

Filipino Parental Involvement and Children's Educational Performance

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ABSTRACT: Researchers have long noted that parental involvement can substantially influence children's academic performance. There is a paucity of research which has focused on this relationship in other cultures. Using a sample of parents from the island of Mindanao, this study examines the nature of parental involvement, and how it affects the school success of Filipino elementary pupils. Overall, Filipino parents are shown to be very active in their children's school activities. The influence upon children's performance in school is shown to vary, depending upon the type of parental involvement. The results are discussed within a social capital paradigm.

KEYWORDS: Filipino, parents, Mindanao, education, children, social capital

Introduction

Filipino parents place a tremendous value on children (Medina 2001), and go to great lengths to ensure their positive growth. In the Philippines, parents expect obedience from their children, yet also provide them with tremendous affection, care, and nurturance (Almirol 1985). Parent-child relationships are often influenced by *kapwa*, which refers to the sense of shared identity Filipino family members, but particularly parents and children, share with one another (Salazar-Clemena 1993). Simply, Filipino parents have a strong sense of investment in their children, and actively try to improve them however possible.

Understandably, Filipino parents also have to deal with the economic, social, and political realities of the Philippines itself. Much of the population lives in poverty, jobs are difficult to obtain, and the prospects for children's futures are often bleak. This is especially the case in Mindanao, the large

southern island within the Philippine archipelago. Although it is rich in natural resources, it has endured many centuries of political and social upheaval. Poverty is an ever-present dilemma. As the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB, 2013) recently reported, the percentage of all families in Mindanao living below the poverty line ranged anywhere from 34.5 percent in Region XI to 52.9 percent within the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). It is within this context that Filipino children attempt to achieve success in school, and Filipino parents try their very best to assist them in those pursuits.

This study examines the nature of Filipino parental involvement, and how it affects the educational performance of children. Using a social capital perspective, this examination focuses specifically upon how household and family characteristics might affect the levels of parental involvement in children's education. In order to understand both causes and consequences of parental involvement, this study also examines the relative effects of parental involvement on children's grade performance in school.

Filipino Parent-Child Relationships

Relative to other Asian cultures, the culture of the Philippines is rather unique, reflective of its long history of occupation and contact with foreign nations. Spain, during its three centuries of rule, introduced Catholicism, with which the majority of contemporary Filipinos affiliate themselves. Given the pro-natalist doctrine of the Catholic church, coupled with the large agricultural segment of the economy, Filipino families tend to be large. Although fertility levels have steadily decreased over recent decades, women in the Philippines still average 3.03 children (World Bank 2011). Indeed, it is generally considered to be unhealthy for a child to grow up without siblings (Costello and Casterline 2002). Filipino families are bilineal, and there is a strong tendency toward economic cooperation among both nuclear and extended family members (DeVos 1985). The generalized exchange of support—financial, instrumental, or otherwise—is a normative expectation among Filipino families (Peterson 1993).

Childrearing practices may differ, depending upon both the sex of the child and the sex of the parent. Holmes and Tiefertaler (1997), in an analysis of time spent by Filipino parents on childcare, found that mothers provided 90 percent of the total childcare time within the family, with fathers contributing only 6 percent (older siblings provided the remainder of childcare to younger siblings). Filipino children typically consider their mothers to be nurturant and consistent in their expectations, allowing them a fair amount of autonomy (Paguio et al. 1987). Filipino mothers tend to exercise a minimal amount of physical punishment, and tend to use scolding, spanking, pinches, and ear pulling as their usual choices of corporal punishment. Overall, children tend to regard their fathers as the primary disciplinarian within the family. Javillonar (1979) reports that Filipino fathers typically intervene only when their child has committed a serious infraction, and that physical punishment by their father is more often feared by children (as compared to their fear of punishment from their mother). Filipino culture also promotes the inclusion of extended kin in childrearing, and family members such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and older cousins instruct a child that her/his behavior reflects upon the reputation of the entire family (Paguio et al. 1987).

A strong sense of filial obligation and responsibility is common throughout the Philippines. Children, even at relatively young ages, are expected to contribute as best as they can to the family (Go 1994). Older children, for example, are typically expected to tend to the needs of their younger siblings (Enrile and Agbayani 2007; Go 1994). This is particularly the case for the eldest daughter in a family, who will retain the honored title of *ate* (elder sister) for her entire life. As compared to daughters, sons will often be given more privileges within the family, while daughters will be given more responsibilities (Enrile and Agbayani 2007). In conjunction with the cultural expectation for filial obligation, Filipino parents may sometimes encourage their children to pursue either more education or a particular career, so that the child can provide financial support to the parents and the family (Salazar-Clemena 2002). Understandably, such parental influence can have a substantial effect upon a child's performance and eventual attainment in school.

The Nature of Education in the Philippines

As a result of the unique history of the Philippines, its educational system is directly modeled after that of the United States (US). Currently, the system consists of elementary school, with grades one through six, followed by four years of high school, and ultimately college, where most degree programs are available. Schooling is mandatory through the sixth grade, and the Philippine government, in conjunction with external entities such as the World Bank (WB), United Nations (UN), and foreign governments, has made great efforts to provide elementary education to all children (see Tan et al. 1997).

Elementary schools throughout the Philippines are often subjected to a variety of challenges, ranging from overcrowded classrooms, under-staffed faculty, and a lack of adequate resources (Peterson 1991). In rural schools, electricity is often lacking. Families, in turn, are often strained to provide adequate support (for example, school supplies, uniforms, among others), yet Filipino parents across all social class levels typically regard education as essential to their children's success, and are willing to go to great lengths to help their children through school (LaRocque 2004). Retention is a major concern, as many students do not continue past their elementary grades. The odds of a twelve-year-old being enrolled in school are only about one-half of those of a nine-year-old (Maligalig et al. 2010). Substantial numbers of pupils do not make the transition from elementary school to high school.

There is also a clear distinction between the school experiences of females, as compared to males. Girls are approximately 1.5 times more likely to attend school than are boys (Maligalig et al. 2010), and females tend to have about 1.5 more years of schooling, as compared to boys (Arguillas and Williams 2010). In many instances, children drop out of school in order to work and provide financial/instrumental assistance to their families (Guerro 1993). Sons, in particular, will drop out of school in order to find employment (DeGraff and Bilsborrow 2003).

Previous studies have suggested that this differential pattern of educational attainment for females and males results from the filial obligation present within Filipino families. In many instances, daughters may be given

preferential support (that is, financial) by parents, as it is believed that daughters will have a stronger commitment to supporting their parents as they grow older (Arguillas and Williams 2010). In rural areas of the Philippines, this belief among parents is even more evident, as parents will commonly prefer that their sons inherit family property, while, at the same time, give greater support to their daughters' educations. Parents may regard this as a better investment, on the assumption that daughters will be more likely to perform well in school, obtain a good job, and provide support to their parents (Medina 2001). Parents are often motivated by the desire to see their children, both sons and daughters, finish school quickly, so that they can help their families financially (Salazar-Clemena 2002).

Parental Involvement

In general, parental involvement is regarded as the interaction and assistance which parents provide to their children and to their children's schools in order to somehow enhance or benefit their children's success in the classroom. Hill et al. (2004) posit that parental involvement pertains to such activities as parents volunteer work at school, communication and discussions with teachers and school administrators, assisting with homework, discussions about school and future aspirations with their children, and the quality of parent-teacher relationships (see also Hill and Taylor 2004). Ho and Willms (1996) argue that parental involvement contains four distinct elements: 1) Home discussions, 2) home supervision, 3) school communication, and 4) school participation. However, Epstein (1992) suggests that parental involvement encompasses six forms: 1) Parent behavior which creates a positive home learning environment, 2) parent-school communications, 3) parent assistance and volunteerism at school, 4) parent-school communications about home learning activities, 5) parental involvement in the decision-making processes within the school, and 6) parental access to educational resources in the larger community. According to Epstein (1992), these different forms of parental involvement can vary, depending upon the household, parents, school, and community characteristics of the child. While characteristics such as the parents' educational attainment or

household income might affect the nature and extent of parental involvement, it is also necessary to recognize that social and cultural factors can impact such involvement (Berthelsen and Walker 2008).

Researchers have often proposed that parental involvement is best understood through the perspective of social capital theory (Parcel et al. 2010). Coleman (1988) suggests that social capital is inherent within the relationships inside and outside the family, as those relationships affect various outcomes for the family and its individual members. The relationships which parents have with their children, as well as those which parents have with teachers, school administrators, librarians, or any non-family member who can affect the academic outcomes of their children are a form of social capital. Social capital, however, is often based primarily within the family, and the family is the major context in which such capital affects the school performance and attainment of the youth (Furstenberg 2005). Family capital, then, is regarded as providing children with a sense of identity and a common purpose, both within their family and also within the culture in which they live (Furstenberg 2005). The involvement of parents in their children's education interjects elements of both social capital and family capital, and will have a substantial effect upon the development of children and their success in school (Gofen 2009). Among Filipino parents, assistance given to children in their school endeavors is very much regarded as an investment, not only in their children, but also in the subsequent financial stability of the family itself.

McNeal (1999) argues that parental involvement is more complex, and posits that there are three particular elements of social capital which should be considered: 1) Form, 2) norms of obligation and reciprocity, and 3) resources. The element of form can be seen in the dyadic relationships between parents and children, between parents and teachers, between children and teachers, and so forth. Within the parent-child relationship, the element of obligation and reciprocity is present within all cultures, as children are expected to obey their parents, and parents are likewise expected (per societal norms) to take care of their children's needs to the best of their abilities (Hildebrand et al. 2000). Finally, parents can provide their children with a wide range of resources—personal, financial, time, and so forth—and the application and

effectiveness of these resources is dependent upon the parents' social skills and abilities. This, McNeal (1999) posits, is the most crucial form of capital which parental involvement represents, as parents are able to give time, support, and energy toward the socialization experiences of their children, and thereby enhance their growth and well-being (see Kim and Schneider 2005). The social capital paradigm necessarily posits that the resources provided by parents are finite, and having larger numbers of children (as is the case in Mindanao) may result in each individual child being able to obtain fewer resources (Sun and Li 2009). While such attributes as parental educational attainment and household income are associated with children's academic performance, there is consensus that the involvement of parents in school activities, maintaining contact with school faculty and administrators, and discussing and assisting children with school assignments, can all increase the chances of children's success in school (Sandefur et al. 2006).

There is substantial evidence to support the contention that greater parental involvement benefits children's academic performance (Eccles and Harold 1996; Englund et al. 2004; Epstein and Sanders 2002). Parental contributions, in terms of time spent with children, time spent interacting with teachers and school administrators, and assisting the school through volunteerism, have all been shown to enhance children's academic success (Kim 2002). Even the frequency of parent-child discussions about school issues (for example, homework, teacher-student relations, among others) have been shown to significantly affect children's academic performance (Jeynes 2005). Fan (2001) also posits that parental involvement can have a long-lasting effect upon children's performance, and can positively influence eventual levels of educational attainment. Among students who may be performing poorly, Hara (1998) argues that higher levels of parental involvement can bring about substantial improvement over time. Although such influence can vary by the age and grade level of the child, previous studies have suggested that parental involvement may have its greatest impact among elementary school children (Singh et al. 1995).

Data and Measures

Participants in this study were recruited from nine elementary schools in Region X during the summer of 2010. A cluster sampling approach was used, and 730 questionnaires were sent out to children in grades five and six in the participating schools. At each school, surveys were distributed to the pupils, who were instructed to take the sealed envelopes containing the surveys home to their parent(s). Each of the questionnaires contained explicit instructions that only one parent in the home completes the survey. The survey was provided to participants in both Visayan and English, so as to avoid any dilemmas in regard to language. The questions in the survey focused on family structure and background, socioeconomic characteristics, and the nature of support given by the family which might affect children's academic performance. Of the 730 questionnaires distributed, 692 were returned. In total, 500 were completed by the mother (72.3 percent of the total). Statistical comparisons of mothers' and fathers' responses did not yield significant differences. In regard to residence, 427 of the respondents lived in an urban area, while 265 lived in a rural area. The participants' children totalling 377 attended public schools, while 315 attended private schools. The Philippines' Department of Education (DepEd), along with the regional superintendent of public schools and individual school principals, provided approval for the study to be conducted.

In order to measure children's educational performance, parents were asked to describe their child's grades. The coding for this measure was: 1) Less than D's (below 60s), 2) mostly D's (60s), 3) C's and D's (60s and 70s), 4) mostly C's (70s), 5) B's and C's (70s and 80s), 6) mostly B's (80s), 7) A's and B's (80s and 90s), and 8) mostly A's (90s). In order to ascertain the familial context, a variety of household and parental characteristics were included in the study. The educational attainment of each parent (when two were present) was taken, and the highest was included as a measure of parental educational attainment (coded as 1=6th grade or less, 2=beyond 6th grade, but did not complete high school, 3=high school graduate, 4=attended college, but did not finish degree, 5=college graduate, 6=graduate or professional degree). The total income of the household was measured, in Philippine pesos, as: 1) Less than 25,000, 2) 25,001 to 50,000,

3) 50,001 to 100,000, 4) 100,001 to 150,000, 5) 150,001 to 200,000, 6) 200,001 to 250,000, 7) 250,001 to 300,000, 8) 300,001 to 350,000, 9) 350,001 to 400,000, 10) 400,001 and above. In order to measure religiosity, parents were asked how often they attended religious services (coded as 1=rarely, 2=a few times per year, 3=once per month, 4=two or three times per month, 5=once or more per week). In addition, parents were asked how many specific languages were used in the home. From this question, a dichotomous measure was created to indicate whether English was spoken in the home (1=yes, 0=no). Parents were also asked whether their child had access to a computer at their school (coded as 1=yes, 0=no). Finally, the total number of children in the home, and the sex of their child in the 5th or 6th grade (the focal child of the study) were included.

In order to assess parental involvement, six different measures, each of which captured a separate dimension of parental involvement, were included. Parents were asked how often they talked with their child about their plans for high school, their plans after high school, and about their current grades. The responses to these items were combined into a single measure, but maintained the original scale of: 1=not at all, 2=rarely, 3=occasionally, and 4=regularly (the reliability of this scaled item was high, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.84). Parents were also asked whether they had rules in the home for their child about their grade average, homework, and chores (each response was coded as 1=yes, 0=no). The three items were then combined into a single measure (rules about schoolwork and home), with a range from 0 to 3 (this scaled item had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.88). Parents were asked whether, over the past year, they had attended a festival with their child, taken their child to a museum, or taken their child to the public library. These three items were combined in a single measure (each response was coded as 1=yes, 0=no), with a range from 0 to 3 (with a resulting Cronbach's alpha of 0.87). Parents were also asked about their involvement in various school activities. Specifically, parents were asked whether they participated in the parent-teacher association (PTA) of their child's school, whether they had assisted in fund-raising activities, or whether they had volunteered at their child's school. These three items were combined in a single measure (each response was coded as 1=yes, 0=no), with a range from 0 to 3 (with a resulting Cronbach's alpha of 0.83). Parents were

asked how often they helped their child with their homework (with responses ranging from 1=not at all, 2=rarely, 3=occasionally, to 4=regularly). Finally, parents were asked how much total time they spent with their child in the previous week. Responses to this measure were: 1=none, 2=1 to 4 hours, 3=5 to 9 hours, 4=10 to 14 hours, 5=15 to 19 hours, 6=20 to 24 hours, 7=25 to 29 hours, 8=30 to 34 hours, 9=35 to 39 hours, and 10=40 or more hours.

Results

Table 1 presents the mean levels of household and parental characteristics. As shown, the average level of parental educational attainment was high, with the typical parent having graduated from high school. Slightly better than half (55 percent) of the mothers within the sample were employed outside the home, which is equivalent with contemporary female labor participation rates in Mindanao. The average household income was in the 100,001 to 150,000 (Philippine pesos) range at the time of the survey. This is consistent with the average family income in Region X, which as Php142,000 in 2010 (NSCB, 2010; see also World Bank 2011). As is often the case within the Philippines, the average household income among families in this sample suggests that they frequently found themselves struggling to afford basic necessities.

TABLE 1. Mean Levels of Household and Parental Characteristics

	Mean	SD
Parental educational attainment	4.88	1.15
Employed mother	0.55	0.49
Household income	4.19	3.01
Number of children	3.29	1.99
Religiosity	4.71	1.64
English spoken in home	0.11	0.32
Child has access to computer	0.52	0.50
Sex of child (Female = 1)	0.56	0.49

N = 692 Note: Sample is limited to parents of 5th and 6th grade pupils

The average number of children was 3.29 for households included in the sample, which is again consistent with population characteristics of the region (NSCB, 2010). In regard to language within the family, only about 11 percent of respondents reported that they spoke English in their homes. Within the Philippine educational system, most classroom instructions, from the first grade through the university level, are offered in English. As such, English is commonly spoken throughout the country (although this is more often the case within cities, as compared to distant rural areas). Within the family home, however, it would appear that the native dialect (there are over a hundred individual dialects spoken in the Philippines) is more commonly used. Understandably, having English spoken in both the school and home environments might have consequences to children's educational performance.

In regard to children's access to computers, approximately half (52 percent) have access to a computer at their school. Given the fiscal difficulties encountered by most schools in Mindanao, it is actually quite impressive that so many schoolchildren are able to avail of a computer. In many schools though, children's access to a computer may be limited due to the actual number of machines. Finally, there were slightly more females (56 percent) included, as compared to the number of male children.

Table 2 presents the mean levels of parental involvement, as well as the children's grade averages. As shown, parents reported a fairly high frequency of talking with their child about school and their future plans. The reported level suggests that parents have such discussions with their child on a relatively regular basis. Within the framework of family capital, such direct contact does imply that children will have a great likelihood of academic success. Parents also reported having a somewhat high number of rules which were maintained in the home regarding their child's grades, homework, and performance of chores. This seems to suggest that Filipino parents are quite active in maintaining boundaries for their children's behavior, and for maintaining regular contact with their children about their school performance and future goals.

TABLE 2. Mean Levels of Parental Involvement and Children's Grades

	Mean	SD
Talk about school and plans	3.24	0.79
Rules about schoolwork and home	2.53	0.79
Attendance at events together	1.41	0.96
Volunteer (school support)	1.97	1.03
Help with homework	3.16	0.90
Total weekly time with children	4.25	2.94
Children's grade average	6.72	0.82

N = 692 Note: Sample is limited to parents of 5th and 6th grade pupils

Parents in the sample reported a low frequency of attendance at events together with their children. This measure assessed how often the parents and children attended festivals, visited museums, and went to the public library together. Within the northern region of Mindanao, travel to such activities can often be difficult, both financially, as well as logistically, for many families. The availability of activities, such as festivals, may be limited, particularly for families who reside in rural areas. In addition, the availability of museums and libraries might present similar dilemmas, as they may not be readily available in some areas. Within the city of Cagayan de Oro, for example, there are several museums and a public library, but such facilities are not found in the more rural communities beyond the city. In regard to parent-school contact, Filipino parents do report a high level of volunteer service at their children's schools. In addition, parents also reported a rather high rate of assisting their children with their homework. Together, these two (volunteering at the child's school and assisting with homework) again present an image of fairly actively involved parents. This extent of parental involvement suggests that parents in this sample would likely be well aware of their children's school performance. Overall, parents reported spending an average of approximately ten to fourteen hours per week with their children. Finally, in terms of the children's school performance, parents reported that their children, on average, were receiving 'Bs' in school.

Table 3 presents the ordinary least squares regression models of the various forms of parental involvement. All of the models are significant, and yield some

rather intriguing effects. In regard to parents talking with their children about school and future plans, higher levels of parental educational attainment are shown to be significantly associated with such discussions. This is quite understandable, as parents with higher levels of educational attainment may be more sensitive to their children's academic progress, and may have greater concerns about their success. Higher levels of household income are also associated with a greater frequency of discussions about school and future plans (beta = .140). In addition, higher levels of religious service attendance are associated with higher rates of discussions between parents and their children about school and future plans. Within Filipino culture, it is very much the norm that families should attend religious services together, so the greater frequency of service attendance may help to increase the opportunities for parents to discuss such matters with their children. Interestingly, the number of children in the home does not yield a significant association with this form of parental involvement.

TABLE 3. OLS Regression Models of Parental Involvement

	Talk about school and plans	Rules about schoolwork and home	Attendance at events together	Volunteer (school support)	Help with homework	Total weekly time
Parental educational attainment	.082* (.056)	.051 (.035)	.092** (.077)	.051 (.046)	.014 (.011)	.038 (.096)
Employed mother	.011 (.018)	-.003 (-.005)	.100*** (.194)	.005 (.010)	.026 (.046)	-.011 (-.065)
Household income	.140*** (.037)	.094** (.025)	.121*** (.039)	.003 (.001)	.160*** (.048)	.237*** (.231)
Number of children	.039 (.072)	.047 (.039)	.038 (.008)	.057 (.053)	-.034 (.026)	.043 (.076)
Religiosity	.150*** (.072)	.080** (.039)	.014 (.008)	.085** (.053)	.047 (.026)	.043 (.076)
English spoken in home	.053 (.133)	.044 (.112)	.103*** (.312)	-.010 (-.034)	.053 (.151)	.145*** (1.344)
Child has access to computer	.058 (.091)	-.013 (-.020)	.034 (.065)	-.161*** (-.331)	-.161*** (.004)	.058 (.339)
Sex of child (Female = 1)	.044 (.070)	.099*** (.158)	.043 (.083)	.056 (.116)	.039 (.071)	-.005 (-.028)
R-square	.080	.032	.075	.041	.044	.133
F	7.427***	2.848***	6.921***	3.628***	3.905***	13.145***

In the second model, a higher level of household income is shown to be positively associated with the number of rules imposed by parents about schoolwork and performing chores at home (beta = .094). Here, it is quite conceivable that lower-income households are less concerned with rules about school performance, as their priorities are centered on providing for the family's immediate needs (for example, having sufficient food and shelter). Interestingly, religiosity again yields a positive association, suggesting that higher rates of religious service attendance may result in more parental rules concerning school performance and chores at home. It is entirely possible that the more conservative nature of religion in the Philippines may directly affect the quality of parenting, and particularly in regard to parental control and supervision. In addition, it appears that daughters are significantly more likely to have such rules imposed on them, as compared to sons. Given the decidedly patriarchal nature of gender roles within Filipino culture, this finding is to be expected.

In the model of parent-child attendance at events together, approximately 7.5 percent of the variance was explained by the independent measures. Once again, a higher level of parental educational attainment was associated with a higher level of attendance at community events. Interestingly, when mothers were employed outside the home, greater attendance at such events was also shown (beta = .100). Since some of the events, such as festivals or trips to museums, might incur financial costs, a higher level of household income might be needed in order to afford attendance at such events. In this regard, household income again yielded a positive association (beta = .121), underscoring the importance of family financial ability. Speaking English in the home was similarly shown to be positively associated with event attendance. Of course, it is quite possible that English language usage at home may be intercorrelated with parental educational attainment, and may therefore be influencing this finding.

The model of parental volunteerism at their child's school shows that higher rates of religious service attendance are significantly associated with higher rates of volunteerism. As shown in the preceding models, higher rates of religiosity were also associated with more parent-child discussions

about school and future plans, as well as with the number of rules about schoolwork and chores at home. Greater religiosity, on the part of the parents, may very well be linked with a stronger parental desire to be involved in their children's school experiences. Interestingly though, when children have access to computers at their school, this is associated with lower rates of parental involvement, given that the availability of computers at the school may indicate that the school has a strong financial foundation, and may therefore not need nor invite much parental involvement (particularly in terms of fund-raising for the school).

Oddly, the model of parental help with children's homework yields only one significant association: Higher levels of household income are associated with higher rates of parental assistance with homework. This finding may imply that parents with higher incomes have greater time availability (that is, to spend with their children). For example, a parent with a professional career (say, physician) may be able to self-determine how much time he/she spends at work, and may therefore be able to direct more time and attention to the needs of his/her child. Having a higher family income may also be related to the types of educational resources (for example, books, calculators, computers) with which the parent can assist their children.

Finally, the model of parents' total weekly time spent with their children shows that higher levels of household income are, once more, associated with greater levels of parental involvement (beta = .237). It is also worth noting that when English is spoken in the home, greater amounts of parental time are accorded to their children. Clearly, the models of parental involvement suggest that the various household and parental characteristics do significantly affect the amount and nature of support provided by parents to their children. How, though, do those forms of parental involvement affect children's educational performance?

Table 4 presents the ordinary least squares models of Filipino children's grade performance, as affected by household and parental characteristics, and the various forms of parental involvement. As shown, all of the models are significant, and each explains a strong relationship among the variance (ranging from 8.1 percent to 18.4 percent). Model 1 presents the household

and parental characteristics, with no other independent measures. Higher levels of parental educational attainment are significantly associated with higher grades among schoolchildren ($\beta = .107$). This is consistent with family capital explanations of children's school performance, as higher levels of parental educational attainment can be beneficial to children's academic success in both direct (for example, lending assistance with homework) and indirect manners (for example, providing a role model for children). However, when greater numbers of children are present in the home, the parents' reports of children's grades are lower ($\beta = -.120$). This finding seems to clearly suggest that larger numbers of children in the home represent a deleterious effect upon individual children's academic success. Each additional child may reduce the amount of time, energy, and financial support which parents can provide any one given child in the family. Finally, daughters appear to perform much better than sons ($\beta = .282$). This difference by the sex of the child is evident throughout all grade levels in the Philippines, and is consistent with previous literature which has shown that Filipinas tend to perform better in school and go farther in their academic careers than their male counterparts.

Model 2 presents the coefficients from the parental involvement measures on children's grade performance. Overall, the measures of parental involvement yield a substantial amount of significant influence. Parent-child discussions about schoolwork and future plans are shown to be positively associated with children's grade performance ($\beta = .133$). Likewise, when parents exert more rules about schoolwork and home chores, children's grades tend to be significantly higher. As well, parental volunteerism has a significantly positive association with children's grades in school ($\beta = .154$), as does the total amount of weekly time spent by parents with their children ($\beta = .083$). Together, these forms of parental involvement seem to clearly support the contention of family capital perspectives, as each of these types of parental involvement benefit children's school success. Oddly, the amount of help provided by parents with children's homework is actually shown to be negatively associated with children's grades ($\beta = -.099$). In this case, it may

simply reflect the fact that parents are likely to exert more assistance when their children are performing poorly. This may not necessarily imply that parental assistance yields a negative effect, but, rather, that parental assistance is provided when needed by the child (that is, a likely issue of causality).

TABLE 4. OLS Regression Models of Filipino Children's Grade Performance

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Parental educational attainment	.107*** (.076)		.084** (.060)
Employed mother	-.002 (-.003)		-.000 (-.001)
Household income	.026 (.007)		.008 (.002)
Number of children	-.120*** (-.049)		-.139*** (-.057)
Religiosity	.051 (.026)		.016 (.008)
English spoken in home	.047 (.123)		.039 (.100)
Child has access to computer	.057 (.094)		.078** (.127)
Sex of child (Female = 1)	.282*** (.465)		.264*** (.435)
Talk about school and plans		.133*** (.138)	.115*** (.120)
Rules about schoolwork and home		.093** (.096)	.073* (.075)
Attendance at events together		.026 (.022)	.002 (.002)
Volunteer (school support)		.154*** (.123)	.180*** (.143)
Help with homework		-.099** (-.090)	-.111*** (-.101)
Total weekly time with children		.083** (.023)	.049 (.104)
R-square	.119	.081	.184
F	11.571***	10.061***	10.919***

N = 692; Significance Levels: *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$

Note: Sample is limited to parents of 5th and 6th grade pupils; unstandardized coefficients shown in parentheses

In model 3, all of the household and parental characteristics are included together with the parental involvement measures, so as to assess their effects while simultaneously controlling for the influence of all measures. This model explains 18.4 percent of the variance in children's grade performance, suggesting that these combined characteristics are, indeed, very influential in regard to children's success in school. Once again, parental educational attainment is shown to be positively associated with children's grade performance ($\beta = .084$). However, having more children in the home is again shown to be negatively associated with school grades ($\beta = -.139$). Hence, the higher fertility rates found throughout the northern region of Mindanao may be detracting from individual children's success in school. Children who have access to computers at school are shown to have higher grades ($\beta = .078$), as well. Consistent with the findings shown in model 1, the full model shows that daughters are much more likely to perform well in school, as compared to sons. Overall, the household and parental characteristics remain significant factors in predicting children's grade performance within the full model.

In regards to the parental involvement measures, parent-child discussions about school and future plans again yield a positive association with grade performance ($\beta = .115$). This finding seems to clearly suggest that the direct involvement of parents, particularly in regards to communicating with their child, has a beneficial impact upon children's school performance. In addition, when parents maintain rules about schoolwork and home chores, children tend to perform better in the classroom. Parental volunteerism is also shown to be positively associated with children's grades ($\beta = .180$), thereby implying that the parent-school bond is also quite meaningful in predicting the academic success of children. Interestingly, parental assistance with homework is again shown to yield a negative association with grade performance, but this particular effect is in keeping with the associations shown in model 2. Overall, the results of the full model support the contention that parental involvement, in its various forms, is a major influence in the academic success of Filipino schoolchildren.

Conclusions and Discussion

This study was initiated with the goal of examining the nature and consequences of parental involvement in children's school performance. Although researchers have previously addressed this topic, few have examined this relationship within the context of a developing country. Utilizing a social capital perspective, this study proposed that the various forms of family capital, in regard to both direct and indirect parental involvement, as well as the financial and structural elements of the family, can have a substantive effect upon children's academic performance. The social, political, and economic contexts within a developing country do make family capital much more meaningful in the lives of children, as parents, particularly impoverished parents, will take investments in their children's futures and the opportunity to improve their lives quite seriously (Gofen 2009).

The prevailing poverty in Mindanao undoubtedly affects every facet of family life there. Coupled with the long history of political and social strife, it would seem that parents there face insurmountable challenges in raising their children. However, the results of these analyses suggest that Filipino parents are, nonetheless, quite active in the educational lives of their children. Parents engaged their children in conversations about their schoolwork and future plans at a fairly high frequency. Consistent with the cultural norm of relatively strict obedience within the family, Filipino parents were shown to maintain a high level of rules for their children, suggesting that children are expected to adhere to their parents' expectations. Parents were also shown to spend a great deal of time with their children each week. This is quite remarkable, given that the paid labor roles of many Filipino workers make it difficult for them to spend large amounts of time at home with their families. Even in terms of providing volunteer support at their children's schools, the parents were quite active. Simply, there is little question that Filipino parents are striving very hard to ensure the educational success of their children.

The social capital paradigm used in this study posits that parental involvement, when provided, should yield educational benefits for the children. Based upon the findings shown herein, a substantial amount of

support for this contention was provided. Even after controlling for the various household and parental characteristics, the measures of parental involvement were shown to significantly affect children's school success, and in very meaningful and tangible ways at that. Although the direct support of parents (for example, discussing school issues with their children) served to increase children's school performance, it was also evident that indirect forms of parental involvement, such as volunteering at their child's school, was equally, if not more, influential in affecting children's grade averages. These patterns of parental involvement influencing children's school performance are even more impressive, given that family income had no significant effect upon children's grades. Considering the relative poverty of many Filipino families, it appears that parental involvement represents a very salient means of improving children's chances of both academic success, and improvement in their lives.

Family capital, as a form of social capital, is proposed to represent the various means by which parents and other family members can effectively 'invest' in the lives of children. Within Filipino culture, the sense of filial responsibility is very strong, and children, from very early ages, are continually taught that they will, one day, be obligated to provide assistance to their families and eventually to take care of their parents. As noted previously, researchers have suggested that filial obligations among Filipino families may be somewhat gendered, such that parents feel more secure in investing in their daughters' educations, given that they, rather than sons, are more likely to study hard, finish their degrees, and obtain a good-paying job which will allow them to help support their family financially. Daughters in this sample outperformed sons in regards to school performance, and parents were more likely to apply rules and limitations to daughters. While these data are somewhat limited to the sample region, it does, nonetheless, appear that Filipino parents may be investing more in their daughters' educational success, and that this tendency may be motivated by filial obligations within Filipino cultures. This is likely to have substantial implications for both educational

and occupational attainment, as well as for patterns of intergenerational support within Filipino families.

The findings of this study must be considered in conjunction with its limitations. In regard to the sample, the participants are drawn exclusively from Region X. Certainly, the region, as well as its population, does have certain unique features which could make broader generalizations about Filipino families, in general, somewhat inapplicable. In addition, the self-report questionnaires could provide the basis for potential bias. Particularly in regard to reports of children's school performance, some parents may exaggerate the performance of their child. Equally, they may overestimate how actively involved they are in their children's lives, and provide more 'socially expected' responses. Finally, the roles of parents and the general nature of parenting can vary substantially from one population to another. In Mindanao, as is the case for much of the Philippines, there is a considerable amount of cultural diversity. Even within Region X, there may be substantial differences among communities and ethnic groups in terms of how they define appropriate roles for fathers and mothers. Together, these limitations do signal the need to interpret the findings carefully, but they also indicate ways in which future research on parental involvement could be improved.

Ultimately, the difficulties encountered by many families in Mindanao (for example, poverty, political turmoil, among others) make the extent of parental involvement shown in these analyses even more impressive. Given the complex nature of family structures and roles within Filipino culture, there is clearly a need for additional study of how parental involvement affects children's educational performance. Indeed, Filipino culture emphasizes the concept of *bayanihan*, which promotes a strong sense of community identity and social responsibility to assist others. Future studies should perhaps examine how, more precisely, non-familial influences may be affecting children's academic success in the Philippines.

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