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PRESCHOOL TEACHER-PARENT COMMUNICATION DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC LOCKDOWN: RELATION TO THE PARENTAL ENGAGEMENT AT HOME*

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ABSTRACT

During the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, the education system moved to an online format. Parents of pre-schoolers therefore became the primary educators responsible for the sustainability of their children's education. Communication with teachers was the only available support resource. The present study aimed to investigate the relationship between preschool teacher-parent communication (frequency, content of exchange, and satisfaction with the teacher's support) and parental engagement in home-learning activities. An online questionnaire was sent to 1646 parents of children attending preschools. Multiple regression analysis indicated that the communication frequency between parents and preschool teachers was a significant predictor of parent engagement in home-learning activities, but the effects were small. Unexpectedly, parents more engaged in face-to-face home-learning activities were less satisfied with the teacher support. The study suggests that one-way digital communication

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with a clear role division between experts and parents has a limited effect on the parents' engagement and sustainability of preschool education in times of crisis.

COVID-19, lockdown, preschool, teacher-parents communication, parental engagement.

INTRODUCTION

The outbreak of COVID-19 in Serbia occurred in March 2020. Not long after, the national authorities imposed a nationwide lockdown as the new safety measure (travel bans, banning sports and entertainment events, and shops reduced working hours). Preschools, schools, and universities were temporarily closed in the entire country. Schools and universities shifted to distance education using various online platforms and national television broadcasting of lectures, while preschool institution did not at first receive any direction from the government. After a while, preschool institutions received instructions from the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development to establish communication with parents through available social media. Usually that involved sharing ideas for play-based learning activities via viber groups (Purešević & Miškeljin, 2022). In that way, parents delivered preschool education to their children with the support received from the teacher through digital communication. Research on the effectiveness of this kind of communication has not been done yet.

Communication Between Teacher and Parents

The teacher-parent partnership is usually used as an umbrella term for cooperation that includes mutual participation in the child's education, as well as shared responsibility for its outcomes (Halimah & Margaretha 2020; Epstein, 1996).

A parents-preschool teacher partnership was deemed to be a significant predictor of children's academic, social, and emotional development (Banerjee et al., 2011; Farkas & Grolnick, 2010; Jeynes, 2012). Numerous studies have shown that parental involvement in the educational process leads to fewer behavioural problems (El Nokali et al., 2010), fewer difficulties in overcoming school failures, and better academic achievement (Epstein & Dauber, 1991). Research also emphasises the importance of the relationship between parents and preschool institutions as a foundation for later developmental outcomes of the child (Arnold et al., 2008; Powell et al., 2010). The successful partnership also has a positive effect on teacher-parent relationships: parents better recognise teachers' efforts, they are more satisfied with

their work (Epstein, 1985), they are more motivated to participate in their child's education, and they feel more connected with teachers (Chen et al., 2022).

When parents and teachers communicate well with one another, they are able to support student learning together. As such, developing effective strategies for communicating with families is part of the early childhood teachers' responsibility (Epstein et al., 2005; Murray et al., 2015). Responsive effective communication and sharing of information are highlighted as crucial aspects of teacher-parent partnerships (Chen, Rivera-Vernazza, 2022; Kaptich et al., 2019). Research shows that teacher-parent trust is an essential component of effective communication, even more, important than the frequency of interaction (de Oliveira Lima &Kuusisto, 2019; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2002). Communication may have various features: informal-formal, one-way two-way communication, oral-written, and digital-face to face (Hobiilă, 2014).

Communication with the teacher was the available resource that could be helpful or even critical for sustainable preschool education during the lockdown. Research shows that better communication with the preschool teacher can improve parents' sensitivity to promoting developmentally appropriate care and simulative interactions with the child (Owen et al., 2000). In other words, successful communication related to the school context has the power to reinforce children's out-of-school learning (Duckworth et al., 2009). Covid lockdown inevitably caused changes in the teacher-parent partnership and communication. The question arose of whether communication largely restricted to digital forms could enhance partnerships. Based on previous research it seems that social networks and other digital means of communication have both, advantages and disadvantages. This way of communication is time-efficient and transparent (Palts & Kalmus, 2015), increases communication frequency between parents and teachers (Aviva & Simon, 2021; Thompson, 2008) and is useful for parents who live far from the preschool (Kuusimäki et al., 2019). On the other hand, research suggests that parents' and teachers' preferred channels for communication could differ (Palts & Kalmus, 2015), parents may feel that they do not have enough opportunities to participate (Kuusimäki et al., 2019), and constant connectivity compromises the boundary between teachers' professional and private lives (Agger, 2011). Additionally, research conducted during the pandemic shows that some parents observed mass messages from the teachers as exclusive one-way communication (Laxton et al., 2021). "Finishing preschool assignments" sent through social media could be stressful for parents who had to deal with a lack of materials, financial problems, and children lacking concentration (Purešević & Miškeljin, 2022; Yıldırım, 2021).

From Parental Involvement in School to Parental **Engagement at Home**

Parental involvement, as their support, engagement, or participation in the child's academic life (Yamamoto & Bempechat, 2022) can involve various forms of commitment (Pomerantz et al., 2007). However, a lack of consensus, a lot of confusion, and different conceptualisations are associated with defining involvement (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014; Gross et al, 2020; Kim, 2009; de Oliveira Lima & Kuusisto, 2019). Epstein and associates have differentiated six types of parental participation (parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decisionmaking, and collaborating with the community) as an aspect of the parents-teachercommunity partnership (Epstein et al., 2005). Despite many contributions, Epstein's model has been criticized for being school-centred instead of learning-centred (de Oliveira Lima & Kuusisto, 2019). This model is attached to a perspective that the main goal of parental involvement is to achieve or help in achieving school targets. For example, learning at home is seen as organised according to the skills required at each grade level.

Pomerantz et al. (2007) make the distinction between parents' practices based at school and those based outside school. Similarly, Olmstead (2013) distinguished two types of parental involvement: 1) "reactive involvement" when parents are physically present and participate in school activities (e.g., attending meetings), and 2) "proactive involvement" when parents organise and support child home-learning. Proactive involvement further includes both direct academic support (e.g., helping a child with homework, keeping track of a child's learning progress) (Yamamoto & Bempechat, 2022) and engaging children in intellectual activities (e.g., reading books, playing, singing...) that may not be directly related to school (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994).

Goodall and Montgomery (2014) argue that parental engagement with children's learning should be distinguished from parental involvement in school and schooling. They emphasise that engagement includes the change in the relational agency as a shift from parent-school relations to parent-child relations. It usually involves parents' greater commitment and independence in the choice of action compared to parental involvement in school and schooling. The parental engagement framework is recognised as more learning and family centered than parental involvement and it includes parent-child interactions outside the child's academic life (de Oliveira Lima & Kuusisto, 2019). Parental engagement in a child's learning starts before school, as part of the child's early development (Edwards et al., 2008; Goodall & Montgomery, 2014; Kim, 2009). Promoting and participating in children's learning may or may not be a part of the parent's participation in preschool education (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014; Kim, 2009). This type of engagement includes different activities that parents initiate to support or provide an opportunity for children's learning (Gross et al., 2020; Edwards et al., 2008; Goodall & Montgomery, 2014).

Another reason to distinguish between these two forms of parental support lies in the fact that low involvement in school and schooling does not imply low engagement in child learning (Levine-Rasky, 2009; Yamamoto & Bempechat, 2022). Research shows that parental involvement in school could be challenging for a minority, parents with low income or a low level of education who work long hours, but it does not necessarily mean that their interest in their children's education and dedication to supporting their child's intellectual development is also low (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014; Levine-Rasky, 2009; Kim, 2009). Additionally, lower involvement may be triggered by preschool-related factors, such as the disparity between the family's needs, interests, everyday life organisation, and preschoolprovided content (Jelić et al., 2018).

Parental engagement in home-based learning activities (reading books, telling stories) has been shown to improve children's behavioural, and social outcomes (Marcon, 1999; Powell et al., 2010), pre-literacy development, and mathematical skills (Arnold et al., 2008; Powell et al., 2010) and it is considered a key contributor to academic success (Halle et al., 2012). Consequently, efforts to increase parental engagement in early childhood have been made for decades (McCormick et al., 2020). For example, Sénéchal and LeFevre (2002) highlighted that attention should be paid to parental engagement in both informal (e.g., reading) and formal (e.g., parents directly teaching early skills such as letter recognition) learning activities. Research shows that socially-disadvantaged circumstances (e.g., poverty, low education, belonging to a minority group) could be a barrier to parental engagement in home-learning activities (Hayes et al., 2018).

During the lockdown, parental engagement in learning became even more important, thus they were often the only adult caregivers that the child had contact with. Preschool institutions were closed and contact with grandparents was not recommended by authorities. Analyses of time-use diaries confirmed a large increase in the time utilised for child care during the pandemic (Andrew et al., 2020). Mothers spent more than 10 hours a day caring for children. Plenty of time together could be an opportunity to improve child-parent relationships as a result of the emotional closeness and more space for engaging the child in home-based learning activities (Gambin et al., 2020; Yıldırım, 2021). However, for some parents, more time together also meant more stress because they faced a challenging situation - more intense and time-demanding involvement in childcare, along with remote work and chronic stress (Andrew et al., 2020).

It is questionable if the described teacher-parent communication during the lockdown in Serbia could be supportive enough to impact parents' better engagement in home-learning activities.

METHOD

Participants. A total of 1646 parents (87% female; 78% urban population) of preschool children; children's (mean age 3.87) participated in this research. Onethird of the sample had completed secondary education (ISCED 3), while almost half of the participants (48%) had ISCED 5 or 6 levels of education. Around half of the respondents have two children (51%), a third (35.5%) have one child, and 14.5% have three or more children. Most of the children (84%) at the time of the survey were enrolled in public preschool institutions, while the remaining children (16%) went to private kindergartens. Both types of preschool institution were closed during the lockdown.

Instruments. The research was organised as an online survey. At the beginning, the purpose and goal of the research were explained to the respondents, as well as their voluntary and anonymous participation, and after giving their consent to participate, they were able to proceed. The survey started with several socio-demographic questions. Parents stated their gender, level of education, and assessed their socio-economic status on a 10-point scale (where 1 indicates households in Serbia that have the lowest economic status and 10 those with the highest).

Teacher-parent communication. Parents were asked about 1. frequency of the communication between them and teachers and 2. their satisfaction with the support received from the preschool teachers (5-point scale). Parents assessed the frequency of communication in general (several times a day, once a day, two to three times a week, once a week, a couple of times), the frequency of exchanging information about the home-learning activities for the child, and the frequency of exchanging information about the child's learning and development (not even once, once or twice, repeatedly, nearly every day).

Parental Engagement in Home-Based Learning Activities. A 12-item scale was developed to measure how often parents engaged in home-based learning activities with preschool children during the lockdown. Those items referred to various activities in which parents and children spent time together (examples of items: reading books, telling stories, using educational online platforms, watching cartoons). Parents responded on the 4-point Likert scale, ranging from never to almost every day. The scale showed good reliability (Cronbach alpha .836).

Factor analysis was conducted (principal axis factoring with oblimin rotation) to investigate the latent structure of the scale. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .89, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was also satisfying $\chi^2(66, N = 1638) = 5625.04$, p<.001. The factor analysis results also indicated the existence of two factors which explained 38% of the variance. The correlation between factors was relatively high (r=.52). The first factor accounted for 33% of the variance, and it was loaded by the items describing home-based learning activities that parents did with children face to face (i.e., Reading books with the child). The second factor (accounting for 6% of the variance) was loaded mostly by playing counting games and learning activities mediated by using TV or digital technology (i.e. Watching online theatre shows with children and Watching cartoons together). Table 1 presents the structure and pattern matrix data.

Table 1: Pattern and Structure matrix of Parent engagement in home-based activities scale

	Pattern		Stru	icture
	1	2	1	2
Reading books with the child.	.76		.71	
Telling stories.	.74		.68	
Singing to or with the child.	.70		.66	
Playing board games.	.60		.66	.43
Drawing with the child.	.58		.66	.55
Showing or teaching the child new skills (e.g. how to tie shoelaces).	.51		.64	.42
Teaching the child the alphabet, or helped them learn the letters, or drawing lines on paper.	.31		.43	.39

Playing counting games with the child or teaching them numbers.		.67		.64
Useing online educational platforms.		.58		.56
Watching online children's theatre performances.	.34	.37	.54	.55
Watching cartoons with the child.		.34	.47	.49
Playing role-play games (e.g. seller and buyer, hairdresser and customer, etc).			.35	.37

Procedure. The questionnaire was designed in Google forms and distributed via social networks. The survey was active during May and June 2020, and it was concluded a week after the end of lockdown.

The research was designed in compliance with the principles of the Code of Ethics of the Serbian Psychologist Association, as documented in the Approval from the IRB of Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia (Approval No. 2020-28, obtained on 13.5.2020).

RESULTS

Communication with Preschool Teachers

Most of the parents communicated with the preschool teacher daily or weekly: several times a day (11%), once a day (27%), two or three times week (25%), or once a week (13%). One-quarter of the parents in the sample (25%) got in touch with the teacher only a few times during the lockdown. Perceived frequency of communication correlates with parents' education, but the correlation is weak (r=-0.10; p<.01). The correlation with parents' perceived economic status did not meet the criteria for statistical significance.

Only 9% of the parents never exchanged information about the home-based activities with the preschool teacher. Teachers contacted most of them regarding that issue several times during the lockdown (35%). A third of the parents communicated with teachers about the activities almost every day (31%). A quarter of the parents (25%) received this kind of support once or twice in this period. The frequency of exchanging home-based activities slightly negatively correlate with parents educational level (r=-0.08; p<.01), but not with their economic status

Information about children's learning and development was exchanged less frequently: around 25% of the parents never exchanged information about the child's learning and development and 25% exchanged this information once or twice. Most of the parents exchanged this information with preschool teachers several times during the lockdown period (32%) and 17% of the parents exchanged it almost every day. More educated parents perceived that this type of the communication was less frequent, but the correlation is also low(r=-0.18; p<.01).

Parents were highly satisfied with the support they received from the preschool teachers: the mean score was above 4, on a scale of 1 to 5 (M=4.40; SD=1.03). There was no difference between mothers and fathers when it came to their satisfaction with the received support (t(1644)=0,458; p=0,647). The correlation between parents' satisfaction and their educational level is negative (indicated that more educated parents are less satisfied) but very low (r=-0.137; p<.01). The correlation with parents' perceived economic status was not significant.

Teacher-Parent Communication and Parental Engagement

The association between factor scores and parents' education level and perceived educational status are significant for face-to-face home-based learning activities but the correlation coefficients are very low (r=0.122; p<.01 for the educational level, r=0.081; p<.01 for the perceived economic status). The mother score is higher for learning activities (t(1644) = -2.01, p<.05) despite there not being any statistically significant differences between mothers and fathers in their engagement in activities mediated by digital technology (t(1644) = -.15, p=.90).

Two multiple regressions were performed to investigate the associations of teacher-parent communication and parental engagement in home-based learning activities. Before conducting the analysis, we tested whether our data met the criteria for this statistical method. No significant issues emerged (e.g., the number of participants for the number of predictor variables was satisfactory, dependent variables were measured on an interval scale, scatter plots showed no major disruption regarding linearity or normality, multiple regression was used in this study field...) (Cohen et al., 2003; Draper & Smith, 1998). Before introducing the results of this analysis it is important to acknowledge a possible ambiguity: although the terms independent and dependent variables are used, this method does not imply the direction of a causal relationship between them (Cohen et al., 2003).

Regarding parent engagement in home-based learning activities, criterion variables were factor scores on (1) face-to-face stimulating activities (model 1) and (2) counting and home-based activities mediated by digital technology (model 2). Results of the regression analysis confirmed the effect of preschool support on faceto-face home-based learning activities $(F(4,1641)=23.91, p<.001, R^2=.06)$, as well as

counting and home-based activities mediated by digital technology (F(4,1641)=31.95,p<.001, R^2 =.07). Individual contributions of predictors are presented in Table 2. Two dependent variables related to teacher-parent communication explained 6 and 7% variances of parental engagement during the lockdown. The frequency of exchanging information about the activities and the frequency of exchanging information about the child's development were significant predictors of both factors of parents' engagement in home-learning activities. General contact frequency was not a significant predictor of parents' engagement in home-learning activities (Table 2). In other words, parents more engaged in home-learning activities would probably report that they received information about activities and their child's development more frequently from the preschool teachers. Contrarily, more satisfied parents were less engaged in face-to -face home-based learning activities.

Table 2: Individual contribution of predictor variables on parent engagement in home-based learning activities

		В	SE	t	p
Model 1: face-to-face activities	Contact frequency	.02	.03	.75	.45
	Exchange of information about activities	.15	.030	4.91	<.01
	Exchange of information about the child's development	.11	.03	4.02	<.01
	Support satisfaction	09	.03	-3.60	<.01
Model 2: activities mediated by digital technology	Contact frequency	.03	.02	.05	.06
	Exchange of information about activities	.08	.03	.09	<.01
	Exchange of information about the child's development	.15	.03	.19	<.01
	Support satisfaction	02	.02	03	.30

DISCUSSION

The research findings indicated that parent-preschool-teacher communication during the lockdown could contribute to better parental engagement. Teacherparent exchange of information frequency and parents' satisfaction with digital communication were associated with parental engagement in home-learning activities. Parents who received more support from preschool teachers provided more opportunities for their child's learning.

As mentioned above, the most common form of communication during this period was sending learning activity ideas to the parents' Viber groups and receiving their photos or videos of the activities (Purešević & Miškeljin, 2022). An important finding is that even this form of communication could be connected (not strongly, but statistically significant) with parents' behaviour. These results emphasise teacherparent partnership as a resource in crisis time. However, the obtained effects are minor, indicating that providing only this type of support is not enough for creating meaningful and developmentally supportive activities for every child. Parents who are more satisfied with the teacher's support are less engaged in face-to-face homelearning activities. Also, more educated parents are less satisfied with the support they received. It is not easy to explain this result, yet it also indicates that the bond between teacher-parent communication and parental engagement is weak. Further analyses could show if communication between parents and teachers during the lockdown was satisfying primarily for parents who found supporting a child's development less important.

It is important to point out that although parents were satisfied with teacher support, there is still significant room for improvement. The lockdown was a new situation for both parents and experts. Research shows that teachers need special training to successfully facilitate home-based learning (Najjengo &Buluma, 2021). Teachers from Serbia stated that during the lockdown they missed the most support in developing digital competencies (Spasenović, 2022). Parents described proposed learning activities as homework and they felt the tension to complete them (Purešević & Miškeljin, 2022). A similar situation was found in other countries (Yildirim, 2021). Accordingly, digital communication through social media distinguished teachers as experts who gave assignments and parents obligated to fulfil the tasks (Purešević & Miškeljin, 2022). Easily, with this role distribution, parents could feel like passive recipients.

Teacher-parent communication and parental engagement are associated with parents' education and financial situation (Arnold et al., 2008; Hayes et al., 2018; Levine-Rasky, 2009; Kim, 2009). However, our results suggest a weak correlation with parents' education. Including more variables related to the family's characteristics (work obligation, working from home, and availability of digital technology) and circumstances during the lockdown would provide better insights into specific needs and their relation to partnership and engagement.

Teacher-parent partnership during preschool education is an old topic. Oneway communication that distinguishes teachers as experts and parents as receivers accords with the traditional model of parental involvement (Berčnik & Devjak, 2017). The main criticisms of this paradigm are that the parent role, capacities, and knowledge were not emphasised enough, as their participation in planning and implementing a variety of activities was limited and mostly defined by professionals, or the expert, retaining the "hierarchical structure of power" (Pushor & Ruitenberg, 2005). The term parental engagement refers to parents as resources and partners in a child's education, moving away from the division between powerful experts and ignorant parents (de Oliveira Lima & Kuusisto, 2019; Goodall & Montgomery, 2014; Epstein & Sheldon, 2006).

This is in line with the need for an individualised approach to the family as an aspect of the teacher-parent partnership (LaRocque et al., 2011). A shift to digital communication can be seen as an opportunity to redefine the teacher-parent partnership and to promote sensitivity to particular parents and children's needs as parents respond from their homes (Purešević & Miškeljin, 2022). Moreover, parents had different issues to cope with, depending on their specific individual circumstances. Respect for family diversity is an aspect of successful communication between preschool institutions and parents (Berčnik & Devjak, 2017).

Thus, the time for two-way digital communication has come. Sending the same activities to all parents is not a sign of understanding families' specific needs. However, as our results have shown, even this communication with a clear division between senders and receivers could be helpful in times of crisis. The question of the real power of a carefully planned, individualised support programme, based on the teacher-parent partnership, is yet to be answered.

CONCLUSION

The results gained in this study point out that preschool teachers could be a valuable resource for parents in times of crisis. Even ad-hoc organized teachers' support without clear direction could be related to an improvement in parents' engagement which provided the sustainability of preschool education during the pandemic. However, shifting to digital communication and parents as primary educators moved the preschool systems back to the traditional form of teacherparent partnership. Better planned support for teachers would probably increase the probability of the partnership occurring and with better bonding between teacherparent communication and parental engagement.

One limitation of the study stems from the fact that the research was online. Thus, parents who did not have access to digital resources were not included in the study. The participants were almost always mothers. Mothers' perspective was important because they spent more time with children in the lockdown (Andrew et al., 2020) but, fathers' answers would have provided additional insights. The important issue that arose was how to help the helpers or how to reinforce the teacher to adequately react in a crisis and identify specific parents' needs related to the homelearning context. Furthermore, including the preschool teachers' perspective on parent engagement would open a new research question. As far as the implications for practice are concerned, our results provide a solid justification for planning and individualizing activities in the context of collaboration with families.

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