

## **BRIGHT STUDENTS IN ISLAMIC PRIMARY SCHOOL FROM LOW INCOME FAMILY**

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**Abstract:** *Learning is influenced by resources, context, and student input. High-achieving students who come from underprivileged families have supportive social capital to make up for the low financial and human capital in their families. The question addressed in this article is how to increase social capital in low-income families. This is a qualitative study. Data was collected by interviewing 63 informants, consisting of 28 parents and 35 high-achieving Islamic primary school (madrasah ibtidaiyah and madrasah tsanawiyah) student from underprivileged families in South Kalimantan. The study's findings indicate that trust in the family is unable to emerge and grow as a result of various statements and treatments of parents and other family members toward children. These statements and actions are reflected in parental concern, feelings of security, honesty and integrity, openness, reliability, and competence in the family. Expectations in poor families are relatively unsupportive. The general trend among poor families is that they have low expectations for the future. But hope will grow if parents have broad insights and views. Relationships between generations are built through the togetherness of parents and children and the communication and joint activities that are often carried out between family members. Communication is the most basic thing in building social capital in the family.*

**Keywords:** *Social Capital; Trust; Hope; Intergenerational Relationship*

### **Introduction**

It is not difficult to demonstrate that students from underprivileged backgrounds will have difficulty with the learning process. Poverty has a direct effect on the concentration, comprehension, and retention of information among students.<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Juhaidi (2019) revealed that students from disadvantaged families have a tendency to have lower abilities than capable families.<sup>2</sup> In tertiary institutions only 26%

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<sup>1</sup>Trinette Marquis-Hobbs, "Enriching the Lives of Students in Poverty," *Education Digest* 80, no. 4 (December 2014): 34.

<sup>2</sup>Ahmad Juhaidi, "Siswa Dari Keluarga Tidak Mampu Di Sekolah Swasta, Mungkinkah Bersaing Dengan Anak Orang Kaya?," in *The 2nd Annual Conference on Islamic Education Management : The Scientific Paradigm of Islamic Education Management* (The 2nd Annual Conference on Islamic Education Management, 24 - 26 April 2019, Manado: Fakultas Ilmu Tarbiyah dan Keguruan Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Jln. Marsda Adisucipto Yogyakarta 55281 Tlp. 0274 – 513056, n.d.),

of students from underprivileged families successfully complete a bachelor's level (S-1).<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Juhaidi's research (2019) which was conducted at two Integrated Islamic Elementary Schools (SDIT) in South Kalimantan found that 19.65% of students from underprivileged families scored mathematics above the class average. In the Indonesian language subject, 19.65% of students scored more than the class average. Likewise in science subjects, 19.65% of students from underprivileged families have achievements more than the class average.<sup>4</sup>

This demonstrates that students from disadvantaged backgrounds can achieve success due to a variety of factors. The achievements of students from disadvantaged backgrounds at the university are a result of navigational capital (the ability to navigate institutions and barriers) and patterns of school/university attendance, such as participation in activities, selecting schools/universities, and/or enrolling in private institutions.<sup>5</sup> Student achievement is influenced by family (socioeconomic, mother's education, and availability of learning resources at home).<sup>6</sup> The home environment is reflected in the time spent engaging in or facilitating learning-enhancing activities with children, such as reading together, playing educational games, and assisting with homework.<sup>7</sup> The potential impact of parental involvement on children's achievements and future prospects is increasingly acknowledged.<sup>8</sup> Student achievement is most strongly related to family expectations of high achievement, establishes and maintains communication with children about school activities, and promotes the development of reading habits.<sup>9</sup> Parental involvement at home: providing a stable and safe environment, intellectual stimulation, parent-child peer discussions, etc., has a

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[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336107689\\_Siswa\\_dari\\_Keluarga\\_Tidak\\_Mampu\\_di\\_Sekolah\\_Swasta\\_Mungkin\\_Bersaing\\_dengan\\_Anak\\_Orang\\_Kaya](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336107689_Siswa_dari_Keluarga_Tidak_Mampu_di_Sekolah_Swasta_Mungkin_Bersaing_dengan_Anak_Orang_Kaya).

<sup>3</sup>Jennifer Engle and Vincent Tinto, "Moving beyond Access: College Success for Low-Income, First-Generation Students.," *Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education*, 2008, 12.

<sup>4</sup>Juhaidi, "Siswa Dari Keluarga Tidak Mampu Di Sekolah Swasta, Mungkin Bersaing Dengan Anak Orang Kaya?," 15.

<sup>5</sup>Adriana Ruiz Alvarado, Theresa Stewart-Ambo, and Sylvia Hurtado, "High School and College Choice Factors Associated with High-Achieving Low-Income Students' College Degree Completion," *Education Sciences* 10, no. 6 (June 2, 2020): 153, <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci10060153>.

<sup>6</sup>Jiehui Zhao and Katerina Bodovski, "The Effect of Family Background and Parental Expectations on Eighth Graders' Academic Achievement in Rural and Urban China.," *Frontiers of Education in China* 15, no. 4 (December 2020): 647–77, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-020-0030-8>.

<sup>7</sup>Rob Greenwald, Larry V Hedges, and Richard A Laine, "The Effect of School Resources on Student Achievement," *Review of Educational Research; Washington*, 3, 66 (1996): 383, <https://e-resources.perpusnas.go.id:2071/docview/214118755/fulltext/16BBD4424BCF46FAPQ/1?accountid=25704>.

<sup>8</sup>Jonathan Cleland and David Lumsdon, "How Can School-Parental Participation Support the Generation of Social Capital for Parents?," *Educational & Child Psychology* 38, no. 2 (June 1, 2021): 19–39.

<sup>9</sup>María Castro et al., "Parental Involvement on Student Academic Achievement: A Meta-Analysis," *Educational Research Review* 14 (February 2015): 33–46, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2015.01.002>.

significant impact on children's achievement.<sup>10</sup> Social capital influences achievement positively.<sup>11</sup> These studies demonstrate that social capital within the family plays a significant role in student achievement.

Hanifan, an important figure in the study of social capital, describes social capital as relationships in society which are reflected in mutual help, sympathy, and friendship in the environment.<sup>12</sup> Hanifan pointed out that positive relationships in the community will support the learning process. Social capital is better understood as social relations in the form of cooperation and communication.<sup>13</sup> Social capital is a resource that can be in the form of information, supervision, support, and norms that support the success of education in the family.<sup>14</sup> In the measurement instrument, social capital is also juxtaposed with cultural capital because it is considered as two things that are not separate.<sup>15</sup> Coleman (1988) emphasized that social capital is an element of family background, in addition to financial capital and human capital. The educational level of parents will not have an impact on their children's achievement if the parents do not have a good relationship with them.<sup>16</sup>

According to Dufur et al.<sup>17</sup>, social capital in the family has a greater effect on student achievement than social capital in schools; therefore, researchers believe that bright students from disadvantaged families is attributable to social capital factors. Bright students in this study are students who have on top-10 class rank in primary Islamic schools and receive financial aid through Kartu Indonesia Pintar Programme. This article examines the actions of parents in establishing social capital in the family.

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<sup>10</sup>Charles Desforges and Alberto Abouchaar, *The Impact of Parental Involvement, Parental Support and Family Education on Pupil Achievement and Adjustment: A Literature Review*, vol. 433 (DfES London, 2003).

<sup>11</sup>Adam Gamoran et al., "Social Capital and Student Achievement: An Intervention-Based Test of Theory," *Sociology of Education* 94, no. 4 (October 2021): 294–315, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380407211040261>.

<sup>12</sup>L.J. Hanifan, "The Rural School Community Center," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 67, no. 1 (September 1916): 131, <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271621606700118>.

<sup>13</sup>Mahmut Polatcan, "Social Capital Wealth as a Predictor of Innovative Climate in Schools," *International Journal of Contemporary Educational Research*, June 17, 2019, 184, <https://doi.org/10.33200/ijcer.554728>.

<sup>14</sup>Kimberly A. Goyette and Gilberto Q. Conchas, "Family and Non-Family Roots of Social Capital Among Vietnamese and Mexican American Children," in *Research in the Sociology of Education*, ed. Bruce Fuller and Emily Hannum, vol. 13 (Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2002), 47, [https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3539\(2002\)0000013003](https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3539(2002)0000013003).

<sup>15</sup>Binti Maunah, "Social and Cultural Capital and Learners' Cognitive Ability: Issues and Prospects for Educational Relevance, Access and Equity Towards Digital Communication in Indonesia," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 11, no. 1 (2020): 168, <https://www.learntechlib.org/p/216419/>.

<sup>16</sup>James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 110.

<sup>17</sup>Mikaela J. Dufur, Toby L. Parcel, and Kelly P. Troutman, "Does Capital at Home Matter More than Capital at School? Social Capital Effects on Academic Achievement," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 31 (March 2013): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2012.08.002>.

As previously explained, this social capital influences their children's academic success.

This study makes a theoretical contribution to the development of the field of educational administration, especially economics of education. Research shows qualitative evidence that family financial resources are not more important than social capital at the primary school level. The implications of this research's findings for educational management in schools and government policies. Finally, this research is very important as an argument for school administration and government policies not only to support the educational process with financial aid, but also to build social capital support for students, especially students from low-income families.

## Method

This study uses a qualitative approach to understand the phenomena that occur in the families of outstanding students from underprivileged families related to social capital in their families. Data on the social capital of their families was gathered through interviews. Participants in this research are 63 informants, including 28 parents and 35 Islamic primary school students (*madrasah ibtidaiyah* and *madrasah tsanawiyah*) who have academic achievements from underprivileged families in Tabalong Regency, Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency, Tanah Laut Regency, and Banjarmasin City, South Kalimantan, Indonesia. In this study, data analysis was performed continuously, and the researchers continually reflected on the data, posed analytic questions, and made brief notes. The collected data is transcribed into text and processed by relating the data to the formulation of the problem, identifying patterns within the data, and unifying patterns.

## Result and Discussion

### Trust in Family

#### Benevolence

Parents have shown concern since the early days. Mothers show concern by reminding their children not to be lazy and get up early to go to school. "Sometimes it's difficult for my child to get out of bed in the morning, and then I remind him: if you're too lazy to get out of bed, you might miss out on school materials later."<sup>18</sup> FtmZ's mother explained. In addition, every morning, parents also prepare breakfast for their children. Az's mother described her activities in the morning:

*"I prepare breakfast; the children eat first because they have to go to school, and the other family members afterwards. Every morning, we have breakfast with fried eggs. If I don't prepare any breakfast, my child usually buys meatball pasta at school, which costs four thousand rupiah"*<sup>19</sup>.

In addition to cooking, mothers can purchase food from stalls: "I cook breakfast in the morning, but if I don't have time, I purchase it from a store."<sup>20</sup> The food purchased in the morning, like nasi kuning or white rice wrapped in paper or

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<sup>18</sup>Ks A, Transkrip Wawancara Ibu dari FtmZ, June 12, 2020.

<sup>19</sup>Fat Fwt, Wawancara, September 2, 2020.

<sup>20</sup>A, Transkrip Wawancara Ibu dari FtmZ.

banana leaves, costs between Rp6.000 and Rp10.000 per package. With that price, you can get a package with rice and a small piece of chicken, a chicken egg, or snakehead fish cooked with habang sauce or curry. Masak habang is a typical Banjar dish consisting of red chillies that have been finely ground with other spices and boiled with fish, chicken, or eggs.

Indeed, breakfast activities are a form of parental care and attention for children. "I advise them to eat before going to school."<sup>21</sup> If the child dislikes breakfast, his or her parents will pack a lunch or provide pocket money for school meals. As FTM said, "Mom sometimes walks to school with her lunch because the distance between her home and her child's school is quite far."<sup>22</sup> By ordering and reminding their children to eat, parents demonstrate concern for their health.

In addition to breakfast, parents express their concern for their children's nutrition in a variety of other ways. A junior high school student, NLTf, has not had parents since he was a baby, according to his teacher, who describes him as intelligent. Despite this, he accumulated social capital from his grandmother, brother, and uncle. His grandmother frequently reminded him to eat between study sessions. "Eat first; then, after the Asr (afternoon) prayer, continue your studies."<sup>23</sup>

When the mother inquires about their children's school activities, the care and concern of parents are also demonstrated. Syr, an elementary school student, recalled, "Mom asked when there would be tests, homework, and school competitions."<sup>24</sup> On certain days, Syr was accompanied to school by his father or mother. On other days, Syr went to school unaccompanied. On Mondays and Thursdays, their parents accompany them to school because they must transport a substantial amount of school supplies from other days. By delivering their children to school on that particular day, Syr's parents demonstrated care, support, and protection. In the context of Syr, protection means the safeguarding of children from the adverse effects of carrying heavy school supplies.

Apart from taking them to school, taking them to other activities that children participate in also reflects care, attention, and protection. "When he goes to recite the Koran, his father takes him at night because the road conditions are quiet, so he is vulnerable."<sup>25</sup> He made it clear that his grandson was being escorted because his safety could be threatened because the roads were quiet at night.

In addition to parents who live at home, parents who have separated and do not live at home also contribute to the development of social capital in the family. Separated parents continue to communicate with their children to monitor their educational progress. "Her dad worked hard at educating Alv, It's his dad who keeps reminding Alv to study, even though we're separated, but his dad still communicates

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<sup>21</sup>A.

<sup>22</sup>Ftm, Transkrip Wawancara Ftm, July 20, 2020.

<sup>23</sup>Nenek NLTf, Wawancara dengan Nenek NLTf, June 12, 2020.

<sup>24</sup>Ais Syr, Wawancara Syr, July 20, 2020.

<sup>25</sup>Hlm Mbah Hlm, Transkrip Wawancara Mbah Hlm, July 20, 2020.

with Alv, monitors Alv's studies at school, and ranks problems."<sup>26</sup> In addition, stepfathers also have a role in building social capital for children's education. "My father died, who is now a stepfather, but we were close, and he made me study."<sup>27</sup> Building family social capital can not only be done by people who are in the same house and are related by blood but can also be done by parents who are not in the same house and are not blood relatives.

Because of financial constraints, assistance is more often in the form of moral support. The minimum educational needs related to funds are always tried to be met by parents. When the financial condition is not yet possible to buy textbooks or other needs, parents buy only the most urgent needs while waiting for them to get money. Alv said that if he didn't have the money, he would buy school supplies according to what he could afford first. Alv imitated his mother's words, "Just do this first, if you have one then buy it again."<sup>28</sup> Even so, the need for learning materials for schools at the basic education level was relatively able to be met by all the informants we interviewed.

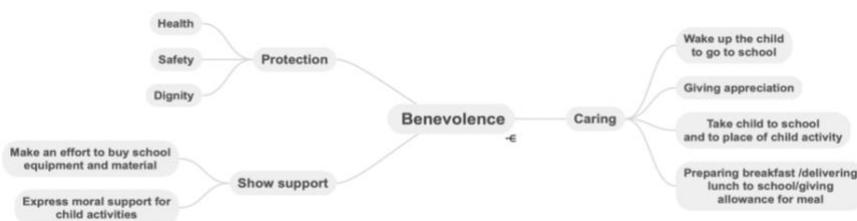


Figure 1. Benevolence in family

## Honesty

Honesty in underprivileged families is reflected in the habit of telling parents about daily activities. Alv, for example, admits that he always tells his mother when he is travelling or studying with friends.<sup>29</sup> FTM also shared that he always told his mother the truth because he was afraid of lying. Interviewed informants indicated that they always told stories or told their parents what really happened. There is no admission that they ever lied to their parents. Children who are still in Islamic elementary school always ask permission to play if they want to play. They don't manipulate by asking permission to study together but actually want to play. My's mother said, "She always asked for permission to play or study together."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Mm Al Nur, Wawancara terhadap Nur, August 11, 2020.

<sup>27</sup>SB Nai, Wawancara terhadap Nai, August 12, 2020.

<sup>28</sup>A LR, Transkrip Wawancara ALR, June 19, 2020.

<sup>29</sup>Alv Alv, Wawancara dengan Alv, August 11, 2020.

<sup>30</sup>Ng Ibu My, Wawancara Ibu My, June 12, 2020.

The children also stated truthfully that they still had pocket money and that they save it. Ftm's mother informed that she would give her child a ten thousand rupiah pocket money, and she was advised to save any extra money if there was any (usually the teacher saves collectively at school). When the savings are distributed (at the end of the semester), the money is used to purchase shoes, backpacks, and other school supplies.<sup>31</sup> Additionally, parents (mothers, grandmothers, and household members) are truthful with their children, particularly about their financial situation. Alv stated, "If mom doesn't have money, school needs are delayed until they are available."<sup>32</sup>

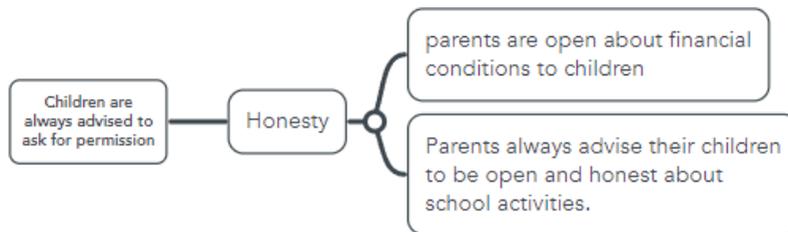


Figure 2 Honesty in the Family

In addition to being related to openness, honesty is also related to parental integrity. If a child observes that his or her parents are not making an effort to meet the school's needs, those parents will be viewed as dishonest and lacking in integrity.

#### *Openness*

Honesty in the family is closely associated with openness. In this study, openness is demonstrated when children share their school experiences with their families. Children typically discuss their school with their parents. This is demonstrated by the following interview excerpt: "occasionally, I tell my mother about school"<sup>33</sup>. In addition, a mother stated that her child was candid about the situation at school, "carefully telling about school and homework that needed to be completed"<sup>34</sup>. The child also tells me about his school friends. This is also true of the mother, who frequently tells stories about her friends<sup>35</sup>.

In addition, children always indicate where to play or walk after school. My's mother stated, "He always tells me when he goes out to play or take a walk"<sup>36</sup>. Children in elementary school share information about where to play with their families, while those in junior high school are more likely to discuss their friends and other topics, such as school activities or family finances.

<sup>31</sup>Ibu Ftm, Wawancara dengan Mama Ftm, July 20, 2020.

<sup>32</sup>Alv, Wawancara dengan Alv.

<sup>33</sup>RAS RAS, Wawancara RAS, June 12, 2020.

<sup>34</sup>Hlm S Ibu Hlm S, Wawancara Ibu Hlms, June 12, 2020.

<sup>35</sup>LMR Ibu LMR, Wawancara dengan Ibu LMR, July 20, 2020.

<sup>36</sup>Ibu My, Wawancara Ibu My.

Furthermore, children tell about other things. NLtF grandmother says, "My grandson used to tell me he lost erasers and everything."<sup>37</sup> The openness of financial conditions in the family is also illustrated when children want to continue their schooling outside the area: "Nltf once asked about how the family's financial situation was, and NLtF's brother answered that we can't afford it if we want to go to school there."<sup>38</sup> Parents also tell their children stories about their failed pasts as a lesson. This shows that parents are open to their children. On the other hand, children feel their parents are honest with them. Openness in the family can be seen in Figure 3 below

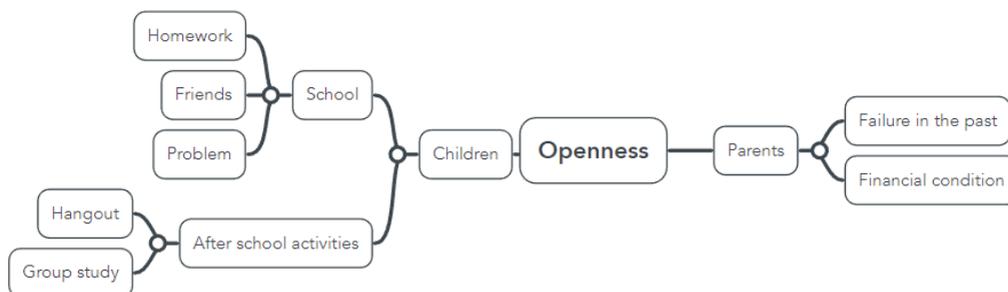


Figure 3 Openness in family

### Reliability

Reliability is demonstrated by parents recognition of their children's abilities, or vice versa, even though their abilities have never been demonstrated in that field. Reliability has a close relationship with competence. This reliability can be seen from the parents' belief in their children's abilities, as NLtF's aunt explained: "The village head came to the house and asked NLtF to participate in a sub-district Qur'an reading competition. He was hesitant to go because he felt unprepared, but I urged him to give it a shot."<sup>39</sup> Aunt NLtF believes that NLtF is capable of competing in this event. This dependability is demonstrated by the attitude of the NLtF aunt, who persuaded the children to compete.

The delegation of household duties to children also demonstrates the family's dependability. Delegating tasks to children is an indication that people view children as trustworthy in this area and a manifestation of parents' confidence in their children. A mother believes that her child is capable of performing housework such as cooking because "during the COVID-19 pandemic, only LMR did the cooking, she did a great job at cooking."<sup>40</sup> The role of children in helping their parents earn a living is also indicative of their dependability. like Syr, who assists her mother with babysitting duties during the school holiday.<sup>41</sup> In addition to Syr, Alv played a significant role as

<sup>37</sup>NLtF Jlk, Wawancara dengan Julak NLtF, June 12, 2020.

<sup>38</sup>Jlk.

<sup>39</sup>Jlk.

<sup>40</sup>Ibu LMR, Wawancara Ibu Lal, July 20, 2020.

<sup>41</sup>Kas Wt, Wawancara dengan Ibu Syr, June 20, 2020.

the eldest son. She helps her mother deliver the catering that her mother consumes: "On holidays, I frequently assist my mother in delivering the catering."<sup>42</sup>

### **Competency**

Competence is closely related to reliability, as described in the previous section. Children's competence is valued by parents in the form of their willingness to share work at home. Children's skills in doing chores at home, such as washing dishes, washing clothes, cleaning the house, and cooking, play a role in building trust in the family. In addition, achievement at school also reflects the competence of children, so that parents have confidence in their children. This will encourage greater effort by parents to support their child's education. Parents try to do various things to meet the needs of their child's school because they see their child's competence. In other words, parents feel that the effort they put in is commensurate with the competence shown by the child.

As demonstrated by NLtf, who was asked to represent her village in the Al-Qur'an reading competition at the subdistrict level, the child's competence was also on display. The family assumed that he was competent to participate because they perceived him to be competent in other areas. Therefore, we believe that expertise in one field will lead to dependability in other fields. NLtf is regarded as academically competent, so he is deemed trustworthy when reciting the Koran. The family and village officer's belief in NLtF was proper; he is competent and won third place.

This is in accordance with the statement of NLtF teachers who spontaneously remember NLtF as smart students: "NLtF is indeed smart."<sup>43</sup> Parents who see their child's talent and then always include their child in competition activities are competent. The child admits that he often takes part in competitions and is encouraged. "I often participate in competitions encouraged by my mother."<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, in the previous explanation, the competence of parents in the family was also described. This competence can be seen in their efforts to meet educational needs. It will instil a sense of trust in children that their parents have the ability to meet their needs for education. Children will always be encouraged to study seriously because they believe their parents want them to be successful. If we look closely, in our opinion, reliability and competence are related. His dependability in another field stems from his competence in other fields. Families judge a child to be reliable in cooking because parents see their child as competent in other household chores.

The reliability and competence can be seen in Figure 4 below

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<sup>42</sup>Alv, Wawancara dengan Alv.

<sup>43</sup>Id Id, Wawancara Terhadap Ibu Guru, June 12, 2020.

<sup>44</sup>T Tan, Wawancara terhadap Tan, August 12, 2020.

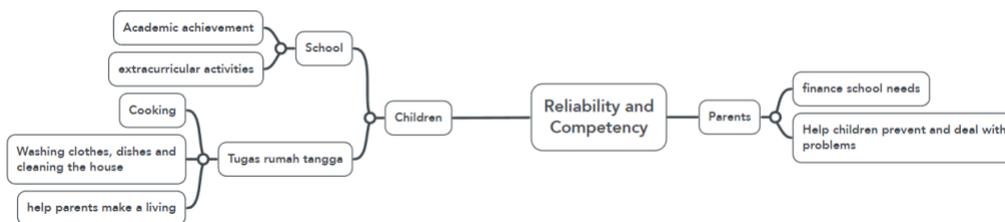


Figure 4. Reliability and competence in family

## Hope

In general, parents in underprivileged family don't seem to communicate or establish their children's expectations. However, even though it is limited, hope is developed in underprivileged families where their children perform well in school. As Ftm stated, when they go to school, mum told her to listen to the words of the teacher at school<sup>45</sup>. Families set short-term expectations for their children. Every parent wishes for their children to pay attention to the teacher when they are in school. This wish embodies parents' hopes for their children to do well in their schoolwork.

"Grandma said, if you are already at school, don't skip school,"<sup>46</sup> the grandmother added, expressing her wish. His grandmother Hlm also emphasised the hope for learning and success, saying, "Grandma said, study hard so that you can always rank and not drop in rank."<sup>47</sup> As Hlm's grandma stated, "I told her to study to be smart, if you buy a new book, read it through to the end so you can answer homework."<sup>48</sup> She conveyed her expectation that her granddaughter would learn if she purchased a new book. Grandmothers and grandparents who reside with their grandkids plant hopes for them, but they are optimistic hopes for the near future. Rankings, the ability to complete schoolwork, or the school's diligence are all hoped-for outcomes.

Parents who share their failures from the past give their children hope. They therefore wish for their offspring to differ from them. The goal is that it won't happen again to their child and that it will serve as a moral lesson for children. Ftm's admitted that "Mom regularly told me about her past, stories that devastated her, so that I would not be like her."<sup>49</sup>

Children are given statements of expectations that are not burdensome or specific, but instead look deeper into the future. The phrase "we don't force it, we don't have to be ranked, we are just driven to be attentive in studying if we want to go to college" serves as an example of this. "We hope he has great success. Only for him;

<sup>45</sup>Ftm, Transkrip Wawancara Ftm.

<sup>46</sup>SMN SMN, Wawancara dengan SMN, June 12, 2020.

<sup>47</sup>Hlms Hlm S, Wawancara Hlms, June 19, 2020.

<sup>48</sup>Mbah Hlm, Transkrip Wawancara Mbah Hlm.

<sup>49</sup>Ftm, Transkrip Wawancara Ftm.

not for us”<sup>50</sup>. The phrase "you don't have to achieve a ranking in school" serves as an example of this. The sentence "I hope he will be successful" also conveys to the child the goal of accomplishing unnamed accomplishments in the future.

In addition to unspecified expectations, other families expressed long-term expectations about their economic future as well as their family's status. This is illustrated by the following statement:

*“I want my children to go to school so they can work like other people, not like me tapping rubber into the forest. If they can go to college, they will do anything to make money. He has an aunt who went to college, graduated, she works properly. So that's an example that school makes it easy to find a job”<sup>51</sup>.*

FtmZ's mother sees her sister, who has a bachelor's degree, as more secure and having a better social status. Even though he is not necessarily rich, he considers that an educated person has a job that is not exhausting and has a better social status than himself, who is only a rubber-tapper farmer. In line with that, an aunt who works as a teacher is an example of success and hope for her parents. This can be seen from the following narrative: "I have four younger siblings who are teachers, I don't because I'm not smart, I don't want him, my daughter is like me, I hope he can be like his aunt.”<sup>52</sup> The hope that children are not like themselves seems to be the basis for building future hopes for their children. Nonetheless, parents specifically mentioned their hopes by continuing to educate their children. Have a trading shop. “I want to go to school because I see my friends and want to become a teacher.”<sup>53</sup>

The narrative reflects more specific expectations of being a trader and a teacher. These two items demonstrate parents' hope that their children will not be like those who tap rubber. In the community's view, the work of rubber tappers is work that is not feasible, tiring, and economically unprofitable. Therefore, rubber tappers are used as an example of work that is considered inappropriate by parents.

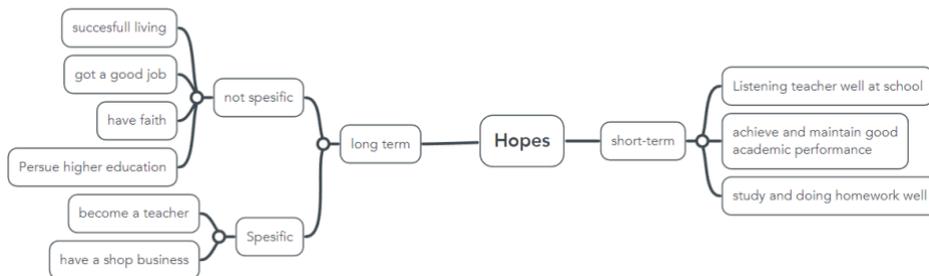


Figure 5. Hopes in family

<sup>50</sup>Ibu My, Wawancara Ibu My.

<sup>51</sup>A, Transkrip Wawancara Ibu dari FtmZ.

<sup>52</sup>Ibu LMR, Wawancara dengan Ibu LMR.

<sup>53</sup>SMN Ibu SMN, Wawancara Ibu SMN, June 12, 2020.

### Intergenerational Closeness

By participating in parental activities together, parents and children demonstrate the closeness of their familial relationship. Kh, for instance, acknowledged that his parents had invited him to wedding invitations and memorial ceremony.<sup>54</sup> Alv's mother invited him to the market. Once a month, NLtF's aunt invites her to the banua (city) for a stroll and to visit her parents' graves"<sup>55</sup>, StD's parents invited him to visit his grandmother, and he stated that he "frequently visited her once per week."<sup>56</sup> His mother invited FT to visit his brother.<sup>57</sup>

Moreover, the closeness between generations is also reflected in the activities carried out with other family members at home. Parents instruct children in recitation.<sup>58</sup> HdH said, "Occasionally, my mother takes me to school, assists my father with his studies, and visits the market with her on holidays."<sup>59</sup> NLtF stated, "My aunt and sister assisted me with my homework; my aunt assisted me with my Arabic homework." Additionally, families eat breakfast together to foster familial bonds between generations."<sup>60</sup> Syr disclosed, "Every morning we always have breakfast with our parents and do our math homework with our mother and parents."<sup>61</sup> MRR admitted the same thing: "Every morning the parents prepared breakfast and assigned homework to the mother."<sup>62</sup>

In addition to approaching their children's friends, parents can also develop a closer relationship with them. Parents send the message that their children's friends are also their friends. This is demonstrated by Ftm's story: "When my friends visited, my mother went to the store to buy cakes for my friends."<sup>63</sup>

In this study, the closeness between generations can be seen in the fact that parents are willing to invite their children to the activities they do, to communicate with their children through activities, and to take part in the activities of their children and their children's friends at home.

A close inspection reveals that mothers are closer to their children than fathers. There are some families, such as the Halms family, who are closer to their father because he lives with his father due to the health of his mother. Other children who live with both their fathers and mothers are closer to their mothers, as evidenced by their greater willingness to share stories with their mothers than with their fathers.

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<sup>54</sup>Kh Abh Kh, Wawancara Pribadi, June 20, 2020.

<sup>55</sup>Jlk, Wawancara dengan Julak NLtF.

<sup>56</sup>St StD, Wawancara dengan StD, June 12, 2020.

<sup>57</sup>NLtF NLtF, Wawancara dengan NLtF, June 12, 2020.

<sup>58</sup>Hlm S, Wawancara Hlms.

<sup>59</sup>Hdh HdH, Wawancara dengan Hd H, June 12, 2020.

<sup>60</sup>NLtF, Wawancara dengan NLtF.

<sup>61</sup>Syr, Wawancara Syr.

<sup>62</sup>MRR MRR, Wawancara dengan MRR, June 19, 2020.

<sup>63</sup>Ftm, Transkrip Wawancara Ftm.

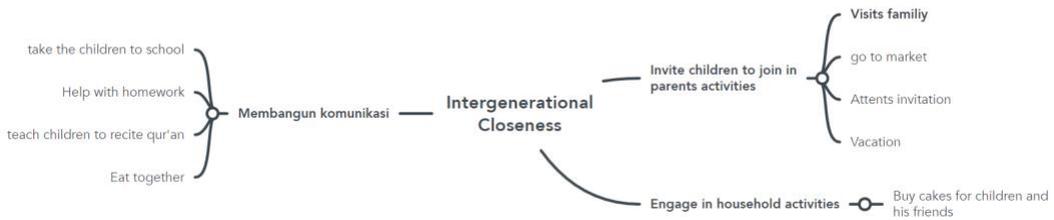


Figure 6 Intergeneration closeness in family

## Discussion

This study discovered that the social capital of bright students from low - income backgrounds was developed by their parents through interaction and communication at every opportunity at home. Social interaction is essential for the development of social capital.<sup>64</sup> Communication in various forms is the primary means of forming relationships, which are the foundation of social capital.<sup>65</sup>

Coleman (1988) contends that the family is the primary source of social capital for children's education,<sup>66</sup> which is consistent with the role of the family in constructing social capital in this study. The successful development and education of students will be facilitated by familial relationships and norms.<sup>67</sup> The resilience of students who are falling behind is substantially influenced by the social capital of their families.<sup>68</sup> Student relationships within the family influence academic achievement.<sup>69</sup> Parents have a significant impact on the life satisfaction and happiness of their children.<sup>70</sup> This effect is the implementation of the parental responsibility to provide a supportive and encouraging home and family.

This study demonstrates the mother's role in building the social capital of low-income families through education. Previous research has demonstrated that mothers

<sup>64</sup>Polatcan, "Social Capital Wealth as a Predictor of Innovative Climate in Schools," 184.

<sup>65</sup>Jean Norman, "Social Capital of Last Resort: How People with Low Socio-Economic Status Rely on God When Social Resources Are Scarce," *Journal of Communication & Religion* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2019): 76–92.

<sup>66</sup>Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital."

<sup>67</sup>Carla Rachel Cebula, "Effects of Economic, Social and Cultural Capital at Home and in the Neighbourhood on Young People's Educational Attainment" (Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 2019), <http://hdl.handle.net/1842/36154>.

<sup>68</sup>Chunkai Li, Qiuyn Zhang, and Na Li, "Does Social Capital Benefit Resilience for Left-behind Children? An Evidence from Mainland China," *Children and Youth Services Review* 93 (October 1, 2018): 255–62, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.06.033>.

<sup>69</sup>Shweta Mishra, "Social Networks, Social Capital, Social Support and Academic Success in Higher Education: A Systematic Review with a Special Focus on 'Underrepresented' Students," *Educational Research Review* 29 (February 1, 2020): 100307, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2019.100307>.

<sup>70</sup>Evelyn Aboagye Addae and Stefan Kühner, "How Socioeconomic Status and Family Social Capital Matter for the Subjective Well-Being of Young People: Implications for the Child and Family Welfare Policy in Ghana," *Journal of Social Policy* 51, no. 4 (October 2022): 876–99, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279421000982>.

have a substantial influence on their children. Mothers have a greater influence on their children's cognitive abilities, while fathers have a greater influence on their non-cognitive abilities.<sup>71</sup> Mothers are more capable of motivating their adolescent children to be interested in math and science lessons, as well as the importance of these subjects.<sup>72</sup> The mother-child relationship is a familial one, whereas the father-child relationship is an amicable one.<sup>73</sup> A mother who is anxious will cause her child to be anxious.<sup>74</sup> The father acts as a guardian who is more concerned with and protective of daughters than sons.<sup>75</sup> Mothers are viewed as friends by children, whereas fathers are viewed as time-consuming workers, thus diminishing the father-child relationship.<sup>76</sup> Warmth, caring, intimacy, and academic engagement are related to learning outcomes among adolescents.<sup>77</sup>

This interaction illustrates the concern and support of parents for their children's education, which is an indication of cultural capital.<sup>78</sup> Children's accomplishments are related to cultural capital in the form of support for their learning activities.<sup>79</sup> Time spent with family is an important factor in children's academic success.<sup>80</sup> There is a principle of exchange and reciprocity in the family, and parental concern will arouse the child's desire to repay the kindness with actions that are in

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<sup>71</sup>Jerome Adda, Anders Bjorklund, and Helena Holmlund, "The Role of Mothers and Fathers in Providing Skills: Evidence from Parental Deaths," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY, January 18, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1741613>.

<sup>72</sup>Janet S. Hyde et al., "The Role of Mothers' Communication in Promoting Motivation for Math and Science Course-Taking in High School," *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 27, no. 1 (2017): 49–64, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12253>.

<sup>73</sup>Mary Ellen Oliveri and David Reiss, "Social Networks of Family Members: Distinctive Roles of Mothers and Fathers," *Sex Roles* 17, no. 11 (December 1, 1987): 719–36, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00287684>.

<sup>74</sup>Kathryn A. Kerns, Shannon Siener, and Laura E. Brumariu, "Mother–Child Relationships, Family Context, and Child Characteristics as Predictors of Anxiety Symptoms in Middle Childhood," *Development and Psychopathology* 23, no. 2 (May 2011): 593–604, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579411000228>.

<sup>75</sup>Artur A. Rean and Ivan A. Konovalov, "Indicators of Parent-Child Relationships in the Context of Various Socio-Demographic Parameters," *Интеграция Образования. Integration of Education* 24, no. 3 (2020): 433–52, <https://doi.org/10.15507/1991-9468.vol24iss3pp>.

<sup>76</sup>Ioana Lepadatu, "How Children See Their Parents—A Short Intergeneration Comparative Analysis," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 187 (May 2015): 5–9, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.03.002>.

<sup>77</sup>Larry E. Dumka et al., "Academic Success of Mexican Origin Adolescent Boys and Girls: The Role of Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting and Cultural Orientation," *Sex Roles* 60, no. 7 (August 13, 2008): 588, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9518-z>.

<sup>78</sup>Rachelle Winkle-Wagner, "Foundations of Educational Inequality: Cultural Capital and Social Reproduction," *ASHE Higher Education Report* 36, no. 1 (May 2010): 1–21.

<sup>79</sup>Abdulfetah Mohammed and Mikyas Abera, "Accounting for Unequal Academic Performance: Government and Private School Students in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia," *African Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (May 2022): 43–67.

<sup>80</sup>Jiali Li and Ruizhu He, "Family Time and Money Inputs in Education and Teenager Development: Interpretation of Social Capital, Cultural Capital, and Shadow Education," *Best Evidence in Chinese Education* 11, no. 1 (May 2022): 1455–60.

accordance with the parents' wishes.<sup>81</sup> This affection will inspire the child's willing submission.<sup>82</sup>

An important finding of this study is that the expectations formed through family interactions do not reflect ambitious and distant expectations. This is consistent with the findings of Lucio (2016), who discovered that the expectations of parents from low-income families are limited to school and unclear.<sup>83</sup> Families experiencing economic difficulties will significantly affect children's expectations.<sup>84</sup> Families who cannot afford to have simple and reasonable expectations regarding income and educational obstacles.<sup>85</sup> This differs from the upper middle class, whose members desire their children to complete college. Hope is an evaluation of possibility, not probability, in a poor family. The level of parental education is related to these low expectations. Education will provide young people with hope so that they can prepare and plan for their future.<sup>86</sup>

Nonetheless, poor families continue to believe that education is a path to social mobility within the family.<sup>87</sup> This low expectation prevents students from disadvantaged families from entering higher education. High expectations will motivate them to pursue a higher education despite economic difficulties. For this reason, one consideration for poor families who want their children to graduate is to select a low-cost postsecondary institution, such as Islamic higher education.

## Conclusion

Social capital has a big impact on families, especially on low income families. Brilliant students from families are unable to get social capital support from the family so they are able to cover up the insufficient economic capital. At the primary school and secondary school levels, the social capital built by the family can still make up for the lack of economic capital in education. However, social capital is no longer sufficient when they are about to enter higher education.

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<sup>81</sup>Margaret M. Bubolz, "Family as Source, User, and Builder of Social Capital," *The Journal of Socio-Economics* 30, no. 2 (March 4, 2001): 129–31, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1053-5357\(00\)00091-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1053-5357(00)00091-3).

<sup>82</sup>Jinquan Shi, "The Evolvement of Family Intergenerational Relationship in Transition: Mechanism, Logic, and Tension," *The Journal of Chinese Sociology* 4, no. 1 (December 2017): 20, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40711-017-0068-z>.

<sup>83</sup>Joanna Lucio, Anna Jefferson, and Laura Peck, "Dreaming the Impossible Dream: Low-Income Families and Their Hopes for the Future," *Journal of Poverty* 20, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 359–79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10875549.2015.1094772>.

<sup>84</sup>Daniel Wen, Esther C. L. Goh, and Chin-ying Hsu, "Hope in LOW-INCOME Families—A Study of Family Hardiness in Singapore," *Family Relations* 71, no. 2 (April 2022): 513–25, <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12581>.

<sup>85</sup>Lucio, Jefferson, and Peck, "Dreaming the Impossible Dream."

<sup>86</sup>Gordon Brown, "The Future of Education Is Here," Twitter Post, September 22, 2020, <https://twitter.com/educannotwait/status/1308441445188005890?s=24>.

<sup>87</sup>Xie Ailei, "Useless Schooling' or 'Hopeless Schooling': An Ethnographic Study of Lower-Class Rural Parents' Perceptions on the Value of Schooling," *Chinese Education & Society* 52, no. 3–4 (July 4, 2019): 186–207, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10611932.2019.1667688>.

The managerial implication of research is the significance of fostering social capital in children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Government, schools, communities, and religious community must cultivate social capital in order to raise the expectations of disadvantaged children. In higher education, economy capital should support by government. Thus, the first generation of graduates from disadvantaged families who can break the cycle of poverty within the family will be produced.

It is recommended that future research investigate the resilience of students from disadvantaged families in Indonesia and the factors that influence it. Influence of the hope factor on students from disadvantaged families is an important variable to examine. This is to test the findings of this study, which indicate that family expectations are limited.

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