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PARENTAL ENGAGEMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL
SPACE

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Journal publications

1. Lyubitskaya K.A. Parental involvement in the formation of children's educational environment // *Pedagogika*. 2019. No 8. P. 64-72. [in Russian]
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3. Lyubitskaya K.A., Nisskaya A.K. Family-school interaction: communication channels of teachers and parents // In the book: Family and children in the modern world. Collective monograph T. IV. SPb. : Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Herzen, 2018.P. 218-225. [in Russian]
4. Antipkina I., Lyubitskaya K., Nisskaya A. Vovlechnost' roditel'ey tret'eklassnikov v uchebnye dela detey [Third-Grade Parent's Involvement in Schools] // *Voprosy obrazovaniya / Educational Studies Moscow*. 2018. No 4, P. 230-260.
5. Lyubitskaya K.A, Shakarova M.A. Kommunikatsiya sem'i i shkoly: klyuchevye osobennosti na sovremennom etape [Family-School Communication: The Key Features at the Current Stage] // *Voprosy obrazovaniya / Educational Studies Moscow*. 2018. No3, P. 196-215.
6. Lyubitskaya K.A Roditeli i shkola: vovlechnost' sem'I [Parents and school: family involvement] // *Direktor shkoly*. 2018. No 3. P. 93-98. [in Russian]
7. Lyubitskaya K.A. Mechanisms and barriers to the implementation of forms of alternative education on the example of homeschooling // In the book: Young education researchers. XVI All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference T. II. M.: FSBEI HE MGPPU. 2017.P. 274-276. [in Russian]
8. Lyubitskaya K.A., Nysskaya A.K. The role of the family in shaping the social situation of development: what is a "good" school for parents? // In the book: Psychology of the family in the modern world [Elektronnyi resurs]: a collection of materials of the International scientific and practical conference. Yekaterinburg: Ural State Pedagogical University. 2017.P. 233-238. [in Russian]

9. Polivanova K.N., Lyubitskaya K.A. Homeschooling in Russia and abroad [Elektronnyi resurs] // *Sovremennaiia zarubezhnaia psikhologiiia* = Journal of Modern Foreign Psychology. 2017. Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 72–80. doi:10.17759/jmfp.2017060208. [In Russ., abstr. in Engl.]
10. Lyubitskaya K.A. Homeschooling in Russia: specifics, reasons for choice and barriers to implementation // In the book: Materials of the International Youth Scientific Forum "LOMONOSOV-2017" / Otv. Ed .: I. Aleshkovsky, A. Andriyanov, E. Antipov. M.: MSU, MAKS Press. 2017.P. 1-3. [in Russian]
11. Lyubitskaya K.A. Erosion of institutional educational spaces. Homeschooling // In: International Symposium "L.S. Vygotsky and modern childhood ": a collection of abstracts / Ed. Ed.: K.N. Polivanova. M.: National Research University Higher School of Economics. 2017. P. 150-151. [in Russian]

Introduction

Many studies have shown that there is a strong correlation between the participation of parents in education of their children and their children's academic achievements [Shumow, Miller, 2001; Wilder, 2014]. The education and development of a child begins from birth. When schooling begins children continue to learn both at home and in public places. From the moment of birth, the main role in children's education and development is played by the family. Parents mediate the relationship between the children's intellectual abilities and their achievements [Phillipson, 2010]. Today, due to the dissemination of the idea of conscious parenting, which includes controlling children's living conditions and strategically building a path for their development, parental participation in the education of children does not decrease after their admission to educational organizations [Polivanova, 2015].

Despite the fact that parents play an important role in the education and development of children, the family/parents are still not considered a reliable partner of the school, and schools have played the main role in raising and educating children for a long time [Antipkina, Lyubitskaya, Nisskaya, 2018]. However, starting from the 1960s, the situation has begun to change. In the educational discourse, the concept of "parental involvement" in the education of children has caught on and is being actively developed. In 2012, after the revision of the new educational law in the Russian Federation, parents were recognized as the main subject of educational relations. According to the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" dated December 29, 2012 N 273-FZ, «parents (legal representatives) of minor students have a pre-emptive right to educate and raise children over all other persons» (Article 44, paragraph 1), and educational organizations only serve to «provide assistance to parents (legal representatives) of minor students in raising children, protecting and strengthening their physical and mental health, developing individual abilities and the necessary correction of violations of their development» (Article 44, paragraph 2) [Federal Law .. , 2012].

It is the parents who now provide the child with access to various educational opportunities, thereby forming the child's educational space, which today is understood as a complex phenomenon that goes beyond the boundaries of the comprehensive school [Duncan, 2019]. For example, over the past 15 years, the number of students in private schools has increased worldwide: from 10% to 17% of students in primary school, and from 19% to 27% in secondary schools; with low- and middle-income countries mainly accounting for the growth [Duncan, 2019]. Employment is also growing in supplementary education. According to the 2016-2017 survey of parents of schoolchildren titled "Monitoring of the Economics of Education", enrollment in extracurricular education averaged 67%, while 38% of parents

reported that their children participate only in one extracurricular activity, and 12% reported that their children are involved in three or more extracurricular activities [Bysik, Evstigneeva et al., 2017].

To better describe this new phenomenon, the definition of a formal, non-formal and informal educational space was introduced [ISCED, 2011]. These three areas of education are interrelated. The sphere of extracurricular education is rapidly developing, new out of class activities are set up, and demand in the leisure sphere is growing, including outside and inside formal education, e.g., holidays, intellectual games, electives, hobby groups, excursions, plays, etc. All this makes it difficult to draw a line between education itself and leisure activities. The so-called 'leisure education' has become popular, where leisure, especially family leisure, increasingly includes an educational component (e.g., popular lectures, educational excursions, etc.) [Polivanova et al., 2020].

These new realities allow parents not only participate in school life in various ways [Goshin, Mertsalova, 2018], but also to manage the educational opportunities of children by choosing an educational organization where children can receive formal education, while organizing their extracurricular activities and providing informal education opportunities [Polivanova, Sivak, 2017; Pavlenko, Polivanova, Bochaver, Sivak, 2019]. Moreover, parents can educate their children by choosing a family-based form of education (homeschooling), as well as create and manage various educational organizations, and produce educational services that will satisfy their educational needs [Polivanova, Lyubitskaya, 2017].

Earlier the family and parents were excluded from the educational process, the main role was assigned to the school and the teacher as the carriers of knowledge that need to be passed to the new generation. Today the situation is changing and the family takes on the key role, with parents deciding how, what, where and when their children will learn.

Problem statement and literature review

The study of parental involvement first became popular about 50 years ago. The United States became the leading country in such studies. It has been shown that parental involvement is an important element in the effective education of children of all ages: achieves high academic results, enhances school climate, reduces absenteeism, as well as improves discipline in school, children's mental health, and communication between family and school (at the same time good communication between the family and the school is an important factor of parental involvement in school life) [Bodovski, 2014; Epstein, Sanders, 2002; Hill, Tyson, 2009; Hornby, Lafaele, 2011; Jeynes, 2005; 2007; Wilder, 2014; Hornby, Blackwell, 2018].

The existing models and constructs (K.V. Hoover-Dempsey, H.M. Sandler, J. Epstein, J. Eccles), parental participation in their children's education is understood and studied in terms of family-school relationship, and measured in accordance with the domestic (i.e. reading, discussions, classes and walks) and school (i.e. various forms of presence in schools) set of parental actions. Domestic (soviet/russian) researchers, when studying parenting, the role of family / parents in the upbringing and education of children, did not aim to classify, divide into levels and empirically prove the effectiveness of different practices of parent / family involvement. The main goal was to foster a culture, a sense of responsibility in the parents themselves for the future of their children, the country, to call on the family / parents to help and assist the school, teachers in the upbringing and education of children (A.S. Makarenko, V.A. Sukhomlinsky). Thus, as an object of study describe the interaction of the family (parents) and the school, where the family has a specific role in helping the school to develop and raise children. In these models, the school's dominant position in providing education for children is tacitly recognized, and the family is given a supporting role. Today, with a significant expansion of educational opportunities, the importance of parental participation is deepening and changing, therefore, researchers and educational policymakers propose to expand and even replace the term parental involvement (from "parental involvement" (PI) to "parental engagement" (PE))¹ [Goodall and Montgomery, 2014]. However, the entire system of family-school interaction has not changed, and only the business sector is responsive to changing family needs [Duncan, 2019].

In this study, we proceed from the assumption that the concept of parental involvement, as it has developed today, is becoming obsolete. This is due to the fact that education today is understood and practiced much wider than just as a school education [Polivanova et al., 2020]. It is necessary to look for new models for describing the participation of parents in their children's education. The aim of this dissertation is to 1) highlight the problem, 2) develop a model for studying parental participation, 3) analyze to what extent the school is ready to work with the needs and new positions of parents, 4) formulate the characteristics of different groups of parents according to the degree and quality of their involvement in the child's education.

Research questions

In connection with the above, the following research questions arise:

- What are the formats for parents to participate in shaping the educational space of children?

¹ <https://www.education.gov.au/parent-engagement-learning-0>

- To what extent do existing models of parental involvement describe the various ways in which parents can participate in their children's education?

- What are the behaviors of parents' participation in the educational process of children?

The purpose of this study is to identify and describe the types of parental involvement in children's education. To achieve the goal of the study, the following tasks were set:

- to analyze the theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of parental involvement in children's education,
- to summarize available research results and meta-analyses to develop the methodology of this study;
- to develop a model for the study of parental participation in the role of the organizer of the educational space of the child;
- to identify and describe the types of parental participation in children's education;
- to describe the highest level of family participation in children's education - homeschooling with the focus on the goals of the transition to homeschooling, ways of organizing, and overcoming formal and psychological barriers.

Theoretical framework

To draw up a questionnaire for parents of 1-10 graders and an interview guide with parents of school-age children, we relied on the models and constructs of parental involvement in children education reflected in the work of K.V. Hoover-Dempsey, H.M. Sandler, J. Epstein, J. Goodall, J. Eccles.

J. Epstein determines parental involvement is a multidimensional construct. It includes both direct participation in lessons or homework and voluntary assistance in organizing events at school, attending school meetings, as well as discussing with teachers the issues of teaching children at school, family education, and coordinating educational expectations of the family and the school [Epstein, Sanders, 2002; McWayne et al., 2004]. J. Epstein suggested a model of parental involvement is known as the typology of J. Epstein [Epstein, 1995; 1992]. In this model, Joyce Epstein and colleagues describe parental involvement in six types of practices: 1) parenting; 2) home training; 3) communication with teachers; 4) volunteering; 5) the impact on decision-making at school (parental involvement in school management); and 6) collaboration with the community. The model of J. Epstein outlines a fuller perspective on understanding family-school relationships and provides schools with a description of parental participation practices that help organize specific activities to involve parents in children's education.

In the wake of J. Epstein and colleagues, other researchers attempted to separate the involvement of parents in the education of children “at home” and “at school” [Eccles, Harold,

1996; Sui-Chu, Willms, 1996]. Home involvement is assessed based on the interaction between the parent and the child regarding learning issues, and school involvement is assessed by whether parents are able to initiate and maintain contact with school representatives [Shumow, Miller, 2001]. Also, scientists began to develop different models of parental involvement in children's education. For example, In their study, "Childhood and Further Education", J. Eccles and R. Harrold presented a model that describes the activity of family participation in five dimensions: 1) monitoring / control of the learning process; 2) volunteering (voluntary assistance to the school); 3) participation in school activities; 4) communication with school representatives about the progress of the child; and 5) communication with the school on how to provide additional assistance to the child [Eccles, Harrold, 1996].

Today, researchers have gone further. To indicate different levels of parental participation in children's education, researchers and politicians propose two interrelated terms - "parental involvement" (PI) and "parental engagement" (PE). PI denotes the participation of parents in activities that are set by the school, and PE describes common interests of parents in their children's education, including their participation in school activities [Goodall, Montgomery, 2014; Park, Holloway, 2017]. Some researchers suggest understanding these two levels as a single continuum, on which parents walk the path from PI to PE (Goodall and Montgomery, 2014). Others insist that PI includes PE, claiming that PE covers not only parental activity at school, but also thoughtful informed requests and visions of parents of their children's educational future [Jeynes, 2018].

To analyze the results of the questionnaire and interviews with parents, we turned to the concept of "power-knowledge" developed by M. Foucault. M. Foucault examined power, without separating it from knowledge, arguing that power exists only in action, when "somebody" acts on "others": «The form of power extends directly to everyday life, (...) imposes on them the law of truth (knowledge that is considered reliable and generally accepted) (...) This form of power transforms individuals into subjects (...) a subject subordinate to another through control and dependence, and the subject, associated with one's own identity through self-awareness or self-knowledge» [Foucault, 2006, p. 167-168].

This concept allows us to fully determine the subject, its place in the system of power relations and describe its identity, namely how and in what situations the parent is the subject of children's education. In our work, this concept contains two variables: 1) the measure of willingness to take responsibility in the design and implementation of the educational trajectory and 2) the position held by the consumer or customer regarding the offered service.

In his conception, M. Foucault deconstructed the concept of power, showing it as a key characteristic of social relations and in terms of its operations, methods and tools ("what does

power do?") [Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2016]. The term "power" refers to many actions that initiate and react to each other [Foucault, 2006, p. 176]. The relations of power are determined by the mode of action that affects others not directly but through their actions [Foucault, 2006, p. 180]. In our case, we are talking about the desire-ability-readiness of parents to become a source of education for their child, i.e. fully or partially assume responsibility for the implementation of the educational function (manage educational opportunities²) [Foucault, 2006, p. 181].

The second important variable for M. Foucault is identity ("who am I?"). In our study, we specify this construct as the position of the parent in relation to the offered (or desired) educational services: whether the parent is the customer (does the parent identify himself/herself as the main subject of child's education), clearly understands what educational space he/she forms, what he/she chooses (or constructs it himself/herself) or accepts what is being offered, with the educational organization being "the main subject of power relations".

Thus, we reconsider the binary participation of parents: whether he/she participates or not in school affairs, and look at two ways: 1) whether he/she is ready to accept all the hardships of education, be responsible for it, that is, whether he/she take any actions in relation to the child's education (management) and 2) whether he/she has a clear demand, whether he/she is looking for opportunities to satisfy their needs or accepts what is available (identity).

Research methodology and design

The study adopts a mixed method design that includes a qualitative and a quantitative components.

To study parental participation as the organizer of the educational space, we conducted semi-structured interviews with parents. The empirical base of the study was 40 interviews lasting from 30 to 60 minutes with parents of schoolchildren from different districts of Moscow. The informants had different educational backgrounds and socio-economic status. Quota sample was used. The following parameters were used to define quotas: region the child's age and form of education (school education, homeschooling and etc). Respondents were recruited via the snowball methods through the online community within social networks "Vkontakte" and "Facebook", the school administration. Interviews with parents were conducted between 2015 and 2019. 11 interviews were conducted by phone, while the rest were conducted in person. The sample consisted of mothers of 1-11 graders.

Interviews included questions about:

- the choice of educational opportunities: school, tutoring, alternative forms of education (homeschooling);

² According to M. Foucault, "managing" means structuring the possible field of others' action.

- the educational trajectory of the child;
- the difficulties that parents face in organizing the educational space;
- family-school communication;
- the tasks and participation of parents in the education of children.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were coded: an expectations from the school and wider - from education; a feeling of satisfaction / dissatisfaction with communication with the educational organization; a feeling of sufficiency / insufficiency of educational opportunities of an educational organization; an ideas about the future of their child. Separate semantic statements acted as a unit of analysis. Then they were analyzed using the concept of “power-knowledge” by M. Foucault. The result of the analysis was the matrix for dividing parents into groups according to the degree level of management and identity.

To complement the qualitative part, we relied on a survey of parents of 1-10 graders, conducted by the HSE Center for Contemporary Childhood Research in 2017. The survey covered 9 state budgetary educational institutions located in Moscow (stratified random sample). The total number of completed questionnaires that underwent filling quality control is 3576. We used the statistical method of data analysis.

Empirical the study drew on sample of Moscow parents. The study design has certain limitations. Since in general we assume that the current situation of parenthood is heterogeneous, the design of empirical study limits the possibility to extrapolate results and conclusions obtained in research on parents from other regions, parents of different ages, children with special needs or those who are in a difficult life situation.

Research findings

The analysis of the literature on parental involvement in children's education showed that the existing approaches to understanding, studying and working with parents no longer cover the whole range of roles, actions that parents take to build the educational space of children. They describe the interaction of parents and schools, which is still based on the principles of universality and hierarchical translation of patterns from teachers [Polivanova, Lyubitskaya, 2017]. In the case of parental involvement in the school life of children, a certain balance of forces has developed. For example, in Russia, to get parents involved, a great deal of methodological literature has been developed for teachers. As the most effective methods of working with parents, pedagogical education, translation of goals, forms, teaching methods and child development are offered.

The second significant direction in combining the efforts of the school and the family is considered to be an increase in the openness of the educational organization, providing parents

with the opportunity to create demand, monitor the quality of education, and also be included in teaching. An important component of the family-school interaction is the joint activity of teachers, parents and students in school and beyond, for example, during holidays, concerts, in socially significant projects, etc. In addition, pedagogical literature emphasizes the need for individual work of teachers with dysfunctional families and families in which children experience learning difficulties and are characterized by problematic behavior [Asrieva, Kovalenko, 2012]. Analysis of the methodological literature for teachers suggests that the recommendations formulated in it are based on the belief that the degree of parental awareness, pedagogical literacy, and willingness to share school mission affects the involvement of parents in their children's education.

The family / parents are described and serve as an assistant to the school to achieve its goals and objectives, i.e. the subject of children's education is school. But, in connection with a significant increase in the supply of educational services, the participation of parents not only in the school affairs of the child, but also in the selection and organization of educational opportunities, increases sharply and becomes a norm for many families [Polivanova, Sivak, 2019]. Now the family / parents become the main subject of the educational process. Thus, a gap has been revealed: the existing literature describes the interaction of parents with the school, while the real participation of parents in the education of children is much wider.

The quantitative survey of parents about the relationship between the family and the school made it possible to identify and describe the current state of the family-school interaction.

Summarizing the obtained data, we can say that, in general, parents are satisfied with the interaction with the school. The school takes into account and responds to individual requests and needs of the family [Lyubitskaya, Shakarova, 2018]:

- parents can easily contact teachers (85%);
- teachers consider parents' opinion (61%);
- parents discuss with teachers the characteristics of their relationships with children (55%);
- teachers take into account the features of their children education, i.e. individual pace of work, fatigue, etc. (49%), and the psychological state of children, especially their personality (53%).

Parents (or legal representatives) discuss difficulties with learning with teachers (69%, N = 3084) - which means that they trust teachers and believe that they know better the structure of the learning process that relate directly to their children.

However, correlational analysis based on variables characterizing the level of family-school communication, and variables reflecting the intensity of parent-child communication in the family, shows less positive patterns [Lyubitskaya, Shakarova, 2018]:

- the older the child, the less often parents believe that teachers consider parents' opinion;
- the older the child, the less often parents discuss with teachers the characteristics of children's relationships;
- the more time a family member spends with the child on weekdays in joint activities (high home involvement), the more often parents discuss with teachers the characteristics of child's relationship with classmates (high school involvement);
- the older the child, the less often parents discuss with teachers success or difficulties in learning;
- the older the child, the less often parents indicate that teachers take into account the psychological state and educational characteristics of the child.

Considering indicators of parental participation in the education of their children in primary, secondary and high school, we find that the involvement of parents in primary school is higher than the involvement of parents in secondary and high school as manifested in less contact with teachers, less participation in school activities, most parents of high school students have never provided voluntary assistance to the school, almost no PE. In elementary school, 27% of parents or other family members communicate with school representatives once or twice a week, most often with a class teacher, while in high school (grades 8-10), only 8%, in secondary - 12%. Only 14% of parents of elementary school students said that they communicate with teachers less than once every six months or once or twice during six months, while in the groups of "5-7th graders" and "8-10th graders", respectively 25 and 30% [Lyubitskaya, Shakarova, 2018].

The indicators of parental participation in children's education, as well as communication with the school, are the highest for parents of 2nd graders, but in middle and high school these indicators are quite low. The peaks of parental school involvement in the educational process are at the transitional moments in the education of their children: this is 4th grade, i.e. graduation from primary school and transition to high school, and 9th grade which marks the passing of the Unified State Examination, and the choice between leaving school at the end of compulsory schooling in grade 9 and continuing to high school. At the same time, communication with the school, namely, indicators of parental satisfaction with it, has been steadily declining since the 2nd grade. The low interest of parents is evidenced by their low attendance at parental meetings and various events organized by the school. Parents are not always satisfied with the way the

school organizes and conducts parent-teacher meetings, conferences, holidays, excursions, etc. [Lyubitskaya, Shakarova, 2018].

The indicators of parental involvement in the educational process obtained in our study were quite low. The weak interest of parents is evidenced not only by their low attendance at parent meetings and various events organized by the school, but also by the lack of initiative to participate in the school life of their children (for example, by providing free voluntary assistance) - PE level.

The education system represented by the school is not sensitive to the needs of a new consumer- the parent - and it continues to interact with the family from a dominant position. However, we assume that parents / family, putting the school aside, retain a demand for education, which can be seen through parents' participation in non-formal education of children [Bochaver, Pavlenko, Polivanova, Sivak, 2019; 2018].

To describe this “new” parental involvement, we turned to the concept of “power-knowledge” developed by M. Foucault. Based on this concept we draw on the following bipolar scales: management “+” and management “-” / identity “+” and identity “-”. Each statement of the respondent can be further assigned to one of four categories: management “+” / identity “+”, management “+” / identity “-”, management “-” / identity “+”, management “-” / identity “-”. The resulting categories are described below.

1) Bipolar scale "management".

- High level of management (management “+”): Parents are the “drivers” of the child’s education: they take full responsibility; know exactly what educational result they want to see; make a lot of efforts in relation to the education of the child, fully organize the educational space of the child and actively participate in it;

- Low level of management (management “-”): Parents relieved themselves of the responsibility for the education of the child, “outsourcing” it to the educational organization and children themselves; little involvement in the educational process; they do not think about the future educational trajectory of their child; they do not organize the educational space of children.

2) Bipolar scale "identity".

- High level of identity (identity “+”): Parents define themselves as the main and only holders of the child’s education, performing a variety of roles: they seek various educational opportunities; when problems arise, they solve them without waiting for an initiative from an educational organization; they are the initiators of the process of communication with the educational organization;

- Low level of identity (identity “-”): Parents do not define themselves as participants in the educational process: they allow the educational organization to make decisions regarding the education of their children; they are followers in the process of communication with the educational organization; they do not cast doubt on the goals and objectives that the educational organization sets.

This model allows us to catch not only the level of parents’ participation in the education of the child, but also understand what goals they pursue, their position and what expectations for the education of the child they have, because modern parents are interested in creating the most suitable educational conditions for their children.

Having a large selection of educational opportunities on the one hand, and not finding support of and response to their requests at school on the other, today’s parents can be divided into four groups (see Table 1):

Table 1 – Parental groups according to the degree of management and identity levels

	Identity + (Parents define themselves as the main and only holders of the child’s education, performing many roles.)	Identity - (Parents do not identify themselves as participants in the educational process.)
Management + (Parents are the "drivers" of the child’s education, take full responsibility for the education of the child, etc.)	Group 1: Parents fully commit themselves to the formation of the educational space of their children: choose a school and additional classes, control the educational process in accordance with their own clearly understood tasks; this group also includes parents who practice family education (homeschooling).	Group 4: Parents have a high level of power - they perform many actions regarding the school life of their children: attend parent meetings, become members of the parent committee, etc., but their identity is the consumer, the school assistant, if they encounter any problems, they try to solve them through the class teacher, or not pay attention to it since "nothing depends on their opinion."
Management - (Parents relieved themselves of responsibility for the education of the child, giving it “outsourcing” to the educational organization and the children themselves, etc.)	Group 2: Parents give up power after they find an educational organization that meets their requirements, delegating the right to govern to the selected educational organization.	Group 3: Parents shifted all responsibility for the education of their children to schools and to the children themselves, so their identity is defined as the consumer of educational opportunities.

1) Management “+” / identity “+” is the first group of parents: they are ready to manage (provide opportunities and bear responsibility for them) and have their own idea of what they want, i.e. customer identity.

Parents of this category fully commit themselves to the formation of the educational space of their children: they choose a school and additional classes, control the educational process in accordance with their own clearly defined tasks.

The same group includes parents whose children study in the form of homeschooling or distance learning. Homeschooling is still a rather rare way of fulfilling a family's demand for education. Parents and children spend a lot of time together, but the practices of homeschooling are very diverse: from experimental and private schools to unschooling [Polivanova, Lyubitskaya, 2017]. For these children, education is carried out mainly outside the educational organization, in accordance with the educational goals determined primarily by parents. Parents are in full control of their children's learning process, they choose educational opportunities and they are responsible for the education of their children. This form of training involves a high level of parental responsibility: from knowledge of legal acts to possession of time management skills. The learning process in most cases is defined as leisure education.

2) Management “-” / identity “+” - the second group of parents:

The first and second groups of parents are active participants of the educational process of their children. They are characterized by the fact that they know exactly what the result should be, take their children to school and to various classes, events, without waiting for the school's initiative. Some of them transfer their children from one school to another. Their identity is the customer, and sometimes the manager of educational services.

The difference between these two types of parental involvement is following: parents of the second category give up power after they find an educational organization that meets their requirements, delegating the right to govern to the chosen educational organization. As a rule, this is the organization of a full day for the child (additional classes, etc.). That is, these parents at the initial stage of the educational process of their children entered the first category (management “+” / identity “+”) when they made the choice of educational opportunities, but at further stages, having found an organization that met their needs, transferred control to it and transferred to the second category (management “-” / identity “+”).

3) Management “-” / identity “-” - the third group of parents:

Parents of this group can be called consumers. This type of parental involvement is characterized by a small number of parental actions in the school life of children:

- children attend school near their house or the one where their parents studied;
- parents are not initiators of communication with school representatives;
- students do not attend additional classes or attend occasionally;
- parents do not know what extracurricular activities are in their area of residence and at school;

- speaking about the future educational trajectory of the children, parents respond that «they will not put pressure on the child» or «will think it over».

These parents shifted all responsibility for the education of their children to schools and to children themselves, so their identity is defined as the consumer of educational opportunities.

Such passive participation in the education of children can be explained by a dysfunctional family situation and / or lack of educational value, problems with the psychological and physical health of the child, and barriers in communication between the school and the family [Bochaver et al., 2018].

4) Management “+” / identity “-”- the fourth group of parents:

According to the parents, the level of power they have is high - they perform many actions regarding the school life of their children: attend parent meetings, join a parent committee or a governing council at school, help children with homework, their children attend additional classes, but rarely attend various events (for example, excursions, museums, etc.), since they expect the school to organize, for example, a visiting tour and are ready to participate in its organization. They do not question the goals, objectives and values that the school broadcasts regarding the educational process. They rarely initiate communication with the school, more often they take part only when the school invites them.

We can say that this category of parents shares power with the school: they invest heavily and actively in the activities of the school, i.e. take responsibility (authority) for the education of children, but the initiative remains with the school.

Moreover, their identity is that of the consumer and the school assistant – should any problems arise, they try to solve them through the class teacher or school director, or not pay attention to it, because «nothing depends on their opinion».

They do not make efforts to make their requests and complaints heard. They proceed from well-established ideas about the role of parents in education and in the process of communication between the family and the school. They think about the future educational trajectory of the child and try to «keep abreast» of the child's learning process.

Parents of this category exercise their power through participation in school affairs, fully accepting the goals and functions of education, that is they do not have their own demand for education. These parents delegate their authority to the school, helping them realize these powers, for example, by helping to restore the order or comply with school rules.

Family affiliation to one of the described groups can change, for example, after several years of schooling, parents resort to homeschooling and vice versa or after an active participation in school councils and other activities. Parents self-relinquish and delegate their authority to the school and children.

Having analyzed parents' responses according to our model, we show that the concept of parental involvement should be expanded to include not only the school-based activity of parents, but also the whole range of actions that parents perform to design the educational space of children.

We believe that such parental activity in relation to education is a challenge to the prevailing school model, since education goes beyond formal education, and for most families it is not limited to it. Parents gradually master the role of education customers, i.e. they understand more clearly what kind of education they want for their children, and they are ready to make significant efforts to organize it.

To clarify the characteristics of the selected groups of parents, we analyzed the respondents' answers to the survey questions, which are consistent with these characteristics of the bipolar scales of identity and management. We formed four groups according to the answers of the respondents and made up combination tables, which allowed us to identify additional characteristics of the studied groups:

- Mothers with higher education are more common in the first and fourth groups. Also, more often both parents without higher education are found in the third and second groups of parents, respectively.

- Families with high social economic status (the family has a car, the child has a separate room, housekeeper, etc.) are most often found in the first group, as for the second group - families with low SES are most often found there (the child does not have a separate room, family has no car).

- In the first group, fathers most often work and mothers do not work. In the second group, the situation is the opposite - working mothers are more common or both parents do not work. For the third group, it is characteristic that both parents work and often father does not work.

- The first group is the group where the child grows up in a complete family, the second group is determined by the fact that the child often grows up in a family with one parent, or both parents who are divorced participate in the upbringing.

- Parents of girls are more likely to be in the third group than parents of boys.

- The first group often includes parents who are interested in self-development and continuing their education, unlike parents of the second group.

- The greatest degree of management and identity, characteristics of the first group (management “+” / identity “+”), are shown by parents those children are in primary school. In elementary school, parents rarely behave like parents of the third and fourth groups. Most often, parents of high school students behave like parents from the second group (management “-” /

identity “+”) - they no longer take the initiative, do not participate in school life, but already think about the future educational path of their children or, having found that the suitable educational organization they completely relinquish control to it. That is, an increased degree of involvement characterizes parents when their children are in elementary school, and then the degree of involvement of parents in the education of children in school decreases. We can hypothesize that active, educated parents become disappointed with the family-school communication, and they remove themselves from school matters, transferring their activity outside of it, i.e. compensating for what the school lacks with other educational opportunities [Pavlenko, Polivanova, Bochaver, Sivak, 2019]) - This is also confirmed by our data on family and school communication [Lyubitskaya, Shakarova, 2018].

The greatest degree of engagement in the organization of the educational space of their children is characterized by parents whose children are educated in the form of homeschooling. As described above, according to our model, this group of parents is characterized by a high level of management and a clear identification of themselves in a power relationship. One of the features that characterizes the high level of management of such parents is their informed choice of homeschooling.

At the same time, in order to identify the main reasons for choosing homeschooling, barriers and practices for overcoming them, an additional survey was conducted in 2016 (N = 151) [Lyubitskaya, 2016]. The sample of the survey was recruited on homeschooling forums. Therefore, the sample as a “sample of volunteers” is biased by a number of indicators towards parents of higher socio-economic status, for example, with a high level of education and employment position.

Thus, the study population examines parents aged between 25 and 49 years, mostly women (93% of mothers responding versus 7% of fathers) with the following characteristics: 1) on average, have two children 2) live in cities, 3) participate in the lives of online communities (at least are members of them, view messages), 4) have a higher education degree, 5) have a job.

The main reasons for the transition to homeschooling they identify are: dissatisfaction with school education, strengthening family ties, health problems of a child, difficulties in learning at school, loss of motivation to learn and saving time [Lyubitskaya, 2016].

The main indicator of a high degree of management is the practices and methods of parents' participation in the organization of the learning process, which we will consider through overcoming the difficulties / barriers that arise during the transition and directly implementing homeschooling.

The study identified two categories of “barriers”:

- Formal barriers: organizational, educational / competency, resource, administrative difficulties in transition, and administrative in implementation;

- Psychological barriers - during the transition to and directly during the implementation of homeschooling.

Among psychological difficulties, parents indicate the following:

- psychological problems during the transition to homeschooling, e.g. misunderstanding and condemnation of the family, environment, restructuring of oneself (the parent), self-doubt;

- psychological problems during implementation, e.g. the relationship of the parent with the child (what is the role of the parent?), motivation of the child to learn, restructuring of the child's life outside of school, lack of communication with the child and parent (there are few homeschooled families in a city, a mismatch with the daily routine with other children).

We found that 44% of respondents did not note any problems in the process of transition to homeschooling. Most likely such parents found and turned to intermediary organizations to solve their problems, which also indicates a high level of management. Homeschoolers (40%) indicated difficulties in overcoming formal (organizational) barriers, 16% of respondents indicated psychological difficulties. After the transition, in the process of implementing homeschooling, an indication of psychological problems increases to 27% [Polivanova, Lyubitskaya, 2017].

Speaking about the degree of managing the child's educational capabilities and overcoming barriers, it is necessary to consider the practice of organizing the educational space of children in homeschooling. Parents can choose from a wide variety of practices: apply to an alternative school (existing schools of different systems from Montessori and Waldorf schools to unique experimental solutions), teach according to the school curriculum at home with the help of distance learning courses, online schools, textbooks, unite with other parents and alternately teach subjects or hire educators or create your own school.

In any case, in order to educate their child via homeschooling, parents need to understand the regulatory framework at the "entrance", look for intermediary organizations, participate in the community and control their child's educational process - to be fully involved in the formation of the educational space of your child.

Parents who implement homeschooling identify themselves as the main and only holders of the child's education, performing a variety of roles, through such statements:

«I am the principal of a family-type school. We communicate a lot with other parents and children, visit museums, etc., and organize extracurricular activities. I constantly drive my child to many hobbies, classes. Now we select the certification option and place. In general, I am a cook, and a seamstress, and a teacher, and a snake»;

«We are NOT schoolchildren! (...) Actually, family and home education differs from school education in that it does not have this rigid division into stages, but there is interest, the child's intention to learn and develop. And the family follows it».

It also seems important to us that most often the family transitions into homeschooling gradually, for example, the first and second children practiced homeschooling in a primary school, but the third and subsequent children attended a family kindergarten, that is, they were involved in homeschooling from the earliest age. In our opinion, this may indicate that parents began to trust this format more [Lyubitskaya, 2016].

Parents practicing homeschooling are characterized by a high level of identity (identity “+”) and a high level of management (management “+”). This allows us to see new forms of family activity and to say that the concept of parental involvement should be expanded and include not only the school activity of parents, but also a whole range of actions that modern parents take to design educational space of children.

Scientific, theoretical and practical significance of research findings

The **scientific novelty** of the study lies in the concretization and expansion of the construct of “parental involvement” in the context of not only family-school relations, but also with respect to the totality of connections and relations that arise in parents (families) when organizing the educational space of their children.

The growth in the participation of parents and other family members in education is heterogeneous and multidimensional. The proposed approach for studying parental involvement in the educational space of children sets **a new theoretical view** of the structure of education: now at the center of the educational model is the family, which "orders" education, constructing and assembling various educational opportunities, building new constellations, and taking responsibility for the result. This opens up an opportunity for further theoretical development and empirical research, operationalization of concepts, as well as conducting a comparative analysis of existing empirical studies on the role and behavior of families / parents in organizing the educational space of children, interaction with various educational organizations and parental involvement in particular, and broader research on parenting.

The results presented in the dissertation are of **practical importance**, as they can be used for further studies on parental involvement in children's education, family-school communication, and the study of educational trends. Our study is also important for educational organizations, because it explains the request and possible family activity.

These materials can be used for:

- creating or adjusting existing recommendations to educational organizations on working with various groups of parents to foster their involvement in their children's education;
- adjusting regulatory acts of federal, regional or local significance;
- creating a continuing education course for school administrators and teachers "The family-school interaction: how to involve different parents in children's school life".

Key findings of the study can be summarized in the following way:

1. In the 1960s, the concept of parental involvement appeared, which implied the participation of the student's family in his school education; the emergence of various proposals in the education market - formal, non-formal and informal - gives parents much more opportunities to participate in their children's education.

2. The description of parental involvement through the one-dimensional model of Epstein or Eccles does not capture the full diversity of family participation in education; consideration of parental involvement through two variables - power (management) and identity - forms a more subtle tool for describing family participation in education.

3. The four groups of parents, which are characterized by the following patterns of behavior:

- Leaving school for homeschooling;
- Significant expansion of school education due to additional education;
- Search for the most appropriate educational organization, including private, experimental and other educational organizations.
- Satisfaction with the school form of education (only school education, children, as a rule, do not attend additional education services).

4. Comparison of the quality of interaction with school and the satisfaction of parents in primary school and parents of adolescents with such interaction shows that parents of older children interact less often and are also less satisfied. Our study provides no basis for differentiating this difference between parental cohorts or changes in attitudes toward school from lower to upper grades. This fact requires further study.

5. Homeschooling is a new function of parenting that requires a high level of management and understanding of the educational demand (identity).

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