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Contexts of Extraordinary Parental Involvement in Children's Education During the First Wave of COVID-19: A Case Study of a Public Elementary School in Poland

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Abstract

Objectives of the research: The purpose of the study was to learn about parents' experiences of participating in their children's remote education during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. The question posed in this article is about the circumstances under which parents took over tasks previously perceived as a teacher's job.

Research methods: The participatory, qualitative case study utilized data from the open-ended questions of an electronic survey to which 104 parents (from a public elementary school in a metropolitan area) responded, as well as data from the school's electronic register. The qualitative analysis employed strategies of constructivist grounded theory.

Brief description of the context of the problem: While national and international studies have shown that parents played a critical role in the challenging and stressful home-based education of their children during the COVID-19 pandemic, no research has explained how parents became this vital link of education. The aim of this article is to fill this gap.

Research findings: The study revealed two interrelated contextual factors that led to parents' activation in their children's "schooling from home": 1) technical/administrative, related to having inadequate tools for distance education and 2) pedagogical/didactic, related to the prevailing concepts of teaching and learning being anchored in the behavioral-transmission paradigm.

Conclusions and/or recommendations: The results apply primarily to the school under study and represent an intrinsic case study. However, it is reasonable to assume that the events, phenomena, and processes identified in the study may serve to explain phenomena in other schools that have organized distance education similarly. The cautious recommendation, aiming to safeguard family resources (thereby protecting equal opportunities for all children to learn) in times of crisis, is to transform the pedagogical underpinnings that shape today's educational practices from behaviorist to constructivist. However, this requires further research.

Keywords: distance education; parental experiences; COVID-19 pandemic; correspondence learning; communication; pedagogical concepts of learning

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic forced many governments to take extraordinary measures to limit the spread of the virus. In the spring of 2020, more than 1.5 billion students in over 190 countries were unable to attend school due to these measures (United Nations, 2020). In Poland, the Minister of National Education (MNE) based his decision to suspend teaching and educational activities on the Special Law of March 2, 2020 (Dz.U. of 2 March 2020, item 374). This suspension began on March 12; on March 20, the MNE introduced regulations that formalized distance learning methods and techniques (Dz.U. of 2020, item 493).

During the second and third quarters of 2020, multiple studies were conducted, in both Poland and internationally. These studies focused on the technologies, work methods, and tools used by teachers outside the classroom (Wiatr, 2022). The aim was to determine how education was being provided during the pandemic. The studies found that during the first wave of the pandemic, schools adopted a "correspondence" model of education. This involved teachers communicating educational content and assignments via email or other integrated tools, such as e-registries or instant messaging (Wiatr, 2022). These tools helped to overcome the geographical distance between teacher and student created by the school closures. The selection of such tools was left to the discretion of school principals and teachers in Poland.

During the pandemic, various reports highlighted the significant role of parents in the continuation of their children's education (e.g., Bubb & Jones, 2020; Di Pietro et al., 2020; Ho et al., 2021; Misirli & Ergulec, 2021; Mußél & Kondratjuk, 2020; Trzcińska-Król, 2020). These studies not only recognized parents as a vital factor in their children's academic success or failure, but also identified them as being particularly impacted by distance learning techniques (e.g., Daniela et al., 2021; Girard & Prado, 2022; Krents et al., 2020). The researchers noted that parents often compensated for the shortcomings of educational institutions. This significant parental role in the education of children and adolescents represents an individualization of care and education that requires further analysis.

Many national and international publications have explored how parents have taken on additional teaching responsibilities (e.g., Bhamani et al., 2020; Parczewska, 2021). The publications investigate how parents have responded to their new roles, the costs they have incurred, and the factors that may influence these costs (Bhamani et al., 2020; Brom et al., 2020; Bubb & Jones, 2020; Parczewska, 2021; Thorell et al., 2022).

¹ As the authors note, parents' new responsibilities for their children's learning at home have far exceeded those previously associated with schooling and homework.

Most of these studies have focused on the new, overwhelming tasks of parents (as educators of their children), while at the same time taking these tasks for granted and as unchallenged in the face of the rapid, extraordinary situation of lockdowns. What has been neglected is the context in which this new role and new tasks are taken on. Understanding how this happened is critical to designing interventions to better support those involved in children's education. Using participatory research, this article aims to address this knowledge gap by exploring the context in which parents become "home educators."

It was intentional to focus on the brief first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. Its suddenness and force exposed the old logic that was organizing human behavior, including the rationale underlying educational practices. The subsequent changes in the following, longer waves of the pandemic were based on the experience of the first phase, which, incidentally, remained understudied.

2. Research method

The research was conducted in June and July 2020 at the request of the Parents' Council² from a metropolitan public elementary school with approximately 500 students. It employed a case study method, both intrinsic – with a focus on the needs, expectations, opinions, and experiences of parents from the school in question – and instrumental, serving as a catalyst or inspiration for explaining processes or phenomena observed at other schools which used similar practices (Stake, 2003).

The study consisted of both quantitative and qualitative components, with the latter being analyzed and presented herein. It followed the constructivist paradigm (Berger & Luckmann, 1983). Data was collected from

² The Parents' Council is a compulsory body in publicly funded schools run by the local authorities in Poland. It consists of parents of students from all classes. Members of the Parents' Council are elected by the parents for a one-year term. This body has primarily consultative powers and enables parents to participate in the organization of school life, including its formal aspects.

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From the target group, 104 parents⁴ responded to the survey, representing approximately 25% of the total invited participants. To address the educational challenges at various stages of elementary education, the participants were categorized into different levels, based on their child's year⁵ (Table 1). Each quote from the participants later in this paper is labeled with the child's level of schooling.

Student's level Number of responses for each level Percentage of responses for each level 17 16% ||-|||31 30% IV-VI 34 33% VII-VIII 22 21% Total 104 100%

Table 1

There was a high level of willingness among parents to include longer descriptions about their experiences in their answers to the open-ended questions. Ninety-eight participants answered the prompts beginning

³ Librus is a popular school management software program in Poland that features an electronic register.

⁴ As some parents had multiple children attending the school under the study, they were requested to respond regarding a single selected child.

⁵ Year 1 (Level I) was treated separately due to the low literacy skills of first-graders. Years 2 and 3 comprised Level II–III, which included students from a more advanced stage of early childhood education. Years 4–6 formed Level IV–VI, where students are introduced to a subject-specific teaching style. Years 7 and 8 were combined into Level VII–VIII, where the range of subjects is expanded to include chemistry, physics, and social studies, and the work of teachers and students seems to be geared toward preparing for the 8th-grade final examination (to complete Polish elementary school education).

with "What I liked most about remote teaching was..." and "It's too bad that..." Likewise, 97 parents completed the sentence "The greatest difficulty for me was...," 90 completed the sentence beginning with "My child's greatest difficulty was...," and 98 answered the question "What and how can remote learning be improved?" The question "Do you have knowledge, skills, or other resources that could help improve the comfort and quality of remote learning at our school?" received 74 responses, 34 of which included specific suggestions.

The analysis presented herein encompasses parents' statements from the survey's open-ended questions and data from Librus.⁶

Strategies from Charmaz's (2013) constructionist grounded theory were used to identify broader categories in an inductive process. The analysis began with open coding followed by selective coding. This process was accomplished by using constant comparison and code transformation techniques. The coding process involved writing memos to develop emerging ideas or hypotheses. Categories were compared and/or referenced to each other in search of relationships and connections. Only one set of categories is presented here, representing the broader context in which parents took over the tasks of educating a child at home.

A distinct category in this set was comprised of statements from parents expressing disagreement with the definition of the school's distance learning practices and suggesting that what the parents were dealing with was "closer" to homeschooling. This clear statement created a starting point for further inductive analysis to understand the context of the parents' definition of the situation, which differed from that of the school. The category was named "negation of the school's implementation of distance learning." Statements in this category related to claims about the actions of teachers, students, or parents during the school closings (What did the parents/teachers/students do?), leading to categories such as "what does it mean to teach?," "student helplessness," "teacher disappearance," and "emergence of the home educator." The broader

⁶ They served to reconstruct the process of remote teaching (emails with assignments, calendars, and schedules).

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The analytical categories that emerged from the study were discussed with the Parents' Council, school management, and other researchers and their comments and insights were incorporated into the study.

3 Results of the analysis

schooling in Poland.7

3.1 Implementation of distance education in the school

The elementary school under study introduced distance education in March 2020 and subsequently adjusted it over the following 3 months. Initially, it was a combination of asynchronous and interactive learning. Teachers sent assignments via email to students (and their parents) for individual work with textbooks, exercise books, or multimedia materials on educational portals. Initially, students sent pictures of their work to teachers, but within 2 weeks this practice was quickly replaced. Instead, only selected assignments were sent by pupils identified by the teacher:

During the first week, I took pictures of several of my child's notebooks every day, and then attached these pictures to emails addressed to different teachers and sent messages from my own account. I tried

⁷ The Act of September 7, 1991 on the education system guarantees the right of a child to be educated outside of school under conditions organized and ensured by their parents. According to Polish law, a child may be educated at home only at the request of their parents. Parents are obliged to create and ensure the conditions for learning, having obtained the permission of a psychological and pedagogical counseling center to allow this type of education. A child educated at home must pass an annual placement exam.

to describe them in a logical and intuitive way. After the first week, teachers started writing to tell me not to send them pictures of children's notebooks and homework until they asked for it. Some asked once, others twice, still others not at all during those 3 months. Thus, the teachers' ongoing monitoring of children's work and providing feedback ended. It's a shame. I was left alone with the job of teaching. [IV–VI]

In March, certain teachers conducted online meetings via Zoom and experimented with the application called Padlet. In April, the Teams platform was introduced, and teachers began sporadically inviting students to 15-minute online meetings. While parents appreciated these attempts, not all teachers conducted lessons in this manner, and the frequency of weekly meetings varied based on the educational stage. During the 3 months, remote education evolved, but the asynchronous model remained the primary mode of education. The content was delivered via electronic register (Librus) and email. MS Teams was mainly utilized for short online lessons and for submitting completed assignments.

3.2. "It wasn't distance education, but home education by parents" – Negation of the school's implementation of distance education

When asked about their experiences with distance education, few parents acknowledged its benefits (specifically the non-intensive, asynchronous model⁸), but many denied that the school had implemented it at all. Parents expressed their disbelief in two ways: some felt that distance education was non-existent ("Distance education was basically non-existent, so it's hard to say what I liked [VII–VIII]; "there was no distance

⁸ Diverse asynchronous education has its supporters. Thus, the scholarly literature points to such advantages as working at one's own pace, according to learners' schedules, with reduced need for infrastructure and fewer conflicts over sharing equipment (Martin et al., 2020). Parents, on the other hand, appreciated the loosening of the time and space regime and the reduced pressure to "be on time," among other things. They also valued the greater harmony at home, better opportunities to adapt their child's learning efforts to their biorhythm, and the ability to maintain a healthy balance of work in front of the computer screen.

education – only teaching by the parent" [I]), while others believed that certain practices did not qualify as distance education ("Unfortunately, this semester, it's difficult to call it distance education – it was just assigning homework and assessing it" [II–III]; "Sending dry messages with instructions to read something from a textbook or do some assignments is not distance education" [VII–VIII]). This indicates that many parents perceived the teachers' efforts as inadequate and did not consider them an embodiment of actual instruction.

3.3. "I might just as well send assignments myself, in any subject" – What does it mean to teach?

Parents' statements were analyzed to determine their perception of the teacher's work and what is involved in the teaching process. These statements included:

- 1) instances where parents had to take on the teacher's responsibilities, such as explaining topics to their children ("Actually, almost all the teacher's work was done by the parents, because they were the ones who had to explain all the topics" [II–III]),
- 2) situations where the teacher failed to perform certain duties ("the teacher did not talk to the students online" [I]; "The teacher ... didn't even bother to ask whether the child understood the material" [VII–VIII]),
- 3) descriptions of what constitutes good teaching, such as inspiring curiosity and supporting students ("A teacher should teach and impart knowledge, stimulate curiosity, and show the student that even in such conditions it's worth learning. Be with the student. Support the student" [VII–VIII]), and
- 4) challenges faced by parents as substitute teachers, including motivating students when there are no grades ("Encouraging a child to watch yet another video from the next subject, when it didn't involve getting a grade or completing a task" [IV–VI]), explaining new topics and issues on which they were unfamiliar ("Understanding the material in some areas [I'm not an educator and can't transfer knowledge like a teacher]" [II–III]), and organizing the process itself ("Doing my

job in constant readiness to help the children with their schooling, running links, printing attachments, logging in to different sites, etc., and constantly going on Librus" [IV–VI]).

In the analysis of parents' statements, certain activities that proved fundamental in defining teaching itself were extracted. These pivotal teaching activities encompassed structuring the learning environment, explaining, clarifying, motivating, correcting, directing, and monitoring. These activities, typically occurring in the direct physical presence in a classroom, often took place without much reflection. In a distance learning context, however, they required deliberate action to design the learning experience, considering not only the delivery of the subject matter, but – more importantly – to facilitate effective learning. According to Anderson et al. (2001), this occurs through three alternatives: cognitive presence, social presence, and teaching presence, which replace physical, in-person interactions. Nurturing these areas develops and supports the various types of interaction that foster active learning.

In the absence of supportive activities for student learning, teachers appeared and disappeared at different stages of the educational process. They were present at the beginning, assigning work through electronic messages, and at the end, holding students accountable through tests or grades recorded in the electronic register. However, their overall involvement seemed more like delegation rather than genuine care for their tasks. Thus, the actual work was being done by someone else. Despite this, teachers still appeared to be in charge and managed the pace and content of the students' work.

3.4 "The sound of Librus messages at virtually any time" – The context of the teacher's disappearance

One might ponder why teachers vanished from the view of children and parents, despite their dedicated efforts in imparting lessons to students. What factors contributed to this disappearance? The answer is to be found in the feedback provided by parents regarding communication. Limitations were imposed by the available communication tool, primarily

barely interactive emails and the unfortunate didactic decision to divide materials according to 45-minute lesson units, as structured by the typical in-school learning lesson plan for the day. Thus, numerous email messages with attachments were transferred between students and teacher every day, resulting in a tremendous workload for both sides. This meant that students in Years 4–8, due to the subject-divided timetable, received between 6 and 8 assignment messages per day. In the parents' experience, it seemed like "constant broadcasting from Librus, even on weekends, late evenings, and early mornings" [IV–VI] and "school 'nested' at home 7 days a week and almost 24 hours a day" [IV–VI].

Managing this volume of correspondence was difficult, not only for the students but also for the parents rushing to help them ("navigating the Librus message box in search of homework" [IV–IV]). To complete assignments, countless messages needed to be opened and the content deciphered, sometimes printed out. Then, the work on current and future assignments had to be organized and carried out. Lastly, the finished assignments had to be sent back, which was not so clear:

Very large amounts of material were assigned every day. Was it somehow checked by teachers? We tried to send photos of the child's homework every day or every other day (there was so much of it that it was impossible to do so less often – the teacher's email could only accommodate up to nine photos, and that's more or less what we did in two days). And for those hundreds of emails sent, we got three replies during the semester. So there was a feeling that maybe we were unnecessarily spamming them with these assignments. [I]

Parents realized that the issue of handling this volume of messages was not solely their own, but also the teachers, who likely had faced an overwhelming influx of attachments, photos, and messages from various student and parent email addresses. To manage this, teachers implemented rules for message descriptions, making each message a collection of information about the assignment. This included instructions for completing the assignment, the due date, conditions for submitting it (such as

whether it was mandatory for all students in specific groups, whether it was graded or ungraded, and the material it covered), as well as guidance on describing, addressing, and submitting it. These elements were challenging for both students and parents, especially as the assignments blended in with numerous similar messages from other teachers and days ("every teacher wanted homework to be sent elsewhere. One to email, another to some other place" [II–III]). It was therefore a challenge for everyone ("checking what the deadline was for different homework assignments" [IV–VI]; "keeping an eye on the rules for creating email subject lines [some teachers didn't accept work with the wrong title format]" [IV–VI]; "finding information on assignments to be done" [VII–VIII]). Effectively managing this tool demanded significant time and effort spent scrolling through the inbox, searching for messages to find specific criteria or rules.

One mother shared her experience of requesting bundled assignments for each subject in a single message, instead of five separate ones per week. She also asked for the assignment to be sent by 9:30 a.m., allowing parents to plan learning activities with their children before starting their own work. In response, she received an email stating that teachers work during school hours and that assignment messages are sent according to the timetable [L.4.1, IV–VI].

It's not surprising that parents perceived such messages as merely a cynical attempt to simulate work:

remote teaching resembled more the logging of activities (whatever kinds) by the teacher – often insignificant and boiling down to merely assigning tasks – than doing real teacher's work: figuring out how to teach, explain, check whether the child understood, how to help students acquire knowledge and consolidate it, and how to inform the child about further work on a topic or problem. [IV–VI]

During distance education in the school under study, the teachers did not engage in key teaching activities. The analysis shows that most activities were related to the organizational and technical aspects of communication, such as ordering, sending, returning, attaching (photos of notebook pages), sharing, receiving (messages), searching (for messages), replying (to messages), completing (tasks and assignments), addressing (emails), and grading. These activities were more focused on overcoming geographical distance than building a psychological and communicative connection, along with lowering the transactional distance for student learning (Garrison, 2000; Moore, 2018). According to Moore (2018), building such a lowering distance connection requires a pedagogically informed plan of action, considering the interactional potential of the tool, the structure of the course, and the degree of learner autonomy. Unfortunately, this was lacking in the school in question.

3.5 "Teaching has been shifted to the shoulders of parents, in some cases 100%" – Parents overtaking the "school load"

At the school under study, the teachers were struggling to keep up with the high volume of emails they received from students. The process of handling attachments was both technically and administratively demanding, making it difficult for the teachers to provide comprehensive support to their students. As a result, the burden of the learning process fell on the students themselves. This was a significant shift, as the school system had previously socialized the students to be dependent on and subordinate to their teachers. Becoming autonomous and self-directed learners overnight was not an easy task for the students. For example, this is how one parent recalled it:

the children were not prepared for distance learning. They did not understand that they had to log in, that they had to work through the material systematically, and that they should be in the remote lessons and take an active part in them. It was difficult for them to organize their daily schedule on their own, allocating sufficient time for lessons. [VII–VIII]

Many parents were motivated to help their children due to this visible sense of helplessness. However, the parents became actively engaged

in their children's learning in response to their children's needs as well as through the encouragement and, at times, requests from teachers. Teachers employed subtle methods, such as sending copies of tasks meant for the children, as well as more direct strategies, such as informing parents of any missing elements ("I found it difficult to remember what work was for what day, and I took 'missing homework' emails from teachers very personally, as if I had failed and I should have done better" [IV–VI]).

It is evident that parents played a crucial role in the process and that the quality of their involvement often determined their child's success. Parents felt that there was a gap, both physically and emotionally, left by the teacher, and they felt the need to fill it. As a result, many parents assumed the role of non-professional "home educators," functioning as "prostheses" of the teacher's physical presence in the student's home, dependent on following instructions as prescribed.

Discussion

The study presented here illustrates (on a small scale) the circumstances under which parents took on new responsibilities of educational tasks. The choice of a short period – the 3.5 months of the first wave of the pandemic – was not accidental. This is because the first wave of COVID-19 represented the moment when schools made the extraordinary move to hastily switch to remote teaching. This pace of change and the unprecedented nature of the situation made it possible to identify some implicit patterns and assumptions that fed the hastily implemented solutions in the first wave of the pandemic. How schools handled distance learning at that time, and how it was experienced by those involved, obviously influenced later decisions regarding necessary changes. In this study, attention was paid to the phenomena and processes that turned parents into "home educators" and made them the most critical link in education using distance learning tools.

The parents made it clear that the school's approach could not qualify as distance learning. This clear thesis led to questions about what education

and teaching in general are and how they should be pursued. According to the parents, even though the school was responsible for assigning tasks, setting the pace of work, and checking the student's progress, it was ultimately the family home that provided the means for teaching and conducted the teaching. Those included the family's resources and the parents' involvement. The parents explained, checked understanding, organized the learning environment, and motivated their children instead of the absent teachers.

In addition, the way teachers assigned work – daily, in each subject, according to the daily schedule, and by email – made the management of the entire process very difficult for everyone involved and made the parents' administrative support critical to the entire process. This mode of communication made it impossible for teachers and students to have the intensive interaction necessary for the pedagogical model. The school's use of email was part of a technical/administrative dimension of the broader context that activated parents both as administrators of the teachers' correspondence (helping children to use the tool) and as facilitators, explaining the content, motivating the pupils, guiding and structuring their work, etc.

The parents' ubiquitous, intensive support or even filling in for an invisible teacher, is also well documented in the literature (e.g., Garbe et al., 2020; Haller & Novita, 2021; Lase et al., 2021; Misirli & Ergulec, 2021). It seemed to be a matter of course and, as such, raised the question of the specific pedagogical vision behind it. This vision was related to the second dimension of the practices implemented in the school under study: the pedagogical/didactic dimension. The practices were born out of concepts of learning and teaching that were familiar from the classroom and were anchored in transmission-behavioral models (e.g., Czapliński et al., 2020; Plebańska et al., 2020; Ptaszek et al., 2020). The teacher is the central figure in the educational process, transmitting knowledge to passive, resistant, and reluctant students and acting as the guardian of the learning

⁹ These results are supported by the international and national studies referred to above.

process. In the classroom, the teacher directly interacted with the students, with a physical, supervisory presence which allowed them to control both the pace of the students' work and the content they were "absorbing." In distance education, the physical and interactive presence of the teacher proved demanding to achieve. In turn, the educational process lost its former owner. Without a teacher, students lacked guidance on what, when, how, and why to learn. The "vacancy" of the teacher was often filled by parents who were physically present at home to fulfill the teaching duties.

It is worth noting that such attempts to organize distance education took a very different course and were based on different assumptions than those of proper distance education. That is, the distance education approach is established on a constructivist and not behaviorist paradigm and it emphasizes the central role of the student as the owner of the learning process (Garrison et al., 2000; Means et al., 2013; Picciano, 2017; Vaughan et al., 2013).

The shortcomings of this particular asynchronous distance learning program during the initial phase of COVID-19 led to it being discontinued later. The overall frustrations of parents and teachers with the teaching methods nested in the behavioral model and pursued in correspondence form led to a shift towards synchronous online classes during the successive waves of the pandemic. Despite this shift, however, the behavioral teaching paradigm continued. Online synchronous classes immobilized students in front of screens during long school hours, despite numerous recommendations to combine and skillfully interweave synchronous and asynchronous lessons using appropriate technological tools and constructing a pedagogically informed curriculum (Chen et al., 2021; Martin et al., 2020; Minister of National Education, 2020; Miller et al., 2020).

The results apply primarily to one particular school and are thus an example of an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2003). However, it is reasonable to assume that the events, phenomena, and processes identified in the study may serve to illustrate or explain phenomena in other schools that organized distance education similarly. Reports from both Polish (Wiatr, 2022) and international (e.g., Garbe et al., 2020; Huber & Helm, 2020) studies of this short period show that during the pandemic, the dominant

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findings, however, require further research.

Certain limitations of this study should be acknowledged as warranting consideration. Firstly, it was conducted on a small scale and in a specific location, which may affect the generalizability of the results. Although similar studies conducted in Poland and abroad have found comparable results, further research and qualitative data analysis are necessary. Secondly, the survey was distributed electronically, which is a common weakness in studies because it may exclude people who have technical difficulties or lack the necessary skills to access the survey. This could have prevented relevant parental perspectives from being represented. Thirdly, the survey did not include sociodemographic questions that could have provided insight into the study participants. The Parents' Council made the decision to exclude these questions so as to encourage a broader response to the survey. This may have weakened the findings presented in this study.

In conclusion, while this study provides valuable insights into parents' experiences, it is important to acknowledge its limitations and consider the need for further research.

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