text{age of children}} = 12.4$, $SD = 3.1$; 55.6% female). A latent class analysis identified three categories of parental participation in education: "Intrusive", "Supervisory", and "Detached". Each category showed different patterns of involvement from primary to high school, distinguished by the type of extracurricular participation encouraged by parents. In primary school, children of "Intrusive" parents attended the highest number of extracurricular activities. In secondary school, they attended fewer activities compared to the children of "Supervisory" parents. Children of "Supervisory" parents often chose to participate in activities on their own, and continued to attend the selected activity, or change activity on their own initiative. The children of "Detached" parents were less involved in extracurricular activities in primary school. In some cases, they chose their own extracurricular activities as they grew older. The study demonstrates that parental involvement is related to adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. Parents' strategies should be considered instrumental as they produce a variety of different outcomes, depending upon the adolescents' age and type of activities. The identified strategies may serve as a basis for recommendations for development of parental competencies, consultations, and family education.

Keywords Parental involvement in education · Adolescents · Extracurricular activities · Latent class analysis · Parental strategies

Introduction

Parental involvement in education and extracurricular activities is crucial, both for adolescents' engagement in these activities and for their performance (Ryan Dunn,

Dorsch, King, & Rothlisberger, 2016; Shannon, 2006; Chesters & Smith, 2015). However, the impact of parental involvement varies. Some parental strategies encourage adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities, while others may lead to reduced motivation (Anderson et al., 2003). On one hand, adolescents whose parents express acceptance and provide moral and material support tend to participate in more extracurricular activities, achieve better results, and enjoy these activities more (Guest & Schneider, 2003). On another hand, parental involvement in the form of pressure or compulsion can significantly limit the ability of adolescents to engage in extracurricular activities (Anderson et al., 2003). Excessive parental pressure can harm interest and initiative of students, leading to a negative attitude to these types of activities of adolescents (Ashbourne, 2013; Ashbourne & Andres, 2015). Therefore, it is very important that parents properly understand their role in education in general and in the extracurricular activities of

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their children. Yet, available research on parental participation in extracurricular activities is sparse, rarely contains classifications of types of parental participation, and is usually based solely on the use of qualitative research methods (Anderson et al., 2003; Ashbourne & Andres, 2015). There also is almost no research on the relationship between parental involvement in general education and adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. There is also a lack of research on the specifics of adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. In the current study, a data-driven approach (latent class analysis) is used to identify groups of parents who differ in their strategies for involvement in education. The study then considers the relationship between different parental strategies and different aspects of adolescents' participation in extracurricular.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of parenting and its impact on learning outcomes in adolescent education. Parental involvement in education has been actively studied across various countries (Epstein, 2007; Sheridan & Kratochwill, 2007; Derrick-Lewis, 2001; Flecha & Soler, 2013; Linse, 2011; Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011; Polivanova, 2015; Goshin & Mertsalova, 2018; Goshin, Mertsalova, & Gruzdev, 2019). Parental participation in education has many different forms (Epstein, 2007; Fan and Chen, 2001; Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003; Mertsalova & Goshin, 2015). It involves participation in the work of the school, including school events, class or extracurricular activities, communication with teachers, other students and their parents, helping them and participating in school governance. However, it is equally important to create a supportive home environment that promotes studying. This environment includes such components as stimulating intellectual activity, discussion and assistance in solving emerging difficulties, assistance in doing homework, facilitation of the teenager's aspirations related to their self-realization and good citizenship. Accordingly, two main types of parental involvement have been singled out, namely the participation of parents in school life and the educational process of adolescents.

The theoretical model of parental involvement proposed by Epstein (2007) is the most well-known and applicable. According to this model, the participation of parents can be implemented at the six main levels: Parenting, Communicating, Volunteering, Learning at home, Decision making, and Collaborating with the community. Thus, parental involvement can be implemented in various types of interaction between a school and parents, in various forms of participation of parents in education, including extracurricular activities (Anderson et al., 2003).

Since the 2000s, the impact of parents on the informal activities of adolescents has been the focus of the researchers' attention (Fletcher et al., 2000; Eccles et al.,

2003). Parental involvement has been shown to be important in the initiation and maintenance of young people's participation in extracurricular activities. Here, the role of parents is even more important than in school education, because participation of adolescents in extracurricular activities outside the formal curriculum is optional, not guaranteed, and not regulated by the state. Anxiety prone teenagers constantly rely on parental moral and material support outside of school requiring significant additional expenses (e.g., entrance fees, and transport costs) and time sacrifices (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015; Shannon, 2006; Simpkins, Vest, Dawes, & Neuman, 2010).

Extracurricular activities are defined as any activity outside school class time carried out in a structured atmosphere where some adult, for instance a teacher, coach, instructor or parent, is present (Luthar, Shoum, & Brown 2006). For example, in the Russian education system, extracurricular activities comprise the out of school curricular activities that are not obligatory for adolescents. They include different content that cannot be taught during the school hours, and the educational process might take place before or after school. The activities can be provided by schools and public or private specialized organizations. It is also important that these activities are not regulated by official standards and do not require mandatory certification of participants except long-term programs of art and sports schools. Parental involvement in education and extracurricular activities includes a set of standard strategies and practices (i.e., specific behavioral patterns and actions) that parents use in the education of their children.

The way adolescents manage their spare time determines whether they will develop skills and competencies aimed at self-development and self-realization, maintaining good health and harmonious development in general, or whether they will be involved in unproductive, maladaptive, self-destructive activities. Parents play an important role in this process. The influence of parents can be assessed based on the concept of parental styles (Collins et al., 2000; Steinberg, 2000). The typology of parental styles is based on two dimensions: demanding and responsive. *Demanding* reflects the degree of parental control, while *responsiveness* is a measure of the emotional warmth, acceptance, and participation shown by parents. At the same time, the question of implementing these styles in practice is debatable. For example, one study showed that families' perceptions of useful and most productive activities of adolescents in their spare time are fairly stable (Hutchinson et al., 2003). Families differ mainly not in these perceptions, but rather in the degree to which parents control and restrict spare time of adolescents and encourage and support the activities preferred by them. Studies have demonstrated that the involvement of adolescents in various voluntary extracurricular activities is facilitated by supportive parenting,

reinforcement, and encouragement, while the parents' own involvement in similar activities plays an equally important role (Fletcher et al., 2000, 2004; McLellan & Youniss, 2003).

Typological models describing parental participation in extracurricular activities of adolescents are extremely rare. For example, based on the results of interviews conducted, one study defined three possible parental strategies for extracurricular activities: enforcer, facilitator, and encourager (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015). Enforcer parents push teenagers to participate in extracurricular activities, without taking into account their own interests and often express dissatisfaction with their results. These parents believe that active participation of adolescents in extracurricular activities is beneficial for their future. However, research shows that students who are exposed to parental pressure are significantly less likely to enjoy their activities (Sánchez-Miguel, Leo, Sánchez-Oliva, Amado, & García-Calvo, 2013). Contrary to the opinion of such parents, pressure on students does not increase their motivation, but often has the opposite effect (Anderson et al., 2003). Facilitator parents tend to trust adolescents more, giving them the freedom of self-determination. These parents see adolescents' own personal interests and aspirations as the main driving force for adolescents' development (Stirrup et al., 2015), and see their role in stimulating adolescents to reach their own potential. However, these parents pay insufficient attention to the formation of adolescents' motivation for certain activities and goal setting, which are positively associated with the involvement of students in extracurricular activities (Fawcett, Garton, & Dandy, 2009; Beiswenger & Grolnick, 2010). Encourager parents support their children's interests, hobbies, and aspirations. They take part in shaping the educational trajectory of adolescents, encouraging them to participate in activities and develop interests that, in their opinion, contribute to the formation of skills and abilities that are useful in the future.

Parental involvement may be conceptualized differently and have different implications across periods of development including primary, secondary and high school. During primary school age, parental involvement is important for bridging two basic contexts of children's development: home settings and school environment (see El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010). Researchers argue that parental involvement unites all the influences of these contexts on children's development (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010). As children of this age period are mostly dependent from their parents (Konner, 2011) the leading role in choosing and supporting their school and extracurricular activities belong to parents. For example, parents order all the necessary equipment for providing sport activities of their

children, conduct extra training at home before competitions, etc. However, by secondary school, the parental influence on their children reduces due to transition to adolescence. During this age period due to an increased sense of autonomy, adolescents feel able to make their own decisions on which courses and extracurricular activities take and what for (Hill & Tyson, 2009). That is why they do not need direct involvement of their parents in school and extracurricular activities as it was during the previous age period (Seginer, 2006). Following these finding, it is suggest that, for the transition to adolescence, parents should use an indirect form of involvement and operate as facilitators (see Gordon & Cui, 2012) but not as protectors with high levels of control (Spera, 2005). Thus, in this case, parent involvement can be conceptualized as indirect interaction with their children and schools.

Unlike school education, participation of adolescents in extracurricular activities is a voluntary, proactive choice that is significantly influenced by the socio-economic background of the family (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Lareau & Weininger 2008; Sjödin & Roman, 2018). Most studies of parental support for adolescents' extracurricular activities are related to financial resources, time, and care. The family structure and the education of mothers are also considered as important factors. Many studies have considered financial resources as a factor affecting students' access to extracurricular activities. Family structure and parental attitudes toward extracurricular activities have shown a close relationship with the amount of money they were willing to spend on adolescents' participation in these activities. For example, it has been shown that adolescents from two-parent families are more likely to participate in extracurricular activities, compared to adolescents from single-parent families, which can be explained by the lower income level of single-parent families (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015; Dunn et al., 2003). Different directions of extracurricular activities require different levels of financial investment on the part of parents: the most expensive are sports activities for adolescents, since they require the purchase of expensive equipment and have transport and other costs associated with the frequent participation of adolescents in sports competitions (Ryan Dunn et al., 2016). A number of studies have also shown that the educational inequality of families in terms of access to extracurricular activities increases significantly during the summer holidays (Downey, von Hippel, & Broh, 2004; Alexander, Entwisle, & Olson, 2001, 2007). Families with low SES have significantly fewer opportunities to provide adolescents with access to quality educational services and activities in the summer: travel opportunities, participation in educational camps and summer schools, especially outside the region of residence.

Current Study

Despite previously conducted studies, quantitative research data on the role of parents in extracurricular activities is sparse. There is a lack of research describing specific characteristics of adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. In addition, practically no research has been conducted on how the involvement of parents in school education as it relates to the participation of adolescents in extracurricular activities. This research aims to analyze the features of participation of adolescents in extracurricular activities in families with different strategies of parental involvement in education. The following research questions have been formulated. What parental groups can be singled out based on the strategies they use in their involvement in education? (Research Question 1) What are the features of adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities, i.e. their type, number, and time spent in families with various types of parental involvement? (Research Question 2).

In addressing these questions, three key hypotheses were tested. Parental involvement is conceptualized in different ways, at different levels of education, including primary, secondary, and high school (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010; Konner, 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Seginer, 2006). Therefore, it can be hypothesized that a parental strategy implementing the deepest participation in education and the maximum extent of control is effective in terms of children's participation in extracurricular activities only at the primary school level (Hypothesis 1). The second assumption is based on the literature on the implications of parental involvement (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015, Anderson et al., 2003, Sánchez-Miguel, Leo, Sánchez-Oliva, Amado & García-Calvo, 2013; Spera, 2005). It is hypothesized that, from the beginning of adolescence, i.e., from the secondary school level, parental involvement manifested in the form of supporting participation and facilitation will be most effective for the students' performance in extracurricular activities (Hypothesis 2). The final hypothesis is based on data on the effect of the socio-economic background of the family (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Sjödin & Roman, 2018). It is hypothesized that parents of higher SES are expected to report greater involvement of adolescents in extracurricular activities than those in lower SES (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Sample

Research data were obtained from the study in the framework of the Monitoring of Education Markets and

Organizations (MEMO -<http://memo.hse.ru/en/>). The purpose of this project is to collect generalized information and micro data as well as analyze, generalize, and present information on recent trends in education in Russia, including the choice of educational programs, funding of education, strategies of educational institutions, overall management, allocation of resources, and hiring policies. The information has been updated annually since 2002 based on the methodology providing a direct comparability of the data. The project was initiated by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, the National Research University Higher School of Economics, and the Yuri Levada Analytical Center. At present, the MEMO provides in-depth data and enriches the available, centrally administered statistical information on education. The project covers practically all levels of the education system, including preschool education, primary and secondary education, vocational training and tertiary education. Some information on the supplementary education for children and adults is also given.

The survey of parents whose children attend general educational institutions was conducted in 9 federal districts of Russia in 2016 ($N = 3,887$; $M_{\text{age of child}} = 12.4$, $SD = 3.1$; 55.6% female). Data collection is carried out in such a way that the data are representative for Russia as a whole, taking into consideration significant differences between the subjects of the Russian Federation. The structure of the sample of parents is shown in Table 1.

Procedure

The survey research procedure was as follows: parents, whose children attended primary and secondary schools, filled out the questionnaire after having received it either from the interviewer personally, one of the teachers, class teacher, or an administrator, with whom the interviewer made previous arrangements. The interviewer collected the filled-out questionnaires, having checked their completeness and clarifying, if necessary, answers to complex questions.

Measures

Parental involvement in the school life of their children

Parental involvement in the school life of their children implies parental assistance in organization of class or extracurricular activities, following the school's news and events, membership in the parent committee, school board, etc. It was measured with 11 items (see Survey Question 1 in STable 1). For example: "I participate and help in the organization of class or extracurricular activities". Participants were asked to agree or disagree with these statements. The reliability of the scale was assessed with

Table 1 The structure of the sample of parents

Characteristics	<i>N</i>
Types of populated place	
Moscow	12%, <i>N</i> = 471
Cities above 1 million people (excluding Moscow)	14%, <i>N</i> = 536
Cities from 100,000 to 1 million people	26%, <i>N</i> = 1021
Towns below 100,000 people	18%, <i>N</i> = 709
Urban-type settlements and village settlements together	30%, <i>N</i> = 1150
The level of education	
General secondary education or lower	5%, <i>N</i> = 178
Elementary or secondary vocational education	33%, <i>N</i> = 1273
Higher professional education and not completed higher professional education without academic degree	59%, <i>N</i> = 2289
Higher professional education with an academic degree	3%, <i>N</i> = 98
The family's structure, or who lives together with an adolescent in the same household	
Mother	97%, <i>N</i> = 3766
Father	83%, <i>N</i> = 3217
Grandparents	22%, <i>N</i> = 841
Siblings	51%, <i>N</i> = 1966
Other relatives	2%, <i>N</i> = 78
The level of income	
<i>"Sometimes we do not have enough money to buy necessary foods"</i>	1%, <i>N</i> = 51
<i>"We have enough money for food but not for other daily needs"</i>	8%, <i>N</i> = 290
<i>"We have enough money for daily needs but not for necessary clothes"</i>	14%, <i>N</i> = 565
<i>"We have enough money for food and clothes but not for TV, refrigerator, etc."</i>	40%, <i>N</i> = 1513
<i>"We live well but would have to borrow money for a car or an expensive vacation"</i>	32%, <i>N</i> = 1231
<i>"We live well and can afford a car or an expensive vacation"</i>	5%, <i>N</i> = 193

Kuder–Richardson coefficient 20 (*KR-20*) for dichotomous scales (*KR20* = 0.69).

Parental involvement in the educational process of their children

Parental involvement in the educational process of their children implies parental participation in the educational process of their children, monitoring of child's attendance and behavior, academic performance, assistance with homework, finding material for schoolwork, and explaining topics in subjects etc. It was measured with 11 items (see Survey Question 2 in STable 1). For example: "I provide the child with the necessary equipment (clothing, writing materials, educational materials, etc.)"; Participants were asked to agree or disagree with these statements. The reliability of the scale was assessed with Kuder–Richardson coefficient 20 (*KR-20*) for dichotomous scales (*KR20* = 0.72).

Adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities

Adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities implies their attendance of extracurricular classes (clubs,

studios, art schools, sport schools, etc.). This nominal variable was measured with 4 questions with multiple choice. For example, "Does your child attend extracurricular classes (in clubs, studios, art schools, sport schools, etc.)?" (see STable 2).

Parental expenses for extracurricular activities

Parental expenses for extracurricular activities imply expenses for all the necessary equipment for extracurricular activities. This nominal variable was measured with 2 items with multiple choice and open answer. For example, "Which of these extracurricular activities items did your family spend money on this school year?" (see STable 3).

Finally, the questionnaire included standard questions about the socio-demographic characteristics of the family: types of populated place, the level of education of parents, their occupation and income level, and the family's structure. According to literature (Sieben & Lechner, 2019; Andersen & Jæger, 2015), the number of books in the family's home library may indirectly indicate the level of cultural capital. Therefore, parents were also asked to estimate the total number of books in the family's home library (see STable 4).

Table 2 Model fit indices for the 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-, 5-, and 6-class solution

	Fit indices				Likelihood ratio tests		Entropy	Min. class size
	LL	BIC	SSBIC	AIC	VLMR	Adj. LMR		
1 class	−36,488	73,140	73,077	73,015	NA	NA	NA	3887
2 classes	−33,835	68,009	67,878	67,752	5305 (1)***	5275 (1)***	0.783	1713
3 classes	−33,209	66,931	66,734	66,543	1251 (2)***	1244 (2)***	0.747	1220
4 classes	−32,848	66,382	66,118	65,862	722 (3)	718 (3)	0.768	234
5 classes	−32,599	66,057	65,726	65,405	499 (4)	496 (4)	0.751	168
6 classes	−32,458	65,948	65,551	65,165	282 (5)	280 (5)	0.738	126

*** $p < 0.001$

Results

To group parents by their involvement in the school life and educational process of children, we conducted latent class analysis using the statistical package Mplus 7.1. Latent class analysis is an empirically driven method that defines taxonomies, or classes of people, based on common characteristics. The latent class analysis allowed us to group parents into latent classes based on their answers to the questions about participation in school life and the educational process of children.

Latent profile models containing 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 classes were fit into the data. Model fit indices for the 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-, 5-, and 6-class solution are shown in Table 2.

In this case, the appropriate solution for the number of classes was determined on the basis of the combination of evidence from theory, likelihood ratio tests, entropy values, and minimum class size. A three-class solution appeared to be the best, because of evidence of likelihood ratio tests with $p < 0.001$ (3 Classes better fit than 1 Class and 2 Classes but not 4 and more Classes) and it corresponds to the high entropy values (0.747) with a minimum number of participants in this class (1220), which corresponds to approximately 1/3 of the sample. The high values of entropy (i.e., closer to 1) were pointing to a reliable classification (Williams & Kibowski 2016). Also, the probability of membership in latent classes was ranging from 85% to 90%, and on average was 89% that indicates sufficiently high unambiguity in the assignment of membership to respondents.

Next, questions about adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities were juxtaposed with the defined classes of parental involvement by making crosstabs. The statistical significance level was evaluated by the chi-square test in software package IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

The Categories of Parental Involvement in Education

The LCA divided parents into three groups (Table 3). "Intrusive" parents exhibit the deepest participation in

education and the maximum extent of control. Such parents are actively involved in the organization of school events, help other adolescents and parents, and take part in the management of the educational process and extracurricular activities in class where their child is studying. Such parents are involved in the educational process of their children carried out outside the school as much as possible, including checking homework, helping with finding material for the lessons, and explaining studying materials.

"Supervisory" parents provide freedom to adolescents along with facilitative support. This group of parents is characterized by such activities as tracking news and events in class and in school, help and participation in school events and making suggestions for the school's development. Such parents may be members of parental committees, school boards, and other associations of active parents. They monitor the child's educational performance and behavior, but the main focus of their attention is tracking the results of his/her preparation for the exams. Checking the child's homework and help in their completion is not typical for this category of parents.

"Detached" parents are the least involved in their children's education. Their participation is superficial and often formal, limited to tracking news and events in class and in school, purchase of school supplies, and accompanying children to school. Most parents in this group are characterized by indifference and adolescents often feel deprived of parental support in their studies.

In the total sample, the most represented is the class of "Intrusive" (40%), and the least numerous is the class of "Supervisory" (28%). The ratio of these classes varies significantly, depending on the stage of education, that is, the child's age. In primary school (1–3 classes), The "Intrusive" class makes up more than half of the total number of parents (61%), but the share of this group sharply decreases by 30%, at the next educational stage (5–9 classes), and by 75% at the subsequent stage (10–11 classes) (Fig. 1). On the contrary, from primary school (1–3 classes) to secondary school (5–9 classes) and then to high school (10–11 classes), the proportion of "Supervisory" significantly increases (from 8% in primary school to 50% in high school). The

Table 3 Characteristics of parents belonging to three latent classes in relation to their choice of answers to questions about participation in school life and educational process of children, in percentages (%)

Types of activities	Types of parental involvement		$\chi^2(df)$	Cramér's V	
	"Intrusive"	"Supervisory" "Detached"			
I do not participate in the educational process of the child	0	0	97.4 (2)***	0.16	
I ask about my child's current problems or achievements	52.4	30.9	1090.8 (2)***	0.53	
I help with homework, finding material for schoolwork, explaining topics in subjects	70.9	15.4	1415.6 (2)***	0.60	
I check the readiness of homework and projects	74.5	9.2	2051.2 (2)***	0.73	
I check what is the child's homework they need to do	77.6	10.7	2193.7 (2)***	0.76	
I follow the results of preparation for exams (if the child is already preparing for them)	26.3	56.4	429.0 (2)***	0.33	
I follow final quarter/trimester/modular and annual grades	52.6	37.1	1713.3 (2)***	0.66	
I monitor current academic performance	48.9	32.5	1321.1 (2)***	0.58	
I monitor my child's school attendance and behavior	55.0	29.2	1071.9 (2)***	0.53	
I accompany the child to school	61.4	11.0	281.6 (2)***	0.27	
I provide the child with the necessary equipment (clothing, writing materials, educational materials, etc.)	45.3	31.7	894.1 (2)***	0.48	
I do not participate in the school life of the child	7.5	13.1	79.4	239.3 (2)***	0.25
I am a member of an informal association of active parents	48.5	27.3	24.2	4.8 (2)	0.04
I am a member of the school board	40.8	33.3	25.8	2.7 (2)	0.03
I am a member of the parent committee	48.5	28.7	22.8	55.9 (2)***	0.12
I make suggestions about the organization of the educational process and extracurricular activities in the class of my child	61.2	25.3	13.5	68.1 (2)***	0.13
I make suggestions about the development of the school as a whole and the necessary changes	48.6	27.7	23.6	9.0 (2)*	0.05
I help parents of other children from class/school	58.5	21.0	20.5	28.7 (2)***	0.09
I help other children from class/school	53.6	13.9	32.5	18.1 (2)***	0.07
I participate and help in the organization of class or extracurricular activities	55.1	27.7	17.3	209.1 (2)***	0.23
I follow the news and events in my child's class	47.4	30.7	21.9	615.6 (2)***	0.40
I follow the news and events in the school	44.6	31.1	24.3	185.4 (2)***	0.22

* $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$

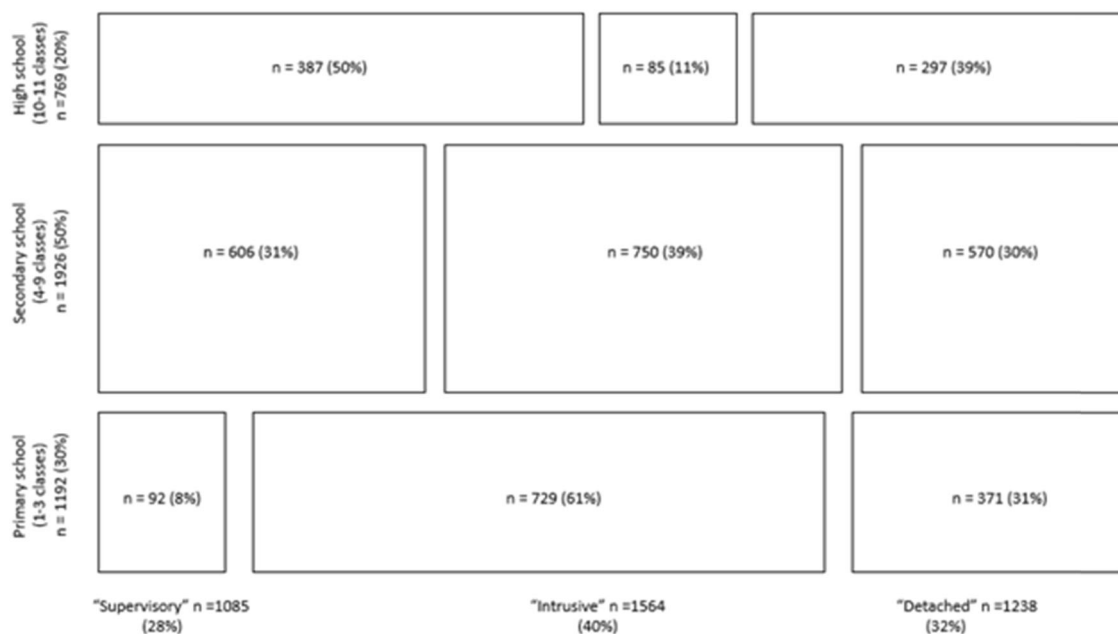


Fig. 1 Mosaic plot for sample composition of latent classes depending on the educational levels

share of “Detached” changes less significantly. It is about one third of the total number of parents in primary and secondary schools and increases slightly among parents of high school students.

Thus, the deepest possible involvement of parents in education, including strict control and assistance in the beginning of educational process is typical for the primary school level. As a child grows up, there is a clearly expressed trend of reduction of such activity and increasing parental involvement associated with the tracking of the educational results of a child, without immersion in the educational process. Of course, the teen years affect the distribution of these categories of parents, but there are also parental characteristics that affect a teen, which will be discussed later.

The categories of parental involvement are also significantly related to the level of education of parents. This study showed that among parents who are least involved in their children’s education (“Detached”), more than half have only a secondary education (52% in the “Detached” category and 41% in the “Intrusive” and “Supervisory” categories). Parents with a university degree are more often found in “Intrusive” and “Supervisory” (59% in these categories and 48% in “Detached”). The “Supervisory” category has the largest percentage of parents who have not only a tertiary education, but also advanced scientific degrees.

A comparison of parental responses to the question about the number of books in their home library showed that parents in the “Detached” category were more likely to answer that their home library contained less than 100

books (54% in “Detached”; 49% in “Intrusive”, and 42% in “Supervisory”). “Intrusive” occupied the intermediate position. “Supervisory” were more likely to answer that their home library contained the largest number of books. Almost a third of parents in this category noted that their library contained more than 250 books, while there were less than a quarter of such parents in “Intrusive” and “Detached” categories.

The Features of Adolescents’ Participation in Extracurricular Activities: Their Number and Time Spent

The analysis of the adolescents’ participation in extracurricular activities, depending on the categories of parental involvement in education, showed the presence of statistically significant relationships for all variables.

Differences between the adolescents’ participation in extracurricular activities whose parents belong to different categories are most expressed in *primary school*. In this case, the children of “Intrusive” parents attend the largest number of, and spend the most time on extracurricular activities: 60% of children attend two or more courses and only 16% are not engaged in any extracurricular activities. Among the “Detached” category, almost 40% of children do not attend extra classes at all and are less likely to attend two or more courses. The children of “Supervisory” parents are intermediate in terms of their involvement in extracurricular activities (Table 4).

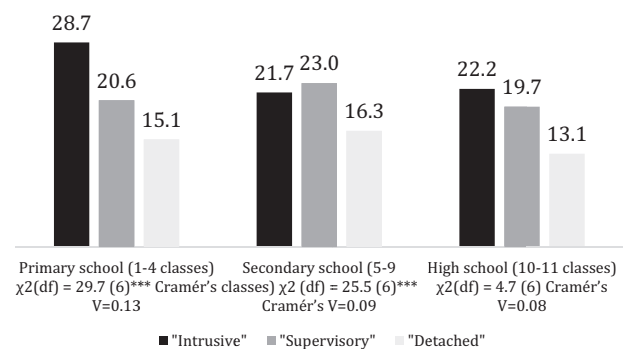
At the level of secondary and high schools, the largest part of adolescents attending two or more courses remains

Table 4 Adolescents' extracurricular activities, depending on the type of parental involvement at different levels of education, in percentages (%)

Types of parental involvement	Never participated	Participated earlier, now does not participate	Participates in one course	Participates in two courses	Participates in three or more courses
Primary school (1–4 forms): $\chi^2(df) = 107.8(8)$, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's $V = 0.21$					
“Intrusive”	6.2	10.0	23.5	27.1	33.2
“Supervisory”	7.7	23.1	23.1	25.3	20.9
“Detached”	24.9	13.2	20.8	22.4	18.6
Secondary school (5–9 forms): $\chi^2(df) = 41.0(8)$, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's $V = 0.10$					
“Intrusive”	4.7	20.8	28.3	27.3	18.9
“Supervisory”	7.9	24.0	25.6	24.5	18.0
“Detached”	12.6	26.5	25.4	19.8	15.6
High school (10–11 forms): $\chi^2(df) = 18.7(8)$, $p < 0.05$, Cramér's $V = 0.11$					
“Intrusive”	4.8	29.8	20.2	29.8	15.5
“Supervisory”	6.0	35.8	18.7	19.4	20.2
“Detached”	11.1	39.5	18.9	16.2	14.2

characteristic of the parental class “Intrusive”. Within this class, the number of most engaged children decreases from primary to secondary school by about a quarter and practically does not change from secondary to high school. At the secondary school level the share of children of “Intrusive” parents who completely quit their extra classes increases twofold, and at the high school level—three times as compared to junior classes. At the same time, the decreased tendency in the number of extracurricular activities as children grow up is expressed much more weakly for the “Supervisory” parents. In the case of the “Detached” children, the situation is reversed. A quarter of these children have no experience of attending additional classes in primary school. The share of such children is sharply reduced in secondary school. But for the senior classes, this category of parents has the highest percentage of children who have stopped attending extracurricular education.

The observed patterns also appear when analyzing the statistics of parental responses to the frequency of extracurricular activities per week (Fig. 2). The share of “Intrusive” parents, who indicated that their children participate in extracurricular activities five days a week and more, is maximum in elementary classes and then sharply reduces for secondary school. It is very significant that for the children of “Supervisory” parents, a similar jump in the reduction of workload is not observed. On the contrary, in this category of parents, the share of children participating in extracurricular activities five days a week and more even increases slightly with the onset of adolescence, reaching almost a quarter. The children of “Detached” parents, on average, are twice less likely to be as busy as possible with extracurricular activities in primary school than the children of “Intrusive” parents. In the transition to secondary school, the share of children of this category attending extracurricular activities 5 days a week and more increases

**Fig. 2** The share of adolescents participating in extracurricular activities 5 days a week and more, depending on the type of parental involvement at different levels of education, %. *** $p < 0.001$

slightly. However, by the age of high school, the proportion of the “Detached” parents whose children are most involved in the extracurricular activities is the smallest.

This analysis only provides summary statistics of parental responses to the question about the frequency of extracurricular activities per week: “5–6 days a week” and “daily”. These answers were chosen because the most striking and statistically significant differences were obtained here. All possible answers to this question are provided in STable 2 (see Survey Question 2 in this table).

The Kinds of Extracurricular Activities

Significant differences between adolescents from families with different types of parental involvement come to light by comparing the kinds of extracurricular courses attended by these adolescents (Table 5). The children of “Intrusive” parents are more frequently engaged in various forms of art and scientific activities. The children of “Supervisory”

Table 5 The types of adolescents’ extracurricular activities depending on the category of parental involvement, %

Types of extracurricular activities	Types of parental involvement			$\chi^2(df)$	Cramér’s V
	“Intrusive”	“Supervisory”	“Detached”		
Sport and physical education	40.6	41.5	49.9	11.8 (2)**	0.08
Arts	37.0	22.7	34.5	28.9 (2)***	0.13
Subjects of the school program	29.4	37.1	18.4	42.3 (2)***	0.16
Science	7.5	6.7	6.1	1.1 (2)	0.03
Military, patriotic activity	4.0	6.5	3.4	6.1 (2)*	0.06
Social activities, including volunteering	3.1	7.8	5.3	14.0 (2)**	0.09

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6 Summer vacation activities depending on the type of parental involvement, %

Summer vacation activities	Types of parental involvement			$\chi^2(df)$	Cramér’s V
	“Intrusive”	“Supervisory”	“Detached”		
Attended a day camp (at school, at organizations of extracurricular activities)	17.3	10.5	9.7	42.9 (2)***	0.11
Was at a country health camp (sanatorium, labor and recreation, tent) on the territory of the Russian Federation	12.9	12.4	8.1	17.7 (2)***	0.07
Was at a children’s center or language/ sports /educational camp abroad	1.2	2.1	2.5	6.8 (2)*	0.04
Was at a sanatorium (boarding house), and traveled around the Russian Federation together with parents (relatives)	29.8	24.8	19.1	41.6 (2)***	0.10
Spent summer at relatives (grandparents) in another city, village	35.1	33.8	30.8	5.8 (2)	0.04
Was at a field educational and / or health camp organized by the school	6.3	6.7	5.2	2.7 (2)	0.03

* $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$

parents are more often engaged in in-depth studying of the subjects of the school curriculum. The children of “Detached” parents have lower demand for additional classes in school subjects and more often choose sports. Interestingly, social activities and volunteering are most typical for the children of “Supervisory” parents and, to a lesser extent, for the children of “Intrusive” parents.

This table contains only the kinds of extracurricular activities for which interesting and significant differences between the categories of parental involvement were obtained. In addition to the answers listed in the table, the parental multiple-choice answers also included: foreign languages; technology, engineering; tourism, local history, and crafts (see Survey Question 3 in STable 2).

There are also significant differences between children of different categories of parents in the types of summer vacation activities (Table 6). Thus, the children of “Intrusive” parents are much more likely to attend day camps at schools or organizations of extracurricular activities, or travel in Russia with their parents or other relatives. At the same time, the children of “Supervisory” parents are somewhat more likely to participate in outdoor educational

camps and, quite unexpectedly, the children of “Detached” parents are more likely to travel abroad to participate in language or sports educational camps.

In addition to the options presented in the table, the question contained two more options for the answer “rested at home” and “rested in the country”, for which no significant differences were obtained (see Survey Question 4 in STable 2).

Financial Support

The three categories of parents also have no difference in the amount of money they spend on their children’s extracurricular activities, while expenditure items differ significantly (Table 7). “Intrusive” parents most often spend money on stationery, providing a teen with the uniform, sports clothing and shoes. However, “Supervisory” parents are more likely to mention expenditure items such as purchasing professional literature for adolescents, purchasing special software and CDs, special accessories, materials, and tools (such as musical instruments, brushes, and paints, etc.) and transportation costs (which is consistent with more

Table 7 Expenditure items, depending on the type of parental involvement, %

Expenditure items	Types of parental involvement			$\chi^2(df)$	Cramér's <i>V</i>
	"Intrusive"	"Supervisory"	"Detached"		
Stationery	97.3	95.0	85.8	148.8 (2)***	0.20
Professional literature	17.5	21.8	14.5	21.1 (2)***	0.07
Sports clothing and shoes, sports accessories	90.3	80.1	62.1	326.8 (2)***	0.29
Computer, printer, and other computer devices	21.5	19.4	12.9	35.5 (2)***	0.10
Computer CDs, programs, Internet access, etc.	30.2	32.8	14.5	126.3 (2)***	0.18
Transport cost	30.4	31.3	15.7	100.7 (2)***	0.16
Uniforms, workwear	65.4	51.5	41.4	163.2 (2)***	0.21
Special accessories, materials, and tools (such as musical instruments, brushes, and paints, etc.)	19.8	40.8	19.4	208.0 (2)***	0.23
There were no such expenses	14.0	14.0	72.1	100.1 (2)***	0.16

*** $p < 0.001$

frequent out-of-school extracurricular activities visits and spending significantly higher amounts on them). It is expected that "Detached" parents are characterized by significantly lower financial participation in almost all parameters, and in terms of such specialized costs as transport costs, the purchase of computer equipment and software, their share of participation is almost 2 times less than in other categories.

Discussion

The working out of dialectical relationships between parental authority and adolescents' autonomy and the search for a balance in these relationships are complex challenges for both parents and teenagers (Steinberg, 2000). Parental practices and styles of upbringing determine, to a large extent, the context of free time that the adolescents have, and their participation in extracurricular activities. However, there is a lack of research on parental involvement in extracurricular activities and the specific characteristics of adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. Secondly, there is no research dedicated to the study of the link between parental involvement in education and the adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. This study supports the conclusion that strategies of parental involvement in primary (school) education are significantly associated with the adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. This suggests that parenting styles significantly impact adolescents' performance in extracurricular activities. It is important to understand which behavioral strategies will have a beneficial impact, and which will be less effective, leading to undesirable consequences.

The data-driven approach via latent class analysis allowed for dividing parents into three groups. The "Intrusive" group representatives have the deepest participation and the maximum extent of control. The "Supervisory" group provides freedom to adolescents, along with facilitative support. Parents in the "Detached" group are the least involved. Their participation is superficial and formal, and adolescents often feel deprived of parental support in their studies. The percentage of parents in these classes varies greatly depending on the level of education: in primary school, the share of "Intrusive" is the greatest, but it decreases sharply as a teenager matures; in high school, the dominant class is the "Supervisory" category. The percentage of "Detached" parents does not change significantly, but it increases slightly at the high school stage.

Interesting differences are revealed in the adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. In primary school, children of "Intrusive" parents attend the largest number of extracurricular activities and spend the most time in them. At secondary school levels, however, these children attend two or fewer activities compared to the "Supervisory" children. It can be assumed that this is because "Intrusive" parents often make the choice of activities for a child, with a child often attending against their will. As children become teenagers, they often give up activities that do not meet their own interests. It seems that a twofold increase in the share of teenagers from the "Intrusive" parents category, who, upon entering secondary school fully stop participating in extracurricular activities, and a threefold increase for high school, as compared to junior classes, is the consequence of strict control at primary school and possible imposition of extracurricular activities on children. Thus, hypothesis 1 is supported. Children of "Supervisory" parents often choose on their own and continue to attend selected activities, or

change activities on their own initiative. Respectively, they are much less likely to give up these activities. In the case of “Detached” parents, there was a lack of parental attention. Some parents rarely seek to enroll their children in clubs. Perhaps, the children of “Detached” parents, as they grow older try to choose independently the direction of activities, based on their own preferences. These young people face a number of difficulties and very often, for one reason or another, stop participating in any extracurricular activities. It is possible to conclude that parental support in a soft form of encouraging participation in educational activities is characteristic of the “Supervisory” group to the greatest extent, and has the most favorable impact on adolescents’ choice of the direction of extracurricular activities and subsequent self-realization.

When parents avoid participation in education, adolescents are also often poorly motivated to study subjects in-depth (Epstein, 2007; Derrick-Lewis, 2001). At the same time, they are more inclined toward physical activities and games. It is reasonable to expect that the children of “Detached” parents more often choose sports as extracurricular activities. The children of “Intrusive” parents are more frequently sent to art or science activities, which require greater perseverance and meticulousness, and are attended primarily by children whose parents show maximum efforts in organizing and controlling the educational process. Remarkably, “Intrusive” parents are more likely to keep their adolescents in their sights during the holiday period, and adolescents actually remain under the control of their parents when participating in a day camp. The children of “Supervisory” parents are more often engaged in in-depth studying of the subjects of the school curriculum, which can be explained with the prevalence of this profile among the parents of high school students engaged in preparing for university entrance. It is important to point out that the children of “Supervisory” parents characteristically choose social activities and volunteering. It is supported by research examining adolescents who are not experiencing strict control from parents, and who have more freedom in the choice of their activities (Penner et al., 2005; McLellan & Youniss, 2003).

The results of this study are generally consistent with data from studies on the presence of a positive relationship between parental support and encouragement of adolescents and starting enrollment in extracurricular activities (Anderson et al., 2003). However, this research has shown that initial inclusion in extracurricular activities is more related to parental involvement in the form of control (“Intrusive”) than encouragement. This study reveals that parental pressure can be negatively associated with activity (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015): the children of “Intrusive” parents are significantly more likely to drop out of extracurricular activities with the onset of adolescence.

Facilitating support (“Supervisory”) is more likely to be important to continue with extracurricular activities for a long time. In this regard, the results of this research is consistent with data (Simpkins, Vest, Dawes, & Neuman, 2010) showing that children who receive more support and encouragement from their parents are more likely to continue to engage in sports-oriented extracurricular activities in adolescence. However, this research shows that the continuation of these activities in the presence of facilitating parental support (“Supervisory”) occurs not only in sports extracurricular activities, but also in other extracurricular activities areas. In other words, the significance of this type of support appears universal.

This research reveals that, with all the variety of parenting practices and behavioral patterns, adolescents are most often faced with two conceptually different strategies for parental engagement (Anderson et al., 2003; Ashbourne & Andres, 2015). The first is involvement, which is a parental facilitation of adolescents’ participation in activities that gives them the opportunity to make independent choices. The second involves strict parental control over the teen’s activities and imposes performance standards. A situation where a teen is exploited by parents to satisfy their ambitions and achievements negatively affects the success of their educational trajectory. The results suggest that parents should encourage the extracurricular activities of their children, while allowing them to make their own decisions about the types of activities they can participate in and the extent of their participation. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is also supported.

In addition to the two described alternative parenting strategies, which find analogues in existing research, this study also reveals a third, completely different strategy. It is based on the most pronounced detachment, which is manifested in almost all the parameters of participation in the educational process and school life (“Detached”). On one hand, the findings reveal the disastrous impact of this strategy, manifested in a lack or almost complete absence of parental support and, as a result, minimal adolescents’ participation in extracurricular activities. However, it seems that the group of families with this type of parental strategy is the most heterogeneous. This may include both the least well-off families, and, perhaps, those parents whose children have high academic achievements and expressed agency, i.e., the ability to independently determine their educational trajectory and take responsibility for their education, which was noted in previous research (Goshin, Mertsalova, & Gruzdev, 2019). This may explain the largest percentage of “Detached” children who attend outdoor educational camps abroad. Obviously, these facts need additional, more in-depth research, with the focus of analysis on this group of parents.

It is expected that different types of parental involvement are strongly associated with the socio-economic and cultural background of a family, which is consistent with the obtained data (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Sjödin & Roman, 2018). The low level of involvement of parents who do not have a university degree is consistent with research that suggests that such parents often avoid participating in their children's education because they may feel some uncertainty, or may simply not know how they can be useful. Interestingly, the largest percentage of parents in the "Supervisory" category have not only a tertiary education but also an advanced scientific degree. The level of cultural capital of a family can be indirectly indicated by the number of books in the family home library (Sieben & Lechner, 2019; Andersen & Jæger, 2015). It is to be expected that families of "Detached" parents have the fewest books in their home library, while the "Supervisory" families have the most books. This indirectly also suggests that families where parents use strategies of "Supervisory" have the highest level of cultural capital.

Thus, parents with the highest level of education and cultural capital are more often characterized by involvement, not reduced to simple control of teen's performance and behavior in school, but providing adolescents with facilitating support along with providing freedom of self-determination. Interestingly, parents in the "Supervisory" category are more aware of the financial costs of the extracurricular activities of their children. Thus, they spend significantly more money on out-of-school extracurricular activities, i.e., in specialized organizations of extracurricular activities that provide the highest quality classes with the deepest level of immersion in the subjects studied. They are more likely to buy their children professional literature, computer programs, and CD-ROMs with materials that promote in-depth study of the subject in the field of extracurricular activities in which their children are engaged.

At the same time, there were no significant links between the income levels of families and types of parental involvement. Thus, hypothesis 3 is partially supported, and this suggests that the choice of a strategy of parental involvement is less due to external circumstances, but more due to deeper family and personal characteristics and, accordingly, allows them to influence the success of child's educational strategy, almost regardless of the level of family wealth, which significantly reduces the risk of reproduction of educational inequality.

This typology does not cover all options for the participation of parents in the children's education and does not reveal the underlying cause-and-effect factors of their formation. Accordingly, there are undisclosed some factors that may determine parental behavior, and the participation of adolescents in extracurricular activities. It is important to note that one child or adolescent may become more active

due to constant parental control and supervision, while another may feel confused, frustrated, and lose interest in the activity. Thus, parents should take into account the individual characteristics of each teenager, understand and be aware of how their intentions are transformed into behavior and participation of their children in extracurricular activities and what consequences they lead to. That is why parents should be sensitive to their children's reactions and pay attention to them.

The relations shown are not exhaustive in explaining how the parental strategies are formed and implemented. In addition, the survey method has certain limitations for understanding the issues under study. This issue needs additional research, using primarily qualitative analysis methods, in order to clarify, specify and deepen the results obtained. Future important research would involve conducting interviews with selected groups of parents to verify the results obtained in the survey and get a more detailed picture of the formation and implementation of their strategies, including identifying individual factors that can be used to update the questionnaire. It is also promising to create a questionnaire for adolescents and conduct an appropriate survey. After that, the obtained complex data may become the basis for the psychological and pedagogical recommendations aimed at optimizing the processes of school-parents interaction.

Conclusion

There has been a lack of typological models describing parental involvement in extracurricular activities, and a lack of research focusing on the link between parental involvement in education and adolescents' participation in extracurricular activities. The presented study aimed to breach this research gap, and allowed, using the latent class analysis, to divide parents according to their strategies of participation in education into three groups: "Intrusive", "Supervisory" and "Detached" parents. The percentage of parents in these 3 categories varies greatly depending on their level of education. Parenting strategies are also related to the level of education of parents and the cultural capital of the family. The study showed that strategies of parental involvement in school education are significantly related to children's participation in extracurricular activities: a number of activities attended by an adolescent, time spent on them, types of extracurricular activities and the amount of funds spent by parents. At the same time, as adolescents age, the choice of the optimal parental strategy becomes crucial, determining the entirety of the adolescent's extracurricular educational trajectory. The features of these parenting strategies can be considered not as set, but instrumental, i.e., different strategies are effective for

different ages and types of activities, and, accordingly, they should become the content of programs for the development of parental competencies, consultations, and education of families, especially those that interact with adolescents.

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Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Informed Consent All participants were informed about the study procedure, and passive consent was obtained from the parents of the adolescents.

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