
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MOSLEM SOCIETY

ISSN 2622-5840, Volume 3, 2019, Pages 413-423

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24090/icms.2019.2620>

Proceeding of 3rd International Conference on Empowering Moslem Society in the 4.0 Industry Era

The Participation of Parents in School Management: A Perspective of Inclusive Education

Nandi Mulyadi

State Institute on Islamic Studies Purwokerto, Indonesia
mulyadinandi73@gmail.com

Abstract: This paper is intended to describe the importance of inclusive education, school management that supports inclusive education by mobilizing the participation of parents, and school policies that can accommodate the implementation of inclusive education in schools. To achieve this purpose conducted a literature review and empirical experience is associated with the author. Inclusive education in Indonesia is not negotiable anymore to be implemented systematically, because of Indonesia as the world's largest multicultural country, which is more important is that inclusive education is essentially to provide equal education for all children. The implementation of inclusive education in schools can be run effectively and efficiently be supported by effective school management as well. One characteristic of effective school management is the active participation of various stakeholders, including the participation of parents. The participation of parents for their children's education both at home and at school was big contribution to the educational success of children. Similarly, to the success of inclusive education, it needs the active participation of parents. Therefore, schools need a policy that is able to evoke the participation of parents in the context of inclusive education. Some ideas include: school policies that ensure no children are marginalized or even drop out. To that end, the school's policy can be loaded: parental understanding of inclusive education, the services provided parents, parental understanding of school programs, the convenience of parents in participating, as well as contribute more opportunities for older people can afford. One program that can be selected is the "facilitation of child poverty-based parent". Parents who are able socio-economically understand, aware, and willing to support educational facilities for poor children who are effectively coordinated by the school with the school committee.

Keywords: *parent participation, school management, inclusive education*

A. Introduction

Education is a conscious effort in developing potential learners in order to have the abilities, skills, attitudes, and personality as well as a faithful and devoted to God the Almighty. As mandated in the Acts No. 20 year 2003 on National Education System, inclusive education is already a counter-claim to be met, cannot be

bargained anymore since Indonesia is the world's largest multicultural country. Inclusive education is not just reviewed and planned, but it is time to immediately be realized in Indonesia, either through formal, non-formal, or informal education. Formal education, school in this case, should be the pioneer of inclusive education. Similarly, informal and non-formal education are also

an educational path which must be reinforced to a successful inclusive education. Thus, equal education for all citizens as the main goal of inclusive education will be realized.

Especially in the sphere of schools, through inclusive education, the difference of individual students (in terms of ethnicity, culture, socio-economic background, intelligence, religion, etc.) is appreciated and relied upon a consideration of the school in delivering education services. Nevertheless, the empirical conditions in school shows that the majority of school principals, teachers, and school committee has not understood the real meaning of inclusive education yet. This is a tough task for the school, as it would have implications for school management and school needs to establish a good cooperation with stakeholders both internal and external.

The research conducted by Cotton and Wikelund concludes that the involvement of parents in children's learning positively correlated with children's learning achievement (Unal & Unal, 2010). It is also attested in the Vice President's Speech, Timpane, that education in school cannot be successful without the collaboration of the parents and the community. School needs a way to think about how parents help their children and how community involves in the school organization (Decker & Decker, 2003). The notion suggests that schools cannot work properly without the support of parents and the community. It shows how important the participation of parents in the education of their children is. Parents should actively participate in the academic and non-academic aspects of the students. It is the ideal demands that has not been optimized throughout the schools in Indonesia. The result of national survey provides an overview that the role of school citizens especially teachers and that of the community particularly the parents in the

school management are still very minimal (Depdiknas, 2007). In general, the participation of parents in the school management is more likely to be on the non-academic affairs (funds, personnel, facilities, etc.), especially for schools in villages or communities with low education background.

In relation to inclusive education, the participation of parents in the school management and education of their children become more complex in accordance with the dimensions of the inclusive education which are developed at the school. Therefore, schools should be able to intensively raise the participation of parents in the school management, either of which related to the academic or non-academic aspects in order to be able to accommodate the inclusive education in schools. For that purpose, this paper is attempted to discuss more about the participation of parents in the school management from the perspective of inclusive education. The discussion will be focused on: "How to raise the participation of parents and the implications on the school policies that ensure equal educational services for students with the optimal parents' participation?" The following description will consecutively explain: the notion of education for inclusive, foundation of inclusive education, the principles of the implementation of inclusive education, school management, the participation of parents in education, raising parents' participation, and its implications in the school policy.

B. Discussion

Definition of Inclusive Education

The definition of inclusive education is still arguable and does not have a rigorous conceptual focus, which could lead to some misunderstandings. In 1994, UNESCO stated that the inclusive school is the most effective way to fight the discriminatory approach and attitude towards students.

International Acts and policy then evolved to challenge exclusive practices and focused on equity and access to high quality education for all with respect for diversity.

The term inclusion derives from English which means open. There are a lot of interpretations related to the concept of inclusive education, ranging from moderate to radical. There are some people who perceive it as main streaming, but some are referring to as full inclusion, which means remove all special schools. Inclusion is, however, an education system for students who experience barriers in learning and is the actual involvement of every learner in the curriculum, environment, and the interactions that exist in school (Smith, 2012).

Inclusive school provides proper and qualified education, challenging but still relevant with the student's needs and ability. It is also a place that accepts all students and becomes part of the school (Direktorat Pendidikan Luar Biasa, 2004). Regulation of Ministry of National Education No. 70 year 2009 On Inclusive Education for Learners with Special Disorder and Intelligence Article clarifies that inclusive education is an education system that gives chances to all students with disorders and special intelligence or talent to join education in the same environment as the common students.

The definition can be understood that inclusive education is not only practical activity and practice of education, but it begins from the philosophy and mindset that give attention to, appreciate, and utilize the cultural difference among learners as the basic guide for education service relevant with their needs in order to create equal education. Inclusive education facilitates all students' education needs and interests in accordance with diversity in ethnic, race, culture, and other differences as an effort to achieve optimal learning achievement.

Philosophical, Juridical, and Empirical Foundation of Inclusive Education

Philosophically, the implementation of inclusive education refers to several things, they are: a) education is a fundamental right for every child, including children with special need (ABK), b) kid is a unique personal who has different characteristics, interests, abilities and needs, c) Organization of education becomes shared responsibility of parents, community, and government, d) every child is rightful to obtain proper education, e) every child is rightful to have education access in their environment.

Meanwhile, inclusive school is in juridical and empirically explained in: 1) Acts of National Education System No.20-year 2003, Article 5 verse (1): "Every citizen has equal right to obtain good education", verse 2: "Citizens with physical, emotional, mental, intellectual, and/or social disorder have right to obtain special education". 2) Acts of National Education System no. 20 year 2003 Article 6 verse 15: "Special education is education administration for students with disorder or special intelligence that is inclusively administered or special education unit in elementary and secondary education". 3) 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 31 Verse (1) "Every citizen is rightful to obtain proper education", verse (2) "Every citizen must accomplish elementary and secondary education and government must fund them". 4) Regulation of National Education No. 22 year 2006 about content standards for elementary and secondary education: "Content Standard for elementary and secondary education which is then called Content Standard covers minimal material and minimal competence to achieve graduates with minimal competence on certain type and level of education". 5) Regulation of National Education No. 23 year 2006 about Competence Standard of

Graduates (SKL), 6) Declaration of Human Rights 1948 Article 26 about right to obtain education, 7) Convention of Children Right 1989, 8) World convention about Education for All 1990, 9) UN Resolution No.48/49 year 1993 about equal chance for disabled people, and 10) Statement of Salamanca 1994 about inclusive education, Commitment of Dakar 2000 about education for all, Declaration of Bandung 2004 and recommendation of Bukittinggi 2005 about commitment of inclusive education.

The Implementation Principle of Inclusive Education at school

Practically at school, Baker provides a description of the components that must be considered in the implementation of inclusive education in schools. These components include all the components of school community, they are: (1) leadership and advisory, (2) policy and legality, (3) government boards, (4) central administration, and (5) school unit, involving community, parents, students and principality (Baker, 1994).

Basically, the inclusive education is developed to be able to accommodate cultural diversity shared by students in the group as well as individually, so that they gain an equivalent education. To better understand and deepen the concept of inclusive education, it is important to give attention to some of the basic principles in the implementation of inclusive education in schools. The principles of the inclusive education described by Baker in detail as follows.

1. Inclusive education is a process, so that the development of inclusive education is basically done in a prolonged period of time.
2. The development of inclusive approaches in education should be comprehensive and complete.

3. Inclusive education should be developed in conducive and supportive environment.
4. All participants in the school community should be involved in the development of inclusive education.
5. Training and education for staff, teachers, parents, and management are essential.
6. Inclusive education begins by considering in earnest about the background of the pupils involved in the process.
7. The learning component of inclusive education should be integrated carefully in the curriculum (Baker, 1994).

Those principles should be a guidance for the managers and education providers in schools within the framework of the implementation of inclusive education. In accordance with the first principle that the inclusive education is a process, it means that the implementation requires sufficient time until there is a change of culture on the managers, providers and the stakeholders

School Management

School management is effectively regulated in Government Regulation No. 19 year 2005 about National Standard of Education especially Standard of Education Management. In the standard of education management, it is confirmed that the implementation of elementary and secondary education should apply School Based Management (MBS) shown with independence, partnership, participation, openness, and accountability. MBS is a manifestation of decentralization of education management in education level. With MBS, schools are expected to be able to manage their own school systematically with wider autonomy in developing school relevant with the needs, condition and ability of the school. MBS enables school to work together with both internal and

external stakeholders. Management applied in MBS is participative management, thus the participation of all school citizens should be strong and maintained as a manifestation of productive and smart teamwork. If all school citizens are effectively participated, the school management will be opened and it enables work comfortability and the improvement of “self of belonging”. This condition will even give more self-confidence to show the school existence in the wider community.

Basically, MBS is further development of School-Based Quality Improvement Management (MPMBS) initiated since 1999 the improvement of school quality. The essence of MPMBS is autonomy, flexibility, and the improvement of participation, with functions decentralized to school covering: planning and evaluation; curriculum; manpower; facility; finance; students affair; relationship between school and community; and school climate (Depdiknas, 2002). In line with the essence, the approach used in the implementation of MPMBS is ideographic not nomothetic, it means that MPMBS appreciates diversity, uniqueness, and difference of every school. For the sake of successful management of this school, schools should have a close partner i.e. school committee which consists of parents, social figure, religious figure, and entrepreneur. School committee as school partner has four important roles i.e. advisor, supporter, controller, and mediator.

Based on the explanation about education management above, MBS or MPMBS is very relevant to accommodate school management in applying inclusive education. It is very applicable since the school development is adjusted with the school condition, school citizen, and school ability that is autonomously managed. Besides, MBS also cares about the importance of school citizen participation including school committee. Thus, MBS that

is correctly and seriously applied will be able to guarantee the survive of inclusive education at schools optimally.

The Participation of Parents in Education

The success of children's education is not only determined by the process of education in schools, the complete facility and human resources, but also by the conditions or environment of the family and community. Therefore, education is a shared responsibility among school, family and community (Depdiknas, 2007). In line with this view, the Vice President, Timpane, suggested that schools need a way to think about how parents and community can help their children in school. Therefore, a new perspective must be developed, namely: (1) education cannot be successful without the collaboration between parents and the society, (2) in the family should provide good examples, and (3) the community must be responsible for all development of children's needs (Decker & Decker, 2003). Another fact shows that the family environment, the way parents treat their children, is one of the way of how their participation in education can increase children's intellectual property (Depdiknas, 2007). The views and facts above show that parents have a big contribution in helping the success of children's education, even the family is the first and foremost place for children's education. Thus, parental participation is very important in children's education.

In progressive education affirms that community involvement in education should not be false participation, but it must be at integrated involvement with program activities or even school management (Freire, 1999). In a democratic way, the community is involved in schools for education. This is necessary, to be able to help in democratizing the existing power in schools, to recognize the rights of students and teachers, to reduce the personal power

of school principals, and to create new places of power, such as School Committee that play a role in decision making and roles consultation. Through the School Committee, parents can see the improvement of their children and get involved in school, and they can also build a sense of community ownership of the school and make it active in implementing education policies in schools.

Parent participation in children's education in developed countries is different from in developing countries. In developed countries, according to the Ministry of National Education, the school is created by the community, so the quality of the school is the center of their attention and they are always trying to be maintained (Depdiknas, 2007). It is because they have already believed that school is the best and convincing way to foster the development and growth of their children. Through the high belief in the ability of the school in building a good future for their children, it makes them actively and optimally participate in the planning, implementation and supervision of school management and implementation. It is supported by Richard Wolf in his research which concluded that there is a very significant correlation (0.80) between the family environment and children's learning achievement. In contrast, such high participation does not seem to have occurred in developing countries. Hoyneman and Loxley stated that in developing countries most families cannot help and direct student to learn effectively, so students in developing countries spend less time in learning. This is because many communities or parents do not understand their essential role in children's education.

In Indonesia, parental participation in their children's education is not optimal (Depdiknas, 2002). From a number of studies and analyzes from the Ministry of National Education, it was found that the

participation of school members, especially teachers and community, especially parents, was still very minimal. Parent participation generally tends to be non-academic in nature, almost all of their children's education responsibilities seem to be the responsibility of the school. Especially in rural areas, Made Pidarta explained that parents in rural areas with low socioeconomic status almost ignored schools and they fully put their children's education responsibilities to schools (Depdiknas, 2002).

There are several factors that influence parental participation in their children's education in school, including: parent's knowledge, economy, demography, psychology, region, teacher's attitude, and school climate. Some of the research results show the factors that influence parental participation in their children's education. Parents who lack sufficient knowledge about their children's education, they realize it, but can do nothing (Lazar & Slostad, 1999). Furthermore, some low-income parents are unable to actively involved in school and only trusting the school or teachers, while other parents tend to be more active in the school process (Lazar & Slostad, 1999). Wang (2008) study of family-school relationships in Chinese parents in America gives an indication that parents from villages have different relationship with schools compared to parents from cities in regard to children's education. This means that the community environment, in this case villages and cities, influences the relationship between parents and schools. Complementing Wang's research results, Velsor & Orozco was able to identify that low-income parents experience obstacles in participating in school related to demographic aspects, psychology, teacher attitudes, and school climate (Velsor & Orozco, 2007).

Parents Participation Mobilization

A program of increasing the success of schools in California, namely "School, Family, Community Connection" seeks to provide opportunities for families to participate in school activities through academic family evening programs for mathematics, science, literature, geography, and musical performances (Quezada, n.d.). Families also participate in training in order to help children in terms of academic material and personal development.

Some examples of parental participation in helping children's education at home, namely: (1) supervising/guiding children's learning habits at home, (2) guiding and supporting children's academic activities, (3) giving encouragement to research, discuss about ideas and/or events - actual events, and (4) direct children's academic aspirations and expectations (Depdiknas, 2007).

To mobilize parental participation, according to Epstein's (2009) identification, there are six school efforts schools should do to involve parents to participate in improving the school climate and student success, namely: parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making, and collaborating with community.

The following description tries to link the six activities with the implementation of inclusive education in schools. Parenting activities illustrate how school's efforts to improve understanding about child development. Schools should know "student families" to explore the needs and interests of students and parents. Each school is different in its types and steps, but what is important is that schools can help parents improve and strengthen their skills to understand their responsibilities to their children's growth and development. In the context of inclusive education, this activity is very relevant to an effort of understanding and providing education services for

children according to their needs and interests. The difference and uniqueness of each child will be appreciated and rewarded, so that education services from parents are more effective.

Communicating activities are an effort to improve two-way communication about school programs and student progress. This activity can improve understanding and cooperation between school and parents and see contact between teachers and parents in order to help students. From inclusive education perspective, information communicated from school to parents must be absolutely clear to all parents. Schools must be able to translate into languages and dialects that are understandable to parents can understand.

Volunteering activities move parents and others to share their rhythms and talents to help school activities, teachers and students. This activity strongly supports inclusive education in schools, because it can help teachers and schools guide child-specific skills and use school facilities like libraries, computer rooms, canteens, helping student sports activities, music, and competitions that students participate in.

Learning at home activities allow schools to convey information to parents about their students' academic performance in the classroom and how to help children do their homework. This information can be a guide for parents to help their children's practical skills, discuss their homework, and discuss some activities their children are doing. This will be very useful in building "continuities" of education services between schools and families. In the context of inclusive education, this "continuities" is very important.

Decision making encourages parents to participate in taking decisions related to school programs for their and students' benefits through forums or parent-student

organizations. In this case, parents have the opportunities to propose ideas and responses to improve their school. Thus, it is expected that the diversity of parents and students can be accommodated because schools get information, hopes, ideas, or parents' responses about their children's education in school. This condition is very relevant to the principle of implementing inclusive education, that all participants in the school community should be involved in the development of inclusive education.

Collaborating with the community activities are intended to enhance cooperation between schools, families, community groups, organizations, agents, individuals. This collaboration can be in the form of assistants from the community for schools, students, and families or educators, students, or vice versa. In the context of inclusive education, the involvement of parents in collaborative activities with the community will help to solve children's education problems both at school and at home, so that children can be served according to their needs and uniqueness.

Based on the description above, it can be implied that the participation of parents and family in school is very important and influences the success of children's education, because the family is the first and foremost socialization provider for children. One of the benefits of parent and family participation in school for children is providing a positive attitude towards learning, higher academic achievement, and higher aspirations. The six types of participation developed by Epstein et al. are relevant and very helpful to implement the five dimensions of inclusive education in schools, so that education services for children will be more effective and have equal opportunities to achieve.

In general, the parent participations mobilization activities can be grouped into two types of participation, namely: (1)

participation in the form of physical assistance, educational facilities, and funding, which can be categorized into structural participation; (2) participation in the form of non-physical which is usually to support children's academic process, such as giving motivation, awareness of study hours, which can be categorized into dynamic participation. Dynamic participation can be easily played by all parents, although the intensity and effectiveness vary. On the other hand, not necessarily all parents can do structural participation, because it is very influenced by the parents' socio-economic conditions.

The Implications of Parental Participation in the School Policy

Referring to the dimensions and principles of inclusive education, effective school management, the factors that influence parental participation, and raising parental participation, school policies are directed to optimize parental participation in school management so that the implementation of inclusive education can be effective. School policies regarding parental participation in the context of inclusive education in schools must be able to ensure that all students feel "at home" at studying in school and that no one feels treated differently or even fails in school or drops out. Some thoughts that can be alternative contents of the school policy, those are: parents' understanding of inclusive education, services provided by parents, parents' understanding of school programs, parents' comfort in participating, and giving more opportunities for high socio-economic parents to participate.

1. Increasing Parents' Understanding of the Meaning of Inclusive Education

To be able to implement inclusive education optimally, the first thing the school must do is to provide an actual understanding of the meaning of inclusive education to all those involved and participating in education (school citizens, school committees, parents

of students). In this case, the parents of the students must be an important part to be included in this effort. Therefore, parents can understand the condition of the students and can give more cares when the students learn at home. Parents' understanding of students' learning conditions at home is an important matter for schools in serving children's education in school. The equal understanding of the meaning of inclusive education among principals, teachers, parents, and school committees, will facilitate the implementation of inclusive education in schools well.

2. Shifting the Paradigm of the Parental Roles: from Being Reactive to School Problems into Serving Schools and Children More

In SBM (School Based Management), parents' reactive participation of their children's education at schools is not merely reactive in attending to school if there are problems. Moreover, parents are expected to provide more services to schools for their children's education. This means that parents are willing to give information to schools or to help schools in serving their children's education, because they realize that those information and assistance are very important for the education process in schools. However, some parents have not understood about it. This of course challenges the school, especially when implementing inclusive education which may be a relatively new thing for parents. Therefore, schools should communicate with parents or parents are encouraged to communicate with the school intensively.

3. Increasing Parents' Understanding of School Programs

Parents' understanding of school programs is very important because it can be a starting point for their participation in children's education. School programs should be delivered well with formulas and languages

that are easily understood by parents. The school program, including the implementation of inclusive education, which is well formulated and delivered to parents and easily understood by them, will have an impact on the parents' acceptance of the program. If parents understand and accept the school programs, afterwards the school will be easier to raise parental participation to realize inclusive education programs.

4. Creating the Comfort of Parents in Participating

Schools must strive for parents in participating at schools feel comfortable, being appreciated, being respected, having benefits, so that they will feel that their participation is indeed for the schools. This condition is very important, because it will increase parental participation in the implementation of inclusive education in schools. To create such conditions, it can begin with understanding the school programs together between the school and parents, taking agreement that the school programs become a joint responsibility, and taking each role in giving participations according to parents or schools abilities and proportions. In addition, the school and parents should be able to understand the diversity possessed by parents, students, teachers, school staff, and the conditions of the school community. Parents from less socio-economic backgrounds are not inferior in participating, otherwise parents from higher socio-economic backgrounds should be able to understand and appreciate it. This will be a strong foundation for mutual respect and appreciation for their differences in participation, which in turn will create pleasure for all parties.

5. Schools Provide More Opportunities for High Socio-economic Parents to Participate

The four thoughts above are more likely to build the atmosphere of schools and families based on inclusive education. After the atmosphere of inclusive education is realized, it needs to raise the concrete actions of parents that the benefits can be felt directly by children. This needs a school policy that is agreed upon by all components, namely: the principal, teacher, school committee, and parents. The problem that has emerged the most in Indonesia today is that students from low socio-economic family are not getting proper education, even though inclusive education has an educational mission "education for all" without any exception. This means that children from low socio-economic family must go to school and all their needs must be fulfilled. Meanwhile, BOS funds from the government (central, provincial, regional) have not been able to meet all the needs of students. Therefore, it would be no exaggeration if the school can mobilize participation from the community, especially high socio-economic parents to help meet the education costs of students from low socio-economic family.

C. Conclusion

Inclusive education in Indonesia is not negotiable anymore to be implemented systematically, because of Indonesia as the world's largest multicultural country, which is more important is that inclusive education is essentially to provide equal education for all children. The implementation of inclusive education in schools can be run effectively and efficiently be supported by effective school management as well. One characteristic of effective school management is the active participation of various stakeholders, including the participation of parents. The participation of parents for their children's education both at home and at school was big contribution to the educational success of children. Similarly, to the success of inclusive

education, it needs the active participation of parents. Therefore, schools need a policy that is able to evoke the participation of parents in the context of inclusive education. Some ideas include: school policies that ensure no children are marginalized or even drop out. To that end, the school's policy can be loaded: parental understanding of inclusive education, the services provided parents, parental understanding of school programs, the convenience of parents in participating, as well as contribute more opportunities for older people can afford. One program that can be selected is the "facilitation of child poverty-based parent". Parents who are able socio-economically understand, aware, and willing to support educational facilities for poor children who are effectively coordinated by the school with the school committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baker, G. C. (1994). *Planning and organizing for multicultural instruction* (2nd ed.). California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Decker, L. E., & Decker, V. A. (2003). *Home, school, and community partnerships*. Lan-ham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Depdiknas. (2002). *Manajemen peningkatan mutu berbasis sekolah: Konsep dasar*. Jakarta: Ditjen Dikdasmen.
- Depdiknas. (2007). *Pendidikan dan pelatihan: Manajemen hubungan sekolah dan masyarakat dalam pemberdayaan masyarakat*. Jakarta: Ditnaga Ditjen PMPTK.
- Direktorat Pendidikan Luar Biasa. (2004). *Mengenal Pendidikan Terpadu*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.
- Epstein. (2009). *School, family, and community partnerships: Your*

- handbook for action* (3rd ed.). A Sage Company: Corwin Press.
- Freire, P. (1999). *Education and community involvement*. In *Critical Education in The New Information Age*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Lazar, A., & Slostad, F. (1999). How to overcome obstacles to parent-teacher partnerships. *ProQuest Education Journals*, 72(4), 206.
- Quezada, R. L. (n.d.). Going for the gold! Field on effective home-school-community partnership programs. *The School Community Journal*.
- Smith, D. J. (2012). *Inklusi: Sekolah Ramah Untuk Semua*. Bandung: Nuansa,.
- Unal, Z., & Unal, A. (2010). Investigating the correlation between gender of the teacher and father's parental involvement in elementary classrooms. *Contemporary Issues in Educational Re- Search*, 3.
- Velsor, & Orozco. (2007). *Involving low-income parents in the school*. ASCA.
- Wang, D. (2008). Family-school relations as social capital: Chinese parents in the United States. *The School Community Journal*, 18(2).