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Parentification Experiences of Filipino Young Professional Daughters During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	ABSTRACT
	Parentification refers to parent-child role reversal wherein the child adopts the parent's role instrumentally or emotionally. This role reversal practice between the parent and the child is not uncommon in certain cultures. The cultural dynamics and familial obligations at play have positive and negative outlooks with varying effects. This study focused on the effects of instrumental parentification experiences on psychological resilience and interpersonal relationships among selected Filipino young professional daughters during the COVID-19 pandemic. Using purposive sampling, 19 Filipino young professional daughters from Metro Manila, Philippines, were selected for the study. Online interviews were conducted and thematic analysis was employed to process the data. Findings showed that most of the daughters, with "utang na loob" (indebtedness) value system, wholeheartedly accepted instrumental parentification. Thus, more tasks and responsibilities were shouldered by them due to the COVID-19 lockdown wherein older parents need to stay at home due to the fear of contracting the disease. Almost all shared that the COVID-19 pandemic tested their parent-child relationship. A few expressed that it made them let go of personal growth opportunities and experienced problems with their parents' relationship, given the uncertainties brought by the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, they shared that they could not leave their ageing parents in this time of COVID-19 pandemic and that with proper balancing of tasks and responsibilities at home and at work, parentification made them to become more self-reliant, mature faster, and responsible daughters.

1. Introduction

Parentification refers to the condition wherein the child is forced to become an informal caregiver and equalizer in the family dynamics. During its first use in 1973 by Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark, the term *"parentification"* was used to describe an occurrence in relationships where parental characteristics were projected onto an individual. Typically, parents or caregivers cannot fully uphold their parents' tasks and duties (Haxhe, 2016). Consequently, the child takes on their parents' duties and expected responsibilities (Borchet et al., 2018).

The phenomenon of parentification is subjective and differs from person to person. However, it can be categorized relative to a child's responsibilities, tasks, and roles. There are two types of parentification, namely 1. instrumental and 2. emotional. Instrumental parentification occurs when children are assigned to perform functional duties such as household chores (e.g., cooking or cleaning) and handling finances (e.g., paying household bills). It is more practical than emotional parentification, wherein children must provide emotional support to parents without expecting reciprocation (Stevens, 2015; Borchet & Lewandowska-Walter, 2017).

Research has suggested that parentification impacts the child differently depending on their experiences. Some studies indicated that the phenomenon is often harmful and traumatic. In a study done by Nako, parentification is viewed as a form of child neglect. It can hinder child development by taking away the necessities and experiences needed for their maturity and growth as they take on their parents' tasks and duties (Nako, 2015). The phenomenon can also negatively impact interpersonal relationships by demanding the child to dedicate their time as a caretaker instead of forming meaningful bonds (Andsager, 2015). Parentification, therefore, is found to have lowered one's competence in developing interpersonal relations and incites socializing difficulties (Borchet et al., 2020; Van Parys et al., 2015; Van Loon et al., 2014). Limited interaction with peers leaves them isolated by restricting social support (Andsager, 2015; Preciado, 2020; Van der Mijl & Vingerhoets, 2017). Notably, this social restriction can lead to anger and resentment towards parents. At times, this could also be directed to siblings and other individuals (Hooper, 2017).

Other studies indicate that parentification could lead to more significant interpersonal relationships and strong family cohesion when moderated. For example, providing emotional support to their parents puts the child in a better position to understand other people (Krausz, 2008). Several studies show that parentification contributes to psychological resilience development (Wasilewska & Kuleta, 2016). Psychological resilience refers to an individual's ability to overcome and recover from adversity (Sisto et al., 2019). Through these experiences, individuals can increase potential and generate good competency skills such as self-management and goal-directed behavior (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Hooper, 2017; Sikorska, 2014; Boumans & Dormant, 2018). Individuation or self-differentiation may also result from this phenomenon once the child develops a sense of autonomy from managing the role reversal. Essentially, balancing duties builds their psychological resilience when forced to adapt and overcome challenges (Bowen, 1993).

Parentification is influenced by numerous factors such as gender (Hooper et al., 2015) and sibling rank (Whiteman et al., 2011; Cooper et al., 1993). Gender, in particular, has a pattern for influencing this experience in which women shoulder more caregiving responsibilities and perform more housework than men (Horne et al., 2017; Cultural Atlas, 2020). In the Philippines, women are often perceived through tradition as a household's primary caretaker. Statistics show that household chores are done by women three to six times more than men (Oxfam in Philippines, 2019). Additionally, there is an emphasis on sibling rank. Often, the eldest takes on a parental figure for younger siblings (Horne et al., 2017).

Studies found that there are as many as 1.4 million parentified children across the United States (Hooper, 2017). In the Philippines, instrumental parentification is a likely occurrence in Filipino households as all children are – culturally – expected to have a set of responsibilities that are accomplished out of gratitude towards their parents (Oxfam in Philippines, 2019; Lam & Yeoh, 2018). This instrumental parentification phenomenon is even more visible during the COVID-19 pandemic, with lockdowns and strict quarantine protocols in place. Public transportations and establishments operate in a limited capacity, and children and elders are ordered to stay home. At the age of 60, parents who are highly vulnerable to COVID-19 are forced to stay home to protect themselves (Parrocha, 2020). Hence, the children need to take on their parents' usual tasks and duties. Thus, an increasing trend in home responsibilities as ageing parents have limited mobility (Parrocha, 2020).

This study aims to describe Filipino young professional daughters' instrumental parentification experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic. While most studies focus on parentified characteristics developed in childhood, this study centers on the repercussions of the phenomenon occurring in adulthood. In particular, the effects of parentification on the child's interpersonal relationships and psychological resilience are analyzed. The research is significant due to the context of the observed *"lived experiences"* occurring within the pandemic, making it the first of its kind aside from being a phenomenological study specific to the Philippines. It has the potential to incite action on this phenomenon in addition to contributing to the available literature on this topic and informing general audiences, parentified individuals, and their parents of its implications and consequences.

2. Literature Review
2.1 Parentification Experiences (Definition, Types and Domains)
The phenomenon of parentification is generally divided into two types – instrumental parentification and emotional parentification. The latter pertains to the child being available to all the family's emotional needs. However, the child's emotional needs are not addressed as they serve as the emotional pillar of the family (Stevens, 2015; Borchet & Lewandowska-Walter, 2017; Owsley, 2019). In contrast, instrumental parentification refers to the child taking care of the living conditions of the family unit such as the upkeep of the house itself (Bobis et al., 2018). Generally, the instrumentally parentified child excessively takes on the role of maintaining the household and distinguishes it from emotional parentification. As per Borchet et al. (2016), both emotional and instrumental parentification may affect different families with children in various phases of their development cycle spanning from childhood to adulthood (e.g., adolescents or young adults) (Borchet & Lewandowska-Walter, 2016). Which, in turn, further diversifies the parentification experience.

Furthermore, the parentification experience differs from one person to another, depending on the family's circumstances relinquishing their parental role to their child. The parent's abdication of their role commonly happens in the following: (a) substance use and dependence, (b) environment or contextual factors (e.g., military culture, poverty) and (c) serious medical condition, (d) guardian's poor parenting skills conditions (Cho & Lee, 2019). Indeed, parentification's positive or negative effects depend on whom the parentification is oriented towards either the parent or the sibling and the nature of those relationships (Burton et al., 2018). In the case that parentification becomes detrimental to the child, it causes the child to develop a strong inclination to take on various caregiving responsibilities. Consequently, this results in a paradigm of prioritizing their role as caregivers over other duties.

Relegating them into a caregiving role at a young age can convert to long-term caregiving roles, transcending their age and maturity level (Boumans & Dorant, 2018). On the contrary, Borchet et al. (2020) argued that parentification experience increases the child's sense of maturity, self-resilience, empathy, and social understanding (Borchet et al., 2020). The benefits and consequences of parentification depend on age appropriateness and cultural and familial context (Cho & Lee, 2019). Overall, the parentification experience depends on numerous internal and external factors and circumstances to determine its effect on the parentified child. The different circumstances and family dynamics impact the child's positive or negative perception of their parentification experience.

Parentification drastically changes the family dynamics. Thus, the children are put into a role that they are unequipped to hold. The family dynamics implemented by the parents cause their child to adjust to the new responsibility. Hence, this phenomenon can be perceived as a kind of triangulation (Ostrowski et al., 2016). The child moves from the child subsystem to the parent subsystem. The family then crosses the child's responsibilities to more caregiving obligations creating various positive and negative consequences. Simultaneously, the parent-role reversal process is bidirectional, meaning both the parents and the children influence their roles within the family (Myers-Bowman & Jurich, 2015).

2.2 The Factors Influencing Parentification Experience (definition, Types and Domains)
Parentification has multiple causes that lead to an individual experiencing the burden of reversed parental roles. Researches state that some of the factors that influence a person's parentification experience are: parental inability (Haxhe, 2016), gender and gender expectations (Lam & Yeoh, 2018; Zarczyńska-Hyla, et al. 2019)., sibling rank and dynamic (Hooper et al. 2012; Lansford, 2016), family and culture (Whiteman et al., 2011; Cooper et al, 1993). These factors can influence the individual to partake in the role reversal — voluntarily or involuntarily — to compensate for parental deficits.

For a family to function sufficiently, it is necessary to sustain homeostasis. Consequently, parentification is most commonly found within dysfunctional family systems. According to Haxhe (2016), it is frequent that parents are debilitated, typically for physical, emotional, or economic reasons. Hence, they rely on their child to handle such issues and meet the family's requirements. Moreover, research demonstrates that routines and workload of the family are imperative in deciding the parent's availability (Weisner et al., 1977).

There have been patterns within research wherein gender plays a role in influencing the parentification experiences. The tasks, roles, and responsibilities of the individual undergoing role reversal differed based on gender (Williams, 2016). Notably, a significant body of studies suggests that women's role reversals are experienced more than men (Wayne, 2015; Nuckolls, 1993). A study conducted by Horne et al. (2017) found that women performed more housework in a household labour division than men of all ages. Furthermore, women worldwide shoulder greater caregiving responsibilities (Chen et al., 2017).

To put into context with the Philippines as an example, Oxfam's survey in the Philippines (2019) in Eastern Visayas and Mindanao revealed that women spend an average of 4.5 to 6.5 hours of household chores, three to six times longer than men. Moreover, Felizco (2019), the director of Oxfam's survey, discovered that women disproportionately are burdened with unpaid house labor (e.g., chores or caretaking for family members). According to Lam and Yeoh (2018), this is due to the gendered division of labor — women (especially those in the Philippines or Indonesia) are traditionally regarded as the household's primary caretakers. Therefore, based on the sources, women are most likely to be parentified as they are burdened with the responsibility and duty of fulfilling household labor.

Sibling rank and dynamic also affects the parentifications experience. More research shows that older siblings acted as role models for younger siblings while younger siblings engaged in learning and imitation (Whiteman et al., 2011). Furthermore, in South and Southeast Asian sibling relationships, caretaking is significant, and respect for the oldest sibling is given more importance (Nuckolls, 1993). According to Maynard (2004), sibling roles are most likely distinctly defined. Older siblings are

attributed to a higher status, and expected to contribute to their younger siblings (Zukow-Goldring, 2002). A common example would be schoolwork obligations.

The familial duties and responsibilities involved in the role reversal experience differ in terms of culture; each family and culture have varying caregiving notions (Hooper et al., 2012). Despite being different, it is significant to recognize how culture affects a family's psychological construals (Lansford et al., 2016). In the Philippines, family culture affects the parentification experience due to sociocultural values that uphold traditional practices that encourage parental authority and child obedience (Alampay & Jocson, 2011). According to Medina (2001), Filipino children are expected to prioritize familial responsibilities over personal endeavors. If the child does not attend to their family obligations, they will be regarded as a child with no honor or gratitude – otherwise known as without *"utang na loob"* or *"hiya"* (Medina, 2001). In addition, research states that Filipino youth puts great emphasis on family values, thus influencing their decision-making and obedience to household duties (Darling et al., 2005). A study on values and communication of adolescents with their family states that Mexican, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipino descent youth tended to favor mutual sibling support including turning to parents in making significant choices (Cooper et al., 1993). In Filipino culture, roles and responsibilities are often assigned to every child. It is particularly essential to value the family bond, and it is common to see the eldest child take the role of the parent's younger counterpart (Cultural Atlas, 2020).

2.3 The Effects of Parentification on Psychological Resilience and Interpersonal Relationships (definition, types and domains)

Studies have shown that parentification can impact an individual's psychological resilience (Ostrowski, et al., 2016; Hooper et al., 2008). According to Terrill et al. (2016), Whitson et al., (2018), and Masten et al., (1990), psychological resilience refers to an individual's ability to overcome hardships and adapt to trauma, tragedy, threats, and any significant source of stress. Furthermore, psychological resilience may also protect the potential detrimental effects of stressors (Whitson et al., 2018; Masten et al., 1990). Ergo its vitality enable the individual to develop protective mechanisms against potentially overwhelming experiences and the proper means of establishing stability during difficult or stressful periods (O'Dowd et al., 2018; Fletcher & Sarkar, 2013; Miles, 2015; McGauran et al., 2019).

Since parentification requires the individual to conduct adult-like tasks, duties, and behaviors, they develop competencies such as self-management, goal-directed behavior, personal responsibility, decision-making, optimism thinking (Sikorska, 2014) problem-solving skills, coping in everyday life (Boumans & Dorant, 2018), and personal growth (Hooper 2017). Due to the heavy task lifting the child may receive in parentification and other duties they must balance (e.g., academics and work), the phenomenon is likely to contribute to the development of their psychological resilience (Wasilewska & Kuleta, 2016). Fulfilling familial responsibilities enables the child to see themselves in an adult role, which allows them to discover their potentialities (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973). Asides from the aforementioned outcomes, parentified individuals can also result in individuation or self-differentiation when they recognize and build autonomy and competence while managing the role reversal (Krausz, 2008).

Indeed, these effects are likely to occur; however, they are not outcomes of all parentified individuals. Research has shown that parentification contains two folded consequences, resulting in positive or negative impacts (Boumans & Dorant, 2018; McGauran et al., 2019). The consequences differ depending on the type of parentification. Instrumentally parentified individuals may likely have a positive psychological resilience compared to those emotionally parentified due to the effects of emotional parentification being more threatening to the individual (Wasilewska & Kuleta, 2016). Fitzgerald (2005) states that the more consistent the parent type role becomes, the more negative outcomes are to affect the child. These consequences could then interfere with their emotional development and potentially drive them to a state of distress (e.g., numbing and depression) (Fitzgerald, 2005). Additionally, parentification is also likely to lead individuals to sacrificing their interests and needs for the sake of fulfilling duties for the family, which prevents them from living a life of their own accord (Hooper, 2007a; Hooper, 2007b).

Parentification also can impact one's interpersonal relationship with others (Hooper, 2007a). According to Kleptsova and Balabanov (2016), interpersonal relationship refers to "*subjectively perceived connections between people that objectively manifest themselves in the character and ways of mutual influence in the process of people's communication, their shared activities, and communication"* (p. 2148). Interpersonal relationships are significant to an individual as it provides physical and emotional happiness and social support (Berscheid & Regan, 2016).

In this sense, parentification hinders the parentified individual in forming interpersonal relationships due to caregivers encouraging them to remain physically and emotionally close to them. This then limits their interaction with same-aged peers and hinders their ability to formulate meaningful relationships. As they are overburdened with tasks and duties they must perform for their parents (Preciado, 2020), parentified individuals tend to isolate themselves from others, thus preventing themselves from spending time or receiving social support from peers (Andsager, 2015). In some cases, parentification results in

feelings of anger and resentment towards parents as they are the prime reason behind the cause of the experience. These emotions may also be directed towards siblings and other individuals (Krausz, 2008).

Nonetheless, Van der Mijl and Vingerhoets (2017) states otherwise that parentified individuals result in higher interpersonal skills. As they are tasked with emotionally supporting their parent(s) or sibling(s), this would then result in having a better understanding of the feelings of others (Van der Mijl & Vingerhoets, 2017).

3. Methodology
3.1 Research Design and Informants
The study employed a qualitative phenomenological approach to describe the Filipino young adult daughters' instrumental parentification experiences from Metro Manila, Philippines, amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. It also examined the effects of instrumental parentification on psychological resilience and interpersonal relationships. The researchers collected the data through an online interview using Zoom and an in-depth interview guide.

The study's key informants consisted of 19 Filipino young adult daughters identified through purposive sampling. Inclusion criteria were: 1. residing with 1 or 2 biological parents, 2. with at least 1 sibling, 3. single, 4. between the ages 21 to 29 years old, 5. working, 6. resides in Metro Manila, 7. a middle-class citizen, and 8. carries out domestic work, sibling responsibilities, or financial duties. To identify informants, an invitation was sent through Google Forms. It was done to ensure that all criteria will be met with their consent to audio or video record the interview based on their preferred interview schedule.

3.2 Instrumentation
An in-depth interview guide was used to cover three areas: 1. their instrumental parentification experience, which addressed their domestic work activities, sibling responsibilities, and financial duties; 2. their state of psychological resilience based on flexibility, self-realization, and autonomy; and 3. their interpersonal relationships which covered their interaction with family, peers, and co-workers. The type of interview conducted was an episodic interview, otherwise known as a qualitative data gathering method wherein the focus is within the participant's narrative (Travis, 2015). It expounded on the informants' parentification experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic. The instrument was pre-tested before the actual data collection phase to establish its trustworthiness.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure and Ethical Considerations
The researchers sent the Google Forms through social media and word of mouth to acquaintances. With Google Forms, the researchers could schedule the interview according to the informant's preferred date. The interview was conducted using video or audio calling platforms due to local COVID-19 protocols.

Before conducting the interview, the researchers reiterated data confidentiality to the informants. Notably, voice recording was enabled with the informant's consent. This was to account for the informant's full description of their lived experiences.

The informants were provided with background information about the study to get their informed consent. They were informed that their participation is purely voluntary. They may discontinue the interview if they felt uncomfortable finishing the process. The informants' identity was undisclosed, and a pseudo name was used.

3.6 Data Analysis
Data were analyzed using thematic analysis. The researchers coded their data to highlight relevant parts from the transcript. Themes were created to group codes under the same category. Data were first categorically classified according to instrumental parentification experiences, psychological resilience, and interpersonal relationships. And, then it looked into the effects of their parentification experiences on their psychological resilience and interpersonal relationships.

4. Results and Discussion
4.1 Profile of the Informants
Table 1 presents the detailed profile informants by age, sibling rank, and residential status. This intends to give the readers a glimpse of the individual informant's unique characteristics and link to their parentification experiences covered in the study as well as its effects on their psychological resiliency and interpersonal interactions with family and non-family members. Table 2 shows their summary profile, with 11 out of 19 of them were between 21-24 years old, 11 lived with both parents, and seven were the eldest siblings.

Table 1. *Characteristics of the Informants by Age, Sibling Rank, and Residential Status*

Informant Number	Pseudo name*	Age	Sibling Rank	Residential Status
I1	Lisa	28	Eldest	2 parents
I2	Katie	28	Eldest	2 parents
I3	Amy	22	Eldest	2 parents
I4	Julia	21	Eldest	2 parents
I5	Shelly	27	Eldest	1 parent
I6	Zoey	26	Eldest	1 parent
I7	Anne	23	Eldest	1 parent
I8	Olivia	24	Middle Child	2 parents
I9	Ella	24	Middle Child	2 parents
I10	Hellen	21	Middle Child	2 parents
I11	Sasha	21	Middle Child	2 parents
I12	Sally	23	Middle Child	1 parent
I13	Megan	21	Middle Child	1 parent
I14	May	26	Youngest	2 parents
I15	Emily	26	Youngest	2 parents
I16	Nancy	21	Youngest	2 parents
I17	Ashley	29	Youngest	1 parent
I18	Trisha	26	Youngest	1 parent
I19	Mia	22	Youngest	1 parent

*Pseudo name was used to protect the identity of the informants included in the study

Table 2. *Summary Profile of the Informants based on their Age, Sibling Rank, and Residential Status (n=19)*

Age	
21-24 years old	11
25-29 years old	8
Sibling Rank	
Eldest	7
Middle Child	6
Youngest	6
Residential Status	
Living with 1 Parent	8
Living with 2 Parents	11

4.2 Instrumental Parentification Experiences

For this particular study, the instrumental parentification experiences covered were: domestic work, sibling responsibilities, and financial duties (refer to Table 3). Domestic work referred to household chores (e.g., cooking). Sibling responsibilities dealt with the daughter obligations to act as a caretaker of their sibling(s) (e.g., teaching). Lastly, financial duties covered family finances management (e.g., house rental).

Table 3. *Instrumental Parentification Experiences of the Informants based on their Domestic Work Assignment, Sibling Responsibilities, and Financial Duties*

Instrumental Parentification Experience	Specific Quote	Informants
Domestic Work		
Washing the Dishes	● *"I am regularly assigned to wash the dishes."*	I2, I4, I5, I7, I8, I9,
▪ Assigned Duty	● *"I am assigned to washing the dishes."*	I10, I11, I12, I13,
▪ Regular Task	● *"I mostly do the washing of the dishes."*	I16, I17, I18, I19
Cooking Related Tasks	● *"I usually do the cooking at home."*	I2, I3, I4, I6, I8, I9,
▪ Substitute of the Parent	● *"I cook when my mom is not around."*	I10, I11, I14, I15,
▪ Regular Task	● *"I usually do the cooking. It benefits the family."*	I16
▪ Family Benefit		

Cleaning and Organizing (i.e., fixing, sweeping, and mopping parts of the house) 　▪　Regular Task 　▪　Family Benefit	● *"I usually do the cleaning. It helps the family."* ● *"I fix the things at home."* ● *"I regularly sweep and mop the floors."*	I1, I2, I3, I4, I7, I10, I12, I13, I16, I18, I19
Doing Laundry-Related Tasks 　▪　Assigned Duty	● *"I am assigned to do the laundry."* ● *"I usually put the laundry in the bag."*	I2, I12, I16, I19

Sibling Responsibilities	**Specific Quote**	**Informants**
Helping with Academic Requirements 　▪　Form of Aid 　▪　Substitute of the Parent	● *"I help them with their homework."* ● *"I help her keep track of her schoolwork."* ● *"I help write their papers or check their work."* ● *"I am her online teacher. My mother does not know how to operate technology."*	I1, I4, I8, I9, I10, I12
Helping with Sibling's Business 　▪　Form of Aid	● *"I help her with her online business."* ● *"I help him out if he needs help with his business."*	I1, I10, I11, I15
Providing Food 　▪　Form of Care and Affection	● *"I cook food for them to make them happy."* ● *"It is one way of showing lambing [affection] to them."*	I2, I4, I6
Providing Financial Help 　▪　Form of Care and Support	● *"My form of care for him is helping with his tuition fee."* ● *"My support for her is more financial."*	I1, I5, I12
Assisting with Electronics and Online Applications 　▪　Form of Aid	● *"I help assist her with electronics, zoom and other online applications."* ● *"I help them with using electronics."*	I12, I14
Caretaking 　▪　Substitute of the Parent	● *"I was her second mom, in a way. When my mother is out, I take care of her."*	I9
Assisting with Sibling's chores 　▪　Form of Aid	● *"Sometimes she cannot do her chores, I would help her with it."*	I19

Financial Duties	**Specific Quote**	**Informants**
Paying Utility Bills (i.e., Electricity, Water, Internet, and Parking Space) 　▪　Family's Breadwinner 　▪　Lessen Family Burden 　▪　Ability to Go Outside Amidst COVID-19	● *"I pay because I am the breadwinner."* ● *"I wanted to lessen the burden every month of paying the bills so I volunteered to pay."* ● *"I am the only one eligible to go outside due to COVID-19. I drive and do all the errands like paying the bills."*	I1, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I13, I14, I15, I17, I18
Buying Groceries and Food 　▪　Regular Task 　▪　Substitute of the Parent 　▪　Ability to Go Outside Amidst COVID-19	● *"I would pay for the grocery."* ● *"I am the one who is giving allowance for the food at home."* ● *"I provide groceries so my parents will not need to."* ● *"I pay for the groceries on behalf of my family as I am the person who can go out amidst the pandemic."*	I2, I6, I8, I10, I14, I18
Buying Medicine 　▪　Regular Task 　▪　Ability to Go Outside Amidst COVID-19	● *"I will buy medicines for the family, especially when I am the one who is out."* ● *"I am the person who can only drive and get medicine for the needs of my parents due to COVID-19."*	I1, I14
Paying Insurance 　▪　Form of Aid	● *"I would help my parents pay off the insurance."*	I4
Paying Rental 　▪　Assigned Duty	● *"The one assigned to me is paying half of the rent."*	I12

Julia takes care of most of the household chores while Olivia spends her after-work hours preparing meals for the following day. In both situations, the two daughters try to find time in their busy schedules to cater to their family's needs. Julia has testified to doing her domestic tasks, saying, *"I would sometimes help my mom cook or clean. I am the one who would do that if my mother is not around."*

Sally contributes to paying her family's rent and brother's education, sharing, *"For my brother's case, my form of taking care of him is helping with his tuition fee. Then, the one expected of me is to pay half of the house rent."*

Hellen has sibling responsibilities. She narrated, *"For my little sister, I would try to assist her with her studies as much as possible."* As it typically goes within a Philippine household, the elder children are expected to act as role models and carry-on tasks. Thus, parents assign tasks to them due to such cultural and family expectations (Gozali-Lee, 1994).

Parentified younger daughters also contribute to the family despite sibling rank. Compared to those older, they willingly assist the family while elder daughters are obligated to fulfil familial responsibilities. May, a younger informant, narrated the same story: *"I am not forced to do chores or household work that is put upon me, but I am the one putting my foot forward and helping out."* This willingness — seen within most daughters — is compelled by *"utang na loob"* (indebtedness), a Filipino cultural trait wherein children *"owe"* their parents for caretaking them (Cultural Atlas, 2020). Younger daughters are expected to possess this *"utang na loob"* and manifest this towards their caretakers by fulfilling household obligations (Alampay & Jocson, 2011). If they do not uphold this, they will be known as without gratitude. Moreover, this family sense of *"hiya"* — a Filipino cultural value that attributes honor and dignity to one's parents — triggers this by requiring the child to follow their elders (Cultural Atlas, 2020). Thus, instrumental parentification is how children, despite sibling rank, repay their caretakers' debt.

The number of parents in a family affects this willingness as well. Single-parent households are more vulnerable to the parentification experience (Domínguez, 2019). This phenomenon occurs because single parents may be out working for the family; thus, it is up to the child to carry on adult roles and responsibilities (e.g., acting as a caretaker for siblings). Another factor that increases a parentified child's burden is having one or both parents suffering from an illness (Duryea, 2008). May states: "When I was in high school, my dad was diagnosed with dementia to gain further insight. *So, it was really me growing up taking care of someone who had an illness... Until now, I am still taking care of the responsibilities and helping my mom out. If my mom was trying to keep our house afloat [by] working and all that, I was in charge of making sure that everything [at home] seemed fine... I would also go out and buy medicine for him [dad]."* May voluntarily contributed due to her parents in need, which is entirely out of personal autonomy and willingness.

The parentification experience is brought about by need and necessity. In certain instances, there is an expectation that some daughters must take the initiative while most are assigned to achieve work. These expectations arise to help ease the burden of responsibility. From the gathered data, parentification exists as a gradient in which some experiences are more pronounced than others. Some households have their daughters take on substantial roles while others have responsibilities divided on regular duties. For instance, most daughters cook, but only a small amount does the laundry. Similar is the situation for sibling responsibilities and financial duties.

Experience subjectivity is apparent here as not all daughters have the same set of duties and responsibilities. Katie, for example, is not assigned to do her domestic chores while Julia and Sally are. Aside from this, Julia's responsibilities compared to Olivia's are not entirely the same either. Julia has much more domestic work compared to Olivia, who only cooks. However, Julia has fewer sibling responsibilities than Olivia. Therefore, a daughter may have more sibling responsibilities than domestic work or more financial duties than sibling responsibilities, and so forth. Whether their sibling rank and residential status influence this is another matter that may affect their parentification experience.

Studies indicate that household patterns, family size, daily routines, and family workload are essential in determining the home's child caretakers' availability (Weisner et al., 1997). Some daughters have stated that they have more responsibilities at home due to their parents' inability to contribute. Expectations on the eldest are relatively heavier, although some circumstances require the most competent individual to take responsibility rather than by age or sibling rank.

As the COVID-19 pandemic persists, routines and responsibilities within the house have changed. Some say that it has been good as more time is dedicated to the house now that online distance working is being practiced. However, some have also stated that the pandemic has increased their home responsibilities (refer to Table 3). Answers vary on whether the parentification experience has worsened or improved for the informants. Ultimately, given that more time is now spent at home, some daughters used this as an opportunity to help in the domestic chores and initiate bond or interaction with their parents.

4.3 Psychological Resilience

Table 4 presents the effects of instrumental parentification experiences on psychological resilience which covered three facets: flexibility, self-realization, and autonomy. Flexibility is the individual's adaptability or adjustability to specific situations and environments. Self-realization is the individual's ability to maximize their capabilities and potential. Lastly, autonomy is the individual's ability to act upon their own values, interests, or motivations.

Attending to the family's needs and handling several jobs is typical for Ella. It gets tiring at times. Nevertheless, Ella persists in fulfilling her responsibilities given the changing environment amidst the pandemic. Like other parentified daughters, Ella has undergone instrumental parentification experiences that have impacted her psychological resilience. Notably, findings show that there is no change present between their type of responsibilities and psychological resilience.

In terms of flexibility, most daughters presented positive results. As Trisha shared, *"I feel like the more responsibilities you have, the more you mature... you adapt and adjust easily."* Like Trisha, other parentified daughters also endure and adapt to challenging circumstances as they have done countless tasks in their lives to satisfy the family's needs. These experiences then build-up towards the substantial flexibility they have today, which helps them adjust, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. These findings supported Bouman and Dorant (2018), and Hooper (2017) claims that conducting adult-like responsibilities helps develop competencies.

Those who responded neutrally have similar circumstances to Ella, who shared, *"I can manage, though it is hard... but I can cope."* Despite the challenges and the COVID-19 pandemic, they still manage to be flexible, but they still suffer to some extent. These findings support Wasilewska and Kuleta's claims (2016) that parentification is burdensome as the child balances personal duties with household chores. Nonetheless, they are still able to adapt and overcome their tasks.

Table 4. *Instrumental Parentification Experience and Psychological Resilience*

Instrumental Parentification Experience	Psychological Resilience		
	Flexibility	Self-realization	Autonomy
Domestic Work	Positive (I1, I2, I3, I5, I6, I7, I8, I10, I11, I13, I15, I16, I17, I18)	Positive (I2, I3, I6, I7, I11, I12, I16, I17, I18, I19)	Positive (I2, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I11, I12, I13, I16, I18, I19)
	Neutral (I4, I9, I12, I14, I19)	Neutral (I1, I4, I5, I8, I9, I10, I13, I14, I15)	Neutral (I1, I3, I10, I14, I15, I17)
Sibling Responsibilities	Positive (I1, I2, I3, I5, I6, I8, I10, I11, I15)	Positive (I2, I3, I6, I11, I12, I19)	Positive (I2, I4, I5, I6, I8, I9, I11, I12, I19)
	Neutral (I4, I9, I12, I14, I19)	Neutral (I1, I4, I5, I8, I9, I10, I14, I15)	Neutral (I1, I3, I10, I14, I15)
Financial Duties	Positive (I1, I2, I5, I6, I7, I8, I10, I11, I13, I15, I17, I18)	Positive (I2, I6, I7, I11, I12, I17, I18)	Positive (I2, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I11, I12, I13, I18)
	Neutral (I4, I9, I12, I14)	Neutral (I1, I4, I5, I8, I9, I10, I13, I14, I15)	Neutral (I1, I10, I14, I15, I17)

Regarding their self-realization, the daughters mostly had positive results while some were neutral. For those with positive results, daughters like Julia shared how the experience enhanced their capabilities, saying, *"I think it helps a lot. Because you get to realize from an early age what you want out of life."* By conducting familial tasks regularly, daughters realized their capabilities earlier. Thus, they could maximize their capabilities before their troubles and the pandemic situation. These findings concurred with Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark's (1973) findings that parentification can be healthy for a child's potential as it helps them see themselves in an adult role.

Those with neutral results like May shared that their potential is restricted; however, they try to maximize them. May shared, *"I need to be with them. They are the center of my life. It would be tough for me to leave or do other things while they are not okay.*

Nevertheless, I maximize my potential and my abilities in whatever way I can." Consequently, personal development may be hindered by fulfilling familial obligations in this time of the pandemic. These results concurred with Hooper's study (2017) that responsibilities prevent daughters from satisfying personal needs as their time is dedicated to attending and guiding the family. For the others, finding ways to maximize capabilities are still feasible as parentification allows them to develop useful competencies to satisfy their pursuits (Hooper, 2017; Boumans & Dorant, 2018).

Furthermore, the autonomy of the daughters mostly showed positive results. This illustrates how most daughters act upon their values and interests while still fulfilling their family duties. Notably, most of these daughters are autonomous due to their parentified upbringing. These were the circumstances for Julia, who says, *"I have always been an independent person. The role reversal in my life has become so intertwined with who I am, and it is not an experience anymore. It becomes part of my identity."* Since these parentified daughters learn to accommodate their family's needs, they developed a good sense of autonomy.

Not all daughters are like this, as some came out neutral. There are occasions where they are restricted from acting on their ambitions and aspirations. Limitations like these are often dictated by the family and often with personal desires seen as a lesser priority. Being a parentified daughter, some cannot focus on themselves placing more significant value in actions that benefit their family. Decisions that potentially influence the family are therefore heavily weighed. Daughters like May, show these experiences, sharing: *"It took a while for me to think about me... I always had to cater to someone... My decision making for the longest time was I had to think about the people around me."* With the pandemic involved and other responsibilities at hand, the daughters are even more restricted than they were before. Nonetheless, they can still hold significant autonomy over themselves as they often deal with their situations independently.

The following results regarding autonomy supported the study of Bowen (1993, p. 485) that claimed that parentification results in self-differentiation. Due to managing the role reversal experience, these daughters learn to recognize and develop a sense of autonomy and competency skills.

4.4 Interpersonal Relationships
Having to balance work and family, Olivia fulfills her tasks with the priority of family responsibilities in mind. Consequently, she has no one to confide in and struggles to communicate with others. Other parentified daughters have also undergone similar experiences.

In Table 5, the connection of responsibilities and interpersonal relationships are presented. Notably, it investigates their relationships through the lens of family, co-workers, and peers. There is no association between the different types of responsibilities a daughter may have with the status of her relationship with others.

Findings illustrate that the parentification experience has most influenced their relationships in a positive light. Daughters like Amy have shared that they have gotten closer with their family because of their parentification experience. Amy shares that, *"It affects [me] in a good way because then... [we] have more things to talk about... We got closer and understood each other more."* This is the same with their peers and co-workers. Even with the familial tasks, they must fulfill in line with the ongoing pandemic, they can still maintain their social bonds as they can understand and communicate easily with others. This confirmed the claim of Van der Mijl and Vingerhoets that parentification helped improve their social skills, thus forming better relationships with their parents (Van der Mijl & Vingerhoets, 2017).

However, some daughters beg to differ as they rated their relationships neutral. Despite possessing good relations with their respective social groups, not much time can be dedicated to its development due to pending responsibilities in this time of pandemic. As May shared, *"I want to do things with my friends, but I cannot leave my family during COVID-19. It hindered me from doing things that I wanted to do. It is annoying. However, I will soon get over it."* Such findings supported Andsager and Preciado's claim that duties may isolate daughters from their family and acquaintances as time is dedicated to tasks instead of developing meaningful relationships (Andsager, 2015; Preciado, 2020).

Table 5. *Instrumental Parentification Experience and Effects on the Interpersonal Relationships of the Informants*

Instrumental Parentification Experience	Interpersonal Relationship of the Informants		
	Family	*Peers*	*Co-workers*
Domestic Work	Positive (I3, I6, I7, I11, I13, I16, I18, I19)	Positive (I2, I3, I5, I6, I8, I9, I10, I11, I15, I16, I18, I19)	Positive (I1, I2, I3, I5, I6, I9, I10, I11, I16, I18)
	Neutral (I1, I2, I4, I5, I10, I15)	Neutral (I1, I4, I7, I12, I13, I14, I17)	Neutral (I4, I7, I8, I12, I13, I14, I15, I17, I19)
	Negative (I8, I12, I14, I17)		
Sibling Responsibilities	Positive (I3, I6, I11, I19)	Positive (I2, I3, I5, I6, I8, I9, I10, I11, I15, I19)	Positive (I1, I2, I3, I5, I6, I9, I10, I11)
	Neutral (I1, I2, I4, I5, I10, I15)	Neutral (I1, I4, I12, I14)	Neutral (I4, I8, I12, I14, I15, I19)
	Negative (I8, I12, I14)		
Financial Duties	Positive (I6, I7, I11, I13, I18)	Positive (I2, I5, I8, I9, I10, I11, I15, I18)	Positive (I1, I2, I5, I6, I9, I10, I11, I18)
	Neutral (I1, I2, I4, I5, I10, I15)	Neutral (I1, I4, I7, I12, I13, I14, I17)	Neutral (I4, I7, I8, I12, I13, I14, I15, I17)
	Negative (I8, I12, I14, I17)		

Moreover, not everything is positive as some daughters expressed negative feelings about their family relationships. These young adult daughters expressed resentment and frustration for the responsibilities they carry. The relationship is further strained by the COVID-19 pandemic and the work from home arrangement brought by the quarantine as they are required to spend more time together at home. The relationship grows more strained. Sally shared *"I would say my temper got a bit shorter. I got a bit less patient with them. Because I had to do all of these things now... I exerted effort to deliver my best at work to earn for the family. And then... mom and dad would fight... how am I supposed to interact with everyone else."* This finding supported Krausz's claim (2008) that parents are subjected to their children's anger and resentment due to the role reversal.

Considering the critical role of Philippine culture playing in normalizing daughters' expectations to help family matters, it does not affect their relationship with peers and co-workers. They all undergo varying degrees of a parentified experience one way or another.

5. Conclusion

It is a norm in Philippine society for the children to have high regard and respect for their parents up to old age. The value of *"utang na loob"* (indebtedness) is the anchor behind this normative practice. Filipinos feel in debt to contribute and assist in the domestic tasks and responsibilities to help the parents at home. However, on the bigger lens, the gendered role is strong that the daughters in the family carry on more domestic tasks and responsibilities. Given the COVID-19 condition, instrumental parentification has been a dominant condition in families as older people have to stay home. The children of the elderly ergo shoulder the roles that their parents cannot perform given the lockdown. Daughters, as a consequence, have to take on parentification constrained by the COVID-19 condition.

Daughters mostly take on their tasks wholeheartedly; however, many feel that those tasks hinder them from taking more opportunities and limit them to pursue personal endeavors. Nevertheless, they recognized that the condition led them to become more self-reliant, mature faster, and responsible daughters because of their parentification experience. At large, this phenomenon is a gain for most of these young professional daughters. Most can pursue personal ventures and act on their passions while balancing responsibilities and maintaining healthy relationships with ageing parents.

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