

RURAL PARENTS' HOME-BASED ACADEMIC SOCIALISATION AND THE RELUCTANCE TO LEARN ENGLISH

Petrina Grace Miranda^{a1*}, Jia Wei Lim^b
(^as2121779@siswa.um.edu.my; ^bjwlim@um.edu.my)

Universiti Malaya
50603 Kuala Lumpur, Wilayah Persekutuan Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Abstract: This study seeks to understand the role of parent academic socialisation and its possible connections to rural adolescents' reluctance in developing English proficiency. The Parent Socialisation Model of Eccles and Wigfield's Situated Expectancy-Value Theory guides this qualitative study to examine parents' beliefs of the value of English for their children, perceptions of their children's actual English language abilities and how parents' beliefs and perceptions are reflected through parents' learning-related behaviours. Data was elicited from semi structured interviews and home observations in a rural community in Malaysia. Thematic analysis revealed that parents' English language beliefs were not evenly positive and not reflected strongly through home academic socialisation. Furthermore, due to gaps in understanding learning realities, parents did not accurately perceive their children's actual abilities in English. Consequently, parental learning investments were inadequate and not sustained. This study concludes that rural parents' insufficient academic socialisation contributes to their children's reluctance to learn English. Reversal of English learning reluctance will require increasing parents' beliefs in the utility of English in order to increase and diversify their engagement in their children's learning. Fostering parent-practitioner bonds of trust will help parents understand that children's learning of English is a shared responsibility between parents and practitioners.

Keywords: English language, English learning engagement, parents' academic socialisation, reluctant learners, rural learners

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15639/teflinjournal.v36i1/96-117>

In Malaysia, where English is taught as a second language (Ganapathy & Ying, 2016), secondary school learners are underperforming in the language, with rural learners significantly lagging behind their urban peers (Renganathan, 2021; Yee & Su, 2020). As approximately 42% of the country's schools are categorised as rural schools (Renganathan, 2021), the concern over rural adolescent learners' underperformance in English is not without grounds.

Due to a knowledge deficit in perceiving the full range of causalities of poor English proficiency among rural learners who generally come from underprivileged backgrounds, efforts to raise English achievements regularly single out school and teacher initiatives (Ganapathy & Ying, 2016; Misbah et al., 2017; Yee & Su, 2020). However, when the plethora

^{1*} Corresponding author

of interventions has not stemmed the decline of English convincingly, a difficult question needs to be asked: Are educators and stakeholders employing the correct mediations?

Many studies have examined skill-specific challenges (Aziz & Aziz, 2019; Badrasawi & Kassim, 2020), classroom practices (Yee & Su, 2020), and English language learning anxiety (Muhammad et al., 2021) as possible causes of rural underperformance in English in Malaysia. However, there is scant interest to investigate the parent factor when rural adolescents poorly attain in English despite substantial research pointing to parents being important academic socialisers for their children (Cross et al., 2019; Francis et al., 2021; Goodall & Montgomery, 2023), including adolescents (Schmid & Garrels, 2021). Up to now, little is known about rural Malaysian parents' beliefs regarding English and their perceptions of their children's true abilities in English. Furthermore, although the limitations of what disadvantaged parents can do to encourage their children to learn English are acknowledged, insights into actual parental learning investments in rural areas are significantly lacking. The decline of English among rural learners cannot be arrested without attending to the issue of learning reluctance, specifically to understand the parent factor in the negative learning trajectories of learners, and in the case of this article, reluctant learners who disengage from learning English. As such, rural Malaysian parents' influence of their children's engagement with learning English beyond school boundaries certainly warrants investigation – perhaps, more so on the issue of the adolescents' reluctance to learn English. Rural home-based academic socialisation should be examined further to understand what is happening in the home between parents and learners which affects the larger picture of English attainments.

To achieve this, the Parent Socialisation Model of Eccles and Wigfield's (2020) Situated Expectancy-Value Theory (PSM-SEVT) was selected to guide the current study which seeks to examine the reluctance to learn English among low socioeconomic status (SES) rural secondary school learners as framed through the parents' academic socialisation of their children. The PSM-SEVT has thus far primarily been employed in quantitative research to test how various constructs predict parent and child behaviours and ultimately, child outcomes in terms of their attainments (Eccles, 2005), activities (Simpkins et al., 2012), and developmental goals (Tulagan & Eccles, 2021) among others. In this qualitative investigation, the PSM-SEVT is used as an entry point into the phenomenon of learning reluctance. Should the model hold true, then the relationship between constructs would be reflected in the experiences of participants. As with models based on quantitative methodology, the relationships and connections are based on generalisability and therefore, may possibly present a slight oversimplification of the phenomenon, particularly when the social and cultural context differs from that which the original sample is based on. As argued in this manuscript, the context of this study of a rural community in Malaysia may differ in terms of parents' perceptions and attitudes towards the English language. Rather than select a grounded theory approach, this study utilises the constructs already identified and validated in the PSM-SEVT model to direct its focus. In this way, this model enables the current study to qualitatively examine the mechanism of interaction between parents' English-related beliefs and their understanding of their children's learning realities upon parents' subsequent English-learning behaviours at home, as mediated upon by parent and child characteristics. In other words, this study uses

what was presented in the PSM-SEVT to ask how, why and in what way those connections occur and are experienced by parents and children.

Specifically, the current study seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. What are rural parents' beliefs of the value of English proficiency for their children?
2. What are rural parents' perceptions of their children's actual English abilities?
3. How do the rural parents' beliefs and perceptions of their children's actual English abilities influence these parents' encouragement and provision of tools and English learning opportunities both within and outside the home for their children?

Literature Review

The following sections describe reluctant English language learners and explain the need for addressing engagement issues in English learning reluctance by examining rural parents' home academic socialisation of their adolescents' learning of English. The specific aspects given attention are parents' English-related beliefs, their child-specific perceptions as well as their English-learning behaviours at home.

Reluctant English Language Learners

One observation is that teacher initiatives to overcome students' underperformance in English tend to prioritise language-focused interventions (Muhammad et al., 2021; Rajamoney, 2021; Yee & Su, 2020). These are a suitable fit for engaged English language learners invested in overcoming the linguistic challenges they face. However, in many classrooms, educators have noted the presence of another group of learners - which this study references as *reluctant English language learners*: students who demonstrate an "apathetic withdrawal" (Skinner et al., 2008, p. 294) from participation in classroom learning activities. Falling short in investing the effort and commitment required for second language acquisition, they are wilfully disengaged in varying degrees from learning English (Henry & Thorsen, 2020; Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2020). Reluctant learners are capable of learning and attaining (Sanacore, 2008), but instead depict learner attitudes described as "detached", "indifferent", "resentful", "getting by with the least possible effort" (Sacks, 1996, cited by Trout, 1997, pp. 46-47). Some learners give the impression of being obedient and of complying with teacher's instructions but are in actuality not involved "either emotionally or cognitively" (Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2020, p. 3) in learning – meaning that their learning engagement is shallow (Mercer & Dörnyei, 2020).

Because these learners' learning is undermined due to engagement rather than linguistic issues, broadly employed language-centric interventions are likely to be far less effective with them. Additionally, because the phenomenon can lie concealed beneath seemingly compliant behaviours (Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2020), there is a legitimate risk that the phenomenon is more widespread than acknowledged. In Malaysia, alarms have yet to be sounded over English learning reluctance, probably because as mentioned earlier, learning reluctance is also not easily observable. Another likelihood is that the phenomenon is being misidentified as typical teenage angst, incidentally more pronounced in students aged 14 to 19 (Fredricks et al., 2019).

Nonetheless, learning reluctance is likely present in Malaysian classrooms as well. As English proficiency continues to decline despite intense efforts to stem it, perhaps learning reluctance, hitherto scarcely acknowledged in Malaysia, is contributing insidiously to that decline. This article argues that due to conflation of reluctant learners together with invested learners who are committed to overcoming linguistic hurdles, there is a problem-intervention mismatch which is possibly contributing to poor English language attainments, when in fact a totally different mediation is called for in dealing with reluctant learners. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of any mediation is contingent upon as proximate an understanding as possible of how the reluctance to learn English begins and progresses.

The Parental Factor and Home-Based Academic Socialisation

In the discourse of English language underperformance, the heavy emphasis on exploring teacher and instructional practices (Aziz & Kashinathan, 2021; Muhammad et al., 2021; Rajamoney, 2021; Yee & Su, 2020) to understand this issue has left the parental factor less considered. As warranted as such investigations are, they overlook the undeniable truth that the cultivation of children's learning engagement is in fact a shared responsibility between schools and parents - not solely the school's burden (Ovesen et al., 2023). From back in the 80s, Comer (1984) contended that the home is the primary learning environment and that the way children learn is very much dependent on the way they develop in the home. This remains true decades later with Goodall and Montgomery (2023) noting the relationship between learner outcomes and parents' efforts in the home. In addition, ample studies identify parents as key academic socialisers for children (Cross et al., 2019; Francis et al., 2021; Tulagan & Eccles, 2021), even as "single most salient socialising agent" (Wang et al., 2020, p. 135), able to contribute positively to literacy outcomes as well (Bartram, 2006; Siddiqui et al., 2023). Hence, by examining more distal contributory factors to English learning reluctance without first locating investigations in the more proximal environment of the home and investigating how rural parents are engaged in their children's learning of English at home, there is a risk of not examining rural English learning reluctance at its very roots.

There is compelling evidence that strong parental beliefs in the value of education and parents' learning-focused behaviours through beyond-school engagements have been shown to be able to offset socioeconomic disadvantage in rural localities (White, 1982;), true in the case of English learning as well (Pham, 2016; Zhao & Bodovski, 2020). Therefore, the exploration of rural English learning reluctance in Malaysia needs to begin in the primary environment of the home to examine rural parents' home-based academic socialisation. Insights into how parents' beliefs and perceptions shape parents' behaviours in their engagement in their children's learning of English can yield a more nuanced understanding of rural reluctant learners and their English learning issues.

Parents' English Language Beliefs and Academic Socialisation

The investigation into English learning reluctance among rural adolescent learners begins by examining their parents' beliefs regarding English to ascertain what parents are

communicating to the learners regarding acquiring good proficiency in English. This is guided by the PSM-SEVT which posits that parental beliefs are an important component of academic socialisation, able to significantly impact the learning outcomes of children (Eccles & Wigfield, 2020). Indeed, the effect of positive English language beliefs was demonstrated in studies by Pham (2016) and Zhao and Bodovski (2020) which reported that disadvantaged rural parents paid attention to their children's English acquisition, driven by their belief that a good proficiency paved the way to social mobility and better economic futures for their children. To this, Getie (2020) adds that when likeminded parents in a community mutually bolster beliefs in the value of English, parental beliefs are further strengthened.

The strength of parental beliefs is such that even negative beliefs can leverage similarly potent effects upon children's achievements. Tieken (2020) illustrates this when noting that parents who themselves performed poorly in school and who do not embrace the belief that education is beneficial risk undervaluing the importance of learning for their own children later and compromising their attainments. Likewise, parents marked by negative English learning experiences who remain unconvinced about the utility of their children learning English are liable to demonstrate "discouraging behaviours" (Bartram, 2006, p. 213), the effects of which can extend beyond a single generation. Hence, "intergenerational transmission of attitudes, beliefs and practices" (Barnett & Taylor, 2009, p. 142) through academic socialisation can negatively impact wide swathes of children when they internalise what they have observed of their parents' negative beliefs (Jacobs et al., 2005).

Parents' Child-Related Perceptions and Academic Socialisation

The PSM-SEVT also guides this study to explore parents' learning-related perceptions of their children's actual English abilities. These perceptions are "consistent, powerful predictors of youth motivation and achievement" when accurate (Simpkins et al., 2014, p. 621), rendering parents' learning investments to be more precise, thus promising more positive child outcomes (Barrera-Osorio, 2020; Dizon-Ross, 2019; Siddiqui et al., 2023). Yet, the accuracy of parental perceptions hinges very much on the sources parents trust to provide learning-related information, the amount of information received as well as the extent to which that information is understood. Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) warn that parents with trust issues stemming from unresolved negative schooling experiences tend to disregard verified and reliable learning-related information from schools and teachers. They also show reluctance to have parent-teacher discussions regarding their children. This reticence is more pronounced when children are underperforming as parents fear being labelled as the adversary (Krane & Kleven, 2019).

Consequently, for some parents, the primary source of learning-related information becomes their children. That comes with risks: Barrera-Osorio et al. (2020) note that children-conveyed information can be unreliable due to inaccuracies and withholding, resulting in parents' perceptions of their children's English abilities being distorted. Parents who may not be inclined to trust schools and teachers might also favour their personal observations of the way their children interact with English over what the school is conveying, because the personal observations offer a rosier version of reality. However, in overestimating

their knowledge and disregarding verified information about their children, their perceptions can be imprecise, affecting subsequent parental investments into learning (Dizon-Ross, 2019). This accentuates the cruciality of schools and educators to build parents' trust so that they place their faith in accurate school-issued information concerning their children (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010).

Some parents intentionally entertain false perceptions of their children to protect the children from the distress of reality (Shimshoni et al., 2019). Such accommodation also occurs when parents help their children to avoid situations which parents associate with their own past negative experiences and which they fear may trigger their children's anxiety (O'Connor et al., 2020). Thus, parental accommodation is bound to exacerbate learning reluctance as it shields children from the reality of their academic underperformance instead of allowing them to face reality and overcome it. Siddiqui et al. (2023) contend that parents' awareness of their children's English abilities commensurates with the extent to which parents understand learning-related information. Therefore, when parents lack in-depth understanding, their academic socialisation risks being less effective. This foregrounds the role of teachers in effectively communicating learning-related details so that parents understand them and utilise the information in home-based academic socialisation. This is particularly pertinent for disadvantaged and lesser educated parents, known to shy away from parent-teacher discussions, instead accepting school information unquestioningly (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; LaRocque et al., 2011).

Parents' English Learning Behaviours and Academic Socialisation

The current inquiry ends by probing parents' learning-related behaviours at home which constitute parental investments into children's English acquisition. A vital component of home academic socialisation, these behaviours allow children to observe and comprehend the value of the learning that is so precious to the parents until it is internalised and ultimately adopted by the children (Jacobs et al., 2005). According to Eccles and Wigfield's (2020) PSM-SEVT, examination of these behaviours is necessary to determine if parents' home behaviours (moderated by their SES) align with expressed beliefs and perceptions.

Although higher SES parents have the financial advantage to make more learning investments for their children, White (1982) notes that low SES parents are also capable of creating home environments which foster learning. Indeed, the literature shows that disadvantaged parents have provided study/homework areas in the home (Mapp, 2003), established and monitored homework routines (Posey-Maddox & Haley-Lock, 2020), purchased English reading materials (Rahman et al., 2017) or taken the children to libraries to borrow them (Godina, 2004), encouraged speaking in English at home, and subscribed to English television channels (Zulkefly & Razali, 2019). As such, despite situational impediments such as time and financial constraints (Cheng et al., 2016; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011) and rurality (Coady, 2020) limiting access to English learning supports, other investment options are still available for low SES families.

Yet, parents can be hamstrung from investing as they can. Protracted parent-child conflict is one such barrier, extending to adolescents' acquisition of English as well. More intense

during adolescence, learning and academic performance issues are among the flashpoints (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2023; Robin et al., 1986). The normative parent response to conflict is to resist increasing child autonomy and to reinforce rules and expectations (Robin et al., 1986). However, some parents cede decision-making to the children just to deescalate conflict (Shimshoni et al., 2019). While this capitulation to children's pushback against parents' English learning investments provides temporary relief from children's negative behaviours (Lougheed, 2019), allowing more child autonomy deprives reluctant learners of the help they actually need.

METHOD

The current study utilised a multiple case study methodology for an in-depth, real-life exploration of rural parents' academic socialisation beliefs and practices in the home (Crowe et al., 2011). Data was elicited from home environment observations and semi structured interviews involving parents and reluctant learners from three case studies. Each case study consists of one or two parents and their adolescent child. The perspectives of both children and parents were sought to allow the voices of the often, silent stakeholders in the field of education (Pringle, 2010) to be heard to enable penetration of the issue of language learning reluctance (Cohen et al., 2018) in a way that a mere numerical analysis cannot.

The main research site encompassed the small town of Megah in a district in the state of Pahang, Malaysia. In this area of oil palm plantations, an average household income is RM4 641 (Sani et al., 2018) which makes this district one of the poorest in the state.

Study Participants

This study involves Ain and her parents, Mr Adam and Mrs Aqilah as one case study, Borhan and his mother, Mrs Baini, as the second case study, and finally, Cinta and her mother, Mrs Cairah, as the third case study. Ain, Borhan and Cinta all attend the same secondary school. All participants are of Malay ethnicity which reflects the mono-ethnic community of Megah.

The most important selection criterion was that the participating adolescent is a reluctant English language learner. To that end, a criterion-based selection, specifically, typical case sampling, was used to identify the reluctant English language learners. Based on the researcher's observation of these students, the reluctant learners were both male and female students who consistently lacked sustained personal effort to engage in learning English. They were easily distracted from their learning tasks and were unable to work independently. There was limited effort on their part to seek instructor assistance to make sense of their learning; instead, they replicated classmates' work just to complete learning tasks but not to understand the lesson. Furthermore, homework was seldom completed and submitted. These observations were confirmed by four other school subject teachers.

Selection was finalised based on class English language assessment achievements—specifically if they performed below the average of their classmates. Based on the shortened list, participants who came from low family socioeconomic backgrounds and residing with

both or either parent, were approached. Participants were 16 to 17 years old at the time of data collection in line with research recommendations that students of ages 14 to 19 showed the most obvious signs of education disengagement (Fredricks et al., 2019).

Research Procedure and Analysis

Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Malaya Research Ethics Committee (UMREC) (reference number: UM.TNC2/UMREC_2471). Informed consent was received from parents while the children gave assent. Data collection then commenced through home observations as well as semi-structured interviews which took place in three stages over approximately six months and encompassed initial and follow-up interviews, data review and member checks.

The semi structured interviews incorporated open-ended questions as well as prompt and probe questions which enabled data retrieval to be more uniform, systematic and specific to the inquiry so that the research questions were ultimately answered (Cohen et al., 2018). The main interview questions were based on the theoretical elements generated from the research objectives and research questions (Cohen et al., 2018) (please refer to Appendix 1). The pre-determined questions were also very helpful in keeping the research on track especially when parents digressed from issues being discussed. Some examples of questions were: “Is it important to your parents that you learn English?”, followed by a probe question: “What do they usually say about you learning English?” to explore rural parents’ valuing of English proficiency for their children; as well as “After each English test/examination, do you talk with your child about how the test/examination was for him/her?”, and “How did you feel when you saw the results?” - to explore how rural parents constructed perceptions of their children’s abilities in English.

The data obtained was thematically analysed using the 6-step framework proposed by Braun and Clarke (2012). The analysis began with multiple readings of the data to get familiar with the details before they were hand coded. Initial impressions were labelled to aid in the subsequent coding and analysis stage. For example, “Information” and “Child-Parent” denoted that the adolescent had communicated information to the parent. Later, with further familiarisation, labels such as “School EL Programme” was added to denote the specific information which was communicated. Subsequently, pre-determined codes such as “Parents’ Belief”, “Perception” and “Tools” were assigned to segments of data. These codes were drawn from the research questions as well as the conceptual and theoretical frameworks based on the PSM-SEVT which was guiding the study. The codes were followed immediately by emergent codes such as “Valuing of Effort”, “Valuing of Education” and “Child’s English Issues” to capture the breadth of realities contained within the data. Once data was fully coded, patterns of meaning represented by the codes were studied and themes constructed from these patterns and their descriptions determined. Through a recursive process involving multiple re-readings, some themes were renamed or expanded to more accurately reflect the focus of the research questions as well as meaningfully capture the full interpretation of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). For example, “Parent Knowledge” was amended to “Parent Awareness” and “Parent Awareness Deficit” so that the data was represented more accurately. Once the names of

themes were finalised, the write-up of the analysis began, incorporating fine-grained details of the interview data to provide a “vivid and compelling account of the arguments being made by a respective theme” (Byrne, 2022, p. 1407). Afterwards, the final report was produced.

In line with the chosen methodology, trustworthiness was addressed through the use of member checking (Kornbluh, 2015) and multiple-source methodological triangulation (Patton, 2001; Yin, 2009) consisting of data from interviews, documentary analysis (Miller & Alvarado, 2005), observations using fieldnotes as well as the Home Environment Observation Checklist. The checklist (please refer to Appendix 2) was used to identify elements or objects related to children’s learning, such as the presence of reading materials, learning tools and home literacy practices (Sun et al., 2020), along with spaces to study (Mapp, 2003). The checklist was also used to identify potential distractions from English language learning, such as television viewing and radio listening being limited to non-English programmes. Observation field notes and interviews were transcribed and analysed guided by Braun and Clark’s (2012) 6-step framework outlined in the previous paragraph, to generate the following findings.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

This section presents the three themes that emerged from the analysis. The theme “Real life experiences affect parents’ English language beliefs” relates to the research question: “What are rural parents’ beliefs about the value of English proficiency for their children?” The second theme, “Parent awareness and parent awareness deficit,” pertains to the question: “What are rural parents’ perceptions of their children’s actual English abilities?” Finally, the theme “Parent investment and parents failing to invest” addresses the third question: “How do rural parents’ beliefs and perceptions of their children’s actual English abilities influence their encouragement and provision of tools and learning opportunities for English both within and outside the home?”

Real Life Experiences Affecting Parents’ English Language Beliefs

Analysis indicates that parents’ real-life experiences with English, particularly as English learners, significantly shape parents’ present-day beliefs on the importance of English for their children. Despite their children underperforming in English, when parents’ school memories of learning English are blemished in some way, parents seem unable to get past the barrier of such memories and are less likely to encourage their children to strive to improve their English.

Most parents appeared to believe that their children required English for their futures, or for daily life interactions. Mrs Aqilah’s and Mrs Cairah’s beliefs were rooted in positive school life experiences where success came through dedicated English language teachers and the parents’ own determination to learn English. Working life experiences where she had to converse in English with clients also bolstered Mrs Cairah’s belief in the value of the language.

These experiences were shared with their children to encourage them to invest similarly in learning English. Mrs Cairah also reminded her daughter that the language would be needed wherever Cinta went:

“At times, ... at the shopping centre, ... to find out, where things are...Where is this? Where is this?... Where can I get this?... In the office, sometimes customers come. Chinese, Indians, they all come to the showroom. Asking about the cars... so when they speak in English, we have to, as well. We converse with them as they do with us.”

This suggests that conversations relating parents’ experiences with English are an authentic part of these parents’ home academic socialisation.

Mrs Baini who left school at the age of 15 did not have pleasant memories of English but declared embracing the usefulness of English through working life experiences when she saw how a good English proficiency could be a passport to a good career:

“I previously worked at a government hospital. I encourage Borhan to get a job at a government hospital. English is the most important at a government hospital. Because all the doctors speak in English. When one’s English is strong, it will be easier to get that job...”

Borhan, however, denied his mother’s assertions of valuing English, declaring that she had never mentioned the importance of English: “No, she only told me that she wants me to succeed (in life).” This suggests that Mrs Baini did not emphasise the importance of English to Borhan, although she certainly gave the researcher the impression that she did.

Other parents such as Ain’s father, Mr Adam, outrightly said that he did not believe that English warranted special attention, despite the fact that English was one of the subjects which Ain was significantly underperforming in. Mr Adam did not seem to have a positive view of the usefulness of English for his own child although he was fairly conversant in English and used it in daily interactions. In interviews, Mr Adam did imply that having good proficiency in English was not important for the future he envisioned for his daughter, Ain. He hoped that Ain would become an *ustazah*, an Islamic religious teacher – a career with lesser need for English. He also had no plans to allow Ain to work abroad where English might be required.

Mr Adam’s lack of valuing of English could also be attributed to painful memories of learning English which have not healed. In interviews, he refused to be drawn into speaking about his English learning experiences as a student, contending that it was pointless since the methods of his time were now outdated. However, his daughter certainly hints at painful negative English learning experiences when she reports, “Their (English) teachers were fierce, strict... if they did not bring their textbooks, they were pinched.”

Parent Awareness and Parent Awareness Deficit

The findings reveal gaps in parents’ awareness of their children’s actual English abilities when the English learning-related information they received was inadequate or inaccurate. Awareness deficits also arose when parents lacked objectivity in assessing their children’s English abilities, and also when the lack of English emphasis in the homes masked children’s English learning realities.

Tellingly, parents who accurately discerned their children's English capabilities were those who paid attention to actual scholastic information. For example, Mrs Aqilah was aware of Ain's specific linguistic struggles, substantially due to feedback from her child's primary school English teachers and augmented through her own experience in helping Ain with English at home when Ain was younger. Likewise, Mrs Cairah also knew her child was very weak in English because she paid attention to Cinta's school English examination results: *"I saw her English result, an 'E', How did your English get to this level? Haiyoooo, tell me, Cinta, why did this suddenly happen to your English?"*

Similar levels of awareness were not replicated in Mrs Baini's case, though. There was a lack of alarm over Borhan's "E" grade in the most recent school examination - in fact, Mrs Baini was slightly defensive, contending: *"Now, he has not failed too badly in English." The results seemed acceptable to the mother as long as it was not an absolute "F" grade.* Mrs Baini had also never discussed Borhan's performance with his English teachers.

Furthermore, it appears that Borhan withheld substantial school information from his mother to preserve her fragile mental health as she was a stroke survivor who was separated from her husband. Additionally, as learning-related information often failed to elicit interest from his mother, even positive teacher feedback was kept from her. This, combined with a home environment where there was little reading of English and no viewing of English television programmes, contributed to Mrs Baini's lack of awareness of the full scope of Borhan's struggles with English.

Conversely, Mr Adam possessed some awareness of Ain's English abilities through personal observations of her use of English at home. However, he too did not perceive a problem with Ain's command of English as his observations were not aligned with Ain's academic performance in English, where she has not achieved higher than an "E" grade in her Form Five school level examinations. Mr Adam's view of Ain's abilities also diverged sharply from his wife's evaluation: despite his wife quietly interjecting, *"But she's not good in essays,"* Mr Adam insisted that Ain was faring satisfactorily in English, arguing:

"Ain, I talk in English, her attitude is that she wants to respond in English... and at home, she always sings English songs... I look at her, she can speak...it's not that she cannot speak. I ask her in English, she answers in English... and her responses are okay, simple English. She can..."

Mr Adam's favouring of his personal observations of Ain's use of English at home over more reliable academic performance reports seems to have rendered his perceptions of his daughter's true English abilities inaccurate. Even his wife's more accurate perceptions had little traction with the father who persisted in believing that his child "was okay".

Parent Investment and Parents Failing to Invest

The current study revealed that rural parents' learning investments were extremely limited and not sustained. Literacy activities such as excursions to bookstores and public libraries were almost non-existent. Parents like Mrs Aqilah and Mrs Cairah who had described spending extended periods reading in the school library as students neglected to encourage their own children to frequent school libraries to access reading materials at no charge. There were no English reading materials in the homes, not even materials from libraries; any purchase of

English materials was mostly school-mandated. In addition, although Mr Adam and Mrs Cairah mentioned having regular casual conversations in English with their children, Ain and Cinta struggled mightily to speak basic English, suggesting a lack of regularity to these activities. This could explain why learning investments failed to yield convincing results and why the children remained reluctant to learn English.

Some English learning investments spoken of actually took place when the children were in primary school - but incrementally discontinued over time - indicating parents' inability to sustain support for extended periods of time. Furthermore, although certain investments can be financially taxing for low SES parents, parents fell short in initiating and sustaining even the investments that required next to no additional expenses such as library visits. Parents' lack of intentionality seems to have also extended to, and therefore, diminished what they could have done within their existing situations to encourage their children's English language learning. For instance, all the children owned smartphones and all homes had televisions, but there were no parental reminders to use these to learn English. English-speaking members of Mrs Aqilah's and Mrs Bains' immediate families were not strongly encouraged to converse in English with the reluctant learners.

Other barriers to parental engagement were part of life in the research site. Parents contended with financial and logistical constraints which understandably hindered English learning investment. There were also no English tutoring services in Megah for parents to access even if they so wished to. However, while parents did not utilise what was available to them to encourage their children's English language learning, these parents expected teachers to go beyond the call of duty. Mr Adam was aggrieved that Ain's teachers had not helped to resolve a romantic entanglement involving Ain, and Mrs Cairah expected Cinta's teachers to provide additional after-school tutoring. In a way, it can be said that parents have passed on their responsibility towards their own children's learning to teachers instead.

With the lack of education-invested parents in the immediate community, parents hardly discussed their children's English learning issues with other parents. Mrs Bains shared a home with a daughter-in-law who was a teacher herself but who did not provide any English-related input, indicating a community environment that is also not English invested.

Parent-child conflicts also significantly constrained their children's academic socialisation. These conflicts arose due to demonstrations of autonomy on the part of the child. Most parents subscribed to the prevalent cultural belief that their adolescent children, despite displaying learning reluctance, were old enough to make learning related decisions for themselves with little parental input. Admittedly, some parents did attempt to offer advices and monitor their children's home learning activities. However, these actions were not welcomed by their children and rather than persisting with such efforts, the parents chose to stop instead. For example, although Ain was doing badly in English, instead of making a decision which would have benefitted their reluctant learner, her parents accommodated her refusal to enrol for online English tutoring. Additionally, despite persistently poor English results, there was no adjustment of rules or study schedules by parents – including the more educated ones. Instead, this continued to be left to the discretion of each child.

Hence, despite perceiving the need for English learning support, parental investments were inconsistent and inadequate, when taking into consideration what the parents could have offered with existing situations. These shortfalls in English learning investments show that parents' English-related beliefs for their children did not align with what was professed.

Discussion

The following subsections discuss how the findings are related to the research questions and in the context of other studies. While some findings in the current study were consistent with previous studies, there were also a number of unexpected differences. These connections will be discussed according to three aspects; parents' English language beliefs, parents' perceptions of their child, and parents' investment in English language learning.

Parents' English Language Beliefs and the Reluctance to Learn

Some findings of the current study supported previous literature in showing that rural parents' experiences, especially schooling experiences, shaped their beliefs and actions pertaining to their children's acquisition of English (Tieken, 2020). Parents who had school success as English language learners themselves expressed positive beliefs about the importance of their adolescents learning English and made an effort to convey those beliefs to their children.

However, despite parents' claims that English was important for their children, the unfortunate outcome was that the children were reluctant to learn English. Thus, current findings contradicted some evidence from studies where low SES rural parents' convictions of the importance of English learning led to positive learner outcomes in their children (Pham, 2016; Zhao & Bodovski, 2020). This shows that positive parental belief alone is not reliable as a predictor for children's sustained engagement in learning. As Jacobs et al. (2005) emphasised, for parents' beliefs to produce positive learner outcomes, beliefs need to first be concretised through positive and sustained learning-related behaviours, because it is parents' behaviours - not beliefs alone - which children observe and ultimately emulate.

In addition to that, the experiences of participants in this study also suggested that children's English learning reluctance can be attributed to negative parent beliefs. These negative beliefs are likely due to past learning experiences, as demonstrated in this study with unpleasant English learning memories influencing how they perceived the language as an adult and as a parent. If unaddressed or ignored, these negative beliefs can manifest as "discouraging behaviours" (Bartram, 2006, p. 213) that children can observe, internalise and adopt as their own (Jacobs et al., 2005). This link concurs with Tieken's (2020) observation that negative experiences can leave an indelible mark upon parents' present-day beliefs years later and contribute towards negative child outcomes. This finding, though not surprising or new, emphasises that there is a risk of negative perceptions passing on from parent to child, thus influencing a new generation who could have potentially benefited from the utility of learning the language.

Equally of concern is that these negative English learning beliefs may remain unchanged even though parents experience and see how English may be useful as an adult. As indicated in

the findings of this study, parents can remain unconvinced and thereby contribute to their children's continued English language learning reluctance through negative academic socialisation. Therefore, it is essential that such perspectives among parents be identified and addressed as one of the underlying causes of learning reluctance in order for education initiatives and interventions to have a higher possibility of succeeding.

Parents' Child-Perceptions and the Reluctance to Learn

Consistent with Yamamoto and Holloway (2010)'s observation, parents who most accurately perceived their reluctant learners' need for help in English were those who trusted and paid attention to the learners' performance in school assessments. These were also parents who had positive personal English learning experiences during their schooling days.

Inferring from Yamamoto and Holloway's (2010) study, parents with inaccurate perceptions of children's English abilities were the parents who were not convinced that English was important for their children, as is reflected in the findings of this study. In addition, findings of this study further indicate that parents' perceptions were distorted because the parents prioritised their personal observations of their children's abilities instead of information from the school. Their personal observations of their children's abilities were generally more favourable than what their children's assessment performance suggests, which resulted in parents concluding that their children's performance was satisfactory. This finding diverges sharply from other prominent studies reporting the tendency of disadvantaged parents to unquestioningly accept children's learning-related information issued by schools and teachers (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; LaRocque et al., 2011). Despite an acknowledgement that they struggled with English themselves, parents were confident in their evaluation of their children's English abilities instead of relying on their children's English language teacher's assessment of their children's abilities. This situation implies a lack of regard for teacher perception when it differs from how parents perceive their children. These parents seem to have overestimated their knowledge (Dizon-Ross, 2019).

This situation may also be a demonstration of parental accommodation which Shimshoni et al. (2019) observed occurring in clinical contexts. In their research, parents opted to shield their children and likely themselves as well, from the distress of a teacher's honest but painful assessment. If so, then this form of parental accommodation risks providing children a false sense of achievement, as shown in the findings of this study. In the case of reluctant learners, such parental accommodation likely further diminishes their children's motivation to improve their language proficiency. At the same time, this conscious choice could explain why parents saw little need to support their children beyond what was provided for by teachers in school where as Ovesen et al. (2023) have argued that children's learning engagement ought to be a shared responsibility between schools and parents. As a result, children's English learning reluctance remained.

The case studies presented in this article demonstrates the importance of aligning parents' beliefs and perceptions with the reality of school reports and teacher feedback (Dizon-Ross, 2019; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). As Eccles and Wigfield's (2020) model presents parents' beliefs and perceptions as key to academic socialisation, it is essential to enhance the

credibility and accuracy of parent's perceptions of their children to address the reluctance to learn English.

Parents' English Learning Investments and the Reluctance to Learn

The parents in this study did not demonstrate much sustained investment in their children's learning of English. As the research site is a context with limited English learning opportunities and use, the disadvantaged rural parents have limited options to support their children learning English outside of school. Yet, it is precisely this paucity of English learning opportunities which makes parents' personal initiatives all the more necessary. As noted in previous studies, when investments did happen, these efforts were curtailed over time due to rurality (Coady, 2020), time and financial constraints (Cheng et al., 2016; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). While children's learning engagement ought to be a shared responsibility between schools and parents (Ovesen et al., 2023), it is important not to place all blame on the parents in this aspect as they face socioeconomic challenges. Nevertheless, when children are given smartphones, access to streaming services on television and so on, it is clear that English language learning opportunities are present though not identified nor acted upon.

White's (1982) belief that low SES parents can create a home environment that encouraged learning did not seem to apply in the homes involved in this study. Despite evidence that disadvantaged parents could establish homework routines and monitor homework completion (Posey-Maddox & Haley-Lock, 2020), homework support appeared to be sparse. Parents who had once utilised their school libraries to study and to peruse EL reading materials when they were young (Godina, 2004) did not encourage their children to do likewise. Parents also did not see the need to provide additional English reading material (Rahman et al., 2017). This lack of investment continued though children were not doing well in English.

Instead, parents did "capitulate" (Lougheed, 2019, p. 7) and accommodated their adolescents' demands (Shimshoni et al., 2019) such as by giving in to children's refusal to attend online English tuitions. Unwilling to persist in their endeavours when their children did not welcome their efforts meant that parents were not able to sustain home behaviours which could have concretised their beliefs and valuing of English for their adolescents (Jacobs et al., 2005). This resulted in children's language learning reluctance to persist.

CONCLUSION

This study sought to understand and explore why certain adolescents were reluctant learners of the English language. Following research that points towards parents as key academic socialisers for children (Cross et al., 2019; Francis et al., 2021; Tulagan & Eccles, 2021) and as the ones who are able to influence literacy outcomes (Bartram, 2006; Siddiqui et al., 2023), this study specifically focused on how rural parents engage with their children's English language learning. This study was particularly interested in rural low-socioeconomic Malaysian parents' home-based academic socialisation practices, or lack thereof, in their children's learning of English.

The conclusion of this multiple case study is that parents in rural areas where English is little used do profess that English is important, but their actions do not necessarily reflect those beliefs. There is a lack of prolonged investment in English language learning and a disjoint between parental perceptions of their children's English language abilities with that of schools and teachers. Following Eccles and Wigfield's (2020) model, the reluctance to learn English can be reversed. Other factors aside, supporting reluctant learners does depend on parents' commitment to actively invest in their children's learning. A partnership of trust should be cultivated between parents and teachers to address inaccuracies in parents' beliefs about their children's English language performance and to encourage parental investment in language learning. Further research is needed to understand the current state of parents' relationships with schools and its teachers as well as to delve deeper into why available learning opportunities within the home environment are underutilised. Such work is important to shed light upon reasons for the lack of engagement among rural Malaysian parents to ensure that policies and support for students in rural areas can be better targeted.

REFERENCES

- Aziz, A. A., & Kashinathan, S. (2021). ESL learners' challenges in speaking English in Malaysian classroom. *International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development*, 10(2), 983–991. <https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARPED/v10-i2/10355>
- Aziz, N. M. A., & Aziz, A. A. (2019). Experiential learning approach to writing in an ESL classroom: A case study in a Malaysian sub-rural school. *Asian Journal of Research in Education and Social Sciences*, 1(1), 7-16.
- Badrasawi, K. J. I., & Abu Kassim, N. L. (2020). Reading skill among Malaysian ESL lower secondary students: Which girls and which boys are achieving and underachieving? *IJUM Journal of Educational Studies*, 8(2), 88–111. <https://doi.org/10.31436/ijes.v8i2.329>
- Barnett, M. A., & Taylor, L. C. (2009). Parental recollections of school experiences and current kindergarten transition practices. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 30(2), 140-148. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2008.11.001>
- Barrera-Osorio, F., Gonzalez, K., Lagos, F., & Deming, D. J. (2020). Providing performance information in education: An experimental evaluation in Colombia. *Journal of Public Economics*, 186, 104185. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2020.104185>
- Bartram, B. (2006). An examination of perceptions of parental influence on attitudes to language learning. *Educational Research*, 48(2), 211-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131880600732298>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological*, 57-71. <https://doi.org/10.1037/13620-004>
- Byrne, D. (2022). A worked example of Braun and Clarke's approach to reflexive thematic analysis. *Quality & quantity*, 56(3), 1391-1412. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-021-01182-y>

- Cheng, L., Yunus, M. M., & Mohamad, M. (2016). Issues contributing to low performance of English in a national school in Song, Sarawak. *Proceedings of the ICECRS*, 1(1), 499-510. <https://doi.org/10.21070/picecrs.v1i1.519>
- Coady, M. R. (2020). Rural English learner education: A review of research and call for a national agenda. *Educational Researcher*, 49(7), 524-532. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x20931505>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2018). *Research methods in education* (8th ed.). Routledge.
- Comer, J. P. (1984). Home-school relationships as they affect the academic success of children. *Education and Urban Society*, 16(3), 323-337. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124584016003006>
- Cross, F. L., Marchand, A. D., Medina, M., Villafuerte, A., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2019). Academic socialization, parental educational expectations, and academic self-efficacy among Latino adolescents. *Psychology in the Schools*, 56(4), 483-496. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22239>
- Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Hubby, G., Avery, A., & Sheikh, A. (2011). The case study approach. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 11(1), 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-11-100>
- Dizon-Ross, R. (2019). Parents' beliefs about their children's academic ability: Implications for educational investments. *American Economic Review*, 109(8), 2728-2765. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3348071>
- Eccles, J. S. (2005). Influences of parents' education on their children's educational attainments: The role of parent and child perceptions. *London Review of Education*, 3(3), 191-204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14748460500372309>
- Eccles, J. S., & Wigfield, A. (2020). From expectancy-value theory to situated expectancy-value theory: A developmental, social cognitive, and sociocultural perspective on motivation. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 61, 101859. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2020.101859>
- Francis, T. E., Hughes, D. L., Watford, J. A., & Way, N. (2021). Consistency is key: Understanding academic socialization among high-achieving Black boys. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 72, 101181. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2020.101181>
- Fredricks, J. A., Reschly, A. L., & Christenson, S. (2019). *Handbook of student engagement interventions: Working with disengaged students*. Academic Press.
- Ganapathy, M., & Ying, G. C. (2016). Attitude and motivation of students towards learning English as second language in a secondary school in Penang. *Malaysian Journal of Languages and Linguistics (MJLL)*, 5(2), 39-56. <https://doi.org/10.24200/mjll.vol5iss2pp39-56>
- Getie, A. S. (2020). Factors affecting the attitudes of students towards learning English as a foreign language. *Cogent Education*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186x.2020.1738184>

- Godina, H. (2004). Contradictory literacy practices of Mexican-background students: An ethnography from the rural Midwest. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 28(2), 153-180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2004.10162812>
- Goodall, J., & Montgomery, C. (2023). Parental involvement to parental engagement: A continuum. In J. Martin, M. Bowl, & G. Banks (Eds.), *Mapping the field* (pp. 158-169). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003403722-13>
- Henry, A., & Thorsen, C. (2020). Disaffection and agentic engagement: “Redesigning” activities to enable authentic self-expression. *Language Teaching Research*, 24(4), 456–475. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168818795976>
- Hornby, G., & Lafaele, R. (2011). Barriers to parental involvement in education: An explanatory model. *Educational Review*, 63(1), 37-52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2010.488049>
- Jacobs, J. E., Davis-Kean, P., Bleeker, M., Eccles, J. S., & Malanchuk, O. (2005). *I can, but I don't want to. The impact of parents, interests, and activities on gender differences in math*. In A. Gallagher & J. Kaufman (Eds.), *Gender difference in mathematics* (pp. 246-263). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511614446.013>
- Kornbluh, M. (2015). Combatting challenges to establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 12(4), 397–414. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2015.1021941>
- Krane, V., & Klevan, T. (2019). There are three of us: parents’ experiences of the importance of teacher-student relationships and parental involvement in upper secondary school. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 24(1), 74-84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2018.1464482>
- 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(3), 115–122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10459880903472876>
- Lougheed, J. P. (2019). Conflict dynamics and the transformation of the parent-adolescent relationship. In E. S. Kunnen, N. M. P. de Ruiter, B. F. Jeronimus, & M. A. E. van der Gaag (Eds.), *Psychosocial development in adolescence: Insights from the dynamic systems approach* (pp. 69–82). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Mapp, K. L. (2003). Having their say: Parents describe why and how they are engaged in their children's learning. *School Community Journal*, 13(1), 35-64. <https://www.adi.org/journal/ss03/mapp%2035-64.pdf>
- Mercer, S., & Dörnyei, Z. (2020). *Engaging language learners in contemporary classrooms*. Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, F. A., & Alvarado, K. (2005). Incorporating documents into qualitative nursing research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 37(4), 348-353. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1547-5069.2005.00060.x>
- Misbah, N. H., Mohamad, M., Yunus, M. M., & Ya’acob, A. (2017). Identifying the factors contributing to students’ difficulties in the English language learning. *Creative Education*, 08(13), 1999-2008. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ce.2017.813136>

- Muhammad, T., Tuan, H., Hamid, A., & Idrus, F. (2021). A correlational study of the English listening and speaking anxiety in rural areas. *English Language Teaching*, 14(2), 9-19. <https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v14n2p9>
- Mystkowska-Wiertelak, A. (2020). Teachers' accounts of learners' engagement and disaffection in the language classroom. *The Language Learning Journal*, 50(3), 393-405. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2020.1800067>
- Nguyen, T. H. H., & Nguyen, T. N. T. (2023). Parent-adolescent conflict: an exploration from the perspective of Vietnamese adolescents. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14, 1243494. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1243494>
- O'Connor, E. E., Holly, L. E., Chevalier, L. L., Pincus, D. B., & Langer, D. A. (2020). Parent and child emotion and distress responses associated with parental accommodation of child anxiety symptoms. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 76(7), 1390-1407. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.22941>
- Ovesen, J. H., Overgaard, C., & Petersen, K. S. (2023). Home-school collaboration for adolescents with poor wellbeing: A qualitative study of parents' experiences. *Nordic Studies in Education*, 43(4). <https://doi.org/10.23865/nse.v43.4050>
- Patton, M. (2001). Evaluation, knowledge management, best practices, and high quality lessons learned. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 22(3), 329-336. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s1098-2140\(01\)00147-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/s1098-2140(01)00147-3)
- Pham, C. (2016). Identifying sociocultural influences on high school students' motivation to learn English in rural areas in Vietnam. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 22(1), 5-20. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.154130382473427>
- Posey-Maddox, L., & Haley-Lock, A. (2020). One size does not fit all: Understanding parent engagement in the contexts of work, family, and public schooling. *Urban Education*, 55(5), 004208591666034. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916660348>
- Pringle, M. T. (2010). Giving voice to reluctant learners: An exploratory study (Doctoral thesis, University of Rochester, New York, USA). <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED519344>
- Rahman, H. A., Rajab, A., Wahab, S. R. A., Nor, F. M., Zakaria, W. Z. W., & Badli, M. A. (2017). Factors affecting motivation in language learning. *International Journal of Information and Education Technology*, 7(7), 543-547. <https://doi.org/10.18178/ijiet.2017.7.7.927>
- Rajamoney, D. P. (2021). The effectiveness of lesson study in an English language classroom for lower secondary schools. *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(7), 90-103. <https://www.tojqi.net/index.php/journal/article/view/1955>
- Renganathan, S. (2021). English language education in rural schools in Malaysia: A systematic review of research. *Educational Review*, 75(4), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2021.1931041>
- Robin, A. L., Koepke, T., & Nayar, M. (1986). Conceptualizing, assessing, and treating parent-adolescent conflict. In B. B. Lahey, & A. E. Kazdin (Eds.), *Advances in clinical child psychology* (pp. 87-124). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-9823-3_3
- Sanacore, J. (2008). Turning reluctant learners into inspired learners. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 82(1), 40-44. <https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.82.1.40-44>

- Sani, N. S., Rahman, M. A., Bakar, A. A., Sahran, S., & Sarim, H. M. (2018). Machine learning approach for bottom 40 percent households (B40) poverty classification. *International Journal on Advanced Science, Engineering and Information Technology*, 8(4-2), 1698. <https://doi.org/10.18517/ijaseit.8.4-2.6829>
- Schmid, E., & Garrels, V. (2021). Parental involvement and educational success among vulnerable students in vocational education and training. *Educational Research*, 63(4), 456–473. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2021.1988672>
- Shimshoni, Y., Shrinivasa, B., Cherian, A. V., & Lebowitz, E. R. (2019). Family accommodation in psychopathology: A synthesized review. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 61(Suppl 1), S93-S103. https://doi.org/10.4103/psychiatry.indianjpsychiatry_530_18
- Siddiqui, N., Dixon, P., & Gorard, S. (2023). Is parental awareness of children's academic potential a good predictor of children's learning outcomes in Early Year's settings? Findings from two provinces in Pakistan and India. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 8(1), 100651. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2023.100651>
- Simpkins, S. D., Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2012). Charting the Eccles' expectancy-value model from mothers' beliefs in childhood to youths' activities in adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 48(4), 1019-1032. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027468>
- Simpkins, S. D., Fredricks, J., Eccles, J. S., & Simpkins-Chaput, S. (2014). Families, schools, and developing achievement-related motivations and engagement. In S. D. Simpkins, J. Fredricks, J. S. Eccles, Sandra Simpkins-Chaput (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization* (pp. 665-691). The Guilford Press.
- Skinner, E. A., Kindermann, T. A., & Furrer, C. J. (2008). A motivational perspective on engagement and disaffection. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 69(3), 493-525. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164408323233>
- Sun, H., Ng, S. C., O'Brian, B. A., & Fritzsche, T. (2020). Child, family, and school factors in bilingual preschoolers' vocabulary development in heritage languages. *Journal of Child Language*, 47(4), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0305000919000904>
- Tieken, M. C. (2020). “We don't know how to do this”: Rural parents’ perspectives on and roles in enrolment at a private, selective liberal arts college. *Rural Sociology*, 85(3), 706-729.
- Trout, P. A. (1997). Disengaged students and the decline of academic standards. *Academic Questions*, 10(2), 46-56. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12129-997-1067-3>
- Tulagan, N., & Eccles, J. S. (2021). African-American mothers’ socialization strategies to address adolescent-related academic expectations and risk concerns. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 30(4), 855–869. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-01922-6>
- Wang, M. T., Henry, D. A., & Degol, J. L. (2020). A development-in-sociocultural-context perspective on the multiple pathways to youth's engagement in learning. In *Advances in motivation science*, 7, 113-160. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.adms.2019.11.001>
- White, K. R. (1982). The relation between socioeconomic status and academic achievement. *Psychological Bulletin*, 91(3), 461–481. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.91.3.461>

- Yamamoto, Y., & Holloway, S. D. (2010). Parental expectations and children's academic performance in sociocultural context. *Educational Psychology Review*, 22(3), 189-214. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-010-9121-z>
- Yee, J., & Su, A. (2020). Teaching reading in rural secondary schools in Sabah: A preliminary study. *Borneo Akademika*, 4(4), 59–69. <https://doi.org/10.24191/bav4i4/80758>
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and Methods* (Vol. 5). SAGE.
- Zhao, J., & Bodovski, K. (2020). The effect of family background and parental expectations on eighth graders' academic achievement in rural and urban China. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 15(4), 647-677. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-020-0030-8>
- Zulkefly, F., & Razali, A. B. (2019). Malaysian rural secondary school students' attitudes towards learning English as a second language. *International Journal of Instruction*, 12(1), 1141-1156. <https://doi.org/10.29333/iji.2019.12173a>

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Sample Guide for Interviewing Parents in the First Interview Round

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 1	RESEARCH QUESTION 1	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	INTERVIEW PROMPTS / PROBES
4. To explore rural parents' beliefs and justifications of those beliefs of the value of English proficiency for their child	4. What are rural parents' beliefs and justifications of those beliefs of the value of English proficiency for their child?	1. Do you use English? 2. Is it important to you that your child learns English? 3. Can you describe what happens when your child comes home from school each day? 4. Why do you think English language proficiency is important for your child? 5. Do you personally know of anyone - in your neighbourhood or in your family - who has a good command of English? 6. In family conversations, do you talk about how this person became good in English? 7. In family conversations, do you talk about how English has helped this person?	1a. Do you speak, listen, read, write in English? 2a. Why? 3a. Do you chat with your child? 3b. What do you chat about? 4a. How do they know this? 4c. Does your child agree with you? 4d. How does he/she show this? 5a. Who is this person? 5b. Is the person a success? 6a. What did this person do to become good in English? 7a. What is the effectiveness of this messaging?

Appendix 2. Home Observation Checklist

Home Environment Observation Checklist
--

Case	1	2	3	4
1. Organization of Home Areas				
a.	Study/homework Area			
b.	Reading Area			
c.	Bookshelves / Book Cupboards / Book Baskets			
d.	Lighting			
2. Reading Materials				
a.	Location			
b.	Language			
c.	Approximate Number			
3. Literacy Practices				
a.	Reading for Pleasure			
b.	Shared Reading			
c.	Watching Television Together			
d.	Others			
4. Television				
a.	Location			
b.	Preferred Language of Programmes			
c.	Viewing Hours Per Day			
5. Radio				
a.	Location			
b.	Preferred Language of Programmes			
c.	Listening Hours Per Day			
6. Interactions				
a.	Language(s) used (evidence of translanguaging)			
7. Distractions				

