Layout: T1 Standard | Book ID: 464396_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-3-030-28276-9
Chapter No.: FM 1 | Date: 29-8-2019 | Time: 5:12 pm | Page: 1/10

Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life

Volume 3

This book series provides analyses of contemporary issues and questions related to being young and becoming an adult in a global educational landscape. It examines education pathways in relation to characteristics of transitional processes that are part of this transformational and developmental process, as well as sociocultural aspects. It investigates areas such as education, everyday life, leisure time, family, subcultural affiliations, medialization, work and intimacy.
The series highlights the following areas:

- Contemporary challenges in education and the educational system.
- Young people's experiences and varying living conditions and its influence on academic performance.
- New emerging social and existential identities in relation to education.
- Challenges for education – Inclusion and exclusion in terms of risk behaviours, psychological distress and social unrest.
- Theoretical renewal and a conceptual adaption to education, and the societal and cultural challenges of contemporary school systems.
- Digitalisation, technology and media in modern education. Educational pathways for specific groups.
- Contextual challenges for educational ambitions, such as poverty, politics, war and exclusion of groups.

The series introduces ground-breaking interdisciplinary works in the area of education, challenging the orthodoxies in this field of research, and publishes works on the globalization of education. Furthermore, it introduces research on youth, thus advancing current knowledge on education in relation to the young person's everyday life, nationalities, socio-economic backgrounds and living conditions. In addition, it presents new methodological and theoretical approaches to this research field.

Please contact Astrid Noordermeer at Astrid.Noordermeer@springer.com if you wish to discuss a book proposal.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/15702

Layout: T1 Standard | Book ID: 464396_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-3-030-28276-9
Chapter No.: FM 1 | Date: 29-8-2019 | Time: 5:12 pm | Page: 3/10

Emma Sorbring · Jennifer E. Lansford
Editors

School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement

An International Perspective

Springer

Editors

Emma Sorbring
Centre for Child and Youth Studies
University West
Trollhättan, Sweden

Jennifer E. Lansford
Center for Child and Family Policy
Duke University
Durham, NC, USA

ISSN 2522-5642 ISSN 2522-5650 (electronic)
Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life
ISBN 978-3-030-28276-9 ISBN 978-3-030-28277-6 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Layout: **T1 Standard** Book ID: **464396_1_En** Book ISBN: **978-3-030-28276-9**
Chapter No.: **FM 1** Date: **29-8-2019** Time: **5:12 pm** Page: **5/10**

Acknowledgements

The Parenting Across Cultures Project has been supported by the *Eunice Kennedy Shriver* National Institute of Child Health and Human Development grant RO1-HD054805 and Fogarty International Center grant RO3TW008141.

Layout: T1 Standard | Book ID: 464396_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-3-030-28276-9
Chapter No.: FM 1 | Date: 29-8-2019 | Time: 5:12 pm | Page: 7/10

Contents

Layout: T1 Standard | Book ID: 464396_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-3-030-28276-9
Chapter No.: FM 1 | Date: 29-8-2019 | Time: 5:12 pm | Page: 8/10

Layout: T1 Standard | Book ID: 464396_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-3-030-28276-9
Chapter No.: FM 1 | Date: 29-8-2019 | Time: 5:12 pm | Page: 9/10

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Emma Sorbring is Professor of Child and Youth Studies and Research Director for the Centre for Child and Youth Studies at University West, Sweden. Her research and teaching interests focus on children, adolescents, and families. Her projects focus on parental behavior and children's adjustment, young people's decision-making, teenagers' Internet use and parental strategies, and sexual development in traditional and new settings (the Internet).

Jennifer E. Lansford is Research Professor at the Duke University Center for Child and Family Policy in Durham, NC, USA. Her research focuses on parenting and child development in diverse cultural contexts. She leads the Parenting Across Cultures Study and has consulted with international agencies, such as UNICEF, on parenting programs and child well-being around the world.

Contributors

Suha Al Hassan Emirates College for Advanced Education, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates;
The Hashemite University, Zarqa, Jordan

Liane Peña Alampay Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines

Dario Bacchini Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Naples, Italy

Marc H. Bornstein Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Bethesda, USA;
Institute for Fiscal Studies, London, UK

Lei Chang University of Macau, Zhuhai, China

Layout: T1 Standard | Book ID: 464396_1_En | Book ISBN: 978-3-030-28276-9
Chapter No.: FM 1 | Date: 29-8-2019 | Time: 5:12 pm | Page: 10/10

Kirby Deater-Deckard University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA

Laura Di Giunta Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy

Kenneth A. Dodge Duke University, Durham, USA

Aileen S. Garcia South Dakota State University, Brookings, USA

Sevtap Gurdal Centre for Child and Youth Studies, University West, Trollhättan, Sweden

Jennifer E. Lansford Duke University, Durham, USA

Patrick S. Malone Duke University, Durham, USA

Catherine Mbagaya Maseno University, Kisumu, Kenya

Maria Concetta Miranda Università della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli, Caserta, Italy

Paul Oburu Maseno University, Kisumu, Kenya;
New York University, New York, USA

Concetta Pastorelli Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy

Ann T. Skinner Duke University, Durham, USA

Emma Sorbring Centre for Child and Youth Studies, University West, Trollhättan, Sweden

Laurence Steinberg Temple University, Philadelphia, USA;
King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

Sombat Tapanya Peace Culture Foundation, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Eriona Thartori Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy

Liliana Maria Uribe Tirado Universidad de San Buenaventura, Medellin, Colombia

Saengduean Yotanyamaneewong Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Nan Zhu University of Macau, Zhuhai, China

Author Query Form

Book ID : **464396_1_En**

Chapter No : **15702**

Please ensure you fill out your response to the queries raised below and return this form along with your corrections.

Dear Author,
During the process of typesetting your chapter, the following queries have arisen. Please check your typeset proof carefully against the queries listed below and mark the necessary changes either directly on the proof/online grid or in the 'Author's response' area provided below

Query Refs.	Details Required	Author's Response
AQ1	We found discrepancy in the usage of the author name 'Suha Al-Hassan, Suha Al Hassan'. Please confirm how to follow throughout the book.	Use Al-Hassan throughout

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting: An Introduction	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Sorbring**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Emma**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	University West
	Address	Trollhättan, Sweden
	Email	emma.sorbring@hv.se
Author	Family Name	**Lansford**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Jennifer E.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Duke University
	Address	Durham, USA
	Email	lansford@duke.edu
Author	Family Name	**Yotanyamaneewong**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Saengduean**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Chiang Mai University
	Address	Chiang Mai, Thailand
	Email	saengduean.y@cmu.ac.th
Author	Family Name	**Tapanya**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Sombat**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	

	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Peace Culture Foundation
	Address	Chiang Mai, Thailand
	Email	sombat.tapanya@gmail.com
Author	Family Name	**Pastorelli**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Concetta**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Sapienza University of Rome
	Address	Rome, Italy
	Email	concetta.pastorelli@uniroma1.it

Abstract

Theoretical models and empirical studies suggest that parental involvement and parenting practices are important for adolescents' academic achievement. However, the picture is complicated, and how parents choose to be involved at different ages of the child is critical for how parental involvement is related to students' academic achievement. Furthermore, populations from different cultural backgrounds need to be studied. This chapter lays out the agenda for the rest of the book, presenting an overview of research on parenting and students' academic achievement, as well as presenting the Parenting Across Culture project, a longitudinal study of mothers, fathers, and children in China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States. These nine countries are the focus of the school-system and country-specific studies in the chapters that follow.

Education and Parenting: An Introduction

Emma Sorbring, Jennifer E. Lansford, Saengduean Yotanyamaneewong, Sombat Tapanya and Concetta Pastorelli

Introduction

In this chapter we present major theories and empirical findings that link parenting practices, such as behavioral control and monitoring, with adolescents' academic outcomes. This chapter also describes features of the Parenting Across Cultures Project (PAC) that apply to all of the country-specific chapters to follow. Namely, we describe features of the samples, procedures, and measures from the PAC longitudinal study of mothers, fathers, and children in China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States. We also present data from all nine countries that participated in the PAC project at a time when the child was an early adolescent (about 13 years old). For comprehensive information about the project, please visit our website at http://parentingacrosscultures.org/.

To advance understanding of parenting and child adjustment in diverse countries around the world, we developed the Parenting Across Cultures (PAC) project as an

E. Sorbring (✉)
University West, Trollhättan, Sweden
e-mail: emma.sorbring@hv.se

J. E. Lansford
Duke University, Durham, USA
e-mail: lansford@duke.edu

S. Yotanyamaneewong
Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand
e-mail: saengduean.y@cmu.ac.th

S. Tapanya
Peace Culture Foundation, Chiang Mai, Thailand
e-mail: sombat.tapanya@gmail.com

C. Pastorelli
Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy
e-mail: concetta.pastorelli@uniroma1.it

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_1

464396_1_En_1_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 14 Layout: T1-Standard

international collaboration among nine countries: China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States (see Lansford & Bornstein, 2011 for overview). We assessed over 1400 families from 13 cultural groups annually through interviews with mothers, fathers, and children about the parent-child relationship, the child's adjustment, attitudes and beliefs, and cultural values. As the child approached adolescence, we assessed self-regulation, academic performance, relationships, adolescents' risk-taking, and social information processing. In the chapters to follow, information about school systems and research concerning parenting and academic achievement in the countries that are part of the PAC project will be presented.

This sample of countries was selected because they are diverse on several socio-demographic dimensions, including predominant race/ethnicity, predominant religion, economic indicators, and indices of child well-being, providing the opportunity to understand education and parenting in a more diverse set of contexts than has been characteristic of most of the literature. For example, on the Human Development Index, a composite indicator of a country's status with respect to health, education, and income, participating countries range from a rank of 4 to 147 out of countries with available data (Human Development Report, 2014). To provide a sense of what this range entails, the infant mortality rate in Kenya, for example, is 18 times higher than the infant mortality rate in Sweden (World Bank, 2016). In the Philippines, 23% of the population falls below the international poverty line of less than US$1.25 per day, whereas less than 1% of the population falls below this poverty line in Italy, Sweden, and the United States (UNICEF, 2010). The participating countries vary widely not only on socio-demographic indicators, but also on psychological constructs such as individualism versus collectivism. Using Hofstede's (2001) rankings, the participating countries range from the United States, with the highest individualism score in the world to China, Colombia, and Thailand, countries that are among the least individualist countries in the world. Ultimately, this diversity provides us with an opportunity to examine research questions in a sample that is more generalizable to a wider range of the world's populations than is typical in most research to date. Although, it was possible to select other countries that would also have been informative, we have not sampled all of the potentially relevant subgroups within a given country, and we do not claim that our samples are nationally representative of any of the participating countries. Nevertheless, we believe our selection process resulted in a diverse set of cultural groups that enabled us to examine a wide range of research questions. In addition, most of the cultural groups that are included in the Parenting Across Cultures Project are underrepresented in the parenting and child development literatures in particular and in the psychological literature in general. Expanding research on parenting and child development to include these groups is important to inform understanding of the extent to which parenting cognitions are community-specific versus generalizable across cultural groups (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Norenzayan & Heine, 2005).

Each chapter that follows focuses on a specific country that participated in the PAC project. The authors of each chapter are native to each of the countries so they bring an emic perspective to the topics at hand and will not be approaching parenting

and education systems from deficit perspectives sometimes seen in etic approaches. However, cultural insiders can also have biases that prevent them from seeing unique features of their own cultural context. One of the advantages of our international approach is that we have both cultural insiders from each of the participating countries and also cultural outsiders' perspectives because the cultural insiders work collaboratively with colleagues from the eight other participating countries, who are cultural outsiders. Cultural outsiders can help identify unique features of different cultural groups and ask questions that may seem obvious from the perspective of a cultural insider. Each chapter presents literature on the school context in the specific country as well as parenting in light of the school system. Throughout, we adopt an ecological theoretical framework that situates adolescents' academic outcomes within proximal contexts of both school and family as well as more distal cultural contexts. Finally, in the last chapter, we draw conclusions and highlight similarities and differences in educational experiences and the interface of parenting and school systems in the nine countries included in this volume.

Parental Involvement in Education

As noted by Eccles and Harold (1993), a number of variables could undermine parental school involvement from childhood to adolescence. We refer to parental involvement because this is the most frequently used terminology in the literature, but we acknowledge that the construct is also called parental engagement or other terms. We are as specific as possible when describing findings from particular studies to use language that characterizes which aspects of parenting were actually measured. During adolescence, parents may perceive their children's need for autonomy and consequently reduce their school involvement to satisfy adolescents' desire for independence. However, a meta-analysis of 75 studies revealed that parental involvement does not decrease when the child reaches adolescence but instead changes in nature (Boonk, Gijselaers, Ritzen, & Brand-Gruwel, 2018). Time spent on direct activities, such as doing homework, learning, or reading together are less frequent and also less effective. Instead, indirect activities like setting an academic context and high expectations are favorable, as long as they not are perceived by the young person as being controlling. Adolescents, compared to young children, benefit more from higher parental expectations in combination with academic encouragement and support. Furthermore, during the transition from elementary to junior high school, the change in parental school involvement may result from a decrease in parents' sense of competence in helping their children in more advanced homework and academic goals, which require greater autonomy and responsibility of the student. Therefore, the passage to secondary school represents a challenge for both adolescents and parents. Adolescents must cope with the changes described above, and parents must learn how to exercise their role in supporting their children in successfully managing the new challenges and new academic goals (Bogenschneider, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001).

464396_1_En_1_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 14 Layout: T1-Standard

Many research reports have supported the notion of parents as playing crucial roles in their children's academic success and that parental involvement has a positive correlation with student academic performance (Boonk et al., 2018; El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2011; Fan & Chen, 2001; Jeynes, 2003; Matejevic, Jovanovic, & Jovanovic, 2014; Westerman, 2012). For example, parental academic involvement fosters motivational orientation (Marchant, Paulson, & Rothlisberg, 2001; Wang & Cai, 2015), positive attitudes toward school (Topor, Keane, Shelton, & Calkins, 2010; Trusty, 1999; Westerman, 2012), and higher self-determination in adolescent students (i.e., by encouraging their aspirations and favoring their interests; Ricard & Pelletier, 2016), which in turn are associated with higher persistence during academic tasks and higher academic achievement (Grolnick et al., 2014). Although findings from research show the positive side of parental involvement in relation to adolescents' academic achievement, all results are not positive, and some interesting points should be noted.

First, differences in results may depend on how parental involvement is defined. For example, a meta-analysis found that parental involvement has a positive association with child academic performance when parental involvement is defined as parental expectations for children's academic achievement (Wilder, 2014). However, if parental involvement means only homework assistance, there is a weak correlation with children's academic achievement.

Second, parental involvement seems to benefit children's general academic performance such as grade point average (GPA) or homework completion rather than specific subjects like math or reading. Fan and Chen (2001) examined 25 studies of parental involvement and child academic performance and found an average moderate correlation between parent involvement and children's grades or GPA ($r = .33$), but correlations were lower for specific subjects like math and reading ($r = .18$). Similarly, a study by El Nokali et al. (2011) suggested that parental involvement is more globally beneficial for children's academic performance in school (e.g., average grades, homework completion) but does not specifically promote achievement in any particular domain.

Third, although review papers and meta-analyses demonstrate correlations between parental involvement and children's and adolescents' academic achievement, there are a few variables in parental involvement that should be addressed. Many studies have shown two common variables that mediate the association between parental involvement and students' academic achievement (Boonk et al., 2018; Shute, Hansen, Underwood, & Razzouk, 2011): parents' high expectations and aspirations for their children's academic performance and communication between parents and children about schooling. The correlation between parental involvement and students' academic achievement also may be influenced by additional variables, such as helping the child to develop the habit of reading at home, parental encouragement, and support for learning.

Fourth, both socioeconomic status (SES) and ethnicity have an impact on the relations between parental involvement and adolescent academic achievement. However, if parental involvement is measured as parental expectations, it is positively correlated with achievement for all socioeconomic and ethnic groups that have been stud-

ied. However, home-based involvement and school-based involvement can either be positively or negatively related to academic achievement depending on cultural and other factors. For example, maternal education moderates the relation between parental involvement and adolescents' academic achievement, probably due to characteristics of the mother (Boonk et al., 2018).

Fifth, parental involvement may differ in importance for different children. For example, parental involvement may especially benefit less able children (Coleman & Karraker, 2003). This finding is consistent with other results demonstrating that children may benefit from different types of parental involvement depending on their background, experiences, and individual capacities.

Parenting Practices and Students' Academic Achievement

Students' academic achievement also is influenced by parenting styles and practices. In her now classic approach, Baumrind (1966) classified parenting styles into three types: permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative. Later Maccoby and Martin (1983) introduced a fourth parenting style: neglecting. All four types of parenting style include parental warmth and parental control, to various degrees. An authoritative style is high in both warmth and control, an authoritarian style is low in warmth and high in control, a permissive style is high in warmth and low in control, and a neglecting style is low in both warmth and control. Furthermore, control can be either autonomy-granting, including encouragement and a proper amount of guidance, or overcontrolling, including extensive involvement by parents in everyday situations as well as psychological control (Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003). Many studies have found that the authoritative parenting style is associated with the best academic achievement (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurmi, 2000; Heaven & Ciarrochi, 2008; Majumder, 2016; Pinquart, 2016; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). For example, there is some evidence that parental involvement benefits adolescents in their success in school *only* when adolescents come from authoritative families (Steinberg et al., 1992). Likewise, adolescents from authoritative families apply the most adaptive achievement strategies (Aunola et al., 2000). According to a meta-analysis of 308 studies of parenting styles and academic achievement (GPA or academic achievement tests), in children and adolescents, parental responsiveness (warmth), behavioral control, autonomy granting, and an authoritative parenting style are associated with better academic performance both concurrently and in longitudinal studies, although these associations are small in a statistical sense (Pinquart, 2016).

The reason for the influence of authoritative parenting on children's academic performance may be due to the characteristics of this parenting style, which may enhance the development of non-academic self-concepts, such as the personal self, family self, moral and ethical self, physical self, and social self (Ishak, Low, & Lau, 2012). An authoritative parenting style also moderates the effect of academic self-concept on academic achievement. The impact of academic self-concept on aca-

demic achievement is greater when parents use an authoritative parenting style, which may be attributed to the fact that authoritative parents tend to accept an individual's uniqueness and to provide love, respect, and feelings of equality in the child. Authoritative parents also encourage children to correct mistakes and develop capabilities and guide them to find significance in their contribution. In this manner, authoritative parents can make children feel confident and have a positive self-concept, including their academic ability. Pinquart (2016) indicates that the parent-child relationship is bidirectional and that cross-lagged analyses show that student achievement promotes positive emotions of the parents toward the child. Furthermore, authoritative parenting includes proactive control rather than reactive or psychological control behaviors, which in turn leads to stronger autonomy granting. Boonk et al. (2018) show in their meta-analysis that parents' excessively controlling behavior in relation to homework, academic pressure, and academic work, has a negative effect on adolescents' academic achievement. Interestingly, parents' communication with school also has a negative influence. Perhaps this kind of parental behavior is perceived as control by the adolescent, or it might reflect a child effect in which students who are struggling in school induce parents to communicate with schools about the problems.

Furthermore, parental self-efficacy constitutes a pivotal feature of the parental belief system—parents' beliefs in their capability to promote their children's development. The construct of parental self-efficacy has been defined by Bandura (1997) as the beliefs that parents hold in their own caregiving capabilities as well as in managing familial demands. The role of parental self-efficacy is relevant during the transition to adolescence, when adolescents must manage pervasive changes in different spheres of their lives, and parents and children must renegotiate their relationship (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Compared to parents with low self-efficacy, parents with high self-efficacy beliefs are more inclined to use positive parenting strategies, such as reasoning and monitoring (Coleman & Karraker, 2003), to have more abilities to provide a stimulating environment for their children (Donovan & Leavitt, 1985; Donovan, Leavitt, & Walsh, 1997; Unger & Wandersman, 1985), and to encourage their children to initiate beneficial activities conducive to their adaptation (Gross, Fogg, & Tucker, 1995; Teti & Gelfand, 1991).

Illustrative Models of Parental Involvement and Adolescents' Academic Achievement

Prominent theoretical models put social class and inequality at the forefront of understanding how parental involvement is related to adolescents' academic achievement. For example, Bourdieu's (1984) ideas regarding social capital and cultural capital emphasize how social networks tend to reproduce social categories and class membership from one generation to the next. Children in families with cultural capital have access to a network of relationships with individuals and social institutions that gives them an advantage in education by virtue of making them more respected and

of higher status in school and other settings. In addition, this network of relationships gives students access to resources and information that help them succeed in school.

Middle-class parents often engage in a style of parenting that has been characterized as concerted cultivation, which involves actively supporting the development of specific skills and hobbies by enrolling children in after-school activities and enriching programs (Lareau, 2011). Through concerted cultivation, middle-class children often come to have a sense of entitlement and believe themselves to be of an equal status with adults and, therefore, capable of having discussions with and questioning the opinions of adults. By contrast, working-class and poor parents are more likely to adhere to the strategy of letting children accomplish their natural growth, being less likely to enroll their children in organized leisure activities and instead leaving children more responsible for their own leisure by playing with peers or entertaining themselves at home or in the neighborhood. Working-class and poor parents also are more likely to enforce hierarchical boundaries between parents and children (Lareau, 2011). The middle-class strategy of concerted cultivation is more aligned with education systems, whereas the strategy of accomplishment of natural growth can leave children feeling less at ease in and more distrustful of organized institutions.

Associations between parental involvement and adolescents' academic achievement are indirect in the sense that parents' communication of beliefs and expectations influences adolescents' cognitive abilities that in turn affect academic achievement. In line with these empirical data, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Hoover-Dempsey, Green, & Whitaker, 2010) have suggested the *parental involvement process model*, where students are seen as active agents in their own academic achievements and parents as contributors to the development of their children's learning attributes. These learning attributes, such as self-efficacy, motivation to learn, self-regulation strategies, and prosocial behavior toward teachers, are then used by the student when authoring their academic success. Another model by Phillipson and Phillipson (2012), the *cognitive-affective model of achievement,* similar to the one above, stated that academic achievement depends on the student's self-evaluation of his or her cognitive ability, a form of subjective cognitive ability. The students' self-evaluation depends in part on parents' feedback and communication of belief of their children's ability.

These theoretical models indicate that parents' interactions with their children contribute to a capacity in the child that can be used for increasing (or decreasing) academic achievement. The parent-child-interaction, closely related to parenting style, will most likely be affected by characteristics of the child and of the parent as well as contextual and socioeconomic factors such as cultural resources, attitudes, and values. In the next section we will describe an international project, and in the following chapters each country and studies from that specific country will be presented to examine parenting practices and young people's academic achievement.

464396_1_En_1_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 14 Layout: T1-Standard

Parenting Across Cultures Study Design

Originally, mothers and fathers of 7–10-year-old children were recruited to participate from schools that serve socioeconomically diverse populations in each participating country. Approximately 100 children and their mothers and fathers from each of nine countries participated: China (Jinan and Shanghai), Colombia (Medellín), Italy (Rome and Naples), Jordan (Zarqa), Kenya (Kisumu), the Philippines (Manila), Sweden (Trollhättan/Vänersborg), Thailand (Chiang Mai), and the United States (European Americans, Latino Americans, and African Americans from Durham, North Carolina). Girls and boys were represented in approximately equal numbers in each country sample. Data have been collected annually for ten years, with data collection still ongoing. Retention rates have been high. The sample is currently 19 years old, on average.

A procedure of forward- and back-translation is used to ensure the linguistic and conceptual equivalence of measures across languages (Maxwell, 1996). Translators are fluent in English and the target language and are asked to (1) note places in the research instruments that did not translate well, were inappropriate for the different groups, or were culturally insensitive; (2) identify words that elicited several meanings in particular contexts; (3) suggest improvements of instruments if they identified problems; and (4) indicate reasons for altering the translated versions if discrepancies were identified and alterations were deemed necessary. Site coordinators and translators review identified discrepancies and unclear items and modify items appropriately. A cross-site meeting of all investigators is held annually to discuss any ambiguities or difficulties with the measures on an item-by-item basis. These substantial efforts are implemented to ensure that the measures are valid in all sites by focusing on linguistic equivalence as well as the cultural meanings that are imparted by the measures (Erkut, 2010; Peña, 2007). Measures are administered in the following languages: Mandarin Chinese (China), Spanish (Colombia and the United States), Italian (Italy), Arabic (Jordan), Dholuo (Kenya), Filipino (the Philippines), Swedish (Sweden), Thai (Thailand), and American English (the United States and the Philippines).

Interviews are conducted in participants' homes, schools, or at another location chosen by the participants. Procedures are approved by local institutional review boards at universities in each participating country, and parents sign statements of informed consent. Each year, the entire interview lasts 1.5–2 h. Interviewers began by administering measures orally, recording participants' responses. In subsequent years, mothers and fathers then were given the option of continuing orally or completing written questionnaires. Rating scales are provided in the form of visual aids to help participants remember response options as they answer questions. Depending on the site, parents are given modest financial compensation for their participation, families are entered into drawings for prizes, or modest financial contributions are made to participating children's schools. The amounts vary across countries so that the compensation is appropriately motivating without being coercive.

Adolescents' Academic Achievement

In the PAC countries, when adolescents were ages 12, 13, and 14, mothers and fathers were asked to rate how their adolescent performs in five subjects in school (i.e., reading, writing, math, social studies, and science), using a 4-point scale (1 = failing, 2 = below average, 3 = average, 4 = above average; items from the performance in academic subject section of the Child Behavior Checklist, Achenbach, 1991). Ratings of adolescents' performance in the five subjects were averaged to create a composite score reflecting academic achievement at each age as perceived by mothers and fathers. Table 1 shows descriptive statistics of mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement at age 14, separately by country.

Mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement at ages 12 and 13 were highly correlated with their reports of achievement at age 14 (.61 and .67 from age 12 to 14 and from age 13 to 14, respectively, for mothers; .63 and .65 from age 12 to 14 and from age 13 to 14, respectively, for fathers). Thus, parents' perceptions of their adolescents' academic achievement were stable over time. In addition, mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement were highly correlated with one another. In our sample the correlations between mothers' and fathers' reports at ages 12, 13, and 14 were .68, .68, and .70, respectively. Furthermore, as shown in Table 1, mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement were highly correlated in all nine countries, ranging from a low of .48 in Italy to a high of .90 in Jordan.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics and correlations between mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement at age 14

Country	Mother *M* (*SD*)	Father *M* (*SD*)	Correlation between mother and father report (all $p < .001$)
China	3.19 (.41)	3.23 (.50)	.82
Colombia	3.05 (.55)	3.19 (.51)	.57
Italy	3.13 (.44)	3.17 (.40)	.48
Jordan	3.66 (.53)	3.66 (.55)	.90
Kenya	3.27 (.52)	3.25 (.52)	.66
Philippines	3.29 (.50)	3.29 (.46)	.59
Sweden	3.37 (.52)	3.36 (.50)	.73
Thailand	3.16 (.49)	3.10 (.50)	.60
United States	3.36 (.58)	3.46 (.50)	.66

Academic Achievement and Parenting

Parents' ratings of their adolescents' academic achievement were also related to several aspects of parenting. When adolescents were age 12, they completed the Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form (Rohner, 2005). Items were averaged to create scales reflecting adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' warmth (e.g., "My mother/father makes me feel wanted and needed," with 8 items about each parent) and control (e.g., "My mother/father is always telling me how I should behave," with 5 items about each parent). When adolescents were 12, their mothers and fathers also completed a measure of efficacy that reflected how much mothers and fathers believed they could affect their adolescents' behavior, including performance in school (e.g., "How much can you do to help your children to work hard at their school work," with 6 items completed by each parent; Caprara, Regalia, Scabini, Barbaranelli, & Bandura, 2004). Table 2 shows bivariate correlations between these aspects of parenting and mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement at ages 12, 13, and 14. As shown, adolescents

Table 2 Correlations between parenting at age 12 and mothers' and fathers' reports of adolescents' academic achievement at ages 12–14

Parenting variable at age 12	Academic achievement age 12		Academic achievement age 13		Academic achievement age 14	
	Mother report	Father report	Mother report	Father report	Mother report	Father report
Mother warmth: child report	.16	.16	.15	.16	.16	.16
Mother control: child report	−.14	−.11	−.12	−.10	−.16	−.10
Father warmth: child report	.17	.14	.16	.18	.12	.17
Father control: child report	−.08	−.11	−.08	−0.07 ns	−.13	−.10
Efficacy: mother report	.17	.13	.18	.16	.16	.16
Efficacy: father report	.09	.14	.13	.20	.08	.16

who perceived their mothers and fathers as being warmer and less controlling and parents who perceived themselves as being more able to affect their adolescents' performance in school had adolescents who were rated by their parents as having higher academic achievement.

Thus, findings from the PAC study suggest that mothers' and fathers' perceptions of adolescents' academic performance are stable over time and highly correlated with each other. In addition, adolescents who perceive their mothers and fathers as being warmer and less controlling have parents who perceive their adolescents as performing better in school. The findings presented here take the full PAC sample as a whole without considering how the relations may differ for each country. In the chapters that follow, literature from each separate country is reviewed to provide a deeper perspective on how relations between parenting and academic performance may differ in specific cultural contexts.

Future Directions

Parents' insight, oversight, and regulation of adolescents' academic activities have been considered from different perspectives in the research literature. Although parental involvement in adolescents' school-related activities takes a more indirect form than at younger ages, parental guidance also has to be balanced with adolescents' need for greater autonomy and an independent sense of self, especially in certain cultural contexts. Previous research has highlighted that understanding *how* parents with *different backgrounds*, such as SES and ethnicity, become involved in academic work for children at different *ages* is vital. In the meta-analysis by Boonk et al. (2018) nearly 90% of the 75 studies were carried out in the United States. The need is pressing for studies concerning parental involvement, parenting practices, and academic achievement with samples that are diverse with respect to age of the child, SES, ethnicity, and country of residence.

References

Achenbach, T. M. (1991). *Integrative guide for the 1991 CBCL 14-18, YSR, and TRF profiles*. Burlington, VT: University of Vermont, Department of Psychiatry.

Aunola, K., Stattin, H., & Nurmi, J.-E. (2000). Parenting styles and adolescents' achievement strategies. *Journal of Adolescence, 23,* 205–222.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York, NY: Freeman.

Baumrind, D. (1966). Effects of authoritative parental control on child behavior. *Child Development, 37,* 887–907.

Bogenschneider, K. (1997). Parental involvement in adolescent schooling: A proximal process with transcontextual validity. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 59,* 718–733.

Boonk, L., Gijselaers, H. J. M., Ritzen, H., & Brand-Gruwel, S. (2018). A review of the relationship between parental involvement indicators and academic achievement. *Educational Research Review, 24,* 10–30.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.
Caprara, G. V., Regalia, C., Scabini, E., Barbaranelli, C., & Bandura, A. (2004). Assessment of filial, parental, marital, and collective family efficacy beliefs. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment, 20,* 247–261.
Coleman, P. K., & Karraker, K. H. (2003). Maternal self-efficacy beliefs, competence in parenting, and toddlers' behavior and developmental status. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 24,* 126–148.
Donovan, W. L., & Leavitt, L. A. (1985). Simulating conditions of learned helplessness: The effects of interventions and attributions. *Child Development, 56,* 594–603.
Donovan, W. L., Leavitt, L. A., & Walsh, R. O. (1997). Cognitive set and coping strategy affect mothers' sensitivity to infant cries: A signal detection approach. *Child Development, 68,* 760–772.
Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1993). Parent-school involvement during the early adolescent years. *Teachers College Record, 94,* 568–587.
El Nokali, N. E., Bachman, J., & Votruba-Drzal, E. (2011). Parent involvement and children's academic social growth development in elementary school. *Child Development, 81,* 988–1005.
Erkut, S. (2010). Developing multiple language versions of instruments for intercultural research. *Child Development Perspectives, 4,* 19–24.
Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review, 13,* 1–22.
Grolnick, W. S., Raftery-Helmer, J. N., Marbell, K. N., Flamm, E. S., Cardemil, E. V., & Sanchez, M. (2014). Parental provision of structure: Implementation and correlates in three domains. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 60,* 355–384.
Gross, D., Fogg, L., & Tucker, S. (1995). The efficacy of parent training for promoting positive parent-toddler relationships. *Research in Nursing & Health, 18,* 489–499.
Heaven, P. C. L., & Ciarrochi, J. (2008). Parental styles, conscientiousness, and academic performance in high school: A three-wave longitudinal study. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34,* 451–461.
Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 33,* 1–75.
Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Bassler, O. C., & Brissie, J. S. (1992). Explorations in parent-school relations. *The Journal of Educational Research, 85,* 287–294.
Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Battiato, A. C., Walker, J. M., Reed, R. P., DeJong, J. M., & Jones, K. P. (2001). Parental involvement in homework. *Educational Psychologist, 36,* 195–209.
Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Green, C. G., & Whitaker, M. W. (2010). Motivation and commitment to partnerships for families and schools. In S. L. Christenson & A. L. Reschly (Eds.), *Handbook of school-family partnerships* (pp. 30–60). New York, NY: Routledge.
Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1995). Parental involvement in children's education: Why does it make a difference? *Teachers College Record, 95,* 310–331.
Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1997). Why do parents become involved in their children's education? *Review of Educational Research, 67,* 3–42.
Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Walker, J. M. T., Sandler, H. M., Whetsel, D., Green, C. L., Wilkins, A. S., et al. (2005). Why do parents become involved? Research findings and implications. *Elementary School Journal, 106,* 105–130.
Human Development Report. (2014). *Sustaining human progress: Reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience*. New York: United Nations Development Program.
Ishak, Z., Low, S., & Lau, P. (2012). Parenting style as a moderator for students' academic achievement. *Journal of Science Education and Technology, 21,* 487–493.
Jeynes, W. (2003). A meta-analysis: The effects of parental involvement on minority children's academic achievement. *Education and Urban Society, 35,* 202–218.
Lansford, J. E., & Bornstein, M. H. (2011). Parenting attributions and attitudes in diverse cultural contexts: Introduction to the special issue. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11,* 87–101.

Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Race, class, and family life* (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Maccoby, E. E., & Martin, J. A. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent–child interaction. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.) & E. M. Hetherington (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Socialization, personality, and social development* (4th ed., pp. 1–101). New York, NY: Wiley.
Majumder, M. A. (2016). The impact of parenting style on children's educational outcomes in the United States. *Journal of Family Economic Issues, 37,* 89–98.
Marchant, G. J., Paulson, S. E., & Rothlisberg, B. A. (2001). Relations of middle school students' perceptions of family and school contexts with academic achievement. *Psychology in the Schools, 38,* 505–519.
Matejevic, M., Jovanovic, D., & Jovanovic, M. (2014). Parenting style, involvement of parents in school activities and adolescents' academic achievement. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 128,* 288–293.
Maxwell, B. (1996). Translation and cultural adaptation of the survey instruments. In M. O. Martin & D. L. Kelly (Eds.), *Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) technical report, Volume I: Design and development* (pp. 8-1–8-10). Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College.
Norenzayan, A., & Heine, S. J. (2005). Psychological universals: What are they and how can we know? *Psychological Bulletin, 131,* 763–784.
Peña, E. D. (2007). Lost in translation: Methodological considerations in cross-cultural research. *Child Development, 78,* 1255–1264.
Phillipson, S., & Phillipson, S. N. (2012). Children's cognitive ability and their academic achievement: The mediation effects of parental expectations. *Asia Pacific Educational Review, 13,* 495–508.
Pinquart, M. (2016). Associations of parenting styles and dimensions with academic achievement in children and adolescents: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review, 28,* 475–493.
Ricard, N. C., & Pelletier, L. G. (2016). Dropping out of high school: The role of parent and teacher self-determination support, reciprocal friendships, and academic motivation. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 44–45,* 32–40.
Rohner, R. P. (2005). Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire (PARQ/Control): Test manual. In R. P. Rohner & A. Khaleque (Eds.), *Handbook for the study of parental acceptance and rejection* (4th ed., pp. 137–186). Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut.
Shute, V. J., Hansen, E. G., Underwood, J. S., & Razzouk, R. (2011). A review of the relationship between parental involvement and secondary school students' academic achievement. *Education Research International, 2011,* Article ID 915326.
Silk, J. S., Morris, A. S., Kanaya, T., & Steinberg, L. (2003). Psychological control and autonomy granting: Opposite ends of a continuum or distinct constructs? *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 13,* 113–128.
Steinberg, L., Lamborn, S. D., Dornbusch, S. M., & Darling, N. (1992). Impact of parenting practices on adolescent achievement: Authoritative parenting, school involvement, and encouragement to succeed. *Child Development, 63,* 1266–1281.
Steinberg, L., & Morris, A. S. (2001). Adolescent development. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52,* 83–110.
Teti, D. M., & Gelfand, D. M. (1991). Behavioral competence among mothers of infants in the first year: The mediational role of maternal self-efficacy. *Child Development, 62,* 918–929.
Topor, D. R., Keane, S. P., Shelton, T. L., & Calkins, S. D. (2010). Parent involvement and student academic performance: A multiple mediational analysis. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community, 38,* 183–187.
Trusty, J. (1999). Effects of eighth-grade parental involvement on late adolescents' educational expectations. *Journal of Research & Development in Education, 32,* 224–233.
Unger, D. G., & Wandersman, A. (1985). The importance of neighbors: The social, cognitive, and affective components of neighboring. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 13,* 139–169.

UNICEF. (2010). *National report Philippines: Global study on child poverty and disparities*. Available from http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Philippines_GlobalStudy(1).pdf.
Wang, H., & Cai, T. (2015). Parental involvement, adolescents' self-determined learning and academic achievement in urban China. *International Journal of Psychology, 52,* 58–66.
Westerman, A. J. (2012). A comparison of Thai, Indian, Japanese, and American parents' views toward parent involvement in international schools in Thailand. Retrieved from https://preserve.lehigh.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2076&context=etd.
Wilder, S. (2014). Effects of parental involvement on academic achievement: A meta-synthesis. *Educational Review, 66,* 377–397.
World Bank. (2016). Mortality rate, infant. Available from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN.

Emma Sorbring is a Professor of Child and Youth Studies and research director for the Centre for Child and Youth Studies at University West, Sweden. Her research and teaching interests focus on children, adolescents, and families. Her projects focus on parental behavior and children's adjustment, young people's decision-making, teenagers' internet use and parental strategies, and sexual development in traditional and new settings (the internet).

Jennifer E. Lansford is Research Professor at the Duke University Center for Child and Family Policy in Durham, NC, USA. Her research focuses on parenting and child development in diverse cultural contexts. She leads the Parenting Across Cultures study and has consulted with international agencies, such as UNICEF, on parenting programs and child well-being around the world.

Saengduean Yotanyamaneewong is a clinical psychologist and a lecturer in the Psychology Department, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, Thailand. Her research and teaching interests focus on children, adolescents, and families. Her projects focus on parenting, parental burnout, and emotional and social development in children and adolescents.

Sombat Tapanya is a clinical psychologist and an independent researcher at the Peace Culture Foundation, Chiang Mai, Thailand. His research and clinical practice focus on psychological trauma resulting from harsh parenting and abuse, and the treatment and prevention of such trauma. He has been working with Save the Children International and UNICEF in Thailand and the ASEAN region.

Concetta Pastorelli is a full professor at the Department of Psychology of Sapienza University of Rome, and Director of the Interuniversity Centre for the Research in the Genesis and Development of Prosocial and Antisocial Motivations (CIRMPA). Her research focuses on the determinants of aggressive and prosocial behaviors and school achievement, parental personality and parenting, and children's and adolescents' adjustment.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in China	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Zhu**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Nan**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	University of Macau
	Address	Zhuhai, China
	Email	darren_zhu730098@msn.com
Author	Family Name	**Chang**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Lei**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	University of Macau
	Address	Zhuhai, China
	Email	chang@umac.mo

Abstract

The education system and parenting in China both emphasize academic achievement. Today's Chinese students (including those from Hong Kong and Taiwan) do indeed demonstrate distinguished academic performance at home and abroad. However, cramming and rote learning, reinforced by excessive parental control, ostensibly underlie these academic results. This chapter seeks to clarify some of these seemingly causal effects of Chinese educational and parenting practices on children's academic achievement. It begins with a sociocultural background of Chinese education and Chinese parenting, followed by a brief outline of the status quo and reform attempts of the Chinese school system. Then, it discusses the features of Chinese parenting in light of the school system in China. Finally, it identify several aspects of Chinese parenting practices that might contribute to academic achievement. Throughout the chapter, we highlight the role of social learning (i.e., learning from other individuals, whether through direct observation and imitation, or through reading and formal training, rather than learning through one's own trial and error and independent experimentation), which is encouraged in the Chinese culture and also constitutes key components in education and parenting in China. Specifically, we argue that maintaining social harmony and stability in such a large and diverse country as China necessitates the emphasis on social learning. This contributes to a school system that is characterized by rote learning, top-down indoctrination, and intense academic competition. To promote adolescents' social learning skills that are highly important in the school system, Chinese parents adopt parenting practices characterized by high expectations, high parental involvement, and encouragement of academic motivation and conformity. This trend is expected to change as the education system pays more attention to independent exploration and innovation and as the society becomes more diversified, pluralistic, and individualistic.

Education and Parenting in China

Nan Zhu and Lei Chang

Introduction

The coexistence of tight parental control and high academic achievement in Chinese families has received increasing media attention in recent years. For example, a study by Larmer (2014) on a "test-prep factory" in China's Anhui province depicted the Chinese education system as an assembly line producing test-taking machines. The controversial book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* by Chua (2011) described a parenting philosophy that advocates absolute control. These phenomena challenge conventional views of the relations among education, parenting, and academic achievement in a Western context.

In this chapter, we offer an explanation for the seemingly unconventional interrelations between Chinese education, parenting, and academic results, highlighting an underlying cultural pressure for social learning. Specifically, we argue that the sociohistorical challenge of maintaining social stability and uniformity has given rise to a culture of social learning (embodied in Confucian teachings and the imperial examinations in ancient China), which in turn has shaped China's educational and parenting practices (Chang et al., 2011). Although traditional Confucian culture is substantially diminished today, parents still adopt practices relevant to social learning to prepare their children for fierce competition in the education system. Chinese students' high academic achievement is likely to be a product both of such parenting practices and of an education system that rewards social learning.

N. Zhu (✉) · L. Chang
University of Macau, Zhuhai, China
e-mail: darren_zhu730098@msn.com

L. Chang
e-mail: chang@umac.mo

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_2

464396_1_En_2_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 28 Layout: T1-Standard

China as a Cultural Setting

Traditional Chinese culture emphasizes obedience to authority and the pursuit of collective goals, which are often described as "collectivism," or more specifically, "vertical-collectivistic" (Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998). Whereas this collectivistic cultural tradition has for a long history inevitably stifled individual development and freedom of expression, it nevertheless has served and continues to serve the sociocultural function of binding together a diverse and vastly large population who call themselves Chinese. This section focuses on the relation of such a cultural context with education and parenting in China. In particular, we argue that the challenge of maintaining social stability and harmony would promote social learning in both education (e.g., teacher-centered instruction and rote learning) and parenting (e.g., conformity to parental authority and tight parental control).

Sociocultural background of the Chinese education system. The Chinese education system is commonly characterized as a combination of behavioral conformity, top-down indoctrination, rote learning, and standardized curricula geared toward competitive examinations. Although many scholars attribute these features to the teachings of Confucius (e.g., Huang & Gove, 2015), few have elaborated how social challenges (e.g., maintaining social stability and harmony in a massive, multiethnic country) have shaped both Confucianism and the Chinese education system. This is critical not only to understanding the origin of many Chinese educational practices but also to explaining why they persist today even though Confucian culture no longer has a dominant role in society.

After the unification of China under the brief Qin dynasty and, later, the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220), China's rulers were increasingly concerned to consolidate their power and unify a highly diverse population. One key strategy was to implement a unified education system based on a single official ideology emphasizing conformity and compliance. Emperor Han Wudi (reign: 141–87 BC) followed the advice of his ministers and endorsed Confucianism as the official ideology. Confucian teachings became further entrenched when the imperial or *keju* examinations were implemented during the Tang dynasty (AD 618–907) as a means of selecting civil officials. The *keju* examinations, based on the Confucian classics constituted the main path to higher social status in ancient China. Under the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, these examinations became even more focused and rigid. Many modern scholars have criticized the Confucian education and *keju* systems for stifling creativity and promoting blind conformity (e.g., Lin, 2011). Despite these criticisms, the Confucian-based education system successfully served throughout China's history as a "glue" to bind together an otherwise diverse population, because members of the elite class all across China were taught similar cultural values (Fairbank & Goldman, 2006).

Thus, the Confucian-based education system serves a vital sociocultural function of maintaining social stability within a vastly diverse country. This was achieved not only through indoctrinating the cultural values of harmony and obedience, but also through an imperial examination system that encouraged upward social mobility and

464396_1_En_2_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 28 Layout: T1-Standard

active endorsement of shared values by the elite class. In light of its historical and cultural function, the logical corollary of the traditional education system in China is that social learning (by memorizing the classic texts and internalizing Confucian doctrines) would prevail, whereas independent exploration would be discouraged. As will be discussed below, this sociocultural feature (with an emphasis on social learning) is still prevalent in the current school system in China.

Chinese culture and Chinese parenting. In China, the challenge of ensuring social stability through cultural and ideological uniformity contributed not only to an education system oriented toward social learning but also to similar features in parenting. Chao and Tseng (2002, p. 60) identified three prominent features of Asian parenting: "the centrality of family and family interdependence," "the use of parental control and strictness," and "fostering academic achievement." These features are perhaps most aptly applied to parenting in China. Wu et al. (2002) also revealed that Chinese parents exhibited several practices to a larger degree than their U.S. counterparts, including encouraging modesty, discouraging expression, and resorting to withheld affection or shaming as an effective means of parental control. All of these practices are consistent with Confucian teachings and conducive to social learning, or represent individual traits that facilitate such learning (Chang et al., 2011). Studies that revealed these features of Chinese parenting mostly involved immigrant Chinese parents in the United States or Chinese–American families. Given the common cultural beliefs, however, it is assumed that their parenting practices may also reflect those found in mainland China.

The vital role of family interdependence in Chinese parenting is closely related to the filial piety tradition, identified as a set of principles relevant to parenting and the hierarchical relationships within families (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Filial piety emphasizes not only children's obligations toward the family but also their dependence on parents, which in turn leads parents to be more protective of them (Wu et al., 2002). For instance, Chinese parents often encourage their children to remain with and depend on them (Ho, 1986). Ho (1996) contended that filial piety is conducive to authoritarian parenting characterized by overcontrol, overprotection, and inhibition of independent expression and self-mastery. Similarly, Pearson and Rao (2003) demonstrated that socialization toward filial piety is positively associated with authoritarian parenting. However, other researchers have suggested that authoritarian parenting may not accurately characterize the role of filial piety in Chinese parenting (Chao, 1995; Gorman, 1998). The concept of filial piety also relates to children's respect for parents (Sung, 1995). In short, filial piety serves to ensure that children respect and accept parents' guidance and teaching, which constitute early and essential parts of children's social learning.

Another aspect of Chinese parenting is the use of control. Cross-cultural comparisons have shown that Chinese parents exert more restrictive control and support less autonomy than parents of European descent (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1990; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Lin & Fu, 1990). For example, mothers from the Chinese mainland used more physical coercion and showed less warmth to preschool-age children than U.S. mothers when measured using Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles (Wu et al., 2002). However, other studies suggested that Chinese parents (especially those in urban

areas) are less controlling than expected (Chang, 2003; Chang, Schwatz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Lu & Chang, 2013; Wang & Chang, 2009). Through semistructured interviews of 328 urban Chinese only-child parents, Lu and Chang (2013) found that the most prevalent parenting beliefs were authoritative and child-centered, rather than control-oriented.

Researchers examining indigenous concepts of Chinese parenting emphasize the differing meaning of control according to particular cultural contexts. For example, Chao (1994) proposed a "training" dimension as a unique aspect of Chinese child-rearing practices. Unlike restrictive control in Western contexts, training has been associated more with supportive affection than emotional coldness as well as with children's identification with academic achievement goals (e.g., Chao, 1994, 2000; Gorman, 1998). This can be seen as a different form of control, which might be beneficial for children growing up in a society with a low tolerance for deviation from dominant cultural values. In this context, the parenting practices of training might facilitate social learning of these dominant values.

In summary, Chinese parenting seems to depart from the traditional classification of Western parenting styles because of culturally specific practices and beliefs related to family interdependence and the balance between love and control. These parenting practices aim at cultivating modesty, filial piety, and conformity to social expectations, all of which are adaptive within the Chinese cultural world and, specifically, within the Chinese education system (with ancient roots such as Confucian doctrines and the *keju* examination system). Both the Chinese culture and the education system heavily influenced by this culture emphasize social learning and uniformity of values. Although these aspects of Chinese parenting are not directly linked to academic achievement, they nonetheless facilitate parents' socialization of children, which emphasizes such achievement.

Current School System

The 20th century saw drastic social changes in China. The *keju* examinations were abolished in 1905, and Confucian ideology was discarded during the Neo-Culture Movement of the early 20th century and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), although some elements of Confucian education survived. First, consistent with the Confucian ideal that all people have the right to education (Huang & Gove, 2015), the People's Republic of China, which was established in 1949, made efforts to reduce illiteracy rates by promoting public education. State-run public schools constituted the vast majority of educational facilities in China (this is true even today). After 1986, with the successful nationwide implementation of 9-year compulsory education (covering primary and junior secondary school) that provided affordable public education to millions of children, net primary school enrolment rose from 84.7% in 1965 to over 98% after 2000 (China Education Annals, 2015). Some regions and cities have also begun implementing free vocational education or compulsory high school education. However, due to varying levels of development across dif-

ferent regions in China, educational resources have been unevenly distributed. For example, certain "key" schools, representing only a small proportion of the total number of public schools, receive priority treatment in the allocation of teachers and funds; in Shanghai, only 67 out of 248 high schools were "key" schools in 2016. Although such schools typically do not differ from ordinary ones in terms of curricula, textbooks, and teaching methods, parents are eager to send their children to these schools and thus maximize their chances of enrolment at the best schools at the next level. This leads to intense competition for state-monopolized educational resources at each school entrance examination level, including the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE). The NCEE has long been considered a yardstick for the form and content of high school teaching (Yin, Guo, & Wang, 2015). Like the *keju* system, competitive examinations at various stages of education not only dictate students' learning but also significantly influence their future career development and socioeconomic status.

Second, standard curricula, textbooks, and pedagogy were implemented across all of China's regions, and this has played a key role in preserving ideological uniformity. According to the Ministry of Education (2018), a new set of centrally compiled textbooks for compulsory education in subjects such as Chinese, history, and ethics and the rule of law were introduced in primary and secondary schools throughout the country in 2017. These new textbooks renewed the emphasis on core socialist values, traditional Chinese culture, and the Communist Party of China's revolutionary traditions. Moreover, the policy of most primary and secondary schools ensures standardization and uniformity in pedagogy, leading to largely identical teaching methods and an emphasis on a single "right answer." Cai (2005) found that Chinese secondary school teachers, compared with their U.S. counterparts, tended to focus on a single solution to mathematical problems rather than encourage exploration of various solutions and to repeat the same classroom activities, procedures, and examples. Thus, similar to traditional education centered on Confucian classics and values, contemporary Chinese education seeks to ensure uniformity in the knowledge and values conveyed in classrooms, thus minimizing individual differences and encouraging social learning.

Third, consistent with the Confucian educational tradition that emphasized memorization of the classics for *keju* examinations, Chinese teachers still rely heavily on top-down (teacher-directed) instruction, rote learning, and memorization. For example, Lan et al. (2009) found that teacher-directed class activities took up 93% of the Chinese students' class time (compared with 58% of the students' class time in U.S. schools). Teachers in China also tend to encourage repetition and memorization rather than independent thinking and creativity. Such teacher attitudes are also common in Hong Kong (Chan & Chan, 1999). Zhang and Dai (2004) observed that mathematics education in China made frequent use of memorization. All of these practices enhance social learning, which is critical for academic competition based on standardized tests with single correct answers, but usually at the cost of individual initiative in learning (Chang et al., 2011).

Thus, many prominent features of contemporary Chinese education, including state-monopolized educational resources, standardized curricula and textbooks,

464396_1_En_2_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 28 Layout: T1-Standard

and top-down instruction, are consistent with the Confucian educational tradition. Although the education systems of Hong Kong and Taiwan differ from that of the Chinese mainland, such features are, to some extent, common to all these societies (e.g., Chan & Chan, 1999; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). Given the social changes that China has experienced, these features of the contemporary Chinese education system are unlikely to involve any direct emulation of the traditional Confucian education ideology. Instead, they may have emerged in response to similar challenges of maintaining social stability and ideological uniformity, which tend to favor social learning. Compared with individual learning (e.g., learning by trial and error), social learning serves to transfer useful knowledge in a stable society at lower cost (Chang et al., 2011).

Despite the value of centralized, uniform, and rote-learning-based education in maintaining social stability, Chinese educators are not unaware of the shortcomings of such educational practices, particularly in terms of stifling creativity and scientific innovation. With China's ongoing economic development, society increasingly requires diversified talents and inquisitive individuals, rather than test-taking machines.

Since the late 1990s, the Chinese education system has undergone a series of reforms intended to implement "quality-centered" education and promote complete development of the student through learner-centered teaching methods. A new curriculum reform was implemented in 1999, emphasizing individual development and promoting comprehensive practical activities for integrating theoretical knowledge with students' direct experience (Oyeniran & Uwamahoro, 2017). This has been accompanied by more flexible, problem-solving-oriented classroom and extracurricular activities, especially in schools in developed areas (Yin et al., 2015).

Another focus of education reforms in China is decentralization (Qi, 2017). Excessive government control of schools and colleges has been reduced, and alternative forms of academic competition are encouraged. For example, in 2007, several leading universities in Shanghai introduced an independent enrolment method separate from the NCEE (using special exams or interviews), and were later joined by other top Chinese universities. This has provided students with more diverse paths to admission to leading universities. Education bureaus in Shanghai and Tianjin are also working to establish a student recommendation system and eliminate "key" school status.

Education reforms have also been accompanied by the expansion of educational resources (e.g., increasing higher education admission levels and the number of colleges and universities). The number of tertiary institutions in China rose from 598 in the 1978–1982 period to 2824 in 2014, with 35,590,000 college students representing 37.5% of their age cohort. The overall university admission rate stood at 75% in 2014 compared with 5% during the 1980s (China Education Annals, 2015). However, increased tertiary educational opportunities do not seem to have reduced the intensity of academic competition. Key universities (i.e., the Project 211 and Project 985 institutions) that receive most of the central funding and human resources have much lower admission rates (approximately 2–14% for Project 211 institutions and 1–6% for Project 985 institutions in 2017, depending on students'

hometown). Despite these unfavorable odds, many students are willing to take the NCEE even several times to enter top universities (Larmer, 2014).

Overall, education reforms have been more successful in developed regions and large cities, where the demand for a creative, independent, problem-solving approach is higher. However, the traditional examination-centered paradigm still dominates in most underdeveloped regions, because limited educational resources prompt schools, teachers, and students to continue focusing on a narrow range of academic outcomes likely to ensure success on the NCEE.

Parenting in Light of the School System

One of the most salient aspects of Chinese parenting is its emphasis on academic achievement (Wang & Chang, 2009). This is expected given that the concentration of educational resources in a few key schools causes intense academic competition at each level of schooling, culminating in high school (in preparation for the NCEE). However, it is unclear whether this emphasis on academic achievement is associated with certain parenting styles, for instance, authoritarian parenting or "tiger parenting." Literature reviews and meta-analyses generally support the notion that authoritative parenting contributes to better school performance, whereas authoritarian parenting contributes to poorer performance (e.g., Masud, Thurasamy, & Ahmad, 2015; Pinquart & Kauser, 2018). However, some studies have suggested that authoritarian parenting may not have such negative effects on children in China as on those in Western countries (e.g., Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Consistent with this argument, Leung, Lau, and Lam (1998) found that authoritarianism in general, but not in the academic field, positively predicted academic achievement among adolescents in Hong Kong.

More recent research has begun to question the profiling of a Chinese parenting style distinct from Western models in terms of authoritarian control and filial piety (Wang & Chang, 2009), as well as the notion that such "indigenous" aspects of Chinese parenting facilitate academic success. One cross-cultural study on maternal parenting styles in China, Turkey, and the United States found that, according to undergraduate students' reports, Chinese mothers were the least authoritarian but even more authoritative than U.S. mothers. Moreover, authoritarian parenting among Chinese mothers was associated with a lower rather than a higher grade point average (GPA) in their children (Newman et al., 2015). A study on second graders and their parents in Beijing also showed that authoritarian parenting was negatively related to children's academic competence (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). Similarly, another study found that restrictive parenting by Hong Kong mothers was associated with lower academic competence in seventh graders (Leung, McBride-Chang, & Lai, 2004). Indigenous parenting constructs in Chinese cultures also seem not to contribute to academic achievement. For example, McBride-Chang and Chang (1998) found that the training dimension (Chao, 1994) was not related to school performance among Hong Kong adolescents, and students who rated their parents as more

authoritative and less authoritarian were more likely to attend the top schools in Hong Kong. A study on Chinese–American parents also indicated that "tiger parenting" (i.e., a combination of authoritarian and authoritative parenting) was relatively uncommon and associated with lower GPAs and educational achievement compared with easygoing, supportive parenting (Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013).

Thus, it seems that school systems in China (and Chinese cultural regions in general) do not necessarily encourage authoritarian parenting or "tiger parenting." It has been argued that with rapid economic development, enforcement of the single-child policy, and the absorption of Western cultural influences, Chinese society is becoming increasingly individualistic, diversified, and less reliant on social learning (Chang, Chen, & Ji, 2011). These sociohistorical changes might produce changes toward more democratic, autonomy-supportive parenting styles and lessen filial piety, conformity, and academic pressure on children (Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013). This notion is supported by findings that parents in urban, one-child families in China predominantly adopt individualistic ideas about parenting (e.g., encouraging prosocial assertiveness and discouraging modesty), support progressive attitudes, and reject authoritarian attitudes toward children (Chang et al., 2011; Lu & Chang, 2013; Wang & Chang, 2009).

However, this does not mean that Chinese parents care any less about children's academic performance. Because the Chinese education system remains highly competitive, parents continue to have high expectations of their children's academic efforts and performance and to be actively involved in their education. Blair and Qian (1998) found that Chinese parents had the highest expectations for their children's educational achievement and performance among immigrant groups in the United States. Moreover, such expectations were positively associated with high school academic performance, even after controlling for socioeconomic status. Furthermore, Chinese parents feel a greater obligation than Western parents to be involved in their children's schoolwork (Huang & Gove, 2015; Kim & Wong, 2002). Overall, rather than being associated with a specific parenting style, the current school system in China seems to be more closely associated with a specific parenting goal and expectation (i.e., high academic achievement).

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

Although how Chinese parenting benefits children academically remains largely unknown (e.g., Leung et al., 1998; Luo et al., 2013), there is a growing body of research that sheds light on the specific parenting practices adopted by Chinese parents that promote academic achievement. One potential factor is parental involvement (e.g., monitoring homework, home teaching, participating in school activities). Research has shown that such involvement benefits children's academic achievement. Using data from a large national survey, Duan, Guan, and Bu (2018) found that parental involvement was associated with better academic performance among

junior high school students, an association that was stronger for students with lower family socioeconomic status. Some researchers have also distinguished different meanings of parental involvement by Chinese or Western parents. For example, Huntsinger and Jose (2009) found that, compared with European American parents, Chinese American parents were less engaged in school activities but more engaged in home teaching. Cheung and Pomerantz (2011) found that parental involvement in China was more strongly associated with control and less strongly with autonomy support than among U.S. parents, but such involvement positively predicted academic achievement in both countries. Finally, parental involvement in China may also encourage children's academic efforts. Hess, Chang, and McDevitt (1987) found that mainland Chinese parents were more likely to attribute their children's academic results to effort than Chinese American and European American parents. This is consistent with Chao's (1994) conceptualization of training-oriented parenting, according to which parents' involvement and emphasis on effort may be the key to their children's academic achievement.

In addition to involvement, parenting can contribute to academic achievement by fostering certain psychological traits, such as goal orientation, academic motivation, conformity, and self-efficacy or self-esteem. Goal orientation refers to students' purposes in learning and how they evaluate their academic performance. According to the commonly used three-component conceptualization of goal orientation, mastery goals emphasize learning new knowledge, skills, and competence based on interests and understanding; performance-approach goals focus on outperforming others; and performance-avoidance goals focus on avoiding failure (Elliot, Shell, Henry, & Maier, 2005). Chen (2015) found that both mastery and performance-approach goals positively predicted Hong Kong university students' GPAs, whereas performance-avoidance goals negatively predicted them. In addition, student-perceived authoritative parenting was positively associated with GPA through both mastery and performance-approach goals. By contrast, perceived authoritarian parenting was positively associated with GPA through performance-approach goals and negatively through performance-avoidance goals. Xu, Dai, Liu, and Deng (2018) found that both performance-approach and performance-avoidance goals were associated with academic dysfunction (e.g., self-handicapping, cheating, and disruptive behavior) among high school students in China. Moreover, parental psychological control was associated with academic dysfunction through performance goals, whereas parental autonomy support was associated with reduced academic dysfunction through mastery goals. Overall, both mastery and performance-approach goals seem to boost academic achievement, although performance-approach goals might also reduce learning quality.

Academic motivation has also been conceptualized as a mediator between parenting and academic achievement. For instance, Leung and Kwan (1998) found that authoritative parenting was associated with higher academic performance among Hong Kong high school students through intrinsic motivation, whereas authoritarian parenting was associated with lower academic performance through extrinsic motivation and amotivation. Cheung and McBride-Chang (2008) found that parental support positively predicted mastery motivation in Hong Kong fifth graders and was, in

turn, positively associated with perceived academic competence. However, parental demand and restrictive parenting positively predicted actual academic performance, whereas parental support and mastery motivation did not. Finally, several experimental studies have sought to demonstrate the effects of social-oriented achievement motivation, which is very common among Chinese students, on academic functioning (Tao & Hong, 2014). The results showed that social-oriented achievement motivation is associated with enhanced academic competence as well as an association between academic performance and parental influence. Students with higher social-oriented achievement motivation devoted more time and effort to learning, which was likely to enhance academic performance. However, they were also more prone to test anxiety and more disturbed by failure.

Finally, research has shown that Chinese parenting seems to contribute to students' academic achievement by fostering both conformity, which is related to relational parenting goals, and self-esteem, which is related to individualized parenting goals. In a study on junior and senior high school students on the Chinese mainland, Shen (2011) found that parental support and monitoring were both associated with higher conformity, and that this, in turn, was associated with better school performance through higher school motivation. Similarly, parental granting of autonomy was associated with higher self-esteem, which in turn predicted higher school motivation and performance.

This analysis depicts a complex picture of the relation between Chinese parenting and academic achievement. First, a wide range of evidence has shown that Chinese parents exhibit high achievement expectations and demands and a high degree of involvement in children's schoolwork at home. Second, research has generally not supported the view that the restrictive, demanding, or authoritarian aspects of Chinese parenting are conducive to academic success (e.g., Chen et al., 1997; Newman et al., 2015). Although authoritarian practices and parental control might facilitate performance motivation or goals at school, this probably occurs at the expense of children's emotional adjustment. Similarly, monitoring, autonomy support, and other practices relevant to authoritative parenting also contribute to Chinese children's academic achievement, but mainly through mastery motivation or goals (Chen, 2015; Leung & Kwan, 1998; Xu et al., 2018). Finally, Chinese parental influence is associated with academic achievement through children's conformity to their parents and social expectations (Shen, 2011; Tao & Hong, 2014). These social and parental influences may be seen as closely related to intense academic competition and the uniformity of teaching and learning, both of which are conducive to social learning (Chang et al., 2011).

Future Directions

One limitation of the empirical evidence accumulated so far is that most studies were conducted either in large cities in China with better educational resources or not on the Chinese mainland (e.g., in Hong Kong or among Chinese immigrants in

the United States). As a result, these studies are more likely to reflect the effects of social and cultural changes on China or Chinese families (Luo et al., 2013). Quality-oriented, student-centered education reforms seem likely to be implemented earlier and more successfully in large cities with better educational resources (e.g., in Shanghai; Yin et al., 2015). More studies are necessary to elucidate the relation between parenting and academic achievement in less developed areas of China, where educational resources are scarce and academic competition is still largely determined by examination scores.

Social learning plays a highly prominent role in many aspects of the Chinese education system, from centralized examinations and state-monopolized educational resources to standardized curricula and teaching methods. Ultimately, these may be linked to the challenges of maintaining social stability and cultural uniformity in Chinese society. On the one hand, the traditional culture has a cascading effect on Chinese parenting through the current education system, leading to an emphasis on conformity, tight parental control, high expectations, and involvement in children's schoolwork. These features are conducive to social learning, but at the cost of individualized learning initiative and mastery goals (Chang et al., 2011). Future research can directly test this theoretical prediction. On the other hand, this overemphasis on social learning is gradually being weakened in China and among Chinese families by ongoing social changes and education reforms. With social changes creating an increasing demand for more diversified talents, Chinese education might move toward an equal emphasis on knowledge learning and independent thinking. Future research can also focus on the long-term effect of the changes in the education system in China on parenting and children's academic achievement, such as whether educational reforms that de-emphasize social learning would prompt parents to focus on more diversified learning outcomes than simple examination scores.

References

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology Monograph, 4*(1, Pt. 2), 1–103.

Blair, S. L., & Qian, Z. (1998). Family and Asian students' educational performance: A consideration of diversity. *Journal of Family Issues, 19,* 355–374.

Cai, J. (2005). U.S. and Chinese teachers' constructing, knowing, and evaluating representations to teach mathematics. *Mathematical Thinking and Learning, 7,* 135–169.

Chan, D., & Chan, L. (1999). Implicit theories of creativity: Teachers' perception of student characteristics in Hong Kong. *Creativity Research Journal, 12,* 185–195.

Chang, L. (2003). Variable effects of children's aggression, social withdrawal, and prosocial leadership as functions of teacher beliefs and behaviors. *Child Development, 74,* 535–548.

Chang, L., Chen, B.-B., & Ji, L. (2011). Attributions and attitudes of mothers and fathers in China. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11*(2–3), 102–115.

Chang, L., Mak, M. C., Li, T., Wu, B. P., Chen, B. B., & Lu, H. J. (2011). Cultural adaptations to environmental variability: An evolutionary account of East–West differences. *Educational Psychology Review, 23,* 99–129.

464396_1_En_2_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 28 Layout: T1-Standard

Chang, L., Schwartz, D., Dodge, K., & McBride-Chang, C. (2003). Harsh parenting in relation to child emotion regulation and aggression. *Journal of Family Psychology, 17,* 598–606.
Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65,* 1111–1119.
Chao, R. K. (1995). Chinese and European American cultural models of the self reflected in mothers' childrearing beliefs. *Ethos, 23,* 328–354.
Chao, R. K. (2000). The parenting of immigrant Chinese and European American mothers: Relations between parenting styles, socialization goals, and parental practices. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 21,* 233–248.
Chao, R. K., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting* (Vol. 4, pp. 59–93). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
Chen, W. W. (2015). The relations between perceived parenting styles and academic achievement in Hong Kong: The mediating role of students' goal orientations. *Learning and Individual Differences, 37,* 48–54.
Chen, X., Dong, Q., & Zhou, H. (1997). Authoritative and authoritarian parenting practices and social and school performance in Chinese children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 21,* 855–873.
Cheung, C. S., & McBride-Chang, C. (2008). Relations of perceived maternal parenting style, practices, and learning motivation to academic competence in Chinese children. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 54,* 1–22.
Cheung, C. S. S., & Pomerantz, E. M. (2011). Parents' involvement in children's learning in the United States and China: Implications for children's academic and emotional adjustment. *Child Development, 82,* 932–950.
China Education Annals. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_sjzl/moe_364/zgjynj_2015/.
Chua, A. (2011). *Battle hymn of the tiger mother*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.
Duan, W., Guan, Y., & Bu, H. (2018). The effect of parental involvement and socioeconomic status on junior school students' academic achievement and school behavior in China. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9,* 952.
Elliot, A. J., Shell, M. M., Henry, K. B., & Maier, M. A. (2005). Achievement goals, performance contingencies, and performance attainment: An experimental test. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 97,* 630–640.
Fairbank, J. K., & Goldman, M. (2006). *China: A new history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Feldman, S. S., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1990). The acculturation of autonomy expectations in Chinese high schoolers residing in two Western nations. *International Journal of Psychology, 25,* 259–281.
Gorman, J. C. (1998). Parenting attitudes and practices of immigrant Chinese mothers of adolescents. *Family Relations, 47,* 73–80.
Hess, R. D., Chang, C. M., & McDevitt, T. M. (1987). Cultural variations in family beliefs about children's performance in mathematics: Comparisons among People's Republic of China, Chinese-American, and Caucasian-American families. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 79,* 179–188.
Ho, D. Y. F. (1986). Chinese pattern of socialization: A critical review. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The psychology of the Chinese people* (pp. 1–37). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ho, D. Y. F. (1996). Filial piety and its psychological consequences. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 155–165). Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
Huang, G. H.-C., & Gove, M. (2015). Confucianism, Chinese families, and academic achievement. In M. S. Khine (Ed.), *Science education in East Asia* (pp. 41–66). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
Huntsinger, C. S., & Jose, P. E. (2009). Parental involvement in children's schooling: Different meanings in different cultures. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24,* 398–410.
Kelley, M. L., & Tseng, H. M. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing: A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 23,* 444–455.

Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Orozco-Lapray, D., Shen, Y., & Murtuza, M. (2013). Does "tiger parenting" exist? Parenting profiles of Chinese Americans and adolescent developmental outcomes. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 4,* 7–18.

Kim, S. Y., & Wong, V. Y. (2002). Assessing Asian and Asian American parenting: A review of the literature. In K. S. Kurasaki, S. Okazaki, & S. Sue (Eds.), *Asian American mental health* (pp. 185–201). Boston, MA: Springer.

Lan, X., Ponitz, C., Miller, K., Li, S., Cortina, K., Perry, M., et al. (2009). Keeping their attention: Classroom practices associated with behavioral engagement in first grade mathematics classes in China and the United States. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24,* 198–211.

Larmer, B. (2014, December 31). *Inside a Chinese test-prep factory*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/04/magazine/inside-a-chinese-test-prep-factory.html.

Leung, P. W., & Kwan, K. S. (1998). Parenting styles, motivational orientations, and self-perceived academic competence: A mediational model. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 44,* 1–19.

Leung, C. Y. W., McBride-Chang, C., & Lai, B. P. Y. (2004). Relations among maternal parenting style, academic competence, and life satisfaction in Chinese early adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 24,* 113–143.

Leung, K., Lau, S., & Lam, W. L. (1998). Parenting styles and academic achievement: A cross-cultural study. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 44,* 157–172.

Lin, C. C., & Fu, V. R. (1990). A comparison of childrearing practices among Chinese, immigrant Chinese, and Caucasian-American parents. *Child Development, 61,* 429–433.

Lin, J. Y. (2011). *Demystifying the Chinese economy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Lu, H. J., & Chang, L. (2013). Parenting and child socialization of only children in urban China: An example of authoritative parenting. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 174,* 335–343.

Luo, R., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., & Song, L. (2013). Chinese parents' goals and practices in early childhood. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 28,* 843–857.

Masud, H., Thurasamy, R., & Ahmad, M. S. (2015). Parenting styles and academic achievement of young adolescents: A systematic literature review. *Quality & Quantity, 49,* 2411–2433.

McBride-Chang, C., & Chang, L. (1998). Parenting styles, emotional autonomy, and school achievement: Relations to Hong Kong adolescents. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 159,* 421–436.

Ministry of Education. (2018). Review of China's education reform in 2017. Retrieved from http://en.moe.gov.cn/News/Top_News/201801/t20180130_326023.html.

Newman, J., Gozu, H., Guan, S., Lee, J. E., Li, X., & Sasaki, Y. (2015). Relationship between maternal parenting style and high school achievement and self-esteem in China, Turkey and USA. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 46,* 265–288.

Oyeniran, R., & Uwamahoro, E. (2017). Impacts of reforms in Chinese educational system. *International Journal of Education, 9,* 30–48.

Pearson, E., & Rao, N. (2003). Socialization goals, parenting practices, and peer competence in Chinese and English preschoolers. *Early Child Development and Care, 173,* 131–146.

Pinquart, M., & Kauser, R. (2018). Do the associations of parenting styles with behavior problems and academic achievement vary by culture? Results from a meta-analysis. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 24,* 75–100.

Qi, X. (2017). Policy and practice of the decentralization of basic education in China: The Shanghai case. *Frontiers of Education in China, 12,* 445–467.

Shen, Y. L. (2011). Effects of Chinese parental practices on adolescent school outcomes mediated by conformity to parents, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. *International Journal of Educational Research, 50*(5–6), 282–290.

Steinberg, L., Dornbusch, S., & Brown, B. B. (1992). Ethnic differences in adolescent achievement: An ecological perspective. *American Psychologist, 47,* 723–729.

Sung, K. T. (1995). Measures and dimensions of filial piety in Korea. *The Gerontologist, 35,* 240–247.

Tao, V. Y., & Hong, Y. Y. (2014). When academic achievement is an obligation: Perspectives from social-oriented achievement motivation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 45,* 110–136.

552 Triandis, H. C., Chen, X. P., & Chan, D. K. S. (1998). Scenarios for the measurement of collectivism
553 and individualism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 29,* 275–289.
554 Wang, Q., & Chang, L. (2009). Parenting and child socialization in contemporary China. In M. H.
555 Bond (Ed.), *Handbook of Chinese psychology* (2nd ed.). London: Oxford University Press.
556 Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., et al. (2002). Similarities and
557 differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International*
558 *Journal of Behavioral Development, 26,* 481–491.
559 Xu, X., Dai, D., Liu, M., & Deng, C. (2018). Relations between parenting and adolescents' academic
560 functioning: The mediating role of achievement goal orientations. *Frontiers in Education, 3,*
561 Article 1. https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2018.00001.
562 Yin, X., Guo, X., & Wang, L. (2015). Science education in Shanghai, China: What does it look
563 like other than PISA score? In M. S. Khine (Ed.), *Science education in East Asia* (pp. 227–246).
564 Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
565 Zhang, D., & Dai, Z. (2004). The "two basics" mathematics teaching approach and the open ended
566 problem solving in China. *Research in Mathematical Education, 8,* 123–144.

567 **Nan Zhu** is a postdoctoral fellow at the Department of Psychology, University of Macau. His
568 research seeks to identify and explain ecological and social factors that underlie the variability
569 of social behaviors and judgments, including parental behaviors, prosocial actions, moral judg-
570 ments, and judgments about societal conflicts and gender relations. These inquiries are united via
571 an evolutionarily-informed perspective and aim at providing insights into applied issues such as
572 moral education and conflict resolution.

573 **Lei Chang** is Chair Professor of Psychology and Head of Department of Psychology, University
574 of Macau. He conducts research in the areas of evolutionary psychology, including cultural evolu-
575 tion, life history, and mating research, developmental psychology focusing on parenting and child
576 and adolescent social development, and statistics and psychometrics focusing on applications.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in Colombia	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Di Giunta**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Laura**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Sapienza University of Rome
	Address	Rome, Italy
	Email	laura.digiunta@uniroma1.it
Author	Family Name	**Uribe Tirado**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Liliana Maria**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Universidad de San Buenaventura
	Address	Medellin, Colombia
	Email	lilianauribe74@gmail.com

Abstract

This chapter begins by reporting demographics of Colombia, taking into account its stratified social system and its profile as a developing country. The cultural setting of Colombia is described in terms of its system of values and how such values can influence what mothers and fathers are expected to do with their children. The cultural setting also is described in terms of the peace agreement reached between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia after over 50 years of conflict, as a milestone in the process of settling one of the world's most protracted and violent conflicts. The Colombian educational system is then described with history about how access and quality significantly vary across regions and between the socioeconomic strata. The steps that have been taken to evaluate scholastic achievement in Colombia with standardized methods also are described. Examples are provided about how socioeconomic characteristics as well as the school system in Colombia could indirectly affect parenting, and about current debates, such as about the length for a school day. The chapter ends with a summary of the few studies that have examined direct associations between family functioning and parenting styles and scholastic achievement in Colombia. Overall, the poorer the families are, the lower is the scholastic achievement of their adolescent offspring.

Education and Parenting in Colombia

Laura Di Giunta and Liliana Maria Uribe Tirado

Introduction

Colombia is the fourth largest country in South America and one of the continent's most populous nations with 48,229,000 people (51% females, 49% males; BBC, 2018; DANE, 2018; UNICEF, 2018). On many dimensions Colombia can be considered a developing country. The under-five mortality rate is 14.7 per 1000 live births; life expectancy at birth is 73.8 years (UNICEF, 2018). According to the Colombian statistics agency (DANE, 2018), there was an increasing trend from 1964 to 2018 in the literacy rate from 92 to 95% (with higher percentages for females than males) and a decreasing trend in the birth. A decreasing trend of the percentage of people who live below the poverty line also has been reported. For example, the 27% poverty rate in 2017 was more than one percentage point less than in 2016 (Colombia Reports, 2018).

To understand the degree of income inequality in Colombia, it is useful to define the Gini index, which measures the extent to which the distribution of income among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution (International Labor Office, 2016). Colombia has the second highest Gini index in the Americas, with a coefficient of 50.8 (the first one is in Brazil; Colombia Reports, 2018). Colombia has a strictly stratified social system in which individuals are classified on the basis of indicators such as family income, where they live, or the structural characteristics of the house in which they live (for further details on the Colombian stratified social system see Alzate, 2006). Accordingly, Colombian society is composed of families belonging to the low-low class (stratum 1), to the low

L. Di Giunta (✉)
Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy
e-mail: laura.digiunta@uniroma1.it

L. M. Uribe Tirado
Universidad de San Buenaventura, Medellin, Colombia
e-mail: lilianauribe74@gmail.com

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_3

464396_1_En_3_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:28/8/2019 Pages: 42 Layout: T1-Standard

class (stratum 2), to the low-middle class (stratum 3), to the middle class (stratum 4), to the middle-upper class (stratum 5), and to the high-upper class (stratum 6; DANE, 2015 as cited in Suárez, Jiménez, & Millán, 2017). For percentages of the population in Colombia divided by stratum we refer to Suárez et al. (2017), who analyzed the living standards of Colombian households to examine quality of life in Colombia according to socioeconomic stratification. In particular, these authors merged the six socioeconomic strata into four strata: they merged the first three groups in a unique low SES stratum (70.48%), they considered the middle class on its own (23.41%), and they merged strata 5 and 6 in an upper class group (1.53%). These authors also considered a group of families who are not included in any stratum (4.57%; refer to Suárez et al., 2017, for further information about this group). In addition, in 2013, in Bogota, were 1/6 of the Colombian population resides, 99% of students enrolled in primary schools and secondary schools belong to strata 1, 2, and 3 (Secretaria de Educacio de Bogota, 2014, as cited in OECD, 2016a). Clearly, the vast majority of the population in Colombia resides in the lowest three of the six SES strata.

Colombia as a Cultural Setting

Colombian (Latino) culture is characterized by collectivistic values, such as *familismo,* rather than individualistic values (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). Familismo refers to attachment, loyalty, and reciprocity among members of the nuclear or extended family. Other prominent values in Colombia are *marianismo* and *machismo*, which are gender-role constructs that refer to female submissiveness and male dominance within the family, respectively (Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey 1994). Thus, gender roles may influence what mothers and fathers are expected to do with their children in Colombian culture, generally, and in promoting their children's scholastic achievement, specifically (Parra-Cardona, Wampler, & Sharp, 2006). Traditionally, Colombian fathers were the main economic providers and mothers were the primary source of care for the entire family (Ripoll-Núñez & Alvarez, 2008). In the last 20 years, many changes occurred in what was considered a traditional Colombian family because of both the rural-to-urban migration and women's increasing participation in higher education and involvement in the labor force (Córdoba, González, Obando, & Coulacoglou, 2013; Posada et al., 2002). For example, the structure of families changed from extended to nuclear, with other family structures coexisting with nuclear ones, such as the female single-parent family (Córdoba et al., 2013). In addition, both Colombian men and women evaluate the quality of their role as parents similarly and more positively than the quality of their work-related roles (e.g., Gómez, 2006).

For more than five decades, Colombia suffered violent political conflict that involved left-wing guerillas, right-wing paramilitaries, and governmental armed forces (Chaux, 2009). After the 1993 death of Pablo Escobar, Medellin cartel leader, and after frequent peace talks, new smaller, illegal, and often-competing trafficking organizations appeared, so that Colombia had witnessed decades of other violent

social tensions related to the illegal drug trade (e.g., Chaux, 2009). Following over 50 years of armed conflict, which continues in some regions, Colombia has the second-largest displaced population with 7.9 million victims of conflict, the majority of whom are internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2015). For the past years the Colombian government and the left-wing guerrilla Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia–People's Army (FARC-EP) have been engaged in peace talks with the aim to end such conflicts and to build a lasting peace in Colombia (e.g., Maldonado, 2017). A final agreement was accomplished in 2016 as a major milestone in the process of settling one of the world's most protracted and violent conflicts (e.g., Herbolzheimer, 2016; Maldonado, 2017). Since then, steps have been taken to promote a long-term peace in Colombia. For example, Rubaii (2017) presented her perspective to envision Colombian universities' opportunity "to prepare the next generation of political and business leaders to be agents of peace and social change" and to promote a long-term peace in Colombia capitalizing upon Colombia's "strong higher education system." In particular, promoting dialogue and collaboration between educators and students across countries and disciplines can be crucial to let them become partners in building and promoting peace (Rubaii, 2017).

Current School System

The educational system in Colombia accounts for 11 years of education that precede post-secondary education (WENR, 2015). The first 9 years are mandatory. The first mandatory year of education is preschool for children below 6 years old (children attend a minimum of 20 h of school per week). Primary school comprises 5 years of education (from 1st to 5th grade; children attend a minimum of 25 h of school per week). Primary school comprises nine educational areas: natural sciences and environmental education; social science, history, geography, political constitution, and democracy; art education; ethics and human values; physical education, recreation, and sport; religious education; humanities, Spanish, and foreign languages; mathematics; and technology and information technology. In primary school, students spend most of the time in the same classroom, with the same classmates and sometimes with the same teachers (Romàn-Calderòn, Ospina-Londono, & Garcés-Ceballos, 2017). Secondary school is divided into two cycles: 4 years of basic (lower) secondary education (from 6th to 9th grade) and 2 years of upper secondary education (10th and 11th grades). Students typically are 15 and 16 years old in upper secondary school, and during this cycle they choose between different specialized programs or "tracks." The academic track is on general education in arts, sciences and humanities (*Bachillerato Academico*); the technical track is on technical, industrial, business, pedagogical, agricultural, and social promotion (*Bachillerato en Tecnologia o Aplicado*). Then, higher secondary school follows three levels: undergraduate (pregrado), graduate (postgrado), and doctoral level.

In Colombia there are classes with an average number of 35 students, although there is variability in the country (OECD, 2010). For example, in low SES schools

classes sometimes include 40–45 students. The student-teacher ratio is lower in primary school than in secondary school and in private than in public schools (OECD, 2016a).

Geographically, 5.5 million students are in urban contexts and 1.9 million are in rural contexts (OECD, 2016a). Moreover, 6.4 million are in public schools and 1 million are in private schools (OECD, 2016a). Private schools are mostly located in urban contexts (OECD, 2016a). As in many countries, the majority of teachers in primary schools and in secondary basic schools in Colombia are females (76% and 54%, respectively; OECD, 2016a). Single sex schools used to be typical in Colombia. They are not as typical anymore for males, whereas they are more typical for females, especially for those girls who belong to middle-high SES families (Drury, Bukowski, Velásquez, & Stella-Lopez, 2013).

Furthermore, 2% of students enrolled in primary and secondary schools in urban contexts and 1.4% of students in rural contexts have special needs (OECD, 2013). However, it is believed that these numbers underestimate the phenomenon because of the lack of a clear method to identify and register students with special needs in the country (OECD, 2013).

Those numbers reflect the high degree of variability in facilities, teaching standards, and parental involvement that presumably is offered to children who attend school in rural versus urban settings, as well as public versus private schools, with lower overall resources in the former than the latter ones. In addition, Suárez Navas (2015) underlined that graduates of Colombian private high schools are more likely to enroll in universities than are graduates of public high schools.

Colombia has taken steps to evaluate scholastic achievement with standardized methods, with the goal of improving education on regional and national levels (Banco Mundial Colombia, 2009). For national evaluations of Colombian students' scholastic achievement, in 1991 the Ministry of National Education (MEN, for its acronym in Spanish, namely Ministerio de Educación Nacional) started to administer tests known as SABER to third, fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students (i.e., two levels in primary school and two levels in secondary school). In 2002 and 2003 MEN administered SABER tests only to fifth and ninth graders (i.e., at the end of primary school and at the end of the basic cycle of secondary school, respectively). SABER tests are coordinated by Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educacion Superior (Colombian Institute for the Promotion of Higher Education), which is a Colombian organization responsible for the evaluation of education and institutes/schools in Colombia. SABER tests initially focused just on language and math, but since 2002 they are also about natural science and citizenship, and since 2005 they also evaluate knowledge about social sciences (Banco Mundial Colombia, 2009). SABER tests examine students' performance in those subjects believed to be crucial for later academic success (Chica Gómez, Galvis Gutiérrez, & Ramírez Hassan, 2011).

Colombia has taken part in three international evaluations of student achievement over the years. Since 2001, Colombia has participated in the PIRLS evaluation (i.e., Progress in International Reading Literacy Study), which provides information on trends in reading literacy achievement of fourth-grade students. Since 2006 Colombia has participated in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), an

international assessment that measures 15-year-old students' reading, mathematics, and science literacy every three years. PISA is coordinated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The most recent PISA survey was completed in 2015 and involved more than 70 countries and education systems. Since 2009, Colombia also has participated in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), which provides reliable and timely data on the mathematics and science achievement of students in different countries. Both TIMSS and PIRLS are coordinated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, which has been conducting international comparative studies of student achievement since 1959.

Overall, Colombian students' performance is below the average performance in all the participating countries in international evaluations (Moncayo Cabrera, 2016; Morelli, Borrero, & Umaña, 2014; Ortiz, 2016; Woessmann & Fuchs, 2005). For example, as reported in PISA 2012 data, 41% of 15-year olds repeated at least one year in primary or secondary school, in comparison with the average of 12% across the OECD countries. Among those students, in primary schools 22% repeated at least one year and in secondary basic school 29% repeated at least one year, in comparison to 7 and 6%, respectively, in OECD countries. The percentage of students in Colombia who had repeated a grade is the second largest among all the countries that participated in PISA 2015, behind only Algeria (OECD, 2016b). As reported in PISA 2015 data, students in Colombia scored below the OECD average in science, reading, and mathematics (OECD, 2016b). Its mean in reading and mathematics was below the correspondent ones in Chile and in Mexico, whereas it was above the correspondent mean in Brazil. However, Colombian mean performance significantly increased in all those subjects since 2006. In particular, Colombia has the second largest improvement in science among the 52 education systems involved in the survey with comparable data. In addition, in Colombia boys outperform girls in science, but more girls (42%) expect to work in a science-related occupation than boys (37%; OECD, 2016b).

Parenting in Light of the School System

It is plausible to hypothesize that the multiple socioeconomic changes Colombia has witnessed over the past 50 years, as previously described, may have influenced Colombians' attitudes and beliefs toward education (e.g., Rubaii, 2017), as well as toward the importance for Colombian parents to raise their children with a learning process characterized by more resources (e.g., facilities, teaching methods, parental involvement) than in the past (Suárez Navas, 2015). Indeed, the Colombian educational system has steadily grown since 1960 (OECD, 2016a). Between 1966 and 1986 government investments in the educational system increased fivefold. As a result, enrollment in primary school more than doubled, enrollment in secondary school increased sixfold, and enrollments in universities increased 15-fold (OECD, 2016a). However, access and quality of the educational system significantly varied

across regions within Colombia and between the socioeconomic strata, especially after primary school. In 2002, the government launched a program called *Revolucion Educativa* to revise the education system. This program involved a complete transformation of the educational system putting emphasis on tackling barriers to enrollment and bringing education services to every corner of the country. In 2010 the Colombian Constitutional Court established that primary school should be free for everyone. In 2012 the decision regarding universal access was extended to secondary school. In 2015 the governmental budget for the educational system increased 5.57%, reflecting President Juan Manuel Santos's goal to let Colombia be the most educated country in Latin America by 2025 (MEN, 2018). Recent data support an impressive expansion of access at all education levels, especially in the low SES population, suggesting that individuals from all SES backgrounds are taking advantage of the increasing educational opportunities in Colombia (OECD, 2016a).

A comprehensive system of early childhood development has been created in Colombia, especially for those who are most poor and vulnerable. This strategy called The Early Childhood Comprehensive Care Strategy—From Zero to Forever (*Estrategia para la Atencion Integral de la Primera Infancia—De Cero a Siempre*) was developed by the government in 2010. Policies and programs associated with this strategy were then designed to guarantee that all children in Colombia receive an adequate education starting in early childhood (World Bank, 2013). The impact of this comprehensive system can be understood in light of the fact that 50% of the 5.1 million children from 0 to 5 years old who live in Colombia are poor (World Bank, 2013). This initiative is an example of the Colombian government actively contributing to support families from all SES backgrounds in promoting their children's scholastic achievement and future academic aspirations.

Another example of how the Colombian school system may indirectly affect parenting is related to the ongoing debate about which is the most appropriate length for a school day (Hincapie, 2016). In particular, politicians and parents generally prefer to prolong the length of the school day in order to reduce children's exposure to risks when they are not at school (e.g., street crime, drugs, and pregnancy; DNP, 2015). In addition, parents report that if children are at school more, parents can work more, and it will decrease the time that their children spend without any adult supervision, that in turn is associated with high risk exposure. In contrast to politicians and parents, teachers prefer half school days because a full school day is more work for them, for which they are not adequately paid (Hincapie, 2016). In 1994, the Colombian government established that all public schools should have one long school day (7 h; *jornada unica*) per week, and the other days would be half day. However, the plans to implement this program were abandoned in 2002 due to several problems related to the feasibility of implementing the plan (e.g., low capacities to hire teachers and school administrators to deal with the full school day, few schools in comparison to how many students are enrolled). Nowadays, many schools create multiple shifts (morning and afternoon) to accommodate an increasing number of students, especially in urban contexts. In 2014, 27% of the public schools had one full day per week (and the rest half days), 60% had one shift, and 13% had two or more shifts. In particular, 63% of students were enrolled in the morning shift, 26% in

the afternoon shift, and 11% in the schools with one full day. In contrast, 60% of the students who were enrolled in private schools attended the full day (OECD, 2016a). In some cases, the Secretary of Education can decide to include the half school day in schools in which there are too many students that need to be accommodated and to include the full school day in those schools in which there are fewer students to be accommodated. The national goal is that all the schools in Colombia will be able to offer full day schooling by 2025 (OECD, 2016a).

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

Many studies have examined the quality of the educational system and the determinants of scholastic achievement in Colombia (e.g., Banco Mundial Colombia, 2009; Barón, 2010; Gaviria & Barrientos, 2001; Iregui & Ramos, 2007; Rangel & Lleras, 2010). The vast majority of those studies were inspired by the conceptual model of the determinants of scholastic achievement in Latin America conceived by Vegas and Petrow (2008; see Fig. 1). That model shows the importance of taking into account students, schools, and institution-related factors when examining the determinants

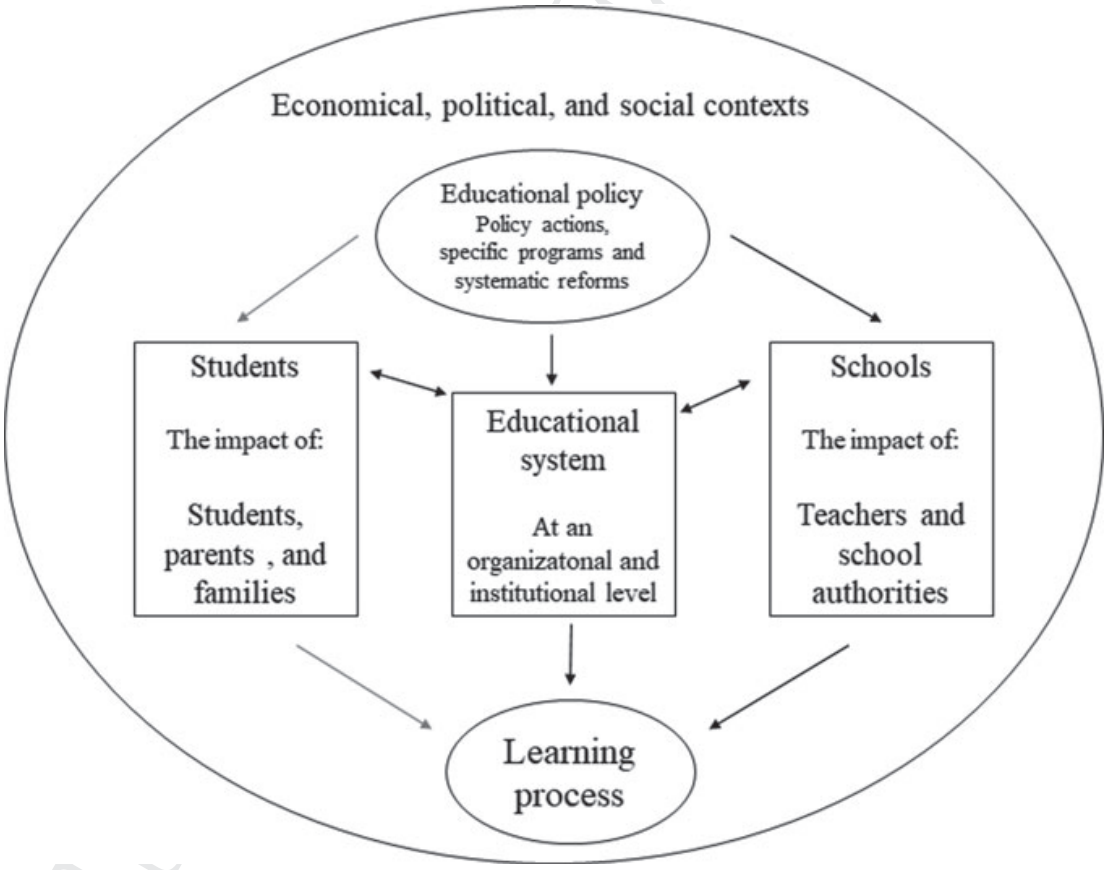

Fig. 1 Conceptual model of the factors influencing students' scholastic achievement in Latin America. *Note* Figure adapted from Vegas and Petrow (2008)

of scholastic achievement, bearing in mind that those factors are, in turn, embedded within economic, political, and social contexts.

Socioeconomic factors account for the highest percentage of variability in Colombian students' scholastic achievement (e.g., 14% of the variation in science performance is attributed to differences in students' SES; OECD, 2016b). Socioeconomically disadvantaged students in Colombia are less likely to succeed at school than their more advantaged peers. Inequalities in the educational system in Colombia are strictly linked with the socioeconomic stratification in this country (OECD, 2016b). Typically, children and adolescents from low SES families are enrolled in public schools, whereas students from high SES families are enrolled in private schools. Students' performance in public schools is generally lower than performance by students attending private schools (Fonnegra, 2016). The SES difference between students enrolled in private and in public schools in Colombia is among the highest of the countries that participated in the PISA survey in 2012 (OECD, 2016a). The SES gap between public and private schools is doubled compared to the average among all the OECD countries (but still lower than countries such as Brazil or Mexico; OECD, 2013).

Parents' educational level and family income both have been found to be important determinants of Colombian adolescents' performance (Chica Gómez et al., 2011; Fonnegra 2016; Gaviria & Barrientos, 2001; Moncayo Cabrera, 2016; Woessmann & Fuchs, 2005). Indeed, parents with higher educational levels have higher income that, in turn, may allow their children to have access to a better education and to capitalize upon a more favorable environment to engage in more studying and learning processes. In addition, being from a rural area, being poor, and living in a low-income, large, single-parent (especially mother) household were also associated with low scholastic achievement (Garcìa, Llorente, & Ricardo, 2010; Vivas Pacheco, Correa Fonnegra, & Domínguez Moreno, 2011).

However, regional differences may occur within Colombia. In particular, Garcìa et al. (2010) examined the association between family background and public school students' academic performance (using the SABER tests at 11th grade). Academic performance in Cartagena was associated with parental education only for families with high SES, and the association between academic performance and SES was not significant in Bogotá. These findings suggest that factors related to SES are more important in some regions than in others, depending on factors related to school opportunities in different regions.

Few studies have focused on psychological processes involved in the association between family relationships and Colombian students' scholastic achievement. Existing studies have focused on the concept of family functioning through the parent-reported APGAR scale, which assesses family functioning according to five dimensions: Adaptation (i.e., the degree of satisfaction with the support received to solve problems during times of crisis), Partnership (i.e., participation in decision making and mutual communication), Growth (i.e., the satisfaction of family members with respect to self-fulfillment), Affection (i.e., the manner in which emotional experiences and attention among family members are shared), and Resolve (i.e., satisfaction with the time, space, and money that family members dedicate to share

among themselves; Gomez & Ponce, 2010; Smilkstein, 1978). Moreno Méndez and Chauta Rozo (2012) found a significant positive association between APGAR family functioning and academic achievement in a group of adolescents from Bogotá. Specifically, those authors identified three levels of family functioning (average family functioning [39.7%], moderate lack of functioning [44.4%], and severe lack of functioning [15.9%]). Family functioning was related to scholastic achievement.

Furthermore, Vélez, Lugo, and García (2012) validated in the Colombian context an international health-related quality of life questionnaire for children and adolescents (namely, the KIDSCREEN; Ravens-Sieberer et al., 2007). Among the multiple dimensions that it is possible to examine with the KIDSCREEN, there are the "Parent Relations and Home Life" (e.g., whether parents treat their children fairly or talk with them about their activities on a regular school day) and "School Environment" (e.g., whether children are happy at school, feel good at school, or have a good relationship with their teachers). Vélez et al. (2012) found a positive association between good parent-child relationships and children's perception of positive school environments.

In another study of adolescent students from Medellın, Higuita-Gutiérrez and Cardona-Arias (2016) found positive associations between low family functioning (assessed with the APGAR), low quality of life for adolescents (assessed with KIDSCREEN), and high school violence. These data are consistent with a report by UNICEF in Latin America showing a high frequency of school violence, intimidation, harassment, or bullying for between 50 and 70% of students in those countries (Eljach, 2011).

In addition, Quintero and Vallejo (2013) conducted a qualitative and ethnographic study with a sample of 40 parents of children attending basic primary schools, one urban school in Manizales, one rural school in the Municipality of Belalcázar, and one urban secondary school in the Municipality of Villamaria. Those authors examined parents', students', and teachers' thoughts regarding internal and external factors that affect students' academic achievement. Parents believed that grades were crucial to evaluating their children's academic success. They also made several connections between their own academic experience and their children's academic experience (e.g., if they had a good academic experience, it was more likely that their children also were going to have a good academic experience). Parents also believed that having good relationships with parents, teachers, and peers is important for their children's future academic achievement. However, parents did not mention as a potential predictor of academic success the competencies their children acquire along their educational training.

Finally, Tilano, Henao, and Restrepo (2009) examined the association between parenting and adolescents' academic achievement in the Colombian context. Specifically, the association between a set of different parenting styles (i.e., adolescents' perception of parental warmth, rejection, corporal punishment, and criticism) and adolescent academic achievement was examined in a sample of 9th graders. Consistent with previous studies on samples other than in Colombia, Tilano et al. (2009) found significant associations between negative parenting styles and low academic achievement. In particular, Colombian adolescents' low perception of being criticized

or rejected by their parents and high perception of parental warmth were associated with high academic performance.

Future Directions

Our review of the literature identified many gaps in the literature that need to be filled in future studies to clarify the association between parenting and adolescents' academic achievement in Colombia, especially in light of the high socioeconomic variability reflected in the unequally distributed resources within this country. One direction would be to use measures that have higher external validity and cover a wider range of parenting qualities than the ones used in the aforementioned studies to study the association between parenting and adolescents' academic achievement. This may help researchers, professionals, educators, and policy makers in generalizing the results about the association between parenting and academic achievement in Colombia with associations found in other countries, and to capitalize upon what other studies in other countries may have identified as the determinants of academic success, such as academic self-efficacy (e.g., Di Giunta et al., 2013). Moreover, more efforts should be made to examine parenting and academic achievement in Colombia taking into account the socioeconomic diversity that characterizes this country. For example, future studies should explore empirically whether and how much associations between parenting and academic achievement may differ as a function of low, middle, or high SES stratum. Indeed, economic hardship (e.g., McLoyd, 1990), being a single parent and having a large number of children (e.g., Fox, Platz, & Bentley, 1995), and living in an unsafe neighborhood (e.g., Abell, Clawson, Washington, Bost, & Vaughn, 1996) may particularly undermine low-SES parents' ability to use positive parenting and may increase parents' reliance on punitive discipline.

References

Abell, E., Clawson, M., Washington, W. N., Bost, K. K., & Vaughn, B. E. (1996). Parenting values, attitudes, behaviors, and goals of African American mothers from a low-income population in relation to social and societal contexts. *Journal of Family Issues, 17,* 593–613.

Alzate, M. C. (2006). *La estratificación socioeconómica para el cobro de los servicios públicos domiciliarios en Colombia ¿Solidaridad o focalización?* CEPAL serie Estudios y Perspectivas # 14. Bogotá.

Banco Mundial Colombia. (2009). *La calidad de la educación en Colombia: Un análisis y algunas opciones para un programa de política* (*The quality of education in Colombia: An analysis and some opinions toward policy program*). Washington, DC: Unidad de Gestión del Sector de Desarrollo Humano -Oficina Regional de América Latina. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://www.icfes.gov.co/docman/instituciones-educativas-y-secretarias/evaluaciones-internacionales-investigadores/pisa/pisa-2006/2712-la-calidad-de-la-educacion-en-colombia-un-analisis-y-algunas-opciones-para-un-programa-de-politica/file?force-download=1.

Barón, J. D. (2010). La brecha de rendimiento académico de Barranquilla (The gap of scholastic achievement in Barranquilla). *Documentos de Trabajo sobre Economía Regional* (*Work Document on Recional Economy*), *137,* Banco de la República, Cartagena.

BBC. (2018). Colombia country profile. Retrieved December 20, 2018 from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19390026.

Chaux, E. (2009). Citizenship competencies in the midst of a violent political conflict: The Colombian educational response. *Harvard Educational Review, 79,* 84–93.

Chica Gómez, S. M., Galvis Gutiérrez, D. M., & Ramírez Hassan, A. (2011). Determinantes del rendimiento académico en Colombia: Pruebas ICFES Saber 11º, 2009. (Determinants of scholastic achievement in Colombia: ICFES Saber tests 11th grade, 2009). *Maestria en Economia de la universidad EAFIT, Medellin.* Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://publicaciones.eafit.edu.co/index.php/revista-universidad-eafit/article/download/754/665/.

Colombia Reports. (2018). Colombia reports data—Poverty and inequality. Retrieved April 4, 2019 from https://data.colombiareports.com/colombia-poverty-inequality-statistics/.

Córdoba, L., González, M. R., Obando, D., & Coulacoglou, C. (2013). Current trends in family structures in four Colombian cities. *Population Review, 52,* 119–134.

DANE. (2018). Resultados Preliminares Censo Nacional De Poblacion y Vivienda Colombia 2018 (Preliminary Results National Population and Households Census Colombia 2018). Retrieved April 4, 2019 from https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/demografia-y-poblacion/censo-nacional-de-poblacion-y-vivienda-2018.

Di Giunta, L., Alessandri, G., Gerbino, M., Kanacri, P. L., Zuffiano, A., & Caprara, G. V. (2013). The determinants of scholastic achievement: The contribution of personality traits, self-esteem, and academic self-efficacy. *Learning and Individual Differences, 27,* 102–108.

DNP. (2015). *Bases Plan Nacional de Desarollo 2015–2018—Todos por un nuevo pais* (*National Basic Plan of Development 2015–2018—Together for a new country*). Departamento Nacional de Planeacion (National Planning Department), Bogota. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from https://www.minagricultura.gov.co/planeacion-control-gestion/Gestin/Plan%20de%20Acci%C3%B3n/PLAN%20NACIONAL%20DE%20DESARROLLO%202014%20-%202018%20TODOS%20POR%20UN%20NUEVO%20PAIS.pdf.

Drury, K., Bukowski, W. M., Velásquez, A. M., & Stella-Lopez, L. (2013). Victimization and gender identity in single-sex and mixed-sex schools: Examining contextual variations in pressure to conform to gender norms. *Sex Roles, 69,* 442–454.

Eljach, S. (2011). *Violencia escolar en Ame´rica Latina y el Caribe Superficie y fondo* (*School violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Surface and depth*). UNICEF. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from https://www.unicef.org/costarica/docs/cr_pub_Violencia_escolar_America_Latina_y_Caribe.pdf.

Fonnegra, J. B. C. (2016). Desempeño académico y diferencias de género en Colombia: Un análisis con base en las pruebas TIMSS 2007 (Academic performance and gender differences in Colombia: An analysis based on the TIMMS 2007). *Sociedad y Economía* (*Society and Economy*), *30,* 16–44.

Fox, R. A., Platz, D. L., & Bentley, K. S. (1995). Maternal factors related to parenting practices, developmental expectations, and perceptions of child behavior problems. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 156,* 431–441.

Garcìa, J. A., Llorente, S. M., & Ricardo, B. S. (2010). Antecedentes familiares y rendimiento académico en los colegios oficiales de Cartagena (Familial determinants and scholastic achievement in official schools in Cartagena). *Economía & Región, 5,* 43–85.

Gaviria, A., & Barrientos, J. (2001). Calidad de la educación y rendimiento académico en Bogotá (Quality of education and scholastic achievement in Bogota). *Grupo Microeconomía Aplicada, 21*. Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia.

Gomez, C. F., & Ponce, R. E. (2010). Una nueva propuesta para la interpretación de family APGAR (A new proposal of an interpretation scale for family APGAR). *Revista Atencion Familiar, 17,* 102–106.

Gómez, V. (2006). Quality of family and work roles and its relationship with health indicators in men and women. *Sex Roles, 55,* 787–799.

Guilamo-Ramos, V., Dittus, P., Jaccard, J., Johansson, M., Bouris, A., & Acosta, N. (2007). Parenting practices among Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers. *Social Work, 52,* 17–30.

Herbolzheimer, K. (2016). Innovations in the Colombian peace process. Report. NOREF Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center. Retrieved April 1, 2019 from https://www.c-r.org/downloads/NOREF_CR_Report_Colombia%20Innovations_final.pdf.

Higuita-Gutiérrez, L. F., & Cardona-Arias, J. A. (2016). Predictive modeling of quality of life, family dynamics, and school violence in adolescent students from Medellín, Colombia, 2014. *School Mental Health, 8,* 399–410.

Hincapie, D. (2016). Do longer school days improve student achievement? Evidence from Colombia. *Inter-American Development Bank - IDB Working Paper Series.* Retrieved September 30, 2018 from https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/7545/Do-Longer-School-Days-Improve-Student-Achievement-Evidence-from-Colombia.pdf.

International Labor Office. (2016). *Key indicators of the labor market* (9th ed.). Geneva. Retrieved April 1, 2019 from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/—dgreports/—stat/documents/publication/wcms_498929.pdf.

Iregui, A. L. M., & Ramos, J. (2007). Análisis de la eficiencia de la educación en Colombia (Analysis of the efficacy of education in Colombia). *Revista de Economía del Rosario, 10,* 21–41.

Julian, T. W., McKenry, P. C., & McKelvey, M. W. (1994). Cultural variations in parenting: Perceptions of Caucasian, African-American, Hispanic, and Asian-American parents. *Family Relations, 43,* 30–37.

Maldonado, A. U. (2017). What is the Colombian peace process teaching the world? *New England Journal of Public Policy, 29*(1), 9. Retrieved April 1, 2019 from http://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp/vol29/iss1/9.

McLoyd, V. C. (1990). The impact of economic hardship on Black families and children: Psychological distress, parenting, and socioemotional development. *Child Development, 61,* 311–346.

Ministry of National Education. (MEN; 2018). Colombia, la Mejor Educada en el 2025. *Líneas estratégicas de la política educativa del Ministerio de Educación Nacional* (Colombia, the most educated country in 2025. Strategic educational plan of the Ministry of National Education). Retrieved September 30, 2018 from https://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1621/articles-355154_foto_portada.pdf.

Moncayo Cabrera, M. A. (2016). Determinantes que influyen en el rendimiento académico: Un estudio aplicado para Colombia a partir de las Pruebas Icfes-Saber 11. Universidad de La Salle Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y Sociales. Bogota D.C. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://repository.lasalle.edu.co/bitstream/handle/10185/20691/10091033_2016.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Morelli, S., Borrero, L., & Umaña, C. (2014). Política educativa y calidad de la educación básica y media en Colombia. ICFES Saber 11 (Educational policy and quality of basic education in Colombia. ICFES Saber 11th grade). *Contraloría Delegada para el Sector Social.* Retrieved September 30, 2018 from https://www.contraloria.gov.co/documents/20181/465868/Pol%C3%ADtica+educativa+y+calidad+de+la+educaci%C3%B3n+b%C3%A1sica+y+media+en+Colombia+2014.pdf/a24baf2b-9870-4197-8ed7-26abab19d7a2?version=1.0.

Moreno Méndez, J. H., & Chauta Rozo, L. C. (2012). Funcionalidad familiar, conductas externalizadas y rendimiento académico en un grupo de adolescentes de la ciudad de Bogotá (Family functionality, externalized behaviour and academic achievement in a group of adolescents in Bogota city). *Psychologia Avances de la Disciplina, 6,* 155–166.

OECD—Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2010). *PISA 2009 results: What makes a school successful?—Resources, policies and practices* (Vol. IV). As cited in OECD (2016).

OECD. (2013). *PISA 2012 results: What makes a school successful (Volume IV): Resources, Policies and Practices*. Paris: PISA, OECD Publishing. As cited in OECD (2016).

OECD. (2016a). *Education in Colombia: Reviews of national policies for education*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD. (2016b). *Program for international student assessment (PISA)—results from PISA 2015—Colombia*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Ortiz, D. (2016). Colombia sacó mala nota en educación (Colombia got a bad grade in education): Ocde. *El Colombiano*. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://www.elcolombiano.com/colombia/educacion/colombia-con-mala-nota-en-educacion-segun-ocde-XF3575154.

Parra-Cardona, J. R., Wampler, R. S., & Sharp, E. A. (2006). "Wanting to be a good father": Experiences of adolescent fathers of Mexican descent in a teen fathers program. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 32,* 215–231.

Posada, G., Jacobs, A., Richmond, M. K., Carbonell, O. A., Alzate, G., Bustamante, M. R., et al. (2002). Maternal caregiving and infant security in two cultures. *Developmental Psychology, 38,* 67–78.

Quintero, M. T. Q., & Vallejo, G. M. O. (2013). El desempeño académico: Una opción para la cualificación de las instituciones educativas (Scholastic achievement: An opinion to qualify educational institution). *Plumilla Educativa, 12,* 93–115.

Rangel, C., & Lleras, C. (2010). Educational inequality in Colombia: Family background, school quality and student achievement in Cartagena. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 20,* 291–317.

Ravens-Sieberer, U., Auquier, P., Erhart, M., Gosch, A., Rajmil, L., Bruil, J., … & Mazur, J. (2007). The KIDSCREEN-27 quality of life measure for children and adolescents: Psychometric results from a cross-cultural survey in 13 European countries. *Quality of Life Research, 16,* 1347–1356.

Ripoll-Núñez, K., & Alvarez, C. (2008). Perceived intimate partner acceptance, remembered parental acceptance, and psychological adjustment among Colombian and Puerto Rican youths and adults. *Cross-Cultural Research, 42,* 23–34.

Román-Calderón, J. P., Ospina-Londoño, M. P., & Garcés-Ceballos, J. D. (2017). Validation of a school environment survey among Colombian teachers. *Learning Environments Research, 20,* 403–415.

Rubaii, N. (2017). Engaging Colombia's students may be key to long-term peace. The Conversation. Retrieved April 1, 2019 from http://theconversation.com/engaging-colombias-students-may-be-key-to-long-term-peace-80722.

Smilkstein, G. (1978). The family Apgar score: A proposal for a family function test and its use by physicians. *The Journal of Family Practice, 6,* 1231–1239.

Suárez, D., Jiménez, I., & Millán, M. (2017). Calidad de vida según la estratificación socioeconómica. *Ploutos, 6,* 22–31. Recuperado a partir de https://journal.universidadean.edu.co/index.php/plou/article/view/1576.

Suárez Navas, M. P. (2015). Colombian education in crisis on all fronts. PanAm Post. Retrieved April 1, 2019 from https://panampost.com/maria-suarez/2015/05/18/colombian-education-in-crisis-on-all-fronts/.

Tilano, L. M., Henao, G. C., & Restrepo, J. A. (2009). Prácticas educativas familiares y desempeño académico en adolescentes escolarizados en el grado noveno de instituciones educativas oficiales del municipio de Envigado (Family educational practices and academic performance in schooled adolescents in the ninth grade in public educational institutions in the municipality of Envigado). *Agora USB, 9*(1), 35–51.

UNHCR. (UN Refugee Agency; 2015). Global trends for forced displacement in 2015. Retrieved March 15, 2019 from http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html.

UNICEF. (2018). Colombia statistics. Retrieved April 4, 2019 from https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/colombia_statistics.html.

Vegas, E., & Petrow, J. (2008). *Incrementar el aprendizaje estudiantil en America Latina: El desafid para el siglo XXI* (*Increasing students' learning in Latin America: A challenge for XXI century*). The World Bank. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLACINSPANISH/Resources/Raising_Student_Learning_in_LAC_Spanish.pdf.

Vélez, C. M., Lugo, L. H., & García, H. I. (2012). Validez y confiabilidad del 'Cuestionario de calidad de vida KIDSCREEN-27'versión padres, en Medellín, Colombia. *Revista Colombiana de Psiquiatría, 41,* 588–605.

Vivas Pacheco, H., Correa Fonnegra, J. B., & Domínguez Moreno, J. A. (2011). Individual potential of educational achievement, socioeconomic and family background: An empiric application with latent variables for Colombia. *Sociedad y Economía, 21,* 99–124.

WENR—World Education News & Reviews. (2015). *Education in Colombia*. Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://wenr.wes.org/2015/12/education-in-colombia.

Woessmann, L., & Fuchs, T. (2005). *Families, schools, and primary–school learning: Evidence for Argentina and Colombia in an international perspective.* World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, 3537.

World Bank—SABER (Systems Approach to Better Education Results). (2013). *Colombia. Early Childhood Development.* Retrieved September 30, 2018 from http://wbgfiles.worldbank.org/documents/hdn/ed/saber/supporting_doc/CountryReports/ECD/SABER_ECD_Colombia_CR_Final_2013.pdf.

Laura Di Giunta is Associate Professor at Sapienza University of Rome, Italy. She is research associate and consultant for the Italian and the Colombian units in the Parenting Across Cultures Study. Her research focuses on the continuity and change of individual differences in predicting youth (mal)adjustment, accounting for socialization and culture factors, especially in emotion regulation, adjustment, and social competence.

Liliana Maria Uribe Tirado is a Research Professor at Universidad de San Buenaventura, Medellin, Colombia. She is the principal investigator of the Colombian unit in the Parenting Across Cultures Study. She is actively involved in testing evidence-based prevention programs in different regions of Colombia. Her main research focuses on parenting and child adjustment in different cultural contexts.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in Italy	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Pastorelli**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Concetta**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Sapienza University of Rome
	Address	Rome, Italy
	Email	concetta.pastorelli@uniroma1.it
Author	Family Name	**Bacchini**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Dario**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II
	Address	Naples, Italy
	Email	dario.bacchini@unina.it
Author	Family Name	**Thartori**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Eriona**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Sapienza University of Rome
	Address	Rome, Italy
	Email	eriona.thartori@uniroma1.it
Author	Family Name	**Giunta**
	Particle	**Di**
	Given Name	**Laura**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	

	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Sapienza University of Rome
	Address	Rome, Italy
	Email	laura.digiunta@uniroma1.it
Author	Family Name	**Miranda**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Maria Concetta**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Università della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli
	Address	Caserta, Italy
	Email	mariac.miranda81@gmail.com

Abstract

This chapter focuses on education and parenting in Italy. In the first part of the chapter we describe key political and cultural changes that occurred in Italy from after World War II to the present that influenced the progress of Italian society in the areas of education and family. Then, we describe the Italian education system, specifying its characteristics (in terms of duration, requirements, and admissions) and the portrait of Italian students that has emerged recently from comparative international surveys. In the next part of the chapter, we present a summary of recent studies that have examined the role of parental practices on children's academic achievement in Italy, especially during adolescence, a developmental period characterized by a decline of parental engagement in school activities. Overall, recent studies have corroborated the crucial role that school-related parental monitoring (i.e., supervision and control but also open communication with children regarding school activities), parental academic aspirations, and parental self-efficacy in school-related performance, have on fostering adolescents' academic achievement and school adjustment. Future directions are discussed to face challenges related to improving students' educational outcomes and enhancing the connection between school and family to reduce the percentage of early school leavers.

Education and Parenting in Italy

Concetta Pastorelli, Dario Bacchini, Eriona Thartori, Laura Di Giunta and Maria Concetta Miranda

Introduction

After World War II, Italy had to recover from the authoritarian era of fascism and the destructions of the war. Given the high unemployment rate and illiteracy, in the process of reconstruction, education played a primary role (Semeraro, 1996). In the 1950s compulsory education was introduced through the age of 14 years. The introduction of compulsory education contributed to the drop of illiteracy after World War II from 13 to 8.3% in the 1960s. However, the 1970s were the crucial years for the process of democratization in Italy. Different political coalitions, usually left-oriented and religious groups, that had in common values of solidarity and civic participation, promoted at the level of public policy the rights of children to be in school prior to the school age in most Italian municipalities. This was one of the many initiatives that contributed to the political and social changes in Italian public institutions, thanks to the women's and workers' rights movements. School reform in 1973 and, in particular, Decreti Delegati of 1974, established the representativeness of

C. Pastorelli (✉) · E. Thartori · L. Di Giunta
Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy
e-mail: concetta.pastorelli@uniroma1.it

E. Thartori
e-mail: eriona.thartori@uniroma1.it

L. Di Giunta
e-mail: laura.digiunta@uniroma1.it

D. Bacchini
Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Naples, Italy
e-mail: dario.bacchini@unina.it

M. C. Miranda
Università della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli, Caserta, Italy
e-mail: mariac.miranda81@gmail.com

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_4

464396_1_En_4_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 54 Layout: T1-Standard

different components in school institutions, including parental representatives in all school boards and councils (Edwards, Gandini, & Forman, 2012; Edwards, Gandini, & Nimmo, 2015; Gandini & Edwards, 2001). In the following years, many other changes have taken place, such as the duty of the school to ensure the formative success for all (Regulation on school autonomy, D.P.R. n. 275 of 8 March 1999) and the extension of compulsory education to 16 years (law 53/2003, financial Law 2007).

Italy as a Cultural Setting

Italy is a country with a rich history and unique culture. The Italian State is based on democratic principles with strong emphasis on ethical, social, and economic aspects. However, the presence of the Catholic Church has actively influenced the cultural and political process of Italian society, sometimes favoring and sometimes slowing the progress of Italian society. In the two decades following the Second World War a number of state interventions in health and welfare policies contributed to raising the quality of Italian citizens' living conditions. Since 1978, by law, all citizens receive health assistance by a state health system, likely contributing to the low infant mortality rates (from 16.1% in 1978 to 2.8% in 2016; World Bank, 2019a) and the high life expectancy (82.8 years; WHO, 2019).

In 1975, the Reform of Family Law contributed to changing the authoritarian conception of *patria potestà* (father power) through which the father exercised his right and power over the children (and wife). The change to parental power (authority) was the first step in eliminating inequalities between men and women but still carrying out the supremacy of parental authority over their children. Later, thanks to the European Regulation (22101/2003), the Italian jurisprudence made a step forward in defining a sort of equivalence between parental authority and parental responsibility. The rules governing parent-child relationships, such as the obligations of maintenance and education of the children, were defined and supposed to be universally valid in the legal and not legal nature of the relationship between parents (married and not married). However, only recently, the reform on the recognition of natural children (L. 10 December 2012, n. 219 Legislative Decree no. 154/2013), has, in line with the European indications, substituted the term "parental authority (power)" with "parental responsibility," which is mostly associated with the need for care and attention to be given to the child.

Regarding family composition, Italy is one of the European countries with the lowest birth rates (1.3 per woman; ISTAT, 2017), and where the number of children per family has remained below 1.4 for more than 20 years (World Bank, 2019b). In concordance with the long-lasting economic crisis and changes in the labor market, more women hold temporary jobs that are not renewed, thus heavily affecting their economic strength and their career opportunity (OECD, 2017a). It is likely that these changes in the economic context have roused the traditional male breadwinner model,

with a marked gender division of housework (especially domestic chores), explaining in part why Italy has one of the widest gender gaps (OCSE, 2017).

With respect to the timing of reaching developmental tasks related to the adult role, such as entrance into the labor market and the formation of a new family, Italians, similarly to other south European youth, tend to stay longer in the parental home, postpone marriage, and have their first child later in life. Along with economic reasons and cultural norms of leaving the parental home in correspondence with marriage, cultural representations of family relationships also are important. In Italy, family relationships are characterized by strong connectedness and interdependence with family members, leading parents to be willing to support their children both economically and emotionally into adulthood (Manzi, Vignoles, Regalia, & Scabini, 2006). The economic support enables young people to fulfill their adult role in the hope of a better work position, while the emotional support creates the condition to maintain harmonious family relationships. Italian researchers have labeled this condition as "prolonged adolescence," and evidenced (through interviews) that parents are happy to support their children and communicate better with them because they never experienced this type of closeness and dialogue with their own parents (Scabini, Marta, & Lanz, 2006). Also, even adult children are happy to be in the warm nest and reassured about the difficulties of the external world.

Current School System

In Italy, the education system offers equal opportunities to everyone. Education is compulsory for ten years from the age of 6 to 16. The *first cycle of education* includes five years of primary school and three years of lower secondary school (middle school). The *second cycle of education* starts at the age of 14 and continues for five years. During the second cycle, students may choose different types of upper secondary school, such as Liceum (more academically comprehensive), Technical (both academic and specialized courses; e.g., informatics, administration, etc.), or Vocational (predominantly specialized courses), all of them based on five-year education. To accomplish compulsory education, parents can also choose to send their children to vocational schools (three- or four-year vocational education and training courses) under the responsibility of the Regions (with no fees) or to private schools, recognized by the Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR), with payment of a fee. There are no pre-requisites for having access to the second cycle of education. However, teachers at the end of lower secondary school give suggestions for an upper secondary school type. The State provides first and second cycle of education for all students, and all public schools are under the responsibility of MIUR.

Students completing the second cycle of education, based on five years of schooling and independently of school type, have access to tertiary education (university or advanced arts school) after passing the State examination and obtaining the Diploma from secondary school. The Italian *tertiary education* system has been reformed

recently to align with the European model. It includes Universities, Polytechnics (Engineering and Architecture), and Higher Education Institute (Art and Music). They offer *first level courses* (3-year courses corresponding to 180 university credits), leading to the qualification called the "Laurea," and *second level courses* (2-year courses corresponding to 120 university credits), leading to the qualification called "Laurea Magistrale" (Master degree). *University single level courses* (5- or 6-year courses) also leading to the qualification called "Laurea Magistrale" are mainly in the areas of medicine and surgery, dentistry, pharmacy, veterinary science, law, architecture, and primary teacher education. Italian tertiary education also includes Higher Education Technical Institutes (such as sustainable energy, information and communication technologies, innovative technologies for cultural heritage and activities, etc.), that allow students to achieve a "Diploma Superiore." These Higher Education Technical Institutes have been introduced in recent years to offer vocational and advanced specializations, as well as adult life-long learning.

Finally, *post-graduate third level courses* include Ph.D. courses, typically lasting three years. Specialization school courses at this level can last from 2 to 6 years, depending on the discipline. Access to these post-graduate third level courses requires a master level degree. Prior to this point, second-level university Master's Courses, lasting a minimum of one year, require the accomplishment of a Laurea degree at the first level course.

Admissions to universities are regulated by MIUR in accordance with the capacities of individual universities to host the maximum number of students. Students' admission at most universities is dependent upon a preliminary test, especially for those faculties with a large number of students. One exception is the Faculty of Medicine that has a mandatory test for admission at all universities, regardless of size. Compared to other Western countries, fees for State universities are very low, showing variation depending on universities and family income (from €400 to 2500, on average).

The profile of the average Italian student in secondary school is not comforting, probably due to the more limited funds of the Italian government for the higher education system as compared to the OECD average. For example, when compared to students of the OECD countries, PISA 2015 data showed that Italian adolescents are below the average in science and reading, but not math. In addition, compared to the OECD average, greater gender differences are found in science and math, favoring boys, and in reading favoring girls (OECD, 2017b).

In addition, although still above the European average (10.6% in 2018), recent data on early school leavers (persons aged 18–24 who have completed at most lower secondary education and are not involved in further education and training), evidenced a significant increase from 2016 (13.8%) to 2018 (14.5%) (EUROSTAT, 2019). There are many regional differences in student performance and early leavers, with students from the south among the worst in school performance and highest in rates of school abandonment (OECD, 2016).

Parenting in Light of the School System

As previously mentioned, parent participation in school governance started during the 1970s and later developed in more substantial forms. Thanks to 1998 Ministry of Education legislation, parents and teachers share the educational process of the students (patto formativo). Parental participation can be collective, through representatives of parent associations, or individual, as individual collaboration in school and class activities, as well as an individual resource to improve the results of the students. These new forms of parent participation are particularly important for students with special needs, when teachers must individualize educational programs to share with parents.

Parental participation is established at a school level (class council and school board), at a provincial level (province and district councils), and at a national level (Board of Public Education). Parent representatives participate to build the Educational Proposal Plan ("Piano dell'Offerta Formativa"), which establishes annually the services that the school is going to offer. Parents also have the right and duty to suggest educational programs and to supervise the use of the budget. In the Italian education system, national parent associations (such as the Associazioni dei Genitori della Scuola) are recognized by the MIUR and represent a reference point for families facing problems with schools.

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

The international literature on parental school involvement, defined in terms of parental engagement in school activities, communication with school, and helping children with homework (Stevenson & Baker, 1987), provides empirical evidence regarding its dramatic decline during the transition from elementary to junior high school (Epstein, 1986). For the Italian context this declining trend is registered in spite of the substantial recognition of the partnership between family and school promoted by the Italian education system (Hartas, 2015).

In Italy, the passage from primary school to lower and upper secondary school requires a radical change of the structure of the educational programs and school functioning. For example, the number of subjects to handle goes up, and the subjects become more complex and require higher academic goals than those of primary school. In addition, the number of teachers increases from primary school (i.e., about 2 teachers) to secondary school (i.e., a different teacher for each academic subject). As a consequence, in primary school, students' relationships with their teachers are more informal and focused on individual progress, whereas in secondary school, student-teacher relationships are more formal, detached, and characterized by normative evaluation criteria. For all grades in both primary and secondary schools, children stay in the same class for the required period (five years in primary schools, three years in lower secondary schools, and five years in upper secondary schools).

This organization contributes to closer teacher-student relationships and the development of stable peer relationships and friendships in primary school, as compared to secondary schools. Thus, the passage to secondary school represents a critical transition for all Italian children that exposes them to new groups of classmates and contemporaneously with the loss of some friendships previously cultivated.

Similarly to the international literature, studies conducted in the Italian context generally support the crucial role of parental involvement for adolescents' school adjustment. In particular, Berti, Mameli, Speltini, and Molinari's (2016) study of 509 Italian secondary school students (average age = 15.18, range = 14–19 years) supported moderate and positive correlations between students' perceptions of parental interest and support in their school life (parental academic involvement) and students' pleasure in learning, interest in academic subjects, and motivation to master them (students' learning motivation).

Parental monitoring and academic achievement. School-related parental monitoring can be considered a specific sub-dimension of the larger concept of parental involvement (Fan, Williams, & Wolters, 2012). It includes supervision and control but also open communication with children regarding school activities. Several studies have suggested that school-related parental monitoring plays an important role in determining academic achievement. Kremer-Sadlik and Fatigante (2015) conducted ethnographic observations (Duranti, 1997) and interviews with American and Italian fathers and mothers of children attending primary and lower secondary school. American and Italian parents engaged in similar parental practices, such as monitoring and checking their children's homework. However, qualitative differences emerged especially for the type of approaches used to being involved in their children's education. U.S. parents show a tendency to have a strategic plan to support their children to grow within the school system. By contrast, Italian parents are more prone to grant autonomy and freedom to their children while dealing with the different challenges within the school system. The longitudinal study of Alivernini and Lucidi (2011) with 421 Italian students followed from grade 9 (mean age = 14.5, $SD = 0.6$) to grade 13 (mean age = 18.5, $SD = 0.7$) showed that Italian students who perceived their parents as supportive of their autonomy and involved in their lives had higher self-regulatory academic efficacy (i.e., self-efficacy to organize their academic work, motivate themselves to study, and focus their attention on their studies), which in turn predicted high levels of self-determined motivation and school performance over time, even after controlling for the effects of SES.

Affuso, Bacchini, and Miranda (2017) further examined the direct and indirect contribution of parental monitoring to students' school achievement. They tested a model in which school-related parental monitoring affected academic achievement through the mediation of self-regulatory factors, operationalized as self-regulated learning efficacy (based on social-cognitive theory by Bandura, 1997) and self-motivation (based on the self-determination theory by Deci and Ryan, 1985). The study was carried out in southern Italy where the risk of academic failure is particularly high, with two cohorts of students attending the 6th and the 9th grade and their mothers and fathers followed for two years. School-related parental monitoring affected students' academic motivation and self-efficacy, controlling for SES

and intelligence as measured through Raven's progressive matrices. In particular, as regards the relation between school-related parental monitoring and achievement through self-determined motivation, the more parents know about their child's experiences and whereabouts, the more students concentrate on schoolwork and have lower motivational interference, which refers to affective, cognitive, and behavioural impairments during a focal activity due to conflicting action tendencies (Kilian, Hofer, & Kuhnle, 2013). Similarly, in another study with Italian secondary school students, perceived parent (and teacher) supervision in school subjects was associated with school performance, through student self-efficacy in self-regulated learning, especially in older adolescents (Cattelino, Morelli, Baiocco, & Chirumbolo, 2019).

Parental aspirations and beliefs and students' academic achievement. Another set of studies focused on parental academic aspirations for their children, efficacy, and children's academic achievement. For instance, in a study with 216 primary school children enrolled in different Italian cities (Balboni & Pedrabissi, 1998), students whose parents had higher expectations regarding their future careers had higher academic achievement at the end of the academic year. A more recent cross-cultural study was conducted by Tan (2017) using data involving 96,591 15-year-old students from 3602 schools in eight countries (i.e., Chile, Hong Kong, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Korea, Macau, and Mexico) who participated in the Program for International Student Assessment 2012 (OECD, 2013). Tan (2017) examined the association between cultural capital variables related to parental familiarity with school evaluation standards and job market (i.e., home educational resources; parental educational attainment and occupational status; parental expectations of their children's educational attainment, future career in mathematics, and school; and parental valuing of mathematics) and student mathematics achievement. Among all variables considered, parental expectations appeared to have the strongest associations with student achievement in math, thus evidencing that other family variables, such as parental educational attainment or occupational status, become less important when parents hold higher educational expectations for their children.

Another body of research focuses on parental self-efficacy, children's academic achievement, and parental academic aspirations for their children. These studies derive from the Rome-Genzano Longitudinal Study, the only Italian longitudinal study that covered three normative transitions of Italian students, such as the passage to middle school (preadolescence), to upper secondary school (adolescence), to university/work (young adulthood). A staggered, multiple cohort design of about 400 children and their teachers and parents, attending 3rd grade in elementary school at the time of the first assessment, were followed until young adulthood (2008/9) to study personal and contextual determinants of their social adjustment. Cohort 1 began during the 1989–90 academic year, cohort 2 during the 1990–91 academic year, cohort 3 during the 1991–92 academic year, and cohort 4 during the 1993–94 academic year. Genzano is a community in central Italy located near Rome and represents a socioeconomic microcosm of the larger Italian society.

In a cross-sectional Italian sample, Pastorelli and Gerbino (2001) examined, in 689 parents of children attending middle school and 308 parents of children attending high school, the relation between parental efficacy and parents' and children's academic

aspirations. They used three dimensions of parental self-efficacy, namely *Perceived Parental Self-Efficacy in Influencing School-Related Performance*, which measured parents' judgement of their personal efficacy in promoting their children's interest in learning activities, in motivating them for academic pursuits, and in assisting them with their school homework (sample item: "How much can you do to help your child to work hard at his/her homework?"); *Perceived Parental Self-Efficacy to Influence Leisure-Time Activities*, which measured parents' judgement of their personal efficacy in finding time to spend with their own children in leisure activities (sample item: "How much can you do to spend time with your children and their friends?"); and *Perceived Parental Self-Efficacy to Exercise Control over High-Risk Behavior*, which measured parents' judgement of their personal efficacy in preventing their children from getting involved in risky activities (sample item: "How much can you do to prevent your children from doing things you do not want them to do?"). Results showed that all three dimensions of parental efficacy correlated moderately with students', mothers', and fathers' academic aspirations, meaning that parents' beliefs about their capacity to be involved in school-related performance, talk with their children, and to monitor their risky behaviors outside the family context, are associated with high educational aspirations for both children and their parents.

Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, and Pastorelli (1996) further clarified the role of parental self-efficacy in school-related performance on students' (mean age of 12) academic achievement. Parental academic efficacy contributed to students' scholastic achievement through its impact on parents' academic aspirations and children's beliefs that they can regulate their learning activities and master coursework. Lunetti (2018) further corroborates the role of parental self-efficacy in academic achievement. Using the Rome-Genzano Longitudinal Study data, she examined the normative developmental course of perceived parental self-efficacy in school-related performance (PPSE-S) on a sample of 430 adolescents (54% boys), from ages 12 to 14 years, and their parents (100 fathers, 324 mothers). The relation between the normative developmental course of PPSE-S and students' academic achievement at the end of middle school (students' age of 14 years) was investigated, taking into account previous levels of students' academic achievement (students' age of 12 years). Overall, a normative linear decreasing growth curve of PPSE-S was found from age 12 to 14. Further, adolescents whose parents had higher PPSE-S when they were 12 years old obtained higher academic achievement when they were 14 years old, even controlling for the stability of academic achievement. Another study aimed to examine the longitudinal bidirectional relations between PPSE-S and children's beliefs that they can regulate their own learning (academic self-efficacy) during the transition to middle school (Lunetti, 2018). In particular, using autoregressive cross-lagged models she examined the relation between PPSE-S and adolescents' academic self-efficacy during the transition to middle school, controlling for the initial levels of students' academic achievement (age 12) as predictor variables, and predicting the students' later academic achievement (age 14). PPSE-S when the children were 12 years old predicted students' academic self-efficacy at 13 years old, which in turn predicted parental self-efficacy at 14 years old. In addition, both PPSE-S and students' academic self-efficacy were positively associated with students' academic

464396_1_En_4_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 54 Layout: T1-Standard

achievement at 14 years old. No differences between boys and girls emerged. These studies contributed to understanding the role played by parents in building children's sense of efficacy that is necessary to successfully face the challenges associated with the transition to middle school. Lunetti's studies (2018) also are aligned with Bandura's (1986, 1997) theory about the parent-adolescent feedback loop that creates reciprocal exchanges in which children increasingly become active contributors to their adjustment.

Results identified in the Italian context are similar to findings in U.S. studies. For example, Ardelt and Eccles (2001) also found that parental self-efficacy affected adolescents' academic achievement both directly and indirectly by increasing adolescents' self-efficacy beliefs and through positive parenting strategies. Together, these findings attest to the positive role parents may have in promoting their children's sense of academic efficacy, which in turn enhances school performance.

Future Directions

Italy is facing a big challenge related to students' educational outcomes, and national priorities must be directed to help schools and parents to focus more on the improvement of students' educational outcomes. In recent years, some progress has been made, especially with regard to the assessment of schools. The National Institute for Educational Evaluation and Training (Istituto Nazionale per la Valutazione del Sistema Educativo di Istruzione e di Formazione, INVALSI) is now regularly monitoring students' school performance and competence, and offering feedback on the way schools may improve their instruction. In addition, thanks to European-funded actions, new programs have been promoted to improve school resources, management, education quality, and equity. However, much more is needed to enhance the connection between parents and school. The Italian legislation favors the representativeness and active participation of parents in the educational process but, during the adolescent period, parent disengagement from their children's school life may result in a polarization of the school and home environment, thus affecting adolescents' education and connectedness to school. On the school side, parents must receive more support on how to create a home environment conducive to learning; on the family side, parents must share more opportunities of communication with schools to better support their children's involvement in school work. Especially in Italy, where adolescents appear to be less motivated to continue to go to school and attend tertiary education than in some other countries, the creation of effective bi-directional communication between schools and parents may help in sustaining students' motivation and learning outcomes.

In summary, there are many challenges associated with continuing to exercise the educational parental role when children become adolescents in the contemporary world. The lesson learned from comparative studies as well as the Italian literature is that new actions and strategies are needed to convince school personnel and parents

that their role is still important in contributing to adolescents' school adjustment and future work success.

References

Affuso, G., Bacchini, D., & Miranda, M. C. (2017). The contribution of school-related parental monitoring, self-determination, and self-efficacy to academic achievement. *The Journal of Educational Research, 110,* 565–574.

Alivernini, F., & Lucidi, F. (2011). Relationship between social context, self-efficacy, motivation, academic achievement, and intention to drop out of high school: A longitudinal study. *The Journal of Educational Research, 104,* 241–252.

Ardelt, M., & Eccles, J. S. (2001). Effects of mothers' parental efficacy beliefs and promotive parenting strategies on inner-city youth. *Journal of Family Issues, 22,* 944–972.

Balboni, G., & Pedrabissi, L. (1998). School adjustment and academic achievement: Parental expectations and socio-cultural background. *Early Child Development and Care, 143,* 79–93.

Bandura, A. (1986). The explanatory and predictive scope of self-efficacy theory. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 4,* 359–373.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York, NY: Freeman.

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (1996). Multifaceted impact of self-efficacy beliefs on academic functioning. *Child Development, 67,* 1206–1222.

Berti, C., Mameli, C., Speltini, G., & Molinari, L. (2016). Teacher justice and parent support as predictors of learning motivation and visions of a just world. *Issues in Educational Research, 26,* 543–560.

Cattelino, E., Morelli, M., Baiocco, R., & Chirumbolo, A. (2019). From external regulation to school achievement: The mediation of self-efficacy at school. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 60,* 127–133.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York, NY: Plenum.

Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, C. P., Gandini, L., & Forman, G. (2012). *The hundred languages of children: The Reggio Emilia experience in transformation* (3rd ed.). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Edwards, C. P., Gandini, L., & Nimmo, J. (2015). *Loris Malaguzzi and the teachers: Dialogues on collaboration and conflict, Reggio Emilia, 1990*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Libraries, Zea Books.

Epstein, J. L. (1986). Parents' reactions to teacher practices of parent involvement. *The Elementary School Journal, 86,* 277–294.

EUROSTAT. (2019). *Early leavers from education and training*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Early_leavers_from_education_and_training.

Fan, W., Williams, C. M., & Wolters, C. A. (2012). Parental involvement in predicting school motivation: Similar and differential effects across ethnic groups. *The Journal of Educational Research, 105,* 21–35.

Gandini, L., & Edwards, C. P. (2001). *Bambini: The Italian approach to infant/toddler care*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Hartas, D. (2015). Patterns of parental involvement in selected OECD countries: Cross-national analyses of PISA. *European Journal of Educational Research, 4,* 185–195.

ISTAT. (2017). *Birth and fertility*. Retrieved form https://www.istat.it/en/archive/birth+and+fertility.

Kilian, B., Hofer, M., & Kuhnle, C. (2013). Conflicts between on-task and off-task behaviors in the classroom: The influences of parental monitoring, peer value orientations, students' goals, and their value orientations. *Social Psychology of Education, 16,* 77–94.

Kremer-Sadlik, T., & Fatigante, M. (2015). Investing in children's future: Cross-cultural perspectives on parental involvement in children's education. *Childhood, 22,* 67–84.
Lunetti, C. (2018). *Perceived parental self-efficacy and adolescents' self-efficacy during the transition to middle school* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy.
Manzi, C., Vignoles, V. L., Regalia, C., & Scabini, E. (2006). Cohesion and enmeshment revisited: Differentiation, identity, and well-being in two European cultures. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68,* 673–689.
OCSE. (2017). *Rapporto Economico OCSE Italia*. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/italy-2017-OECD-economic-survey-overview-italian.pdf.
OECD. (2013). *PISA 2012 results in focus: What 15-year-olds know and what they can do with what they know*. Retrieved from www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results-overview.pdf.
OECD. (2016). *Society at a glance 2016 OECD social indicators*. Retrieved from https://observatorio-lisboa.eapn.pt/ficheiro/Society-at-a-Glance-2016_OCDE-Social-Indicators.pdf.
OECD. (2017a). *OECD economic surveys Italy*. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/italy-2017-OECD-economic-survey-overview.pdf.
OECD. (2017b). *Education policy outlook Italy*. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/education/Education-Policy-Outlook-Country-Profile-Italy.pdf.
Pastorelli, C., & Gerbino, M. (2001). Autoefficacia Genitoriale (Parental Self Efficacy). In G. V. Caprara (Ed.), *La valutazione dell'Autoefficacia: Costrutti e Strumenti (Measuring Self-Efficacy: Constructs and Instruments)* (pp. 105–120). Trento, Italy: Erikson.
Scabini, E., Marta, E., & Lanz, M. (2006). *The transition to adulthood and family relations: An intergenerational perspective*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
Semeraro, A. (1996). *Il Sistema Scolastico Italiano (The Italian School System)*. Roma, Italy: Carocci.
Stevenson, D. L., & Baker, D. P. (1987). The family-school relation and the child's school performance. *Child Development, 58,* 1348–1357.
Tan, C. Y. (2017). Do parental attitudes toward and expectations for their children's education and future jobs matter for their children's school achievement? *British Educational Research Journal, 43,* 1111–1130.
WHO. (2019). *Life expectancy and healthy life expectancy data by country*. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/gho/data/view.main.SDG2016LEXv?lang=en.
World Bank. (2019a). *Mortality rate, infant (per 1000 per births)*. Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN?end=2017&locations=IT&start=1978.
World Bank. (2019b). *Fertility rate, total (births per woman)*. Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/sp.dyn.tfrt.in?end=2016&start=1996.

Concetta Pastorelli is a Full Professor at the Department of Psychology of Sapienza University of Rome (Italy), and Director of the Interuniversity Centre for the Research in the Genesis and Development of Prosocial and Antisocial Motivations (CIRMPA). Her research focuses on the determinants of aggressive and prosocial behaviors and school achievement, parental personality and parenting, and children's and adolescents' adjustment.

Dario Bacchini is a Full Professor of Developmental Psychology and Coordinator of the Ph.D. Course in Mind, Gender, and Language at the University of Naples Federico II, Italy. His research focuses on antisocial behavior in adolescence, moral development, school bullying, and parenting.

Eriona Thartori is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of Psychology of Sapienza University of Rome, Italy. Her research concerns the study of personal and contextual determinants of individual (mal)adjustment during adolescence. Specifically, her research focuses on the study of

relations between parents' and children's personality, parenting, and children's and adolescents' (mal)adjustment.

Laura Di Giunta is Associate Professor at Sapienza University of Rome, Italy. She is research associate and consultant for the Italian and the Colombian units in the Parenting Across Cultures Study. Her research focuses on the continuity and change of individual differences in predicting youth (mal)adjustment, accounting for socialization and culture factors, especially in emotion regulation, adjustment, and social competence.

Maria Concetta Miranda is Clinical Psychologist at the local health authority in Naples, Italy. Her primary clinical and research interests involve the examination of internalizing and externalizing problems in adolescence, with an emphasis on how family, peer, community, and cultural context contribute to these outcomes.

464396_1_En_4_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 54 Layout: T1-Standard

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in Jordan	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Al Hassan**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Suha**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Emirates College for Advanced Education
	Address	Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates
	Division	
	Organization	The Hashemite University
	Address	Zarqa, Jordan
	Email	suha-al@hu.edu.jo

Abstract

To date, few studies have discussed the topic of parenting from a social and cultural perspective including Arab-Muslim parents to address the relation between parenting and academic achievement. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the education system in Jordan and Jordanian parents' childrearing practices and their association with academic achievement. Jordan is predominantly an Arab-Muslim country with a population of approximately 10 million, in which children and adolescents account for the majority of its population. As a country with limited resources, children and adolescents are considered valuable to the country; they must be nurtured in a healthy environment and receive the best education to become productive and responsible adults to help support their families and serve the country. This chapter concludes with future directions.

Education and Parenting in Jordan

Suha Al Hassan

Introduction

Jordan's population is young. Around 35% are 14 years old or younger, and around 20% fall between 15 and 24 years of age, with a median age of 22.5 years (CIA Fact Book, 2018). Currently, almost one-third of the Jordanian population is enrolled in educational establishments. Jordan is ranked 80 out of 188 countries in the Human Development Index, which is a composite index of how countries fare with respect to life expectancy, gross domestic product, and education (UNDP, 2015).

Education is free for all primary and secondary school students, and compulsory for all Jordanian children through the age of 15. It is estimated that Jordan has achieved over 95% enrolment for its school age children, as compared with only 47% in 1960. Unlike in many other countries, in Jordan there is a very small gender disparity in primary school attendance rates between urban and rural areas.

The education system of Jordan has developed dramatically over the last 100 years. Starting from isolated efforts in the early 1920s, Jordan has managed to establish a comprehensive, high-quality education system to develop the human capital of its citizens. Jordan has made considerable steps in ensuring access to education and is continuously taking all possible measures to capitalize on its human potential by investing heavily in education. Jordan is trying to ensure high literacy and school completion rates and is steadily increasing access while decreasing gender disparities. In 1964, the Education Act expanded compulsory education to nine years and introduced the two streams of general academic programs and vocational programs on the secondary level (World Bank, 2015).

S. Al Hassan (✉)
Emirates College for Advanced Education, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates
e-mail: suha-al@hu.edu.jo

The Hashemite University, Zarqa, Jordan

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_5

464396_1_En_5_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 65 Layout: T1-Standard

Jordan started a comprehensive review of its education system in the 1980s with the belief that human resources are the best resources for achieving comprehensive economic and social development. To achieve this, Jordan organized the First National Conference for Educational Development in 1987. One of the most important outcomes of this conference was the provisional Education Act No. 27 in 1988, which became Education Act No. 3 in 1994. The most important development of this act was expanding the basic compulsory education to 10 years and introducing the comprehensive and applied secondary education streams free of charge. In addition, identifying the philosophical bases and principles of education and developing the general objectives of education and educational cycles (two-year kindergarten cycle, ten-year basic education, two-year secondary education). The Ministry of Education launched a second reform plan for 1998–2002 that focused on upgrading teachers' skills, school administration, educational information systems, preschool education, and education for children with special needs.

After completing their basic schooling, more and more Jordanians are opting to pursue higher education either at home or abroad. Jordan's quality educational system has also attracted a large number of foreign students. The Kingdom has also been a popular choice among students around the world who want to study Arabic in a hospitable and friendly environment. In 2012, 98% of children were enrolled in primary school, including 97% of boys and 99% of girls. In the 2017/2018 school year, 167,820 Syrian refugee children, or around 71% of registered refugee children were also enrolled (UNICEF, 2017). The literacy rate in Jordan is one of the highest in the world at 98% in 2015, and expected to reach almost 100% by 2020 (UNDP, 2015).

Like any other developing country, some challenges are facing education in Jordan. These challenges include poverty, distance to school especially in remote areas, safety issues for girls and younger children, violence, unfriendly school environment, poor learning achievements, and poor employment upon completing basic education. Families from low socioeconomic backgrounds often are not able to prioritize education because of other pressing financial priorities. Although public schools are free, there are always indirect school costs, such as transportation, supplies, and food, which put additional pressures on families. As Jordan is a country with limited resources, there is no transportation option provided for students in public schools (UNESCO, 2018).

Jordan as a Cultural Setting

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is an Arab kingdom in the Middle East that was founded in 1921 and gained independence from Britain in 1946. In 2018, the population of Jordan is about 10 million (CIA Fact Book, 2018), which makes it the 100th most populous nation. Amman is the capital of Jordan and its largest city with a population of about 4 million people; it is considered one of the world's oldest continuously inhabited cities and is viewed as one of the most liberal in

464396_1_En_5_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 65 Layout: T1-Standard

the Arab world. Jordan consists of twelve governorates. In addition to Amman the capital, three other governorates (Irbid, Zarqa, and Aqaba) score the highest on human development indicators (UNDP, 2015). The other governorates, especially those located in the south, rank lower on the human development index. However, the Syrian refugee crisis that started in 2011 poses a serious challenge to efforts the country is undertaking to bridge the regional gaps.

The majority of the population are Muslims (95%) and Christians (4%), and according to their life styles, they are divided into Bedouin who are more devoted to traditions, conservatives who also are committed to traditions but to a moderate level, and urban/city dwellers who follow more liberal life styles (Takash & Al-Hassan, 2014). Jordan's social structure is divided into what is known as tribes, where blood bonds are the most solid connection and the father figure is the head of the family and the one who guides the family by social traditions and values. The traditions are a set of rules and values passed on from one generations to another and practiced instinctively (Alkhataibah & Bani Naser, 2006).

Although the extended family model is still common in Jordan, the structure of Jordanian families has changed over time from an extended family, where many persons would participate in raising the child, to a family that is more nuclear (Dwairy et al., 2006). The change from the extended family is due primarily to changes in families' lifestyles, more working mothers, increased levels of education, and the presence of domestic workers (Oweis, Gharaibeh, Maaitah, Gharaibeh, & Obeisat, 2012).

In a qualitative descriptive study conducted by Oweis et al. (2012), the main purpose was to explore Jordanian parents' understanding of parenting. A convenience sample of 110 Jordanian parents recruited from four health centers participated in the study. A semi-structured one-on-one interview with open-ended questions was used to collect the data. The results identified three thematic areas reflecting parents' understanding of parenting: as embraced by Islam, transferring of cultural values and traditions, and parenting as a challenge. The study concluded that parenting behavior and its effectiveness are connected to the strong interplay of Islamic teachings, sociocultural values and traditions, and the challenges and difficulties of being a parent.

Current School System

Jordan has limited natural resources compared to the other oil-rich countries in the region. Because of this, Jordan has invested heavily in its human resources through the education system. The education system in Jordan is committed to freedom, justice, and human and economic development. The philosophy of education in Jordan stems from the Jordanian constitution, Islamic Arab civilization, principles of the great Arab Revolt, and the Jordanian national experience. This philosophy is demonstrated in the following social bases: Jordanians are equal in political, social and economic rights and responsibilities; respect for the individual's freedom and

dignity; and education is a social necessity and a right for all, each according to his or her intrinsic abilities and potentials (Ministry of Education, 2018).

Jordan's growing population of young people demands the continued expansion of the educational system on the school level and higher education level. Besides this quantitative expansion, Jordan is always looking for ways to improve the quality of its teachers, curriculum, and facilities. The formal structure of the Jordanian education system consists of a two-year preschool education, ten years of basic compulsory education, and two years of secondary academic or vocational education after which the students sit for a General Certificate of Secondary Education Exam (Tawjihi).

Preschool education is a two-year non-compulsory phase that starts when children are around age 4 (with a minimum age of 3 years and 8 months) when they are allowed to enter kindergartens. Most kindergartens in Jordan are owned and operated by the private sector and non-governmental organizations. According to UNICEF (2017), Jordan still has a gap in children accessing early childhood education services. Only 13% of children aged 4–5 years attend formal preschool, while an estimated 59% of the country's 5-year-old children attend KG2. The numbers are even lower for children 3 years and under with only 3% enrolled in any kind of childcare setting.

Basic education is a 10-year compulsory and free phase, starting around the age of 6 years. At the end of grade 10, students are evaluated according to their academic achievement and may choose to continue on the 2-year general education high school track (scientific or literary) or go to one of the many vocational tracks such as industrial, nursing, or information technology. Study textbooks are standard for this phase and are distributed by the Ministry of Education.

Secondary education is a two-year phase for students who are normally ages 16–18 and have completed the ten years of basic education. Students in this phase can be enrolled either in the academic or vocational stream. At the end of the two years, students sit for the General Secondary Examination (known as Tawjihi) in the appropriate stream. Upon successful completion, the academic stream students are qualified to enter universities, whereas the vocational streams students are qualified for entrance to community colleges, universities, or the job market.

The most recent statistics show that there are around 2 million students who go to 7227 schools and are taught by 126,262 teachers (Ministry of Education, 2018). Sixty-eight percent attend the 3835 public schools, 26% attend the 3221 private schools, and 6% attend the 171 schools that are operated by The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). The primary gross enrolment rate had reached 100% by 2007 for both girls and boys. The primary to secondary transition rate had reached 98.79% by 2013 (Ministry of Education, 2018), and the transition rate to higher education is 85% of secondary school graduates. Along with these high enrolment and transition rates, Jordan achieved full gender parity in all education levels in 1999 and has maintained that parity since then.

The instruction language in public schools in Jordan is Arabic; English is taught as a foreign language starting from grade 1. However, English is the language of instruction in many private schools, especially those that follow international curricula such as British or American. Jordanian public schools are single sex (either only

girls or only boys), whereas almost all private schools are mixed/co-ed (boys and girls).

Despite limited resources, the Ministry of Education developed a high quality national curriculum. The Jordanian Ministry of Education has made it mandatory for students to be computer literate and able to apply their studies in computers to their regular studies, especially the scientific and mathematical courses. Jordan's educational system is of international standards, and students from Jordan's secondary education program are accepted in world-class universities.

The general objectives of education in Jordan originate from the philosophy of education and aim at shaping citizens who believe in God, adhere to homeland and nation, and are mature physically, mentally, spiritually, and socially. Consequently, each student and at the end of each education phase shall be able to use the Arabic language to communicate easily with others and carefully comprehend facts, concepts, and relations connected with the natural environment both locally and globally and effectively use them in life. In addition, students are expected to have the skills to use, produce, and develop technology, and utilize this technology to serve society. Furthermore, students should be able to think objectively and critically and adopt scientific methods in observation, research, and problem-solving and adhere to citizenship rights and shoulder the related consequential responsibilities (Ministry of Education, 2018).

Parenting in Light of the School System

Living in a country of limited resources, Jordanian families perceive education as a guaranteed investment with a high rate of return. Families value education and are willing to do whatever it takes to send their children to schools and higher education institutions. The sole criterion for admission into higher education institutions is the score in the Tawjihi. In 1962, Jordan instituted the Tawjihi as the main national assessment. Tawjihi is causing considerable anxiety for families in Jordan and is the most spoken about event when families have children in grade 12. It also puts pressure on families who spend extra money on private tutoring to maximize the opportunities for their children to score high on the Tawjihi. There are now debates about reforming the exam and considering other criteria for admission into higher education institutions (Ministry of Education, 2018).

During the last decade, the Jordanian government has focused on parents' involvement in the education system. In July 2003 the Ministry of Education coordinated its efforts with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and launched Jordan's Education Reform for the Knowledge Economy (ERfKE) program (Ihmeideh, Khasawneh, Mahfouz, & Khawaldeh, 2008; World Bank, 2009). The education reform project resulted, among achieving other objectives, in launching the Parental Involvement Initiative, which aimed at changing the relationship between parents and the educational system, with children as the main beneficiaries (Kaga, 2007). The objective of this Parental Involvement Initiative was to empower Jordanian par-

ents so they can be actively involved in the education of their children starting from kindergartens and across all school cycles. The initiative was successful in equipping parents with skills on how to be involved in the education of their children.

In Jordan, each school establishes a Parent-Teacher Council, according to the Instructions of Parent-Teacher Councils in Public and Private Schools, Article No. 9/2007. Parent-Teacher Councils consist of the school principal, three teachers, and three parents who are elected by a general assembly as stated in Item 6 of Article No. 9/2007. Parent-Teacher Councils largely play advisory and supportive roles to school principals rather than actively participating in budget planning and financial oversight. Their roles include fostering an environment of safety and trust between parents and teachers, providing a place for parents and teachers to exchange opinions, informing parents about the current teaching staff and the nature of services provided by the educational institution, and coordinating interactions between parents and teachers to improve the learning conditions in the school and community.

Parent-Teacher Councils also play a role in planning activities at the school (Article No. 11 of Parent-Teacher Councils in Public and Private Schools Item, 7/2007). They can plan and present lectures on topics related to health and education, and they can invite members of the community to give lectures and presentations on local activities related to the school. Procedural guidelines are in place for open election of Parent-Teacher Council members at the school level. The Council members are nominated and elected by a general assembly, and they are not allowed to nominate themselves. Members of the Parent-Teacher Council serve a one-year term.

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

Parenting practices and involvement in students' learning have positive impacts on students' school adjustment and academic achievement (Stewart, 2003; Wang, Willett, & Eccles, 2011). When students are not adjusting well in school, they are more likely to exhibit inappropriate behaviors and face difficulties with their academic achievement and might eventually dropout, whereas students who are highly involved in schools show better school attendance and less inappropriate behavior. Teachers' evaluation of students' academic performance is influenced by students' behavior in the classroom; hence, students who behave appropriately at school are more likely to receive better evaluations by their teachers (Igbinedion & Ovbiagele, 2012).

Al-Rawwad, Al-Taj, and Al-Tal (2016) conducted a study of 560 boys and girls in 7th and 8th grade (mean age of 13.89 years) in Amman, Jordan. The study aimed at exploring the relation between parental involvement and adolescents' social adjustment and academic performance. The results were consistent with expectations that parental involvement, as a form of positive parenting, affects students' social adjustment in school in various ways. First, parental involvement promotes better social adjustment and limits problem behavior; children with more involved parents showed less disruptive and aggressive behavior, less absence from school, and more com-

pliance with school rules. Second, positive parenting through participating in school activities was related to students' self-perception as a learner and their motivation, self-esteem, and educational outcomes. Finally, children whose parents were more involved usually made better transitions and were less likely to drop out of school. In general, when parents were more involved in school, their children became more responsible for their behaviors, and this affected their school performance. The results also showed that these students are more likely to feel safe and engaged in school.

Moreover, the results of the Al-Rawwad et al. (2016) study also suggested that when parents show interest in their children through praising their efforts and contributing to community building within the school, this directly influences students' perceptions of themselves and fosters students' level of school engagement. In addition, when parents frequently talk with their children about school-related topics, they contribute to students' sense of identification with school and their general perception of control. As control and identification with school are enhanced, these internal mechanisms motivate students to be academically and behaviorally engaged in school activities and ultimately improve their academic achievement. The findings showed clearly that positive parenting influences students' motivation to learn, particularly their self-efficacy. Students who have high self-efficacy tend to spend more effort in learning, pay more attention, and participate in school academic and social activities. In addition, the findings suggest that focusing on parental involvement as a form of positive parenting would promote higher social adjustment among Jordanian students.

Al-Alwan (2014) proposed a model to explain how parental involvement and school engagement relate to academic performance. Participants were 671 9th and 10th grade (mean age of 15.89 years) students in Jordan who completed two scales of parental involvement and school engagement in their regular classrooms. Results suggested that parental involvement influences school engagement directly and also influences academic performance indirectly through its effects on school engagement. In addition, school engagement influences academic performance directly. The findings suggested that parent involvement characterizes parents' values and attitudes regarding education and the hopes they hold for their children. Although values and attitudes may not directly influence academic outcomes, they would enhance school performance directly by promoting children's motivation and increase their abilities to engage in more challenging educational tasks. School engagement encourages students to use self-regulation strategies, engage in effortful learning, and establish task-oriented goals; these activities are the main source of academic performance. The results of the study implied that parents' interpersonal relationships and direct interest in the academics of their children could bring about better academic performance.

Alghazo and Alghazo (2015) conducted a study in Jordan aimed at examining the relations among parental involvement, socioeconomic status, and students' mathematical achievement in grades 4 through 6 (ages 9–11). Parents/guardians of students reported demographic information, socioeconomic status, parental involvement levels, and students' mathematics achievement. The findings revealed no significant relation between socioeconomic status (parents' education, family income, parents'

employment status) and parental involvement levels. These results contradict other studies' findings showing that families with low socioeconomic status are less likely to be involved in their students' education (Abdul-Adil & Farmer, 2006; Machen, Wilson, & Notar, 2005; Ratcliff & Hunt, 2009; Turney & Kao, 2009; Velsor & Orozco, 2007). One explanation relates to how much Jordanians value education and want their children to succeed in schools. In general, parents in Jordan are pressured by societal norms and feel obligated to be involved in their children's education regardless of their socioeconomic status. Moreover, the investigation into the relation between parental involvement and children's mathematical achievement revealed a positive relation between parental involvement and mathematical achievement, which indicated that the more parents are involved, the better mathematics achievement their children had.

Mahasneh (2014) conducted a study aimed at examining the relation between goal orientation and parenting styles of 650 university students ages 18–22. The author adopted Ames's (1992) definition of goal orientation regarding an integrated pattern of beliefs, attributions, and affect that produces behavioral intentions and is represented by different ways of approaching, engaging in, and responding to achievement-type activities. Authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles were examined. Authoritative parents are involved, reasonable, and nurturing, and set high and clear expectations. Authoritarian parents are disciplinarians as they use a strict discipline style with little negotiation. Permissive parents make fewer demands on their children and are more likely to let their children do what they want, with little guidance or direction. The findings indicated a significant positive correlation between learning goal orientation and all three parenting styles. Parenting styles that are characterized as supportive and warm continue to influence students' goal orientation at the university level. Moreover, the study found that students are strongly influenced by their parents' behaviors and attitudes, as students tend to adopt a performance-avoidance orientation to avoid feeling stupid.

Mahasneh, Bataineh, and Al-Zoubi (2016) also examined the relation between parenting styles and academic behavior in a sample of university students in Jordan. The study aimed at examining academic procrastination (delay or postponing behavior) among a sample of 685 male and female undergraduate students and its relation with parenting styles. Two questionnaires were administered: Academic Procrastination Questionnaire, which was developed by Abu Ghazal (2012) to measure undergraduate Jordanian academic procrastination, and Parental Authority Questionnaire, which was developed by Buri (1991) to measure authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles. The findings showed that only 7% of the sample demonstrated high levels of academic procrastination, 67% a medium level, and 26% of them showed a low level of academic procrastination, with no significant differences between males and females in academic procrastination scores. However, there was a significant relation between academic procrastination and parenting styles. That is, when parenting styles were harsh and unkind, there was an increased level of academic procrastination among students, which most likely would lead to low commitment and lack of attention and concentration on academic tasks, which will negatively affect students' academic achievement. In addition, a parenting style characterized

by warmth and acceptance, as well as strictness and supervision (authoritative), is associated with children who tend to be independent, self-assertive, friendly with peers, cooperative with parents, and avoid academic procrastination.

Future Directions

This chapter has shed light on understanding the education system and parenting in an Arab Muslim culture. Jordan has made significant improvements in the education system and promoted parents' active and positive involvement in their children's education. It is also clear now how Jordanian families in general and parents in particular value education and would do whatever it takes to have their children succeed and excel in schools. The limited research conducted in Jordan demonstrated results that are, to a great extent, consistent with the international research that shows the important role parental involvement plays in children's learning and the relation between parenting style and academic achievement. In addition to improving students' morale, attitudes, and academic achievement, parental involvement also promotes better behavioral and social adjustment. Parents' involvement in education helps children to grow up to be productive, responsible members of the society. Jordan still has a lot more to do and many challenges to overcome, including steps to increase parents' adoption of more positive parenting styles and involvement in adolescents' education, as positive and warm relationships and direct interest in the academics of their children could bring about better academic achievement. More studies are needed investigating the relation between different parenting styles and education in Jordan, as the literature is still limited in this regard. It is also important to utilize quantitative and qualitative research methods and approaches to achieve broader understanding of the multidimensionality of this topic.

References

Abdul-Adil, J. K., & Farmer, A. D., Jr. (2006). Inner-city African American parental involvement in elementary schools: Getting beyond urban legends of apathy. *School Psychology Quarterly, 21,* 1–12.

Abu Ghazal, M. (2012). Academic procrastination: Prevalence and causes from the point of view of undergraduate students. *The Jordanian Journal of the Educational Sciences, 8,* 131–149.

Al-Alwan, A. (2014). Modeling the relations among parental involvement, school engagement and academic performance of high school students. *International Education Studies, 7,* 1913–9020.

Alghazo, Y., & Alghazo, R. (2015). The relationship among parental involvement, socioeconomic status, and mathematics achievement in Jordan. *International Journal of Science and Research, 10,* 1306–1311.

Alkhataibah, S., & Bani Naser, N. (2006). *The Jordanian society* (2nd ed.). Amman, Jordan: Authors.

Al-Rawwad, T., Al-Taj, H., & Al-Tal, S. (2016). Parental involvement and their children's social adjustment: Evidence from Jordanian students. *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities, 11,* 119–125.

Ames, C. (1992). Classroom: Goals, structures, and student motivation. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 84,* 261–271.
Buri, J. R. (1991). Parental authority questionnaire. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 57,* 110–119.
CIA Fact Book. (2018). Jordan. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-worldfactbook/geos/jo.html.
Dwairy, M., Achoui, M., Abouserie, R., Farah, A., Sakhleh, A. A., Fayad, M., et al. (2006). Parenting styles in Arab societies. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37,* 230–247.
Igbinedion, V., & Ovbiagele, A. (2012). Corporate social responsibilities of tertiary educational institutions to host communities delta South Senatorial District of Delta State of Nigeria. *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities, 4,* 133–141.
Ihmeideh, F., Khasawneh, S., Mahfouz, S., & Khawaldeh, M. (2008). The new workforce generation: Understanding the problems facing parental involvement in Jordanian kindergartens. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 9,* 161–172.
Kaga, Y. (2007). *Parents breaking new ground in Jordanian kindergartens*. Paris: Division of Basic Education, UNESCO.
Machen, S. M., Wilson, J. D., & Notar, C. E. (2005). Parental involvement in the classroom. *Journal of Instructional Psychology, 32,* 13–16.
Mahasneh, A. (2014). Investigating the relationship between goal orientation and parenting styles among sample of Jordanian university students. *Educational Research and Review, 9,* 320–325.
Mahasneh, A., Bataineh, O., & Al-Zoubi, Z. (2016). The relationship between academic procrastination and parenting styles among Jordanian undergraduate university students. *The Open Psychology Journal, 9,* 25–34.
Ministry of Education, Jordan. (2018). *Annual statistical book.* http://www.moe.gov.jo/ar/node/22738.
Oweis, A., Gharaibeh, M., Maaitah, R., Gharaibeh, H., & Obeisat, S. (2012). Parenting from a Jordanian perspective: Findings from a qualitative study. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 44,* 242–248.
Ratcliff, N., & Hunt, G. (2009). Building teacher-family partnerships: The role of teacher preparation programs. *Education, 129,* 495–505.
Stewart, E. (2003). School social bonds, school climate and school misbehavior: A multilevel analysis. *Justice Quarterly, 20,* 575–604.
Takash, H., & Al-Hassan, S. (2014). Parenting in Jordan. In H. Selin (Ed.), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-Western cultures* (pp. 207–212). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
Turney, K., & Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: Are immigrant parents disadvantaged? *The Journal of Educational Research, 102,* 257–271.
UNDP. (2015). Jordan human development report. http://www.jo.undp.org/content/dam/jordan/docs/Publications/NDHR/Jordan%20Human%20Development%20Finalest.pdf.
UNESCO. (2018). Jordan. https://en.unesco.org/countries/jordan.
UNICEF. (2017). First years of life most critical for a child's future. https://www.unicef.org/jordan/media_12391.html.
Velsor, P. V., & Orozco, G. L. (2007). Involving low-income parents in the schools: Community-centric strategies for school counselors. *Professional School Counseling, 11,* 17–24.
Wang, M., Willett, J., & Eccles, J. (2011). The assessment of school engagement: Examining dimensionality and measurement invariance by gender and race/ethnicity. *Journal of School Psychology, 49,* 465–480.
World Bank. (2009). *Education reform for the knowledge economy II. Project Information document*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank. (2015). *Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Promoting poverty reduction and shared prosperity: A systematic country diagnostic*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Suha Al Hassan is an Associate Professor of Early Childhood Special Education and Applied Behavior Analysis at Emirates College for Advanced Education, United Arab Emirates, and the Hashemite University, Jordan. Her research focus includes parenting and child development, school readiness, behavior management, inclusion, and cross cultural research. She has consulted with international agencies, such as UNICEF, on projects related to parenting and early childhood development.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in Kenya	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Oburu**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Paul**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Maseno University
	Address	Kisumu, Kenya
	Division	
	Organization	New York University
	Address	New York, USA
	Email	poburu@gmail.com
		po17@nyu.edu
Author	Family Name	**Mbagaya**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Catherine**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Maseno University
	Address	Kisumu, Kenya
	Email	cmbagaya@maseno.ac.ke

Abstract

This chapter discusses parenting practices and students' academic achievement in light of Kenya's current education system. An attempt is made to trace the evolution of the Kenyan education system through the years from the informal traditional education to the current 8-4-4 system. The transformation of the traditional education system and parenting practices by the advent of colonialism and the implications of strategies adopted by successive post-independence governments to address existing challenges to the education sector are also discussed. For example, by increasing access to education, the number of students enrolled in both primary and secondary schools has dramatically increased. This increase has brought with it challenges of quality and the need for parents to participate in financing of their children's education. The result has been drop-out and low transition rates from primary to secondary schools. The partial financing of education in Kenya by parents has affected low-income families more than it has affected middle- and high-income families. Parents now work harder, and spend more time and family income on education at the expense of other pressing family needs. The competitive nature of the Kenyan education system has also increased the need for boarding schools, which have now become a significant experience for many children attending school. Most parents prefer these schools because of perceived higher quality of education and infrastructure. This minimizes the available time parents spend with their children

because the length of the school year in total is about nine months. However, boarding schools perform better than day schools. More research is needed to determine the underlying factors responsible for the reported higher academic achievements of students in boarding schools.

Education and Parenting in Kenya

Paul Oburu and Catherine Mbagaya

Introduction

In many societies in sub-Saharan Africa, child rearing was both a process and social investment used by caregivers to transmit cultural values, skills, and social competencies to children (Bame, 2006; Yovsi, 2014). In these traditional contexts, both the biological parents and extended family networks (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles, and even neighbors) were instrumental in equipping children with necessary skills and competencies required to survive in their respective societies (Wadende, Fite, & Lasser, 2014). Parents thus viewed their children's education as a social investment meant to guarantee societal survival and integration and development of social and cognitive intelligence (Bame, 2006). Thus, education was a process crucial for the attainment of life-long skills as well as common societal goals.

Parenting practices and relevant child outcomes were interlinked processes that involved both the nuclear and the extended family members. For example, although parents had the responsibility to impart life-long skills and specific forms of knowledge to young children, the immediate cultural contexts defined what was considered appropriate and relevant education (Yovsi, 2014). This was in contrast to the colonial, racially based 'non-academic' education introduced by the British colonizers that focused on imparting skills in manual dexterity to a few children of African descent to enable them to perform vocational and agricultural tasks (Lelei & Weidman, 2012; Sheffield, 1973). The social relevance of traditional forms of education

P. Oburu (✉) · C. Mbagaya
Maseno University, Kisumu, Kenya
e-mail: poburu@gmail.com; po17@nyu.edu

C. Mbagaya
e-mail: cmbagaya@maseno.ac.ke

P. Oburu
New York University, New York, USA

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_6

464396_1_En_6_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 78 Layout: T1-Standard

was thus shifted from attainment of life-long skills to academic achievements in reading, writing, arithmetic, and acquisition of Western-based religious knowledge (Lelei & Weidman, 2012; Sheffield, 1973).

After gaining independence in 1963, Kenya's post-independent government instituted several initiatives to guarantee education relevance, increase access and also correct the variances created by the colonial education structure. The government did this by making education more responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged Kenyan African population. It was clear to the newly independent Kenyan government that education was the key to social integration and economic progress. Thus, the post-colonial government focus was to increase education relevance while at the same time using it as a tool for training qualified persons to take over economic and administrative institutions left behind by the colonial government (Court & Ghai, 1974; Oketch & Rollerstone, 2007). Over the years, there have been systematic attempts to address challenges facing the education sector. Successive post-colonial governments have done this through the establishment of several commissions of inquiry with specific mandates to address existing challenges of the education system (e.g., Ominde Report, 1964, 1965; Gachathi Report, 1976; Mackay Report, 1981; Kamunge Report, 1988). The Mackay report of 1981, for example, recommended a shift from the system based on the British structure of 7 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary education, 2 years of advanced secondary education, and 3 years of university education (7-4-2-3 system) to the current 8-4-4 education system that has 8 years of primary schooling, 4 years of secondary education, and 4 years of university education (Wanjohi, 2011).

Kenya as a Cultural Setting

Kenya is located on the eastern side of Africa. By 2018, it was estimated that it had a population of 47 million people consisting of 42 ethnic groups each with its distinctive languages and cultural practices (Wadende et al., 2014). These groups can be divided into three broad linguistic groups consisting of the Bantus, Nilotes, and Cushites (Makoloo, 2005). Examples of Bantu include the Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii, Kuria, and the Mijikenda. The Nilotes include the Maasai, Turkana, Kalenjin, Teso, and the Luo ethnic groups. Cushites include the Somali, Borana, and Rendille. There are also non-indigenous ethnic minorities of Asian, Arab, and European extractions. The majority of Kenyans are concentrated in the Western parts of the country especially along the shores of Lake Victoria and its adjacent parts. Other densely populated areas include Central Kenya, areas adjacent to Nairobi, Southeastern regions, and the Coastal areas along the Indian Ocean (Wadende et al., 2014).

Because of the multi-ethnic composition of Kenyan society, most Kenyans speak at least three different languages. These include their mother tongue, and the two official languages of Kiswahili and English. Kiswahili additionally serves as a national language that facilitates communication among the various ethnic groups. English is widely spoken and is used mainly for administrative and educational purposes.

Due to the ethnic diversity of the people, there is no uniquely Kenyan culture. Every ethnic group has its own distinctive language and cultural practices. Importantly, some cultural practices, beliefs, values and attitudes are shared across many Kenyan ethnic groups. Others are unique to different parts of the country. Common cultural aspects include religious beliefs in a Supreme Being, respect for the elderly, reverence to the ancestors, and importance attached to familial ties and the collectivist forms of existence. Collective orientation, especially concerning sharing of resources, mutual responsibility, and community self-reliance are values or principles shared across many Kenyan ethnic groups. This explains why child rearing and informal education of children on the sociocultural norms, beliefs, and practices of their respective communities is a common feature among many traditional Kenyan societies (White & Parham, 1990). Triandis and Gelfand (2012) observed that collectivism thrives best when individuals prefer communal lifestyles and have limited access to resources. For this reason, group cooperation becomes more important in ensuring the survival of the community (Wadende et al., 2014).

Postcolonial Kenya has experienced several changes that have altered traditional family structures and dynamics. For example, rapid urbanization and enhanced interactions between different ethnic groups especially after independence have encouraged interactions between different communities. Migrations away from traditional communal areas has also altered traditional collectivistic tendencies (Wadende et al., 2014). The three-generation family structure (consisting of grandparents, parents, and grandchildren) that was a common feature in traditional contexts and child rearing practices is being replaced by modern nuclear family structures. Kenyan families are now exposed to religious-political influences and current challenges to modern types of living including grappling with high cost of living, keeping their children in schools, diseases, poverty, and strife (Oburu, 2004; Wadende et al., 2014). A large number of Kenyan children now live in non-traditional family structures including grandparent and children-headed households (Oburu, 2004). The country has experienced consistently high birth rates due to reduction in mortality rates but also to traditional beliefs, attitudes, and premiums placed on children and large families by many traditional African societies (Chernichovsky, 1985; Nyarko, 2014). Chernichovsky (1985) observed that large families lowered demand for labor from each individual child, especially in subsistence economies. In addition, large families may be a source of emotional and material support, which can facilitate child-rearing practices. Today, most Kenyan children are exposed to both traditional and modern forms of child rearing practices (Wadende et al., 2014).

Current School System

The 8-4-4 curriculum, unlike the previous 7-4-2-3 model, was expected to be a practice-oriented system so that those who did not go on to higher education were supposed to have life-long skills for self-employment (Republic of Kenya, 1981; Mackay Report, 1981). The Kenyan education system, however, is highly selective

and exam oriented. In total, Kenyan students pursuing the 8-4-4 system of education are expected to register for 13 subjects ranging from languages, sciences, humanities, creative arts, and technical subjects during their first two years of secondary education. They are tested on eight subjects during their fourth year at secondary school (World Education News & Reviews, 2015).

In the 8-4-4 system, formal primary schooling begins at 6 years with compulsory and free primary education running from ages 7 through 14. Secondary schooling for children ages 14–18 is free but not compulsory (Wanjohi, 2011). The Kenya government introduced free primary education in the year 2003 and free tuition in secondary schools in the year 2008 for learners in public schools as a means to increase access to education. This was also a response to its commitment to ensure that regional, special needs, and gender disparities in education were addressed (Ohba, 2009). This led to an exponential growth in enrollment of learners in these schools without regard to quality of education offered. For example, enrollment in primary school increased from 5,874,776 in 2002 to 6,906,355 in 2003, which represented an 18% increase in enrollment (Ogola, 2010). About 3 million more children also enrolled in primary schools in 2012 than in 2003 when the free primary education policy came into effect. Enrollment in secondary schools also increased from 43 to 67% during the same period (Ogola, 2010).

Students enrolled in the Kenyan education system are required to take very competitive national examinations organized by the Kenya National Examination Council at the end of the 8-year primary period in order to proceed from primary to private or public secondary schools. Results obtained at the end of the 4-year secondary school education are also used to select, rank, and stream students joining technical schools and colleges. Private schools do not receive funding from the central government. Many of these are individual owned businesses offering either 8-4-4 education or foreign curriculums. Public schools can further be categorized as day or boarding National, County and sub-county/extra-county schools. National and County schools are mainly boarding schools. They select students with the best grades in Kenya Certificate of Primary Education. Students with comparatively lower mean scores attend day and boarding schools at the County and sub-county levels. Many of the best performing secondary schools are public, boarding institutions (World Education News & Reviews, 2015).

Theoretically, public primary and secondary education is free for all pupils. The central government pays teachers' salaries and also part of tuition fees for students enrolled in public secondary schools. However, most of the other fees are the responsibility of parents. There are also several hidden costs that keep many young people out of school. For example, parents pay for mandatory school uniforms, entry fees, pocket money, transport costs, activity fees and sometimes contribute to teachers' motivation fees (though this is illegal and attempts have been made to outlaw it) (Mutegi, Muriithi, & Wanjala, 2017). These fees are higher in secondary schools than they are in primary schools. For this reason, many students enrolled in primary schools do not continue to secondary schools (Ogola, 2010; Oketch & Ngware, 2010; World Education News & Reviews, 2015). Whereas enrollment rates in primary school almost reached the 100% target, with gender parity having been achieved

at this level, enrollment in secondary school stands at 58.2% with more boys than girls having enrolled. This is despite the government's efforts to subsidize secondary education (Global Gender Gap Report, 2015; Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2014).

Most parents who can afford it prefer public boarding, private or single-sex boarding secondary schools where quality is presumably higher and interferences in these students' education are presumably limited (Odongo, Aloka, & Raburu, 2016). The residential environment of most boarding schools in Kenya is more conducive to learning than day schools. Boarding students also engage in several sets of co-curricular activities and interactions with peers and staff, which provides students with different opportunities for academic success, growth, and development in ways that may be different from the opportunities that day schools provide. The examination orientation and competitive nature of the 8-4-4 education system is also partly responsible for these preferences (Odongo et al., 2016).

To date, boarding schools form a significant part of educational experiences for Kenyan children, but largely so for those in public secondary, and private primary and secondary schools. The 2018 economic survey carried out by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics indicated that the majority of the 2,830,800 students enrolled in secondary schools attend public schools. By the end of 2017, there were 9111 (85%) public and 1544 (15%) private secondary schools in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). The majority of these public schools are for day scholars. Previous reports show that about 60% of secondary schools are day schools enrolling about 62% of all children in secondary schools in Kenya (Nicolai, Prizzon, & Hine, 2014). Boarding schools are about 20%, enrolling about 30% of all students. The rest are a combination of both day and boarding schools. Regardless of the type of school, Kenyan students are expected to pass the same examinations organized by the Kenya National Examination Council. Those who fail repeat classes, join either vocational training or non-formal education centers of learning, or trade schools for apprenticeships (Ogola, 2010; Oketch & Ngware, 2010).

Parenting in Light of the School System

The rigorous national examinations system used for students transitioning from primary to secondary and from secondary to higher education institutes and colleges has deselected children from schools. This has generated social inequalities to the disadvantage of those from low-income families mostly enrolled in day public schools (Ogola, 2010). Competition for the very few academically performing public boarding secondary schools has meant that parents who can afford it enroll their children in high cost boarding schools to increase their chances of transitioning to the next level of education (Lelei & Weidman, 2012). Low-income parents also strive to have their children enrolled in the best performing schools to be able to complete their education. Usually, low-income students will join day county or sub-county schools. This means that low-income parents are likely to spend a larger proportion of family

resources on education, delegate parenting responsibilities to others, or stay away from home when they work daily on jobs in order to raise money for family upkeep, school fees, and other school requirements. This can potentially minimize the available time parents are likely to spend with their children (Kimu & Steyn, 2013).

Some children from low-income families also end up dropping out of schools when their parents fail to register them in high cost boarding schools. Many parents desire public boarding secondary over day or private schools for several reasons. First, the standard of basic facilities and instructional strategies are often higher in boarding secondary schools than in non-boarding day schools frequented mostly by children from low-income families or those who did not obtain required cut-off points in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (Kosgei & Keter, 2016). Second, attending boarding schools can have positive impacts on academic achievement. Availability of several qualified teachers and required learning resources including physical facilities in public boarding secondary schools gives undue advantage to the boarders over their day counterparts (Maphoso & Mahlo, 2014).

Working parents are more likely to take their children to boarding schools because of the high potentials for academic success and the pressure it takes away from parenting demands. This is against a background of their inability to balance their parenting responsibilities and work demands (Abuya, Elungata, Mutisya, & Kabiru, 2017; Oketch & Ngware, 2010). Middle- and high-income parents are likely to choose high quality private boarding schools that accord their children a range of experiences that are likely to enhance their academic success (Egalite, 2016).

Boarding school experience in the Kenyan context, therefore, can reduce dropout rates and have positive effects on school retention rates, especially for girls. Unlike those in day schools, girls attending boarding schools experience fewer distractions, get less involved in house chores, have more preparation time available to them, and are less affected by bad weather, especially those who make daily commutes to day schools. In contrast, risks for high school dropout rates are especially high for girls in rural Kenya where students in non-boarding day schools are expected to travel long distances to reach their respective schools. Other vulnerability factors previously linked to high dropout rates that adversely affect girls in rural parts of Kenya include poor baseline performance on literacy and numeracy assessments, increasing age, early marriages, late grade entry, class repetition, an exam oriented curriculum that puts pressure on children to succeed at all costs, and involvement in distracting non-academic activities (Zuilkowski, Jukes, & Dubeck, 2016). In fact, older girls from poor backgrounds were more likely to drop out of day schools than those in boarding schools due to their active involvement in household chores or paid employment to supplement parental income (Zuilkowski et al., 2016).

In contexts where parenting by biological parents is limited and children spend a significant part of the year in boarding schools, the supervisory support or assistance provided by parents and teachers enables students to obtain higher mean scores in their examinations than did their counterparts in day schools (Kosgei & Keter, 2016). This is especially so in boarding schools where parents are responsive to their children's needs, promptly pay school fees, provide regular encouragements to their children, and purchase required learning materials (Cheruiyot, 2005; Kosgei &

464396_1_En_6_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 78 Layout: T1-Standard

Keter, 2016; Odongo et al., 2016). When boarding school life involved high teacher and parent responsiveness with an elaborate system of close monitoring, supervision, regulation, and effective utilization of time, there was reported high academic achievement. A hands-off approach, unguided freedom, and authoritarian management styles were negatively correlated with academic achievements in day schools (Odongo et al., 2016).

In view of the fact that there is a paucity of literature on determinants of student achievement in Kenya, it would be interesting to find out what actually accounts for the reported achievements among boarding school students. It is likely that the nature of facilities and availability of learning resources could have advantaged students in boarding schools. In addition, the interaction between the boarding school students and their teachers could also have accounted for the reported success over and above what their experiences and parenting could account for the success of this group of children (Kosgei & Keter, 2016).

Because of limited government investment in education, heavier burdens in Kenya's school financing became parents' responsibility. Although education is perceptually free, Kenyan parents are expected to meet the cost of books, uniform, school excursions, boarding fees, development of necessary infrastructural facilities, and emoluments for non-teaching staff engaged in boarding schools (Lelei & Weidman, 2012). Limited government funding has led to quality concerns including overcrowding in classrooms and inadequate teaching and learning resources. Overall, with the change to the 8-4-4 system, there was a strain in the existing facilities and general decline in the quality of education provided, especially in public schools (Cheruiyot, 2005; Kosgei & Keter, 2016; Odongo et al., 2016). As a result, there was a sharp increase in enrollment in private schools, which provided a higher quality of education than did public schools. For example, in the year 2003, enrollment in private schools increased by 34.7% to 253,169 from 187,966 in 2002 (Ogola, 2010).

In sum, the preference for boarding schools and economic cost of subsidizing public education and funding puts an economic strain on parents who may already be struggling to make ends meet. In resource-limited settings like Kenya, expenditure of household income on education of children diverts necessary resources from other basic needs like food, shelter, adequate clothing, and health care (Shiundu, 2018). By 2005, approximately 55% of annual per capita household expenditure went to payment of secondary school fees (Shiundu, 2018). These added responsibilities have the potential to increase parental stress, subsequently affecting parental discipline strategies and parental behavior in general (Pinderhughes, Dodge, Zelli, Bates, & Pettit, 2000; Whipple & Webster-Stratton, 1991). Parenting stress also increases inclination towards authoritarianism and use of various forms of corporal punishment (Oburu, 2004).

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

Students' academic achievement is a function of several interrelated factors. For example, a significant link has been reported between parenting practices and academic achievement. Authoritative parenting styles and parental involvement significantly predicted school success among African American students (Taylor, Hinton, & Wilson, 1995). In the Kenyan context, our literature reviews did not yield many relevant studies on the determinants of academic achievement. However, available studies suggest that authoritative parenting style was associated with higher academic performance among students enrolled in day schools in Kenya (Kosgei & Keter, 2016; Munyi, 2013; Odongo et al., 2016).

Elsewhere, outcomes of authoritative parenting styles were reportedly even better for children with lower achievement scores (Inam, Nomaan, & Abiodullah, 2016). One likely explanation of the reported higher mean scores could thus have been support availability and certainty provided by authoritative parenting styles and parental responsiveness to children's needs coupled with high demands set for them (Kosgei & Keter, 2016). Additionally, the selective nature of the 8-4-4 system of education could have resulted in sieving out students with high success potential not because they were not capable of academic achievements but due to lack of required learning opportunities. Although 8-4-4 emphasizes a practical curriculum, it has continued to have high dropout rates. For example, in the year 2014 transition from primary to secondary school stood at about 80% (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2014). A tertiary enrollment of 4% indicates that the transition to these institutions from secondary schools is also very low (Nicolai et al., 2014).

Future Directions

In the Kenyan context, it is likely that government education policies, parental education, and economic status influence parenting practices and also the level and nature of parental involvement in the education of their children (Magwa & Mugari, 2017). Essentially, there are lost opportunities and higher financial costs required of parents who enroll their children either in boarding or in day schools. Keeping children in boarding schools is an expensive endeavor to parents who are required to work extra hard for family upkeep and also be able to pay for school fees. Few parents would thus be able to provide adequately for their family's daily needs over and above getting involved in the daily monitoring and aiding learning of their children (Kimu & Steyn, 2013). As low-income parents spend more family resources on education, they are more likely to delegate parenting responsibilities to others, and work more hours to raise money for their families and school requirements. This has the potential to minimize available time parents spend with their children.

In the case of boarding schools, parents' involvement in the daily routines of their children could further be minimal and restricted to selected days within the school

calendar year when they visit their children in boarding schools (Kimu & Steyn, 2013). Children enrolled in boarding schools however spend less time with their parents compared to those in day schools. In any given year, Kenyan school-going children spend a minimum of eight months in boarding schools away from their parents. Inadvertently, therefore, parental roles are shared among the parents of the child, peers, teachers, and school authorities. In fact, teachers spend more time with children enrolled in boarding schools than do parents. How best these roles are met for the benefit of the child has yet to be determined.

The Kenyan government, however, is currently instituting strategies aimed at addressing education quality concerns, increasing popularity of day secondary schools, and providing tuition subsidies to all public secondary students regardless of whether they are in day or boarding schools (Glennerster, Kremer, Mbiti, & Takavarasha, 2011). Researchers are also concerned about the need to provide multiple opportunities for parental involvement and to remove obstacles to effective parental involvement (Kimu & Steyn, 2013). In Kenya there has been no empirical study to ascertain this, but it is likely that parent-child relationships and academic achievements may be affected by the boarding school contexts, experiences, and economic stress caused by financing education in low-income families.

In a country where education is viewed as a means of climbing the social ladder and a means to economic prosperity, even Kenyan parents without adequate financial capability would do all that it takes to enroll their children in boarding school because of possible positive outcomes. This will likely lead to a situation where a significant proportion of the family's resources is spent on high cost education mainly provided in boarding schools at the expense of other family requirements. The more parents seek to achieve economic and social success for their children through education, the more likely that boarding schools will become the preferred type of school for many Kenyan parents.

References

Abuya, B. A., Elungata, P., Mutisya, M., & Kabiru, C. W. (2017). Parental education and high school completion in the urban informal settlements in Kenya. *Cogent Education, 4,* 1369489.

Bame, N. (2006). *Cultures in early childhood care and education*. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2007. Strong Foundations: Early Childhood Care and Education Cultures in Early Childhood Care and Education.

Chernichovsky, D. (1985). Socioeconomic and demographic aspects of school enrollment and attendance in rural Botswana. *Economic Development and Cultural Change, 33,* 319–332.

Cheruiyot, L. C. (2005). *A comparative study of factors that influence academic achievement of students in boarding and day schools* (Master thesis). Retrieved from http://ir-library.ku.ac.ke/handle/123456789/2060.

Court, D., & Ghai, D. (1974). *Education, society and development: New perspectives from Kenya*. London, UK: Oxford University Press.

Egalite, A. J. (2016). How family background influences student achievement: Can schools narrow the gap? *Education Next, 16,* 70–78.

Gachathi, P. J. (1976). Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies [Gachathi Report]. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Glennerster, R., Kremer, M., Mbiti, I., & Takavarasha, K. (2011). Access and quality in the Kenyan education system: A review of the progress, challenges and potential solutions. Office of the Prime Minister, Kenya. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/po17/OneDrive/Documents/General/Research/Access%20and%20Quality%20in%20the%20Kenyan%20Education%20System%202011.06.22.pdf.

Global Gender Gap Report. (2015). Retrieved from reports weforum.o/global-gender—gap-report-2015.

Inam, A., Nomaan, S., & Abiodullah, M. (2016). Parents' parenting styles and academic achievement of underachievers and high achievers at middle school level. *Bulletin of Education and Research, 38,* 57–74.

Kamunge, J. M. (1988). Report of the Presidential Working Party on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond [Kamunge Report]. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2018). Retrieved from www.knbs.or.ke.

Kimu, A. M., & Steyn, G. M. (2013). Applying the Epstein model to investigate parent involvement in public primary schools in Kenya. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 48,* 607–622.

Kosgei, K. Z., & Keter, K. K. (2016). Conflict and trade-offs between efficiency and access: A case of day and boarding secondary schools in Kenya. *Journal of Education & Practice, 7,* 111–119.

Lelei, M., & Weidman, J. C. (2012). Education development in Kenya: Enhancing access and quality. In C. Acedo, D. Adams, & S. Popa (Eds.), *Quality and qualities: Tensions in education reforms* (pp. 143–162). Boston, MA: Sense Publishers.

Magwa, S., & Mugari, S. (2017). Factors affecting parental involvement in the schooling of children. *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection, 5,* 74–81.

Makoloo, M. O. (2005). Kenya: Minorities, indigenous peoples and ethnic diversity. Minority Rights Group International. Retrieved from www.minorityrights.org.

Maphoso, L. S. T., & Mahlo, D. (2014). Basic facilities and academic achievement: A comparative study between boarding and non-boarding schools. *International Journal of Educational Sciences, 6,* 309–315.

Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. (2014). Basic education statistical booklet. Retrieved from www.education.go.ke/downloads.

Munyi, E. W. (2013). *Influence of parenting style on academic performance of adolescent in secondary schools: A case of Manyatta constituency, Embu County* (Master thesis). Retrieved from http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/60069/Munyi.

Mutegi, R. G., Muriithi, M. K., & Wanjala, G. (2017). Education policies in Kenya: Does free secondary education promote equity in public secondary schools? *International Journal of Development Research, 7,* 16696–16699.

Nicolai, S., Prizzon, A., & Hine, S. (2014). *Beyond basic: The growth of post-primary education in Kenya*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Nyarko, K. (2014). Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in Ghana. In H. Selin (Ed.), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-western cultures* (pp. 231–240). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Oburu, P. O. (2004). *Social adjustment of Kenyan orphaned grandchildren, perceived caregiving stresses and discipline strategies used by their fostering grandmothers* (Ph.D. dissertation). Göteborg University, Sweden.

Odongo, A. A., Aloka, P. J., & Raburu, P. (2016). Influence of parenting styles on the adolescent students' academic achievement in Kenyan day secondary schools. *Journal of Education and Practice, 7,* 101–108.

Ogola, F. O. (2010). *Free education in Kenya's public primary schools: Addressing the challenges.* Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).

Ohba, A. (2009). Does free secondary education enable the poor to gain access? A study from rural Kenya. CREATE Pathways to Access. Research Monograph 21.

Oketch, M., & Ngware, M. (2010). Free primary education still excludes the poorest of the poor in urban Kenya. *Development in Practice, 20,* 603–610.
Oketch, M. O., & Rollerstone, C. M. (2007). Policies on free primary and secondary education in East Africa. A review of the literature. Consortium for Research on Educational Access (CREATE). Retrieved from: http://www.create-rpc.org.
Ominde, S. H. (1964). Kenya Education Commission Report [Ominde Report], part 1. Nairobi: Government Printer.
Ominde, S. H. (1965). Kenya Education Commission Report [Ominde Report], part 2. Nairobi: Government Printer.
Pinderhughes, E. E., Dodge, K. A., Zelli, A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2000). Discipline responses: Influences of parents, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, beliefs about parenting, stress, and cognitive-emotional processes. *Journal of Family Psychology, 14,* 380–400.
Republic of Kenya. (1981). Report of the Presidential Working Party on the Second University [Mackay Report]. Nairobi: Government Printer.
Sheffield, J. R. (1973). *Education in Kenya: A historical study*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Shiundu, A. (2018). Fact sheet: Cost of providing 'truly' free secondary education in Kenya. Africa Check Retrieved from https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-cost-providing-free-secondary-education-kenya/.
Taylor, L. C., Hinton, I. D., & Wilson, M. N. (1995). Parental influences on academic performance in African American students. *Journal of Child Family Studies, 4,* 293–302.
Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (2012). A theory of individualism and collectivism. In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories of social psychology* (pp. 498–520). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Wadende, P. A., Fite, K., & Lasser, J. (2014). The Kenyan parent in changing times. In H. Selin (Ed.), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-western cultures* (pp. 267–276). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
Wanjohi, A. M. (2011). Development of Education system in Kenya since independence. KENPRO Online Papers Portal. Retrieved from www.kenpro.org/papers.
Whipple, E. E., & Webster-Stratton, C. (1991). The role of parental stress in physically abusive families. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 15,* 279–291.
White, J. L., & Parham, T. A. (1990). *The psychology of Blacks: An African American perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
World Education News & Reviews. (2015). Education in Kenya. Retrieved from https://wenr.wes.org/2015/06/education-kenya.
Yovsi, R. D. (2014). Parenting among the Nso of the north-west province of Cameroun. In H. Selin (Ed.), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-western cultures* (pp. 253–266). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
Zuilkowski, S. S., Jukes, M. C. H., & Dubeck, M. M. (2016). "I failed, no matter how hard I tried": A mixed-methods study of the role of achievement in primary school dropout in rural Kenya. *International Journal of Educational Development, 50,* 100–107.

Paul Oburu is currently the project director of a global research network based at New York University and New York University-Abu Dhabi with links to higher education institutes in Africa and the Middle East. He is an Associate Professor in Child Development at Maseno University, Kenya where he also served as the Director of Quality Assurance and Performance Management. His research interests include parenting, caregiving stress, mental health and adjustment problems of grandmother caregivers and orphaned children.

Catherine Mbagaya is a lecturer and researcher in the Department of Educational Psychology of Maseno University, Kenya. Her teaching interests are in Early Childhood Education, Developmental Psychology, and Developmental Psychopathology. Her research focus is on the role of

455 family and child characteristics on the psychosocial well-being and learning outcomes of children
456 in early childhood and child maltreatment and its influence on development.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in the Philippines	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Alampay**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Liane Peña**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Ateneo de Manila University
	Address	Quezon City, Philippines
	Email	lpalampay@ateneo.edu
Author	Family Name	**Garcia**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Aileen S.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	South Dakota State University
	Address	Brookings, USA
	Email	aileen.garcia@sdstate.edu

Abstract

Filipino families place a high value on children's educational achievement. Providing for children's education is a primary goal of Filipino parents and conversely, children consider educational success as the means by which they can meet filial obligations and parental expectations. Interdependence in Filipino families is such that education-related decisions and behaviors reflect on family rather than individual welfare. This chapter presents the current Philippine education system and its challenges vis-a-vis this cultural context of the Filipino family, focusing particularly on families belonging to the lower socioeconomic class. Major education reforms known as the K-12 law occurred in 2013, expanding basic education to 13 years, but issues with low quality and ineffective resource allocation remain. Poverty has significant effects on student enrollment and completion rates, especially at the secondary or high school level. Given socioeconomic constraints, Filipino parents employ strategies to meet their family's education aspirations, such as overseas migration.

Education and Parenting in the Philippines

Liane Peña Alampay and Aileen S. Garcia

Introduction

The Philippines is a lower middle income country (LMIC) in South East Asia with a population of 106 million and where 22% live below the national poverty line (World Bank, n.d.). Thirty-eight percent of the population is under 18 (UNICEF, 2018). Pervasive poverty and the very young population present a tremendous demand on the country's education system, which is undermined by persistent resource constraints, bureaucratic and ineffective governance, and devastating natural disasters. Philippine education is beset by issues both old and new: from inadequate allocation of resources for demographic sectors and geographic areas most in need, to a newly-implemented law (i.e., the "K-12" law) that entailed substantial changes in the content and structure of Philippine basic education.

Against this backdrop of significant challenges in the Philippines' education system is the high value placed on education in Filipino families. Emphasis on educational attainment and achievements is a key theme in Asian parenting, alongside familial interdependence and reciprocity, and parental authority (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Filipino parents consider the support of children's schooling as among their primary goals, and a child's completion of higher education (i.e., *makapagtapos*) is a source of immense family pride. Conversely, for children, education is considered the means by which they can meet filial obligations and parental expectations (Alampay, 2014). How do Filipino families live out these values, given the context of a struggling education system?

L. P. Alampay (✉)
Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines
e-mail: lpalampay@ateneo.edu

A. S. Garcia
South Dakota State University, Brookings, USA
e-mail: aileen.garcia@sdstate.edu

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_7

464396_1_En_7_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 94 Layout: T1-Standard

This chapter aims to present the state of Philippine basic education vis-à-vis Filipino families' decisions, strategies, and behaviors regarding children's education, from both macrosystem and microsystem perspectives. Macrosystemic factors include the socio-economic context and overseas migration; microsystem factors involve parenting behaviors and school involvement. The chapter focuses on public or government-funded basic education (i.e., primary/elementary and secondary/high school levels) and on lower-income families, as Philippine public education primarily caters to this socio-demographic sector.

Philippine education has been shaped by the country's colonial history. Three decades of Spanish rule saw the establishment of sectarian schools by Catholic religious orders—many still in existence today—that catered mainly to elite families during the repressive regime. Spain then ceded the Philippines to the United States in the 1898 Treaty of Paris as part of the terms ending the Spanish-American war. In 1901, the American-led Philippine Commission established the Department of Public Instruction, mandated a centralized school system, and enacted three levels of public education, namely primary (elementary), secondary (high school), and tertiary (college). This system was gradually implemented in the course of a decade, marked by the arrival of 600 American school teachers (called "Thomasites" as they arrived in the ship USS Thomas) to educate Filipino masses in preparation for self-governance (Apilado, 2008; Lardizabal, 1991). The Philippine system of education is thus largely modelled after the American public school system in structure, methods, materials, and language. To this day, the colonial character of Philippine education is considered a boon as well as a handicap. For instance, Filipinos' facility for English is thought to present an advantage compared to neighboring countries in Asia, but the Westernized system has been continuously criticized as promoting colonial mentality and social inequalities, and weakening national values, thinking, and culture (Constantino, 1970).

Current national education policies and programs aim to meet the targets of the 2030 United Nations Agenda for Sustainable Development, specifically the goal to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities. Favorable baseline indicators include net enrolment rates of 96% and completion rates of 93% among primary school children. However, enrolment and school completion decrease as children age, with only 74% net enrolment in secondary education and 82% completion rate (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2018b). The drop off in secondary school enrolment is steep: analyses of data from 2002 to 2007 showed that the odds of attending school at age 12 were approximately half than at age 9, and the largest decline was between the ages of 15 and 16 (Maligalig, Caoili-Rodriguez, Martinez, & Cuevas, 2010). With respect to gender parity, Filipino girls attain higher levels of education and literacy than boys, a trend that is different from the rest of the region. Females are 1.35 times more likely to be in high school than males (Maligalig et al., 2010), and 13% of females obtain a college degree compared to 9.5% of males (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015).

With respect to the quality of education, mean percentage scores in standardized national achievement tests for Math, Science, English, and Social Studies at the primary and secondary levels fall below the goal of 75% set by the Department of

Education, at 69% overall for Grade 6 and 49% at Grade 10 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017). Several issues compromise student learning in public schools. One is the high pupil-teacher ratio, which was reported in the school year 2017 to be an average of 35 students for every classroom teacher (Montemayor, 2018). However, the disparities between rural and urban schools can be extreme. In several high schools in the urban national capital region, the average number of students per classroom can go over 50. Conducting classes in shifts—as many as 3 per day (e.g., 7–11 am, 12–4 pm, 5–8 pm) has been a stop-gap measure to address congestion, but reduces students' time in the classroom by 2–3 h. For schools that lack teachers and facilities, more common in rural and remote areas, multigrade classrooms see students of different grade levels sharing desks and books. Learning materials—even basic cleaning materials—depend on out-of-pocket contributions of teachers and the community who can ill afford them (David & Albert, 2012; Symaco, 2013).

The Department of Education has received the largest share of the national budget (approximately 20%) in recent years, and there have been promising interventions to decentralize access to funds for school operations and infuse resources on the ground for teacher training, support, and infrastructure. However, such reforms that would have disbursed necessary funds to the most disadvantaged schools and regions are not effectively and completely implemented. Thus, the problems persist albeit at a lesser scale (David & Albert, 2012).

The Philippines as a Cultural Setting

The family is at the center of the Filipino value system that emphasizes cohesiveness and interdependence in relationships, respect and deference towards elders, and fulfillment of obligations (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Medina, 2001; Peterson, 1993). Familial interdependence is such that individual choices and actions are subordinate to considerations of the family's welfare (Alampay, 2014). For example, school-related decisions, such as whether to embark on college and what major to take, and academic successes and setbacks, reflect on the family and can bring about rewards, pride, or shame.

Related to interdependence and reciprocity is the Filipino value of *utang na loob* (literally, "debt of being"), which refers to the immeasurable debt owed to another person not merely because of having received some favor, but based on deep respect and gratitude (Enriquez, 1994). Children are expected to express a sense of *utang na loob* towards their parents, manifested in respectfulness and honoring of family obligations, for having reared them and undergoing hardship or sacrifices in the process (Medina, 2001). An example is how Filipino students recognize their parents' financial and personal struggles to send them to school. The term *iginapang* (to crawl or undergo a painstaking process) is used to describe how parents persist through poverty and challenging circumstances for the sake of their children's education (Garcia, 2018; Reyes & Galang, 2009). For Filipino children, then, academic achievement is a means to express filial piety and gratitude, an opportunity to "give

back" or repay their parents' efforts, and ultimately to improve the economic status of their families in the future (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Garo-Santiago, Mansukhani, & Resureccion, 2009; Reyes & Galang, 2009).

These cultural values of interdependence, *utang na loob*, and meeting familial responsibilities have implications for how families consider the costs and benefits of schooling, and the strategies they employ to leverage the value and benefits of education in the context of socio-economic constraints.

Current School System

In 2013, the Philippine government enacted the most fundamental change in the country's educational system yet, under the Republic Act 10533 "Enhanced Basic Education Act" or the K-12 law. According to the Department of Education, the policy is considered "the most comprehensive basic education reform initiative ever done in the country since the establishment of the public education system more than a century ago" (Okabe, 2013, p. 2). In addition to making Kindergarten mandatory, the K-12 law adds two years to basic education, that is, two years of Senior High School (Grades 11 and 12), to the previous six years of primary and four years of secondary education. This brings the Philippines' 13-year basic education system in congruence with other countries. Notably, the Philippines was the last in Asia and previously one of three countries with less than 12 years of basic education. The increase in the number of years of basic education resolves some key problems endemic in the previous system. For one, the secondary school curriculum is decongested and spread out across the additional levels, which in theory would allow more time for learning major concepts in the different subjects per week; second, high school graduates are eligible to enter tertiary education institutions in other countries now that they have the requisite years of basic education; third, high school graduates may be eligible and more prepared for employment, as they are graduating at age 18 rather than 16 and will possess more specialized technical skills (Official Gazette, n.d.; Okabe, 2013).

Apart from the extension of years of basic education, a number of key reforms in the curriculum were conducted at the primary and secondary levels. At the primary school level, reforms include the implementation of Mother Tongue-based multilingual education, which involves the use of the child's first language (any of 12 major languages in the country) from Kindergarten to Grade 3, gradually transitioning to the languages of Filipino and English at the higher levels (Official Gazette, n.d.). Previously, Filipino and English were the primary languages used in schools and in resource materials. However, the Philippines is home to over 170 languages, and the use of English rather than mother tongue in the early levels can compromise young children's acquisition and fluency in reading skills (Abadzi, 2013). The use of mother tongue in the early years, and the contextualization of the primary curriculum using localized concepts, stories, and activities, is thought to better support children's school motivation and achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2002).

464396_1_En_7_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 94 Layout: T1-Standard

The major change at the secondary level is the introduction of specialized tracks in Senior High School. Students can opt to take an Academic, Technical-Vocational-Livelihood (i.e., Home Economics, Information and Communications Technology, Agri-Fishery Arts, or Industry Arts), Sports, or the Arts and Design Track. The specialized tracks, alongside a core curriculum that focuses on holistic development and "21st century skills" of life-long learning, information technology, and effective communication, aim to prepare Filipino students for further education, employment, or entrepreneurship (Official Gazette, n.d.). Should students opt to undertake the Tech-Voc track, for instance, they can obtain certification of skills from the national Technical Education and Skills Development Authority and be ready for employment in jobs not requiring an academic tertiary degree. Enhancing Filipino students' relevant skills is aligned with national poverty alleviation efforts and sustainable development targets.

The first cohort to complete secondary education under the new K-12 program graduated in the year 2018, and the first cohort to complete the entire K-12 curriculum will graduate in 2023. Thus, whether the reforms fulfill the ambitious aims remain to be seen. Meanwhile, the challenges in implementing the law and transitioning the primary, secondary, and tertiary schools to the K-12 system have been immense, and it will take time for the changes to stabilize and for the real impact of K-12 on student and economic development to be actualized.

Parenting in Light of the School System

The succeeding sections discuss the implications of the education system on Filipino families, particularly those of low socioeconomic status. Education-related decisions reflect the cultural valuing of interdependence in the family, and often pertain to family welfare, rather than individual achievement. In addition, social class shapes parents' socialization goals, aspirations, and practices with respect to their children's education. Studies have shown that lower class families differ significantly from middle class families in their child rearing and in their interactions with schools in ways that, ironically, may perpetuate social inequalities (Bodovski, 2010; Lareau, 1987).

The costs of education for low-income families. Public education, although subsidized by the government, is not "free" for the significant number of poor households in the Philippines. An assumption is that parents would decide to keep their children in school to the extent that they are able to afford the investment (Arguillas & Williams, 2010). Going to school involves transportation costs; purchase of school uniforms, textbooks, and school supplies; provision of snacks and/or lunch. Such out-of-pocket costs can discourage school attendance if other basic needs are perceived as more important. The lack of school uniforms, shoes, and bags can also be a source of embarrassment for children, who are alienated and marked as lacking sufficient educational support and preparation (Institute of Family Life and Children's Studies [IFLCS], 2016). School attendance also represents an opportunity cost for

families who expect or prefer children to contribute to the household so as to alleviate financial struggles. Thus, although the benefits of education are well-established and widely accepted—as a cultural value, as well as for the child and the family's future prospects—limited resources necessitate the weighing of benefits and trade-offs in parents' decisions about their children's education.

That public education may be burdensome or inaccessible for the poor is shown in the lower school retention and completion rates for low-income households, especially in secondary education. In the 2017 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey (APIS; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2018a), only 23.7% of the respondents living below the poverty line had completed high school education and beyond; by contrast, for those in the upper 70% of the income stratum, 54% had completed at least high school education. Given economic models that show that the odds of attending school increase substantially for every year of education achieved by the household head (Maligalig et al., 2010), the pattern of low education attainment among lower-income families suggests a perpetuating cycle.

Reasons for dropping out of school confirm the costs of secondary education, with "insufficient income" a consistent response among parents and students. The most frequently reported reason for dropping out for 12–15 year olds, however, is "lack of interest" (46%) (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015). Lack of interest may imply that, perhaps, the school curriculum fails to meet the needs of lower-income adolescents and is perceived as irrelevant or uncertain in payoff. Researchers have remarked on the pitfalls of education systems in low- and middle-income countries that maintain colonial and "elitist" ideals that emphasize excellence and competitiveness, complex science and math, and the use of English (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011). Combined with the challenging learning environments such as multi-shifts or overcrowded classrooms, the curriculum and approach may not benefit poor adolescents in a practical way, hence, their lack of motivation and interest. Moreover, low-income parents may not themselves have the knowledge and experience to effectively help their children navigate the norms and expectations in the school (Bodovski, 2010).

Among Filipinos, "lack of interest" may also euphemistically refer to a lack of competence or *hilig* (inclination or affinity), and is cited when the child is performing poorly (e.g., "*walang hilig*" or has no inclination for school). While "lack of interest" in school may be endemic among youth in general, a lackadaisical attitude or poor performance makes it more probable that parents will decide to invest their limited resources in other needs, or perhaps in another child who shows a more positive inclination for school. The child who is pulled out from school could then contribute to the household in other ways, such as through employment or watching over younger siblings (David & Albert, 2012).

For students 16 and older, the frequent reasons for dropping out are employment or job seeking (31%), insufficient income (16%), and marriage (14%) (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015). Indeed if a child is working, the odds of not attending school are 9.87 times greater than when he is not, and boys are twice as likely to be working than girls (Maligalig et al., 2010). Income represents an immediate benefit for poor families, even if more years of schooling will result in higher earnings. Filipino college graduates earn twice as much as those who did not finish college,

464396_1_En_7_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 94 Layout: T1-Standard

and more than three times compared to high school graduates (Maligalig et al., 2010). Indeed, Filipino parents expect that it is around the second year of college that returns can be expected; they do not believe that a high school education would make their child employable in an office or a regular salaried job (David & Albert, 2012). Ironically, however, the belief that the returns of education are high only at higher levels of attainment (i.e., college) and are low at lower levels may discourage efforts to invest in education. If poor parents think it is unlikely that their children will complete high school, much less college, they may decide that it is more viable to engage in other income-generating activities (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011).

Given the additional 3 years of mandatory school in the K-12 system (i.e., Kindergarten and Grades 11 and 12), a clear implication is the additional cost it entails for low-income families. Comparing, for instance, the proportion of respondents in the 2017 APIS from different socioeconomic classes who are enrolled in Senior High School, 12.3% are from the upper 70% income bracket, whereas only 7.5% are from the lower 30% (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2018b). Critics have claimed that the additional years of high school would exacerbate the secondary school drop-out rate.

On the other hand, the proponents of K-12 point out that the introduction of the Technical-Vocational-Livelihood track in Senior High School can make the school curriculum more responsive and relevant to the motivations of lower-income students, whose need for viable employment is more urgent than preparation for academic or higher education. Adolescents can obtain certification in middle-level technical skills and participate in internships and job training, facilitating employment in electronics, trade, and agriculture (Okabe, 2013). Assuming that the local job market demands are congruent with the aims of K-12 and Senior High education, then the direct and relevant benefits of the additional two years may offset the cost.

Conditional cash transfer. As a macrosystem solution to the costs of education for low-income families, the *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program* (4Ps) was established in 2008 as the national poverty alleviation and social development program. Modeled after the conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs in South America and Africa, the program provides direct monetary support to the poorest households across the country, conditional on beneficiaries' fulfillment of certain health, education, and family development services. The cash benefit takes the form of a health grant amounting to about $10 per household every month, and an education grant of $6 per child in primary school and $10 per child in secondary school (up to 3 children per household).

The 4Ps program has direct implications for supporting the education of low-income Filipino students. In order to receive the subsidies, child-beneficiaries aged 3–18 must enroll in school and maintain an attendance of at least 85% of class days every month. The condition therefore obliges families to keep their children in school and provides the funds to compensate for the costs. To demonstrate this effect, a 2011 study compared the school enrollment rates before and after the implementation of 4Ps for a panel of nearly 2000 4Ps and non-4Ps children, followed across 3 years, from 3 regions in the country (Chaudhury & Okamura, 2012). The analysis revealed a strong and significant impact of 4Ps on school enrollment among the younger cohort of children aged 9–12, with a 9% increase in enrollment. The difference in enroll-

ment for the 4Ps versus non-4Ps children narrowed to 2%. The increase in school enrollment was most evident among younger children in households with 3 children or fewer. By contrast, the enrollment rate for older children (13–17) decreased for both 4Ps and non-4Ps beneficiaries across the time period. At the time of the study, the 4Ps program was limited to beneficiaries up to 14 years old, and this can explain why the program failed to improve enrollment in secondary school. (In 2014, the education benefit was extended to children 6–18.) But in addition—as had been previously discussed—the opportunity costs of going to school are higher for older children, and the 4Ps benefits may not suffice to compensate.

Another mixed-methods evaluation study examined the behavioral and attitudinal changes that had resulted from participating in the 4Ps program. Approximately 1000 respondents from six provinces, who were among the earliest beneficiaries of the program, responded to surveys, interviews, and focus group discussions to describe how the 4Ps program influenced their attitudes and behaviors (IFLCS, 2016). Child beneficiaries reported that the program indeed eased the costs of school attendance; one school girl relayed that the buffer provided by the cash grant allowed them to come to school in appropriate uniforms and with school supplies, thereby minimizing their alienation and embarrassment: "*Before, we were bullied or were being looked down on because we didn't have anything or our shoes were old and unusable. Sometimes we don't go to school because we have nothing. But now, we can buy a new pair of shoes…*" (p. 30). The cash grant also equalized opportunities for education among the children, in contrast to the strategy of investing resources in just one or select few of the children who will be supported through higher education. "*Before, all attention and financial support is given to my sister who is in college—I was jealous. We, the younger children, are given to the care of whoever can take us just so my mother could work*" (p. 30). The qualitative data also revealed, however, that the cash grant does not always go towards the school expenses of the children, but is utilized for other needs, "vices" such as drinking and gambling, or debt payments. As the primary social welfare program in the country, it would be important to continuously monitor and investigate how the 4Ps CCT program facilitates education outcomes and the K-12 initiative in particular, and whether it achieves its aims of breaking cycles of intergenerational poverty.

Education in the context of generalized family exchange. Mentioned in the previous sections is the practice of investing resources towards the schooling of one or few children, when parents cannot afford to send all children to school. In this strategy, parents consider the potential returns on investments of one child versus another, based on children's motivations, abilities, and likelihood of completing higher levels of education (David & Albert, 2012). Peterson (1993) describes the cultural practice of generalized exchange among Filipino households or extended family members, wherein a child's contributions to the family can be made and repaid among siblings and across generations, beyond the parent-child dyad or the nuclear family. Education plays a key role in both lateral and intergenerational reciprocal exchanges of resources; education is both the instrument or means to provide support, as well as the end goal (for future support). For impoverished families, education can serve to diversify the family's resources if the primary economic activity, such as farming

464396_1_En_7_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 94 Layout: T1-Standard

or fishing, is vulnerable to vagaries of markets and climate and other uncertainties. For example, in a family of 10 mostly engaged in farming activities, Peterson (1993) narrates that:

> Of the first five children, only the fourth, Ester, finished high school. Ester completed a teacher training course in Baguio City, and returned home to teach elementary school. She encouraged the education of five younger siblings and helped support their school expenses. (p. 574)

One of Ester's younger siblings, whom she was able to support through high school, worked hard in his farming operation to send at least one of his 10 children to college. When that goal was met, their daughter who had graduated from college and was working in the city sent a majority of her paycheck home to her parents. Thus, although a family is generally poor, certain members of the kin—most frequently the older children, female, or the one perceived as particularly capable—are able to finish secondary and even higher education, thereby sustaining the younger, less educated, or less able family members during times of acute need as well as supporting their aging parents (Peterson, 1993).

The decision to send a child to school is therefore a family matter, not an individual's choice, and a strategy to sustain a household network laterally and into future generations. In the Philippines, females generally attain higher levels of education than males; they tend to contribute more money, goods, and support (moral support, advice) in the family, whereas males more often contribute labor (Peterson, 1993). When families are forced to choose because of limited resources for education, daughters are generally perceived to be the better "investment," as they are more likely to be motivated and committed to school; on the other hand, there are lower achievement expectations for sons and more disciplinary problems (David & Albert, 2012). The obligations to care for siblings and parents likewise fall to daughters more than sons; hence, investments in girls' education benefit the family as a whole (Liwag, De la Cruz, & Macapagal, 1998).

Parental migration to support education. Yet another systemic and increasingly prevalent family strategy to sustain children's education is for one or both parents to migrate from rural to urban areas or overseas to occupy better-paying jobs. It is well-documented that education-related aspirations for their children underlie parents' decisions to migrate for work, even if it means leaving their children behind (Parreñas, 2006). In 2017, the number of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) who worked abroad was estimated at 2.3 million (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, n.d.). The proportion of female OFWs was higher than males (54 and 46%, respectively), a function of the phenomenon of the "global care chain," where care and domestic labor from less developed countries is transferred to higher income countries where the gender dynamics of care have changed (Parreñas, 2006). The largest percentage of OFWs (38%) is employed in elementary occupations, mostly in Middle Eastern countries. Despite low-skilled jobs, the total remittances sent by OFWs for a given 6-month period in 2017 amounted to approximately $3.9 billion (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, n.d.).

In several interviews with children of OFW mothers, Parreñas (2006) reveals the recurring theme of education as the *raison d'être* for why mothers leave their children behind, and conversely, children's school performance as the "repayment" for the mothers' sacrifices:

> "She told us that she wants us to study while she works in Saudi Arabia. She wanted us to study hard. She wanted us to just study and study…" In every letter and every phone conversation…his mother urges him to study. Phone conversations often concern school: lessons, tuition fees, housing costs, and various other educational expenses. (p. 132)

Another teenage child said, "*I am inspired by my mother…if she is suffering and struggling in Saudi Arabia, then we have a need to also struggle in our studies…*" (p. 133).

Arguillas and Williams (2010), using data from the Survey of Households and Children of Overseas Workers involving Filipinos ages 19–21, reported that the mother's migration status had the positive effect of increasing the total years of education of sons and daughters, compared to those with non-migrant parents. Moreover, the frequency of remittances improves the likelihood of completing high school and attaining some college, particularly for sons. However, if both parents are migrant workers (typically leaving the care of children to other kin), a negative effect is seen on the total years of sons' schooling compared to sons with non-migrant parents. The daughters' education does not seem to be affected by parental migration to as large a degree as the sons'. This suggests that with sufficient resources from overseas employment, the likelihood of higher educational attainment extends to sons (where daughters mainly benefit otherwise). Perhaps the more substantial socio-emotional costs of having both parents away, however, tip the scales towards more disadvantages for the sons.

The results are similar for younger children aged 9–11 years old. Based on Philippine data from the Child Health and Migrant Parents in Southeast Asia project (Asis & Ruiz-Marave, 2013), a "migration advantage" was seen in families with fathers as OFWs and where mothers remain at home as the primary caregiver. Compared with children in non-migrant households, children with migrant fathers were more likely to be at pace in their schooling and scored higher in academic achievement. Children of OFWs also were more likely to attend private schools, where the quality of education is higher, than their counterparts with non-migrant parents.

These studies suggest that parental migration translates to economic benefits that have positive effects on children's education outcomes. Migration as a strategy is consistent with the notion of families weighing the costs and benefits of sending children to school, given limited socio-economic resources. In this case, OFW parents have considered it impossible to provide their children with high quality education or attain the aspiration of *makapagtapos* (to finish or complete college education) while remaining in their country or rural town where they have limited socio-economic prospects. Leaving their families behind is then regarded as a worthy sacrifice in exchange for providing children with the means to attend and succeed in school.

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

The succeeding sections discuss Filipino parents' more direct efforts to be involved in and support their children's education. Unfortunately, few studies have documented specific parenting practices or behaviors as they relate to children's school achievement, and most involve younger children. As has been the theme in this chapter, socioeconomic class is considered a key factor in shaping parents' efforts to support and socialize their children towards educational success (Lareau, 1987). Such efforts may be more or less effective depending on the forms of cultural capital that are prioritized in the school system.

As an example of this perspective, Bodovski (2010) showed positive and strong associations between parental social class and parenting practices known as "concerted cultivation," which involve: direct and focused interactions with the child, such as reading, teaching, and helping with homework; organizing the child's participation in extracurricular activities such as dance, sports, arts; family educational trips to such places as the library, museum, etc. Middle class parents more frequently engage in these activities than lower-income and less educated parents. In addition, Lareau (1987) described the contrasts in the nature of interactions between parents and school teachers and administrators. Lower income parents tended to interact less frequently and more formally with teachers, and depended on them more heavily for the learning of their children; whereas interactions with middle class parents were more akin to a school-family partnership.

For Filipino parents, to persevere at work and earn enough to pay for fees, uniforms, and school supplies is considered essential to support their children's academic life (Garcia, 2018). Participants in Garcia's (2018) qualitative study also described catering to the children's most basic needs as ways to help their children succeed in school. Health and safety concerns were specifically mentioned, such as providing vitamins to help ensure that there are no sick days. Walking or commuting with younger children to and from school can preoccupy mothers' time, given the busy and overcrowded streets of the city and the lack of designated sidewalks for pedestrians. Parenting practices that may be considered commonplace and pragmatic are regarded as purposeful efforts to keep children in school and help them succeed academically. Such examples of parental support are cited less in Western literature, reflecting the socio-economic context of Filipino families (Garcia, 2018).

Home-based involvement refers to parents' activities such as monitoring and assisting the child with homework, and providing opportunities for children to enrich their academic skills (Eccles & Harold, 1993). Among parents of preschool-aged children in a city in Metro Manila, survey results showed that the most frequently reported parental involvement activities include reading to the child and buying materials which could help the child learn to read and write (Tabbada-Rungduin, Abulon, Fetalvero, & Suatengco, 2014). Low-income parents of first to third-grade children indicated various acts of support for children's schooling, such as monitoring children's school work and helping with homework and projects (David & Albert, 2012; Garcia, 2018). Filipino terms mentioned by the participants related

to supporting their children's education were *alalayan* (assist), *gabayan* (guide), *tutukan* (focus on), and *igapang* (persevere through poverty). Most noted that they allot time with their children to reinforce and explain concepts learned in school, provide materials for school projects, and quiz them to review for upcoming exams. Parents also administered rewards and punishments to encourage children to do their best. Rewards include small monetary amounts and eating favorite fast food; punishments include reprimands and threats, withdrawal of privileges, guilt induction, and mild spanking (Garcia, 2018).

Analyzing the association between mothers' educational attainment and children's school attendance and completion, David and Albert (2012) found that mothers' low educational attainment is associated with citing the child's "lack of interest" as a reason for dropping out. The authors surmise that the limitations of the mother's formal education make it increasingly difficult for her to assist her child in school work. It is possible that parents are providing less support by the higher grade levels, just when school work becomes more demanding. In these instances, school remedial or mentoring programs can continue to support children's learning. Consistent with the work of Lareau (1987), less educated parents, who likely have not experienced nor been socialized in navigating expectations and dynamics in the school, may also need support in providing socioemotional and motivational guidance to their children.

By contrast, among middle- and higher-income families, it is not uncommon for parents to enroll their children in after-school tutorial centers when academic demands are beyond parents' capacities to address. Tutorial centers teach children in small groups (3–6 students) and provide academic support (e.g., helping with homework) or enrichment activities (e.g., teaching skills or strategies not taught in school such as in *Kumon* or *Enopi*). Hiring a private tutor to conduct one-on-one teaching is also typical. In the past, having a tutor is usually associated with poor academic performance. But given the increasingly demanding school curriculum and competitive school environment in private schools, tutoring is often the default set-up after school (Garcia, 2018).

Filipino parents also engage in school-based involvement such as communicating with teachers regarding the child's performance. Parents reported coming to teacher-initiated meetings to consult about children's difficulties in studies. Parents also initiate meetings with teachers concerning problematic behaviors such as bullying or conflicts with peers (Garcia, 2018). In this type of involvement, parents with low levels of education are again in a vulnerable position. Teachers may lament that parents who do not come to PTA or guidance counselor meetings do not care about or value their children's performance. However, David and Albert's (2012) interviews indicate that uneducated parents feel alienated in such settings, do not fully understand the proceedings, and also do not have the flexibility to take time out from their work to attend a school activity. Teachers and administrators can be more sensitive to the family context and provide more effective and inclusive means to interact with and communicate information to parents.

Volunteering in school is another type of school-based involvement. Garcia (2018) found that the nature of Filipino parents' volunteer work differs from that described

in Western studies. For instance, caregivers reported that they participate in helping to clean and repair the school classrooms and furniture in time for the opening of the school year. Given the limited number of staff in public schools, teachers also ask for parents' assistance when they need extra manpower in school-related functions, such as classroom parties, school contests, and club activities. These forms of parent volunteering are necessary given the lack of resources and support staff for teachers in many public schools.

In sum, Filipino parents involve themselves in their children's education through various means, from the more pragmatic, particularly by ensuring physical health and safety, to assisting in school work, meeting teachers, and volunteering for school needs. Parents with lower levels of education may have diminished capacity to support their children's schooling and engage effectively with teachers, which can result in the child's poorer motivation, interest, and performance. Teachers and administrators, school programs, and other interventions can buttress parents' efforts to continue to assist, monitor, and motivate children in their school work.

Future Directions

This chapter provided an overview of the Philippine public education system and how Filipino families respond to the challenges it presents. For low-income families, the obstacles to enrolling in school and sustaining attendance through completion are mainly socioeconomic in nature. In the context of Filipino values of interdependence and reciprocity, families employ strategies to meet education aspirations via consideration of costs and practicable benefits to the family. The strategies described here are not ideal, however, and themselves engender certain losses. For instance, due to gender-based parental expectations, boys may be disadvantaged and end up with less education in situations where parents decide who among their children to send to school. Parents leave children behind to undertake employment overseas in order to provide sustained and higher-quality education for their children, and consequently are unavailable to provide direct nurturing and supervision (which likely has its own effects on school performance). More research can be done to unpack these family strategies and processes and their consequences for children's school achievement and other domains of development.

Families' efforts to support their children's education are embedded in broader systems and structures that include government economic and social welfare programs. For parents to fulfill educational goals for their children, they must be sustained by national economic and social development initiatives. The 4Ps CCT program is one such program that aims to alleviate the economic pressures of poor families and facilitate the school enrollment of disadvantaged children. On the other hand, overseas migration is a response to pervasive underemployment and slow economic development. Bringing children to school and raising enrollment figures is only half the battle. In accord with sustainable development goals, the government has to do better in providing the material and human resources to make education more acces-

sible and inclusive, and with more relevant curricula and teaching approaches to effectively promote the learning of necessary skills. It will be important to evaluate the K-12 reforms in the years to come to examine how lower-income students, in particular, benefit from the mother tongue and contextualized curriculum in the early grades, and the diversification of tracks in senior high school.

School dropout is not solely an issue of financial lack or burden, but may also be rooted in parents' limitations to provide more direct and psychological forms of support. Low-income parents with low levels of education may be unable to assist and motivate children beyond the provision of pragmatic or material resources. Whether in schoolwork, relating with teachers, or navigating other dynamics in the school system, disadvantaged parents may not have the knowledge and experience or "cultural capital" to continue to sustain their children through higher levels of education. Unfortunately, schools may view parental involvement and investments as a reflection of the value that parents place on children's education, where low involvement, and decisions to pull out children, are attributed to low valuing of education. Future research on parental involvement in education should explore the standards and practices that schools implicitly promote, as well as the parent and student behaviors that are rewarded, and whether these facilitate or impede the participation of lower-income and less-educated parents and their children. Interventions may aim to build parents' skills and knowledge so they may participate more in their children's schooling, in ways that benefit children's motivation and achievement. These should be supplemented by inclusive school systems and programs that provide additional support for disadvantaged families.

References

Abadzi, H. (2013). Education for all in low-income countries: A crucial role for cognitive scientists. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioral Science, 3,* 1–23.

Alampay, L. P. (2014). Parenting in the Philippines. In *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-western cultures* (pp. 459–474). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Apilado, D. (2008). A history of paradox: Some notes on Philippine public education in the 20th century. In A. B. I. Bernardo (Ed.), *The paradox of Philippine education and reform: Social science perspectives*. Philippine Social Science Council: Quezon City, Philippines.

Arguillas, M. J. B., & Williams, L. (2010). The impact of parents' overseas employment on educational outcomes of Filipino children. *The International Migration Review, 44,* 300–319.

Asis, M., & Ruiz-Marave, C. (2013). Leaving a legacy: Parental migration and school outcomes among young children in the Philippines. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 22,* 349–375.

Banerjee, A. V., & Duflo, E. (2011). *Poor economics: A radical rethinking of the way to fight global poverty*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.

Bodovski, K. (2010). Parental practices and educational achievement: Social class, race, and habitus. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 31,* 139–156.

Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Social conditions and applied parenting* (Vol. 4, pp. 59–93). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Chaudhury, N., & Okamura, Y. (2012). *Conditional cash transfers and school enrollment: Impact of the conditional cash transfer program in the Philippines.* World Bank Social Protection Policy

Note No. 6. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/479681468093580402/Conditional-cash-transfers-and-school-enrollment-impact-of-the-conditional-cash-transfer-program-in-the-Philippines.
Commission on Filipinos Overseas. (n.d.). Statistical profile of registered Filipino emigrants. Retrieved on March 30, 2019 from https://www.cfo.gov.ph/downloads/statistics/statistical-profile-of-registered-filipino-emigrants.html.
Constantino, R. (1970). The mis-education of the Filipino. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 1,* 20–36.
David, C., & Albert, J. R. (2012). Primary education: Barriers to entry and bottlenecks to completion. PIDS Discussion Paper Series No. 2012-07. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.
Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1993). Parent-school involvement during the early adolescent years. *Teachers College Record, 94,* 568–587.
Enriquez, V. (1994). *From colonial to liberation psychology*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.
Garcia, A. S. (2018). *Parental involvement among low-income Filipinos: A phenomenological inquiry*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
Garo-Santiago, M., Mansukhani, R., & Resureccion, R. (2009). Adolescent identity in the context of the Filipino family. *Philippine Journal of Psychology, 42,* 175–193.
Institute of Family Life and Children's Studies. (2016). *Beyond compliance: A look into the behavioral and social outcomes of the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program*. Manila: Philippine Women's University.
Lardizabal, A. S. (1991). *Pioneer American teachers and Philippine education*. Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House Inc.
Lareau, A. (1987). Social class differences in family-school relationships: The importance of cultural capital. *Sociology of Education, 60,* 73–85.
Liwag, M. E., De la Cruz, A., & Macapagal, M. (1998). How we raise our daughters and sons: Child-rearing and gender socialization in the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Psychology, 31,* 1–46.
Maligalig, D., Caoili-Rodriguez, R., Martinez, A., & Cuevas, S. (2010). *Education outcomes in the Philippines.* ADB Economics Working Paper Series No. 199. Manila, Philippines: Asian Development Bank.
Medina, B. (2001). *The Filipino family* (2nd ed.). Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
Montemayor, M. T. (2018). Class size affects students' learning: DepEd. Philippine News Agency. March 19, 2018. Retreived from http://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1029281.
Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. (n.d.). The K to 12 basic education program. Retrieved March 30, 2019 from https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/k-12/.
Okabe, M. (2013). Where does Philippine education go? The "K to 12" program and reform of Philippine basic education. *IDE Discussion Paper Series No. 425*. Chiba, Japan: Institute of Developing Economies (IDE), Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO).
Parreñas, R. S. (2006). *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
Peterson, J. T. (1993). Generalized family exchange: A case from the Philippines. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 55,* 570–584.
Philippine Statistics Authority. (2015). *2013 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey (FLEMMS): Final report.* Manila: Author. Retrieved from http://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/2013%20FLEMMS%20Final%20Report.pdf.
Philippine Statistics Authority. (2017). *2016 Statistical indicators on Philippine development*. Retrieved March 30, 2019 from https://psa.gov.ph/content/2016-statistical-indicators-philippine-development.
Philippine Statistics Authority. (2018a). *Annual poverty indicators survey 2017*. Manila: Author.
Philippine Statistics Authority. (2018b). *SDG watch Philippines.* Retrieved March 30, 2019 from https://psa.gov.ph/sdg/Philippines/baselinedata/4%20Quality%20Education.
Reyes, M. L., & Galang, A. J. R. (2009). Motivational and social aspects of the Filipino college experience. *Philippine Journal of Psychology, 42,* 213–235.

Symaco, L. P. (2013). Geographies of social exclusion: Education access in the Philippines. *Comparative Education, 49,* 361–373.
Tabbada-Rungduin, T., Abulon, E. L., Fetalvero, L., & Suatengco, R. (2014). Exploring parental involvement and teachers' activities in early literacy development. *International Journal of Research Studies in Education, 3,* 3–19.
Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED475048.pdf.
UNICEF. (2018). *Situation analysis of children in the Philippines*. Manila, Philippines: National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and UNICEF Philippines.
World Bank. (n.d.). World development indicators database. Retrieved March 30, 2019 from https://data.worldbank.org/country/philippines.

Liane Peña Alampay is a Professor of Psychology at the Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines. Her research focuses on parenting and child and adolescent development in cultural contexts, and interventions for youth and families at risk. She is a co-Investigator in the Parenting Across Cultures study, and Principal Investigator of Parenting for Lifelong Health-Philippines, which aims to culturally adapt and test evidence-based parent support interventions to prevent child maltreatment among vulnerable Filipino families.

Aileen S. Garcia is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Counseling and Human Development at South Dakota State University, USA. Her research focuses on the influence of culture on parenting and child development. She also works on exploring parental ethnotheories and children's socioemotional and academic outcomes within the contexts of migration and ethnic minority populations.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in Sweden	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Gurdal**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Sevtap**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Centre for Child and Youth Studies, University West
	Address	Trollhättan, Sweden
	Email	sevtap.gurdal@hv.se
Author	Family Name	**Sorbring**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Emma**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Centre for Child and Youth Studies, University West
	Address	Trollhättan, Sweden
	Email	emma.sorbring@hv.se

Abstract	Swedish children's rights to school and a childhood were discussed as early as 1900 and today nearly all (99.9%) Swedish children from the age of six attend comprehensive school for ten years. Comprehensive school, both private and public, is free of charge and compulsory for everyone. In general, Sweden is described as a country where young people are perceived as individuals with agency, both in the family and in school. It is expected that students should be treated with respect and taught about their rights and how to practice them. Teachers are supposed to encourage young people's agency by, for example, letting them take responsibility and be involved in decisions about the school work and their lives. This is related to the goal of teaching young people more about how to become citizens and about democratic values in society. Although Swedish schools have a high interest in students' own agency and their mental health, politics put pressure on the schools to achieve higher academic success among students. This chapter presents the current Swedish education system and its challenges when it comes to maintaining high values concerning students' mental health and, simultaneously, striving for better academic results, focusing particularly on families belonging to the lower socioeconomic class and with a migration background.

Education and Parenting in Sweden

Sevtap Gurdal and Emma Sorbring

Introduction

Sweden is situated in the Northern part of Europe and has been a member of the European Union since 1995. Historically, Swedish schools have gone through changes in the last decades. Equality has been of great importance in the Swedish schools for a long time. For example, school attendance was introduced in 1842 and applied to all children regardless of their socioeconomic background. In the 1960s it was important that all schools in Sweden would provide the same quality wherever a student lived in the country, and to be sure of this, the schools were controlled by the government. Today's school attendance (skolplikt), legislated in 2018, includes every child between the ages of 6–16 (10 years of school). These days, equality also includes other aspects such as gender, ethnicity, age, and disability. This can be read in the curriculum for the compulsory school years, preschool, and school-age educare, where one of the paragraphs points out that "*education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based. Each and every one working in the school should also encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person and the environment we all share*" (Skolverket, 2018, p. 5).

In 1992 there was a school voucher reform (Böhlmark, Holmlund, & Lindahl, 2016) and the control shifted to local authorities and was decentralised (Trumberg, 2011). This was also the timepoint when independent schools started to gain more interest by parents and children. By 2015, about 12% of 16-year-olds attended independent schools (Böhlmark et al., 2016). These schools are autonomous and publicly

S. Gurdal (✉) · E. Sorbring
Centre for Child and Youth Studies, University West, Trollhättan, Sweden
e-mail: sevtap.gurdal@hv.se

E. Sorbring
e-mail: emma.sorbring@hv.se

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_8

464396_1_En_8_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 109 Layout: T1-Standard

funded but have many things in common with the municipal schools. There are very few private schools in Sweden. Another important change that was established in the middle of the 1990s was the freedom of choice for which school to attend. Before the change children went to the school that was the closest to their home. After the school voucher reform parents and children had the opportunity to choose which school to go to no matter where they lived in the municipality (Fjellman, Yang Hansen, & Beach, 2018).

This new opportunity for parents to choose a school for their children resulted in competitions between schools. Some of them started a new profile to attract children and parents to choose them, such as a football or music profile. Despite the idea that everyone should have the same opportunity to choose a school, some researchers have suggested that this change led to an increase in segregation because families with higher social capital took the opportunity to let their children go to schools with a better reputation or take their children from a school with problems (Böhlmark et al., 2016). Whether this is true or not has been debated. One effort to let all children have the same opportunity to attend the school they want is that independent schools are not allowed to have tests to select pupils by ability or charge them; despite this, children with advantaged backgrounds more often attend independent schools (Böhlmark et al., 2016). Instead of tests or charges three other criteria were set: (1) how close the child lives to the school, (2) which date the application for attending the school was made, and (3) to make a priority if the child already has a sibling that attends the school (Böhlmark et al., 2016). The right to choose a school also applies to public schools. To regulate new independent schools, new schools must apply to the Swedish National Agency of Education to become a voucher school. Between 1996 and 2009, the number of independent schools increased from 38 to 396 (Böhlmark et al., 2016).

Sweden as a Cultural Setting

As a country Sweden is secularized, but historically it has been a Lutheran country and still has Christian traditions. About 18% of children between age 0 and 19 live in families with low economic standards (Statistics Sweden, 2016), although it is not entirely correct to say that there has been an increase in poverty because the living standard has increased at the same time. About 60% of teenagers in Sweden live in houses owned by their parents. However, living in a self-owned house very much varies depending of the family's situation. About 70% of children living in a two-parent household (either parents or stepparents) live in an owned house, but only 15% of children who live in a single-parent household live in an owned house (Statistics Sweden, 2014). In 2013 about 25% of children between 0 and 17 years have parents who live separately, compared to 15% in 1975. In 1975 children who lived with only their mother had mothers with higher income than other mothers, but in 2013 this was reversed and children living with only the mother had mothers with lower incomes than other mothers (Statistics Sweden, 2015). Every year 50,000 children

in Sweden experience a divorce, and by the age of 17 one-third have experienced a divorce (Statistics Sweden, 2013).

In Sweden about 20% have a foreign background (Migrationsinfo, 2019). Since the beginning of 2000 Sweden has increased the number of inhabitants by 15%, almost 1.4 million more people. At the end of 2018, the population of Sweden was above 10 million. The increase in the population is due to birth, that more people have been born than died, but also due to a large influx of immigrants who have moved to Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2019a). Sweden has been a destination for immigrants since the 1930s. After the second world war and until the mid-1970s, Sweden mainly had labor immigration, but in recent years, people have come to Sweden from war-affected countries to seek asylum. Between 2000 and 2005, 60,000–65,000 immigrants came to Sweden every year, a number that changed to 95,000 between 2006 and 2011 and increased further after 2012 to reach a peak of 165,0000 in 2016. More men than women immigrated to Sweden. In 2018 most immigrants came from Syria, Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Iran, Poland, Eritrea, China, and Somalia (Statistics Sweden, 2019b).

Sweden is often described as a country that is characterized as a welfare state with democracy and equality. The welfare state began in the 1930s, when three concepts were implemented: democracy, citizenship, and modernity (Ehn, Frykman, & Löfgren, 1995). With high taxes all people should feel that they have a social safety net. This was the reality until the 1990s when Sweden experienced an economic crisis with high inflation and high unemployment. A new Swedish model was about to develop, which would be more flexible with three principles: active citizenship, pluralism, and a clear distribution of responsibility. The aim was to increase everyone's responsibility and have fewer decisions from the state level. With this new approach several reforms took place. For example, schools, health care, and telemarketing were no longer controlled only by the state; instead private institutions were about to grow next to the "old" public ones. The collective solutions were to some degree replaced with individuals.

Parenting in Sweden has been influenced by the welfare state. In comparison with other countries in the world, Swedish women have more opportunities to combine work and family early in children's lives (Bergman & Hobson, 2002). It is also a strong belief that both mothers and fathers should take equal responsibility for parenting (Allard, 2007), and legislation for parental leave is designed to give both parents the possibility to stay home. Fathers had the opportunity to be home half time already in 1974, but few did at the time (Försäkringskassan, 2004). In 1995 there was a new reform that legislated one month only for the father, "pappamånad." This was in 2016 increased to three months, months that are reserved for the individual parent and cannot be transferred to the other parent. However, still the time spent with children is not fully equally divided between parents; in 2014, 25% of fathers were home with their child.

Equality is also recognized in the relationship between parents and children, where children and adults are treated equally (Harkness et al., 2011). Children in Sweden are not seen as individuals who are to become adults; instead they are valued as individuals who are beings right now (Halldén, 1991). Children's individuality and

independence are important (Bäck-Wiklund & Bergsten, 1997). Already at an early age, children are involved in discussions with parents and have the right to express their opinions (Sommer, 2008), which was revealed in a study regarding attitudes where both mothers and fathers in Sweden reported greater progressive attitudes than authoritarian attitudes (Sorbring & Gurdal, 2011). That is, parents are supportive and listen to their children.

The idea of treating children as equals was fundamental already at the beginning of the 20th century when one of Sweden's most famous pedagogues wrote a book about children and their rights (Key, 1995). Even in 1900, Key advocated for schools for all children, regardless of gender, class, or area of residence; laws against maltreatment and child labor; and the idea that children had the right to a childhood. For example, in 1979 Sweden was the first country in the world to pass legislation prohibiting the use of physical punishment (which is known as aga in Swedish) and other forms of insulting treatment toward children (Durrant, 2003). The first aim of the aga-law was to change attitudes regarding the use of physical force against children, as an initial step to reduce the use of physical punishment toward children. The second aim was to offer parents and professionals a clear set of guidelines regarding acceptable parenting practices. The third aim was to be able to achieve earlier identification of child abuse, which in turn would lead to earlier intervention (Durrant, 1999, 2003). The dominant opinion is that the 1979 legislation had been preceded by a long process of adjustment, which over time created a negative attitude toward physical punishment in Sweden, thus enabling the aga-law to be passed and implemented (Durrant, 1999). At the time when the legislation was enacted, an intensive public awareness campaign was undertaken to inform adults and children about the aim and contents of the aga-law. According to Durrant (1999), the legislation achieved all of its original aims. Swedish parents "negotiate" with their children, instead of dominating them (Carlson & Earls, 2001). In an international study, Swedish parents differed from parents in other countries when it came to the ways and frequency with which they emphasized children's rights in the family and in family life (Harkness et al., 2011).

Current School System

In Sweden, responsibility for the school system is divided among three levels: state, municipality, and school. On the state level it is the Government and Parliament that decide the national goals that are stated in the curricula, and they are also responsible for the Education Act. In the municipalities it is the principal of the school who guarantees that the national goals and the Education Act are followed. Principals also make sure that every school establishes a "skol plan," which is a document for how they will work with quality, norms, and values, and ensure that the teaching is carried out in collaboration with students and parents.

Comprehensive school in Sweden is free of charge and compulsory for everyone between the ages of 6 and 16. School for many children begins already in preschool

(förskola) at the age of one to five. In fact, almost 96% of children between the age of 2 and 5 attend preschool or are registered in a childcare provider's home because in many families both parents work outside the home. Teachers in preschool aim to make children learn and develop with play, and to attend to each individual child's needs. Children begin compulsory school at the age of six when they attend preschool class (nursery school), or as it is also named grade 0 or "förskoleklass." School is mandatory until the age of sixteen when children graduate from the ninth grade. Swedish compulsory school has four stages: *förskoleklass* ('pre-school year'), *lågstadiet* (years 1–3), *mellanstadiet* (years 4–6), and *högstadiet* (years 7–9). Because many parents work full time, out-of-school care is offered for children between the ages of 6 and 13. Sweden also has compulsory education for children who are native Sami people, called *sameskolor* (Sami schools).

Most Swedish children continue their education after the ninth grade with upper secondary school (gymnasium) for three more years. The upper secondary school has 18 different programmes from which to choose; six of those prepare students for higher education, and 12 are vocational. Just like comprehensive school, upper secondary school is free of charge. The vocational programs to apply for are: Child and Recreation, Building and Construction, Electricity and Energy, Vehicle and Transport, Business and Administration, Handicraft, Hotel and Tourism, Industrial Technology, Natural Resource Use, Restaurant Management and Food, HVAC and Property Maintenance, and Health and Social Care. The higher education preparatory programs are: Business Management and Economics, Arts, Humanities, Natural Science, Social Science, and Technology. Vocational and preparatory programs all are three years long. Although vocational programs prepare students for work, it is possible for vocational students to have some supplementary courses to fulfil the general entry requirements for university.

Sweden has several government authorities that have different responsibilities for the school. One important agency is the National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*), which provides all children with access to equivalent and quality education in a safe environment. Another authority is the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (*Skolinspektionen*), which inspects schools to make sure they provide good quality. Everyone, both parents and pupils, can report violations, that a student does not receive adequate support, or other problems to the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, which also has their own regular inspections if they suspect there are insufficiencies in the school. To make sure that children and adolescents with disabilities have the same opportunities as everybody else, there is an agency named The National Agency for Special Needs Education and Schools. Their mission is to make sure that all children and young people have the right to learn from their own conditions and to achieve the goals of their education. This applies regardless of functional ability. This may, for example, be about reading, writing, and counting on their own terms.

The Swedish school is much about equality and everyone's right to the same education, but it also focuses on individual responsibility where children have to learn how to be agents in their own life. For example, in Sweden schools are also tasked with encouraging children to take responsibility and to be involved in decisions about their lives. Students are supposed to learn more about how to become citizens and

about democratic values in the society (Harcourt & Hägglund, 2013). Children and young adults in school are supposed to have the right to influence their schools and the way they learn. This right can be read in the curriculum (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011). Children should be stimulated to take part in the development of the school and education and be informed about questions that concern them. Furthermore, all children have the right to take initiative themselves, regardless of age or gender. Some of the tenets of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989), such as democratic values and the requirement of putting the child's best interests first, can even be found in the Swedish curriculum (Skolkommittén, 1996). This has been interpreted as a belief in the same respect for all individuals, young or old (Hammarberg, 2006). That is, a child has the same rights as an adult in society, and the best interests of the child must be considered in decision making. Zackari and Modigh (2000) found that collaboration, discussion, and meetings are the best ways of promoting democracy in schools.

The majority of schools have class or student councils as part of the institutional organization (Skolverket, 2001), where children can make their voices heard. The councils are then invited to attend meetings and represent their school mates in different questions. In one study, not many students used their right to influence, and many of them who did participate were girls (Rönnlund, 2011). One criticism of the system is that the questions that are discussed may need special persons to be present to reach a decision, and those people are not attending the meetings. For example, if a principal or a head teacher does not attend, then no decisions can be made (Rönnlund, 2011). The main things that the students have influence on are which teaching materials to use, methods to use when learning, and in which way they should report their tasks. However, Rönnlund's (2011) study shows that the students think that little is said about the teaching in school and that other questions are on the agenda instead. A survey from the Swedish National Agency for Education in 2015 also showed that students would like to be more involved in decisions about which working methods they use, homework, and tests. Twice as many students say that they want to influence homework and tests as those who say that they can influence homework and tests (Skolverket, 2016).

Overall, children have a positive view of school in Sweden (SKL, 2014). As many as 90% of the children in grade 5 and 80% of the children in grade 8 are positive in their answers about their schools. There are some differences in the answers depending on gender. For example, boys in grade 8 are more positive than girls. The answers show that the children think they get the help they need from their teachers and that they feel secure in school. One answer that is rated lower by students is if the school makes them curious to learn more, which students are more likely to think is not the case.

Parenting in Light of the School System

The fact that children in Sweden attend preschool at an early age gives schools an early responsibility for children's development and adjustment, but it has also resulted in a discussion concerning the degree of responsibility for different parts of the child's development (Hundeide, 2006). Parental involvement or, as it is defined in Sweden, *föräldrainflytande* (parent influence) is an important part of the national curriculum for compulsory school, preschool, and the school-age educare (Skolverket, 2011). Parents, children, and associates of the school are all important actors, and since the middle of the 20th century ideas have been advanced about how to develop contacts between home and school. Prior to that time, the relationship had been more of a top-down perspective with the view that parents needed to be educated for school contacts. From the 1960s to the 1970s, the school organization changed, and the elementary school was implemented. The collaboration between school and home now primarily was about information. However, messages would not just go in one direction, from school to home, but also from home to school. At the same time a cooperation, called *Hem och skola* (Home and School) started to grow (www.hemochskola.se). The main idea was that school and home had to collaborate to make sure children's needs were met in the best way. Both school and parents were responsible for children's development and had to work together for the best results. Home and School required improvements in school health care, better arrangements for children's physical development, and free school books for gymnasium. Other activities from the organization included a campaign against bullying in 1972 as well as conferences and publications about discrimination, prejudice, and cultural differences. They have also been a big part of making the traffic around schools better and enlightening adults about the need to protect children from violence in films. When the school system in Sweden was decentralized, this also changed the work for *Hem och skola*. Before they had one partner in the government for school, but after decentralization it became necessary to collaborate with 270 municipalities. The organization started with 70 members, grew to 400,000 members, and then decreased to 1000 members in 2003. In 2018 they formed a new board with new organization charts and the challenge now was to modernize the school. Their opinion is that school does not work as well as it should, and this will have consequences for the future. Too many children end up alienated from school, which if not addressed in school will cost the society in the future.

Collaboration between school and home is not only a request from parents but also from school. The curriculum that was implemented in the 1990s stated that students should be regarded as individuals that had both school experiences and also everyday experiences and knowledge from home; outside school activities became important as a learning environment (Skolverket, 1994). This shift made parents a significant resource, as a link between the school and activities outside the school.

Schools should provide information about the school's organization and working methods as well as the child's work in school (SOU, 1995). The Education Act states that the school must cooperate with parents to improve children's personal

464396_1_En_8_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 109 Layout: T1-Standard

development but also to help children to become competent citizens in the future (Skollagen, 2010). It also states that the school is a support for families in their responsibility to raise their children. It further specifies that the collaboration between the school and caregiver is necessary and that both parts are important for the child's future. Those who work in school are expected to collaborate with caregivers to develop the school, and the teachers are supposed to inform the parents about the child's school situation and learning development. Most of the collaboration is led by the teachers or schools. Parent-teacher conferences are supposed to be held once per semester. This is a meeting between the teacher and caregivers of *one* child, and often the child is present. These meetings are held from the lower grades until the student turns 18. The last year in high-school, all communication is between the student and the teacher and does not involve parents. The majority of Swedish parents attend these meeting regardless of their background (class, ethnicity, etc.). Parents also attend different meetings in school like class meetings, school meetings, and other gatherings for parents who are interested in being involved in school (Ribom, 1993). Apart from physical meetings, all schools in Sweden use digital systems to communicate with parents. These digital systems give the parents an overview of schedules, curriculum, and assignments, as well as student-specific information about progress in relation to the curriculum, academic achievement, excused and non-excused absences, and specific study plans for the specific students. These digital systems are like the parent-student-teacher meeting, present from the lower grades until the student turns 18.

Schools and caregivers generally think alike when it comes to collaboration to have children reach goals in school (Erikson, 2004). However, it is also important that teachers try to use the same language as parents to avoid the risk that the teachers are seen as the experts and the parents feel they do not have any influence at all. Some parents feel uncomfortable when they meet teachers (Andersson, 2004). Swedish parents generally are involved in their children's learning and their well-being in school, help their children with homework, and attend parent-teacher conferences (Ståhle, 2000). Most of the parents' interests were focused on the children themselves and not as much in school organizational matters. Many parents did not have knowledge about how school works with different boards and other organizational structures. Parents were mostly engaged when there were things that did not work well in school. One explanation for parents not being involved in school was a lack of time. Parental influence increased when the reform about freedom of choice was recognized. Parents could now choose a school for their children regardless of the geographical area in which they lived, which got more parents to look for more information and want to be involved. In summary, the collaboration between home and school and parental influence has changed over the years, from the middle of the 20th century when the main idea was to inform parents and consult with them about the children's situations in school to today when parents have the opportunity to influence schools through various collaborative arenas and meeting forums. School principals play an important role in making sure that parents have the opportunity to cooperate with and influence schools both in terms of content and form.

Another issue discussed in Swedish schools is homework. One discussion point is that all children do not have the same opportunity for help at home, which depends on parents' language skills or socioeconomic status (Schwartz, 2010). To take away this burden from parents and make help with homework more equal for everyone, several schools started *läxhjälp*, help with homework after school. In some cases, *läxhjälp* helps students to do things they have not finished during school and in others it enables students to become more responsible for their studies. Homework help is organized not only in the schools but has also been started by non-profit groups outside the school (Skolverket, 2014). Even organizations such as the Red Cross have tried to find ways to help students with their homework.

Since 1993 the Swedish National Agency for Education has conducted regular surveys about attitudes toward school. Questions have been asked of teachers and students in grades 4–9 and upper secondary school. The survey addresses many different issues concerning school, including well-being and security, the relationship between students and teachers, teachers' skills, stress and demands in the school, and violations of rules and rights. An important purpose of the survey is to contribute to in-depth discussions about the school and to further improvement in school.

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

Although, as specified above, the Swedish Education Act states that the school must cooperate with parents to improve children's personal development, little research has been conducted in Sweden about parenting practices and parental involvement in the higher school grades. The studies conducted in Sweden are mainly with parents and pupils in the lower grades and focus on children's reading achievement (e.g., Myrberg & Rosén, 2009). When it comes to students in higher grades, the studies can mainly be categorised into two groups. One cluster of studies investigates the association between students' academic achievement and characteristics of the parent or the family, such as parents' work hours (Norberg-Schönfeldt, 2008), mothers smoking during pregnancy (D'Onofrio et al., 2010), parental alcohol-related disorders (Berg, Bäck, Vinnerljung, & Hjern, 2016), parents' years in Sweden (Smith, Helgertz, & Scott, 2016), blended and single-parent families (Behtoui & Neergaard, 2016; Turunen, 2014), parents with schizophrenia (Jundong et al., 2012), parent separation (Erman & Härkönen, 2017), and parents' education, job position, and social capital generated by parents' networks (Behtoui & Neergaard, 2016). Except for the last study, all other studies in this cluster were conducted with Swedish register data, including between 70,000 and nearly 1.5 million students. Swedish national population data are collected in registers from various governmental agencies and research institutes in Sweden. Each register includes a unique identifier for each individual in the country, which enables linking various data sets together on an individual level. Even the last study used quantitative data (a survey from more than 1200 students), but not Swedish register data. Another cluster of studies explores the relation between students' academic achievement and parental practices and parental

school involvement, such as parental autonomy support (Jungert & Koestner, 2015), parents' engagement in school and school-related activities (Behtoui & Neergaard, 2016), parental warmth (Gurdal, Lansford, & Sorbring, 2016), and parenting style (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurmi, 2000). All four studies in this cluster also are based on quantitative data.

Norberg-Schönfeldt (2008) showed that the hours of labor market work by mothers, as well as fathers, are related to students' educational achievements. If the mother works part-time, it has a positive effect on the child's grades, but if she works less than half time it has a negative effect. The effects are found both in compulsory school and in upper secondary school. For fathers only some significant effects were found on upper secondary school grade point averages (GPA). Academic achievement was measured as the GPA from the ninth year of compulsory school and as the GPA from the last year of upper secondary school for a total of 70,000 students, controlling for a wide range of socioeconomic variables. Another study including about 1230 students in grade nine (last year of compulsory school) also focused on work-related factors, such as social capital generated by parental networks, parents' education, and job position (Behtoui & Neergaard, 2016). Parents' education and job position were positively related to their children's final GPA. Furthermore, parental social networks (social capital), including valuable resources, friends with positive attitudes about education and university degrees, and active membership in social organizations all are positively related to students' GPA. Together, the studies by Norberg-Schönfeldt (2008) and Behtoui and Neergaard (2016) indicate that the parents' and parents' friends' attitudes toward education as well as a balanced workload are related to students' GPA.

As mentioned previously, 20% of the population of Sweden has a foreign background (Migrationsinfo, 2019). Smith et al. (2016) found when looking at Swedish register data for 22 cohorts that the number of years parents had been in Sweden was positively related to grades in Swedish but not in math. This result indicates that areas where students benefit the most from parents' experiences are those that are more directly transferable, namely language proficiency, but in subjects that require little Swedish-specific skills, such as math, parents' knowledge in Swedish has no effect (number of years in Sweden). Other studies have investigated whether family structure is related to students' academic achievement. About one of four teenagers in Sweden lives in a single-parent household (Statistics Sweden, 2015). Behtoui and Neergaard (2016) showed that students in grade 9 who lived with both of their biological parents had higher academic achievement than those living with a step-parent, a single parent, or other adults. Similarly, Turunen (2014) showed, using register data with more than 870,000 students at grade nine, that students living with both biological parents have a much higher likelihood of finishing grade 9 than those living in different post-separation family constellations. Both girls and boys living with both of their biological parents are about twice as likely to pass ninth grade as are those living with separated parents. Having a younger or older half-sibling is even more negatively associated with passing grade nine, a pattern that is greater for those with paternal rather than maternal half-siblings. Furthermore, Erman and Härkönen (2017) showed, using register data from two cohorts of students in grade 9, that the

gap in academic achievement between students in Sweden with separated and not separated parents differed depending on ethnic background. In general, the effects were stronger in groups where parental separation was less common.

Studies in Sweden also have examined academic achievement in relation to parental health issues. Jundong et al. (2012) studied nearly 1.5 million (Swedish register data) students in grade 9, who had parents with or without schizophrenia. The results showed that students with parents with schizophrenia performed worse than those with parents without schizophrenia. By including both students and their half-siblings, the study concluded the effect was mainly mediated by genetic effects. Another study investigated more than 650,000 students in grade 9 and their academic achievement in relation to mothers' smoking during pregnancy (D'Onofrio et al., 2010). Although a negative association was found between school performance and mothers' smoking during pregnancy, the study suggests that the smoking did not cause poorer performance, but that shared genetic factors (mother and child) contributed to poorer performance, as full-siblings differently exposed to smoking performed equally poorly. Furthermore, in a study with 740,000 students in grade 9 (Swedish register data), Berg et al. (2016) showed that both mothers' and fathers' alcohol-related hospital admissions were associated with their children's lower academic achievement. However, the effects were not direct; instead, most of the lower school performance was associated with indications of psychosocial adversity related to parental alcohol problems (parental psychiatric disorders, drug use, and criminality).

The other set of studies explored the relation between student academic achievement and parental practice as well as parental school involvement. Behtoui and Neergaard (2016) examined about 1230 students in grade 9 regarding parent–adolescent interactions and parents' contacts with the school. They found that, when controlling for SES background, students performed better when parents ensured that their children did their homework or provided them with support when performing school-related tasks. However, students who reported that their parents talked with them about school-related issues, met with or talked to the teachers, and, on a regular basis, attended school, performed worse than others. In line with international research (see Chap. 1 in this book) one explanation could be that students experience parents' questioning as well as meeting with teachers or attending school as control, which in turn is associated with worse performance. Another explanation would be that parents of students who are performing poorly in school try to intervene by talking more with their children about school, meeting with teachers, and behaving in other ways to try to improve their students' performance, suggesting that poor academic performance elicits particular types of parenting rather than that more involved parenting elicits worse academic performance. Another study investigated the relation between parents' autonomy support and students' academic performance in a sample of 288 Swedish high school students (Jungert & Koestner, 2015). They found that even if teachers' autonomy support was directly positively related to students' motivation, self-efficacy, and academic achievement over time, parents' autonomy support was not. However, there was an indirect effect, showing that parents' autonomy support was related to students' motivation and self-efficacy, when mediated by

students' systemizing cognitive orientation (related to tasks in which scientists and students of science are typically involved). Another indirect relation was established by Gurdal et al. (2016) showing in a sample with 93 preadolescents that parental warmth at Time 1 was significantly correlated with child agency at Time 2, which was significantly correlated with academic achievement at Time 3. This indicate that parents' warmth is directly related to subsequent perceptions of children's agency, which in turn are related to subsequently higher academic achievement. Finally, in a study by Aunola et al. (2000), including 354 14-year-old students, parenting styles were associated with adolescents' achievement strategies. Achievement strategies have in earlier studies been suggested to contribute to students' academic achievement. Aunola and colleagues found that students from authoritative families more often used adaptive, task-oriented strategies, whereas students from neglectful families deployed more maladaptive, task-avoidant strategies. These results indicate that the associations between students' academic achievement and parenting styles, found in earlier studies, may be mediated by the achievement strategies and causal attributions adolescents deploy at school (Aunola et al., 2000).

Overall, studies conducted in Sweden, show great similarities with studies conducted in other Western societies (see Chap. 1 in this book). The effects of parents' characteristics, involvement, and parenting styles seem mainly to be indirect, shaping the attitudes and strategies of the student.

Future Directions

Parental involvement in school and in school related activities is of great interest in Sweden. More than 90.2% of Swedish principals reported that there is national, state, or district legislation for parent involvement in school, and efforts are made to communicate and have a dialog with parents (OECD, 2016). However, research conducted in Sweden shows that some groups of students have a harder time performing and succeeding in school. For example, school performance is lower for students with immigrant parents as well as students from divorced and single-parent families. Both of these groups constitute a large proportion of the Swedish population, one of five have an immigrant background and one of four have separated parents. In addition, SES and parent ability (affected by environmental and genetic factors) contribute to higher risk for some students than others. The current system for homework support that many schools in Sweden provide is designed to help schools take away the responsibilities from parents and contribute to more equal possibilities for students to succeed and manage homework.

There are few studies about how parenting itself affects students' school achievement, which would be of interest because it might be easier to change parenting than families' socioeconomic status, immigrant status, or family structure. Therefore, targeting parenting might be of help for students in schools. There are already courses for immigrant parents about parenting and the Swedish school system, but a future

direction will be to understand what more can be done to achieve equality for all regarding educational outcomes.

References

Allard, K. (2007). *Toward a working life. Solving the work-family dilemma* (Dissertation). Gothenburg, Sweden: Department of Psychology.

Andersson, I. (2004). *Lyssna på föräldrarna, om mötet mellan hem och skola. [Listen to the parents, about the meeting between home and school]*. Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Aunola, K., Stattin, H., & Nurmi, J. E. (2000). Parenting styles and adolescents' achievement strategies. *Journal of Adolescence, 23,* 205–222.

Bäck-Wiklund, M., & Bergsten, B. (1997). *Det moderna föräldraskapet: En studie av familj och kön i förändring. [Modern parenting: A study of family and gender in change]*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Behtoui, A., & Neergaard, A. (2016). Social capital and the educational achievement of young people in Sweden. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 37,* 947–969.

Berg, L., Bäck, K., Vinnerljung, B., & Hjern, A. (2016). Parental alcohol-related disorders and school performance in 16-year-olds. A Swedish national cohort study. *Addiction, 111,* 1795–1803.

Bergman, H., & Hobson, B. (2002). Compulsory fatherhood: The coding of fatherhood in the Swedish welfare state. In B. Hobson (Ed.), *Making men into fathers: Men, masculinities, and the social politics of fatherhood* (pp. 92–124). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Böhlmark, A., Holmlund, H., & Lindahl, M. (2016). Parental choice, neighborhood segregation or cream skimming? An analysis of school segregation after a generalized choice reform. *Journal of Population Economics, 29,* 1155–1190.

Carlson, M., & Earls, F. (2001). The child as citizen: Implications for the science and practice of child development. *International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development Newsletter, 38,* 12–16.

D'Onofrio, B. M., Singh, A. L., Iliadou, A., Lambe, M., Hultman, C. M., Neiderhiser, J. M., et al. (2010). A quasi-experimental study of maternal smoking during pregnancy and offspring academic achievement. *Child Development, 81,* 80–100.

Durrant, J. E. (1999). Evaluating the success of Sweden's corporal punishment ban. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 23,* 435–447.

Durrant, J. E. (2003). Legal reform and attitudes toward physical punishment in Sweden. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 11,* 147–173.

Ehn, B., Frykman, J., & Löfgren, O. (1995). *Försvenskningen av Sverige. [Swedification of Sweden]*. Stockholm, Sweden: Natur och Kultur.

Erikson, L. (2004). *Föräldrar och skola. [Parents and school]*. Doktorsavhandling, Örebro: Örebro Universitet.

Erman, J., & Härkönen, J. (2017). Parental separation and school performance among children of immigrant mothers in Sweden. *European Journal of Population, 33,* 267–292.

Fjellman, A. M., Yang Hansen, K., & Beach, D. (2018). School choice and implications for equity: The new political geography of the Swedish upper secondary school market. *Educational Review*.

Försäkringskassan. (2004). *Föräldraförsäkringen 30 år. [Parental insurance 30 years]*.

Gurdal, S., Lansford, J. E., & Sorbring, E. (2016). Parental perceptions of children's agency: Parental warmth, school achievement and adjustment. *Early Child Development and Care, 186,* 1203–1211.

Halldén, G. (1991). The child as project and the child as being: Parents' ideas as frames of reference. *Children and Society, 5,* 334–346.

Hammarberg, T. (2006). *Mänskliga rättigheter: konventionen om barnets rättigheter. [Human Rights: The Convention about Child's Rights]*. Stockholm: Utrikesdepartementet.

Harcourt, D., & Hägglund, S. (2013). Turning the UNCRC upside down: A bottom-up perspective on children's rights. *International Journal of Early Years Education, 21,* 286–299.
Harkness, S., Zylicz, P. O., Super, C. M., Welles-Nystrom, B., Bermudez, M. R., Bonichini, S., et al. (2011). Children's activities and their meanings for parents: A mixed-methods study in six western cultures. *Journal of Family Psychology, 25,* 799–813.
Hundeide, K. (2006). *Sociokulturella ramar för barns utveckling. [Sociocultural frames for children's development]*. Studentlitteratur: Lund.
Jundong, J., Kuja-Halkola, R., Hultman, C., Långström, N., D'Onofrio, B. M., & Lichtenstein, P. (2012). Poor school performance in offspring of patients with schizophrenia: What are the mechanisms? *Psychological Medicine, 42,* 111–123.
Jungert, T., & Koestner, R. (2015). Science adjustment, parental and teacher autonomy support and the cognitive orientation of science students. *Educational Psychology, 35,* 361–376.
Key, E. (1995). *Barnets århundrade. [The child's century]*. Stockholm, Sweden: ABF.
Migrationsinfo. (2019). *Åldersfördelning.* Retrived 04/08/2019 https://www.migrationsinfo.se/befolkning/aldersfordelning/.
Myrberg, E., & Rosén, M. (2009). Direct and indirect effects of parents' education on reading achievement among third graders in Sweden. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 79,* 695–711.
Norberg-Schönfeldt, M. (2008). Children's school achievement and parental work: An analysis for Sweden. *Education Economics, 16,* 1–7.
OECD. (2016). *PISA 2015 results (Vol. II): Policies and practices for successful schools*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
Ribom, L. (1993). *Föräldraperspektiv på skolan* (Doctoral Thesis). Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
Rönnlund, M. (2011). *Demokrati och deltagande: elevinflytande i grundskolans årskurs 7–9 ur ett könsperspektiv. [Democracy and participation: Pupil influence in the school year 7–9 from a gender perspective]* (Doctoral Thesis). Umeå: Umeå University.
Schwartz, A. (2010). Att "nollställa bakgrunder" för en effektiv skola. [To "reset backgrounds" for an effective school]. *Utbildning & Demokrati, 19,* 45–62.
SKL. (Sveriges kommuner och landsting; 2014). *Elevernas syn på skolan. SKL:s Elevenkät läsår 2013/14. [The students' view of the school. SKL's Student Survey 2013/14].*
Skolkommittén. (1996). *Inflytande på riktigt om elevers rätt till inflytande, delaktighet och ansvar. [Influence for real of pupils' right to influence, participation and responsibility]*. Stockholm: Fritze.
Skollagen. (2010). *Med Lagen om införande av skollagen (2010:801). [Education Act: With the law on the introduction of the School Act]* (3., [rev.] uppl.). Stockholm: Norstedts juridik.
Skolverket. (1994). *Curriculum for the compulsory school, the preschool class and the after-school centre.* Stockholm: Skolverket.
Skolverket. (2001). *Ung i demokratin. Rapport 210*. Stockholm: Liber.
Skolverket. (2014). *Mer än bara läxor: en utvärdering av läxhjälp på tio skolor. [More than just homework: An evaluation of homework help at ten schools]*. Stockholm: Skolverket.
Skolverket. (2016). *Attityder till skolan. [Attitudes to school]*. Stockholm: Skolverket.
Skolverket. (2018). *Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and school-age educare* (revised 2018). Stockholm: Skolverket.
Smith, C., Helgertz, J., & Scott, K. (2016). Parents' years in Sweden and children's educational performance. *Journal of Migration, 5,* 1–17.
Sommer, D. (2008). *Barndomspsykologi: Utveckling i en förändrad värld. [Childhood psychology: Development in a changed world]*. Malmö: Liber.
Sorbring, E., & Gurdal, S. (2011). Attributions and attitudes of mothers and fathers in Sweden. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11,* 177–189.
SOU. (1995). *Föräldrar i självförvaltande skolor. [Parents in self-managing schools]*. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
Ståhle, Y. (2000). *Föräldrainflytande i skolan. Behov eller politisk viljeyttring? [Parent influence in school. Need or political will?]*. Stockholm: FoU-rapport.

Statistics Sweden. (2013). *50,000 barn är med om en separation varje år. [50,000 children participate in a separation every year]*. Retrieved 04/08/2019 https://www.scb.se/sv_/Hitta-statistik/Artiklar/50-000-barn-ar-med-om-en-separation-varje-ar/.

Statistics Sweden. (2014). *Villa vanligaste boendeformen. [Villa most common form of accommodation]*. Retrieved 04/08/2019 https://www.scb.se/sv_/Hitta-statistik/Artiklar/Villa-vanligaste-boendeformen/.

Statistics Sweden. (2015). *Förändrade villkor för barn med separerade föräldrar. [Changed conditions for children with separated parents]*. Retrieved 04/08/2019 https://www.scb.se/sv_/Hitta-statistik/Artiklar/Forandrade-villkor-for-barn-med-separerade-foraldrar/.

Statistics Sweden. (2016). Retrieved 20/04/2019 https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/artiklar/2018/fler-eller-farre-fattiga/.

Statistics Sweden. (2019a). *Sveriges befolkning. [Swedish population]*. Retrieved 04/08/2019 https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sverige-i-siffror/manniskorna-i-sverige/sveriges-befolkning/.

Statistics Sweden. (2019b). *Invandring till Sverige. [The migration to Sweden]*. Retrieved 04/08/2019 https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sverige-i-siffror/manniskorna-i-sverige/invandring-till-sverige/.

Swedish National Agency for Education. (2011). *Curriculum for the compulsory school system, the pre-school class and the leisure-time centre: Lgr11* (SKOLFS 1994:1).

Trumberg, A. (2011). *Den delade skolan. Segregationsprocesser i det svenska skolsystemet. [The shared school. Segregation processes in the Swedish school system]* (Doctoral Thesis). Örebro: Örebro Universitet.

Turunen, J. (2014). Adolescent educational outcomes in blended families: Evidence from Swedish register data. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 55,* 568–589.

United Nations. (1989). *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Geneva.* Washington, DC: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org.uk/Documents/Publication-pdfs/UNCRC_PRESS200910web.pdf.

Zackari, G., & Modigh, F. (2000). *Värdegrundsboken, om samtal för demokrati i skolan. [Values, about conversations for democracy in school]*. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.

Sevtap Gurdal is a postdoctoral fellow at the Centre for Child and Youth Studies at University West, Sweden. Her research interests are parenting and children. Earlier research projects include parent attributions, parent attitudes, and child agency in different contexts. Ongoing research is about professionals' work with internet gaming disorder and child agency.

Emma Sorbring is a Professor of Child and Youth Studies and research director for the Centre for Child and Youth Studies at University West, Sweden. Her research and teaching interests focus on children, adolescents, and families. Her projects focus on parental behavior and children's adjustment, young people's decision-making, teenagers' internet use and parental strategies, and sexual development in traditional and new settings (the internet).

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in Thailand	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Yotanyamaneewong**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Saengduean**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Chiang Mai University
	Address	Chiang Mai, Thailand
	Email	saengduean.y@cmu.ac.th
Author	Family Name	**Tapanya**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Sombat**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Peace Culture Foundation
	Address	Chiang Mai, Thailand
	Email	sombat.tapanya@gmail.com

Abstract

Education is considered to be an important strategy to shift Thailand from a low-income country to a middle-income country. Despite repeated efforts to reform education over the years and an enormous budget allotted to the education field, success continues to be elusive. Although access to education may have improved, the quality of education remains poor as reflected by students' academic achievement and inequality of educational opportunity. While progress in improving the education system may be frustratingly slow, parents try their best to support their children. Most parents, similar to other parents in Asia, focus their efforts on their children's education. They are highly supportive of their children or even push them to be successful in school. Parents play an important role in their children's academic achievement. Nevertheless, many low-income parents or those with a disadvantaged socioeconomic background might not be able to support their children's studies because they may be too preoccupied by their needs to survive economically. As a result, their children may be left with poor quality education or experience failure in school.

Education and Parenting in Thailand

Saengduean Yotanyamaneewong and Sombat Tapanya

Introduction

The kingdom of Thailand, a country located in Southeast Asia, covers an area of 513,200 km^2. It shares borders with Burma to the west and north, Laos to the north and northeast, Cambodia to the east, and Malaysia to the south. Thailand is divided into four different geographical regions: north, northeast, central, and south and is administratively divided into 77 provinces, and a variety of ethnic groups. The population in 2017 was 66,188,503 (BORA, 2018).

Over the past several decades, Thailand has moved away from being an agrarian country to become a middle-income country. More than that, Thailand aims to become an upper middle-income country. To do that, the nation strongly needs a highly skilled workforce, to be able to compete with other countries in Southeast Asia (OECD/UNESCO, 2016). Enhancing the quality of the workforce is a priority for many governments, and education is an important tool to accomplish this goal. Major investment has been put into the education system in order to increase accessibility and improve education quality. In 2018, the Office of the National Education Commission (ONEC, 2018) reported the gross enrolment ratio (GER) at the primary level (age 5–11) increased from 101.9% in 2016 to 102% in 2017. The GER increased from 88.6% in 2016 to 90.6% in 2017 at the lower secondary level (age 12–14). In the upper secondary level (age 15–17), the GER increased from 70.9% in 2016 to 71.1% in 2017. These high numbers suggest that education is accessible to Thai students. However, there are issues about quality of education leading to poor

S. Yotanyamaneewong (✉)
Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand
e-mail: saengduean.y@cmu.ac.th

S. Tapanya
Peace Culture Foundation, Chiang Mai, Thailand
e-mail: sombat.tapanya@gmail.com

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_9

464396_1_En_9_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 121 Layout: T1-Standard

academic achievement. Students from disadvantaged families are especially likely to experience a low quality of education.

To improve children's academic achievement is not solely the school's duty. Previous research has shown a positive impact of parent involvement on children's academic achievement (Boonk, Gijselaers, Ritzen, & Brand-Gruwel, 2018; Fan & Chen, 2001; Wilder, 2014). Studies in Thailand also found positive influences of parental involvement on their children's education (Petchseek, 2009; Yokubon, 2012). Many Thai parents, especially parents with middle-upper socioeconomic backgrounds, have an authoritative parenting style that has been found in many studies to have a positive effect on children's intellectual development. Thai parents from disadvantage backgrounds might not get as involved with their children's education. Thai culture is also a factor that makes Thai parents get less involved in schools compared with western parents. Some Thai parents believe education should be done by teachers or school boards who are the experts in the field of education (Yaimanee, 2004). As a result, children may get less academic support from their parents. This chapter reviews the educational system in Thailand, the impact of Thai culture on the education system, and Thai parents' involvement in education and how that involvement impacts students' academic achievement.

Thailand as a Cultural Setting

Thai culture is unique and complex. At an individual level, it shapes how Thai people think, believe, talk, and behave. At a societal level, it shapes the family, workplace, and education system. Hofstede (1991) conducted a longitudinal study in the late 1960s on cultural differences among 40 countries, including Thailand. He suggested that Thailand falls into four main dimensions—high power distance, collectivism, high femininity, and a high level of uncertainty avoidance. The high power distance was defined as "the extent to which the less powerful member of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 28). This dimension ensures that Thai people accept differences in power in organizations and subsequently leads to the creation of a hierarchical social structure in Thai society. Burnard (2006) said that no one in Thai culture is equal; all Thai people are constantly assessing their relationships with others in terms of who is senior and who is junior. Another word that shows hierarchical status is "kreng jai." This word refers to an "acceptance without argument from a lower status individual based on respect, the maintenance of feelings and face consideration" (Chayakonvikom, Fuangvut, & Cannell, 2016, p. 80). This results in a pervasive, socially-legitimated expectation that decisions should be made by those in positions of authority (i.e., Ministry administrators for principals, principals for teachers and parents, teachers for students). The tendency of staff to "kreng jai" by responding with surface politeness also drives resistance underground. The result is a polite, surface compliance seasoned with varying degrees of passive resistance. Hallinger and Kantamara (2000) noted that the strength of this dimension is that it

enables leaders to achieve their aims more easily. However, if the goal is complex and requires more skill to achieve, the dimension may become a limitation. Due to the high power dimension, subordinates are unlikely to disagree with authority.

Another cultural dimension is collectivism, which refers to "societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 51). Gambrel and Cianci (2003) point out that the positive side to collectivism is that this culture is linked to a sense of harmony within a group setting, which helps to create a family atmosphere. This family atmosphere means that people tend to look after, and to be looked after, by their in-group in exchange for absolute loyalty. Prpic and Kanjanapanyakom (2004) argue that the impact of this collectivistic value is that it shadows the importance of the Thai's contributions as individuals. A good example can be seen through the term Thais use to refer to themselves: Many will prefer to use 'we' instead of 'I' when referring to themselves.

The third dimension is high femininity. Hofstede (1991) suggested that the feminine dimension leads people to place high value on social relationships, to seek harmony, and to avoid conflict. Quality of life is achieved by placing greater emphasis on the importance of relationships, feelings, and harmony, as a woman's role (feminine role) is supposed to take a tender aspect and be more concerned with taking care of members in the group.

The final dimension introduced by Hofstede (1991) is that of uncertainty avoidance, which was defined by Hofstede (1991, p. 113) as "the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations." Extreme uncertainty creates intolerable anxiety. This dimension leads Thais to avoid or dislike uncertain situations. Thai people tend to avoid taking on more responsibility and avoid taking risks, because risks mean bringing in more uncertainty and increasing their responsibility. When it comes to making decisions, Thai culture encourages only the people at the top of the organizational hierarchy to make the decisions and take the associated risks (Holmes & Tangtongtavy, 1997). This means that subordinates are less likely to participate in the decision making process. Although they may be given the opportunity to participate, they tend to avoid it because being involved may bring unwarranted burdens.

These cultural dimensions have strengths and limitations of their own. In education contexts, these dimensions may help to get the job done faster and to improve the working atmosphere. However, these dimensions can be a barrier for people to think and behave differently from others in the group.

Current School System

The Ministry of Education (MOE) is the governmental body for coordinating education in Thailand. It plans and administers the nation's primary and secondary education, non-formal education, and higher education. The MOE currently has five main offices, each with different responsibilities (MOE, 2018). The Office of the

Permanent Secretary (OPS), is responsible for developing strategies and adapting policies on science, technology, and innovation into action plans, allocating resources and being responsible for the general administration. The Office of the Education Council (OEC) is responsible for educational policy formulation and planning and providing recommendations including coordination with concerned agencies on educational development. The Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC) is in charge of organizing and promoting basic education from primary school to high school. The Office of the Vocational Education Commission (OVEC) is responsible for providing and promoting vocational and professional training. The Office of the Higher Education Commission (OHEC) is responsible for managing higher education provision and promoting higher education development.

UNESCO (2017) stated that Thailand has transformed from an agrarian low-income country to a middle-income country. Moreover, Thailand is trying to push the nation beyond a middle-income country. To accomplish this goal, education is placed as an essential tool for increasing capacities of human resources in Thailand by targeting knowledge and skills. As a result, Thailand will be able to compete in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) economic community. Thailand has invested a significant proportion of its national budget for educating its citizens. The national budget allocated for education in Thailand is relatively high (Fry & Bi, 2013). In addition, the budget has been consistently high. The Equitable Education Fund (EEF, 2018) reported that the education budget has been increasing steadily: 560,479 million Thai baht in 2008, 762,005 million Thai baht in 2010, and 878,878 million Thai baht in 2016. In 2016, Thailand invested nearly 20% of the nation's budget or 6.1% of its GDP to the education system. This investment is higher than other countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and even higher compared within ASEAN countries.

Thailand has enacted major education reforms, notably with the 1999 National Education Act (NEA), in an effort to adapt to domestic and global changes and to support sustained economic growth (UNESCO, 2017). Before the enactment of the 1999 NEA, only primary education was compulsory and free of charge. The NEA integrated the lower secondary level into compulsory education, which extended compulsory education from six to nine years, and made all of these mandatory levels free (ONEC, 2008). The Act raised the number of children in the education system. According to UNESCO's 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, 99% of children complete primary education and 85% complete lower secondary education. Overall participation rates in the school system are now high, particularly at the pre-primary and primary levels, and a large number of students continue on to higher and vocational education (OECD, 2014).

Unfortunately, the high investment has not shown expected returns. Education outcomes in Thailand still face challenges. Apart from raising the number of children in school, the quality of education in Thailand, the inequality in educational opportunities for children from poor backgrounds, and poor academic achievement are challenges waiting to be solved (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013; Hallinger, Lee, & Ko, 2014; UNESCO, 2017).

Regarding education inequality, gender inequality is no longer an issue in Thailand (Pattaravanich, Williams, Lyson, & Archavanikul, 2005). Inequality of education in Thailand refers to the situation that children from poor families or disadvantaged backgrounds do not receive opportunities in education equal to their peers from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. According to 2017 data from the National Statistical Office (NSO, 2017), 34.29% of children lived in urban areas while the rest lived in rural areas. Although Thailand allocates a significant portion of the national budget for the education system, the way to efficiently, effectively, and equally distribute the funds seems to be a problem (Fernquest, 2017). There is a discrepancy of school quality among schools in urban areas and in rural areas. The education gap between rural and urban areas has narrowed but continues to be observed, particularly in certain parts of Thailand (Pattaravanich et al., 2005). Provinces located near the capital city of Bangkok have greater equality in education, whereas the provinces in the northern part of Thailand have severe inequality (Prasartpornsirichoke & Takahashi, 2013).

Because the birthrate is falling and migration to cities is common (NSO, 2018), fewer people live in rural areas and fewer students are available to enroll in school. The number of schools with fewer than twenty students per class is increasing. Most of the increase in small schools is in rural areas. Small schools in rural areas are more expensive to operate; to illustrate, it costs 38,921 baht per student annually in small schools but only 29,126 baht per student in large schools. Moreover, a shortage of qualified teachers, lack of teaching materials, and poor physical infrastructure can lead children in small village schools to fall behind their peers in big schools (World Bank, 2016).

Thailand has made real efforts to address challenges relating to the effectiveness, efficiency, and equity of its education system. The nation has succeeded in terms of raising the number of students enrolled and expanding the compulsory education level. However, quality in education is still lacking in Thailand. Improvements in the education system in Thailand are taking place gradually. Hallinger and Bryant (2013) suggested that despite the slow progress toward educational reform, scholars, policy-makers, and educators need to develop a longer-term perspective on education reform as well as the commitment to persist. As Irina Bokova, director of UNESCO, points out "Education is a shared responsibility between us all—government, schools, teachers, parents, and private actors" (UNESCO, 2017).

Apart from inequality in educational opportunities, poor academic achievement remains a substantial challenge. Poor academic achievement can be seen from test results in national and international tests. In Thailand, the National Institute of Educational Testing Service (NIETS) has administered the Ordinary National Educational Test (O-NET) at primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary education levels since 2005. NIETS (2018) reported that the O-NET test results among the lower secondary education students were lower than 50% proficiency in every tested subject (Thai 48%, English 30%, mathematics 26%, and science 32%). The country's results on international tests, such as the OECD Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), showed that Thai students scored below global averages in mathematics, science, and literacy (Fernquest, 2017; UNESCO, 2017; World Bank,

2018). According to UNESCO's 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, 12% of primary students in Thailand do not achieve a minimum proficiency level in mathematics. At the end of lower secondary education, only 50% have a minimum proficiency level in reading and only 46% in mathematics. The World Bank (2018) reported on the Human Capital Index that children in Thailand can expect to complete 12.4 years of pre-primary, primary, and secondary school by age 18. However, when years of schooling are adjusted for quality of learning (what children actually learn), this is only equivalent to 8.6 years. Thus, there is a learning gap of 3.8 years.

Parenting in Light of the School System

Parents have strong influences on their children in many respects. Parents are "the first teacher" of their child. Academically, many Thai children have been educated informally by their parents since they were young, such as counting, color naming, drawing, and so forth. More than the academic dimension, children also learn and gain experience by watching parents as a role models and adopt what they learn in their life. Even when children go to school, parents still play an important role in their education.

Research in Thailand also found positive correlations between parental involvement and children's academic achievement in general and in specific subjects. For example, family relationships and familial support of children's learning are associated with students' grade point average (Petchseek, 2009) and scores on the national educational test (O-NET) (Luangsawas, Teeravanittrakul, & Rak-ngam, 2018). Parents' encouragement of learning and family relationships are positively related to students' academic achievement in science (Yokubon, 2012). Similar findings have been found in other subjects, like English (Temlucksamee, 2015).

Although parental involvement has benefits for children's academic achievement, not every Thai parent is able to be involved in his or her children's education, especially for parents in rural areas. Moreover, correlation studies about students' academic achievement and their family factors generally focus on parents' support at home, but not within the school setting. Although there is parental involvement in school, many parents are likely to participate passively. Examples of passive participation include attending a school conference, attending a parent-teacher meeting, making donations, or attending children's extracurricular activities (Srisumaung, Phookung, & Nuysud, 2015). Parents are less likely to participate actively with school. To illustrate, parents might not give suggestions to teachers or schools, and parents may be unable to participate in setting school goals or school missions or might not be part of the school board to evaluate learning curricula. Parents tend not to participate in the educational curriculum because parents regard the educational curriculum as the teacher's or school board's responsibility (Yaimanee, 2004). Furthermore, establishing education curriculum requires knowledge of education content and process. Thus, parents are reluctant to participate and leave the decision making to the teachers or the principal (Wiboonuppatum, 2002).

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

In Asian countries, the findings of parenting style seem slightly different from other parts of the world. In Malaysia, Ishak, Low, and Lau (2012) studied 493 16-year-old students from eight schools and found that the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles were the most common practice of the parents. More than that, the results indicated that in addition, parenting styles moderated the effect of academic self-concept on academic achievement. However, similar to in other countries, the impact of academic self-concept on academic achievement is found to be greater for the students whose parents used an authoritative rather than the authoritarian parenting style.

An early study in Thailand conducted a meta-analysis by compiling 37 studies about Thai parenting practices during 1981–1988 and concluded that positive childrearing practices (warmth and supportiveness) had positive effects on children's personality, character, and intellectual development, whereas neglectful childrearing practices had negative effects on children, leading to aggressiveness, lack of direction, and poor anger control (Yoelao, 1992). However, the meta-analysis did not mention the proportion of different types of Thai parenting styles. Subsequent research concluded that the majority of Thai parents adopted a protective parenting style (50.6%), followed by an authoritative parenting style (20.7%; Pichayapinyo, Pawwattana, & Thongvichaen, 2008). Although in this study there were no statistically significant relations among parenting styles and emotional intelligence (EI) and intelligence quotients (IQ), parents were more important for the child's development in EI and IQ than were other caregivers such as grandparents and siblings. Studies of Thai parenting styles have tended to show that most Thai parents accept authoritative parenting and that authoritative parenting is correlated with children's academic achievement and well-being (Hosiri et al., 2018; Jittayasothon, 2009; Rhucharoenpornpanich et al., 2010).

Although, many Thai parents practice the authoritative style, which is supposed to encourage Thai students' academic achievement, Thai students' academic performance on the national test (O-NET) and international test (PISA) has not been as strong as would be expected (Fernquest, 2017; NIETS, 2018; UNESCO, 2017; World Bank, 2015, 2018). Poor academic results could be explained by poor quality and inequality of the education system as well as by parenting factors.

Apart from the authoritative style, which tends to yield positive effects on children's achievement, there are different parenting styles in Thailand, such as a protective parenting style. Pichayapinyo et al. (2008, p. 60) defined a protective parenting style as being when "parents are more responsive, involved, and directive than permissive parenting style, but less demanding than the authoritarian parenting styles." As a consequence, children who were raised by protective parents are likely to be frustrated and desire more freedom than children with authoritative parents.

In addition to the authoritative style and protective style, there is another pattern of parenting in Thailand: unidentified or integrated parenting style. A review of Thai parenting styles included 2,535 Thai students and showed that the authoritative

parenting style was adopted by the most Thai families (25.6%), followed by the permissive parenting style (10.3%), the authoritarian parenting style (8.3%), and the uninvolved parenting style (7.7%; Sirivunnabood et al., 2000). However, the most common Thai parenting style (48.1%) was unclassified or integrated parenting style. This finding was echoed by another study in which more than 50% (797 students) of the 1,584 Thai students could not pinpoint their parents' parenting styles (Prasertsin, 2009). Another study found that most parents use integrated parenting styles and tend to be democratic, as is evidenced by the authoritative parenting style (Rhucharoenpornpanich et al., 2010). The reasons for Thai parents being protective or in between authoritative and authoritarian styles could be explained from a cultural perspective.

As Hofstede (1991) suggested, Thai culture is characterized by high power-distance, collectivism, high femininity, and high levels of uncertainty avoidance. Thai culture could be a factor that affects Thai parents in not having a clear parenting style that falls cleanly into the categories that describe western parenting. Because the high power distance dimension would not allow Thai children to speak up as much as western children, Thai parenting styles would not be totally authoritative or permissive. Collectivism, high femininity, and high levels of uncertainty avoidance would lead parents to express their love and protection to their children. To show their love, many parents try to compromise or avoid conflict with their children so do not use an authoritarian style. Moreover, those cultural dimensions may lead Thai people to accept a hierarchical status in society. Generally, parents are in the highest position in the hierarchy status in the family so they are responsible for earning a living and taking care of family members. In return, children obey and follow their parents' instructions. If parents have high expectations for children's academic achievement, children will be supported or even pressured to fulfill their parents' expectations. Tapanya (2011) suggested that middle-income and upper-income Thai families, especially those in urban areas, appear to embrace the ideology of success at any cost. As a result, children may be frustrated by their parents' pressures. Maneesri and Pittiyanuwat (1998) proposed that parental pressure or too much involvement in children's education are negatively related to children's academic achievement.

Future Directions

Despite the fact that Thailand is facing education quality issues, especially in relation to Thai students' poor academic performance, it is important to acknowledge the effort of the government. As mentioned before, Thailand has put forth a lot of efforts and investment in the education system and is enacting reforms to improve education. Thai parents primarily use authoritative, protective, and integrated parenting styles. Most Thai parents accept authoritative parenting styles, which are associated with students' academic achievement (Hosiri et al., 2018). Even though parents from disadvantaged backgrounds may be preoccupied by demands of daily life, the changing nature of the Thai family type may offer assistance. The three-generation family was

found to characterize 33.6% of Thai families (UNFPA, 2015), which could imply that children will have grandparents to take care of them. Living with grandparents may or may not produce a direct effect, but parents themselves may feel more relaxed and proud of themselves because they are able to take care of their parents and their children at the same time. Moreover, mothers in this era may have fathers to help raise their children because the study by Tapanya (2011) found no significant differences between Thai mothers' and Thai fathers' attributions.

Changes in Thai education could come from both the government and parents. Thailand is on the right path to improve the education system. Nevertheless, this path requires collaborative participants, commitment, effort, patience, and persistence, which will be a tough mission but worthwhile to work for because the ultimate goal of this mission is better development of the nation.

References

Boonk, L., Gijselaers, H. J. M., Ritzen, H., & Brand-Gruwel, S. (2018). A review of the relationship between parental involvement indicators and academic achievement. *Educational Research Review, 24,* 10–30.

Bureau of Registration Administration: BORA. (2018). Population statistics for whole country. Retrieved October 18, 2018, from http://stat.bora.dopa.go.th/stat/xstat/new/POPHSE/stat_t60.txt.

Burnard, P. (2006). Some attitudes towards teaching and learning in Thai nursing education. *Nurse Education Today, 26,* 253–257.

Chayakonvikom, M., Fuangvut, P., & Cannell, S. (2016). Exploring education culture by employing Hofstede's cultural dimensions to evaluate the effectiveness of the current ERP training approach in Thailand. *Journal of Education and Training Studies, 4,* 79–89.

Equitable Education Fund: EEF. (2018) In-depth information of Thailand's educational cost and the policy recommendation. Retrieved October 27, 2018, from https://www.eef.or.th/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/PB_EEF.pdf.

Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review, 13,* 1–22.

Fernquest, J. (2017). Educational inequality in Thailand: The challenge. Retrieved December 14, 2018, from https://www.bangkokpost.com/learning/advanced/1259777/educational-inequality-in-thailand-the-challenge.

Fry, G. W., & Bi, H. (2013). The evolution of educational reform in Thailand: The Thai educational paradox. *Journal of Educational Administration, 51,* 290–319.

Gambrel, P. A., & Cianci, R. (2003). Maslow's hierarchy of needs: Does it apply in a collectivist culture. *Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship, 8,* 143–160.

Hallinger, P., & Bryant, D. A. (2013). Synthesis of findings from 15 years of educational reform in Thailand: Lessons on leading education change in East Asia. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 16,* 399–418.

Hallinger, P., & Kantamara, P. (2000). Educational change in Thailand: Opening a window onto leadership as a cultural process. *School Leadership & Management, 20,* 189–205.

Hallinger, P., Lee, M., & Ko, J. (2014). Exploring the impact of school principals on teacher professional communities in Hong Kong. *Leadership and Policy in Schools, 13,* 229–259.

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. London: McGraw-Hill.

Holmes, H., & Tangtongtavy, S. (1997). *Working with the Thais: A guide to managing in Thailand* (2nd ed.). Bangkok: White Lotus.

Hosiri, T., Wannasewok, K., Chaiharn, P., Phattharayuttawat, S., Manussirivithaya, V., & Ngamthipwatthana, T. (2018). Parenting style and hardiness of students in a Thai military academy. *Journal of the Medical Association of Thailand, 101,* 19–23.

Ishak, Z., Low, S., & Lau, P. (2012). Parenting style as a moderator for students' academic achievement. *Journal of Science Education and Technology, 21,* 487–493.

Jittayasothon, D. (2009). Diana Baumrind's parenting styles. *Journal of University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, 29,* 173–187.

Luangsawas, W., Teeravanittrakul, S., & Rak-ngam, C. (2018). The factors affecting student achievement under the Office of Rayong Primary Education Service Area 1. *MBU Education Journal: Faculty of Education Mahamakut Buddhist University, 6,* 236–258.

Maneesri, K., & Pitiyanuwat, S. (1998). Parental influences on academic achievement, education aspiration, and self-concept of Prathom Suksa five students, Bangkok Metropolis. *Journal of Research Methodology, 11,* 51–75.

MOE: Ministry of Education. (2018). Administrative structure. Retrieved October 1, 2018, from http://www.moe.go.th/moe/th/office/strucMOE56.pdf.

National Institute of Educational Testing Service: NIETS. (2018). Summary of the results of the Ordinary National Educational Test (O-NET), Grade 9 in academic year 2016. Retrieved September 12, 2018 from http://www.newonetresult.niets.or.th/AnnouncementWeb/PDF/SummaryONETM3_2560.pdf.

National Statistical Office: NSO. (2017). Summary of the employment-population (February 2017). Retrieved October 3, 2018 from http://service.nso.go.th/nso/nsopublish/themes/files/lfs60/reportFeb.pdf.

National Statistical Office: NSO. (2018). Total fertility rate in 2010–2018. Retrieved October 3, 2018 from http://statbbi.nso.go.th/staticreport/page/sector/th/01.aspx?fbclid=IwAR2xvC0BFfC_tAXmLAtDdNBie9DoJVSXVzlqUfCvOjh6fELHHl0teBV4-wI.

OECD/UNESCO. (2016). *Education in Thailand: An OECD-UNESCO perspective, reviews of national policies for education*. Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264259119-en

Office of the National Education Commission: ONEC. (2008). Report of educational situation in Thailand in 2006–2007: Problems have to be solved. *Thailand Education Journal, 42,* 4–9.

Office of the National Education Commission: ONEC. (2018). *Thailand educational statistics in 2016–2017 Academic Year*. Bangkok: Ministry of Education.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: OECD. (2014). Structural policy country notes: Thailand. Retrieved October 27, 2018, from https://www.oecd.org/site/seao/Thailand.pdf.

Pattaravanich, U., Williams, L. B., Lyson, T. A., & Archavanikul, K. (2005). Inequality and educational investment in Thai children. *The Rural Sociological Society, 70,* 561–583.

Petchseek, S. (2009). Family factors affecting learning achievement of lower secondary school students: A case study of Minprasatwitaya School, Minburi, Bangkok. Master of Art (Social Development). NIDA Institute, Bangkok.

Pichayapinyo, P., Pawwattana, A., & Thongvichaen, S. (2008). Parenting styles, emotional intelligence, and intelligence quotients in Thai school-aged children in Tukdang community, Bangkok Metropolis. *Journal of Public Health, 38,* 59–70.

Prasartpornsirichoke, J., & Takahashi, Y. (2013). Assessing inequalities in Thai education. *International Journal of East Asian Studies, 18,* 1–26.

Prasertsin, A. (2009). *Influences of parenting on internet usage of the children and youth in Thailand*. Bangkok: Educational and Psychological Test Bureau, Srinakharinwirot University.

Prpic, J. K., & Kanjanapanyakom, R. (2004). The impact of cultural values and norms on higher education in Thailand. Retrieved January 10, 2011, from http://www.herdsa.org.au/conference2004/Contributions/NRPapers/P064-jt.pdf.

Rhucharoenpornpanich, O., Chamratrithirong, A., Fongkaew, W., Rosati, M. J., Miller, B. A., & Cupp, P. K. (2010). Parenting and adolescent problem behaviors: A comparative study of sons and daughters in Thailand. *Journal of the Medical Association of Thailand, 93,* 293–300.

Sirivunnabood, P., Uwanno, T., Rithakannanone, P., Kotrajaras, S., Maneesri, K., & Suttiwan, P. (2000). The study of pattern of relationships between contemporary behaviors of Thai people

and socialization process of Thai families in relation to the development of the country. Research Report. Chulalongkorn University.
Srisumaung, E., Phookung, K., & Nuysud, M. (2015). Model of parental participation in developing the learning and teaching processes of students for Protom La-or Demonstration School Suan Dusit Rajabhat University. *SDU Research Journal Humanities and Social Sciences, 11,* 164–178.
Tapanya, S. (2011). Attributions and attitude of mothers and fathers in Thailand. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11,* 190–198.
Temlucksamee, B. (2015). Factors related to English learning achievement of lower secondary students in Phachuapkhirikhun Province under the Secondary Educational Service Area Office 10. *Academic Services Journal Prince of Songkla University, 26,* 26–36.
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Bangkok: UNESCO Bangkok. (2017). 2017/2018 Global education monitoring reports: Thailand highlights. Retrieved October 27, 2018, from https://bangkok.unesco.org/content/20172018-global-education-monitoring-report-thailand-highlights.
United Nations Population Fund: UNFPA. (2015). *The state of Thailand's population 2015: Features of Thai families in the era of low fertility and longevity*. Bangkok: The United Nations Population Fund.
Wiboonuppatum, R. (2002). Evaluating the quality of an elementary school in rural Thailand: Villagers' perspectives. *International Education Journal, 3,* 104–114.
Wilder, S. (2014). Effects of parental involvement on academic achievement: A meta-synthesis. *Educational Review, 66,* 377–397.
World Bank. (2015). Quality education for all. Retrieved October 3, 2018, from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/941121468113685895/pdf/AUS13333-WP-3Jun2015-P146230-TH-PUBLIC.pdf.
World Bank. (2016). Infographics: Raising the quality of small schools. Retrieved October 3, 2018 from http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/infographic/2016/01/08/infographic-raising-the-quality-of-small-schools.
World Bank. (2018). Thailand: Human capital index rank 65 out of 157. Retrieved November 24, 2018, from https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/hci/HCI_2pager_THA.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3w152QgORj7V_KnK8ndN4UUaesnhREkq-SGmiySRRGhDUdHPyLbGXvZN0.
Yaimanee, S. (2004). *Parents' participation in developing learning and teaching of students' Maneewatana School Bangkhare Bangkok* (Master's thesis). Suan Dusit Rajabhat University, Bangkok.
Yoelao, D. (1992). Synthesis of research results on child rearing practices in Thailand using meta analysis procedure. Retrieved November 30, 2018, from http://bsris.swu.ac.th/upload/47.pdf.
Yokubon, N. (2012). Factors affecting the academic achievement of sciences subject of students in grade 6 at the Demonstration School under the Jurisdiction of the Office of Higher Education Commission, the Ministry of Education. *Journal of Education and Social Development, 8,* 85–102.

Saengduean Yotanyamaneewong is a clinical psychologist and a lecturer in the Psychology Department, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, Thailand. Her research and teaching interests focus on children, adolescents, and families. Her projects focus on parenting, parental burnout, and emotional and social development in children and adolescents.

Sombat Tapanya is a clinical psychologist and an independent researcher at the Peace Culture Foundation, Chiang Mai, Thailand. His research and clinical practice focus on psychological trauma resulting from harsh parenting and abuse, and the treatment and prevention of such trauma. He has been working with Save the Children International and UNICEF in Thailand and the ASEAN region.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting in the United States	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Skinner**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Ann T.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Duke University
	Address	Durham, USA
	Email	askinner@duke.edu
Author	Family Name	**Lansford**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Jennifer E.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Duke University
	Address	Durham, USA
	Email	lansford@duke.edu
Author	Family Name	**Bornstein**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Marc H.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
	Address	Bethesda, USA
	Division	
	Organization	Institute for Fiscal Studies
	Address	London, UK
	Email	marc.h.bornstein@gmail.com
Author	Family Name	**Deater-Deckard**
	Particle	

	Given Name	**Kirby**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	University of Massachusetts
	Address	Amherst, USA
	Email	kdeaterdeck@umass.edu
Author	Family Name	**Dodge**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Kenneth A.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Duke University
	Address	Durham, USA
	Email	dodge@duke.edu
Author	Family Name	**Malone**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Patrick S.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Duke University
	Address	Durham, USA
	Email	patrick.malone@duke.edu
Author	Family Name	**Steinberg**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Laurence**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Temple University
	Address	Philadelphia, USA
	Division	
	Organization	King Abdulaziz University
	Address	Jeddah, Saudi Arabia
	Email	laurence.steinberg@temple.edu

Abstract

Encompassing more than 3.5 million square miles and with a population of over 300 million, the United States represents a collection of peoples who are diverse with respect to their beliefs, experiences, and access to resources. The United States has undergone dramatic political, cultural, and economic shifts over the course of its relatively brief history, many of which have been influenced by involvement in civil and world wars and the nation's ascendant place on the world stage. Unfortunately, public education policy in

the United States has not always been able to anticipate or nimbly respond to such shifts, leading to a system that does not consistently and successfully serve all of its children. In the United States—perhaps more than in some other countries—parental involvement has therefore become a key influence on the extent of children's academic success. During adolescence in particular, U.S. children's academic success is partially determined by many parentally mediated factors, including the quality of the parent-child relationship, the parents' own social and economic background, and parenting practices. This chapter presents a review of the literature on parenting and academic achievement in the U.S. Our goals are to identify those parenting behaviors most tied to current definitions of student success, to identify the challenges ahead both in research and in the education of U.S. students, and to suggest future directions for improving both academic and social-emotional outcomes for U.S. students.

Education and Parenting in the United States

Ann T. Skinner, Jennifer E. Lansford, Marc H. Bornstein, Kirby Deater-Deckard, Kenneth A. Dodge, Patrick S. Malone and Laurence Steinberg

Introduction

A wealth of literature examines relations between parenting practices and child academic achievement. It is no wonder such a large body of literature exists; there are multiple definitions of what is considered "parent involvement," and parents spend a great deal of time and energy thinking about and trying to influence their child's education. This involvement can include a physical presence in the school through

A. T. Skinner (✉) · J. E. Lansford · K. A. Dodge · P. S. Malone
Duke University, Durham, USA
e-mail: askinner@duke.edu

J. E. Lansford
e-mail: lansford@duke.edu

K. A. Dodge
e-mail: dodge@duke.edu

P. S. Malone
e-mail: patrick.malone@duke.edu

M. H. Bornstein
Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Bethesda, USA
e-mail: marc.h.bornstein@gmail.com

Institute for Fiscal Studies, London, UK

K. Deater-Deckard
University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA
e-mail: kdeaterdeck@umass.edu

L. Steinberg
Temple University, Philadelphia, USA
e-mail: laurence.steinberg@temple.edu

King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_10

464396_1_En_10_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 138 Layout: T1-Standard

volunteering, attending school events or parent-teacher meetings, deciding where a child will attend school, choosing or facilitating an academic "track" for children, or homework support. Although some universals exist—some parenting practices are associated with better academic outcomes for all students—there is also great variation in how parenting practices are related to school success across different socioeconomic groups, for students of different abilities, for students with different ethnic backgrounds, and even by geography (Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007; Hill et al., 2004). In the sections that follow, we describe education in the United States in historical, cultural, and policy contexts and discuss the ways in which parental values and societal norms inform parenting practices. Next, an overview of the current school system in the United States is presented, followed by a discussion of parenting in light of the school system. The penultimate section presents a review of the literature on how parenting practices are related to student engagement and academic achievement. Finally, we discuss future directions for research in education and parenting in the United States.

United States as a Cultural Setting

Historical and cultural background. The system of providing a public education for all in the United States can be traced back to the latter part of the 18th century, spearheaded by Thomas Jefferson (Mercer, 1993). The same values that guided the formation of the United States, beginning with separation from Great Britain in 1776 and in the country's official recognition and forming in 1783, mirror those principles upon which public schools were founded: liberty, responsibility, freedom, and egalitarianism. Although debate continues about the best policies under which all can prosper in America's education system, these founding principles still guide parent behavior, student goals, and public policy well into the 21st century.

The relation between parenting and academic achievement in the latter half of the 20th and early 21st century is characterized by an increased focus on cognitive development. This change came about in part due to the institutionalization of mass schooling during the late 1800s and throughout the 1900s, and society's investment in public school education. As one example, in the 80-year period ending in 1990, the median years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and older increased from 8 to nearly 13 years (USDOE, 1993). The societal investment in public education and the subsequent return on this investment in education in terms of increased employment opportunities in turn influenced parental appraisals of cognitive development as an important attribute to develop in childhood (Schaub, 2010). Co-occurring improvements in child health and well-being meant that earlier investments of time and effort on immediate health and welfare concerns during childhood could give way to social and cognitive development, resulting in successive generations of children achieving higher levels of education than their parents throughout the 1900s (Heckman & LaFontaine, 2010). Homework increased, cognitive stimulation by parents became normalized rather than discouraged, and preference for autonomy rather than

obedience developed as a goal orientation for parents. These shifts are reflected in historical trends, advice given to parents by professionals—such as providing stimulating activities to infants and parenting for social-emotional development—and in observations of parent involvement in schooling (see Schaub, 2010, for overview). Nationally representative data from a household survey in the last decade of the 20th century showed that, across all levels of income and maternal education, parenting for cognitive development was a normative behavior, reflective of American values of education as central to the creation of future opportunities. Not only was the value of education seen at a macro level in the expansion of public school opportunities for large proportions of the population, including secondary education, but it also pervaded individual values in the home (Schaub, 2010; USDOE, 2001).

Policy context. The oversight of the education of students in the United States rests with individual states; education is never mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. Because the federal government has a vested interest in the quality of education provided, however, federal funds in the form of grants supplement state funding for education and are tied to federal regulations and policies (USDOE, 2017). The federal financial contribution to public education is less than 10% of all resources. It is often assumed that the federal government mandates much of the operation of public schools, but the reality is more nuanced. Federal funding is made available to those states whose public schools comply with federal legislative directives, and although most states and localities do comply, there are occasional instances of individual school districts opting out of federal funding initiatives tied to individual pieces of legislation. Since 1787, nearly 100 pieces of education-related federal legislation have been passed that guide education; some of the more prominent ones include: (1) The 1965 authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, including its reauthorizations as No Child Left Behind in 2002 and the Every Student Succeeds Act in 2015; (2) The Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (2004); (3) The Federal Education Rights and Privacy Act (1974); (4) The National School Lunch Program (1946) and other programs administered by The Department of Health and Human Services and the U.S. Department of Agriculture; and (5) The Civil Rights Act (1964), administered by the Office of Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education (USDOE). The USDOE dates to 1867, but it became a Cabinet-level Department only in 1979. It has the smallest staff of the 15 cabinet agencies, but the third largest budget, after the Departments of Defense and Health and Human Services. In addition to providing supplemental funding to the states, the USDOE also functions as a leader in funding and disseminating research related to improving educational outcomes, increasing community involvement, and identifying issues and challenges facing the nation as it works to improve academic achievement.

By many measures, the United States is a prosperous country; 13th in the world on the Human Development Index, the life expectancy for a child born in the United States in 2017 is 79.5 years (UNDP, 2018). An adult can expect to receive an average of 13.4 years of schooling, and the infant mortality rate is 5.6 per 1000 live births. Even so, in 2014, 1 in 5 school-aged children in the United States was part of a family living in poverty (USDOE, 2014b), creating challenges for individuals and families in their everyday survival, health, and welfare, but also creating challenges

for schools trying to serve the educational needs of all students. The links between poor academic achievement and poverty and lack of resources are well-documented (Hernandez, 2011; Lacour & Tissington, 2011). As one example, 22% of children who have lived some part of their childhood in poverty do not graduate from high school, compared to 6% of those who have never lived in poverty. For children who spent at least half of their childhood in poverty, the non-graduation rate rises to 32% (Hernandez, 2011). Research has documented promising interventions for reducing the poverty-wealth gap as it relates to academic achievement (Lacour & Tissington, 2011), but reducing the gap requires coordinated efforts in areas such as policy, instructional strategies that value life experiences as starting points for developing literacy skills, and innovative school-home partnerships.

Current School System

Beginning at age 5 or 6, all children in the United States are mandated by law to be provided with a free, appropriate, public education (FAPE), regardless of economic status or disability. By 2027, enrollment in K-12 public schools is projected to exceed 52.1 million students, with significant variation in growth or decline by locality; the Washington, DC, school district, for example, is projected to increase enrollment by 28%, and Connecticut public schools are projected to decrease by 12%. The U.S. school aged population (ages 5–17) in 2016 was 52% White, 25% Hispanic, 14% Black, and 5% Asian (USDOE, 2017). Despite a high literacy rate (99%) (USDOE, 1993), and a world-renowned system of higher education, the United States harbors a great deal of economic and cultural variability in terms of opportunities for personal achievement, choice, and equality, which are in part a function of different experiences individuals have related to their ethnicity, social class, or geographic location.

Individual states typically oversee the public school curriculum, with some consistency across the 45/50 states that had adopted the Common Core curriculum by 2010 (NGA, 2010). The Common Core curriculum is composed of a set of learning goals for K-12 education in mathematics and English/literacy that describe what a student should be able to know and do at the end of each grade, irrespective of geographic location. Although it has been met with some controversy by critics who argue for more local control over public school curricula, adoption of Common Core by individual states aims to ensure that students across the diverse landscape and large geographic region that comprise the United States enter the workforce and institutions of higher education with a shared, common experience in English/literacy and mathematics.

Beyond curricula, local districts, state education offices, and the federal government further hold publicly funded schools accountable for meeting goals related to students' achievement in core subjects, in part through high-stakes testing and financial oversight. State and local taxes supply approximately 83% of the funding for K-12 education, approximately 8% is provided in the form of grants from the federal

government, with the remaining 9% coming from private sources. Per pupil spending varies widely by locality; in one example, two neighboring school districts in Illinois differ in per pupil spending by $18,000 per year due in part to differences in property taxes paid by residents in the two districts (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2010). Within each state, local school districts are responsible for the administration of education in their locality. Of the more than 13,000 school districts in the United States, most school systems adopt a typical arrangement of students grouped into three types of schools: elementary (grades K-5, with most students beginning kindergarten at age 5–6), middle (grades 6–8), and high schools (grades 9–12). The size of each district varies dramatically, with districts ranging in size from a few hundred students in the smallest districts to nearly 1,000,000 in the largest. Each district is typically governed by a locally elected board of education, working with the administrative office for each district through the office of a superintendent. States and localities set their own age of compulsory attendance and minimum and maximum ages of free education. Minimum ages range from as old as 7, and maximum ages are as young as 16. Most states require, on average, 180 instructional days in a school year, and students spend about 6.7 h/day in instruction (USDOE, 2004). In 2011–12, 76% of public school teachers were female, 44% were under age 40, and 56% had a master's or higher degree (USDOE, 2014a).

Because public schools receive a significant portion—on average just under half—of their funding from local property taxes, school districts across the United States vary widely in resources, materials, academic offerings, and teacher quality. Over 50 million students attend public K-12 schools, with 5 million more enrolled in private schools, and 2.7 million in public charter schools—schools funded with a blend of private and public funding. The number of students who are home-schooled rose 62% in the decade ending in 2012, and the number of charter schools is steadily on the rise in many states, creating unprecedented numbers in recent decades of students not educated through the traditional public school system. Nearly 1 in 10 public school students are English-language learners—those whose primary language is not English and for whom school services are provided to develop English language proficiency. Furthermore, nearly 25% of publicly enrolled students attend high poverty schools—those schools where 75% or more of the students qualify for federal meal subsidies—creating challenges for school districts such as high teacher turnover (Clotfelter, Ladd, & Vigdor, 2006), lower student academic achievement (Lacour & Tissington, 2011), and high dropout rates from secondary school (USDOE, 2014b).

Parenting in Light of the School System

Most school-aged children are educated through the public school system, but even within this system, families sometimes have choices regarding which schools their children attend. In some districts, the default assignment closest to the family's home is the only choice available, but in other localities, options involve magnet schools—available by application and which strive to create more economic diversity in a

locality by utilizing designated federal funds to adopt rigorous, specialized, and enriched curricula—and school choice programs, which allow families to choose a school in their district outside of their assigned attendance zone. This range of options can occur because a district adopts a free-choice policy, or when local, state, or federal authorities recognize that some schools do not meet basic academic standards and mandate that states provide families with other options. If parents opt out of the traditional public schools in their district for their children, they may apply for enrollment in a charter school, or abandon the public system altogether in favor of private, parochial, or home school. Parents who have the resources and flexibility to provide transportation to school or lunch during the school day—which private and charter schools are not typically required to provide even to those who are eligible by federal standards—have more options available when they are dissatisfied with their child's assigned public school.

Because schools vary so much in their impact on a child's academic outcomes, the most obvious, and strongest, influence that parents have on their child's academic success is through their placement of a child into a particular school. Parents with limited financial means have few options and are typically resigned to place their child in a local school that might have poor resources. Wealthier families have more options: they can move to a neighborhood with better-quality schools or place their child in a private school. When the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Schools Act as No Child Left Behind (NCLB) was enacted in 2002, school districts faced increased pressure to provide alternative schooling options to parents when individual schools failed to meet federal standards for achievement and growth. Parents were thrust in a new role, that of evaluating individual public schools on the basis of performance. One study of how NCLB affected parents' decision-making around school choice reported that, when parents were given even simplified information about test scores at neighboring schools, there was a significant increase in the number of parents who chose higher-achieving schools, even when those schools were farther away from home and entry was not guaranteed (Hastings & Weinstein, 2008). There is no clear agreement in the literature, however, if such moves to new schools consistently result in marked increases in academic achievement for all students. The lack of consistent evidence for increased academic achievement following school choice decisions may be in part because parents choose alternate schools for their children for reasons other than academic achievement, such as increased diversity in students or staff, specialized curricula like Science Technology Engineering and Math—"STEM"—or the arts, and fewer reported discipline issues. Research has further informed the study of parenting behavior around school choice as impacted by geography. In the southeastern United States, which contains a mixture of urban, suburban, and rural areas, families in rural locations are limited in the choices they have because of the extra burden placed on them to travel long distances to an alternative choice school. Additional incentives like taxpayer-funded vouchers to attend private schools are unlikely to improve the situation for these families (Zhang & Cowen, 2009), and legal debates occur over the use of public taxpayer money to provide individual scholarships for private school tuition. Furthermore, the remote location of many schools makes it more challenging to retain teachers, and high

teacher turnover places further burdens on struggling schools (Barnes, Crowe, & Schaefer, 2007), making them less attractive choices for families.

Parenting Practices and Academic Achievement

Defining parent involvement. Parent involvement has been defined in a variety of ways, categorizing different characteristics of involvement based on specific research aims. Some researchers have focused on three general categories of involvement: Supporting children and motivational activities, socializing for school behavior, and cognitive activities and support to increase reading, writing, and mathematics skills. Kohl, Lengua, McMahon, and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group (2000) identified six dimensions of parent involvement: (1) parent-teacher contact; (2) parent involvement at school; (3) quality of parent-teacher relationship; (4) parent's value of education; (5) parent involvement at home; and (6) parent endorsement of school. Other models (Green et al., 2007) emphasize parent involvement with three components: (1) What parents believe they should do and how much effect they believe it can have on achievement for their child; (2) parents' perceptions of invitations from the school (school climate), teachers, and their child; and (3) parents' perceptions about their own skills and knowledge for assisting and how much involvement at school may demand of them in time and energy. Still other research has more broadly characterized all school involvement into two main areas: at-home support and at-school support (Epstein, 1987; Park & Holloway, 2013). In broad terms, parent involvement can be viewed as a collection of behaviors parents and caregivers demonstrate with the aim of increasing school success for their children. No matter what school is selected, parents have influence in many ways, including volunteering at school, helping children with homework, attending school functions, visiting the child's classroom, being a guest speaker, or becoming involved in school leadership activities (LaRocque, Kleiman, & Darling, 2011). Bornstein and Putnick (2019) expound on child preparation and teacher performance. In recent years, parental involvement has also expanded to include expectations specifically about college and financial planning for college (Park & Holloway, 2013).

However it is categorized, parent involvement in education has long been established as an important predictor of child success and adjustment in school. Prospective studies have shown that higher involvement by parents in their child's school is associated with better academic achievement and higher educational aspirations by the child in subsequent years (Hill et al., 2004). Higher rates of parental involvement are also related to lower rates of student absenteeism (Epstein & Sheldon, 2002; Sheldon, 2007), higher achievement and less retention in terms of having to repeat a grade (Jeynes, 2005; Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996), and fewer discipline issues (Hill et al., 2004).

Parenting involvement in secondary school. Overall, parental involvement declines between elementary and middle school, especially for low-SES and ethnic minority families (Eccles & Harold, 1993). Parental involvement continues to

change as adolescents become more independent, but parental involvement is still linked with academic success during adolescence (Laursen & Collins, 2009). From a developmental perspective, however, increased autonomy means that parents and adolescents begin to function as partners in new ways (Gordon & Cui, 2012). In adolescence, parents and children can have discussions about school, talk about the value of education, and navigate future goal-setting. In a pragmatic way, parental involvement also means parents taking part in developing their child's course schedules, choosing and being involved in extracurricular activities, and making a connection with school personnel through conferences, phone calls, and emails. Parents' attempts to remain involved in their child's education in secondary schools, however, are more complicated because adolescents naturally share less with parents as peer relationships take a leading role in adolescents' lives. Parents may also be less able to assist academically because course material at the secondary level is more difficult. Navigating the physical, electronic, and social aspects of large high schools can also be overwhelming for parents. Further challenging the active engagement of parents in the academic lives of their children is that parents cannot always articulate what they themselves need (LaRocque et al., 2011). Developmentally, adolescence is a good time to build independence around school work and link education to future success, but this autonomy is harder for schools to influence. Ethnic minority families and vulnerable populations such as those parents of students with special needs may find connecting with schools even more challenging because children in these families often report they are less likely to be given a second chance after meeting with an initial failure, and parents and adolescents are therefore less likely to participate in parent-school events (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Moreover, when there is more diversity among students than staff, the chance for teacher-student conflict and misunderstanding arises (LaRocque et al., 2011). Still, there needs to be a balance between encouraging involvement yet fostering independence, all while avoiding putting too many demands on families, who may find participating in school activities in direct competition for their time and resources as they try to get time away from work, find care for younger children, and secure transportation to school activities.

Parent behaviors and school success. The research is mixed about which specific components of parent involvement are most strongly related to students' school success. Some research shows that parental expectations have the most powerful effect on student outcomes (Jeynes, 2005, 2007), but other work shows that, when different types of parental involvement (i.e., expectations, school-specific involvement, and general involvement) were examined in the same model, school-specific involvement has a larger effect on achievement than general parental support and parental expectations (Green et al., 2007). This differential effect of school-specific involvement may be attributable to the pathway direct interpersonal involvement provides for parents to "jump in" when needed and reach out to teachers when a student runs into difficulty at school, either academically or behaviorally. In support of earlier research (Sheldon & Epstein, 2005), this direct "hands-on" approach from parents appears to make a difference in achievement outcomes, perhaps because it also conveys to adolescents the importance their parents place on education, as evidenced by the time and effort parents devote to it.

Linked with the concept of parental expectations and its relation to academic success are two additional parent-driven practices related to positive academic achievement for adolescents. First, parents have a large role in scaffolding independence around academic activities, moving from heavy support when children are young, to more autonomy as children grow into adolescence (Hill, Witherspoon, & Bartz, 2018). The practice of fostering increased autonomy as children age is both developmentally sound and desirable by adolescents, parents, and teachers. Second, linking education to future success is a widely used parenting and teaching strategy for promoting academic achievement. Across ethnicities, both parents and adolescents express a desire to use their education to promote a quality of life beyond their current circumstance (Hill et al., 2018).

Although some research has shown that parental expectations are a powerful predictor of academic success (Jeynes, 2005, 2007), especially for adolescents, the strength of this relation differs by many factors, including SES, age of students, and ethnicity. Parent involvement does matter, but the mechanisms by which involvement affects academic achievement also differ across age and SES. For high-SES families of adolescents aged 12–16, parent involvement is related to fewer behavioral problems at school, which in turn is related to increased achievement, but for low-SES families, although parent involvement is related to higher expectations for adolescents, there is no relation between parent involvement and academic gains. Thus, it appears to be more difficult for low-SES families to influence achievement in the same indirect way as higher-SES families (Hill et al., 2004). Regarding age, compared to their elementary counterparts, secondary schools face additional challenges engaging parents, and many differences emerge across ethnicity and SES. In a nationally representative sample of 3248 parents of high school students, when compared to teachers at the primary level, secondary school teachers trust parents less, and parents seek less assistance from the school (Park & Holloway, 2013).

SES is also predictive of the strength of the relation between parental self-efficacy and involvement; that is, when parents feel that their involvement has the potential to effect real academic change for their children, they are more likely to be involved in their children's academic lives (Park & Holloway, 2013). Higher SES predicts more school involvement but not home involvement, and Spanish-speaking parents report the lowest level of involvement at school, even when controlling for SES. However, among immigrant groups, increased time spent in the United States and English language mastery were positively associated with increased school involvement (Turney & Kao, 2009).

In addition to confirming that communicating parental expectations is related to academic achievement, a meta-analysis of 50 studies of parenting and academic achievement in middle and high school identified two additional forms of parental involvement that showed consistent positive relations with academic achievement: involvement that fosters an understanding of the goals and purpose of education (future orientation)—like talking about goals for the future, and linking interests and strengths with future career and leisure activities—and parent involvement that models, teaches, and encourages specific strategies that can be used effectively by students to make decisions in the school setting (Hill & Tyson, 2009). Helping with

and checking homework—in contrast with providing an environment and support conducive to autonomous homework completion—at the secondary level was not consistently predictive of academic success among the studies included.

Goal orientation and parenting styles. The majority of research documenting the relation between parenting behavior and academic achievement has occurred during the last three decades. In its early years, foci on parenting style and its relation to academic achievement and risky behaviors were prevalent in the literature (Cohen & Rice, 1997; Radziszewska, Richardson, Dent, & Flay, 1996; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). Although a variety of parenting behaviors can have a positive effect on academic achievement, parental aims can be simplified by rooting the behaviors in the theories and principles of goal orientation. Two overarching goals are to foster mastery or foster performance (Gonzalez, Holbein, & Quilter, 2002). When focused on *mastery learning* a student is most inclined to accept new challenges and find success in learning new material for the sake of acquiring new knowledge. A student with a *performance goal orientation* is more likely to derive reward and define success based on the outcome of some external evaluation, such as grades or exam scores. High intrinsic motivation and autonomy are most often associated with a mastery goal orientation, whereas extrinsic motivation and low autonomy are more often associated with a performance goal orientation. Furthermore, mastery goal orientation is associated with better self-regulation (Grolnick & Ryan, 1989), higher levels of work satisfaction (Duda & Nicholls, 1992), and better acquisition of new skills. Authoritative parenting (see Baumrind, 1991) is consistently and positively related to students' mastery goal orientation, whereas authoritarian parenting (emphasizing obedience and conformity) and permissive parenting (providing warmth but lacking in rules and structure) are related to performance goal orientations (Gonzalez et al., 2002). However, the relation between parenting style and goal orientation does not hold for all ethnic groups. For example, African American students' goal orientations do not show the same relation to permissive and authoritative parenting (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Gonzalez et al., 2002; Park & Bauer, 2002; Steinberg et al., 1992). A neglectful parenting style, however, is consistently related to poor academic performance across diverse ethnic groups (Park & Bauer, 2002).

School outreach is also strongly related to parent involvement at school and at home, but parents report that a direct and welcoming invitation from the school is first necessary (Warren, Noftle, Ganley, & Quintanar, 2011). Thus, even into adolescence, despite the challenges of large schools and complicated systems, interpersonal connections are important tools for building partnerships between schools and families. As students begin the college planning process, schools can also help parents feel more confident about the process through education and information.

Qualitative and mixed-methods research provide some insight into the barriers to parental involvement and engagement and detail specific ideas from parents and teachers about how to overcome obstacles that hinder parent involvement. Both parents and teachers agree that parents find it difficult to participate in school events or meetings due to lack of childcare for other children, language barriers, and conflicts with work or other activities with children (Baker, Wise, Kelley, & Skiba, 2016).

Focus groups with parents and teachers in this study revealed that more consistent proactive communication, like weekly newsletters from teachers, multiple methods for reaching parents (e.g., email, text, and paper handouts), providing food during evening meetings, and professional development for teachers with a focus on engaging parents are all helpful in more positively engaging families in the school setting. Indeed, graduate coursework for teachers in collaborating with urban families and communities increases teacher perceptions of the importance of parent and community involvement and strengthens teachers' self-efficacy for believing teachers can be positive change agents (Warren et al., 2011). Even when parents and school staff agree about the goals for parent involvement, however, the strategies to reach those goals can often differ markedly between settings. Many urban school districts, for example, face low attendance rates at parent-teacher conferences. Some districts report noticeably higher participation rates when the conferences are held at night, by phone, or in the parents' homes to accommodate parents with conflicting demands of work, family, or transportation (Smith, Wohlstetter, Kuzin, & De Pedro, 2011).

In measuring student outcomes predicted by parent behavior in education, the contemporary literature is almost wholly focused on test scores, course enrollment, and grades as the primary outcomes of student success and is comparatively deficient of children's perspectives about their affective experience in secondary school as their experience relates to parenting and achievement. Many of the studies examining the role of parenting in relation to academic stressors and internalizing disorders have taken place outside the United States (Deb, Chatterjee, & Walsh, 2010; Quach, Epstein, Riley, Falconier, & Fang, 2015), even though the occurrence rates of these disorders in the United States warrant attention. As an example, nearly 13% of adolescents aged 12–17 in the United States—more than 3 million adolescents—experienced at least one major depressive episode during 2016, with nearly 1 in 5 females experiencing these episodes (NIMH, 2017a). Additionally, nearly 32% of adolescents had an anxiety disorder in 2016, with more than 8% of adolescents experiencing severe impairment (NIMH, 2017b). These statistics do not directly tie mental disorders specifically to academic stress or achievement, but the prevalence of anxiety and depression in the adolescent population in the United States warrants a more comprehensive research approach that includes children's perspectives alongside those of their parents and teachers, and an examination of how parenting and pressure for high academic achievement interact in an adolescent's world. For the subgroup of students in high-pressure academic environments, a growing body of evidence suggests both academic performance and mental health of adolescents are hindered rather than aided by high parental expectations and high stress about academic achievement (Kaplan, Liu, & Kaplan, 2005; Suldo, Shaunessy, & Hardesty, 2008).

Future Directions

The education system in the United States is built on the belief that a high-quality educational experience plays a critical role in the healthy development of children and adolescents, and that society benefits socially and economically when the education system is strong. Despite these guiding principles, American children must negotiate a complex web of risk factors for low academic achievement. On average across all 50 states, 84% of adolescents complete high school graduation requirements within 4 years of starting, but completion rates vary by state, ethnicity, and SES (see https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_coi.asp for a detailed breakdown). The dropout rate in the United States—individuals ages 16–24 who have not completed a high school curriculum and are not enrolled in school—fell to 6.1% in 2016, but differences again emerge by ethnicity and gender, with males having a higher dropout rate than females, and Latino students having a higher dropout rate (8.6%) than their African American (6.2%) or European American (5.2%) counterparts (USDOE, 2018).

From over the last three decades of research about parental involvement in education, three common themes emerge. First, parents' relationships with their children and their children's schools and teachers have an impact on how involved parents become in their child's education, and in turn how parent involvement may affect academic achievement. Second, schools are beginning to understand more about the ways in which parent involvement is important and can better equip parents with the knowledge they need to be active participants in their children's secondary education. Third, further research is called for among various cultural groups and school types, but ethnicity and SES matter, both as direct and indirect influences on academic achievement. There is a fallacy, however, in assuming that an equal outlay of financial or staff resources directly to the schools will singlehandedly close the gap between poverty and achievement (Clotfelter, Ladd, Vigdor, & Wheeler, 2006). Instead, community investments must be made at multiple levels prior to entry into K-12 schooling and continue through the lifespan. Successful frameworks for parental involvement must also include interventions for minority and underserved populations (Hill et al., 2018). Schools that implement programs and practices ("back-to-school night," parent workshops) to encourage parental involvement must recognize and account for the differential effects of parenting strategies across social and economic boundaries. For example, citing authoritative parenting as a "one size fits all" parenting style related to increasing academic achievement may not be true for non-majority groups in the United States. Furthermore, the affective experiences of the adolescents themselves must be included in future research, both with the simple act of including more adolescent perspectives in studies, but also by broadening our definition of school success to include mental health outcomes in addition to test scores and grades.

References

Baker, T. L., Wise, J., Kelley, G., & Skiba, R. J. (2016). Identifying barriers: Creating solutions to improve family engagement. *School Community Journal, 26,* 161–184.

Barnes, G., Crowe, E., & Schaefer, B. (2007). *The cost of teacher turnover in five school districts: A pilot study*. Washington: DC: National Commission on Teaching and America's Future.

Baumrind, D. (1991). Parenting styles and adolescent development. In J. Brooks-Gunn, R. Lerner, & A. C. Petersen (Eds.), *The encyclopedia of adolescence* (pp. 746–758). New York, NY: Garland Learning Press.

Bornstein, M. H., & Putnick, D. L. (2019). *The architecture of the child mind: g, Fs, and their hierarchy*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2006a). Teacher-student matching and the assessment of teacher effectiveness. *Journal of Human Resources, 41,* 778–820.

Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H. F., Vigdor, J., & Wheeler, J. (2006b). High-poverty schools and the distribution of teachers and principals. *North Carolina Law Review, 85,* 1345–1379.

Cohen, D. A., & Rice, J. (1997). Parenting styles, adolescent substance use, and academic achievement. *Journal of Drug Education, 27,* 199–211.

Deb, S., Chatterjee, P., & Walsh, K. M. (2010). Anxiety among high school students in India: Comparisons across gender, school type, social strata, and perceptions of quality time with parents. *Australian Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology, 10,* 18–31.

Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., Leiderman, P. H., Roberts, D. F., & Fraleigh, M. J. (1987). The relation of parenting style to adolescent school performance. *Child Development, 58,* 1244–1257.

Duda, J. L., & Nicholls, J. G. (1992). Dimensions of achievement motivation in schoolwork and sport. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 84,* 290–299.

Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1993). Parent-school involvement during the early adolescent years. *Teachers College Record, 94,* 568–587.

Epstein, J. L. (1987). Parent involvement—What research says to administrators. *Education and Urban Society, 19,* 119–136.

Epstein, J. L., & Sheldon, S. B. (2002). Present and accounted for: Improving student attendance through family and community involvement. *The Journal of Educational Research, 95,* 308–318.

Gonzalez, A. R., Holbein, M. F. D., & Quilter, S. (2002). High school students' goal orientations and their relationship to perceived parenting styles. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 27,* 450–470.

Gordon, M. S., & Cui, M. (2012). The effect of school-specific parenting processes on academic achievement in adolescence and young adulthood. *Family Relations, 61,* 728–741.

Green, C. L., Walker, J. M. T., Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (2007). Parents' motivations for involvement in children's education: An empirical test of a theoretical model of parental involvement. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 99,* 532–544.

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

Hastings, J. S., & Weinstein, J. M. (2008). Information, school choice, and academic achievement: Evidence from two experiments. *Quarterly Journal of Economics, 123,* 1373–1414.

Heckman, J. J., & LaFontaine, P. A. (2010). The American high school graduation rate: Trends and levels. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 92,* 244–262.

Hernandez, D. J. (2011). *Double jeopardy: How third-grade reading skills and poverty influence high school graduation*. Baltimore, MD: Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Hill, N. E., Castellino, D. R., Lansford, J. E., Nowlin, P., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., et al. (2004). Parent academic involvement as related to school behavior, achievement, and aspirations: Demographic variations across adolescence. *Child Development, 75,* 1491–1509.

Hill, N. E., & Tyson, D. F. (2009). Parental involvement in middle school: A meta-analytic assessment of the strategies that promote achievement. *Developmental Psychology, 45,* 740–763.

Hill, N. E., Witherspoon, D. P., & Bartz, D. (2018). Parental involvement in education during middle school: Perspectives of ethnically diverse parents, teachers, and students. *Journal of Educational Research, 111,* 12–27.
Hornby, G., & Lafaele, R. (2011). Barriers to parental involvement in education: An explanatory model. *Educational Review, 63,* 37–52.
Jeynes, W. H. (2005). A meta-analysis of the relation of parental involvement to urban elementary school student academic achievement. *Urban Education, 40,* 237–269.
Jeynes, W. H. (2007). The relationship between parental involvement and urban secondary school student academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Urban Education, 42,* 82–110.
Kaplan, D. S., Liu, R. X., & Kaplan, H. B. (2005). School related stress in early adolescence and academic performance three years later: The conditional influence of self expectations. *Social Psychology of Education, 8,* 3–17.
Kohl, G. O., Lengua, L. J., McMahon, R. J., & Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group. (2000). Parent involvement in school: Conceptualizing multiple dimensions and their relations with family and demographic risk factors. *Journal of School Psychology, 38,* 501–523.
Lacour, M., & Tissington, L. D. (2011). The effects of poverty on academic achievement. *Educational Research and Reviews, 6,* 522–527.
LaRocque, M., Kleiman, I., & Darling, S. M. (2011). Parental involvement: The missing link in school achievement. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth, 55,* 115–122.
Laursen, B., & Collins, W. A. (2009). *Parent–child relationships during adolescence*. New York, NY: Wiley.
Mercer, G. E. (1993). Thomas Jefferson: A bold vision for American education. *International Social Science Review, 68,* 19–25.
National Governors Association. (NGA; 2010). *Common core state standards*. Washington, DC: Author.
National Institutes of Mental Health. (NIMH; 2017a). Major depression. Retrieved from https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/statistics/major-depression.shtml.
National Institutes of Mental Health. (NIMH; 2017b). Any anxiety disorder. Retrieved from https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/statistics/any-anxiety-disorder.shtml.
Park, H. S., & Bauer, S. (2002). Parenting practices, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and academic achievement in adolescents. *School Psychology International, 23,* 386–396.
Park, S., & Holloway, S. D. (2013). No parent left behind: Predicting parental involvement in adolescents' education within a sociodemographically diverse population. *Journal of Educational Research, 106,* 105–119.
Quach, A. S., Epstein, N. B., Riley, P. J., Falconier, M. K., & Fang, X. Y. (2015). Effects of parental warmth and academic pressure on anxiety and depression symptoms in Chinese adolescents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 24,* 106–116.
Radziszewska, B., Richardson, J. L., Dent, C. W., & Flay, B. R. (1996). Parenting style and adolescent depressive symptoms, smoking, and academic achievement: Ethnic, gender, and SES differences. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 19,* 289–305.
Schaub, M. (2010). Parenting for cognitive development from 1950 to 2000: The institutionalization of mass education and the social construction of parenting in the United States. *Sociology of Education, 83,* 46–66.
Sheldon, S. B. (2007). Improving student attendance with school, family, and community partnerships. *The Journal of Educational Research, 100,* 267–275.
Sheldon, S. B., & Epstein, J. L. (2005). Involvement counts: Family and community partnerships and mathematics achievement. *The Journal of Educational Research, 98,* 196–207.
Smith, J., Wohlstetter, P., Kuzin, C. A., & De Pedro, K. (2011). Parent involvement in urban charter schools: New strategies for increasing participation. *School Community Journal, 21,* 71–94.
Steinberg, L., Lamborn, S. D., Dornbusch, S. M., & Darling, N. (1992). Impact of parenting practices on adolescent achievement: Authoritative parenting, school involvement, and encouragement to succeed. *Child Development, 63,* 1266–1281.

Sui-Chu, E. H., & Willms, J. D. (1996). Effects of parental involvement on eighth-grade achievement. *Sociology of Education, 69,* 126–141.
Suldo, S. M., Shaunessy, E., & Hardesty, R. (2008). Relationships among stress, coping, and mental health in high-achieving high school students. *Psychology in the Schools, 45,* 273–290.
Turney, K., & Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: Are immigrant parents disadvantaged? *The Journal of Educational Research, 102,* 257–271.
United Nations Development Program. (2018). Human development reports. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/en/2018-update.
United States Department of Commerce. (2010). United States Census Bureau, School Districts. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/did/www/schooldistricts/data/.
United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (USDOE; 1993). National assessment of adult literacy. In T. Snyder (Ed.), *120 years of American education: A statistical portrait*. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/naal/lit_history.asp.
United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (USDOE; 2001). Fathers' and mothers' involvement in their children's schools by family type and resident status (NCES 2001–032). Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2001/2001032.pdf.
United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (USDOE; 2004). Average length of school year and average length of school day. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/pss/tables/table_2004_06.asp.
United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (USDOE; 2014a). Teacher attrition and mobility: Results from the 2012–13 teacher follow-up survey (NCES 2014-077). Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2014/2014077.pdf.
United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (USDOE; 2014b). Children living in poverty. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/pdf/Indicator_CCE/coe_cce_2014_05.pdf.
United States Department of Education. (2017). The federal role in education. Retrieved from https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/fed/role.html.
United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2018). The condition of education 2018 (NCES 2018-144), Status Dropout Rates.
Warren, S. R., Noftle, J. T., Ganley, D. D., & Quintanar, A. P. (2011). Preparing urban teachers to partner with families and communities. *School Community Journal, 21,* 95–112.
Zhang, H., & Cowen, D. J. (2009). Mapping academic achievement and public school choice under the No Child Left Behind legislation. *Southeastern Geographer, 49,* 24–40.

Ann T. Skinner is a Research Project Manager at the Duke University Center for Child and Family Policy in Durham, NC, USA, and a doctoral student at Gothenburg University, Sweden and University West, Sweden. Her research focuses on parenting stress and child adjustment, and the development of aggression in youth. Past research projects include school interventions to prevent middle school violence and programs to improve the academic skills of elementary school students with attention difficulties.

Jennifer E. Lansford is Research Professor at the Duke University Center for Child and Family Policy in Durham, NC, USA. Her research focuses on parenting and child development in diverse cultural contexts. She leads the Parenting Across Cultures study and has consulted with international agencies, such as UNICEF, on parenting programs and child well-being around the world.

Marc H. Bornstein is immediate past President of the Society for Research in Child Development, and he has held faculty positions at Princeton University and New York University as well as visiting academic appointments in Munich, London, Paris, New York, Tokyo, Bamenda (Cameroon), Seoul, Trento, Santiago (Chile), Bristol, Oxford, and the Institute for Fiscal Studies,

London. Bornstein is Editor Emeritus of *Child Development* and founding Editor of *Parenting: Science and Practice*.

Kirby Deater-Deckard is Professor in Psychological and Brain Sciences at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, MA, USA, where he serves as program head in developmental science, and neuroscience and behavior. His research focuses on the transactions between biological, cognitive, and environmental factors in the development and intergenerational transmission of self-regulation and related psychological and health outcomes.

Kenneth A. Dodge is the Pritzker Professor of Public Policy and Professor of Psychology and Neuroscience at Duke University. He studies the development and prevention of aggressive and violent behaviors. His work provides a model for understanding how some young children grow up to engage in aggression and violence and provides a framework for intervening early to prevent the costly consequences of violence for children and their communities.

Patrick S. Malone is a Senior Research Scientist at the Duke University Center for Child and Family Policy and Senior Consultant for Malone Quantitative. His primary research interests are in developing novel methods for longitudinal research and research with latent variable models, especially as applied to behavioral public health and child and youth risk behaviors.

Laurence Steinberg is a Professor of Psychology at Temple University and an affiliate of King Abdulaziz University, Saudi Arabia. His research focuses on psychological and brain development in adolescence.

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement	
Series Title		
Chapter Title	Education and Parenting: Conclusions and Implications	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright HolderName	Springer Nature Switzerland AG	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	**Lansford**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Jennifer E.**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	Duke University
	Address	Durham, USA
	Email	lansford@duke.edu
Author	Family Name	**Sorbring**
	Particle	
	Given Name	**Emma**
	Prefix	
	Suffix	
	Role	
	Division	
	Organization	University West
	Address	Trollhättan, Sweden
	Email	emma.sorbring@hv.se

Abstract

This chapter begins by providing an overview of key points raised in the preceding chapters regarding education and parenting in China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States. We then highlight similarities and differences in education and parenting across the nine countries. For example, many countries have increased access to education in the last decades, but questions of quality remain; socioeconomic and geographic disparities in access and quality characterize many countries. Examples are provided of ways that education systems in different countries have attempted to build bridges between home and school contexts, such as through “mother tongue” education and interventions to increase parent involvement. Countries differ in the extent to which curricula are nationally standardized versus variable within the country and the extent to which learning is primarily teacher- versus student-directed. The countries included in this volume range from those performing among the best to those performing among the worst on international tests of student achievement. Many of the countries have high-stakes testing and entrance exams at different levels of education, which has implications for how parents attempt to help their children succeed in school. Parental education-related involvement, expectations, goal-orientation, and supportiveness are all importantly related to students’ academic achievement. The chapter discusses implications for policy and practice, particularly in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals that are guiding the international development agenda through 2030. Understanding how different countries’ education systems operate, steps countries have taken to improve access to and quality of education, and how parenting can promote students’ academic achievement in the context of different education systems offers the potential for countries to learn from one another to offer quality education to all.

Education and Parenting: Conclusions and Implications

Jennifer E. Lansford and Emma Sorbring

Education and Parenting in Nine Countries

In each of the nine chapters of this volume that focused on a particular country (China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, or the United States), an overview was provided regarding the country as a cultural context, the current school system, parenting in light of the school system, and empirical evidence from that country regarding links between parenting and students' academic achievement. Here we highlight some of the key points from each country-specific chapter.

In China, both the education system and parenting emphasize academic achievement, and Chinese students at primary and secondary levels are among the best performing in the world on international tests of achievement (UNESCO, 2018). Historically as well as today, social harmony and stability in the large and diverse country have been maintained through an education system that emphasizes memorization and rote learning rather than experimentation and individualized problem solving, although schools now are moving toward more flexible, problem-solving-oriented classrooms, especially in urban areas (Yin, Guo, & Wang, 2015). Teachers throughout the country use the same nationalized curriculum, textbooks, and pedagogy, which helps maintain consistency in educational experiences across geographic regions and other demographic groups (Ministry of Education, 2018). Chinese education is intensely competitive as advancement to different levels and "key" schools depends on performance on standardized assessments at earlier levels. Chinese parents have been characterized as having high academic expectations for their children

J. E. Lansford (✉)
Duke University, Durham, USA
e-mail: lansford@duke.edu

E. Sorbring
University West, Trollhättan, Sweden
e-mail: emma.sorbring@hv.se

E. Sorbring and J. E. Lansford (eds.), *School Systems, Parent Behavior, and Academic Achievement*, Young People and Learning Processes in School and Everyday Life 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28277-6_11

and being highly involved in education, using a parenting style sometimes referred to as "training" that features elements of behavioral control and emphasis on effort in promoting academic achievement (Chao, 1994). Nevertheless, an authoritative parenting style that includes both supportiveness and control has been found to promote students' mastery goals and, ultimately, academic achievement in China, as in many other countries (Xu, Dai, Liu, & Deng, 2018).

Latino culture, and specifically Colombian culture, is characterized by collectivistic rather than individualistic values (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). Although family values may contrast with personal ambitions and autonomous accomplishment, children's education has been brought to the political foreground in the last fifteen years. In 2002, the Colombian government launched a program called *Revolucion Educativa* to reform the education system. This program emphasized tackling barriers to enrollment and bringing education services to every corner of the country. In 2010, the Colombian Constitutional Court established that primary school should be free for everyone. In 2012, the decision was extended to secondary school. In 2015, the government budget for education increased by 5.57%, reflecting President Juan Manuel Santos's goal for Colombia to be "the most educated" country in Latin America by 2025. Recent data support an impressive expansion of access at all educational levels, especially in the low SES population, suggesting that individuals from all SES backgrounds are taking advantage of the increasing educational opportunities in Colombia. However, equal access and quality of education continue to vary across regions and socioeconomic strata, especially after primary school. Typically, students from low SES families are enrolled in public schools, whereas students from high SES families are enrolled in private schools. Family socioeconomic factors account for the highest percentage of variability in Colombian students' scholastic achievement (OECD, 2016). Ongoing debates involve how long school days should be, with competing demands for teachers who are not compensated adequately to spend more time at school and working parents needing a safe, supervised place for their children to be (Hincapie, 2016). Parenting factors including support, communication, affection, and problem-solving also are related to Colombian students' academic achievement Gomez & Ponce, 2010).

In Italy, although the family is regarded as important in children's development and education, the Italian education system begins early in a child's life, with pre-primary education from age 3 to 6, with a focus on supporting cognitive and socioemotional development and to some extent formal instruction. Pre-primary education is not compulsory. Primary education starts at age 6 and continues to age 11. Primary schools promote the acquisition of fundamental skills in writing, reading, mathematics, and social studies. Lower secondary education is from ages 11 to 14 and promotes the acquisition of basic knowledge in Italian, history, geography, mathematics, science, technology, music, art, and foreign languages. Upper education is from ages 14 to 19. The State provides the first and second cycle of education for all students, and all public schools are under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The compulsory education system requires 10 years of school enrollment, from ages 6 to 16. In Italy, 40% or more of the working age population have low educational attainment, with lower secondary school education or less, though the position

is improving in younger cohorts. School-related parental monitoring, parental academic aspirations for their children, and parents' self-efficacy in believing they can affect their children's school-related performance are all important in fostering adolescents' academic achievement and school adjustment (e.g., Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Cattelino, Morelli, Baiocco, & Chirumbolo, 2019).

Education and parenting in Jordan are shaped by the Arabic and Islamic culture and religion (Takash & Al-Hassan, 2014). Children are to be protected and cherished, and they are also expected to respect their parents' authority and to learn that the interests of the family come first (Oweis, Gharaibeh, Maaitah, Gharaibeh, & Obeisat, 2012). Children must shape their actions with the family point of view in mind. Families perceive education as a guaranteed investment with a high rate of return and will do whatever it takes to send their children to university. Almost 65% of students attend public schools. The Jordanian education system consists of two years of optional preschool, ten years of basic compulsory and free education, and two years of optional secondary education. The instruction language in public schools is Arabic, and English is taught as a foreign language starting from grade 1. English is the language of instruction in many private schools, especially those that follow an international curriculum. Jordanian public schools are single sex. Some private schools allow for mixed-sex classrooms. Jordan has limited natural resources compared to oil-rich countries in the region. Because of this, Jordan has invested heavily in its human resources through the education system. The sole criterion for admission into higher education institutions is scores on the General Secondary Education Certificate Examination called *Tawjihi*, which causes anxiety for families in Jordan and is the most spoken about event when families have students in grade 12. The test also puts pressure on families to spend extra money on private tutoring to maximize the opportunities for students to score high in the *Tawjihi*.

In traditional contexts in Kenya, childrearing is perceived as a communal rather than an exclusive nuclear family activity (Wadende, Fite, & Lasser, 2014). Children are expected to conform to parental expectations and to respect age and societal status in their daily interactions with adults. Kenya's education system comprises 8-years of primary education (ages 6–14), 4-years of secondary education (ages 14–18), and 4 years of post-secondary or university education (18 years and above). Although, theoretically, primary education is free for all pupils enrolled in public schools, several hidden costs keep many young people out of school (Mutegi, Muriithi, & Wanjala, 2017). For example, students are required to be in school uniforms, pay for activity fees, and sometimes contribute to teachers' motivation fees (though this is illegal and attempts have been made to outlaw it). Education in secondary schools is not free. The central government pays teachers' salaries and also part of tuition fees for students enrolled in public secondary schools. However, the majority of the fees are the responsibility of parents. The education is highly exam oriented. Transition from one level of education to the next requires students to pass entry and final exams. The examination orientation of the education system has partly been responsible for most parents' preferences for single sex boarding secondary schools where quality is presumably higher and interferences in these students' education are presumably limited (Odongo, Aloka, & Raburu, 2016). The structure and costs

of Kenyan education have many implications for students and families, including the exclusion of students whose families cannot pay required fees, separation of parents and children if children spend at least eight months of the year away from home at boarding school, and pressures on working parents to spend time away from their family to earn sufficient income to pay for their children's educational expenses.

In the Philippines, the family is the most important social group. Filipino children are expected to obey parental authority and sacrifice individual interests to prioritize familial obligations (Alampay, 2014). Children must express a sense of gratitude toward their parents for having reared them, which must be manifested in respectfulness and honoring of family obligations (Garcia, 2018). Large differences in school attendance are reported in the country, in part related to parents' resources. Wide regional disparities mark educational experiences. The education system in the Philippines includes compulsory primary school from ages 6 to 12, secondary school from ages 12 to 17, and then either a vocational track (varying from a few weeks to three years) or tertiary schooling (university or college tracks). Dropout rates after 6th grade are high. Major school reforms occurred in 2012 and 2013 to extend the number of years of compulsory schooling. Most Filipino students attend public, government-funded schools, which are free to attend but sometimes poor in quality (e.g., large classes, lacking instructional materials, underpaid teachers). Private schools are cost prohibitive for most students but have better facilities and resources. Filipino and English are official languages of instruction, with the recent addition of 12 local languages added as languages of instruction in the early years to enhance comprehension by the youngest students (Abadzi, 2013).

Generally, Sweden is described as a country where young people are seen as equal individuals both in the family and in school. Swedish parents tend to view their task as parents to be a resource and always available (Sorbring & Gurdal, 2011). Child development is not regarded as something that has to be shaped or formed; instead, parents express the opinion that children are individuals, not to direct, but to support. Furthermore, in Sweden it is expected that students should be treated with respect and taught about their rights, and school is a common place to teach students more about their rights and how to practice them. Like parents, teachers are supposed to encourage young people's agency by, for example, letting them take responsibility and be involved in decisions about their lives. This is related to the goal of teaching young people more about how to become citizens and about democratic values in society (Carlson & Earls, 2001). Some of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child declarations can even be found in the Swedish curriculum. Another way of focusing on agency is that the majority of schools have class or student councils as part of the institutional organization and give students an opportunity to make their voices heard. Swedish children's rights to school and a childhood were already discussed as early as 1900 (Key, 1995). Nearly all (99.9%) Swedish children from the age of six attend comprehensive school for ten years. Comprehensive school is free of charge and compulsory for everyone.

Thai parents traditionally place high value on maintaining family connections. Although autonomy is encouraged to a degree, parents expect children to be obedient and compliant to their wishes and demands (Burnard, 2006). There is a wide

spectrum among Thai students in their schooling experience. Although Thailand allocates nearly 20% of the national budget to education, how to efficiently, effectively, and equally distribute the funds is a challenge (Fernquest, 2017). School quality is discrepant across urban and rural areas, for example. Thai parents, especially those in urban areas, appear to embrace the ideology of "success" at any cost by pressuring children to attend tutoring schools or participate in activities that enhance their chance of academic achievement (Yokubon, 2012). However, some Thai parents believe education is the responsibility of teachers or school boards who are the experts in the field of education (Yaimanee, 2004). As a result, children may get less academic support from their parents.

The education system in the United States is characterized by a great deal of variability. Despite general guiding principles, there are large economic and cultural discrepancies in terms of opportunities for personal achievement, choice, and equality, which are in part a function of different experiences individuals have as a result of their ethnicity, social class, or geographic location within the country (USDOE, 2018). Because public schools receive a significant portion of their funding from personal property taxes, the over 13,000 independent school districts across the United States vary widely in student population, materials, academic offerings, and teacher composition. Over 50 million students attend public K-12 schools, with 5 million more enrolled in private schools, and 2.7 million in public charter schools. Over 9% of public school students are English-language learners, and nearly 25% of publicly enrolled students attend high poverty schools. Individual states typically oversee the public school curriculum, with some consistency across states that have adopted the Common Core curriculum for certain subjects. Local districts, state education offices, and the federal government further hold publicly funded schools accountable, in part through high-stakes testing and financial oversight (USDOE, 2017). Parenting influence has taken shape most notably in the form of school choice (Hastings & Weinstein, 2008). Parental involvement in education, through in-home supports, at-school activities, holding high academic aspirations, and the like, is related to higher academic achievement.

Similarities and Differences in Education and Parenting Across Countries

In the last 20–30 years, particularly in low- and middle-income countries, increased focus has been placed on free access to primary and secondary education, perhaps suggesting a greater "leveling of the playing field." Thus, access to education has improved, but questions of quality remain. At times, the unintended consequence of an increase in access may be a decrease in quality. For example, when more students attend school, class sizes generally increase, textbooks and other learning materials may not be available in sufficient quantity, and school days may be shortened so that students attend in shifts to accommodate the additional students who have enrolled.

A consistent theme across the chapters in this volume is that students in many diverse countries experience education disparities based on their families' socioeconomic status and the geographic region in which they live. Students from high-income families are more likely to attend private schools than public schools in many countries, which can have important implications for the quality of education students receive. For example, in Colombia, 60% of private school students attend all day, whereas only 11% of public school students are in full-day schools (OECD, 2016). Likewise, low-income families in Kenya and the Philippines make many financial sacrifices and trade-offs to pay for school-related expenses, such as uniforms, supplies, and transportation, even when schools are in theory free. At times, these financial trade-offs have direct implications for parent-child relationships, such as when 30% of Kenyan children live apart from their families for a minimum of eight months of the year while attending boarding school or when Filipino parents work abroad so they can send money home to support their children's education (Nicolai, Prizzon, & Hine, 2014; Parreñas, 2006).

These examples provide specific illustrations of how social class and inequality are at the forefront of how parents can affect adolescents' academic achievement in ways that have been described in theoretical models (Bourdieu, 1984; Lareau, 2011). In part, the pattern of parenting that has been characterized as concerted cultivation in middle-class American families (Lareau, 2011) is grounded in beliefs and values that do not necessarily generalize to middle-class parents in other countries. For example, middle-class parents in Sweden tend to believe that children and adolescents should be given agency to direct their own development without undue influence from parents (Sorbring & Gurdal, 2011). Nevertheless, middle-class parents across countries are more likely to have the means both financially and in terms of social capital to access resources, such as tutors or cram schools to prepare students for high-stakes exams, that can enable them to excel in school.

Another theme across chapters is that school systems can build bridges between home and school contexts that can benefit students' learning. For example, the shift to "mother tongue" education in the Philippines enables students to learn in their native language during the first four years of primary school before switching to learning only in English or Filipino, which improves children's early literacy (Abadzi, 2013) and makes it easier for parents to be involved. Similar reforms may be useful in other countries that also educate students with many native languages. Home-school connections can also be formalized, such as in the mandated election of parents to Parent-Teacher Councils in Jordan or in the participation of parents in school-, provincial-, and national-level councils and boards in Italy. Making opportunities available for parents to interact with school systems can increase parents' efficacy, making parents believe they are more capable of affecting their children's educational outcomes and, in turn, increasing students' motivation and improving academic achievement (Bandura et al., 1996). Initiatives to increase parents' sense of efficacy and agency may be especially useful in countries, such as Thailand, in which parents sometimes hold the belief that education should be left to the expertise of teachers.

Countries vary widely in the extent to which school curricula are nationally standardized or geographically variable within the country. Of the nine countries

described in this volume, China and the United States represent the extremes. That is, in China, not only the curriculum but also textbooks and pedagogy are nationally standardized, which leads to uniformity in the knowledge and values conveyed in classrooms. By contrast, in the United States, the curriculum varies not only across the 50 states but down to the individual district level (of which there are more than 13,000). Thus, the content of a child's education in China is much less dependent on where he or she lives than it is in the United States. Because parents have a degree of control over where children live, parents also exert control over children's educational experience in the United States that is not present in China.

Memorization and rote learning, which are generally teacher-directed, versus constructivist, student-directed learning are other factors that differentiate the countries include in this volume. The traditional Chinese method of teaching that is focused on top-down instruction is illustrative of teacher-directed learning that emphasizes memorization and rote learning rather than learning by trial and error or experimentation; Chinese students spend 93% of class time in teacher-directed learning (compared to 58% of class time in the United States; Lan et al., 2009). By contrast, the approach in Sweden of using the education system as a way to teach students about their individual rights is illustrative of student-directed learning, in which students are taught to think as individuals and express their own ideas and opinions as a person with agency. Each approach has advantages and disadvantages for students' learning. For example, teacher-directed learning risks reducing creativity and independent problem-solving, whereas student-directed learning risks not covering material that students need to learn and is more difficult and expensive to implement with large groups of students.

Countries included in this volume also range from those performing among the best in the world on international tests to among the worst (UNESCO, 2018). Many of the factors that affect how well students could be expected to perform on standardized international tests, such as the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), are out of the control of students. For example, only 11% of Colombian students in public school are able to attend even one full day of school each week (OECD, 2016); the rest attend only half days of school because of constraints on the availability of full-day programs, putting Colombian students at a severe disadvantage on international tests compared to students who routinely attend school for full rather than half days.

One similarity that characterizes many of the education systems described in this volume is the emphasis on high-stakes testing and entrance exams at different levels of education. For example, a student's score on the Tawjihi is the sole criterion for admission into tertiary education institutions in Jordan, and a student's score on the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education determines whether the student will be admitted to selective secondary boarding schools or less academically rigorous local day schools. In the United States, standardized tests sometimes are used to group students into different academic tracks within a given school. Parents in many of the countries included in this volume go to great lengths to help their children perform well on high-stakes exams, paying for extra tutoring and coursework if that is financially feasible, and making other sacrifices if not.

Another similarity across countries is in aspects of parenting that are related to students' academic achievement. In particular, in all nine of the countries included in this volume, parental involvement (defined in a variety of ways, but including engagement both at home in discussing school-related topics and at school through communication with teachers), expectations, goal-orientation, and supportiveness are all importantly related to students' academic achievement. Parents often convey to their children the importance of education in poignant ways that motivate children to work hard and try to succeed academically. For example, when parents in the Philippines work abroad so they can send money home to pay for their children's schooling or when parents in Kenya sacrifice other family needs to be able to send their children to boarding school, these actions convey to children the value that parents place on education. Children, in turn, can contribute to the family's well-being when they do well in school because they can then secure a better job and better financial future for their family.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Understanding the intersection of education and parenting in diverse education systems around the world is timely and particularly needed now as researchers, practitioners, and policymakers try to understand how to help adolescents reach their full academic potential. The Sustainable Development Goals guiding the international development agenda through 2030 were ratified by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 and began a period of operationalization in 2016. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 aims to achieve universal completion of primary and secondary education by 2030, but 1/6 of lower secondary school age adolescents, and 1/3 of upper secondary school age adolescents are not in school, suggesting the need for large scale interventions to attain universal education. Among the countries included in this volume are low- and middle-income countries for which school enrolment, particularly in secondary school, remains a challenge. This volume also includes high-income countries that have achieved nearly universal school enrolment yet face different challenges in promoting student achievement. The United Nations (2019) has identified a lack of adequately trained teachers, insufficient resources provided to schools, and equity issues especially for rural children as barriers to quality education. Particularly to support the education of children living in poverty, educational scholarships, teacher training, and improved financing for infrastructure and staffing are needed.

Meeting many of the other SDGs stems from quality education. For example, SDG 1 (no poverty) is highly related to education, as education and income are closely related indicators of socioeconomic status. Likewise, SDG 3 (good health and well-being) is more attainable with higher levels of education, and educational disparities predict health disparities (American Public Health Association, 2011; Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007). For example, in the United States, life expectancy at birth is 14.2 years less for men and 10.3 years less for women who have dropped

out of high school compared to the life expectancy of college graduates (Olshansky et al., 2012). Eliminating school drop out in the United States could save an estimated $17 billion each year in health care expenditures alone, in addition to billions more in government assistance programs, criminal justice, and increased tax revenues (American Public Health Association, 2011). Education predicts health outcomes, including mortality, in part because individuals who are more highly educated are able to earn more money that can be used to pay for safer housing, healthier food, better health care, and the like; individuals who are more educated are also likely to engage in fewer health risk behaviors, such as smoking, overeating, and being sedentary (Cutler & Lleras-Muney, 2006; Lantz et al., 1998; Lleras-Muney, 2005). Promoting education to reduce health disparities has been found to have the potential to save 8 times more lives than could be saved through medical advances in drugs and devices (Woolf, Johnson, Phillips, & Philipsen, 2007), which is especially promising in low-income countries where advances in education may be more feasible than advances in medical devices. Better educated citizens are also better positioned to work toward a number of other SDGs, such as SDG 6 (clean water and sanitation), SDG 7 (affordable and clean energy), and SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth).

Beyond the importance of promoting education as part of the international agenda, understanding how different countries' education systems operate, steps countries have taken to improve access to and quality of education, and how parenting can promote students' academic achievement in the context of different education systems offers the potential for countries to learn from one another. For example, knowing that the conditional cash transfer program in the Philippines has been successful at increasing school enrollment by 9% among those eligible for the cash transfer (Chaudhury & Okamura, 2012), other countries that have low-income families that could benefit from cash subsidies could try similar approaches to make it financially possible to keep their adolescents in secondary school.

Future Directions

Unlike in many areas of social science in which it would be unethical to experiment, the interface of education and parenting offers real potential for experimental manipulation to test the effectiveness of different approaches. For example, if the goal is to increase parents' involvement in adolescents' education and thereby improve adolescents' academic achievement, different families could be assigned randomly to different conditions to test the differential effectiveness of each. In an example of such an approach, families in France were randomized to participate in an intervention to increase parental involvement or to a control group; parents who were randomized to the intervention increased their involvement in both school- and home-based activities, and students whose families were in the intervention condition were less often absent from school and had fewer disciplinary infractions (Avvisati, Gurgand, Guyon, & Maurin, 2014). Some natural experiments are informative. For example, using data on teacher performance and student achievement, when

high-performing teachers transferred to a school where there were lower performing teachers, the higher-performing teachers were found to have positive effects on the lower-performing teachers (Sun, Loeb, & Grissom, 2017). Likewise, using data from public school students in the state of North Carolina, USA, over a 5-year period in which policies regarding placement and pacing of algebra courses were manipulated, students were found to perform more poorly on end-of-course tests in algebra and on end-of-course tests in subsequent math courses if they were moderately performing students who had been prematurely accelerated into algebra (Clotfelter, Ladd, & Vigdor, 2015). Similar natural experiments or randomized controlled trials in different countries could be used to test different educational policies and initiatives as well as different approaches to involving parents in schools. A concern often raised with respect to monitoring and evaluation of education initiatives is that research takes resources away from direct service provision. Yet, because education initiatives consume large proportions of many countries' budgets, understanding whether such initiatives are effective is an important goal to ensure that funds are not being wasted on ineffective programs and initiatives.

Conclusions

An international perspective on education and parenting suggests several factors that contribute to adolescents' academic achievement. Some factors are specific to school systems, such as providing access to free, quality education to all children and adolescents. Socioeconomic and geographic disparities are found in many countries, with students from rural areas and lower socioeconomic classes at risk for lacking access to quality education. Standardizing the curriculum has the potential to reduce disparities in the quality of education students can access. In addition, access to education is improved when fees for uniforms, books, and other expenses are covered by schools rather than individual families, who may not be able to afford them. Other factors that contribute to adolescents' academic achievement are related to the interface between families and schools. Parents' involvement, particularly by emphasizing the value of education, talking with adolescents about their experiences at school, and providing emotional and behavioral support conducive to learning are important ways that parents can promote adolescents' academic achievement.

By integrating educational literature with developmental psychology and family studies perspectives, this volume takes an international and multidisciplinary approach to understanding students' academic achievement. The perspectives presented in this volume contribute to greater understanding of links between parenting and academic performance in different cultural groups as well as how school systems and parenting are embedded in larger cultural settings that have implications for students' educational experiences and academic achievement. As two of the most important contexts in which children and adolescents spend time, understanding how schools and families jointly contribute to academic achievement holds promise for advancing the international agenda of promoting quality education for all.

464396_1_En_11_Chapter ☑ TYPESET ☐ DISK ☐ LE ☑ CP Disp.:19/8/2019 Pages: 151 Layout: T1-Standard

References

Abadzi, H. (2013). Education for all in low-income countries: A crucial role for cognitive scientists. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioral Science, 3,* 1–23.

Alampay, L. P. (2014). Parenting in the Philippines. *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-western cultures* (pp. 459–474). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

American Public Health Association. (2011). The dropout crisis: A public health problem and the role of school-based health care. Retrieved from http://www.schoolbasedhealthcare.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/APHA4_article_DropOut_0914_FINAL3.pdf.

Avvisati, F., Gurgand, M., Guyon, N., & Maurin, E. (2014). Getting parents involved: A field experiment in deprived schools. *Review of Economic Studies, 81,* 57–83.

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (1996). Multifaceted impact of self-efficacy beliefs on academic functioning. *Child Development, 67,* 1206–1222.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste.* London: Routledge.

Burnard, P. (2006). Some attitudes towards teaching and learning in Thai nursing education. *Nurse Education Today, 26,* 253–257.

Carlson, M., & Earls, F. (2001). The child as citizen: Implications for the science and practice of child development. *International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development Newsletter, 2*(38), 12–16.

Cattelino, E., Morelli, M., Baiocco, R., & Chirumbolo, A. (2019). From external regulation to school achievement: The mediation of self-efficacy at school. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 60,* 127–133.

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65,* 1111–1119.

Chaudhury, N., & Okamura, Y. (2012). *Conditional cash transfers and school enrollment: Impact of the conditional cash transfer program in the Philippines.* World Bank Social Protection Policy Note No. 6. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. L. (2015). The aftermath of accelerating algebra: Evidence from a district policy initiative. *Journal of Human Resources, 50,* 159–188.

Cutler, D. M., & Lleras-Muney, A. (2006). *Education and health: Evaluating theories and evidence*. NBER working paper No. W12352. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Fernquest, J. (2017). Educational inequality in Thailand: The challenge. Retrieved from https://www.bangkokpost.com/learning/advanced/1259777/educational-inequality-in-thailand-the-challenge.

Freudenberg, N., & Ruglis, J. (2007). Reframing school dropout as a public health issue. *Preventing Chronic Disease, 4*(4), A107.

Garcia, A. S. (2018). *Parental involvement among low-income Filipinos: A phenomenological inquiry*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.

Gomez, C. F., & Ponce, R. E. (2010). Una nueva propuesta para la interpretación de family APGAR (A new proposal of an interpretation scale for family APGAR). *Revista Atencion Familiar, 17,* 102–106.

Guilamo-Ramos, V., Dittus, P., Jaccard, J., Johansson, M., Bouris, A., & Acosta, N. (2007). Parenting practices among Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers. *Social Work, 52,* 17–30.

Hastings, J. S., & Weinstein, J. M. (2008). Information, school choice, and academic achievement: Evidence from two experiments. *Quarterly Journal of Economics, 123,* 1373–1414.

Hincapie, D. (2016). Do longer school days improve student achievement? Evidence from Colombia. *Inter-American Development Bank - IDB Working Paper Series.*

Key, E. (1995). *Barnets århundrade*. Stockholm: ABF.

Lan, X., Ponitz, C., Miller, K., Li, S., Cortina, K., Perry, M., et al. (2009). Keeping their attention: Classroom practices associated with behavioral engagement in first grade mathematics classes in China and the United States. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24,* 198–211.

Lantz, P. M., House, J. S., Lepkowski, J. M., Williams, D. R., Mero, R. P., & Chen, J. (1998). Socioeconomic factors, health behaviors, and mortality: Results from a nationally representative prospective study of US adults. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 279,* 1703–1708.

Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Race, class, and family life* (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lleras-Muney, A. (2005). The relationship between education and adult mortality in the United States. *Review of Economic Studies, 72,* 189–221.

Ministry of Education. (2018). Review of China's education reform in 2017. Retrieved from http://en.moe.gov.cn/News/Top_News/201801/t20180130_326023.html.

Mutegi, R. G., Muriithi, M. K., & Wanjala, G. (2017). Education policies in Kenya: Does free secondary education promote equity in public secondary schools? *International Journal of Development Research, 7,* 16696–16699.

Nicolai, S., Prizzon, A., & Hine, S. (2014). *Beyond basic: The growth of post-primary education in Kenya*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Odongo, A. A., Aloka, P. J., & Raburu, P. (2016). Influence of parenting styles on the adolescent students' academic achievement in Kenyan day secondary schools. *Journal of Education and Practice, 7,* 101–108.

OECD. (2016). *Education in Colombia: Reviews of national policies for education*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Olshansky, S. J., Antonucci, T. C., Berkman, L., Binstock, R. H., Boersch-Supan, A., Cacioppo, J. T., … Rowe, J. (2012). Differences in life expectancy due to race and educational differences are widening, and many may not catch up. *Health Affairs, 31,* 1803–1813.

Oweis, A., Gharaibeh, M., Maaitah, R., Gharaibeh, H., & Obeisat, S. (2012). Parenting from a Jordanian perspective: Findings from a qualitative study. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 44,* 242–248.

Parreñas, R. S. (2006). *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Sorbring, E., & Gurdal, S. (2011). Attributions and attitudes of mothers and fathers in Sweden. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11,* 177–189.

Sun, M., Loeb, S., & Grissom, J. A. (2017). Building teacher teams: Positive spillover from more effective colleagues. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 39,* 104–125.

Takash, H., & Al-Hassan, S. (2014). Parenting in Jordan. In H. Selin (Ed.), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-Western cultures* (pp. 207–212). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

UNESCO. (2018). *Global education monitoring report 2019: Migration, displacement and education—Building bridges, not walls*. Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations. (2019). Quality education. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/.

USDOE, United States Department of Education. (2017). The federal role in education. Retrieved from https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/fed/role.html.

USDOE, United States Department of Education. (2018). The condition of education 2018 (NCES 2018-144), Status Dropout Rates.

Wadende, P. A., Fite, K., & Lasser, J. (2014). The Kenyan parent in changing times. In H. Selin (Ed.), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-western cultures* (pp. 267–276). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Woolf, S. H., Johnson, R. E., Phillips, R. L., & Philipsen, M. (2007). Giving everyone the health of the educated: An examination of whether social change would save more lives than medical advances. *American Journal of Public Health, 97,* 679–683.

Xu, X., Dai, D., Liu, M., & Deng, C. (2018). Relations between parenting and adolescents' academic functioning: The mediating role of achievement goal orientations. *Frontiers in Education, 3,* Article 1.

Yaimanee, S. (2004). Parents' participation in developing learning and teaching of students in Maneewatana School Bangkhare Bangkok. Master's thesis. Suan Dusit Rajabhat University, Bangkok.

Yin, X., Guo, X., & Wang, L. (2015). Science education in Shanghai, China: What does it look like other than PISA score? In M. S. Khine (Ed.), *Science education in East Asia* (pp. 227–246). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Yokubon, N. (2012). Factors affecting the academic achievement of sciences subject of students in grade 6 at the Demonstration School under the Jurisdiction of the Office of Higher Education Commission, the Ministry of Education. *Journal of Education and Social Development, 8,* 85–102.

Jennifer E. Lansford is Research Professor at the Duke University Center for Child and Family Policy in Durham, NC, USA. Her research focuses on parenting and child development in diverse cultural contexts. She leads the Parenting Across Cultures study and has consulted with international agencies, such as UNICEF, on parenting programs and child well-being around the world.

Emma Sorbring is a Professor of Child and Youth Studies and research director for the Centre for Child and Youth Studies at University West, Sweden. Her research and teaching interests focus on children, adolescents, and families. Her projects focus on parental behavior and children's adjustment, young people's decision-making, teenagers' internet use and parental strategies, and sexual development in traditional and new settings (the internet).