Teachers' Reflections on Supporting Social and Emotional Learning: Desires, Practices, and Tensions in Fostering Family-School Ties

KARYN E. MILLER
Texas A&M University-Commerce, USA
karyn.miller@tamuc.edu

This study explores how schools communicated and engaged with families in online/blended learning environments to support students' social-emotional well-being. In the form of reflective learning journals and asynchronous peer discussions, documents were collected during Spring 2020, Fall 2020, and Spring 2021 from a graduate course for experienced K-12 teachers at a 4-year comprehensive university in the Southern United States. Guided by the CASEL framework for social and emotional learning (SEL), thematic document analysis gave form to the data. The following three themes emerged: 1) teachers perceived family-school ties to be more important than ever amid remote/online learning, 2) they amended their practices by acknowledging and empathizing with parents' increased instructional responsibilities, seeking increased knowledge of students' home lives, and offering support to parents through frequent communication, and 3) deficit thinking, time demands, and mounting frustrations with some parents' unresponsiveness were obstacles to building family-school connections. Findings suggest that while experienced teachers hold parental relationships in high regard, efforts to foster two-way, reciprocal partnerships with parents of online learners may be difficult to sustain, particularly when teachers navigate multiple learning contexts simultaneously. The article concludes with implications for schools.

INTRODUCTION

Parental engagement in children's schooling plays a critical role in supporting students' sense of belonging and success (Allen et al., 2018; Wang & Eccles, 2012), especially for K-12 online learners (Borup, Graham, et al., 2020). When the coronavirus pandemic closed schools and prevented many students from returning after they reopened, the disruption to students' social environments, including the loss of daily interactions with teachers and classmates, raised concerns about students' social and emotional well-being (Bouffard, 2021, Darling-Hammond et al., 2020; Hamilton & Gross, 2021). Simultaneously, the abrupt and widespread shift to remote schooling elevated parents' instructional responsibilities and introduced opportunities to strengthen family-school ties (Alberty, 2021; Seale, 2020; Winthrop, 2020). In response, scholars have advocated for research on how schools mobilized, engaged, and communicated with families to support student well-being amid the pandemic (Hamilton & Gross, 2021; Richmond et al., 2020).

This study offers a preliminary response to this call. Relational approaches to schooling, which can foster students' social and emotional learning (SEL), often focus on face-to-face environments (for example, Baker et al., 1997; Valenzuela, 1999; Noddings, 2005; Wandix-White, 2020; Wilde, 2013). Far less is known about such approaches in online learning contexts, particularly family-school engagement. This study begins to address this gap and describes teachers' desires for family engagement, practices they used to foster family-school ties, and tensions they experienced during the online learning of Spring 2020 through Spring 2021. It offers implications for teacher development, practice, and school culture in online and blended environments.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical social and emotional competencies include "a love of learning, a comfortable sense of oneself, positive social skills, multiple successful relationships at later ages, and a sophisticated understanding of emotions, commitment, morality, and other aspects of human relationships" (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2004, p.1). These attributes develop through rich contexts and relationships (Jones & Bouffard, 2012). While one strong, caring, and sustained relationship in a child's life can significantly impact social and emotional development and well-being (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2015), the positive effects

are amplified when children have a web of caring relationships that reinforce each other (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017). In K-12 education, Dewey (1939/1997) was an early advocate for the role of schools in fostering interconnected social networks for students by strengthening family-school ties.

Family-School Ties: Definitions and Frameworks

"Family," "parent," and caregiver" are used synonymously throughout this article to mean an adult, "who has a long-lasting relationship with the student and a legal or ethical responsibility to care for the student" (Hasler-Waters et al., 2017, p. 405). "Family-school ties" broadly encompasses ways in which families and schools can connect in both traditional and online environments. This section distinguishes between several significant parental involvement, engagement, and school partnership frameworks.

In traditional learning environments, parental involvement can be home or school-based (Epstein, 1987; Eccles & Harold, 1996; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). Parents can provide parenting care at home and support learning (Epstein, 1987) through encouragement, positive reinforcement, modeling, and direct instruction (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2005). School-based involvement can include, for example, volunteering at school, parent-teacher communication, and attending a school event (Epstein, 1987; Connors & Epstein, 1995). Epstein (e.g., 1987, 2018) proposes that family, school, and community spheres overlap and that there are opportunities to build connections between them regardless of whether parental involvement is home or school-based.

Goodall & Montgomery's (2014) 's parental involvement-engagement continuum distinguishes between types and quality of family-school connections. According to this model, parental involvement with schools is more common, traditional, and school-directed. Communication is one-directional, with schools transferring information to families about students' progress and school events (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014). As family-school ties move towards engagement, parents take on more agency. Communication can become a two-way dialogue (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014), where schools engage with parents on their terms (O'Toole et al., 2019).

In online K-12 settings, scholars have argued that traditional models fail to capture the full extent of home-based parental involvement responsibilities, which may include nurturing, motivating, monitoring, instructing, and organizing (Borup et al., 2014; Borup et al., 2020). Related research

emphasizes parents' roles in providing motivational, instructional, and organizational support to their children at home (Beck et al., 2013; Borup et al., 2014; Hasler-Waters & Leong, 2014; Keaton & Gilbert, 2020; Stevens & Borup, 2015; Borup et al., 2019). While limited research examines the extent and form of family-school ties in online/blended environments, findings suggest that parents of online K-12 students can facilitate connections with teachers (Borup et al., 2015; Hasler-Waters et al., 2017) and between students and teachers (Hasler Waters, 2012). Conversely, online schools can foster parental engagement by holding in-person orientations for parents, regularly sharing student success stories with families, and providing teachers with increased time to engage with parents, resulting in "deeper levels of communication" (Borup, 2016, p. 72).

The CASEL Framework: Family-School Partnerships to Support Students' SEL

In both traditional and online engagement frameworks, students' general "learning" (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014) and academic achievement are the desired outcomes of parental involvement/engagement/partnerships (Borup et al., 2014; Borup et al., 2020; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). In contrast, the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning's (CASEL) SEL framework centers students' social and emotional development and well-being as the ultimate product of family-school relations (CASEL, 2020). This framework provides an integrated understanding of students' SEL development within classroom, school, family and caregiver, and community contexts. It proposes that schools improve students' SEL outcomes by providing families with opportunities to volunteer and participate in classroom and school events, share information about their children, voice communication preferences, and actively engage in decision-making processes (CASEL, 2020). The CASEL model defines ideal family-school ties as partnerships based on two-way communication. In part, schools can foster this type of family-school tie by exuding a welcoming culture and honoring families' funds of knowledge (Mapp & Bergman, 2019; O'Toole et al., 2019).

The CASEL framework can apply to traditional and online learning environments alike. Opportunities for collaborative problem-solving between school staff and families, for example, can be made available in-person or virtually (CASEL, 2021). Prior to this study, minimal research, if any, has used the CASEL framework to examine family-school partnerships in online environments.

Family-School Ties and Students' Social-Emotional Well-Being

Evidence suggests that as family-school ties move towards engagement and partnership, students' social and emotional benefits increase. Trusting relationships with parents help teachers develop stronger relationships with students (Bryk & Schneider, 2002), particularly for students of color (Wandix-White, 2020), which can bolster students' sense of connection and school belonging (Allen et al., 2018). When family-school ties are strong, students are more likely to attend school, perform better academically, graduate high school, pursue post-secondary education, and experience fewer behavioral and mental health challenges (O'Toole et al., 2019).

Relative to traditional schools, students in online settings may struggle more to make friends (Borup, Walters, et al., 2020) and experience a greater sense of loneliness and disconnection (Garrett Dikkers et al., 2013). Amid the pandemic, data suggest a positive correlation between the time students spent learning online and adverse social and emotional well-being outcomes (Hamilton & Gross, 2021), suggesting that remote learners shared a sense of social isolation experienced by traditional online students. Preliminary evidence from K-12 online learning contexts indicates that the presence of family-school ties may offset some of these SEL-related concerns. For example, satisfaction with the level of communication from online schools informs both parents' and students' overall sense of school satisfaction (Beck et al., 2013).

Challenges to Building Family-School Ties: Beliefs and Experiences

Dewey (1938/1997) argued that education should develop the whole child and leverage students' learning contexts within and outside school walls. Nevertheless, attention to students' social and emotional growth in schools is often compartmentalized and relegated to short periods of the school day or week devoted to SEL instruction (Jones & Bouffard, 2012). Although some school-based SEL programs are associated with positive social, emotional, and academic outcomes (Durlak et al., 2011; Mahoney et al., 2018; Taylor et al., 2017), they often are not integrated into daily interactions and fail to consider students' broader social environments (Jones & Bouffard, 2012).

Barriers to developing family-school ties, particularly reciprocal relationships, include caregivers' past negative school experiences, a sense of being undervalued or disrespected, and perception of a lack of warmth or

invitation to engage with teachers and schools (Mapp & Bergman, 2019). Teachers and school staff may not view family-school ties as a primary job responsibility, apply deficit thinking, or blame students and families for school failure, particularly in diverse communities (D'Haem & Griswold, 2017; Mapp & Bergman, 2019; Valencia, 2012), and lack sufficient preparation and development in this area (D'Haem & Griswold, 2017; Kirmaci, 2019). All parties may lack exposure to positive examples of reciprocal family-school relationships (Mapp & Bergman, 2019).

In Online Learning Environments

While online teachers and parents alike extol the virtues of effective family-school communication (Borup et al., 2015; Borup, 2016), research highlights tensions in practice. Parents report feeling unsure about initiating contact with online teachers (Borup & Stevens, 2016) and perceive that some forms of support are unwanted (Borup et al., 2015). Online teachers express frustration with parents who serve as intermediaries between teachers and students, hindering those direct relationships (Borup, 2016). Although many parents appreciate teachers' frequent emails and progress reports, others perceive that schools overlook their communication preferences (Borup & Stevens, 2016). The nature of family-school communication in online schools may be primarily one-directional (Rice & Ortiz, 2021) or require parents to initiate communication with teachers for personalized attention (Borup et al., 2015; Borup & Stevens, 2016).

Role ambiguity in online learning environments presents other barriers to establishing family-school ties. Hasler-Waters et al.'s (2017) review of the research finds that parental responsibility to support online students is exceptionally high; parents may not understand or be able to perform the multiple roles expected of them (Borup et al., 2019). Inflexible schedules and constraints on their time, which disproportionally impact low-income parents, may reduce at-home supervision and school communication (Borup et al., 2015; Russell, 2004). Conversely, teachers may not perceive family outreach as part of their role or be prepared to foster family-school ties. Few teacher preparation programs prepare preservice teachers for online environments or offer online field experiences that provide hands-on opportunities to engage with families (Kennedy & Archambault, 2012; Rice & Deschaine, 2020).

When schools switched to remote learning as an emergency response (Hodges et al., 2020), teachers and parents expressed similar challenges

with poor family-school communication (Midcalf & Boatwright, 2020). Parents felt that a lack of teacher communication and unclear expectations served as barriers to engaging with their child's remote schooling (Garbe et al., 2020), as did time constraints to support students with schooling at home (Midcalf & Boatwright, 2020).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Based on parental engagement/partnership frameworks and research in traditional and online learning settings, Figure 1 presents a conceptual framework to guide this study. The concentric circles reflect CASEL's (2020) framing of students' SEL development as a function of learning settings and interconnected relationships. However, Figure 1 provides a pared-down representation of CASEL's (2020) five key settings and solely highlights the intersection of families and schools. In this model, parents' and teachers' perceptions of the value of parental involvement, informed by beliefs and experiences, influence whether and how they develop family-school ties in online contexts. In turn, the first two concentric circles impact students' well-being, including SEL. Following Goodall and Montgomery's (2014) continuum framework, Figure 1 conceptualizes family-school ties as inclusive, including a range of behaviors that range from school-directed (Epstein 1987; Rice & Ortiz, 2021) to reciprocal (CASEL, 2020, Mapp & Bergman, 2019). As family-school ties move towards partnerships, an animated version of the model might display a growing, or brightening, center, representing the research findings that, while family-school ties of all types can positively benefit students, interconnected relationships best support their social and emotional needs (CASEL, 2020; National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2015; Roehlkepartain et al., 2017).
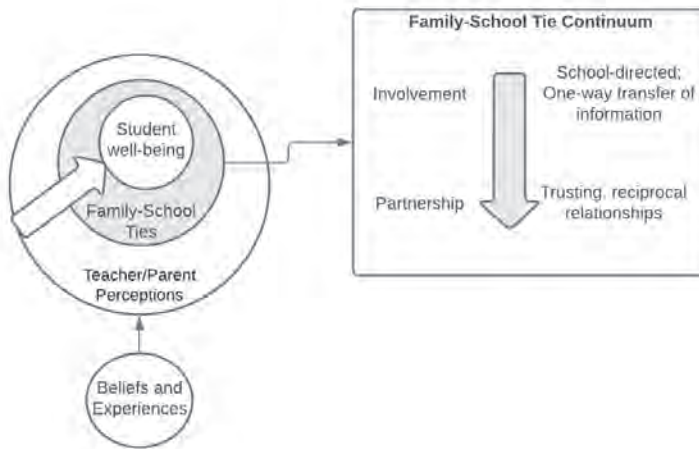
Figure 1. Conceptual Model.

Research Questions

Guided by the conceptual framework, this study addresses the following questions within the context of how teachers navigated the remote/online learning that occurred in K-12 schools between Spring 2020 and Spring 2021 :

1) What perceptions did experienced teachers have regarding the value of family-school ties?
2) How did experienced teachers foster family-school ties to support online students' well-being? Did their approaches represent traditional, school-directed parental involvement practices or efforts to build reciprocal family-school relationships?
3) What challenges to fostering family-school ties did they encounter?

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study is part of an ongoing project examining reflective practices in graduate teacher education. It was conducted at a comprehensive, 4-year university in the Southern United States between Spring 2020 and Spring 2021. It includes data collected from three semesters of an on-

line, asynchronous, graduate classroom management course for experienced teachers. The collection period reflects various stages of K-12 pandemic education, ranging from the abrupt transition to remote learning in Spring 2020 to the simultaneous teaching of face-to-face and online students experienced by many teachers during Fall 2020 and Spring 2021. Teachers' reflections on course readings, applied to their experiences, provided real-time written records of their thoughts, experiences, and teaching practices amid the pandemic.[1] The conceptual framework guided the thematic analysis of K-12 teachers' individual and shared reflections.

Course Participants & Data Collection

The graduate course was designed for certified, experienced teachers. Nearly all course participants across the three semesters had at least one year of teaching experience. Most participants taught in the same general geographic area and represented urban, suburban, and rural teaching assignments and PreK-12 expertise. The average course enrollment across the three semesters was 22 students.

The semesters of the online graduate course followed the same syllabus and four-module structure. Three modules had four readings assigned; the final module was truncated and had 1-2 assigned readings. For each module, course participants completed a reflective learning journal. They identified ideas of interest from the assigned readings, discussed the ideas within the context of their teaching experience, and considered the implications for their future practice. Subsequently, they shared one learning journal entry in an online peer discussion forum which provided an opportunity for shared reflections on the selected ideas of interest.

Course participants completed four learning journals per semester with multiple entries and contributed to four peer discussions. All learning journals and peer discussions were downloaded and scrubbed of any identifying information prior to analysis at the end of each semester. Data collection resulted in 261 journals with 873 unique entries and 12 discussion forums containing 264 discussion threads.

---

[1] Course readings included journal articles related to classroom management issues such as SEL, cultural diversity, and teacher well-being. The following textbook was used: Charles, C. M., & Cole, K. M. (2019). *Building classroom management: Methods and models*. Pearson.

Data Analysis

Thematic document analysis was used to "present the reader with the stories identified throughout the analytical process (Anfara et al., 2002, p.31). Documents can take on various forms; semi-public and private correspondence or writing can be treated as "documentary data or evidence" (Coffey, 2014, p. 367). Following Bowen (2009), the analysis followed three stages: a cursory read-through, deep reading with thorough examination, and interpretation. In the first stage, the author read for keyword repetition, such as "parent," "family," "caregiver," to identify relevant passages and begin the categorization process (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). During the second stage, relevant passages were read and reread. Based on the conceptual framework and supporting literature, a priori codes were identified and applied to order the data (Anfara et al., 2002). Table 1 displays the coding framework. The coding approach allowed new codes to be generated inductively to capture unanticipated teacher perceptions, practices, and challenges to developing family-school ties present in the data.

Table 1
Coding Framework

Research Questions	Codes/Sub-codes
Perceptions (RQ1)	Parents support students
	Parents support teachers
	Parents want to be supportive
	Parents seek school involvement
	Sees parents as part of support system
	Identifies teacher role w/ parental outreach
	Feels prepared to work with parents
	Feels confident working with parents
Practices (RQ2)	*School-directed practices*
	One-way communication (information transfer)
	Communication about school activities/events
	Communication about grades/coursework
	Infrequent communication
	Reciprocal practices
	Two-way communication
	Solicits information about students beyond academic
	Family shares knowledge of student
	Gets to know family
	Trust

Research Questions	Codes/Sub-codes
Challenges (RQ3)	*Beliefs*
	Cultural bias
	Role identification
	Lack of understanding constraints on parents
	Experiences
	Lack of preparation
	Lack of exposure to effective partnerships
	Past negative experiences
	Time constraints

In document analysis, interpretation of thematic findings requires consideration of a document's function in addition to its "form and content" (Coffey, 2014, p. 372). The documents analyzed for this study represent K-12 teachers' semi-private reflections on their teaching practice and experiences navigating remote, online, and blended learning environments. As members of a graduate course, they chose what ideas to reflect on and which reflections to share publicly with their peers. While it is beyond the scope of this study to determine whether course members modified or censored their reflections in anticipation of sharing them with peers, the discussions were generally affirming spaces. Personal reflections resonated with the group. It was not uncommon for course participants to post and expand on a comment like, "I really relate to a lot of what you said in your post," in support of a shared experience. Although Bowen (2009) offers the reminder that "documents should not be treated as necessarily precise, accurate, or complete recordings of events that have occurred" (p. 33), the fact that self and peer reflections captured teachers' experiences and thinking in real-time, as the events occurred, increases the reliability of the data (Caulley, 1983).

FINDINGS

Document analysis revealed that parental engagement was not a focus of shared reflections prior to remote learning but instead took on much more significance as learning moved online (see also Miller, 2021). Experienced teachers indicated that family-school ties were more important than ever as schools shifted to remote learning in Spring 2020. They reflected on how this belief informed their practice and described approaches to fostering family-school ties that ranged from traditional parental involvement strategies to partnership-building efforts. Deficit thinking, time demands, and

mounting frustrations with parents' unresponsiveness presented obstacles to building family-school connections.

Teachers' Perceptions of the Value of Parental Relationships

Educators in this study began remote learning with high regard for parent relationships. One teacher reflected on the importance of fostering ongoing, positive interactions with parents, "by communicating with parents regularly and in a supportive manner, teachers build the relationships needed to foster student growth." Another teacher in Spring 2020 observed:

> When we get parents and caregivers involved in their child's education and establish a good relationship with them, they become our allies. Once students realize that their caregivers are on your side, they don't think twice about acting out in the classroom.

Teachers acknowledged the value of working on the same side as parents to support students holistically. In Fall 2020, one teacher wrote about how fostering family-school ties with online learners helped to reduce student behavior issues, signaled teachers' investment in students, and helped students "understand that you will always support them and that you want what's best for them." Further, this individual described her view that parental relationships must be grounded in "mutual respect and rapport."

Others described parental relationships as essential "in this virtual age." In Fall 2020, one teacher described confronting new behavior challenges with online elementary students, including "walking away from class, messing around in chat boxes, turning cameras on/off repeatedly, unmuting, inappropriate sounds/video, disengagement/camera off, and microphone muted." Given that "more learning than ever in recent years is taking place in the homes," this individual expressed the value of personal connection with both students and families in the online setting:

> The importance of building connections and relationships becomes increasingly important and the need to understand and know your students is even more relevant. This goes together with developing transparent and consistent relationships with families.

Educators described the value of fostering relationships with students' parents in light of needing help managing classroom behavior online and building connections with students.

Approaches to Fostering Family-School Ties

Acknowledgment of Parents' Increased Role

For most traditional school parents, the shift towards remote and online learning significantly changed their role in schooling. Teachers acknowledged parents' new roles as students' primary guides, helping them navigate new technologies, learning modalities, schedules, and academic content. As one educator wrote, "although educators are providing the work, parents are still having to make sure the students are able to retrieve the information and complete it correctly." In Spring 2020, educators demonstrated awareness of the challenges faced by parents and caregivers as they confronted their new roles and responsibilities:

> Distant learning has been challenging for all of us, but especially for our students' caregivers. I have spent numerous hours on the phone with parents this week. I can hear the frustration in their voices.

Educators expressed empathy for parents as they struggled to support their children's learning from home, often with limited knowledge of the technology or content. One educator observed, "I know parents want to help their children but are afraid of doing something wrong."

Not only did educators spend increased time communicating with individual parents, but they also gained a fresh perspective on the vital role families play in supporting a caring space for learning. Multiple educators expressed the view that, at some point in their careers, they disliked or avoided communicating with parents:

> I have to be honest and say that phone calls [were] not one of my favorite parts of teaching. I used to always dread calling in fear that some parents would attack me and say that it was my fault their child didn't do their work or whatever.

However, the pandemic necessitated building a web of support for students that included parents. As one educator observed, "I believe that in this situation, parents are my best support system."

Deepening Understanding of Students' Cultures and Home Contexts

Teachers tried to build a web of support for students by developing a deeper understanding of the home context in which learning took place. In Fall 2020, an educator described how the shift to online learning environments required educators to learn more about students' cultural backgrounds:

> Incorporating and being understanding of other cultures is so incredibly important, even now when a lot of classrooms are virtual. Just this past week, when asking for the "glows and grows" of the week, one of my students noted that more teachers need to be open and understanding if a Muslim student needs to step away mid-day Friday for jum'ah because, while they are home, the expectation from their family is that they participate.

In this case, student comments offered insight into potential conflicts between home and school expectations during online learning. This individual concluded that students' "home expectations take priority because that is where they are located." In turn, that understanding informed her decision to make schedule adjustments based on learning context and provides one example of how family-school ties were valued and potentially strengthened in practice.

Another strategy that some teachers used to cultivate relationships with families prior to Fall 2020 was in-person home visits. One teacher described the rationale and outcome of home visits prior to the start of a completely online beginning to kindergarten:

> I work in a very low-income district where many of my students come from poverty…to more than 70% of my kids, I'm their first teacher. Many in our district do not attend any formal preschool or educational program. Many of these kids have no experience with other adults or the learning environment. It is completely my job to make

> them feel safe and loved while also providing them [with]
> a rigorous education. That can only be done with trust and
> a good relationship. It's especially apparent during virtual
> learning, of my 26 kids I was able to do 19 home visits,
> and do you know which kids seem happier and more
> excited to learn online with me, a stranger? I'll give you a
> hint, it's NOT the 7 kids I only met virtually.

This educator perceived home visits as a crucial strategy to form early connections with students and their families, particularly in a completely online learning environment, and observed positive outcomes and increased engagement among the kindergarteners who participated in the home visits. In response to feeling like the social and emotional needs of online students were not being adequately supported in the spring of 2021, another teacher, following a discussion with students, implemented informal virtual meeting times for students and parents:

> We decided that at the end of each synchronous meeting
> time that I would allow them to have a "class chat" or
> "get to know their classmates" for 10-15 minutes while I
> stayed on to help guide and observe the students' interactions. The students and parents really enjoyed this time.
> The students were eager to log on knowing that they could
> talk to one another at the end of learning time. I believe
> that it is just as important for students to have those fun
> socializing interactions with their virtual at-home learning
> as it is in the face-to-face classrooms!

By providing opportunities to socialize without academic expectations, this individual sought to address students' need for relationship-building opportunities with their peers while acknowledging their home context and including families in the conversation.

Family-School Communication

To support parents so that they, in turn, could support students, educators adopted new approaches to parent communication, both in frequency and tone. Moving from quarterly phone calls to parents to weekly calls during the remote learning of Spring 2020, one educator reflected that:

> I realize that it is very important that I make weekly calls.
> I believe that giving support to parents and students is
> very important. Especially during these hard times, where
> parents are having to balance between work and home-
> schooling.

While weekly phone calls may be more tenable for elementary educators who teach one class of students, educators relied on phone calls to "provide information and answer questions in a more personal manner." Consistent parent communication helped to clarify confusion and supported student success during remote learning:

> We must enlist the help of the student's caregivers and the
> caregivers are reaching out more to me than before. As the
> caregivers are attempting to 'homeschool' many are reach-
> ing out to ensure their son or daughter is truly doing their
> work. I had one parent reach out today about her son's
> assignments. I have been trying to update our electronic
> gradebook weekly, and after I did today, she wanted to
> make sure her son's work was completed. I had posted an
> "M" for missing and he was telling her he had completed
> everything. With her help, we were able to determine that
> he did, in fact, turn it in, but I posted it as missing because
> he did not follow the steps for google classroom to "turn
> in" the assignment. He has now done so and is current.

For some educators, parent communication extended beyond monitoring the completion and submission of work to supporting caregivers by providing unsolicited words of encouragement:

> We need to make a conscious effort to make more posi-
> tive contacts with parents, especially now when distance
> learning. These parents are beginning to feel the pressure
> of making sure their child completes their work. A phone
> call home on Friday to let them know their child did well
> would go far.

During such a destabilizing time, educators supported parents' needs by increasing communication, problem-solving together to navigate new learning platforms, listening to parents' concerns about "excessive screen time"

and "extra nonacademic work," helping parents understand students' need to maintain their "valuable relationships with classmates," and providing uplifting reports and encouragement. As one educator described collaborating with a parent to personalize instruction for a student, "we are making the best of it!"

Obstacles to Building Family-School Connections

Data analysis also illuminated the tenuous nature of educators' relationships with parents. Educators in Title I schools described a cultural/socioeconomic mismatch between schools and parents that they felt contributed to the lack of parental involvement school-wide. As one wrote, "from my experience at a Title I campus, most parents want to be an active part of the education process, but they lack the knowledge of how to get involved." Another similarly reflected:

> In my experience, it's not that the parents [in high-poverty schools] are unwilling, it is more-so a lack of knowledge. They are either misinformed or not informed at all. It has been a goal and consistent complaint of mine that parenting/informational classes aren't offered for parents (without the pressure or stigmas that often go along with similar meetings). This is something I would love to implement school-wide.

Although some educators described parents' lack of knowledge or experience with schools and schools' lack of parent engagement strategies as factors contributing to poor parent relationships, others displayed more of a deficit perspective specific to parents:

> I have realized that parents and guardians also contribute to students' motivation in learning. If the parents do not express the relevance of learning, the students will express the same behavior in the learning environment. I struggle at motivating the students whose parents do not share the value of education.

Despite evidence of teachers' increased empathy towards parents during the initial transition to remote learning, mounting frustration with online stu-

dents and their parents seemed to arise as time passed. Multiple educators described the difficulty "trying to juggle teaching face to face and virtually." One educator noted in Spring 2021 that:

> The (online) students are lacking that relationship-build-ing component. When I try to let my students engage in conversations among themselves, they sit there quietly. When I try to get my virtual students to interact with the students on-campus they don't. So, I figured most of them were shy or I said, "you guys are welcome to commu-nicate in the chat." That was an epic fail. Most of their cameras are off and they remain on mute even when I call their name…I get frustrated with my parents due to communication. Some don't answer, or they never return my call. Since the beginning of the school year, I've been trying to build the parent-teacher relationship, but it's been unsuccessful.

This teacher perceived that online students and their parents lacked engage-ment and was frustrated that her efforts to encourage communication were unsuccessful. However, it is unclear how this individual strove to build family-school ties apart from phone calls home. Another educator described similar struggles and challenges to building relationships with online learn-ers and their families during Spring 2021:

> As a teacher struggling to juggle both in-person and virtual learning platforms, I have neglected the essential "temperature checks" from which my remote students would benefit. It's especially challenging when the major-ity of work for my virtual students is asynchronous. There have been multiple times when I have called parents to check in and inform them about their students' missing work, and the kids still don't do the work or wait until the very end of the grading period to complete. It is clear that many students don't care about their work because the relationship-building component of the class is lacking.

Constraints on teachers' time created a barrier to relationship-building with online students and families, particularly when teachers were simultane-ously teaching face-to-face students. This quotation further suggests that the

nature of contact with families was informational and focused on negative behavior (missed work). Other educators described a similar kind of parent communication:

> This year I established rules to be followed in class and rules to follow while I am live-teaching. I even had to set rules for my virtual kids. It is important they come to class prepared so as not to be a distraction to other students. I have had to have a conversation with a parent to one of my virtual kids–she proceeded to lay in bed under the covers while we were getting ready to take a test. Needless to say, I did kick her out of the meeting. She has to know that the rules are there for a reason.

While there is no evidence of other forms of communication this particular educator had with families, there is a similar sense of frustration about a lack of parental oversight present in other teachers' reflections. For example,

> Throughout my time at the start of distance learning, I highly encouraged having a camera on if [the students] could. For reasons [like] to stay connected to friends they missed. Out of the 40 students I taught this past spring [2021], an average of 4-6 would show up to our zooms either due to lack of internet, lack of parent supervision to use devices, etc.

The teachers described how remote learning elevated the role of parents in schooling. Nevertheless, even among experienced educators with a strong belief in the value of parent relationships for students' success, educator-parent connections were increasingly defined by frustration over time.

DISCUSSION

These findings indicate that experienced teachers acknowledged the opportunity to support students' social and emotional well-being amid the pandemic by strengthening family-school ties. They also expressed new understandings of the value of fostering two-way communication and positive rapport with families. Particularly in the first year of remote and online schooling, teachers used various methods to promote positive communica-

tion with parents and learn about students' home lives and cultural backgrounds, in essence recognizing the importance of students' home contexts for learning and students' social-emotional well-being. Although they point to teachers' positive attitudinal shifts and revised practices, the findings also highlight obstacles to building family-school ties that suggest traditional, well-documented challenges to fostering parental partnerships (Mapp & Bergman, 2019) persisted during this time.

A Shift in Thinking about Family-School Ties

Teachers' reflections on their practice highlighted a shift in thinking about the role of parents in schooling and their role as educators in facilitating communication. Numerous reflections described teachers' prevailing sense of dread when communicating with parents prior to the pandemic. Consistent with D'Haem and Griswold's (2017) finding that teacher candidates perceive "family-school relationships are important but are fraught with potential hazards" (p. 100), some teachers described historically avoiding contact with families due to potential adversarial exchanges.

Amid the shift to remote learning, teachers described seeing parents in a new light as invaluable partners and students' at-home guides to learning. Some reflected on their traditional modes of parental communication and tendency to primarily contact families when there was a negative behavioral or academic issue. However, reflections revealed teachers' desire to shift from this one-way communication consistent with traditional parental involvement models (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014) to more robust relationships defined by two-way communication, mutual respect, and trust (CASEL, 2020; Mapp & Bergman, 2019). This finding contributes to the literature on support roles in online learning environments. It suggests that teachers, in addition to parents (Hasler-Waters et al., 2017), perceive that initiating family-school communication is a crucial role responsibility.

Developing Family-School Partnerships: Teachers' Desires and Practices

Findings suggest that experienced teachers considered it their responsibility to rethink the role of families in schooling and act accordingly, often pushing themselves out of their comfort zone. Reflections described specific actions such as increased parental communication, including weekly phone calls, and a shift in tone. Teachers changed their practice from contacting

families only when there was a problem to reaching out to share unsolicited positive messages about parents' children (Borup, 2016). Educators expressed empathy for parents, many of whom struggled to work and manage their children's learning simultaneously, and strove to alleviate parents' concerns while providing academic and social support (Allen et al., 2018; Curtis & Werth, 2015).

In addition, educators forged personal connections with students and their families by understanding their home context. Home visits, in particular, provided an opportunity for teachers to establish positive connections with students and families alike. They may have also helped assuage parents' concerns that online students need face-to-face interactions to form deeper connections with teachers (Curtis & Werth, 2015). Other teachers supported students' social and emotional needs by providing opportunities for students, parents, and teachers to be in virtual meetings together that were informal, unscripted, and free of academic expectations. Teachers' inclusion of parents in class meetings signaled their belief in the value of online course and personal communities (Borup, Graham, et al., 2020) working together to support students' needs.

Educators' efforts to foster family-school ties are consistent with Leenders et al.'s (2019) finding that teachers handle stressful interactions with parents well, often with empathy, and actively promote two-way communication. When teachers had frequent and positive communication with parents of online students, they expressed more positive feelings about working in partnership with them, an established area of emphasis for online teachers and parents (Borup et al., 2015; Borup, 2016). Educators expressed a sense of satisfaction supporting students and parents during a difficult season.

Maintaining the Effort: Tensions and Obstacles

Although teachers' reflections demonstrate an increased awareness of parents' value and the implementation of strategies to improve family-school ties in support of students' well-being, they also suggest that the enthusiasm for building these relationships may have waned over time. Throughout the 2020-2021 academic year, most course participants taught face-to-face and online students simultaneously. In part, teachers expressed frustration due to the ceaseless demands on their time and confessed that their attention was focused primarily on face-to-face learners. However, some expressed a desire to combat a growing tendency to deprioritize the needs of online learners.

Particularly in Spring 2021, educators expressed frustration with the parents of online learners and perceived a lack of parental supervision and interest in children's schooling. They described one-way efforts to communicate with families and felt that parents largely ignored or failed to return their phone calls. Reflections suggest that some educators had reverted to old practices, calling home only to inform parents of a behavioral or academic problem. This finding complements other research during remote learning regarding teachers' sense of frustration for not having many tools to hold students accountable for their behavior online (Tawfik et al., 2021).

Teachers' expressions of empathy for parents, clearly evident in the early days of the pandemic, were virtually non-existent in reflections from Spring 2021. This finding aligns with Yang et al.'s (2021) predictive analysis of compassion fatigue (defined by burnout and secondary traumatic stress) among K-12 educators during the initial semester of remote learning. The authors find that a sense of connectedness to school members, particularly students and colleagues, can mitigate compassion fatigue, yet attempts to foster family connection is "an energy-draining job demand" (Yang et al., 2021, p. 513). With increased expectations to simultaneously navigate face-to-face and online learning contexts, some educators may not have had the time or energy to build trusting, reciprocal relationships with families. That may be particularly true for those who perceived that the broader school culture did not support such efforts.

IMPLICATIONS

At its best, positive teacher-parent communication is reciprocal and fosters deeper partnerships that truly support students' social-emotional well-being (CASEL, 2020; Mapp & Bergman, 2019). Online teachers appreciate when parents communicate "good things" to them (Borup & Stevens, 2016), which can help support a virtuous cycle of positive parent-teacher communication. Evidence suggests that educators in this study often did not experience that feedback loop, especially as time passed. The fact that some of the goodwill educators expressed towards parents seemed to erode over time suggests that teachers and families alike need support developing and sustaining positive, two-way communication.

Teacher preparation programs and ongoing professional development can encourage teachers to practice positive parental communication in casual (greeting parents during drop-off) and formal (parent-teacher conferences) settings. They can also provide training in new technologies, such as

virtual home visit apps (see, for example, Stand for Children, 2020). Guided practice in these areas can promote confidence, communication skills, and self-efficacy in effectively engaging families (Walker & Legg, 2018). Home visits between families and teacher candidates can further increase teacher candidates' understanding of parents' perspectives, expose candidates to families' funds of knowledge, and positively impact their attitudes and parental engagement practices as teachers (Collier et al., 2015).

School cultures that value students' social and emotional well-being and the benefits of interconnected social networks across learning contexts can support teachers' efforts to build family-school ties. Online schools must consider creating welcoming spaces for families, crafting clear expectations for family-school engagement, and supporting teachers' efforts to partner with parents. Welcoming spaces might include providing caregivers and teachers opportunities to socialize informally in low-risk environments, such as face-to-face mixers or individualized check-ins. As online schools consider articulating clear role responsibilities for teachers and parents (Borup et al., 2014; Boulton, 2008), it may be helpful to include criteria for positive and reciprocal communication.

Family-school ties must be nourished and sustained (Stewart, 2020). These efforts require time. If schools accept that family-school ties promote students' well-being, they must make building these connections part of teachers' role responsibilities. In part, that requires factoring time for family outreach into teachers' schedules and rewarding educators who build these vital relationships. In online contexts, schools could provide students and parents with technical support from staff dedicated to that work (Borup & Stevens, 2016), freeing up teachers' time for more personal communication. Schools might also implement additional weekly preparation periods for teachers to connect with parents and offer professional development opportunities that address strategies to partner with parents effectively. Additionally, they should address the burden of simultaneous face-to-face and online teaching assignments and schedule teachers to do one or the other, not just during pandemic schooling but for those in intentionally-designed blended learning environments.

MOVING TO FURTHER INQUIRY

This was a qualitative study designed to elicit accounts of experiences that teachers in a specific setting had as they worked to understand SEL and provide such support. It was not designed with statistical generalizability in mind. It is also important to remember that these data represent remote

and online learning contexts resulting from the pandemic rather than well-planned online and blended school environments. The "creative problem-solving" required of pandemic schooling (Hodges et al., 2020) as it operated in this study can arguably provide fresh insight into family-school ties in K-12 online and blended environments more generally. It should be noted that findings also reflect the experiences of a small number of experienced teachers committed to improving their craft through graduate education.

Future qualitative research might compare the perceptions, practices, and tensions experienced by educators in other contexts, such as intentionally-designed online and blended environments, and sub-groups, including novice teachers. Beyond descriptive experiences of family-school ties, future quantitative research could test the relationships proposed in the conceptual framework and provide insight into the effect of family-school ties on students' social and emotional well-being in online K-12 schools.

CONCLUSION

The emergency conditions of the pandemic refocused attention on the need for family-school connections. Many educators realized the value of engaging parents as critical support actors in their learning communities for the first time. As more teachers have navigated online and blended environments, strategies for strengthening family-school ties and obstacles to doing so have come to light. The findings presented here offer several implications for supporting positive family-school ties in online and blended learning contexts. Above all, they point to educators' prevailing desire to weave a broader web of support for students and suggest ways to dismantle the traditional divide between home and school to foster the kinds of social networks that help all children thrive.

References

Alberty, M. (2021, April 19). Family engagement is key for student success during COVID-19 recovery and beyond. *The Education Trust.* https://edtrust.org/the-equity-line/family-engagement-is-key-for-student-success-during-covid-19-recovery-and-beyond/

Allen, K., Kern, M. L., Vella-Brodrick, D., Hattie, J., & Waters, L. (2018). What schools need to know about fostering school belonging: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, (30), 1-34. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-016-9389-8

Anfara, V. A., Brown, K. M., & Mangione, T. L. (2002). Qualitative analysis on stage: Making the research process more public. *Educational Researcher, 31*(7), 28–38. http://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X031007028

Baker, J. A., Terry, T., Bridger, R., & Winsor, A. (1997). Schools as caring communities: A relational approach to school reform. *The School Psychology Review, 26*(4), 586-602.

Beck, D. E., Maranto, R., & Lo, W. (2013). Determinants of student and parent satisfaction at a cyber charter school. *The Journal of Educational Research, 107*(3), 209-216. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2013.807494

Borup, J., West, R. E., Graham, C. R., & Davies, R. S. (2014). The adolescent community of engagement: A framework for research on adolescent online learning. *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education, 22*(1), 107–129.

Borup, J., Stevens, M. A., & Waters, L. H. (2015). Parent and student perceptions of parent engagement at a cyber charter high school. *Online Learning*, *19*(5), 69-91.

Borup, J. (2016). Teacher perceptions of parent engagement at a cyber high school. *Journal of Research on Technology in Education*, *48*(2), 67–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/15391523.2016.1146560

Borup, J., & Stevens, M. A. (2016). Parents' perceptions of teacher support at a cyber charter high school. *Journal of Online Learning Research*, *2*(3), 227–246.

Borup, J., Walters, S., & Call-Cummings, M. (2019). Examining the complexities of parental engagement at an online charter high school: A narrative analysis approach. *International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning, 20*(1). https://doi.org/10.19173/irrodl.v20i1.3605

Borup, J., Graham, C. R., West, R. E., Archambault, L., & Spring, K. J. (2020). Academic communities of engagement: An expansive lens for examining support structures in blended and online learning. *Educational Technology Research and Development, 68,* 807–832. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11423-020-09744-x

Borup, J., Walters, S., Call-Cummings, M. (2020). Student perceptions of their interactions with peers at a cyber charter high school. *Online Learning*, *[S.l.], 24*(2). http://dx.doi.org/10.24059/olj.v24i2.2015

Bouffard, S. (2021). The need for SEL is greater than ever. *The Learning Professional*, *42*(4), 5-5.

Boulton, H. (2008). Managing e-learning: What are the real implications for schools? *The Electronic Journal of E-Learning, 6*(1), 11-18.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9*(2), 27–40. http://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

Bryk, A., & Schneider, B. (2002). *Trust in schools: A core resource for improvement*. Russell Sage Foundation.

CASEL (2020). *CASEL's SEL framework*. https://casel.org/casel-sel-framework-11-2020/

CASEL (2021). *Refocus on the SEL roadmap*. https://casel.org/refocus-on-the-sel-roadmap/

Caulley, D. N. (1983). Document analysis in program evaluation. *Evaluation and Program Planning: An International Journal, 6*(1), 19-29.

Coffey, A. (2014). Analysing documents. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 367–380). SAGE Publications.

Collier, M., Keefe, E. B., & Hirrel, L. A. (2015). Preparing special education teachers to collaborate with families. *School Community Journal*, *25*(1), 117-136.

Connors, L. J., & Epstein, J. L. (1995). Parents and school partnerships. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting* (Vol. 4, pp. 437–458). Erlbaum.

Curtis, H., & Werth, L. (2015). Fostering student success and engagement in a K-12 online school. *Journal of Online Learning Research, 1*(2), 163-190. https://www.learntechlib.org/primary/p/150962/

Darling-Hammond, L., Schachner, A., & Edgerton, A. K. (with Badrinarayan, A., Cardichon, J., Cookson, P. W., Jr., Griffith, M., Klevan, S., Maier, A., Martinez, M., Melnick, H., Truong, N., Wojcikiewicz, S.). (2020). *Restarting and reinventing school: Learning in the time of COVID and beyond.* Learning Policy Institute. https://restart-reinvent.learningpolicyinstitute.org/

Dewey, J. (1997). *Experience and education*. Simon and Schuster. (Original work published 1938).

D'Haem, J., & Griswold, P. (2017). Teacher educators' and student teachers' beliefs about preparation for working with families including those from diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. *Education and Urban Society, 49*(1), 81-109. http://doi.org/10.1177/0013124516630602

Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. (2011). The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: A meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions. *Child Development, 82*(1), 405-432. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01564.x

Eccles, J., & Harold, A. (1996). Family involvement in children's and adolescents' schooling. In A. Booth & J. Dunn (Eds.), *Family-school links: How do they affect educational outcomes?* (pp. 3-34). Lawrence Erlbaum.

Epstein, J. L. (1987). Toward a theory of family–school connections: Teacher practices and parent involvement. In K. Hurrelman, F. X. Kaufman, & F. Losel (Eds.), *Social intervention: Potential and constraints* (pp. 121–136). de Gruyer.

Epstein, J. L. (2018). *School, family, and community partnerships: Preparing educators and improving schools*. Routledge.

Garbe, A., Ogurlu, U., Logan, N., & Cook, P. (2020). Parents' experiences with remote education during COVID-19 school closures. *American Journal of Qualitative Research, 4*(3), 45–65. https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/8471.

Garrett Dikkers, A., Whiteside, A. L., & Lewis, S. (2013). Virtual high school teacher and student reactions to the social presence model. *Journal of Interactive Online Learning, 12*(3), 156–170.

Goodall, J. & Montgomery, C. (2014). Parental involvement to parental engagement: a continuum, *Educational Review, 66*(4), 399-410, https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2013.781576

Hamilton, L., & Gross, B. (2021). *How has the pandemic affected students' social-emotional well-being? A review of the evidence to date*. Center on Reinventing Public Education. https://www.crpe.org/sites/default/files/sel_report_2021_final_8_10.pdf

Hasler-Waters, L. (2012). *Exploring the experiences of learning coaches in a cyber charter school: A qualitative case study* (Order No. 3569079). [Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii, Manoa] ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Hasler-Waters, L. & Leong, P. (2014). Who is teaching? New roles for teachers and parents in cyber charter schools. *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education, 22*(1), 33-56.

Hasler-Waters, L., Menchaca, M., & Borup, J. (2017). Parental involvement in K-12 online and blended learning. In R. Ferdig & K. Kennedy (Eds.), *Handbook of research on K-12 online and blended learning* (pp. 403–422). IGI Publishing.

Hodges, C., Moore, S., Lockee, B., Trust, T., & Bond, A. (2020, March 27). *The difference between emergency remote teaching and online learning*. Educause Review. https://er.educause.edu/articles/2020/3/the-difference-between-emergency-remote-teaching-and-online-learning

Hoover-Dempsey, K., & Sandler, H. (1995). Parental involvement in children. *Teachers College Record*, *97*(2), 310-331.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Walker, J. M. T., Sandler, H. M., Whetsel, D., Green, C. L., Wilkins, A. S., et al. (2005). Why do parents become involved? Research findings and implications. *The Elementary School Journal*,106(2), 105–130.

Jones, S. M., & Bouffard, S. M. (2012). Social and emotional learning in schools: From programs to strategies and commentaries. *Social Policy Report, 26*(4), 1-33. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2379-3988.2012.tb00073.x

Keaton, W., & Gilbert, A. (2020). Successful online learning: What does learner interaction with peers, instructors and parents look like? *Journal of Online Learning Research, 6*(2), 129–154.

Kennedy, K., & Archambault, L. (2012). Offering preservice teachers field experiences in K-12 online learning: A national survey of teacher education programs. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *63*(3), 185–200. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487111433651

Kirmaci, M. (2019). Reporting educators' experiences regarding family-school interactions with implications for best practices. *School Community Journal, 29*(2), 129-156.

Leenders, H., de Jong, J., Monfrance, M., & Haelermans, C. (2019). Building strong parent-teacher relationships in primary education: The challenge of two-way communication. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *49*(4), 519–533. https://doi. org/10.1080/0305764X.2019.1566442

Mahoney, J. L., Durlak, J. A., & Weissberg, R. P. (2018). An update on social and emotional learning outcome research. *Phi Delta Kappan, 100*(4), 18-23.

Mapp, K. L. & Bergman, E. (2019). *Dual capacity-building framework for family-school partnerships (Version 2)*. www.dualcapacity.org

Midcalf, L., & Boatwright, P. (2020). Teacher and parent perspectives of the online learning environment due to COVID-19. *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin, 87*(1), 24-34.

Miller, K. (2021). A light in students' lives: K-12 teachers' experiences (re) building caring relationships during remote learning. *Online Learning, 25(1),* 115-134. https://doi.org/10.24059/olj.v25i1.2486

National Scientific Council on the Developing Child (2004). *Young children develop in an environment of relationships: Working paper no. 1*. http://www.developingchild.harvard.edu

National Scientific Council on the Developing Child. (2015). *Supportive relationships and active skill-building strengthen the foundations of resilience: Working paper no. 13*. http://www.developingchild.harvard.edu

Noddings, N. (2005). *The challenge to care in schools* (2nd ed.). Teachers College Press.

O'Toole, L., Kiely, J., & McGillicuddy, D. (2019). *Parental involvement, engagement and partnership in their children's education during the primary school years*. National Parents Council. https://www.npc.ie/news-events/parental-involvement-engagement-and-partnership-in-their-childrens-educatio

Rice, M. F., & Deschaine, M. E. (2020). Orienting toward teacher education for online environments for all students. *The Educational Forum, 84*(2), 114-125. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2020.1702747

Rice, M. F. & Ortiz, K. R. (2021). Parents' use of technological literacies to support their children with disabilities in online learning environments. *Online Learning, 25*(3), 208-229. doi:10.24059/olj.v25i3.2407

Richmond, G., Bartell, T., Cho, C., Gallagher, A., He, Y., Petchauer, E., & Curiel, L. C. (2020). Home/school: Research imperatives, learning settings, and the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *71*(5), 503-504.

Roehlkepartain, E., Pekel, K., Syvertsen, A., Sethi, J., Sullivan, T., Scales, P. (2017). *Relationships first: Creating connections that help young people thrive.* Search Institute. https://www.search-institute.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2017-Relationships-First-final.pdf

Russell, G. (2004). Virtual schools: A critical view. In C. Cavanaugh (Ed.), *Development and management of virtual schools: Issues and trends* (pp. 1–25). Information Science Publishing.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Techniques to identify themes. *Field Methods, 15*(1), 85– 109. http://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X02239569

Seale, C. (2020, May 19) Parent involvement has always mattered. Will the COVID-19 pandemic finally make this the new normal in K-12 education? *Forbes.* https://www.forbes.com/sites/colinseale/2020/05/19/parent-involvement-has-always-mattered-will-the-covid-19-pandemic-finally-make-this-the-new-normal-in-k-12-education/?sh=3176243b5e46

Stand for Children. (2020). Virtual home visits: Building essential relationships. https://virtualhomevisit.org/

Stevens, M., & Borup, J. (2015). Parental engagement in online learning environments: A review of the literature. In M. F. Rice (Ed.), *Advances in research on teaching: Exploring pedagogies for diverse learners online, volume 25* (pp.99-119). Emerald Group Publishing.

Stewart, C. (2020). A memorable, miserable failure with the potential to change parental expectations forever. *Education Next. 2*(4).

Tawfik, A. A., Shepherd, C. E., Gatewood, J., & Gish-Lieberman, J. J. (2021). First and second order barriers to teaching in K-12 online learning. *TechTrends*, *65*(6), 925-938.

Taylor, R.D., Oberle, E., Durlak, J.A. and Weissberg, R.P. (2017). Promoting positive youth development through school-based social and emotional learning interventions: A meta-analysis of follow-up effects. *Child Development, 88*(4), 1156-1171. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12864

Valencia, R. R. (Ed.). (2012). *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. Routledge.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. State University of New York Press.

Walker, J. M., & Legg, A. M. (2018). Parent-teacher conference communication: A guide to integrating family engagement through simulated conversations about student academic progress. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *44*(3), 366-380. https://www.doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2018.1465661

Wandix-White, D. (2020). Caring and uncaring teacher practices: Examples from past offer guidance for present and hope for future. *Urban Education, 00*(0), 1-29. https://www.doi.org/0042085920914354

Wang, M. and J. Eccles (2012), Social support matters: Longitudinal effects of social support on three dimensions of school engagement from middle to high school, *Child Development, 83*(3), 877-895. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01745.x

Wilde, S. (2013). *Care in education: Teaching with understanding and compassion.* Routledge.

Winthrop, R. (2020, October 21). *Can new forms of parent engagement be an education game changer post-COVID-19?* Brookings Institute. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plus-development/2020/10/21/can-new-forms-of-parent-engagement-be-an-education-game-changer-post-covid-19/

Yang, C., Manchanda, S., & Greenstein, J. (2021). Educators' online teaching self-efficacy and compassion fatigue during the COVID-19 pandemic: The dual roles of "connect." *School Psychology*, *36*(6), 504–515. https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000475