

# Resilience Process of Economically Disadvantaged Households with School Children in COVID-19-Induced Remote Learning



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**ABSTRACT.** Resilience amid COVID-19-induced remote learning difficulties is disproportionate for disadvantaged families due to structural inequalities. This paper investigated the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households by examining how they mediate responses to the challenges in COVID-19-induced remote learning. Utilizing a case study research design, 15 purposely selected households from Naval, Biliran, with children enrolled in remote education and monthly income below the poverty threshold, were interviewed using an interview guide, and their narratives were thematically analyzed. Results revealed that households mobilized their available resources to minimize the difficulties in COVID-19-induced remote learning. However, in the process, risks are shifted to their consumption, productive work and livelihood, parents' health, and children's learning. In the end, the resilience process of households was characterized by the management of time and capital and unsustainability. This paper argues that increased

community and government support is needed for sustainable household implementation of remote learning.

## 1.0. Introduction

The current health crisis brought on by the novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) has placed individuals, families, communities, and many sectors in yet another battle for survival. Among the heavily affected is the education sector, wherein the threat of the virus has resulted in school closures (Teymori & Fardin, 2020) and disruption of class activities that subsequently undermined the academic achievement of students (Upoalkpajor & Upoalkpajor, 2020; Kuhfeld et al., 2020). More importantly, its impact has uncovered the vast disparity between the poor and the rich regarding access to quality education (Rolland, 2020; Pokhrel & Chhetri, 2021). It was revealed that under the present circumstances, students from economically disadvantaged households have lesser access to essential learning resources that are important for quality education (Jæger & Blaabæk, 2020).

Besides the challenges of continuing their children's education amidst the current crisis,

economically-disadvantaged households have to deal with the socioeconomic shocks brought by the pandemic. These include the disruption of their livelihood, loss of income, and hunger, among others (Josephson et al., 2020; Aneja & Ahuja, 2021). In the Philippine context, agriculture and ecotourism, two of the most productive sectors in the country before the pandemic, have also experienced a slowdown in economic activities; some Filipino workers and locals who depended on these sectors lost their livelihood, which subsequently undermined food security (Magcale-Macandog et al., 2021; Giap, 2020). Thus, studying how economically poor households cope-up with the challenges in the new normal of education other than the mentioned socioeconomic shocks is not only thought-provoking, but also imperative.

Regrettably, little research has investigated the resilience or coping mechanisms families use to help their children in distance learning, especially in the context of the present health crisis (Koskela et al., 2020; Ogurlu et al., 2020; Weaver & Swank, 2020). These studies provided a glimpse of the challenges and coping strategies that families- particularly parents- employed to

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support the needs of school children in remote learning. However, their findings were limited only to the context of developed countries. Data were also gathered using online forms, thus, limiting the responses to households with access to technology. Moreover, the study conducted by Seivwright et al. (2023) on the perspectives of socioeconomically disadvantaged parents on their children's coping during COVID-19 focused only on the coping strategies employed by their children to overcome COVID-19-related effects on their well-being and not specifically on remote learning difficulties.

With this, the experiences of economically disadvantaged families with students in remote learning must be captured since the nature and extent of their coping strategies vary from affluent households (Rolland, 2020). It was revealed that the pandemic significantly impacts poor households in rural communities (Huang, 2020), especially undermining their financial stability due to loss of livelihood and income (Kalil et al., 2020). This resulted in unequal access to resources enabling them to support their children in their education (Pokhrel & Chhetri, 2021). To investigate how their ways of life respond to this inherent inequality, there is a need to adopt a sociological point of view of resilience.

Estêvão et al. (2017) argued that resilience is a "process" by which ways of life, i.e., structural resources of the family and system of activities and lifestyle, particularly that of low-income families, mediate responses to socioeconomic stresses such as unemployment and hunger. This definition brings the concept of resilience as a social phenomenon by which society and the natural environment where one or a family belongs play an important role. The authors cited two significant dimensions of the resilience process; the mobilization of resources and the shifting of risks (Estêvão et al., 2017). The former means that embedded and existing resources of an individual or a collective are used to mitigate difficulties. In contrast, the latter means that strategies that target to address primary risks caused by external shocks result in the emergence of other risks in the resilience process or the substitution of an immediate risk by a secondary risk or a secondary risk to another during the lifetime of an individual, family, other persons, or social institutions.

This is where the unique notion of the resilience process from a sociological perspective comes out. The resilience process may be "good or bad," i.e., it may bring positive

life transformation or reinforce existing risks. Studies on the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households with students using a sociological perspective may provide knowledge on whether their resilience strategies are sustainable. It could also create grounds for social and local development policies targeting inequality in remote learning.

To address the gaps described above, this paper sought to examine the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households by examining the resources that they have mobilized to cope-up with the difficulties that they have experienced in COVID-19-induced remote learning and analyzing in the course of mobilizing these resources, which risks were shifted and to whom and finally characterize the resilience process of households. Results are essential to developing interventions to ensure inclusive and sustainable education amidst the pandemic.

## 2.0. Methodology

*Research Design.* The study utilized a case study research design, which allows an investigation of current occurrences or cases within their specific context, especially instances where the demarcation between phenomenon and context is vague (Yin, 1994). The case study is helpful in this research as it explored the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households with school children during COVID-19-induced remote learning. Specifically, this research investigated how the 15 economically disadvantaged or the so-called poorest of the poor households from a coastal barangay in the Municipality of Naval, Province of Biliran, mediate responses to the challenges in remote learning by studying the resources that they have mobilized to overcome these challenges, and analyzing how did the mobilization of these resources affect its members.

*Research Locale, Sampling, and Participants of the Study.* This case study was conducted in Barangay Sto. Niño, Naval, Biliran Province, with a population of 3 023 individuals (Philippine Statistics Authority [PSA], 2020a) and a household population of 616 (PhilAtlas, 2023). The poverty incidence of the barangay is 27.7 % (PSA, 2019), which made it an appropriate locale for the study. Data were gathered from fifteen (15) purposively sampled economically disadvantaged households which had (1.) child/children enrolled in remote learning and (2.) monthly household income of less than or equal to P 10,090, the average monthly poverty

threshold in the Province of Biliran (PSA, 2020b). The households were also on the list provided by the municipality of Naval as among the poorest households in the municipality. The researcher identified them with the assistance of a barangay health worker.

**Table 1.**  
The main livelihood of household-participants

Household	Main Livelihood
H1	Pedicab Driving
H2	Tricycle Driving
H3	Ice-cream Vendor
H4	Fishing
H5	Fishing
H6	Pedicab Driving
H7	Market Vendor
H8	Pedicab Driving
H9	Pedicab Driving
H10	Sikad-Sikad Driving
H11	Ice-cream Vendor
H12	Balut Vendor
H13	Pedicab Driving
H14	Construction worker
H15	Fishing

*Data Collection Techniques and Procedures.* Data and information were gathered through field observation and utilizing a semi-structured interview guide which was validated by professors of sociology and anthropology, rural development, and education. The participant's significant experiences were elicited through face-to-face in-depth interviews. With the participant's consent, all interviews were audiotaped using a cellular phone, and recordings were transcribed accurately after. In addition, the researcher invoked the data saturation principle, the most commonly deployed principle in qualitative studies, in deciding and justifying the sample size (Vasileiou et al., 2018).

*Data Analysis.* Qualitative data from the interview were transcribed verbatim after each interview and subsequently analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis of the data involved the following steps: (1.) familiarization of data, (2.) initial coding, (3.) generating themes, (4.) validity and reliability of themes, (5.) defining and naming themes, and (6.) interpretation and reporting. To establish validity,

the results were subjected to an audit trail which examined the study's generated themes and the research procedure undertaken to come up with the results (Tobin & Begley, 2004).

*Data Trustworthiness.* Tobin and Begley's (2004) constructs in establishing research rigor, such as transferability, reflexivity, and credibility, were observed in the conduct of the study. A third-party verification of data for its truthfulness and accuracy was done to ensure credibility. Likewise, a thick description was done to ensure research transferability. Moreover, the researcher's reflexivity was demonstrated by eliminating biases and remaining objective during the data-gathering process and in interpreting the results. *Ethical Considerations.* Following the standard ethical procedure, informed consent was first secured from the participants by signing the consent form during the data collection. The consent form contained preliminary information about the study, its benefits and risks, and the participant's right to decline and withdraw from the study. Participants were assigned codes (i.e., P1, P2, P3 ...) to maintain anonymity, and community health protocols were observed.

**3.0. Results**

The thematic analysis of the participants' narratives during the data-gathering process revealed the following themes: mobilization of social capital, mobilization of economic capital, mobilization of cultural capital, shifting of risks to household consumption, shifting of risks to productive household works and livelihood, shifting of risks to parents' health, shifting of risks to school children's learning, management of time and capitals, and unsustainability.

**Mobilization of Social Capital**

The theme highlights the institutionalized relationships and connections of households that helped them minimize their difficulties in remote learning, such as difficulties in accessing learning devices, answering the module, and financial sustenance. Households' kinship and neighborhood were identified as the valuable social capital of their resilience process, as this helped them overcome these challenges. In cases where the questions in the module were difficult to understand and answer, one household participant said:

Sometimes my nephew or niece helped teach difficult subjects we could no longer understand. (Participant 4, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

The household's kinship provides not only help in answering and understanding difficult questions and topics in the module. For some, their kinship also provides them with monetary or financial support amid the pandemic, especially when there are school projects that their finances cannot bear. Participant 5 shared:

The sibling of her aunt would finance her project; when we are in trouble financially, her grandmother also gives her money for her school project. (Participant 5, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

Households' relations to adjacent households within their community or neighborhood were also mobilized in dealing with modular-learning-related difficulties such as difficulty comprehending and answering questions in the module and access to learning devices.

When my daughter has something to search for, my child goes to our neighbor's house to borrow their cell phone so that she can do her research. (Participant 1, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

The significant statements reveal how vital family ties and connections with the neighborhood were in navigating remote learning. Indeed, whatever circumstance a family or household is in, familial and community relationships have always been in the limelight, especially for Filipinos, who are known for their strong family and community ties. Thus, despite the current health crisis, family members and the neighborhood still count on each other's support through resource sharing. This only implies that community relationships must be strengthened as it contributes to the welfare of its members.

### **Mobilization of Economic Capital**

Economic capital refers to assets of households that have value. Based on the analysis of interview transcripts, income, government subsidy, and credit were the economic capital used by households to support their school children and overcome difficulties in remote learning. All household participants said that they rely on their income to support the needs of their school children in remote learning. Income is mainly used to buy school supplies for their children's projects. In remote learning difficulties, income is also used to buy prepaid loads so that they can search on the internet for the answers to difficult questions and concepts in the module.

Moreover, in cases where a household could no longer answer the questions on their own, they use their income to pay somebody they asked to answer the module. One household participant confessed:

We may pay somebody because we can no longer answer the module on our own, so we ask somebody to answer it. The father would then ask, 'Where will you get the payment?' then I would answer, 'For the meantime, I will use your income.' (Participant 6, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

As the principal economic capital of any household, income has been used to support the needs and wants of individual members, buy their primary commodities, health care, and of course, support children's education. Moreover, the government subsidy popularly known as *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps)*, pertains to the monetary support accorded to qualified beneficiaries, particularly the poorest of the poor in the community. This government subsidy was used to support the family's basic needs, such as food and payment of other household expenses. For educational purposes, government subsidy was used to allocate money for their children's projects, especially in cases where households have difficulty sourcing educational expenses in their income. One participant reported:

4Ps has been a big help to us, especially for our children's studies and other needs. We are thankful that we are one of the 4Ps beneficiaries because it helps us in difficult times. (Participant 8, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

Other than household income and government subsidy, they also confessed that credit is another essential asset they have used to support their needs. As an economic capital, it is mobilized when the income and government subsidy of the household can no longer suffice their expenses. The credit helps households comply with their children's school projects for educational purposes. However, most of the time, credit is used whenever households fall short of their budget to buy their basic needs, especially food. One household said:

Sometimes if my husband has no income, we borrow at the store for our food. (Participant 1, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

As the pandemic disrupted the way of living of economically disadvantaged households, many of them were forced to borrow money to support their needs. While it is evident that credit as an economic capital plays an essential role in mitigating the financial shocks experienced by households amid the pandemic, interventions must be done to ensure that households do not fall into a debt trap, as it will surely add to the risks that they are already facing.

### **Mobilization of Cultural Capital**

In navigating remote learning, most of the household informants were amenable that their cultural capital played a significant role in mediating the difficulties of remote learning. Cultural capital exists as formal or informal knowledge, skills, tangible objects or materials, and institutionalized systems, values, or beliefs. A thorough analysis of the participant's responses revealed that they had mobilized their embodied and objectified cultural capital in overcoming the difficulties of COVID-19-induced remote learning.

Embodied cultural capital refers to the intellectual or skill endowments of household participants, which includes their background or prior knowledge of the subject matter and skills they got as a result of their schooling or training. Household informants as home tutors admittedly said that their reading, writing, and arithmetic knowledge helped them minimize the difficulties in remote learning and enabled them to support their school children in these aspects. One participant narrated that:

I am thankful that even though I only reached Grade 6, I have learned something that makes it not so difficult for me to teach my children. When helping them with their modules, I can understand them myself without asking for help from my neighbors. I can also read and speak a little bit of English. That is why I do not find it too difficult to teach my elementary children. (Participant 1, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

Moreover, personal knowledge helped them to comply with the learning modules despite

the unwillingness of their school children. Participants said that instead of forcing their children to answer, they would answer the module on their own to finish it. Participant 15 elaborated that:

I find it difficult to be the teacher of my child. He does not listen to me. I tell him to 'write this or that, but he does not listen and then walks away. It is draining to follow up with him every time. That is why I write the answers myself because it is difficult. It makes me angry if he does not listen. (Participant 15, personal communication, February 26, 2022)

Moreover, objectified cultural capital in this study refers to tangible objects, such as cell phones, books, etc., that households use in remote learning. Households use objectified cultural capital to overcome difficulties in understanding and answering their modules, especially when they have no or little knowledge about the lesson. When this happens, some participants use their smartphones or go to computer shops to search for the lesson or the module's answers. Also, objectified cultural capital like smartphones was used to communicate to other parents or relatives about the module or to know updates and seek assistance from their children's teachers. Participant 2 shared:

We include pre-paid load in our budget because we rely on smartphones to search in Google for answers to some module questions. (Participant 2, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

Indeed, objectified cultural capital, especially learning devices, would enable learners to access relevant information or lessons that their parents, siblings, and the other connections of their households could not provide. However, lack of educational attainment is one of the barriers to active parental engagement or involvement in school and children's education. This means that school children from households with uneducated parents are disadvantaged, especially in the current remote learning modality, as their parents could not guide them in learning their modules. This is evident in one of the household participants of the present study, who confessed to being uneducated. When H9 was asked about her role in the modular learning of her child, she responded:

Nothing, I only tell him to get his modules since I do not know how to teach. When his teacher distributes the modules, I tell my child to get them, and he answers them on his own. (Participant 9, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

The situation of P9 shows that households with uneducated parents are disadvantaged in the current remote learning modality. Moreover, it is blatant evidence that the pandemic has indirectly widened the gap in the access to quality education between school children with access and without access to capitals or resources.

### **Shifting of risks to household consumption, productive household works, and livelihood**

As previously discussed, household participants said they rely on their income, government subsidy, and credit as economic capital to support their school children's needs in remote learning. However, they admitted that there are instances wherein their economic capitals are not sufficient enough to cover the expenses of their school children, especially if there are school projects that need to be submitted, or they have to buy the load or go to the internet shop to search the answers to the difficult questions in their module. When any of these happen, some household participants reported that they are forced to cut short their consumption to comply with the school project or buy load so that their children could answer the difficult questions in the module. For example, Participant 11 said:

It is another deduction in our budget. For example, instead of buying chicken as our food for the whole day, we buy dried fish or vegetables instead because our extra money goes to the school project of our children. The important thing is that we could still buy the rice we eat. (Participant 11, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

With households prioritizing their children's education, the risk was shifted to sustaining their other essential needs. Participants also confessed that household chores and their livelihood were delayed or left unattended most of the time as they prioritized the module of their children. Participant 2 shared that:

There is a little hustle in work because instead of doing household chores, like doing the laundry, cleaning, and other chores, if the module is difficult to answer, I have to stop working on my household chores and help my child because it needs to be submitted. So, if I focus on the module, I cannot wash the laundry. (Participant 2, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

Thus, sometimes some of them are forced to extend their time at night to accomplish their unfinished work at daytime, making them overworked. This then leads to a shifting of risk to their health and well-being.

### **Shifting of risks to parents' health**

The multiple responsibilities that parents have to juggle every time make them overworked, thus taking a toll on their health and well-being. Participants mentioned that because of the many responsibilities that they have to attend to, they could rarely take rest, causing them stress and, for some, triggering their existing medical conditions such as asthma, high blood, etc. A participant narrated that:

When we have modules, I no longer have time to rest because even at night, I still work. I sometimes finish my work at midnight and sleep at 1 in the morning to finish my laundry. So, I transfer my daytime chores at night because, during the daytime, I have to help my children with their modules. Because of that, I could only sleep for a few hours at night after washing the laundry and filling the jug with water. The important thing is I could finish my work. So that is how I work; household chores are transferred at night because I have to help my children in the daytime. (Participant 6, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

Clearly, with the multiple roles that parents have to play in the remote learning modality, it is unavoidable that parents experience stress, depression, and other health issues as they assist their children in remote learning. This result suggested that it is indeed over-reliance on parents in implementing remote learning, which compromises their health and well-being.

### Shifting of risks to school children's learning

In the section which discussed the mobilization of capital (social, economic, and cultural) to overcome or mitigate the difficulties of remote learning, it was shared by some of the household participants stated that whenever they could not convince their schoolchildren to answer the module, they depended on their knowledge or skills (embodied cultural capital), to answer the module of their children.

Looking at it, the immediate risk that parents would like to address is that if their children would not answer the module, they might not be able to submit it on time, so they resort to answering it on their own. Moreover, some parents would also like to get the module done as soon as possible so that they could also work on their other household chores. However, in the situations above, the risk is shifted to their children's learning in the modular learning modality. Two participants narrated their experience and said:

It is tough. My children do not learn. Honestly, I am the one who is learning because whenever my niece teaches my son, she would say, 'Tita, Elmer is not answering. That is why it is very difficult if it will always be modular because it is my niece who is learning or me. I answered their module myself because I wanted to finish my work faster. (Participant 2, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

There is no effect on him because he is not learning from the module because somebody is answering it for him. (Participant 12, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

This theme showed that while mobilization of capital among households-participants is sustaining their participation in remote learning, it is evident that the risks are shifted to other household members or a new risk is shifted, affecting the children. Thus, school and home collaboration are needed in remote learning to ensure that no one is left behind in complying with school requirements and achieving learning outcomes.

### Management of Time and Capitals

The resilience process of economically-disadvantaged households is also characterized by the management of time and capital. This means that households strategize to allocate or

budget their time for helping their children in modular learning and doing other tasks. Their individual capital, especially economic and social capital, was also managed and used to sustain their support for the needs of their children in remote learning and sustain their other needs. For example, Participant 8 shared that:

I have a schedule for them. For example, I teach them today, and then I do not teach them the following day, only the day after. I teach them every other day because my other tasks will be left behind unattended if I teach them every day. (Participant 8, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

In managing their financial resources, a participant said that:

When we receive our 4Ps (government subsidy), we allocate the money to buy the things they need at school and then rice. (Participant 4, personal communication, February 19, 2022)

In the present study, parents complained about their limited time and capital. Nevertheless, as evident in their statements above, they have tried to manage their available time and resources sufficiently to meet at least the very minimum of their children's needs in modular learning. Although this practice or strategy of parents is good, it should not be romanticized considering that, as noted in the previous theme, shifting of risks, the numerous tasks that parents or guardians have to deal with made them overworked and thus shifting the risk to their health and well-being. Moreover, in some cases, as mentioned in the previous theme, household participants confessed that they were sometimes forced to sacrifice their consumption to levy funds for their children's educational needs.

### Unsustainability

Unsustainability means that in the participants' perspective, their resilience process, mainly their social, economic, and cultural capitals was insufficient if the present modality will be implemented in the long run and if the present pandemic continues to disrupt their livelihood. Participant 8 shared:

It is not enough. It is very difficult. We will fall into debt if we do not receive the 4Ps. We could no longer sustain ourselves because of the

difficulty in our livelihood, and we only have little income. (Participant 8, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

Participants also admittedly said that in the present remote learning modality, their children are not learning well due to the children's lack of interest, parents' insufficiency of knowledge to teach their children, lack or absence of learning devices, and lack of support. A participant lamented:

It won't be easy if modular learning lasts because other children will depend on others to answer their modules. So, what do they learn? Nothing. It would be better if they were at school, at least somebody who would teach them daily for them to learn. (Participant 7, personal communication, February 20, 2022)

With the inability of less educated parents to continually support or teach their children in remote learning, coupled with the limited access to educational resources and income, the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households is indeed unsustainable. If this situation is not mitigated, academic gaps between privileged and disadvantaged households will surely be the government's biggest challenge in the following school years.

#### 4.0. Discussion

This case study investigated the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households by examining how they mediate responses to the challenges in COVID-19-induced remote learning by examining the resources that they have mobilized to cope-up with the difficulties that they have experienced in COVID-19-induced remote learning and analyzing the course of mobilizing these resources, which risks were shifted and to whom and finally characterize the resilience process of households. From a sociological and policy standpoint, resilience is a process in which ways of life, i.e., structural resources of the family and system of activities and lifestyle, particularly that of low-income families, mediate responses to socioeconomic stresses (Estêvão et al., 2017). The participants' narratives and experiences revealed that the households' social, economic, and cultural capitals played an important role in adapting to and mitigating the difficulties they have experienced in COVID-19-induced remote

learning.

The availability of social networks in the form of their kinship or familial ties and neighborhood, for example, was essential for economically disadvantaged households as they count on each other's support through resource sharing. As Kutsoati and Morck (2014) pointed out, for some low-income families, their kinship or lineage helps pay for their children's education and provides safety nets in their household undertakings. Patacchini and Zenou (2011) also said that while educated family members are helpful for children, the community or neighborhood plays a vital role for households with less-educated parents. Moreover, it has been noted that in times of disasters and crises, informal sharing of resources within the households' networks or neighborhoods would become more prevalent to support their individual needs (Islam & Nguyen, 2018). However, it is essential to take note that the type of support and resource that the social networks of the household could offer depends as well on their characteristics (Angelucci et al., 2010); thus, economically disadvantaged households with family ties who are not that affluent would receive minimal support from them.

Economic capitals in the form of income, government subsidy, and credit are also significant adaptability enablers in times of crisis. The study conducted by De and Ratha (2012) showed that the availability of sufficient financial assets is essential as these are used to secure and accumulate resources needed for children's education. This is corroborated by Cooper and Stewart (2021), who also said that household economic assets such as income have a causal effect on children's educational outcomes. For economically-disadvantaged households, the availability of government social services such as the *Pantawin Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps)* is also an essential source of economic capital that somehow ease their burden in supporting the needs of the family, especially in sending their children to schools. Montilla et al. (2015) and Balacuit Jr. (2018), in their studies on the impact of the 4Ps on the education of pupils, noted that the said government subsidy has a significant effect on the education of pupils as the provision of the government subsidy helped to provide them school supplies, and satisfying meals which in turn motivated them to attend classes. Moreover, in rural areas in the Philippines, informal transactions of poor households in borrowing money are for consumption and educational purposes (Fafchamps & Lund, 2003).



In the remote learning modality, the house becomes the classroom, and parents play an important role as teachers to their children (Ecang & Petalla, 2022). Thus, the availability of embodied and objectified cultural capital to support children's learning is paramount. Hossain (2021), in his study, said that parents' high educational attainment benefitted school children in remote learning as more informational resources are being made available. Parents helping and supervising their children learn how to write and read or understand their assignments greatly influence their success (Puspita, 2021). However, school children from households with uneducated parents are in a disadvantaged position, especially in the current remote learning modality, since lack of educational attainment is one of the barriers to active parental engagement or involvement in school and children's education (Bæck, 2010; Lee & Bowen, 2006). Carstens et al. (2021) also noted that students become more engaged with the availability of technology or devices for education. The availability of learning devices also enhances learning opportunities and allows for student comfort (Ecang & Petalla, 2022).

Nevertheless, resilience process sometimes leads to shifting risks (Estêvão et al., 2017). Shifting of risks draws inspiration from Luhmann's (1993) notion of "strategic distribution of risk." Shifting of risks means a replacement of an immediate or primary risk with a secondary risk (Estêvão et al., 2017). In this study, direct or immediate risks for households in modular learning include children failing to pass or continue studying in modular learning, children unable to pass modules on time, and children unable to answer the modules correctly. To avoid or lessen the effects of these risks, households mobilized their capital, as discussed in the previous sections, and reconfigured their ways of living to adopt. But to what cost? Results revealed that risks are shifted to household consumption, productive work and livelihood, parents' health, and children's learning.

With the heightened economic impact of the pandemic on the livelihood and income of households (Kalil et al., 2020; Howes et al., 2020), households are forced to budget their income to support the needs of their school children as well as the basic needs of their family. Thus, the expenditures of the households were also affected (Bundervoet et al., 2022). With this, the risk is shifted to sustaining their other essential needs. Moreover, while the hands-on engagement of parents has helped their children

in remote learning, the risks are shifted to their productivity in doing their household chores and livelihood (Ogurlu et al., 2020; Dealagdon, 2021). Thus, sometimes some of them are forced to extend their time at night to accomplish their unfinished work at daytime, making them overworked.

Furthermore, parents also felt swamped, overwhelmed, and stressed as they adjust and adapt to homeschooling due to their difficulty balancing many responsibilities at home and work (Timmons et al., 2021; Agaton & Cueto, 2021; Ogurlu et al., 2020). This result suggested that there is indeed over-reliance on parents in implementing remote learning, which compromises their health and well-being. More significantly, some coping strategies households adopt in remote learning, and their socioeconomic condition have caused learning losses among school children (Bundervoet et al., 2022).

Previous studies have also revealed that managing time and resources are among the difficulties parents experience in navigating the remote learning modality. Ogurlu et al. (2020) found that parents with school children had difficulty balancing responsibilities, managing learner motivation, and achieving learning outcomes. A similar observation was revealed in the study of Weaver and Swank (2020), which reported dissatisfaction with parents' work-family balance in the remote learning modality. The study conducted by Anoda (2022) and Amora (2022) also noted that to cope with the many responsibilities in remote learning, students, teachers, and parents adopted time management strategies.

It is also significant to consider that household participants believe that their children are not learning in the current remote learning modality due to the lack of interest of their children, insufficiency of their knowledge to teach their children, lack or absence of learning devices, and lack of support. Recent studies have identified these results as barriers to efficient and sustainable participation of households in remote learning. Talimodao and Madrigal (2021) and Abuhammad (2020) explained that parents could not assist or teach their children with difficult lessons and handling educational devices due to their incapacity. With the absence of support from parents, the learning achievement gap may widen and escalate in low-income households (Hossain, 2021).

It is also evident, based on the results of this study, that financial barriers, specifically

the inability to buy educational devices and pay for internet services, hinder their sustainable participation in remote learning (Abuhammad, 2020). This result mirrors the experience of parents in another study wherein they shared that financial difficulties during the lockdown and the availability of technology are among their struggles in remote learning (Agaton & Cueto, 2021). With the inability of less educated parents to continually support or teach their children in remote learning, coupled with the limited access to educational resources and income, the resilience process of economically disadvantaged households is indeed unsustainable. Thus, there is a need for the government, and interested non-government organizations, to intervene and initiate programs to address the said gaps.

### 5.0. Conclusion

The present study's findings showed that in response to the difficulties that economically disadvantaged households had encountered in COVID-19-induced remote learning, household participants mobilized their available social, economic, and cultural capital. However, it could also be noted that in the process of mobilizing the capital by the household participants, risks are shifted to the other household members, especially to the parents, the quality of learning of their children, and household consumption. Moreover, another significant result of this study was that the existing capitals of the households were insufficient if the current learning modality was implemented longer. Thus, increased community and government support is needed for sustainable household implementation of remote learning.

### 6.0. Limitations of the Findings

There are several limitations of the present study. Firstly, it employed a qualitative approach and case study research design, implying that its results may not be applicable or transferrable to other communities. Secondly, the narratives presented by the participants might be unique only to their particular contexts; thus, the study's findings might not reflect the experience of other economically-disadvantaged households living in urban areas or cities. Moreover, only the parents' narratives were captured in the study. It may also be necessary to solicit the perspectives of the school children's teachers and other key stakeholders to draw out a more holistic analysis on the resilience process of disadvantaged households.

### 7.0. Directions for Future Research

Given the results of the present study, further research employing both quantitative and qualitative research methods is needed to come up with generalizable findings on the resilience process of households in COVID-19-induced remote learning. Future research participants may also include the teachers of school children and other key community stakeholders to capture the holistic picture of the households' resilience process. There is also a need to conduct a similar study in another context, such as in urban areas, to compare and validate the results of the present study. Finally, a longitudinal study may be conducted to track the transformations or long-term impact of the household's resilience process on their ways of life over time.

### 8.0. Declaration of Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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