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PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AMONG LOW-INCOME FILIPINOS:
A PHENOMENOLOGICAL INQUIRY

by

Aileen S. Garcia

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska
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For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: Human Sciences
(Child, Youth, and Family Studies)

Under the Supervision of Professors Maria Rosario T. de Guzman and

Carolyn Pope Edwards

Lincoln, Nebraska

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PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AMONG LOW-INCOME FILIPINOS:
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University of Nebraska, 2018

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Parental involvement in children's education is an integral component of young children's academic achievement. In the Philippines, a developing country with high rates of poverty and input deficit in basic education, school dropout rates are high especially among the poor. Given that many children from disadvantaged backgrounds do not get enough support (PIDS, 2012) and many parents are not equipped with skills to support their children's education, it is essential to investigate how Filipino parents can help and contribute to their children's academic success. In response to the lack of parental involvement literature situated in the Philippine context, the present study employed a phenomenological approach to explore and examine the experiences of low-income parents regarding their involvement in their children's education. This study is guided by the following research questions: (a) What is the meaning and nature of parental involvement among low-income Filipino families? (b) What factors facilitate or hinder parental involvement, and (c) Will any pattern emerge from the data to describe the relations between parental involvement and children's academic outcome?

Data analysis showed that Filipino parents believe that helping their children with schoolwork, motivating them, and providing structure at home help their children succeed in school, consistent with the extant literature on parental involvement. However, responses regarding academic socialization, communicating with teachers, and

volunteering in school reflect cultural beliefs and practices in the Philippines related to traditional parenting, extreme poverty. Results from this study expand the extant research on parental involvement, which is mostly Western-based, and further our understanding of the generalizability of existing theories on parental involvement. Findings have implications for how Filipino parents and educators can support the academic success of children. Finally, this study can help inform educators and school programmers on how to help parents support their children's education.

Dedication

This research work is dedicated to the parents who kindly participated in this study, and to their children who persevere and dream of a better life through education.

Acknowledgements

My cup runneth over.

Graduate school has been an invigorating, four-year experience. It was not without the inherent challenges and occasional periods of self-doubt; however, I believe I am where I am now because I had the most amazing support group any person could dare wish for. I have been looking forward to writing this note to properly give credit to everyone who has helped me through my doctoral studies.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Universally, parents desire what they perceive is best for their children (Test, 2015) and across social and cultural groups, there is a consensus in the literature that parents have high regard for their children's education (Baeck, 2010; Hidalgo, Siu, Bright, Swap, & Epstein, 1995). Aside from providing knowledge and the necessary values and skills children need in order to develop intellectually, education is generally perceived as a human and social capital (Echaune, Ndiku, & Sang, 2015; Yuen & Cheung, 2014), instrumental to improved human condition and upward social mobility (Foshay, 1991; Sy, 2006). Thus, parents involve themselves in different ways to help their children succeed in school.

Parental involvement in children's education is a vital component in young children's motivation and academic achievement (Walker et al., 2005; Fleharty & Edwards, 2013). Furthermore, parental involvement contributes to children's school readiness (Hill, 2001), reading proficiency, math, and vocabulary skills (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2011). When parents are involved, they may gain information on how and what to teach their children (Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack, 2007). Involved parents also provide their children with opportunities to practice and further develop what they have learned in school. Parental involvement conveys to children that parents are interested and invested in their development (Hango, 2007), and this possibly provides children with motivation to do well in school. Lastly, parents participating in school send a message to their children that school is important (Fan, Williams, & Wolters, 2012) and children imbibe this value and become more positive about learning (Marcon, 1999) (for a review, see Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack,

2008). Given that parental involvement benefits children in numerous ways (Domina, 2015), it has become the subject of educational research and policy in years (Gordon & Cui, 2014; Moroni, Dumont, Trautwein, Niggli, & Baeriswyl, 2015).

The achievement gap between low-income and high-income students has been well documented in the literature, with children in poverty having more academic and behavior problems, and higher school dropout rates (Berliner, 2013). Although there are numerous factors that contribute to this disparity (e.g., disproportionate access to high quality schools and other resources), parental involvement may play a role in bridging the gap in children's school outcomes (LaRocque, Kleiman, & Darling, 2011). However, notwithstanding the benefits of parental involvement, various factors facilitate and hinder involvement, with some barriers identified as beyond parental control, such as access to technology and other socio-cultural factors (Yoder & Lopez, 2013). Families in poverty are especially vulnerable to factors that can hinder parental involvement; for instance, the economic pressure and financial stresses can constrain their capacities to involve themselves in their children's schooling (Conger & Donnellan, 2007).

Although there is an abundance of studies which examined parental involvement, current research offers a limited understanding of parental involvement in non-Western countries. For instance, mainstream measures of parental involvement do not include paying for school tuition fees when in some countries (e.g. Bangladesh, Indonesia) this is the chief indicator that parents care about their children's education (Kabir & Akter, 2014; Karsidi, Humona, Budiati, & Wardoyo, 2014). This poses validity issues as parents are measured against standards which may not be reflective of their experiences and cultural beliefs. As such, it is important to employ a cultural lens and start with an

exploratory study to build a model that can help understand and examine parental involvement among the target population.

The Current Study

The present study will focus on low-income Filipino parents. The Philippines is a developing country with high rates of poverty and education deficits. School dropout rates are also high especially among children and youth from disadvantaged backgrounds (Albert, Dumagan, & Martinez, 2015). Knowing the significance of parental involvement, this study will explore the concept of parental involvement among low-income Filipino parents and its role in children's educational outcomes. The goals of this study are: a) to explore culturally embedded and indigenous meanings of parental involvement in schooling; b) to identify factors that facilitate or hinder parental involvement among low-income families; and c) to develop a model on the links between parental involvement and children's academic outcomes. Correspondingly, this study is guided by the following research questions:

(a) What is the meaning and nature of parental involvement among low-income families?

(b) What factors facilitate or hinder parental involvement? and

(c) Will any pattern emerge from the data to describe the relations between parental involvement and children's academic outcome?

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study draws from the family stress model (FSM; Conger & Conger, 2002). According to the FSM, economic challenges adversely affect parents' disposition and behavior. Parents in poverty have been found to have elevated risks for depression, anger, distress, and sadness (Schofield et al., 2011). In turn, these are linked to less supportive and more conflicted parent-child relationship. This, then, puts the children's health and wellbeing at risk. In the same vein, parents who experience economic difficulties may not have enough psychological and economic resources to be involved in their children's schooling. This lack of involvement and support may result to children's discouragement in school and poorer academic performance, among other problems. Given the dearth of parental involvement literature in the Filipino context, this research will draw from Western-based empirical studies, as well as parental involvement and poverty research in other collectivistic cultures and developing countries.

Parental Involvement: Definitions and Dimensions

Parental involvement refers to the parent's interaction with the child and the school to promote educational success (Hill et al., 2004). It is a multidimensional construct that includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral facets of parenting which are related to children's education (Clarke, 2001; Fan & Chen, 2001; Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994). To cite some examples, measuring parental involvement includes looking at parents' educational aspirations for their child, how much they feel welcomed in their child's school, and how often they read to their child. Broadly, parental involvement includes educational beliefs, academic expectations, and parental practices at home and in school (Seginer, 2006). It is also commonly divided into three

categorizations: home-based involvement, school-based involvement, and academic socialization (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Seginer, 2006; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Home-based involvement includes monitoring schoolwork and providing time for homework and other enriching activities. School-based involvement includes parent-teacher communication, attending and/or volunteering at school events. Academic socialization refers to parenting strategies which communicate importance of education, expectations, and encouragement to the child (Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014).

Given the breadth of the parental involvement construct, there is no consistent or single definition of parental involvement (Alvarez-Valdivia et al., 2012; Fan & Chen, 2001; Lau, Li, & Rao, 2012; Shen, Washington, Bierlein Palmer, & Xia, 2014; Yoder & Lopez, 2013). Furthermore, there are different terms used to refer to how parents help their children and how schools help parents to become more involved in school. Aside from parental involvement, scholars have used the terms family-school partnership (e.g., Epstein, 1992; Sheridan, Knoche, Kupzyk, Edwards, & Marvin, 2011), parent-school collaboration (Ishimaru, Lott, Fajardo, & Salvador, 2014), parent-school engagement (e.g., Lea, Thompson, McRae-Williams, & Wegner, 2011; Saltmarsh, Barr, & Chapman, 2014; Share & Kerrins, 2013), parent participation (e.g., Edwards & Kutaka, 2015; Zhang, 2015), school involvement (e.g., Im, Hughes, & West, 2016), parent academic involvement (e.g., Hill et al., 2004), parent engagement (e.g., Carreon, Drake, & Barton, 2005; Goodall & Montgomery, 2013; Kurani, Nerurka, Miranda, Jawadwala, & Prabhulkar, 2009), and parental school engagement (Gavidia-Payne, Denny, Davis, Francis, & Jackson, 2015). Regardless of label, however, all these terms imply a shared

responsibility between the home and school contexts in helping the child succeed academically (Edwards & Kutaka, 2015).

Scholars have also acknowledged that parental involvement comes in many forms. Epstein (1995, 2001) developed a typology that consists of six dimensions of parental involvement, namely parenting (providing parents with resources and skills to help them foster child development at home), home-school communication (open, two-way, meaningful communication between home and school), home learning activities (parents' involvement in children's learning such as helping with homework), volunteering at school (school seeking assistance from parents and parents providing assistance during school functions), decision-making (involving parents in school management decisions), and collaborating with the community (resources in the community are utilized to promote children's learning). This model illustrates the importance of fostering connections and collaboration among parents, students, teachers, and other people in the community in order to facilitate child development.

Another body of work, developed by Fan, Williams, and Wolters (2012), focused on five dimensions of parental involvement -- parental educational aspiration, parental advising (providing advice on what courses to take), parental participation in school functions (attending parent-teacher organization meetings), parent-school contact concerning student school problems (communicating about child's poor performance, whether initiated by the parent or the school), and parent-school contact concerning benign school issues (communication regarding school programs, whether initiated by the parent or the school). Distinguishing the two types of communication is important to clarify contradicting effects of home-school communication found in past research where

more frequent communication with teachers is related to poorer academic performance (Fan et al., 2012). Fan et al. (2012) maintained that teachers do reach out to parents more often, and vice versa, when students have academic and or/behavioral problems in the first place.

The types of involvement found across the literatures can also be categorized into types of relationships school and/or teachers have with parents – disconnected relationship, parent involvement, and parents and teachers as partners (Sheridan, Knoche, & Edwards, 2016). Disconnected relationship pertains to when the home and the school each has its own distinct role and teachers are believed to be the primary in-charge of educating the children. The second type, parental involvement, refers to when parents are encouraged to be involved in school affairs, but the emphasis still remains on the school's role. Lastly, parent-teacher partnership is characterized by parents and teachers' joint commitment in optimizing the child's learning experience. The home and the school share the responsibilities and make mutual decisions about how to best support the child. In theory, the parent-teacher partnership should be the most effective in positively influencing children's school outcomes. Although information about parental involvement in the Philippines is limited, knowledge about Filipino values and parenting beliefs (discussed below) would seem to suggest that Filipino families are likely to subscribe to the second type which is parental involvement.

Predictors of Parental Involvement

Parenting involves a system of relationships within and out of the family, personal beliefs and resources, and the societal context of the parent (Belsky, 1984; Super &

Harkness, 1986). Thus, it is important to explore and examine multiple factors in order to understand what influences parental involvement.

Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005) put forward a model that explains three elements that contribute to parental involvement. The first is parental motivation which includes role construction and efficacy beliefs. Role construction includes the parent's perception of responsibility regarding the child's schooling and efficacy refers to the belief that personal actions will effectively help the child. The second element is invitations to involvement from the school, teacher, and student. Invitations from these three sources are important as they suggest that actively participating in the child's schooling is welcome and valued. The third element pertains to the parents' life contexts such as socioeconomic status and parent's knowledge and skills, and how these resources, or lack of, influence practices related to their children's education. The succeeding sections discuss these elements in more detail.

Parent demographic and intrapersonal characteristics. Societal factors such as demographic and economic characteristics are implicated in the nature and extent of parental involvement (Eccles & Harold, 1996). First, household income is an important predictor of parental involvement, with children from high-income families receiving greater parental support. This is a consistent finding in all the studies which accounted for income (Balarin & Santiago, 2007; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Frewen, Chew, Carter, Chunn, & Jotanovic, 2015; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Ndebele, 2015; Turney & Kao, 2009; Usher, Kober, Jennings, & Rentner, 2012; Valdez, Shewakramani, Goldberg, & Padilla, 2013; Von Otter, 2014; Yoder & Lopez, 2013). There are explanations behind this trend. Adapting Bourdieu's perspective on different forms of capital, Lee and Bowen (2006)

purported that parents from the lower socioeconomic stratum may not possess the appropriate social and cultural capital to feel comfortable connecting with the school. The concept of social capital includes relationships and social networks that provide resources or access to resources (Bourdieu, 1987) and cultural capital with regard to education refers to the parent's ability to promote their children's academic success (Grenfell & James, 1998). The low income and working-class context also implies that parents are not able to provide resources which could enhance their children's learning. On the other hand, better-off families have more time and access to information that helps them in assisting their children in school (Balarin & Santiago, 2007). Research has also noted, however, that professional, busy working parents also reported not having enough time to communicate with their children's teachers (Clarke, 2001; Kabir & Akter, 2014; Lau et al., 2012; Share & Kerrins, 2013).

A parent's educational level is also correlated with parental involvement, with those having more years of education being more involved in their child's education across numerous studies. For instance, in a mixed-methods study conducted in Japan, they found that highly-educated mothers put much effort in researching and selecting which preschool is best for their child. Those with fewer years of education (e.g. high school graduate), on the other hand, were likely to choose a school based on convenience of location and information from family and friends (Yamamoto, Holloway, & Suzuki, 2006). Among Chinese sample, parents with lower educational attainment may solely rely on teachers because they have less knowledge about educating their children (Lau et al., 2012; Sheng, 2012). In Norway, parents with lower levels of educational attainment attend parent-teacher conferences less often (Paulsen, 2012). Going back to the social and

cultural capital perspective, parents may be limited by their low level of education (Clarke, 2001) and may not be able to provide the academic support their children need (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Trumbull et al., 2003). It is also plausible that parents with poor educational background may not understand the significance of their role in their children's learning and progress (Karsidi et al., 2014).

Parent gender is also commonly treated as a control variable in many quantitative studies. It is significantly related to parental involvement in different countries (Baeck, 2010; Kabir & Akter, 2014; Kim & Hill, 2015; Paulsen, 2012; Sheng, 2012; Vellymalay, 2012; Zellman et al., 2014), with mothers being more involved than fathers across all the studies. To cite some examples, in China, mothers are the ones mostly directly involved in their children's education, whereas the fathers have a more distant and broader role (Sheng, 2012). In a qualitative study conducted in Bangladesh, rural mothers commonly check on their children's home activities, whereas the fathers are in-charge of paying for tuition fees and visiting the school only when teachers ask for a meeting (Kabir & Akter, 2014).

Parent gender, employment status, and social class also interact to influence parental involvement. For example, although fathers in general are less involved compared to mothers, middle-income fathers demonstrate greater involvement compared to their working-class counterparts in China (Sheng, 2012). Also, it was mentioned previously that employed parents have less time to directly participate in their children's schooling. Yet, both working and non-working mothers in Singapore and Bangladesh were found to show greater involvement than fathers (Clarke, 2001; Kabir & Akter, 2014). This pattern can be attributed to traditional parenting roles where mothers remain

to be the main figure in childrearing and the fathers are in-charge of financially providing for the family (Hawke, 2007).

The parent's own psychological resource also impacts their involvement. Parent's efficacy in helping their children learn, for example, was found to impact various types of parental involvement in different countries – Japan, China, Greece, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Thailand (Daungkaew & Glascock, 2005) and across cultural groups in the United States (Caucasian America, African American, Latinos, and Asians) (Kirkbride, 2014). High levels of stress also negatively influence the parent's capacity to be involved (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). A study on Latinos in the U.S. found that financial stressors impinge on school-based parental involvement (Camacho-Thompson, Gillen-O'Neel, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2016) and that family life stressors (e.g., major life events) limit parents home-based involvement. The negative effects of increased stress due to poverty on parental involvement were also found across studies on European American and African American parents (Hill & Taylor, 2004; Robl, Jewell, & Kanotra, 2012; Usher et al., 2012; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Lastly, depression has also been linked to parental involvement. Parents who experience depression often have a less positive view of their role as a parent, and may have less motivation and confidence which translate to lower involvement (Kirkbride, 2014; Kohl, Lengua, & McMahon, 2010; Valdez et al., 2013). Overall, parents with higher levels of well-being have greater inclination to be involved in the school (Baeck, 2010).

Child factors. Children take an active and evocative role in the parent-child dyad in which their own characteristics affect how parents interact with them (Caspi, 2000; Scarr, 1992). Scholars have examined several child characteristics that predict parental involvement. A common finding across the studies is how child's age and grade level are related to parental involvement. Parental involvement and participation decline as children entered middle and secondary levels (Edwards & Kutaka, 2015; Marshall & Jackman, 2015; Wang, Hill, & Hofkens, 2014). Researchers offered possible explanations for this downward trend. First, Seginer (2006) suggested that as children age, they become more independent and more capable in doing academic tasks, therefore, there is less need for the parent's direct supervision. Aside from that, Seginer also mentioned that adolescents are less keen in having their parents show up at school. In connection to parent's educational background, as academic lessons become more demanding as students move up in grade level, parents may not have the necessary skills to assist their children academically (Trumbull et al., 2003). It is also plausible, however, that parental involvement does not actually decrease but only evolves to subtle forms of parental support such as engaging children in conversations which still support literacy (Hartas, 2015; Kaplan Toren & Seginer, 2015).

A meta-analysis of 25 studies affirmed that students' grades and academic performance also predict parental involvement (Fan & Chen, 2001). Having said this, it is crucial to note that parents who are involved due to the child having academic and/or behavioral difficulties in school should be differentiated from the type of parental involvement on benign issues (Hill & Taylor, 2004). According to Shumow and Miller (2001), academically struggling students, by default, need more educational support at

home and in school compared to more successful students. For example, in Germany, researchers found that students who displayed more reading efforts at fifth grade have parents who are more involved (in the form of parental structure and responsiveness) in seventh grade, whereas those who have low reading achievement at fifth grade receive less responsiveness and more parental control with regard to homework in seventh grade (Dumont, Trautwein, Nagy, & Nagengast, 2014). A study in Norway also found that parents of children with higher grades are also more inclined to attend more parent-teacher meetings (Paulsen, 2012). These findings assert a systematic biased distribution in social and cultural capital, with those who already have resources receiving more (Matsuoka, Nakamuro, & Inui, 2015; Paulsen, 2012). Altogether, the existing body of research acknowledges that child characteristics either drive or reflect parental involvement. This strengthens the lesser known effect-of-the-child on parenting behaviors and supports the notion that parenting is not only a product of a parent's characteristics.

School and teacher factors. Schools and teachers can also contribute to low parental involvement (Gonzalez-DeHass, Willems, & Holbein, 2005; Eccles & Harold, 1996; Kelley-Laine, 1998). In a multi-ethnic sample in the U.S., researchers found that when schools do not take on genuine efforts to make parents feel that they are welcomed partners (Park & Holloway, 2013), parents are less inclined to be involved. According to Sukhbaatar (2014), when teachers possess negative attitudes and show discriminatory behavior toward children from deprived backgrounds, parents are less likely to engage in school-based involvement. On the other hand, Epstein (1991) asserted that when teachers initiate and try to improve communication with parents, parents become more involved.

Specialized programs offered by the school can also increase parental involvement. For example, in Colombia, schools offer an English language training to parents of children who are learning English as a second language. Helping parents learn English, in turn, made parents more able to help their children in English homework (Castillo & Gamez, 2013). Likewise, in Singapore, parent training programs are well-attended because training sessions are conducted in two languages – English and the parents' mother tongue. Additionally, trainings are held at times when parents are not working (Clarke, 2001). These effective school strategies lend support to the assertion that efforts of school to involve parents is a better predictor of involvement than household income or parent's educational background (Jeynes, 2005, as cited in Westerman, 2012).

Challenges on the teachers' part can also hinder parental involvement. Teachers and school staff are often overloaded with teaching and administrative tasks (Colley, 2014; Duch, 2005; Kabir & Akter, 2014), leaving them with little time to reach out and engage with parents. Although teachers are expected to initiate communication between the school and the home, their regular work responsibilities limit their time and ability to encourage parental involvement and partnership (Park & Holloway, 2013). A news article reported that teachers in public schools in the Philippines are overloaded (Arcangel, 2015), and this possibly limits their intention and efforts to invite involvement from parents.

Teachers' beliefs also matter. For example, a study in Turkey found that teachers think that parents do not want to get involved. As such, they do not exert effort to involve them (Hakyemez, 2015). In Denmark, although parents are recognized to be involved in

informal school functions (e.g., social meetings, excursion trips), many teachers have expressed that it is difficult to engage and involve parents in formal education decision making mainly because they are not used to doing so (Ravn, 1998). The same study suggested that teachers need to develop creative and effective communication with families and communities in order for parents to be more involved. A study in Canada also mentioned that teachers and principals are hesitant to share their authority and decision-making power with parents (McKenna & Willms, 1998), leading to a decline in parental involvement. This is similar to findings in the Middle East where schools operate in isolation. Al-Gharaibeh (2012, as cited in Dubis & Bernadowski, 2015) argued that some officials in Middle Eastern schools do not believe in parental involvement, and so they operate in isolation and reject any external involvement from homes or communities.

Cultural factors. Culture exerts a major influence on parental involvement and provides a context that helps explain why parents parent the way they do. Culture influences parental cognitions which include goals and expectations for the child, beliefs about childrearing and education, and perception of what the child needs (Harkness & Super, 2006). Hofstede's (1981) collectivism-individualism dichotomy provides a structure in detailing differences in education, educational attitudes, student-teacher, and parent-teacher interactions (Denessen, Driessen, Smit, & Slegers, 2001; Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000). For example, parents from individualistic cultures are expected to parent and teach their children (Trumbull et al., 2003). Thus, parents tend to take more responsibility themselves for their children's education, whether at home or in school (Baeck, 2010). In contrast, in collectivistic cultures such as the Philippines, the responsibilities of parents and teachers are considered distinct from one another where

parents' primary role is to parent children and teachers are seen as experts and educational authorities (Denessen et al., 2001; Sy, 2006). This belief manifests in the tendency of parents from collectivistic cultures to engage in more indirect and home-based involvement. Given the foregoing, initially examining the cultural context and its influence on parental cognitions, such as education-related beliefs, and parenting practices can further illuminate our understanding of parental involvement and how it can be promoted in a particular society.

Educational policies. Parental involvement is also affected by larger contexts such as district and/or state policies on education (Trumbull et al., 2003). Government mandates and educational policies, such as the “No Children Left Behind” program in the U.S., promotes greater parental involvement (Dumont et al., 2014). Similar trends were also found in other countries. For instance, all Thailand schools are now required to include parents and community members in the school board (Daungkaew & Glascock, 2005). Government programs in Australia were also put in place to promote parent-school engagement to help reduce the achievement gap among the indigenous population (Lea et al., 2011). Recently, with a mandate from the Education Law of Magnolia, more efforts are put into getting parents to be more involved and teaching parents how to help their children academically (Sukhbaatar, 2014). This is also similar to the case of Gambia where the government has a mandate on establishing strong community ties to promote parental involvement (Colley, 2014). To date, there is no program or policy in the Philippines that specifically advocates parental involvement.

Outcomes of Parental Involvement

Parental involvement has been found to play a profound role in children's wellbeing, particularly in academic performance and cognitive development. For example, children displayed improved reading skills when parents encourage reading time at home (Crosby, Rasinski, Padak, & Yildirim, 2014). A meta-synthesis of nine meta-analyses also showed that children perform better in mathematics, reading, and spelling when parents tutor them (Wilder, 2013). Parental help with homework benefits numerous learning outcomes, especially when parents are emotionally supportive and encourage children's autonomy (Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack, 2007). Researchers have also found that parents' attendance in parent-teacher conferences and school events in U.S. public schools is a positive predictor of students' academic progress (Shen, Washington, Bierlein Palmer, & Xia, 2014). A meta-analysis of 25 studies also showed that parental expectations and educational aspirations are the factors most highly related to children's academic achievement (Fan & Chen, 2001). Finally, in a U.S. sample, parental involvement has been found to positively affect children's intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to school, perceived competence, and academic goals (Gonzalez-DeHass et al., 2005).

How parental involvement influences child outcomes. The extant literature also underscores how the different types of parental involvement can impact child outcomes in different ways. In a comprehensive review of related literature, Pomerantz et al. (2007) asserted that parental involvement does not simply have a linear relationship with positive child outcomes, that more involvement does not always mean better outcomes for

children. Rather, the effectiveness and benefits of parental involvement depend on *how* (style) parents become involved.

The parenting style influences the effect of parenting practices by providing the emotional climate in which the involvement is expressed (Darling & Steinberg, 1997). The role of parenting style is affirmed by Darling and Steinberg (1997) in this statement:

[p]arenting style moderates the influence of parenting practices on the child's development in at least two ways: by transforming the nature of the parent-child interactions, and thus moderating the specific practice's influence on child outcomes, and by influencing the child's personality, especially the child's openness to parental influence. (p.493)

When parents are controlling and coercive, rather than supportive of children's autonomy in their involvement, they inhibit the opportunities for children to initiate and to solve problems on their own. They may also deprive the children of feeling capable and independent. Parental involvement can also be described as process- versus person-focused. Process-focused involvement considers the context of skill and motivational development as a process, whereas a person-focused involvement concentrates on the child's personal characteristics (e.g., intelligence) and overlooks the child's efforts to develop (Pomerantz et al., 2007). With the latter, children may form negative perceptions of themselves and their abilities, especially when receiving criticisms directed to who they are as opposed to what they do. Parental involvement that is characterized by negative affect is also not conducive for children's development. When parents are always annoyed, hostile, stressed, or overly critical, rather than supportive and caring,

their involvement may send a message that school is taxing and frustrating. This, in turn, may affect the child's attention and enthusiasm around school work.

All these findings imply that examining the quality, and not just quantity, of parental involvement is of utmost importance in understanding how involvement affects the child. For example, instead of simply asking close-ended questions such as if anyone helps the child with homework, constructed-response questions such as how the parent checks the homework can provide more insights on parental involvement (Balarin & Santiago, 2007; Pomerantz et al., 2007). In sum, the effects of parental involvement on children's development rely heavily on the nature of parental involvement and how it is expressed.

The Filipino Family and Education

The traditional Filipino family is characterized by strong cohesion among immediate and extended family members. Obedience, respect for elders, fear of God, and meeting familial obligations are highly valued and are taught to children at an early age. *Hiya* (shame) and *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) are also pivotal values in the Filipino culture. With these values, children are expected to care for their aging parents, as a way to pay the parents back for rearing them.

Traditional Filipino parenting roles are distinct for mothers and fathers (Alampay & Jocson, 2011). Fathers serve as the protector and primary financial provider of the family ("*haligi ng tahanan*" or "pillar of the home") whereas mothers are considered the primary caregiver in the household ("*ilaw ng tahanan*" or "light of the home"), in charge of the children's everyday needs, discipline, and school management. In all, Filipino parents are described to be nurturing and supportive (De la Cruz, Protacio-Marcelino,

Balanon, Yacat, & Francisco, 2001), and one of the Filipino family's primary and important functions is to educate the children (Reyes & Resurreccion, 2015). Filipino parents view education not only as an investment for their children, but also for the whole family (Blair, 2014; Medina, 2001; Ying & Han, 2008). Correspondingly, a study among Filipino college students showed that they value education as a way of fulfilling familial obligations (Reyes & Galang, 2009). Reyes and Galang (2009) also maintained that parents and family contribute positively to students' motivation in school.

An extensive search of the literature, as well as direct communication with several prominent Filipino scholars in the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries resulted in finding only one published empirical study focusing on parental involvement among Filipinos (Blair, 2014). Blair's (2014) findings revealed that middle- and high-income Filipino parents scored high in involvement with homework and in volunteering. Another local preliminary study, using univariate analyses, found that Filipino parents always remind their child of the importance of going to school (Tabbada-Rungduin, Abulon, Fetalvero, & Suatengco, 2014). The same study also found that parents believe that they are their children's first teacher, especially in learning how to read. Given that children from disadvantaged backgrounds do not get enough support (PIDS, 2012) and many parents are not equipped with skills to support their children's education, it is essential to investigate this topic and explore how Filipino parents can help and contribute to their children's academic success.

Education and Poverty in the Philippines

According to the 2010 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey conducted by the National Statistics Office, lack of personal interest in school and the high cost of

education are the top two reasons why Filipino youth do not attend school. Despite government efforts to improve the access and state of education in the country, such as participating in United Nations' Millennium Development Goal and allocating the biggest portion of the national budget for the Department of Education (Albert, Quimba, Ramos, & Almeda, 2012), 36 million of the 6 to 24-year-old population is out-of-school. That is one in every ten Filipino children and youth (FLEMMS, 2013).

The low quality of education in Philippine public schools manifests in the students' poor performance in national and international assessment tests. For example, in the National Achievement Tests, the students only scored 68% in school year 2009 – 2010. The Philippines was also one of the worst participating countries in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (Yap, 2011). In the hope of addressing this problem, the Philippines is currently transitioning from a 10-year basic education curriculum – the only country in Asia to still adapt this – to a 12-year cycle (K-12 program). However, many educators believe that the country is not well equipped for this transition to be successful. In fact, the current secretary of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) commented that many public schools still do not have enough classrooms, teachers, chairs, and books (Ibon Foundation, 2016).

The negative repercussions of low-quality education and limited educational resources are more pronounced for children in poverty. Data from 2002 to 2010 from the Department of Education show that in both private and public schools, children in poverty showed lower participation (enrollment) rates compared to non-poor children. Even more children in poverty drop out when they reach high school, with 89% participation rate in elementary school dropping to 65.1% in high school (Yap, 2011). Critics are especially

wary that this problem will be solved by the K-12 program, mainly because government resources are not yet guaranteed and additional school years entail extra cost on the part of the household (Yap, 2011). It will be helpful to know then what parents can do, despite these challenges, to effectively support their children to stay and perform in school.

This review of literature summarizes findings on what constitutes parental involvement, the various factors that facilitate or inhibit involvement, and how the different types of parental involvement influence children's academic outcomes. This section also gives an overview of the state of education in the Philippines, the Filipino family, and education-related Filipino cultural beliefs.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Paradigm

This study was informed and guided by the pragmatic paradigm or worldview. Pragmatism acknowledges singular and multiple realities. It also emphasizes practicality and allows researchers to have unbiased and biased perspectives (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Furthermore, it is characterized as real-world oriented and problem-centered which is particularly apt for this study, as its main goal is to provide culture-specific information that can help inform potential programs and policies for Filipino parents and children.

Qualitative Research and the Phenomenological Approach

A qualitative design, rather than quantitative, is chosen for this study for the following reasons. First, the use of semi-structured interviews best matches the objectives of this study: to explore, describe, and explain (Daly, 2007). Second, the lack of research on parental support and involvement in the Philippine context precludes definitive hypotheses and conclusions to explore parental involvement and how it affects academic outcomes among Filipino children. As it is not preemptive, qualitative research design allows for the exploration of the phenomenon straight from the data and avoids imposing assumptions on the participants' experiences (Merriam, 2009).

A phenomenological approach was used in this study. According to Creswell (2007), phenomenology is best suited for research that aims to understand individuals' common experiences of a phenomenon, which is parental involvement among low-income Filipino families in this case. There are two schools of thought in phenomenology – descriptive and interpretive (Reiners, 2012). In descriptive phenomenology, it is

assumed that the researcher's experiences and judgments are set aside during the entire research process. The ultimate goal of this approach is to describe a phenomenon without regard for the researcher/s' preconceived notions. On the other hand, interpretive phenomenology, also called hermeneutic phenomenology, acknowledges that the researchers cannot entirely remove themselves from the meanings obtained from the interviews. Moreover, the researcher's subjective views and beliefs help in interpreting and, subsequently, understanding the phenomenon. Interpretive phenomenology was used in this study as its tenets are more suitable to the present study's research goals. In this study, exploring the meaning and the nature of parental involvement and how it relates to children's academic outcomes relied not only on the narratives of the participants, but also on the researcher's knowledge of the construct and interpretation and examination of the interviews and field notes.

A parental involvement study conducted in New Zealand successfully utilized the interpretive phenomenological approach (Hall, Hornby, & Macfarlane, 2015). The goal of their study was to explore the factors which facilitate or hinder parental engagement among the Maoris, an indigenous group in New Zealand. The study also used an indigenous methodology in data collection and a cultural lens in interpreting their findings. These lend support that the phenomenological approach is an appropriate and effective way to answer the present study's research questions.

Sikolohiyang Pilipino

Aside from using the phenomenological approach, the data collection procedure for this study drew from the research methodology of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, which is the psychology that is born out of the experience and orientation of the Filipinos (Enriquez,

1994). In *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, it is important to examine and understand the local language and to explain the phenomenon through the lens of the native Filipino in order to develop knowledge that is contextualized within indigenous concepts (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*'s approach is regarded as "indigenization from within" where conclusions are directly derived from the experiences and socio-cultural realities of the Filipino people (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). From this description, it is apparent that the approach of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* is analogous to that of phenomenology (drawing conclusion only from the data and avoiding assumptions). As such, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* suitably complemented the goals of the interpretive phenomenological approach.

This study utilized the indigenous method of *pakikipagkwentuhan* (exchanging stories). This can be likened to the traditional method of interviewing, except for the role of the researcher and the participant and the manner of data collection. In *pakikipagkwentuhan*, the researcher motivates the participants to narrate their experiences about the topic. *Pakikipagkwentuhan* aims for systematic procedures, for example, using a semi-structured predetermined interview protocol. However, flexibility was allowed in the questions (e.g., adding or omitting questions when deemed appropriate) and each interview was set in a less formal tone that can be more likened to a friendly, casual conversation. In addition, prior to starting the interview, the researcher tried to build rapport with the participant by engaging her in conversation and by sharing a light snack at the researcher's home. Rapport-building is very important, especially in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, to minimize the gap between researcher and participant and to help facilitate a comfortable relationship between the two (*pakikipagpalagayang-loob*; Pe-Pua &

Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). This approach was used as this has been found to be culturally-sensitive and more appropriate in doing research with Filipino samples (de Guzman, 2014). According to *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, this is a type of data-collection that uses a mutual-orientation model (Viney, 1988). This model engenders an equal status between the researcher and the participant, where each gives something to, and gains something from, the data collection. This equal and amicable relationship between the researcher and the participant, rather than a more formal and distant one, positively influences the quality of data collected (Pe-Pua, 2006).

Research Site

This study was conducted in a community in Caloocan City, a part of Metro Manila. It has a population of 1.58 million, making it the third most populous highly urbanized city in the Philippines (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016). It has a very high population density (28,387 persons per square kilometer; for reference, Lincoln, NE's population density is 1,148.6 persons/km²) as well as high rates of poverty. The city is a part of the third district of Metro Manila (including Malabon, Navotas, and Valenzuela cities) which has a poverty incidence rate of 2.7 to 5.5%. This means that 76,838 to 155,141 of the population in the district live below the poverty threshold (\$181 dollars in year 2015, the minimum amount required to support the needs of a 5-member household) (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016). The Asian Development Bank (2004) also estimated that there is only one classroom for every 112 public elementary school students in Caloocan in 2004. The public school where participants will be recruited is an elementary school with a student population of 5,125 in academic year 2013-2014 and has 54 instructional classrooms.

Instrument/Protocol

As previously discussed, parental involvement is a multifaceted construct that includes cognition, affect, and behavior. Thus, the interview protocol used in this study included questions on educational beliefs, academic expectations, and parental practices at home and in school. In order to identify what hinders or facilitates parental involvement, the foundation on which involvement lies was examined. Taking elements of Hornby and Lafael's (2011) and Eccles and Harold's (1996) models of factors acting as barriers to parental involvement, questions on parent demographic and intrapersonal characteristics (e.g., household income, educational background, experience of poverty and stress), child factors (e.g., personality, school performance), and school and teacher characteristics (e.g., teachers' warmth, school's openness), and other external variables were included in the protocol. Parental involvement is also influenced by cultural factors which reveal distinct parental values and goals (Malone, 2014; Usher et al., 2012). These then translate to how much or how little they involve themselves in their children's academic affairs, as well as contextualize the nature of their involvement. Thus, Filipino cultural concepts related to parenting, beliefs on child development, and value of education were also asked. The interview protocol is presented in Appendix A and the demographic questionnaire is presented in Appendix B.

Participants

The participants for this study were low-income parents of high-achieving (Group A), average (Group B), and underachieving third grade students (Group C). Participants were recruited from a public school in Caloocan City, with public school enrollment as an indicator of low socioeconomic status in the Philippines (Alampay & Jocson, 2011;

Garcia & Alampay, 2012). There was no age, educational attainment, or gender preference for the participants, as long as they have at least one child in third grade enrolled in the public school.

The participants consisted of 27 biological mothers, one biological father, one grandmother, one adoptive mother, and one legal guardian/aunt. Table 1 shows a summary of the participants' and their children's key demographic characteristics.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants and their Children

Variable	Mean (SD) or Frequency (%) (<i>N</i> = 31)	Min	Max
Age	36.65 (8.11)	27	63
Years of education	10.10 (2.02)	6	14
Target child's age	8.64 (.84)	8	11
Number of children	2.87 (1.82)	1	8
Target child gender (male)	12 (38.7%)		
Employed			
Part-time	8 (25.8%)		
Full-time	3 (9.7%)		
Not employed	20 (64.5%)		
Monthly household income (USD)			
80 or less	5 (16.1%)		

81 – 160	5 (16.1%)
160 – 250	11 (35.5%)
251 – 410	3 (9.7%)
411 – 600	3 (9.7%)
Undisclosed	4 (12.9%)

Recruitment and Data Collection Procedures

The researcher employed purposive sampling with the help of the school (i.e., the school principal and one classroom adviser) to identify the potential participants in terms of the students' academic grades. The school also helped identify students with average grades and students who were on academic probation to comprise the sample of underachieving students. Upon identification of the potential participants, recruitment letters were sent to parents through the school with the instruction to contact the school or the researcher if the parent is willing to be interviewed. The researcher then contacted the interested parents through phone call and/or text message to provide a brief overview of the study and what the participation entails. A date and time for the interview were set for parents who agreed to participate. All the interviews were held at the researcher's house, as preferred by the participants. Each interview lasted from 19 minutes to 71 minutes, averaging 39.13 minutes in length.

Following previous parenting research projects in the Philippines, PhP 300 (approximately USD 6.00) was given to each parent for their time and participation. According to Creswell (2013), participants for a phenomenological study may vary in size, from 3 to 4, to 10 to 15. The target minimum number of participants for this study is

24 to 30 (8 to 10 from each group) or until data saturation is reached. This number is considered sufficient for doing phenomenology and helps ensure heterogeneity of participants' experiences.

In addition to conducting the interviews, the researcher diligently kept a record of her observations and reflections throughout data collection. Bernard (2005) identified three types of field notes and these three were utilized in this study. First, there were methodological notes where thoughts and insights on recruitment and data collection procedures were logged. Second, descriptive notes included observations and reflections on each interview were recorded, as well as the researcher's personal reactions and perceptions of the interview. Finally, analytic notes contained initial reflections on the participants' responses and ideas on emergent themes.

Setting and Context

This section outlines relevant constructs and terms to provide a contextual background to the participants' responses. Descriptions of the structure of the public school are also provided below.

- **Tuition fees and financial contribution.** Tuition and books are free in Philippine public schools. Parents do need to provide for the children's school uniform and other school supplies. One participant mentioned that there are two cities in Metro Manila (Makati and Taguig) which give out free shoes, uniform, and school supplies at the start of classes, but this is not the case in the research site. Some parents also choose to buy books for their children as the free books are sometimes shared among students (e.g., one book has to be shared by three students) and they are also not in good condition. Parents and teachers

sometimes decide among themselves to contribute funds in order to purchase things for the class (e.g., electric fan, cleaning materials, etc.).

- **School calendar.** The academic year starts in June, ends in March, and is divided into four quarters (first quarter, second quarter, etc.).
- **Schedule of classes.** As the number of classrooms is not enough to accommodate students from all grade levels at once, the public schools in the Philippines utilize a half-day schedule for each grade level. For example, second-, fourth-, and sixth-grade students will have their classes from 6:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m. As their classes will dismiss at 11:00am, the first-, third-, and fifth-grade students are lining up outside the school premises (along the street which is closed to vehicles during school hours, but motorcycles are allowed to pass through), ready to enter the school once the morning classes have left. The third grade classes end at 6:00 p.m.
- **Section assignment.** There were ten sections of third grade students in this school. Students are assigned to each section according to their ability, and students with high grades are assigned to the star section – Section 1. Students in Section 1 have a more demanding school schedule and requirements. It was said that the quality of teaching in this section is better compared to the other sections. All the other sections are somewhat more homogenous in nature (e.g., students in Section 6 do not necessarily have higher grades compared to students in Section 8, etc.)
- **Grading system.** The public schools employ a numerical grading. At the time of the interview, students who get a grade of 90 and above for all their subjects

will be listed in the honor roll for that quarter. Previously, students were ranked according to their overall average with each class having its Top 10 students for the quarter. The passing grade is 75, but any grade in the line of 70 is considered low.

- **Going to school.** The school is within walking distance from the houses in the community. Some students and parents prefer to take a short tricycle ride for 8 pesos per passenger (15 cents), whereas more people prefer to walk.
- **School lockers.** The school does not have lockers. Thus, students have to carry all their books and notebooks every day, from home to school. The use of stroller bags is discouraged as they are bigger and will not fit inside the classroom.
- **Brigada Eskwela.** Before classes starts in June, public schools across the Philippines engage in “*Brigada Eskwela*” as mandated by the Department of Education. Formally, this mandate is called National Schools Maintenance Week, where parents, teachers, and students volunteer their time to help clean the school and prepare it for the opening.
- **School projects.** School projects carry a heavier weight than the regular homework. It is usual for the teachers of each subject to require a project per quarter. These projects would include science albums (e.g., collection of pictures of insects, musical instruments, etc.), art projects (e.g., a headdress), among others.

- **Remedial classes.** The school offers free remedial classes on Saturdays for students who have low grades. Some remedial classes are also offered over the summer to prepare the students for the incoming school year.
- **Computer shops.** There are several computer shops in the neighborhood where customers can rent a computer for 15 pesos an hour (30 cents). These shops also offer computer-related (e.g., typing, internet search) and printing services. Most of the participants reported availing of these services.
- **US dollar – Philippine peso conversion.** At the time of data collection, March 2017, 1 US dollar is equivalent to approximately 50 Philippine pesos.

School Policies and Norms around Parental Involvement

Participants reported that to their knowledge, the school does not provide a handbook that outlines the school policies, grading system, and expectations from students and parents. Although the parents reported that the teachers encourage them to be involved in their children's schooling (e.g., tell the parents to teach the children at home), the school does not have an official program or a systematic approach on teaching specific strategies on how parents can support their children.

Each quarter, parents are required to come to school to receive the children's report cards. During this quarterly event, parents have the opportunity to talk to the teacher about their children. However, this meeting is rather informal, and parents can choose to simply receive the report card and leave. Other than these quarterly meetings, the school does not have an imposed set of guidelines on when to hold parent-teacher conferences and setting up a meeting is mainly the teacher's or the parent's prerogative.

Ethical Considerations

This study commenced only with the approval from UNL IRB. Confidentiality of the data was given utmost importance. Each participant was assigned an ID number and no identifying information was included in the final write up. Data was kept and will be kept secured and confidential by protecting it with a password only the principal investigator and the advisor know; the two auditors were given access only to the codes and excerpts and not the raw and complete interview transcripts. The compensation amount was also deemed fair and commensurate to the time the participants spent in this study. Aside from what was written in the consent form, verbal instructions were also given to each participant so that he/she can decide which questions to answer and when to terminate the interview.

Data Analysis

The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriptionist fluent in both Filipino and English. The interviews were coded in the original language following the steps advanced by Castro (2003), Creswell (2007), and van Manen (1990) in doing phenomenological study. First, the transcriptions from all three groups were read several times by group as the researcher searched for patterns and emerging insights from the participants' experiences (holistic approach). This included highlighting significant statements and/or quotes which reflect the participants' experiences (Creswell, 2007) and to see the language the participants use to describe the phenomenon. For the second step, data were organized and divided into meaning units/blocks which then allowed for a more detailed analysis. At this point, the data was analyzed separately by group.

The next step was to synthesize findings from the three groups and incorporate insights onto the meaning units. This was when the meaning units were transformed into psychological language. There are two levels to this step – situated structure and general structure (Castro, 2003) – and both were employed in this study. The situated structure refers to the concrete elements in which the phenomenon takes place. This interpretation technique helped address the first and second research questions on the meaning of parental involvement and the factors that facilitate or hinder parental involvement. The general structure refers to the essential meaning of the phenomenon under study. This revealed emergent patterns that link parental involvement strategies and academic outcomes.

Finally, as a last step, as the general description of the phenomenon was formed, the results of all the steps in data analyses were integrated to make sure that there is a coherent understanding of the phenomenon. Throughout this process, two other researchers who are both fluent in Filipino language and are skilled in qualitative research, served as auditors to examine the codes and themes. Interview excerpts presented in the succeeding results section were translated from Filipino to English. Table 2 shows the levels of analysis and the researcher's actions for each level, together with sample findings derived from each level.

Table 2.

Levels of Data Analysis, Researcher Actions, and Sample Findings

Levels of Data Analysis	Researcher Actions	Sample Findings
Holistic Approach	The researcher read the transcripts by group and highlighted responses related to the research questions. The researcher also	This step showed the terms that participants commonly used to describe parental involvement, such as

	<p>searched for patterns and understanding from questions which were not directly related to parental involvement (e.g., How were your own experiences as a student?). As the researcher highlighted relevant information, she also wrote analytic notes and summary descriptions for each transcript.</p>	<p><i>alalayan</i> (assist), <i>gabayan</i> (guide), <i>suportahan</i> (support), <i>tutukan</i> (focus), <i>igapang</i> (persevere through poverty), and <i>pinatawag</i> (teacher called for a meeting), among others.</p>
	<p>The researcher also noted the terms the participants use to describe their experiences.</p>	
<p>Organization into meaning units/blocks</p>	<p>All the highlighted responses were reviewed and transcripts were coded one by one. Transcripts from Group A were coded first with an open coding approach – the codes were created as they emerged from the data, using the participants’ language. As the researcher moved to coding Group B and Group C transcripts, codes were added that did not emerge in Group A (e.g., child is lazy).</p> <p>At this point, data was analyzed separately by group. All the excerpts that were coded similarly were grouped together.</p>	<p>For RQ 1, for example, the participants mentioned that they attend meetings in school. Organizing the excerpts revealed that there are three reasons they attend meetings – (1) they go to school because there is a meeting and it is required; (2) they are classroom officers; or (3) they need to. Each reason was considered as a meaning unit or block.</p>
<p>Transformation into psychological language</p>	<p>The codes and excerpts from all groups falling under each meaning unit were then grouped together to allow for easier analysis and comparison across groups. The researcher translated these meaning units and larger themes into psychological language to allow for a consistent description of the phenomenon and a more systematic</p>	

	comparison with existing literature. Transforming units into psychological language involved two levels that are described below.	
a) Situated structure	For this step, the researcher focused on specific descriptions of parental involvement from the transcripts. This step revealed responses to RQ 1 and RQ 2 which were about the participants' concrete experiences.	Again, for RQ 1, "attending meetings" was now described as "communicating with teachers" as it was referred to in existing literature. Further, "communicating with teachers" fell under the bigger theme of "school-based involvement," a term also used in the current literature, along with volunteering in school. The theme of school-based involvement, and the subthemes of communicating and volunteering, were found across three groups.
b) General structure	At this point, the researcher no longer focused on the specific descriptions of parental involvement. Rather, the goal of this analysis was to make a more general statement or summary about the situated structures found. This step also involved looking at a pattern on the participants' experiences that are transsituational (Castro, 2003). As such, this step was conducted to reveal responses to RQ 3 which involved the researcher's analysis of the differences between parental involvement strategies of high-achieving (Group A) and	For RQ 3, the summary of responses showed that although all parents reported teaching their children, Group A parents reported using more concrete strategies to help their children. They also set higher academic expectations compared to Group C parents.

underachieving (Group B)
students.

Validity and Verification Procedures

To ensure validity of findings, three verification procedures from the strategies suggested by Creswell and Miller (2000) were conducted. First, rich and thick description of the participants' experiences were presented to give a vivid and clear narrative to the readers, giving them enough evidence to make sense of the study and to make decisions regarding transferability. Second, the results were presented to a group of about 20 researchers at a professional conference on cross-cultural studies. This audience provided feedback and additional insights on the findings. For example, a few audience members affirmed that the nature of volunteerism reported by the participants is very different from how parents in the U.S. volunteer in their children's school. They also asked further questions about the traditions and common practices among Filipino families to contextualize the participants' reported strategies in helping their children. This led to the addition of further descriptions of some concepts and behaviors to ensure that readers understand the context and the interpretation of findings.

Lastly, the researcher continuously engaged in reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the continuous process of reflection on the researcher's personal values and preconceptions which can influence data collection and interpretation (Parahoo, 2006). In phenomenology, it is very important that the researcher's subjective views and potential biases are made explicit (Creswell, 2007). As a Filipino, the researcher shares a similar cultural background with the participants, and this can serve as a common ground to give way to a smooth interaction with the participants. Although the researcher attended a

private school in elementary, she did go to a public high school and has experienced first-hand the challenges of having inadequate school facilities. In addition, although the researcher worked as an elementary school teacher in a private school for five years, she had regular interaction with families in poverty through her participation in research projects on poverty and through community outreach endeavors.

On the other hand, the researcher also acknowledged the potential biases and differences she may have with the participants. She has a different socioeconomic background from the participants and her definition and experience of poverty may have been different from the participants' experiences. As such, the researcher was especially careful not to interpret the data according to her own beliefs and assumptions. In addition, the researcher constantly referred to the recorded field notes to aid in data analysis.

During the analysis, the researcher was very mindful of her own preconceived notions about parental involvement, especially having worked as a teacher and dealt with parents from both high-income and low-income backgrounds. It was important that the researcher suspend her own definitions of parental involvement and respect the participants' views of the construct. For example, a parent shared that she is very involved in her child's education. However, when prodded with additional questions related to school, such as the child's favorite subject or the name of the child's best friend in school, the parent was not able to respond and simply said she was not sure of the answer. For the researcher, to be involved means to know important information about the child's school life. Nonetheless, the researcher honored the participant's response that she is an involved parent as that must be reflective of her lived experiences and how she views the phenomenon.

Finally, there was regular consultation with the advisor to ensure that the findings remained objective and grounded on the data. Having two external auditors who are also fluent in the language and know the Filipino culture helped ensure that the researcher's personal biases did not undermine or overpower the experiences of the participants.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Findings are organized by research question. For each research question, themes and subthemes are outlined, together with supporting interview excerpts to provide rich description of participants' experiences. These excerpts were translated from Filipino to English, and also back-translated. Participants are identified with pseudonyms, including the group where their children belong (i.e., Group A – high-achieving students, Group B – average students, Group C – underachieving students).

RQ 1. What is the Meaning and Nature of Parental Involvement among Low-income Families?

Participants were asked about their views on education and their role in helping their children succeed academically. Responses to these questions provide the meaning of parental involvement for the participants and the specific strategies they employ to support their children's education. All participants stated that going to school is important and that education is perceived as a tool to escape poverty. Trina (A), 40, mother of 3, noted, "For me, education is very important. If they (children) don't get to study, they won't have a bright future. They won't get a good job." This is similar to Myla's (A) statement, "It's (education) the only treasure we can leave behind. Even if we don't have land or anything, as long as they graduate, they can get a good job." Myla (A) is 51 and has 5 children who were all described as honor students. Holly (C), 34, mother of 2, further asserted the importance of education despite having financial difficulties. She said, "For me, it's unavoidable not to have money problems... But if you think about it, you can do both – work and send your child to school. If you don't have a job, work as a

laundry woman. What's important is that you send the child to school. My son, even if he doesn't have snacks or money, he'd go to school.”

Participants' descriptions of their support and involvement generally fell into four main themes: (1) home-based involvement, (2) school-based involvement, (3) academic socialization, and (4) responding to the child's needs. Subthemes for each larger theme are also discussed. Table 3 lists the themes, subthemes, and sample quotes for RQ1.

Table 3.

Themes, Subthemes, and Sample Quotes for RQ1 - What is the meaning and nature of parental involvement among low-income families?

Themes	Subthemes	Sample Quotes
Theme 1. Home-based involvement	1.1. Monitoring the child	<i>When he gets home from school, I'd ask him what they did, if they have an assignment, if they had a test. Things like that. For me, as soon as he gets to the gate of our house, I'd ask, 'What did you do? Did you read?' I'd ask him right away</i>
	1.2. Engaging in home learning activities	<i>We always study advanced lessons. What we do is try to beat the school – we study now the lessons for the next day.</i>
Theme 2. School-based involvement	2.1. Communicating with teachers	<i>Every other Friday I would go to school to ask about my daughter's problem, and they would tell me to talk to her... The teacher would not ask me to come, I would just go and ask.</i>

	2.2. Volunteering	<i>I'd help out during the class Christmas party, things like that. Even if I'm not an officer, they'd call on me. I'm easy to talk to, I'm willing to help with anything.</i>
Theme 3. Academic socialization	3.1. Motivating the child	<i>Son, just continue with your studies. Even if we're poor, we can do this. Your Papa is there to help as well.</i>
	3.2. Establishing rules and routine around studying	<i>I don't forbid them to watch TV. It's okay if they watch TV. But all I tell them is that they are not allowed to use the computer from Monday to Friday, except when they don't have school.</i>
	3.3. Giving rewards for positive academic outcomes	<i>My husband and I, we're always at Jollibee because when she gets a perfect exam score, we have an agreement... We'll buy our dinner from Jollibee.</i>
	3.4. Administering punishments for negative academic outcomes	<i>I would just reprimand her. I would just tell her to study what she missed in the test.</i>

Theme 4. Responding to the child's needs	4.1. Taking care of the child's health	<i>My son does not miss school... as long as he's not sick. I even give him vitamins so that he won't get sick.</i>
	4.2. Bringing the child to and from school	<i>He might get hit by a car. I really need to walk with him because he still can't be totally by himself. He still needs assistance, especially at his age.</i>
	4.3. Other parental obligations	<i>Of course, to persevere at work... Because of course, if you don't have a job, where will you get money to spend for their schooling?</i>

Theme 1. Home-based involvement. Home-based involvement includes activities such as monitoring the child, assisting with homework, and providing other enrichment activities for the child to learn (Eccles & Harold, 1993). Participants reported that as parents, one of their roles is to help their children in their schoolwork; thus, they engage in home-based involvement. Across all three groups, responses reflected beliefs on home-school partnership where parents perceived themselves as having an active role in helping their children learn and that they can do something at home to facilitate their children's learning. As Wilma (C), 39, said, "Teachers and parents need to help each other for the benefit of the child. It's not right that the teachers will do all the work. Parents should also teach the children at home. Before they go to school, teach them. So that when they go to school, they'd know how to respond to the teacher's questions." Lani (B), 28, shared the same sentiment, "You shouldn't rely on the teacher alone. As a parent, you also need to teach the child at home. So that when it comes to school, the teacher won't have a hard time anymore." The home-based involvement theme is divided into two subthemes: monitoring the children regarding school work and engaging in different learning activities at home.

1.1 Monitoring the child. Monitoring involves asking the child about what happened in school, if there were homework, and checking up on the child's activities. The participants mentioned that closely monitoring their children keeps them updated on what they should teach their children. One. For example, Holly (C) mentioned in the interview that she focuses (*tinututukan*) on her son's studies. She detailed, "When he gets home from school, I'd ask him what they did, if they have an assignment, if they had a test. Things like that. For me, as soon as he gets to the gate of our house, I'd ask, 'What

did you do? Did you read?' I'd ask him right away." Sonia (A), 29, said, "I always check on my daughter, I look at the things she needs for school. And I also teach her. You should have time for her to help her review." Myla (A), 51, Alma (B), 31, and Beth (B), 29, all mentioned that as soon as their children get home, they would ask them if they have homework to do.

Several participants also said that even though their children can do the homework on their own, they still checked on them to see if their answers were correct. Monica (C), 29, described her daughter, "She would do her homework and then I would check it, and that's when I would tell her what's missing..." Similarly, Vivian (C), 31, mentioned, "When they have a homework and they know how to do it, they will do it on their own. But I tell them that if they don't know the answers, they should ask me. Even if I'm doing laundry, I'd ask them if they have homework and I would respond if they have questions." Kris (A) reported that she is very supportive of her son's education and she does not let him study by himself as he is only in third grade. All her four children have good grades in school. However, she thought that perhaps she gets overinvolved sometimes. Kris (A) shared:

Sometimes my children would get annoyed with me... I would always remind them, "Your assignment?" And my son would say, "Ma, I'll take care of it. I'll just let you know if there's something I need you to do, okay? Just relax, Ma. Relax."

1.2. Engaging in home learning activities. A second way by which parents described home-based involvement is in engaging in activities that introduce or reinforce the school lessons, such as purposely allotting time to teach the child. However, the range

of involvement reported varied widely. First, majority of the participants described helping their children with their homework and projects. For example, as the legal guardian of her niece (her brother's daughter), Veronica (C) reported that she checks her niece's notebook and teaches her, especially when the older sisters were not around to help the child. Fiona (C), 40, who works part-time, also said, "I tutor my son on his assignments no matter how busy I am." Carol (B) and Erica (B) both responded that they teach their children at night, as a follow-up to what they learned in school earlier that day. Erica (B) added, "Every night I'd teach my daughter how to read. Before we sleep, we would read first... Any English book." Elsa (B), 34, shared that she would help her son with his assignments, and that she would explain concepts that he did not understand. Joyce (B) reported helping her daughter when there were school projects and very difficult assignments, pointing out that she tried to learn the lessons herself so she can teach her daughter effectively. Karen (C), whose son had been having academic problems, shared, "I have to help him because if I don't, then nothing, he will just be like that."

Second, parents practice more intense teaching when the children have an upcoming exam. As exams carry a big percentage of the grades, parents reported studying with their children more thoroughly and constructing reviewers that their children can answer. They also tried to simulate a testing environment so that their children will be ready come exam time. Kris (A) said she would review her son by asking him questions that she has constructed from the school lessons, hoping that some of those questions would be similar to what will be in the actual test. Christy (A) described that she would write a summary of each day's lessons that her daughter can review. Aurora (A) and Aida

(A) both mentioned that they create practice exams or reviewers for the children to answer, with Aurora (A) further commenting that she does this with or without an upcoming exam.

Third, a few of the participants noted teaching their children ahead of the lessons they are currently teaching in school. Although a timeline of the lessons is not available to parents, they have access to the books which the children have to bring home every day. Thus, parents have references if they would like to teach their children about the succeeding lessons. These parents also acknowledged that studying at home should not be limited to simply completing the child's assignments. For example, for Aida (A), 63, who is the primary caregiver of her only granddaughter as her daughter (mother of the child) works overseas, she makes sure to teach the child and noted, "I do teach her lessons in advance because the textbooks are there anyway." Angie (B) also expressed that she believes that studying should be continuous, from school to home, and that parents should teach the children in advance what they would need to learn. Relatedly, Aurora (A) sees the value of studying ahead of time. She said of her daughter who ranks third in her class, "We always study advanced lessons. What we do is try to beat the school – we study now the lessons for the next day." Teaching advanced lessons was also something Monica (C) used to do with her daughter. However, she thought that it might be the cause of the problem why her daughter now is having a hard time in school. When asked if she teaches her daughter in advance, she responded, "That was perhaps the problem with me... Because I wanted her to learn things right away even if her brain could not handle it yet."

Theme 2. School-based involvement. Whereas responses summarized in Theme 1 reflect the participants' efforts to help their children at home, this theme refers to the parents' involvement in activities situated in school. Participants believe that parents and teachers should work together in order to optimize children's learnings. As such, most participants reported actively participating in school-led activities and reaching out to the teachers when necessary. More specifically, responses under school-based involvement fall under two subthemes: communicating with teachers and volunteering in school.

2.1. Communicating with teachers. The participants deemed an open home-school communication is necessary if they would like their children to succeed. This subtheme includes attending parent-teacher conferences, asking the teachers about their children's academic performance and classroom behavior, as well as consulting them for advice. Responding to call for meetings, for example, is one way by which the participants show their involvement in their children's education. In this particular public school, parents are required to come to school to claim their children's report card at the end of each quarter. All 31 participants said that they come to school for this, and some of them noted that they take this opportunity to ask the teacher about their children. Kris (A) mentioned, "During report card distribution, you can consult the teacher, if there's a problem... I would really ask for the possible reasons why my son's grades decreased." Carmela (B) also said that she always attends these meetings, saying, "I always attend because I want to be in-the-know. I wouldn't want to be late in learning about news, that there's something happening and we didn't know about it." For Chloe (C), a single mother, she said that even though she is busy, she does not miss getting her children's report card, "I would really go, because it doesn't really take a long time. They would just

give the card. It would just take time if there's a problem, like if your child is not writing, not doing school work. That's the only time you'd get hold up. But for me, they'd just give it and then I'd go resume selling on the streets."

Aside from these quarterly meetings, the teachers would also call on some parents if the students were having problems. Unlike some of the parents cited above, Vivian (C) said that her meetings with the teacher are relatively longer as they discuss her daughter's lack of significant progress in reading. Like in Karen's (C) case, her son has been having academic problems and he might repeat third grade if he does not attend summer school (remedial lessons). She shared, "The teacher would tell my son that she needs to talk to me. When that happens, I get scared. Because I already know what she's going to say, that I need to guide him and follow up at home. That's what the teacher always says... I get shy because the teacher said he reads slowly, and that he's not able to finish some seatwork." Ivy's (C) son was also supposed to repeat second grade but she was able to request the school not to let it happen (*napakiusapan*). Although Ivy (C) said that she attends the meetings, she admitted that she dreads going to those:

The teacher would say, "Mommy, your son is like this, he doesn't do much, he doesn't write." And I would say that my son sometimes can't understand instructions in English, and that he gets confused in English and Tagalog. I'd prefer Tagalog. My son knows how to understand, it's just that English is the problem. I told the teacher that my son said he speaks so fast, and the teacher apologized and said that the lessons are fast-paced. So that's why students who can't understand get left behind.

Aside from attending teacher-initiated meetings, participants also reported taking on a more active role by contacting their children's teachers, especially when there were concerns surrounding the children's behavior. For instance, Trina (A) said that she would talk to the teacher only when necessary, just like when her daughter was mistakenly blamed to have been involved in a fight in the classroom. Carmela (B) described her daughter as shorter in height compared to her classmates, and she always gets bullied and teased. She recalled, "Her classmates would say, 'Here comes the dwarf!' So my daughter would come crying to me. I would go to the school the very next day and tell the teacher about it." Erica (B) also said that she talked to the teacher about her daughter's experience of getting bullied as this interfered with her concentration in school.

Some participants also reported initiating communication with the teachers for academic-related questions. Fiona (C) noted that she would ask the teacher if there were projects or homework, especially because her son writes slowly and there were times when he was not able to finish copying the writings on the board. Lyka (B) recounted an instance when he asked the teacher why her son's grades dropped so suddenly, noting, "I don't think it's bad to ask questions, right?" For Monica (C) whose daughter has been having a difficult time understanding the lessons in school, it is important that she is regularly communicating with the teacher. She shared, "Every other Friday I would go to school to ask about my daughter's problem, and they would tell me to talk to her... The teacher would not ask me to come, I would just go and ask." Kris (A) shared that all her four children are well-behaved and that they study well. However, she noted that if her children encountered some problems, she would go directly to the teacher – as opposed to talking to other parents in school – in order to identify the problem.

2.2. Volunteering. Participants reported volunteering their time to help in the school. Majority of the participants help in cleaning the school before classes start, mainly because this is highly encouraged and is a country-wide program in the public schools – *Brigada Eskwela* or *Brigada*, for short. In this program, parents are invited and encouraged to help clean their children’s would-be classroom and to help the classroom adviser. Veronica (C) said that she always joins the Brigada, owing to her many children enrolled in the school – she has two biological children and she is also the legal guardian of her brother’s three children, all enrolled in the school. Carol (B) mentioned that she is “always present” when it comes to *Brigada*. Yoli (A), Sonia (A), and Karen (C) also shared that they help in the school’s general cleaning. Ten other participants mentioned that they join the *Brigada Eskwela*.

Given the limited number of staff in the public school, teachers also ask for parents’ assistance when they need extra manpower. Participants recounted helping in other school-related functions, such as classroom parties, school contests, and club activities (e.g., scouting). Fiona (C) said, “I’d help out during the class Christmas party, things like that. Even if I’m not an officer, they’d call on me. I’m easy to talk to, I’m willing to help with anything.” Aida (A), the legal guardian for her granddaughter as her daughter (mother of the target child) works overseas, also shared that she sometimes accompanies the students in their Girl Scout camping. Trina (A) mentioned that she has previously helped in the school’s feeding program. Christy’s (A) case is somewhat different as she does personal errands for her daughter’s teacher. She shared, “The teacher likes to call on me for different things, like if there’s a student who needed help in the restroom, as there’s no one else to help the child clean. That’s one of the teachers’

problems here. And then she would ask me to come to school and print some papers for her... Or when she sees me in the morning inside the school when I bring my daughter, she would ask me to make her coffee.”

More volunteer time was reported by participants who have taken on leadership roles in the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA). These parents were voted by their fellow parents as officers to represent their class. As officers, they are the primary person to rely on when teachers need help. They also serve as the communication ‘bridge’ between the teacher and the other parents. For example, Angie (B) said that she is always in communication with the teacher – be it about her daughter or other school-matters – as she is an officer in the classroom. As the PTA president in her granddaughter’s class, Aida (A) added that they would be the first to respond when money is needed, when there are other things needed in the classroom such as floor wax, or when they need to cleanup because some school guests would be coming. Erica (B) used to be an officer as well. However, as the officer, she found herself paying for parents who were not able to give their monetary contribution, so she decided not to run for the position the succeeding year. She did note, however, that money problem aside, she really liked that officer role as she was able to help the teacher.

In Holly’s case (C), when asked if she volunteers in school, she replied, “Yes. They (teachers) actually always call on me, because I’m an officer, I have obligations there. So I would help with planting, cleaning up. Whatever they like... if we need to throw the trash, I’d really help out. As long as it’s related to school, I’m obligated to do it. I really lead.” Likewise, Julie (A) said that as the president, she always responded to the call for help, such as cleaning up, changing the curtains, and other errands. In addition,

Romeo (B) said that he had helped out when his daughter's teacher initiated a cleaning program, "Every Saturday and Sunday, from around 8 to 9 in the morning, we'd come and clean the school surroundings."

Theme 3. Academic socialization. Aside from home-based and school-based involvement, participants also engage in academic socialization practices. These practices are geared toward helping their children understand the value of education and develop good study habits. This theme includes the following subthemes: motivating the child, establishing rules and routine around studying, giving rewards for positive academic outcomes, and administering punishment for undesirable academic outcomes. These are detailed below.

3.1 Motivating the child. Most of the participants reported motivating their children by acknowledging their efforts and encouraging them to do their best. Yoli (A) recalled the time when his son received high grades on his report card. When asked how she felt about it, she described:

Of course, I was very happy because we can see what we worked hard for, including me... I told him, 'Son, I hope it's always like this, high grades. You can now go up the stage (for recognition) just like what you wanted...'

Karen (C) would also encourage her son by telling him, "Son, just continue with your studies. Even if we're poor, we can do this. Your Papa is there to help as well." Similarly, Ivy (C) would tell her son who is struggling in school, "Son, just a little more perseverance... Do you want to move up to fourth grade or do you want to repeat third grade? You have to persevere (*magpursigi*)..." Monica (C) shared that she would have a serious talk with her daughter, if she has problems and the reasons why she is not writing

in class. For Fiona (C), she would simply push and tell her son, “Son, you can do it!” As these sample quotes illustrate, participants see the importance of motivating the children and how it helps them do better in school. One participant even mentioned that motivating her children is the most she could do, especially when she is unable to help the children with the lessons. Myla (A) said, “I can’t contribute anything, especially when it comes to Math and English... What do I know about that? That’s why all I can do is push him. That’s what I do.”

3.2. Establishing rules and routine around studying. Participants also mentioned that they have rules at home to help provide structure for their children and their studies, acknowledging that there should be a time for studying and a time for playing. For Yoli (A), her son is only allowed to play basketball on Saturdays and Sundays. Aurora (A) shared that her children know that they are not allowed to watch TV if they have an exam, similar to Holly (C) who does not allow TV-watching on weekdays. Alma (B) admitted that she has a lot of rules. She shared, “There are many things I don’t allow. Like, my - daughter is only allowed to ride the bike on Sundays, the tablet is not allowed from Monday to Friday. But sometimes, it’s unavoidable, I’d just turn for a second and she’d already be holding it. I’d tell her to stop it.” Julie (A) also reported setting rules for her two children to follow, saying “I don’t forbid them to watch TV. It’s okay if they watch TV. But all I tell them is that they are not allowed to use the computer from Monday to Friday, except when they don’t have school.”

Some participants shared their routines at home which prioritize studying. For example, Emie (A) shared, “When he gets home after school, we would eat, then I would tell him to read before we watch *Probinsyano* (a popular soap opera in the Philippines).”

For Christy (A), she said, “As much as possible, when my children get home from school, as soon as they get home, I want them to open their notebooks. Then after that, they can play. That’s what I always say, there’s a time for playing. And also summer is almost here, they can play then.” Lani (B) mentioned that her son has to first finish his homework before he can do anything else. She would tell her son, “You always think about playing first. Do your homework first. When you finish your assignments, that’s when you can play. You’re free.”

3.3 Giving rewards for positive academic outcomes. Most of the participants mentioned giving the children some form of reward when they do well in school. The rewards range from small monetary gifts to eating out at their favorite fast food. The promise of a reward also serves as a challenge for children to study hard. For example, Myla (A) shared that she would promise her son 50 pesos (1 USD) if he gets a perfect score in the test. But she added, “I actually don’t give him the money; rather, he lists it down, and I would give him the money on payday. He takes note of it, and when it’s his Papa’s payday, he will collect it... His Papa also said that when gets even higher grades, he will buy him a cellphone.” Kris (A) shared that when she sees her son working hard, she would sometimes buy him new clothes or treat him out at a fast food if she has extra money. Christy (A) also discussed making sure that her daughter gets rewarded for her efforts in school. She recalled:

Her Papa buys her pizza (her favorite) ... Another example, when she was in second grade, she was at the top of her class so we were gonna let her join the field trip. But then she said she wanted us to get her a tablet instead... Her Papa

bought her a tablet, he loaned some money from someone... There are puzzles there (on the tablet), and also words that you would arrange, so she gets to learn.

Twelve participants mentioned that they treat the children at Jollibee, a local fast food chain akin to McDonald's in the U.S., as a reward. Emie (A) recounted that when her daughter needs to study, she would tell her, "Study hard, I will buy you this, we will eat out, we'll go to Jollibee." This is similar to Aida's (A) case about her granddaughter who is at the top of her class, "My husband and I, we're always at Jollibee because when she gets a perfect exam score, we have an agreement... We'll buy our dinner from Jollibee." Ivy (C) mentioned that her husband promises their son that he will take him out and that they will eat at Jollibee. Her husband would say, "Okay, son, if you get high grades, I'll find a way, we will eat at Jollibee." Her husband follows through with this promise, Ivy added. Chloe (C) shared that she only gives rewards sometimes, "When the grades are high, I would tell my daughter that I would buy her this, that... Usually she'd just ask me to buy her food... She likes food, she likes Jollibee. If I have money, we'd really go to Jollibee." Elsa (B) shared that when her son gets high grades, he would also just ask for snacks as a reward, like a cupcake.

When asked if she gives rewards, Sonia (A) replied, "Yes, I give rewards. Especially when I was still working, I would tell her, 'Baby, I'll give you money... I'll give you chocolates... We'll eat at Jollibee... I'll give you a tablet.'" Sonia (A) added that she believes this is effective, "They (children) see it as a challenge, especially if there's an exam. I would tell them I want no more than five mistakes on their test, like that." On the other hand, Trina (A) said that she also uses rewards for her daughter, especially when she wants something, but she makes sure that there are limits, "We don't

do it (giving rewards) all the time... It's not like that, that we'd always give them something. Because what will happen if you don't have anything to give?... You don't have to get them used to getting something each time they get high grades, right?"

Below are some more responses from the participants regarding the use of rewards:

I would tell my son, "Work hard, son... I want you to be included in the top, even just top ten. You would have a reward from me, your Papa said he'll buy you a cellphone." Because he really wanted to have a cellphone. – Jane (C)

I would tell my daughter, "Make your grades even higher... If you get an 80, I will buy you something..." Sometimes she would like a toy, so I would tell her I would buy her that. Or she would say, "Ma, I don't have slippers anymore." I'd say, "Okay, study hard so that we can buy those slippers." – Karen (C)

For example, my daughter would say, "Mama, there's a beautiful watch there at the market." And I'd say, "Okay, if you write a lot (on your notebook) tomorrow, I will buy you that." And she gets a lot of writing done. It's effective, it really helps. – Monica (C)

In all, the responses show that parents give rewards to encourage their children and to reinforce positive behaviors toward studying. The promise of a reward also serves as an agreement between the parent and the child. Although most of the parents reported experiencing financial constraints, giving simple incentives, such as food and other basic

necessities enables them to balance their limited budget and desire to reward their children.

3.4. Administering punishment for poor academic outcomes. Participants also try to discipline and instill good study habits in their children by using a combination of punishment strategies such as giving reprimands and threats of, or actual, withdrawal of privileges. Several parents mentioned that they only use reprimanding or scolding as a way of correcting their children's poor study habits. When asked if he spans his daughter, Romeo (B) said "No, I would just reprimand her (*pinagsasabihan*). I would just tell her to study what she missed in the test." As for Lyka, she shared, "I no longer spank, I'm just loquacious (*mabunganga*). I just use my mouth." Relatedly, Carmela admitted that she also talks a lot. She mentioned that she does not spank but she does get mad, telling her daughter in a louder voice, "I'm pissed off about your grades. Why are they low?" Holly (C) also shared what she tells her son who likes to draw, "Nothing will happen to you if you're only drawing. It (drawing) won't feed you... It's not okay that you're just drawing all the time, nothing will happen to you." Angie (B) reported using this strategy, "I don't spank... Scold, sometimes. I just give that look to my children and they know when I'm mad (*makuha ka sa tingin*). I don't hurt children."

Chloe (C) and Holly (C) both revealed that they give their children threats. Chloe (C) recalled what she had told her daughter who had to take remedial classes, "... just tell me if you don't want to study anymore so that I won't ask you to go to school... You'd see that I would peddle on the streets just to send you to school, and then you would just skip school? What will happen to you when you get older?" Holly (C) said that it is sad that she has to scold her son. She would tell him, "If you don't do better, just don't study.

Don't go to school tomorrow." To this her son would respond, "I will behave now, I will study now."

Aside from the disciplinary techniques mentioned above, a few parents also reported using physical punishment, particularly spanking. They were careful to note, however, that spanking is coupled with a serious talk about the child's transgression. Emie (A) shared that there were a few times when she would spank her child when she gets too fond of playing and forgets to open her books, "She would get spanked, but of course, mostly we just talk to her and give her advice." This is similar to Monica's (C) experience with her daughter, "Sometimes I would spank her. But for me, if I spank you, I would explain to you why I did it. I wouldn't spank you for no reason." Interestingly, Sonia (A) said, "I don't spank (because of grades) ... Just the hands. The real kind of spanking? I don't like that." Joyce (B) also explained that she would scold and spank her daughter, especially if she does not know her school assignments, but that she is conflicted when doing it:

My daughter would cry...I also cry easily, so she would see me also crying... Of course, as a mother, I don't want to see my child getting hurt by other people, even by my husband. I would really be crying when my husband spanks her, so I'd ask myself why I'd also do it... Sometimes I would pity her when I scold her because she's really having a hard time, especially with Social Studies.

Joyce (B) did clarify that she only cries when it comes to employing a more punitive type of spanking. Otherwise, if it were just a slap on the wrist, she believes that her daughter could take it as she is big enough.

Theme 4. Providing for the child's basic needs. Many participants described catering to the children's needs as one way to ensure that their children are ready for school. Although this may seem as a fundamental parental obligation toward their children, the majority of the participants narrated stories depicting struggles in day-to-day living, given their high poverty context. Thus, even basic parental responsibilities are considered as specific means by which parents involve themselves in their children's education, like Aida (A) who said that she supports her grandchild by "taking care of her, feeding her, and dressing her up every day." The rest of the responses for this theme are further categorized into three subthemes: taking care of children's health, personally bringing the children to school and picking them up, and keeping at their other parental obligations.

4.1. Taking care of the child's health. Among basic needs, children's health was often discussed by parents as their main priority. A number of participants specifically mentioned that they ensure that their children are well-fed and healthy so that they are fit to go to school. Christy (A) expressed that it is the parent's responsibility to provide for the children's needs. She further shared, "I would prepare her food first, then ask her about her assignments... Sometimes, while she's studying, I would just feed her. Otherwise, she would get hungry without noticing it. So I'd just feed her." Myla (A) mentioned prioritizing her son's health, "My son does not miss school... as long as he's not sick. I even give him vitamins so that he won't get sick." Trina (A) also added that she shows her support for her children's education by "responding to the child's basic needs every day, helping them with their homework, and providing not only for food, but also the things they need in school."

4.2. Bringing the child to and from school. Another basic need that parents respond to is ensuring that their children get to school safely and on time, and this is one of the ways that they support their children. Romeo (B) and Carol (B) mentioned that this is part of their daily routine. Both Aida and her husband also walk their granddaughter to school. When asked why it has to be the two of them, she replied, “Because the bag is so heavy. We really love to dote on her, she’s our only grandchild.” Yoli (A) stated that she walks her son to school even though she admits that her son could actually walk by himself. She said, “He can do it by himself, it’s just me who doesn’t like him to walk by himself... Because sometimes it’s sunny, so it’s hot while they’re waiting in line so I need to hold an umbrella over her.” Prioritizing her children is also evident in Julie’s comment:

That has really been my life ever since I stopped working. When they started school, that has been my job – bringing them to school, picking them up from school, checking their assignments. Sometimes I feel that I’m also enrolled in school as I try to keep pace with them.”

Some participants also shared that they walk with their children to keep them safe. Beth (B) shared, “We don’t let her walk by herself. Also, she’s scared of dogs (stray dogs). She can’t be by herself because when she sees a (stray) dog, she will run... She got a phobia of dogs. And I also don’t really want to leave her by herself even if she’s already in third grade. As long as I’m able, I will bring her to school and pick her up (*hatid sundo*).” Elsa (B) said that she also does not want to let her son walk by himself, saying, “...because we live kind of far, there’s a market, and he’d need to cross a street... So that I won’t worry, because he’s a little hyper, I don’t trust that (he can walk by himself). It’s

hard because he's still small." As for Holly, she believes that her 9-year-old son is not able to walk by himself yet, "... he might get hit by a car. I really need to walk with him because he still can't be totally by himself. He still needs assistance, especially at his age. Maybe when he turns 11, he can be by himself."

4.3. Other parental obligations. Respondents described several other parental obligations that comprised part of their support for children's schooling. This included their responsibility of working and earning money. Holly (C) affirmed, "Of course, to persevere at work... Because of course, if you don't have a job, where will you get money to spend for their schooling?" Watching over their children (*bantayan*) was also mentioned by Myla (A) and Beth (B) as a way of supporting their children. Carmela (B) added that ensuring that her children have clean school uniform to wear every day is also one way of supporting them. Lyka (B) stated that her and her husband's role should go beyond responding to the children's needs. She said:

Of course, we need to provide for what they need in school, but at the same time, for example, give them some opportunities to go out. So that they're not only concentrating on their studies all the time. Give them time for leisure and traveling (*mamasyal*), to get together with the family. Because that's really our bonding – for me and my husband, even if our income is not big, sometimes we would really allocate time for us to go out, eat out, play...

RQ 2. What Factors Facilitate or Hinder Parental Involvement?

Participants reported a broad range of factors that affect their ability to be involved in their children's academics. Although all participants were recruited from the same school and they all live in the same town, they reported a diverse range of

experiences and personal backgrounds that affect their capacity and ways to support their children. In addition, although all the participants have low-income households, there was still variability in participants' relative access to resources. Participants' descriptions regarding facilitators and barriers to children's schooling generally fall into four themes: (1) parent-related factors, (2) child-related factors, (3) school- and teacher-related factors, and (4) social support. More specific subthemes under each big theme also emerged and are discussed below. These themes and subthemes for RQ2, together with sample quotes, are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4.

Themes, Subthemes, and Sample Quotes for RQ2 - What factors facilitate or hinder parental involvement?

Themes	Subthemes	Sample Quotes
Theme 1. Parent-related factors	1.1. Parental aspirations	<i>I want my daughter to graduate so she can get a good job.</i> <i>Whatever it takes, we'll try to help them finish college.</i>
	1.2. Access to learning and financial resources	<i>If it happens that their dad doesn't have work, the children can't go to school. My son (target child) would volunteer to not go to school, so his other siblings could go... There were times that he would be so shy to go to school because he didn't have the necessary school materials. I don't really know what to say to him, because all I have was money for food.</i>
	1.3. Efficacy in helping the child	<i>I don't have a problem because I only have two children. I only have two, so I can really focus on them.</i>

1.4. Finding time to be involved	<i>The most difficult for me is that it seems like I'm always running out of time, I'm always in a hurry. There was a time when my son was already crying because I'd get mad at him. I'd tell him to hurry because he'd be late for school, but it seems like he's moving so slowly. We're running out of time.</i>
1.5. Perception of what other people would think	<i>We didn't (talk to the teacher) ... It will just create a problem. And also, my son will still be attending that school next year. The teachers might ask about that mother who likes to complain.</i>
Theme 2. Child-related factors	
2.1. Invitation from the child	<i>She does her homework on her own and then she'll show it to me and ask me if it's correct, and then I'd just tell her if she made a mistake.</i>
2.2. Child's disposition toward studying	<i>During the first and second quarters, he was very enthusiastic (about studying) ... For the third quarter, it seemed like he got lazy so I kind of lost enthusiasm as well because nothing will</i>

		<i>happen if I'm the only one who wants to study, and the child doesn't want to. For me to force him, that's also hard... So I just let it be, he just watches T.V.</i>
Theme 3. Social support	3.1. Support from spouse	<i>When my daughter gets home, I help her with her homework. If I can't do it, my husband will help her because if I can't do it, I get hotheaded easily, and then I'd shout at her. Her dad, on the other hand, is very patient</i>
	3.2. Support from other family members	<i>My older sister helps, because she knows more than I do. So if one of my children can't understand what I'm teaching, I'd say, 'Ask Auntie.' And she'd help them.</i>
	3.3. Support from fellow parents and friends	<i>Sometimes my daughter would not remember where she wrote her homework so I'd really ask the other moms every day. Yeah, we have a group. When my daughter wrote the right thing, when she didn't write anything, I'd ask just the same because in Section 1, it's hard to get left behind.</i>

**Theme 4. School- and
teacher-related factors**

4.1. Past interaction with
teachers

A classmate stepped on my daughter's eyeglasses. I asked the teacher about it and the teacher said she was not aware of the incident. I asked her why she didn't know about it when she was in the room. Eyeglasses are so expensive. I told her I wanted to talk to the other parent so that we could split cost of getting a new pair, she ignored me! I was at the classroom door, and she just kept on teaching even when I had said 'Excuse me, Ma'am.' And then she just blurted out, 'Later the mom would pick up the kid, just talk to her then.' I felt disrespected that she was just ignoring me.

4.2. School policies

Sometimes you'd really want to go inside to talk to the teacher, but there were times when they wouldn't let you in, they'd give you all sorts of reasons. It gets irritating sometimes because I was in a hurry and I wanted to talk to the teacher and they wouldn't let you in.

Theme 1. Parent-related factors. This theme includes responses that pertain to the participant's own educational beliefs, psychological and financial resources, and personal efforts that facilitate their involvement. In addition, although all participants reported having the intention to be actively involved in their children's education, most of the participants recounted personal barriers that make it difficult for them to do so. This theme includes parental aspirations for their children, finding time to be involved, and access to resources.

1.1. Parental aspirations. The parents described their academic goals, as well as life ambitions, for their children. One factor that parents discussed as relevant to their children's success is their own aspirations for their children. For example, when asked why she helps her daughter in school, Sonia (A) responded, "Maybe it's because my mother also taught me as a child, but maybe it's also because I want my child to learn." Aurora (A) echoed this sentiment and said of her daughter, "It's important that children learn, that's something no one can take away from you. It's important because in case something happens to us, she can take care of herself." Julie (A) shared that when her son was in first grade, he dropped out because he did not like school. After that school year, her son was more motivated, but he did not like going to school by himself, so Julie would always accompany him in school even if that was frowned upon. When asked why she persisted, Julie said:

Because I feel that my real goal is for my child to finish school; I feel bad that he would lose another year if I give up, he'd be pitiful (*kawawa*). If I can avoid that, if I can do it, why should I not give everything for him, right? That's why I really persisted, even if some parents were saying, "Why is that mother always there?"

My God, that's why I was always wishing then that he'd like going to school by himself. What I'd do sometimes is try to escape from his sight, especially when it's time for his favorite teacher... until he got used to it."

There was an evident preference for a college degree as this is perceived to be instrumental in securing a good-paying job in the Philippines. Although the participants acknowledged the difficulty and financial burden of sending their children to school, they expressed their willingness to do whatever it takes for their children to graduate. Kris (A) mentioned, "I want them to finish school. For as long as I can, I will send them to school. Not only high school, college. That's the ultimate finish." Aurora (A) had a similar response, "I want my daughter to graduate so she can get a good job. Whatever it takes, we'll try to help them finish college."

Some of the mothers also noted that they want their children to have a good life, and that that is attainable through higher education. Jane (C) shared, "What's important for me is that my son will finish school, that he will not become like me and his father who only finished elementary school. I want all my three children to finish school so we can overcome poverty (*makaahon sa hirap*). That's why I tell them to study hard." Lyka (B) said, "I want to see them enjoying a good life when they finish school. That they are in a good state even if we're no longer there, that we sent them to school no matter how difficult, and that they finished school. College, of course." Veronica (C) said something similar about her niece of whom she is the legal guardian, "I really teach her so she will learn. Because we're poor, they need to study because we have nothing to bequeath to them. They have to graduate so they can work, they will get whatever they want that we weren't able to provide."

As all the participants also grew up in low-income households, they were explicit that they do not want their children to experience what they had experienced as a child or what they are going through now. Myla (A) shared that she and her husband would sometimes argue as her husband would bring up his hardships as a child. Myla would tell him, “Why would you let your child experience what you have experienced?” Beth (B) mentioned that as a child, she would sometimes go to school without the things she needed. She said that times have changed and that is no longer acceptable, saying, “You can’t go to school without your complete materials, it’s unacceptable that your classmates have the things they need, and you don’t... You’ll fall behind. That’s why sometimes I tell my daughter that she’s lucky because I didn’t have school materials when I was studying, but she has them even if I’d need to borrow things for her, I really provide it.” Beth (B) added, “I promised myself that when I have children of my own, I will not let them experience what I experienced when I was studying. Now, what I want is to always be there for my daughter.”

Trina (A), whose mother died when she was 13 - years old and soon after grew up with a stepmother, reported, “I don’t want my child to experience what happened to me before because even if I still wanted to study, I didn’t feel like wanting to finish school because I didn’t like my parents.” Similarly, Monica (C) shared, “I really focus on them (her children) because my parents didn’t give me much attention as a child. I’m giving them what I didn’t receive because I know the feeling. I don’t want them to feel what I’ve felt, that I felt like I was alone, that I had no one to talk to.” Carmela (B) also had a similar experience:

That's why I attend all those meetings in school, any meeting. I experienced it from my own parents who didn't attend any of the school meetings. I looked stupid. One classmate would tease me, "You don't have a mom!" ... The things that my parents were not able to do for me, I do them for my child.

1.2. Access to learning and financial resources. Having access to learning resources facilitates parental involvement. When parents have the necessary tools, such as books and other references, they are able to provide greater support for their children. The likelihood that they are teaching children the right information also increases when there are available learning resources to use. For instance, Lyka (B) mentioned that she was able to teach her child advanced lessons because she was able to borrow textbooks from friends who have children in the upper grades in the same school. Yoli (A) said that she uses the dictionary when researching to help answer her son's homework. Access to the internet and proficiency in using the computer was one of the more important tools or skills that the participants needed to help their children. When asked how confident she was in helping her child, Alma (B) answered, "On a rate of 1 to 10, I think I'm a 9. I also search the internet so that if my daughter has a question, I'd already know what to answer."

Computer literacy also emerged as an important means for parents to teach their children. For Sonia (A), knowing how to use the computer and the internet helps her write reviewers and sample exams for her child as she could easily "Google" the lessons. Some responses also reflected the participants' efforts to learn how to use the computer in order to help their children. Lyka (B) shared emotionally, "You know, it was so hard for me to accept that my child is so good at using the computer and that I can't. So you know what I

did? I would go to the computer shop, I would bring my child with me. I'd really study how to use it. It's like I don't want my child to think that I don't know anything... that they are smarter than me. No person is dumb, just lazy. Anything can be learned as long as you want to learn it."

With regard to financial resources, a few of the participants reported having less restricted budgets and this helps them respond to their children's school-related expenses. Trina (A) shared that because she makes cleaning rags for a living full time, she earns her own money, so she does not feel that money is too tight. She said, "Even if they have a project, it's okay with me. If they need something, I can easily sell the rags, so I don't feel that the school projects are too expensive. Unlike my friends, they just wait for their husband's salary. That's what's hard, when you don't have your own money." Being able to afford school-related services can also compensate for the parents' shortcomings or lack of skills. For example, since Emie (A) is not proficient in using the computer, whenever her daughter has a project that would need a computer-generated output, she would pay for a service at the computer shop (e.g., typing job, printing, searching for an image, etc.).

In contrast, many of the interview responses revealed the economic hardship that the families experience and how this impacts the parents' ability to support their children's education. Some participants mentioned that their limited financial resources compromise their children's grades and participation in school. For example, Angie (B), Carmela (B), Elsa (B) and Erica (B) all said that sometimes they could not buy the school requirements because they did not have enough money. Erica (B) also expressed that she wanted to get a tutor for her daughter, but it costs more than 3,000 pesos a month (60

USD), which was beyond their budget. Joyce (B) narrated that even if she wanted to turn in a good project for her daughter, she could not afford to have it made, “I really wanted to help her, but I don’t have extra money... because I prioritize our food.” Myla (A) also complained, “They (the teachers) always ask us to print for projects, to print charts. Printing one page costs 5 pesos (10 cents), and they need to print many pages... Colored printing is 20 pesos (40 cents). Where will I get that money every day? Some parents have money for that, I don’t. I wanted my son to just handwrite everything but of course he wants a printed one because it looks better. But I’d just tell my son that handwritten is okay... It’s okay with the teachers, but we get a lower grade.” Myla further shared emotionally that she did bring up this problem to the teachers:

One time, I gathered my courage and asked the teacher, “Ma’am, don’t we have a right to submit a project that’s not printed? Why do you always ask us to print – how about us who have nothing? And then if the project is late, you will no longer check it... They were asking for pictures of animals, a picture of this, a picture of that. So I just ask my son to draw. The thing is he’s not good at drawing, so the teacher told my son to make it better (*ayusin*) because it does not look clean. And then I asked that teacher, “Sir, what do you want – something printed or something that the child personally made?”

Similarly, Kris (A) shared that her son was actually assigned to Section 1 because of his high grades – he got first honors in second grade. However, aware of the many requirements that could be costly when the child is in Section 1, Kris asked the school to move him to another section. Kris shared, “Last year, my eldest son was first in his class, Section 1. My daughter also ranked 4 in her class, Section 1. If my youngest son would

also go to Section 1, my budget will not be enough for all three of them. They ask for more projects in Section 1.”

Some participants recounted that they were also unable to let their children engage in extracurricular activities such as joining the school field trip because of the cost. For example, Myla, whose husband earns minimum wage (around 490 pesos at the time of interview, 9.61 USD) said, “They have a school field trip but it’s so expensive, I can’t pay for it. It’s 850 pesos (17 USD) for one child and parent. We don’t have a budget for it because my other kid is in college – he has a 100-peso allowance (2 USD). I also have another one in grade 11. My husband only earns so much.” Erica (B) and Joyce (B) shared the same sentiment. Joyce (B) added, “My son wanted to join the field trip, but I told him, ‘Son, maybe next time, when you’re bigger.’ Now it’s not so important, even if there’s a plus five on their grade. I told him we’d just go to the mall in the summer.”

Financial constraints also affect the participants’ day-to-day living and ability to respond to their children’s basic needs. Holly (C) who is a single mom to two boys and living with her parents admitted that money is her main barrier to parental involvement. She said, “If you don’t have money, how will you buy food? Where will you get your child’s allowance? So maybe I really need to persevere so that I have money to spend on my sons. I shouldn’t rely on my parents all my life. I should rely on myself, right?” In Karen’s (C) case, her husband earns a meager salary as a house painter and does not have a regular job. She also works at the community health center as a volunteer and gets a small volunteer allowance. However, their income was still not enough for their family of nine. She shared, “If it happens that their dad doesn’t have work, the children can’t go to school. My son (target child) would volunteer to not go to school, so his other siblings

could go... There were times that he would be so shy to go to school because he didn't have the necessary school materials. I don't really know what to say to him, because all I have was money for food." Below are some more of the participants' narratives which demonstrate extreme financial difficulty:

Sometimes they would miss school in a week because to be honest, my husband's salary gets delayed... I don't want the kids to go to school with an empty stomach... When my son misses school, his teacher would ask for an excuse letter. Sometimes I'd talk to the teacher personally and tell him, "Sir, it's like this... our budget was not enough today, and I can't let him go to school without eating. You know he's sickly." – Ivy (C), mother of 4, her husband works part-time as a traffic enforcer

There was a time when all I have was 1 peso (2 cents) so I just bought my son some junk food that he can eat for recess. Turned out junk food is not allowed in school, I didn't know. I didn't know what to do, I didn't have anyone to borrow money from. The teacher saw it and asked my son to throw the food. I felt so bad because then he didn't have anything to eat. – Jane (C), mother of 3, her husband works as a porter

Sometimes she would go to school with only 5 pesos (10 cents) and she'd tell me, 'Mama, I'll just buy crackers in the store.' It's so hard, I want her to go to school every day, but there's nothing I can do." – Erica (B), mother of 2, monthly rent of 2,500 pesos (50 USD), her husband works as a security guard

Since their dad does not have a regular job, it's so painful for me as a mom that I could not provide the school materials they need. What I have is enough for each day's school allowance. – Vivian (C), mother of 8, her husband works as a laborer

There were times when I'd tell my daughter not to go to school because I need someone to help me cook at home, especially when I was not feeling well. And it's not like I can take a day off from selling, we would not have anything to eat. What I'd earn for one day, that's what we'll use for the next day, it's just like that. We're living hand to mouth, that's how hard it is. – Chloe (C), single mother of 4

1.3. Efficacy in helping the child. Some participants' responses reflected low self-efficacy that prevents them from being more involved. Efficacy refers to one's ability to achieve one's desired outcomes, in this case, being able to help their children. Most of the parents in this study reported having limited skills and this negatively contributes to their efficacy or confidence in their ability to provide appropriate parental support in education. For instance, when asked how confident she is in teaching her son, Jane (C) recounted, "Not so much, I don't have much to give, I don't have much knowledge to share to my child because I'm not educated, I only finished sixth grade." Jane (C) added that she is naturally shy so it is hard for her to come up to the teacher when issues arise, just like when her daughter got into an accident while playing. Myla (A) expressed similar feelings, "I don't have confidence because I only got through sixth grade. I would tell my older children to help their younger brother, to check if he has mistakes. But as for

me, I can't contribute anything, especially when it comes to Math and English... What do I know about that? That's why all I can do is push him. That's what I do."

Participants' sense of efficacy in helping their children is also inhibited by their other problems related to family life. For example, when asked if there were other challenges that hinder her from helping her son in school, Yoli (A) mentioned the problem with her husband, "My husband... being unfaithful... he would talk to other girls even in front of me. Of course it gets to me." As for Christy (A), she admitted that she was not able to focus on her daughter for the past couple of months because one of her sons was sent to jail due to drug accusations. "It's like my everything fell apart, all at the same time that's why I neglected her – her grades plummeted... That problem also affected my daughter. That's why it's important that I focus on her, study with her, because she also draws strength from me at this difficult time. My son is still locked up, he might get out soon, though. Because nothing really happened, the accusation was not true."

It becomes especially hard for the participants to help their children when it comes to more difficult lessons in school. For example, Christy (A), who had some college credits, said, "Sometimes my daughter would leave her textbook with the teacher. I'm dead! That's why I'm not very confident because I really can't do it. In Math, they have this lesson on triangles, its sides, I forgot what it's called... I told her that I'm tired, that I can no longer remember those lessons from before, so I couldn't teach her. I really need to study." For Joyce (B) who only finished high school, she confessed that she was not always sure if she is teaching her daughter the right answers. When asked what happens if it is wrong, she replied, "Nothing, I'd just tell her to let it be. As long as the homework

was answered... We could search for the answers online, but we don't have wi-fi (internet access).”

Relatedly, when it comes to material resources, Yoli (A) shared that they have a laptop at home, but she does not know her way around it. Thus, whenever her son has a project that will need the use of the computer, she will pay for services at the nearby computer shop. However, she is not entirely satisfied as she is limited to what the computer shop staff can do. She said, “I will ask the staff to search the internet for what we need... But sometimes, some of them are grouchy and would say, ‘I don't know how to do that, this is all that I can do...’ So, it's like my idea does not get executed.” Yoli (A) recalled another experience when her son was in first grade:

He would get mad at me and say, “Mama, why is the correct answer different from what you taught me?” And I'd say, not everything I say is correct, that's the truth. That's why I told him to just remember what the teacher said so that he will not make a mistake.

1.4. Finding time to be involved. Being physically available is crucial for parents in supporting their children. When parents have more available time, or make time for their children, they have more opportunities to be involved. When asked if there were factors that make it difficult for them to support their children's education, some participants shared that it was not very hard for them because they have time. Ten of the 31 participants were not employed and stayed at home with the children, giving them an open schedule to assist their children. Alma (B), Beth (B), Monica (C), and Lyka (B) all mentioned that they do not have problem with time since they stay at home. Lyka added, “I don't have a problem because I only have two children. I only have two, so I can really

focus on them.” Elsa (B), a stay-at-home mom who has two children, said, “When I think about it, I can’t really give my 100% attention to my son, because I have to divide my time. But that’s okay because I still have time for him, he’s my priority.”

Even some of the working parents did note that they are still able to find time to help their children. For example, Fiona (C), who owns and operates a small online clothing shop, believes that her work does not get in the way of her helping her son. She said, “My opinion is that it depends on the parent how she/he will prioritize her/his time. You can spare at least 30 minutes (for your child), right? You’re not supposed to just be focusing on your work the whole day.” Monica (C) also shared that her daughter is her priority. Although she is now a stay-at-home mother, she did mention that when she was still working, she would really take a leave from work to attend parent-teacher conferences. Sonia (A) also shared what she would do when she was still working, “Even when I was working, I was the store cashier and custodian, and there’s a computer there so what I would do is make reviewers for my daughter when there’s no customer.”

On the other hand, several participants reported that they do not have enough time to be more involved with their children’s education and that there are many things that compete for their time and attention. To illustrate, Emie (A) mentioned that she used to be able to volunteer in school to clean up, but she had been unable to do that since she had a baby. She also shared, “Sometimes, my daughter (target child) would ask for my attention and help, she’d ask me to tie her hair, I’d urge her to do it on her own because the baby is very playful and restless. Good thing she can do it independently.” This is similar to Carmela’s (B) experience as she also has a two-year-old and that she cannot focus entirely on her third-grade daughter. For Monica (C) who was previously asked by her

husband to stop working so she can focus on the children, she was still unable to volunteer in school because of her 3-year-old baby. She has three children. Vivian (C), who was 31-years-old and has eight children, admitted that she could not really give her complete attention to her daughter who had previously repeated first grade. She said, “Sometimes I’d just tell her to read out loud so that I can hear her even if I’m doing something else.”

Not having enough time to help their children was more evident for two participants who were single parents and were working. Lani (B) had been separated from her husband during the time of the interview and was working as a dressmaker. She shared, “Since we separated, it has been more difficult for me to focus on my son, especially because I work. The most difficult for me is that it seems like I’m always running out of time, I’m always in a hurry. There was a time when my son was already crying because I’d get mad at him. I’d tell him to hurry because he’d be late for school, but it seems like he’s moving so slowly. We’re running out of time.” Chloe (C), a single mother and bread winner for her family (her four children, two aging parents, and one sibling), admitted the difficulties she experiences on a regular basis. Every morning, she would cook food that she would later peddle on the streets. Chloe further mentioned:

I can only dedicate a very, very limited amount of time to teach my daughter. When I teach her, she has to pick it up right away. If there’s anything more that she needs, I don’t really have time for it... That’s my primary barrier, my being busy because I’m the source of income. I don’t know any other way to earn money, this is the only thing I know – to cook and to sell... It’s very hard to be a single mom and a sole earner, I almost don’t see my children. We’d just eat and

then they'd go to school and I'd go out and work. Sometimes my children and I would just see each other on the streets.

For Ivy (C) who has four children and lives with their extended family, she revealed that she can only guide her son occasionally, especially when there were things that demand her attention at the same time and there was no one else at home to help her. She was also unable to volunteer because of the many household chores she needed to do. Because of these, her son was also unable to attend his recommended remedial classes. Ivy (C) said, "I just talk to the teacher and tell them that I really can't send him to his remedial classes because there are so many things I need to do, and I can't juggle them all. Because if I don't move, the child won't be able to move as well."

1.5. Perception of what other people would think. A few of the participants mentioned that they care about what other people think of them, especially when they are dealing with the school or the teachers. More often, negative perceptions limit and discourage them from reaching out to the teachers. For example, Christy (A) remarked that she would like to converse more with her daughter's teacher, but she would not want to do it often as other people might think that she is a sycophant (*sipsip*). Sonia (A) also mentioned during the interview that she limits her dealings with the teachers. When asked if she talks to the teacher to ask about how her daughter is doing in school, she said, "No, I'm not like that. I'm shy... and it might seem like I'm simply flattering the teacher." Joyce (B) also admitted that she gets shy to talk to the teachers sometimes, especially if it were just about small problems among the children. She added that she does not like children's fights escalating to grown-up fights.

Anticipating that talking to the teacher about a school problem would just lead to a negative outcome, some parents also simply choose to ignore some issues. For instance, Yoli (A) shared that a fellow parent has told her that one of the school teachers used expletives in class. However, they did not bring this up to the principal, and Yoli (A) commented, “We didn’t... It will just create a problem. And also, my son will still be attending that school next year. The teachers might ask about that mother who likes to complain.” In another incident, Alma (B) confessed that no one in their group of parents had the courage to talk to the teacher when they had questions about what seemed to be unfair grading. She said, “That teacher is known for that, that’s why we just let it be. My daughter got a grade of 89 for Math for the second quarter, and then for the third quarter, she got 78. The difference is huge, right? That’s why my older sister told me to talk to the teacher. But I said, that’s okay, it happened to all of us anyway.” When prodded why she did not consult the teacher about it, she responded that it was no use since she did not have “power” or connection inside the school, so she believed that it will just be ignored.

Theme 2. Child-related factors. Children take on an active role in the parent-child relationship and this theme includes child characteristics which affected the participants’ abilities to contribute to their children’s success. More specifically, this theme includes children’s invitation for help and disposition toward studying.

2.1. Invitation from the child. When children are open and willing to be helped, parents are more able to appropriately respond to their school needs. For example, Christy (A) said of her 9-year-old daughter, “I talk to other parents who said they initiate helping their children, but the children don’t want them interfering... My daughter is different, she always asks questions, she wants to get a perfect score. ‘Ma, is this correct? Ma, is

my explanation enough?’ She’s always like that, asking if her opinion is okay.” Trina (A) also mentioned, “When my daughter needs something, she will ask for my help. If she needs some things printed, I’ll go out and have them printed.”

Some participants noted that their children can study independently, but that they reach out to the parents when they do not understand their homework. This gives them a cue to be involved. Kris (A) said of her son, “... as soon as he gets home from school around 6 in the evening, he will tell me, ‘Ma, I have a homework... If I can’t understand it, please help me work on it tomorrow.’” Carmela (B) described her daughter similarly, “She prefers to study on her own. She would only ask questions if she doesn’t understand it... so she would say, ‘Ma, I don’t know this.’ And I’ll say, ‘Okay, let’s do it later.’” Aurora (A) also said, “I need to check if what she’s doing is correct. She does her homework on her own and then she’ll show it to me and ask me if it’s correct, and then I’d just tell her if she made a mistake.” Additionally, when asked if they have a hard time helping their children with the lessons, Emie (A) responded:

Not really, because sometimes, I’d also ask her. She would say, “Mama, we have an assignment.” And I’d say, “How do you do that? Do you have an example?” And she’d say, “Here’s an example... Mama, it’s like this...”

On the other hand, some participants cited that there were instances when children do not ask for the parents’ help or do not share information with them, and this limits their involvement. Myla (A) mentioned, “Sometimes I’d hear from other parents that they have an assignment, and my son didn’t tell me. That’s why I get mad sometimes...” Similarly, Angie (B) said that her daughter does not want to be taught, “My daughter is different. Really... I don’t know (where she got it). I actually told my friend, ‘My

daughter is unbelievable, she doesn't want to be taught. When I teach her how to do something, she will deliberately not do it.”

Carmela (B) shared an incident and how her daughter does not want her to come to school anymore, “One time I slapped a kid in school, because the child was answering back to me. So, every time my daughter gets teased, she does not tell me anymore that she gets bullied because she doesn't want me to go to the school. Last December, a classmate told me that one of my daughter's classmates touched her (*hinipuan*) so I asked my daughter why she didn't tell me about it! She said because I will get mad and I will rush (*susugod*) to school again. That's what she's afraid of, that I will rush to school. But I said, it's just right to attack and rush to school – we are small, and they still maltreat (*aapihin*) us.

2.2. Disposition toward studying. Children's dislike for studying negatively impacts parents' involvement. When the child does not like to study, the parent also gets discouraged. Yoli (A) recounted her experience with her son, “During the first and second quarters, he was very enthusiastic (about studying) ... For the third quarter, it seemed like he got lazy so I kind of lost enthusiasm as well because nothing will happen if I'm the only one who wants to study, and the child doesn't want to. For me to force him, that's also hard... So I just let it be, he just watches T.V.” Holly (C) also said she gets irritated when her son could not understand what she was teaching him. She would tell his son, “Do what you want, I won't teach you anymore.” To this her son would quietly and hesitantly respond, “Fine... Please teach me.” Jane (C), who described her son as mischievous, also disclosed that sometimes she does not know how to teach him. Her son was most likely to repeat third grade and had always had problems in school. Jane (C)

further shared, “The teacher used to invite me for a meeting around three times a month (to talk about her son’s behavior). Then I told the teacher, ‘Ma’am, he’s really like that... since he was in first grade.’ The teacher got tired (*nagsawa na*), she doesn’t call for me anymore.”

Theme 3. Social support. All participants conveyed that sending children to school and helping them with their academics are not exactly easy. Thus, participants regarded support from other people as valuable, especially because of their financial constraints. It was notable from the interview responses that receiving support from other people contributes to the participants’ ability to help their children, and this has not been thoroughly discussed in existing parental involvement literature. The participants cited receiving support from different sources which are organized into three subthemes: support from spouse, other family members, and fellow parents and friends.

3.1. Support from spouse. Some participants stated that having a supportive spouse enables them to help their children more. The responses showed that in some participants’ cases, the spouse complements the participant’s skills in responding to the child’s school requirements. For instance, Emie (A) said that even if she is the primary teacher of her daughter at home, when it comes to art projects that needed drawing, it is her husband who helps. Aurora (A) also relies on her husband’s drawing skills for her daughter’s projects, “Her dad helps her in drawing, no matter how late he gets home. If he can’t work on it tonight, he’ll make sure to finish it in the morning. He’d really finish it.” Alma (B) acknowledged her husband, saying “When my daughter gets home, I help her with her homework. If I can’t do it, my husband will help her because if I can’t do it, I get hotheaded easily, and then I’d shout at her. Her dad, on the other hand, is very patient. So

I let him do the teaching... rather than I hurting her.” Joyce (B) has a slightly different experience. Although her husband does not help in teaching their child, she said that their partnership works, “My husband wants me to focus on the kids since I’m just at home. So I’m in charge of the kids, he’s in charge of work... I can focus on taking care of our two children.”

3.2. Support from other family members. Majority of the participants reported living with their extended family, and that the presence of other adults aside from the parents, is beneficial for the child. A few participants also described reaching out to other family members living nearby so that they can help teach their children. For example, Joyce (B) narrated that since she has a lot of older nieces and nephews who live nearby, she would ask for their assistance in helping her daughter finish her assignments and they would oblige. When asked who else helps her daughter, Carmela (B) responded, “My older sister helps, because she knows more than I do. So if one of my children can’t understand what I’m teaching, I’d say, ‘Ask Auntie.’ And she’d help them.” Older siblings also help teach their younger siblings. Karen (C) said that if she doesn’t know what to teach her son, she would ask her older daughter to help her. Angie (B) shared, “Her older sister is a big help. If I can’t do it, she’s the one who teaches my youngest. But I’m still there, I look at what they’re doing.”

3.3. Support from fellow parents and friends. Several participants reported valuing their relationship with other parents in school as this enables them to reach out when they need help. Given that they have more or less similar school concerns, the participants said that they contact other parents to make sure that they or their children have the correct information. For example, Holly (C) said, sometimes I would ask the

mothers of my son's classmates especially when my son didn't finish copying his homework from the blackboard. I will text the other mothers and tell them, 'Sis, are there other assignments? My son forgot to write them.' And then they will text me." Alma (B) also shared her experience, "Sometimes my daughter would not remember where she wrote her homework so I'd really ask the other moms every day. Yeah, we have a group. When my daughter wrote the right thing, when she didn't write anything, I'd ask just the same because in Section 1, it's hard to get left behind."

Some participants also acknowledged the advice and assistance they received from friends and neighbors. For instance, when asked why she teaches her child advanced lessons, Aurora (A) recalled, "Because one of my neighbors taught me that, that I should teach my child advanced lessons so that he will be ahead in class." Christy (A) also shared how she asks her friends online to help her, "I'm still friends with my former classmates on Facebook. They have a good life now. So if I have a problem with math, I don't know anything. I bug them because they're engineers, they're good! And my other friend is a teacher so she's good in English, so I tell my daughter to ask her about English problems. Even if they're abroad, they still respond to me through Facebook Messenger."

Theme 4. School- and teacher-related factors. The school context plays a leading role in partnering with the parents to ensure children's positive academic outcomes. Responses reflected school- and teacher-related experiences which disappointed parents. These perceived problems, in turn, deter them from further communicating with the teachers and becoming more involved. This theme includes two subthemes: past interaction with teachers and school policies.

4.1. Past interaction with teachers. A few of the participants recounted untoward incidents involving teachers where their efforts to be involved and support their children backfired. Consequently, this limits their intention to continue corresponding with the teachers. For example, Lyka (B) narrated a time when she was wondering why her son's report card grades were lower than what she expected, considering that she had monitored all his test papers and homework, which all seemed okay. She decided to ask the teacher about it but it did not turn out to be a pleasant experience. "My approach to the teacher was so pleasant, but why was it like she seemed to be shouting at me? I was just asking a question politely," she said. When asked if she followed up after that or had raised a complaint about the teacher (and the grading) to the principal, Lyka (B) replied, "Not anymore, I didn't want the issue to blow up. Besides, there's really nothing I can do. I got shouted at, and there were other parents who heard it. It was so embarrassing." Monica (C) also complained of one incident she dealt with a teacher:

It's just that I don't like it when they (teachers) take the children for granted. A classmate stepped on my daughter's eyeglasses. I asked the teacher about it and the teacher said she was not aware of the incident. I asked her why she didn't know about it when she was in the room. Eyeglasses are so expensive. I told her I

wanted to talk to the other parent so that we could split cost of getting a new pair, she ignored me! I was at the classroom door, and she just kept on teaching even when I had said ‘Excuse me, Ma’am.’ And then she just blurted out, ‘Later the mom would pick up the kid, just talk to her then.’ I felt disrespected that she was just ignoring me.

4.2. School policies. Some participants’ narratives included problems with unfavorable and inconsistent school policies that affect how they support their children. Having inconsistent school policies, such as on meeting with teachers, confuses parents and limits their capacity to demonstrate greater school involvement. Imposing restrictions on the parents without regard for their situation also sends a message that the school is not entirely treating the parents as equal partners. Christy (A) mentioned that her daughter’s homeroom adviser does not prefer letting parents in the school (and walk along the hallway) during class time. She shared:

It was not like I was checking up on my kid, I was just going to hand her her food allowance, and the teacher does not like it... Even when I try to be sly... So the teacher would scold my daughter. But as much as possible, I wouldn’t really want to go inside, too. It’s just that I only got some money after my daughter left for school.”

Erica (B) also recounted a time when her daughter would get bullied in school. She talked to the teacher about it and the teacher said she already reprimanded the classmate who hurt her daughter, but the bullying incident happened again. Erica (B)

said that she did not follow up anymore because it got tiring, especially because the guards would not let them in and would only give snide remarks like, “Oh you’re here again...”

Wilma (C), Holly (C), and Karen (C) had similar complaints about unclear and inconsistent school rules regarding going inside the school premises. Wilma (C) recalled, “One time the teacher called me for a meeting, and the school guard would not let me in! That’s what I explained to the teacher, ‘Ma’am, you asked me to come here and the guard said you were not yet here and that I was supposed to talk to you during dismissal time. Even when I told him (the guard) that you called for me, he still didn’t let me in.” Karen (C) said, “Sometimes you’d really want to go inside to talk to the teacher, but there were times when they wouldn’t let you in, they’d give you all sorts of reasons. It gets irritating sometimes because I was in a hurry and I wanted to talk to the teacher and they wouldn’t let you in.” Karen added that she has witnessed the guards letting other parents in. Holly (C) also mentioned, “...when you want to go inside the school, you’ll just get into a fight with the guards. Of course, if I knew that I’m right, then I’m gonna fight back.”

RQ3. Will Any Pattern Emerge from the Data to Describe the Relations between Parental Involvement and Children’s Academic Outcome?

All participants reported common strategies to help their children in school, such as monitoring and teaching their children. However, a closer examination revealed at least two differences in parental involvement that emerged between the accounts of parents of high-achieving students and parents of under-achieving students. These differences lie in the participants’ (1) teaching strategies and expectations and (2) comfort level in interacting with teachers.

Theme 1. Teaching strategies and expectations. The responses of the parents of high-achieving students suggest that they are more determined to help their children by employing more purposeful, concrete teaching strategies, as well as having higher standards in terms of academic expectations. They also described more thoroughness in monitoring the child and their narratives suggest that they possess greater efficacy in helping their children. For example, Sonia (A) shared, “There are many ways (to teach the child), right? For me, really, when the Math contest is coming up, there are so many formula, they are so difficult, it seems like it’s for high school – radius, etc. I’ve already forgotten them, but I said I will just Google the formula. Every night I’d do that, I’d study it first before I would teach her. Even if I was working, I was the store cashier and custodian, and there’s a computer there so what I would do is make reviewers for my daughter when there’s no customer.” In addition to the strategies mentioned above by the parents of high-achieving students, it was notable that many of them help prepare their children for the exams, with Christy (A), Aurora (A), Aida (A), and Kris (A) all mentioning that they construct sample exams to review the children. Christy (A) mentioned her thoroughness in reviewing her daughter, to the extent that some parents previously accused her of getting a copy of the actual exams. She recounted:

Grades are really important. I don’t want a line of 7. I told her (daughter) that we worked hard for this, let’s help each other. Because I don’t like it when people put her down. It happened that when she was in first grade, she was asked, and I was asked where we get the exam because her grades are high. But it’s because I really focus on her. And I told them that I don’t get any exam copy just for her to review... I really review my daughter. For example, for the first quarter, since the

class started, I have a notebook where I write reviewers. I review with her the lessons the teacher taught, every day. That's why she has a thick reviewer.

On the other hand, although parents of underachieving students reported using different strategies to help their children learn and cope with school, such as monitoring the child, their responses also demonstrate a more complacent attitude in terms of teaching strategies and academic expectations. For instance, when Wilma (C) was asked if they have rules at home such as limiting TV viewing, she responded, "Not really, because that (watching TV) is also the children's pastime. If I don't allow it, the child would be pitiful." However, Wilma (C) added that when it is time to read, then her son would read. When asked how much time is allotted for reading each day, she said, "Around 30 minutes, 15 minutes. Just so that he reads." Another example is Veronica's (C) case and her niece. When asked how important grades are, Veronica (C) said that she does not want to put too much weight on grades, although she did mention that there should be improvements. She added, "Like last year, she got a 76. We just said it increased a little bit, but we also can't push her beyond what she can do. We can't just keep on spanking her just so her grades will go up."

Respondents' stories also suggest that the academic problems are somewhat trivialized. One example is the case of Holly (C) and her son. Holly (C) described her son as the "baby" of his class as he is the youngest, having started third grade at only eight years old. She added that her son relishes this role in class. At the time of the interview, her son was attending remedial classes to help pull up his grades. When asked if she consults the teachers when her son has problems, Holly (C) responded, "With him (son), to be honest, there is no problem. But if there is a problem, I would really go to the

teacher, ask her what my son is doing, if he's reciting in class... The teacher said he's shy. He just sits quietly." Holly (C) added that her son is not quiet and is restless (*malikot*) at home. Holly (C) also shared that she does her son's homework, "Yes, I would do everything. When I do his homework, I would tell him to write it down, I'd make him understand (the lesson) ... So I'd do it first, then when I finished it, he would do it."

Another example is Ivy (C) who reported that when she and her son do not know the answers to the homework questions, she would tell him, "How's that, you won't have a grade. Son, just answer it. Even if it's wrong, at least there's an answer." As for Chloe (C), she mentioned that having her children finish school is one of her dreams, that she would try to support them even if she were broke. However, she acknowledges that it would be very difficult to send her children through school, adding, "All I can afford is to send them to a public school, but my opinion is that as long as you are wise in life... Not all who got education got a good life. There are some who did not get to study, but they were gumptious (*madiskarte*), they are doing better in life." Chloe (C) herself did not finish high school but takes pride in being her family's breadwinner. She continued:

I would ask myself sometimes, why is it that some people finished school, but they don't have jobs. They don't even have money to feed themselves. I know someone from before, he was smart when he talks, but he can't even support himself... Suddenly I felt good about myself because I have four children, while he is single and can't provide for himself. But for me, I have four children plus other people (in the household), and I can provide.

Theme 2. Comfort level in interacting with teachers. The other difference found between the two groups was the participants' comfort level with regard to

interacting with teachers. Whereas most of the parents of high-achieving students did not report having problems communicating with the teachers and that they take advantage of opportunities to discuss academic-related concerns, parents of underachieving students communicated several difficulties and complaints. For example, Ivy's (C) son wanted to be transferred to another section for reasons not explained. When asked if she consulted her son's teacher about it, Ivy (C) replied, "I didn't tell the teacher anymore, because she might say that this student is picky." Ivy (C) further explained that the teacher might think that her son dislikes her personally, so she just chose to keep quiet about it and just told her son to endure it.

Fiona (C) also recounted a recurring incident where her son was unable to complete copying the writings on the blackboard because a classmate kept on pestering him. Fiona (C) said she did not bother to go to the teacher about it because "even if I bring it up to them, they will just say yes, that they will talk to the kid. But it's still like that, it just keeps on happening." Wilma (C), Holly (C), Karen (C), and Monica (C) who were all quoted above, also had communication-related complaints, including unclear policies around parent-teacher conferences, unresolved problems, and a negative perception of the teacher's attitude or interaction toward them.

Taking together the findings on the three research questions, it appears from the parents' perspectives that beliefs on parental involvement have a direct relation to parental involvement strategies, which are then related to children's academic outcomes. However, the link between beliefs on involvement and actual involvement is moderated by various factors, with facilitators strengthening the relation between the two, and barriers weakening the translation from belief to actual involvement. Figure 1 depicts the

relations among beliefs on parental involvement, actual involvement, facilitators and barriers to parental involvement, and children's academic outcomes.

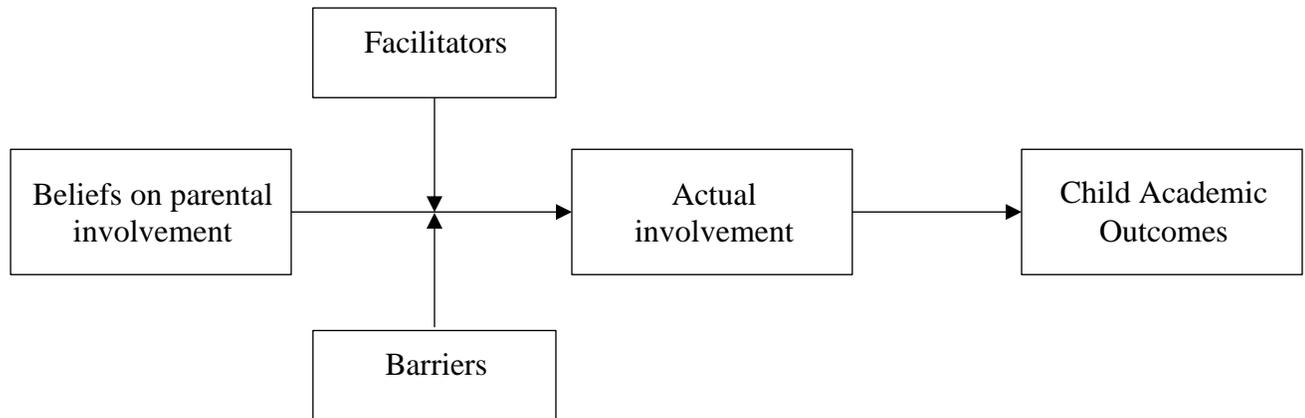


Figure 1. Parents' notions about relations among beliefs on and actual parental involvement, child academic outcomes, and facilitators of and barriers to parental involvement

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Parental involvement is an integral component of children's academic success and may be especially important in challenging contexts such as poverty. However, information on parental involvement among low-income populations, especially in developing countries, is scant. Basic information on how parental involvement is conceptualized in various populations and contexts remains lacking. This study explored the meaning of parental involvement among low-income Filipino parents and their notions about factors that facilitate or hinder involvement. Further, this study contrasted beliefs about involvement between parents of high- and underachieving students to identify patterns in notions about parental involvement in relation to children's academic outcomes. Findings suggest complexity in parents' understanding of parental involvement in children's education – reflecting themes from the broader literature as well as beliefs that uniquely reflect the socioecological and economic spaces that participants occupy. Findings also suggest factors that facilitate and hinder parental involvement – reflecting the unique sociocultural and economic contexts that parents occupy.

Context and the Meaning and Nature of Parental Involvement

Scholars have identified several general ways by which parents display involvement in their children's education and findings from this study reflect many of these categories (Eccles & Harold, 1993). For example, parents in this study described their involvement through home-based activities that included monitoring children in their studying and engaging in other learning activities. They described school-based involvement that included communicating with teachers and volunteering; as well as academic socialization that included motivating the child, establishing rules and routines,

reprimanding, giving threats, and administering physical punishment when it comes to undesirable academic outcomes (Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014).

Despite overlaps between current findings and general parenting involvement typologies (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Epstein, 1995; Fan et al., 2012), parents' responses also revealed unique notions reflective of participants' socioecological contexts. For example, participants described responding to children's basic needs as a way of supporting their education. Parents noted that in order to support children's education, they took care of the child's health, brought the child to and from school, and attended to other basic parental obligations with regard to maintenance of the home (e.g., work to earn money). This specific finding draws attention not only the parents' major role as a nurturer (Zellman et al., 2014), but also hints at unique facets of participants' economic context. With insufficient, unstable income and unsecured employment, even responding to children's basic needs is a challenge for most of the participants. Thus, parents may view their efforts to provide (e.g., work, take a loan), compared to their neighbors who may be more negligent and uninvolved, as intentional ways to keep their children in school and support their education. Whereas typical parental involvement typologies are broad and may include cross-cutting themes and common experiences of parents in their children's education (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Epstein, 1995; Fan & Chen, 2001), findings in this study suggest the importance of context and potentially unique aspects of parental involvement that reflect parents' experiences in challenging contexts.

Some categories of parental notions about involvement were consistent with earlier research, but unique in their specific manifestations – again reflecting specific social and economic contexts of participants. For example, participants named

volunteering in school as a way of supporting children's education, consistent with earlier research (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Epstein, 1995). However, specific activities they noted included contributing to the upkeep of the child's school (e.g., cleaning), which is somewhat unique and has not been reported in previous parental involvement studies across different countries. Because of limited resources, public schools in the Philippines rely on the parents as allies to ensure that the school's physical environment is conducive to learning. Thus, parental involvement included sweeping and mopping the floor, painting the walls, and repairing broken classroom chairs.

Culturally embedded notions are also evident in respondents' notions about involvement in children's academics. Just as parents' responses suggest notions of parental involvement that reflect the economic context, similarly, responses reflect the traditional role of Filipino mothers as the main caregiver and in-charge of school management and the role of fathers as the chief financial provider (De la Cruz, Protacio-Marcelino, Balanon, Yacat, & Francisco, 2001). Except for one male participant who is the main caregiver and prime supporter of the child's educational success (note, the child's mother is working overseas, and as such, care of the child fell to the father); all other fathers in the study either provide some supplemental assistance for children's academics after work or do not provide assistance at all. Although this study did not quantitatively test the relation between parent gender and parental involvement, it was evident that mothers demonstrate greater involvement compared to fathers, similar to the findings of numerous past research (Baeck, 2010; Kabir & Akter, 2014; Kim & Hill, 2015; Paulsen, 2012; Sheng, 2012; Vellymalay, 2012; Zellman et al., 2014).

Also reflecting cultural context in notions about involvement, participants mentioned using inductive methods such as motivating and talking to the child, as well as disciplining strategies typically used in Philippine settings (e.g., physical punishment and giving reprimands, Lansford et al., 2010) in children's academic socialization. The use of discipline strategies has not typically been noted in the broader literature as a means of academic socialization. Moreover, although administering physical punishment and reprimanding may be considered punitive by American standards, participants asserted that these are done out of care and concern for their children's education. A recent study also found that low-income Filipino mothers give reprimands and administer physical punishment as protective strategies to ensure that their children are safe from or do not get involved in neighborhood violence (Jocson & Garcia, 2017).

To summarize, whereas some aspects of the meaning and nature of parental involvement among Filipino parents are consistent with mainstream literature (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Epstein, 1995; Fan & Chen, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011), unique themes underscore the variability of how parental involvement is conceptualized and expressed. Unique notions of parental involvement are a function of parents' socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, emphasizing the importance of considering immediate and distal contexts to better understand parenting beliefs and behaviors.

Facilitators, Barriers, and the Role of Poverty in Parental Involvement

Research suggests that numerous factors facilitate or hinder parents' involvement in their children's academic success. Current findings are generally consistent with these previous studies. For example, parents noted that their own motivation (Hoover-Dempsey

et al., 2005), educational aspirations for their children (Fan & Chen, 2001), availability and access to resources (Balarin & Santiago, 2007), and invitation from the child (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005) were factors that facilitated their ability to support their children in their academic success. Nonetheless, unique facilitators and barriers also emerged, with themes reflecting parents' cultural and economic contexts.

Consistent with the family stress model (Conger & Conger, 2002), parents discussed numerous challenges due to poverty that made it difficult to support their children's education or even provide for the children's basic needs. Parents expressed concern that their constrained involvement negatively influences children's academic outcomes. Parents' responses reflected complex notions and awareness of a broad range of ways by which they can support their children's academic success, and most expressed having strong beliefs about the importance of education. Majority of parents also reported setting goals for their children (e.g., college degree). Nonetheless, their responses also revealed that their economic situation made their ability to provide for their children and support their academic success uncertain. This was evident in most of the participants' response of "as long as we can" (*hanggang kaya*) to the question of what level of education they would like their children to attain.

Given the numerous challenges parents faced in supporting their children's education due to poverty and related issues, parents indicated heavy reliance on social networks to compensate for whatever resources they lacked. Evident in parents' responses is the value of living close to family members who can offer academic assistance for free – especially for low-income parents who cannot afford paid tutoring services and other learning resources. In many ways, social support is a specific kind of resource that parents

use in their challenging economic contexts in order to involve themselves in their children's education.

Although parents reported barriers that they did not attribute to poverty, many challenges can still be linked to economic status. For example, parents expressed a low sense of efficacy in supporting their children's academics due to their own low levels of educational attainment. In addition, they reported lack of confidence in advocating for their children, being shy, hesitating to communicate with the teacher, and their lack of trust that the teachers and the school can do something about their concern. All these issues reflect poor cultural capital that put parents in poverty at a disadvantage (Lee & Bowen, 2006). When parents lack the confidence and skills to effectively engage with teachers, they miss opportunities to gain more information about their children and on how to better help them. As having more cultural capital leads to access to more resources in the future (Lee & Bowen, 2006), the limited capital among low-income groups (Bourdieu, 1987) does not only widen the inequalities among parents' access to resources, but also contribute to the well-documented achievement gap between students from low- and high-income families (Evans & Rosenbaum, 2008; Lee & Bowens, 2006). When the school's inconsistent policies and apparent lack of structure are added to the parents' limited cultural capital, parents in poverty indeed have to overcome one barrier after another in order to support their children.

It is important to note that even though this study only utilized responses from the primary caregivers, findings should be understood in the context of the broader norms surrounding parent-teacher relationship in the Philippines. Although it is mostly understood in the study's sample that teachers and parents should work together in

teaching children, it was apparent that the teachers remain to be the chief authority in the realm of education. This is especially true in public schools where differences between teachers and parents in terms of social status and power are more pronounced. As Lareau (1989) has mentioned, social class shapes the nature of family-school relationships, with parents from low-income background having the tendency to assume that the teachers are always right, given that they are professionals. It was evident from the participants' responses that they do not feel comfortable interacting with teachers, and some parents even communicated fear in dealing with the school. This reflects an imbalance of power between teachers and parents, and this disparity can further contribute to the low levels of cultural capital among low-income parents of underachieving students.

In sum, parental beliefs about factors that impact upon their ability to support their children had both similarities with and differences from existing literature. Multiple intrinsic and extrinsic factors, from low efficacy in teaching the child to inconsistent school policies, all have proximal and distal effects on parental involvement. With all these factors coming into play, parental beliefs on education may not translate to actual involvement. In the Philippines where poverty is very much pervasive, this incongruence in belief and behavior is mostly caused by pressing economic demands and insufficient financial resources.

Parental Involvement in Relation to Children's Outcomes

All respondents expressed a strong belief in the importance of education and a recognition of their role in supporting children in their studies. However, responses also showed differences in levels of engagement between parents of high-achieving students and underachieving students. Parents of high-achieving students cited more concrete

teaching strategies and set higher expectations for their children whereas parents of underachieving students had more lenient rules around studying. Although this research is exploratory in nature nor does the study design allow for determining directionality of relationships, nonetheless, a pattern pointing to the positive relation between parental involvement and children's grades was evident.

Children benefit from parents who are strategic and intentional in teaching their children, confirming Hango's (2007) previous finding that children are encouraged when they see that their parents are interested in their education. Parents' intentionality in teaching their children is especially important in the context of the research site where class sizes are large and school resources are lacking. When parents are effortful in teaching their children, it can help compensate for the limitations of the school and optimize children's learning experience. On the other hand, when parents do not provide a structure at home and/or have low academic expectations of their children, it exacerbates the inadequacies of the public school. Being uninvolved may also send a message to their children that it is acceptable not to prioritize school.

Having the cultural capital to properly engage with teachers is an important contributor to parental involvement (Lee & Bowen, 2006), and this ultimately benefits children. When parents regard teachers as equal partners in promoting what is best for their children, and vice versa, they may feel more comfortable interacting with them (Park & Holloway, 2013). This perceived equal partnership could also foster trust in teachers that they are capable and willing to help the parents and children. Conversely, majority of the parents of the underachieving students had issues which remained unresolved at the time of the interview either because they did not raise the problem with

the teacher or the teacher and the parent did not arrive at a common resolution. This illustrates the lack of strong home-school partnership in the public school, at least between teachers and parents of underachieving students. This lack of “next steps” also undermines the potential parent-teacher partnership that could ultimately help the child.

Summary

Results presented rich and in-depth descriptions of the experiences of the participants, their views on education, and the specific strategies they employ to help their children in the context of poverty. Overall, findings showed that the participants take on an active role in their children’s schooling. This study offers evidence to suggest that Filipino parents may be subscribing to the parent-teacher relationship model (Getting Ready Research Team, 2013), where both the home and school contexts share the responsibility of educating the child, contrary to what was earlier implied that schools remain to hold the main responsibility to educate the children and that parents in collectivistic cultures tend to have a lesser role compared to the teachers (Denessen et al., 2001; Sy, 2006). However, data also showed that parents still lean more toward home-based involvement than school-based involvement. Although they engage in both, it was notable how none of the participants mentioned volunteering in school and communicating with teachers as ways of involvement, and that these were only mentioned after being prompted. Their initial responses composed of helping the child with homework, monitoring and caring for the child, and setting rules at homes. This may mean that when parents hear about involvement and ways of supporting their children, they readily think of home-based type of involvement.

This study revealed various determinants influencing parental involvement, with poverty-related factors serving as the main barriers to supporting children's education. Nonetheless, participants repeatedly mentioned that they will do whatever it takes to send their children to school, corroborating Reyes and Resurreccion's (2015) previous assertion that Filipino families perceive educating the children as one their most important functions.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research Directions

Caution should be exercised in interpreting the findings. First, the responsibility of child care in the Philippine context usually involves multiple people (e.g., parents, grandparents, extended family members, nannies); however, this study examined the perspective of only the primary caregiver. Future studies should involve multiple informants as socialization may be distributed, and it is important to capture the viewpoints of other socializers. Gathering information from multiple sources can also help ensure data triangulation and further validate the results of the study (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, Dicenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014). Engaging in different forms of data collection, such as naturalistic or participant observation, could not only help triangulate data, but could also potentially reveal covert types of involvement that parents may not readily regard as parental involvement in education.

Second, careful measures were employed to eliminate potential biases, such as self-presentation. However, as parenting remains to be a sensitive topic, participants may have been especially prone to social desirability bias. Future studies should also explore how teachers and school administrators make efforts to engage parents. The teachers'

views could also help clarify some of the issues reported by the participants in this study (e.g., inconsistent rules, grading system).

Third, although differences were found between parental involvement in high-achieving group and underachieving group, this study did not test for the specific pathways between parental involvement and children's academic outcomes. Because the directionality of the variables is not examined, it is unclear whether parental involvement is influencing children's academic outcomes, or the other way around. Indeed, parents noted that child characteristics impacted upon their own level of involvement. Other factors, such as the parent's level of education or employment status, may also account for these differences. With data on the meaning and nature of parental involvement in this population, future studies should consider developing a standardized survey instrument to measure parental involvement among low-income Filipino families. The availability of this instrument could facilitate a longitudinal examination of which aspects of parental involvement can be linked to children's academic performance, as well as other developmental outcomes. In turn, this could provide information on the specific factors that should be addressed in policies and programs.

This study is also limited in that it is uncertain where to attribute the unique, emergent themes found, such as providing for basic needs and volunteering by cleaning. As parents are simultaneously embedded in multiple contexts, it is plausible that these findings were due to poverty or due to the influences of the Filipino culture, or the interaction of both. Expanding this research to include families from different socioeconomic levels, as well as various geographic locations in the Philippines, could

strengthen this study's findings and help identify the context that most influences parental involvement.

Significance of the Study and Implications

Notwithstanding the aforementioned study limitations, this study adds to the current body of literature in several ways and points to a number of theoretical and methodological implications. The following are the implications.

Methodology and the use of indigenous research methods. This study used culturally responsive methods and elements of indigenous Filipino psychology, such as conducting the interviews in the local language, that facilitated smooth interactions with the participants and enabled a deeper understanding of the data during analysis (de Guzman, 2014; Mansukhani, 2005; Pe-Pua, 2006). Most previous research on parental involvement primarily relied on quantitative data (e.g., frequency of helping with homework, attendance to parent-teacher meeting) (Reynolds, Crea, Medina, Degnan, & McRoy, 2015) and Western-based instruments (Al-Barwani, Albeely, & Al-Suleimani, 2012). Although these methods allowed for examining parental involvement and its correlates, foregoing rich descriptions of parental involvement may conceal findings that are unique to participants' social and cultural contexts, given that parenting is culturally embedded. The current study lends ecological validity to the rich body of work that has mapped out what constitutes parental involvement and its effects on children's academic outcomes, but also highlights the importance of using a cultural lens and examining the data from the bottom up to fully capture the target population's lived experiences. Employing elements of indigenous Filipino psychology helped ensure that findings are reflective of the participants' sociocultural realities.

The present study has important methodological implications. Beyond using and integrating Western-based frameworks on parental involvement, social and cultural capital, family stress, this study also incorporated facets of indigenous Filipino psychology in exploring the participants' experiences. As opposed to simply translating Western-based concepts into the Filipino language that could fail to capture the experiences of the Filipino people (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000) this study utilized an "indigenization from within" approach where results were based on the population's realities (e.g., traditional Filipino parenting practices, nature of poverty in the Philippines). Utilizing an indigenous form of data collection and the openness toward indigenous concepts allowed unique parental involvement themes to emerge. Indeed, there has been a growing recognition of limitations of various methods of data collection, including interviews, when not adapted to the local cultural context (Jerfelt, Blanchin, & Li, 2016). Prioritizing rapport-building by providing a casual, friendly climate and de-emphasizing power structure during data collection also positively influenced the quality of the data and the comfort level of the participants in sharing their experiences with the researcher (Pe-Pua, 2006). All these lend support to the appropriateness of using elements of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* in conducting research with Filipino participants.

Indigenization from within also involved understanding and incorporating the local language. In this study, all steps in the analyses were conducted in the original language to minimize loss of meanings in the process. Filipino-English translation was only conducted for presentation purposes. Even in translating the transcript excerpts, the researcher, who used to teach both Filipino and English subjects in elementary school, was cautious not to translate word for word literally. Rather, the focus was on the spirit of

the statement and that what was translated to English. As the researcher, advisor, and the two auditors are all fluent in the local language and are cultural insiders, this helped ensure that the interpretation of the data is as close as possible to the phenomenon as experienced by the participants (Polkinghorne, 2007). Thus, the use of indigenous and other culturally responsive methodologies, with sensitivity to the cultural context of participants, provides a promising approach to understanding the manifestation of commonly studied variables in new cultural contexts, particularly when factors studied are heavily concentrated on Western cultures (Turney & Kao, 2009).

Culturally embedded nature of parenting. Findings underscore the culturally embedded nature of parenting and parental involvement. Results suggest notions and barriers that are consistent with those identified in the predominant literature, but also beliefs that reflect parents' unique sociocultural contexts. These types of findings have generally not been included in the broad body of work on parental involvement, likely because most of the studies have been conducted in the U.S. (Turney & Kao, 2009). Broadening the sampling of cultures in the literature allows for a wider range of contexts (e.g., cultural, economic) that may pull for a wider range of variability in parental involvement notions and behaviors. By focusing on an understudied population that by many measures differ from the dominant Western culture, this research showed how parental involvement operates in a different cultural and economic context and expands our theoretical understanding of the construct. As findings revealed expressions of parental involvement that are distinct from its widely held conceptualization, this study also underscores the importance of examining contexts as it influences parenting beliefs and behaviors.

Understanding that involvement may not translate to actual involvement. It is important to note that understanding how parents construe parental involvement is not enough in helping parents understand their role in their children's academic success. Rather, examining the facilitators and barriers to parental involvement in the context of poverty and the Filipino population is essential in order to help parents navigate these barriers. Findings can also guide educators and programmers to develop culturally appropriate programs that will encourage involvement among low-income Filipino parents that could help facilitate better academic outcomes (e.g., parents' best practices on dealing with homework or effective strategies on communicating with teachers). The prevailing notion in collectivistic societies, such as the Philippines, is that the teacher is the expert in the realm of education and that parents have a limited role (Denessen et al., 2001; Plata-Potter & de Guzman, 2012). This belief is especially prevalent among lower income families that may not feel empowered to take an active role in their children's education. School personnel should be aware that barriers to parental involvement include teacher-related and policy-related factors that administrators can first address in order to encourage greater participation from the parents. Understanding these culturally embedded notions with a consideration for the parents' economic background can help Filipino parents by highlighting their role in the academic success of their children and by suggesting specific parental involvement strategies they can use.

Although this study focused on the Philippines, the idea that parental notions about involvement reflects their daily realities and specific ecology, can be applicable to many other settings. For example, although poverty in the U.S. context may be different from how families in the Philippines experience poverty, the reality is that many

American families also experience economic challenges. According to the National Center for Children in Poverty, 44% of children aged 9 and below live in low-income households. Majority of these children's parents have less than a high school degree, and although most of these children have at least one parent working full-time, the household still experiences economic insecurity (Koball & Jiang, 2018). In designing programs to encourage parental involvement especially among low-income populations, it is important that school administrators and teachers take into consideration the reality of the families' situations, and their employment and educational background.

Findings from this study increase current understanding of the nature of parental notions about involvement in children's education and the roles that economic and cultural context play in these beliefs. The study also highlights factors that facilitate or hinder involvement and how elements of traditional Filipino parenting and the context of poverty are reflected in parents' challenges and available strategies for coping. In the context of this poverty, Filipino parents showed a general understanding of their role in their children's academic success. However, the degree to which they are able to support their children varies as the challenges in their immediate and broader contexts pose uncertainties on how they follow through on their involvement.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Questions about educational beliefs and goals

1. How important is education for you?
 - a. Tell me why you think education is important for your child?
2. How important is your child's school attendance?
3. How important are grades, in your view?
4. What are your educational goals for your child? What do you hope for your child?

[Additional prompts: Whereas some parents think that education is very important, some parents think that there are more important things than going to school (e.g., earning money). What can you say about that?]

Questions about parent's role in child's education

5. What should be the role of the parent in their children's education?

[Prompts]

- a. Pay for tuition
- b. Help with homework/school projects
- c. Teach advanced lessons/teaching child how to read/add/etc. before they teach it in school (parent as first teacher)
- d. Communicate with teacher regularly (whether regarding school problems or benign issues)
- e. Volunteer in school activities (e.g., field trips)
- f. Help choose course in college

g. Others _____

[Additional prompts: Some parents think that all the studying should be done in school and that children should just rest at home or do other things not related to school.

What do you think about that?]

6. Who helps your child with his/her schoolwork?

a. Who else has responsibility over your child's schooling? (e.g., grandparent, sibling, etc.)

[Additional prompts: Some parents let their children study on their own. What can you say about that?]

Questions about the child

7. How is your child doing in school?

8. How does your child like school?

a. Reasons why child likes school

[Prompts]

i. Loves learning

ii. Likes being with peers

iii. Likes the teacher/s and the school in general

b. Reasons why child does not like school

[Prompts]

i. School is hard

ii. Unfriendly peers

iii. Teachers do not like them

[Additional prompt: Some children do not like school because they say do not have friends or that teachers play favorites. What can you say about that?]

9. What factors do you think positively contribute to your child's grades?

[Prompts]

- i. Child is hardworking
- ii. Good teachers
- iii. Support from parents, family members
- iv. Others

10. What factors do you think negatively contribute to your child's grades?

[Prompts]

- i. Child is lazy/dislikes school
- ii. Behavioral problems
- iii. Teacher's negative perception
- iv. Lack of support at home
- v. Others

[Additional prompt: Some parents said that their children have low grades because the teachers are not teaching them well or that the teachers are not fair in giving grades. What can you say about that? Some parents also said that their children are not motivated (*walang gana*) to study and just like to play. What can you say about that?]

Questions about practices at home

11. What is your child's usual schedule/routine? From the time they wake up to the time they sleep?

- a. Does your child have a routine when it comes to studying/school work?
12. Do you think your child needs help when it comes to school work?
- a. If yes, how do you help?
 - b. How confident are you in helping your child with his/her school work?
13. Are there other things that you do at home to help your child succeed in school?
- a. What are they?
14. Is there someone who helps you in helping your child with his/her school work?
15. How do you feel and react when your child gets high passing marks in school?
16. How do feel and react when your child gets low or failing marks in school?

[Additional prompt: Some parents said that they scold their children for getting low grades. What do you think about that?]

17. What kinds of things that you do do you think may be helping your child in school?

Questions about barriers to parental involvement

18. Are there challenges that make it difficult for you to be more involved in your child's education or schooling?

[Prompts]

- a. Work/schedule
- b. No one will look after the house/other kids
- c. Feel unwelcome
- d. It's stressful/difficult to be involved
- e. Not knowledgeable enough about school lessons

- f. Other concerns and issues demand attention
- g. Do not see the need to be involved
 - i. My child is doing well in school
 - ii. I trust the school/teachers

[Additional prompts: The other parents said that the lessons in school are so difficult, even for the parents. What can you say about that?]

Questions about the school and teacher/s

19. What can you say about your child's school?
20. What do you like about your child's school?
21. What do you not like about your child's school?
22. What are the things your child's school does/offers to involve you in your child's education?

[Prompts]

- a. Invite you for meetings to discuss your child's progress
 - b. Invite you to volunteer (personal invitation/email/letters)
 - c. Parenting classes/Workshops on how to help your child
 - d. Provide a student handbook
 - e. Opportunities to network with other parents
 - f. Others
23. How is your relationship with your child's teacher/s?

[Prompts]

- a. Have you met with your child's teacher/s?
- b. What do you like about your child's teacher/s?

- c. What do you not like about your child's teacher/s?
- d. Do you feel that the teacher/s is/are someone you can trust?
- e. Do you wish that your child's teacher does something that s/he is not doing now?

[Additional prompts: Some parents said that they do not like their child's teacher for some reason. Do parents in your school also feel that way sometimes?]

Questions about the parent's experiences as a student

24. How were your experiences as a student?
- a. Did you like school? Why?
 - i. If not, why not?
 - b. Were there people who helped you in your studies?
 - i. If yes, who are they?
 - ii. How did they help you?
 - c. How do you think your experiences as a student influence your parenting practices and expectations of your children?

- 3 Adoptive parent 7 Friend of parent
 4 Grandparent 8 Other _____

9. Please indicate your religious affiliation, if any:

- 1 Catholic 5 Hindu
 2 Protestant (specify _____) 6 Muslim
 3 Jewish 7 No religious affiliation
 4 Buddhist 8 Other _____

TARGET CHILD

10. Child gender (circle): 1 Male 2 Female
11. Child date of birth: _____
12. How old is child? _____
13. Grade in school the child is attending: _____
14. How many adults (ages 19 and older) live in your household? _____
15. How many children (ages 18 and younger) live in your household? _____
16. How many people in your household discipline (child) on a regular basis? _____
17. Please indicate the gross annual income of your family:
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. up to 50,000 | (4,000 monthly) |
| 2. 50,000 – 99,999 | (4,000 – 8,000 monthly) |
| 3. 100,000 – 149,000 | (8,000 – 12,500 monthly) |
| 4. 150,000 – 249,000 | (12,500 - 20,500 monthly) |

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 5. 250,000 – 349,999 | (20,500 - 30,000 monthly) |
| 6. 350,000 – 499,999 | (30,000 - 41,500 monthly) |
| 7. 500,000 – 749,000 | (41,500 - 62,500 monthly) |
| 8. 750,000 – 1,000,000 | (62,500 - 83,000 monthly) |
| 9. 1,000,000 – 1,999,999 | (83,000 - 166,500 monthly) |
| 10. over 2,000,000 | (over 166,500 monthly) |

18. In the last 12 months, did your household's annual income change?

1. Yes, it decreased a lot (more than 25%)
2. Yes, it decreased a little bit (between 5 and 25%)
3. It did not change at all or it did not significantly change (less than 5%)
4. Yes, it increased a little bit (between 5 and 25%)
5. Yes, it increased a lot (more than 25%)

19. How many older brothers does your child have?

20. How many younger brothers does your child have? _____

21. How many older sisters does your child have? _____

22. How many younger sisters does your child have? _____