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# Parental Behaviors and Involvement in Children's Digital Activities among Israeli Jewish and Arab Families during the COVID-19 Lockdown

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## ABSTRACT

*Research Findings:* The study explored everyday parenting behaviors and their relations to parents' involvement in their children's digital activities during the COVID-19 lockdown, among Israeli Jewish and Arab parents of young children. We studied parents' behaviors through the prism of the Parenting Pentagon Model (PPM), which integrates five constructs of daily parenting behaviors that are beneficial for children's development: Partnership between the caretakers, Parental Leadership, Love Behaviors, Encouraging Independence, and Adherence to Rules. Participants, 487 parents (290 Jewish and 197 Arab) of children (2-to-8-years-old) answered questionnaires. Findings showed that both Jewish and Arab parents reported that Love behaviors were most frequent during the lockdown, followed by Leadership. Encouragement of Independence, adherence to Rules and Partnership were less frequent. Additionally, the more parents behaved beneficially in their daily life (according to PPM), the more they were involved in their child's digital activities, beyond family background (child's age, parent's education, and family's size). *Practice or Policy:* The results can assist in planning support programs for parents during times of crisis. Parental guidance regarding beneficial parenting and advantageous involvement in children's digital activities may be more helpful than restrictions and warnings regarding the risk of young children's exposure to digital activities and screens.

The COVID-19 crisis created worldwide changes in the daily lives of families. The current study aimed to explore parents' behaviors at home during the eight weeks of the first lockdown in Israel. Throughout this period, children did not attend their educational setting and their stress increased when associated with health emergencies (Cluver et al., 2020; Rothe et al., 2015). Many parents worked from home, with no access to the extended family support (grandparents, aunts, etc.). Thus, parents juggled childcare, work, household duties, and some were also challenged with unemployment, financial, and health issues.

Studying parenting in the Israeli context should consider the existence of two major ethnic groups, Jewish (75% of the population) and Arab – Muslim and Christian (21% of the population) and the relatively high number of children per family ( $M = 3.1$ ) in both groups, compared to OECD countries ( $M = 1.6$ ) (OECD Data, 2020). Furthermore, in most families, both parents work (78%) (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). The stress of the pandemic, the lockdown, no schooling, many children at home and parents working from home or alternatively fired or on leave, raises an important question regarding daily parenting behaviors of Israeli parents during this stressful period.

A central effect of being under lockdown was children's increased exposure from an early age to digital devices, such as television, computers, tablets, and smartphones. Extended exposure of young children to such devices in the first years of life is associated with a negative impact on children's health, sleep, development and wellbeing (e.g., C. H. M Cheung et al., 2017; Nathanson et al., 2014; Stiglic & Viner, 2019; Twenge & Campbell, 2018). Yet, activities with such devices (hereafter – digital activities), especially activities which are done with parents, can be beneficial for young children (Korat et al., 2020; Liebeskind et al., 2014). Recognizing the significant increase in young children's digital activities and its possible effects on children's development, we investigated the relation between parents' daily behaviors during this period and their involvement in their children's digital activities.

## Parenting

Parenthood is a role based on long-term and intensive investment and interpersonal relationships, characterized by commitment, responsibility, and emotional nurturing (Bornstein, 2015; Bornstein & Putnick, 2015). One of the largely studied models of parenting is Baumrind's (1966, 1968), which refers to the ways in which parents support and exercise responsiveness and control toward their children. Research in Western countries shows that an authoritative parenting style, which equally integrates parental responsiveness, control, and support, is beneficial for children's development (e.g., Gauvain et al., 2013; Park & Bauer, 2002). The model that we developed and used in this study, the Parenting Pentagon Model (PPM), embraces Baumrind's ideas and elaborates on and expands them to the family unit (Aram et al., 2019; Even-Tov, 2020).

### The Parenting Pentagon Model (PPM)

The PPM was collaboratively designed by experienced couple and family therapists and researchers of parenting and early childhood development, guided by rich clinical and cross-cultural empirical findings regarding parenting behaviors that are associated with children's wellbeing. The model focuses on parents' behaviors rather than their beliefs or perceptions. It specifies five constructs of parenting behaviors – Partnership between the caretakers, Parental Leadership, Love Behaviors, Encouraging Independence, and Adherence to Rules – that were each found to be beneficial for children's development. Parents' specific behavioral implementation of each construct may differ by culture (Putnick & Bornstein, 2015), yet studies in multiple cultures show that the implementation of each construct is related to children's welfare and development. Together, these five constructs present a cohesive picture of parenting within a family.

Partnership refers to the collaboration and communication between the child's main caregivers (usually the parents). It consists of caregivers' behaviors, such as role division, resolving disputes, and presenting a uniform front to the child. Belsky and colleagues (Belsky et al., 1995, 1996) describe productive co-parenting as the manner in which mothers and fathers support one another's parenting efforts on a daily basis. Parents who maintain a high level of partnership show greater responsiveness to their children and this, in turn, encourages children's optimal development, i.e. child social adjustment (e.g., Dubeau et al., 2013; Lau & Power, 2019; Petch et al., 2012; Ruiz-Ortiz et al., 2017).

Leadership refers to parental determining of the values and the home lifestyle, organizing and monitoring daily activities, gathering information and taking responsibility for decisions concerning their children. There is evidence that parents' tendency to organize the lifestyle of the family and behave in ways that clearly reflect their values promotes autonomous and authentic values in their children (e.g., Lazarides et al., 2015; Yu et al., 2015). Parents' monitoring of, and involvement in children's schooling predicts children's achievements (Bellon et al., 2017). Tucker et al. (2011) found that Canadian parents' role modeling of active healthy lifestyles was related to their preschool-aged children's physical activity behaviors in their daycares.

Love refers to parents' affectionate behaviors, including physical and verbal expressions and gestures, caring behaviors such as listening, sensitivity, encouragement, empathy, shared time, and

shared play. Children whose parents express high levels of positive emotions tend to show high levels of social abilities, adaptive skills, social-emotional understanding, and empathy (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2003; Knafo & Plomin, 2006; Moller et al., 2019; Roth & Assor, 2010). Yet, children of critical and/or harsh parents tend to be less attentive to social interpersonal cues (Cruz-Alaniz et al., 2018; James et al., 2018). Also, frequency of parent-child joint activities predicts preschoolers' social (e.g., Galboda-Liyanage et al., 2003) and academic achievements (e.g., Bingham et al., 2017).

Encouraging Independence refers to the extent that parents are aware of their children's development and encourage them to perform age-appropriate tasks (Bindman et al., 2015; Matte-Gagné et al., 2015). Supporting young children's autonomy helps them develop executive functions, emotional regulation, and prosocial behaviors (Dix et al., 2007; Matte-Gagné et al., 2015). Parents' support of their children's independence is also associated with children's adaptive behavior and higher academic achievement (Guay et al., 2018). For example, Majdandžić et al. (2018) found that fathers' physical and verbal encouragement of the child has a protective role against anxiety development in preschoolers.

Adherence to Rules refers to the ways that parents create a structured framework of rules and norms at home and apply them with determination and consistency. Effective rules need to be tailored to the child's development and abilities (Manzeske & Stright, 2009). Parental consistency is positively connected with children's development of normative behaviors, such as sleeping and eating (Jones et al., 2014). For example, Remmers et al. (2014) found that parental rules predicted preschoolers' healthy outside play in the Netherlands. Parents' Adherence to Rules at home also relates to children's development of adaptive social and prosocial behaviors such as empathy and sharing (Knafo & Plomin, 2006; Mares et al., 2018).

The PPM relates to these five constructs of beneficial parenting and studies their relations to children's as well as parents' wellbeing. Studying the relation between parents' behaviors according to the PPM and children's sleep, Even-Tov (2020) studied 205 Jewish Israeli parents (103 fathers and 102 mothers) of children, 3- to 5 years-old and found that beneficial parental behaviors, in line with PPM, predicted children's bedtime routines and the quality of their sleep. In another study that focussed on parents' wellbeing, Aram et al., (2019) studied 85 Jewish Israeli mothers and fathers of children, aged six months to nine years. They found that parental behaviors according to the five PPM constructs predicted parents' wellbeing. Moreover, implementation of the PPM by one parent predicted the other parent's well-being. Importantly, parents who manage the family's daily life effectively, in accordance with the five PPM constructs, support their children's wellbeing. In this study, the PPM model guided us in exploring parenting during the lockdown, when unique conditions created intensive family interactions.

## Parenting during a Period of Crisis

Parents' functioning and presence in their children's daily life is a key factor that influences children's sense of security and coping abilities. During emergency situations, parents' reactions to stress may affect their parenting behaviors (Gershoff et al., 2010). There is an association between the attitudes and feelings that parents express during emergency situations and the emotional reactions and attitudes of their young children aged 5- to 7 years old (Gatenio-Kalush & Cohen, 2020). Torales et al. (2020) found that during the COVID-19 outbreak, people experienced more stress, depressive symptoms, insomnia, denial, anger, and fear. Parents with a child under the age of 18, who experienced cumulative stressors (e.g., anxiety or depression), reported that their children's health and learning declined (Brown et al., 2020). Brooks et al. (2020) reviewed 24 studies regarding the psychological effects of lockdown during times of pandemic disease (e.g., SARS, Ebola) and reported that communication and support are essential to reduce feelings of isolation, stress and fear with one's family and friends. Within the family unit, supportive relationships and positive interactions were shown to protect children's mental health (Dimitry, 2012). Positive parenting in stressful circumstances, and during home confinement in particular, can enhance positive interactions between parents and children, thus meeting children's needs (Wang et al., 2020). Cohen et al. (2014) found

that an intervention guiding parents to strengthen their leadership (e.g., planning ahead) and Love Behaviors (e.g., playful interactions including physical contact) during stressful times had a positive effect on 2–6 years old children's behaviors, mood, and cooperation.

During the Covid-19 lockdown, the social distance and isolation and a less structured environment for young children resulted in an increase in their engagement in digital activities (Hartshorne et al., 2020; Masonbrink & Hurley, 2020). Digital devices became central in children's play and entertainment (Wiederhold, 2020). Managing young children's digital activities became one of the challenges parents faced (Benedetto & Ingrassia, 2020).

## Parenting and Young Children's Digital Activities

Researchers, educators, and parents have been interested in and concerned about the benefits and dangers of young children's exposure to screens prior to the current pandemic. The World Health Organization (World Health Organization, 2019) has recommended no screen time for children under age two and limited screen time for older children (these guidelines were adopted by the Israeli Pediatric Association, 2015). Many parents are aware of these guidelines and express negative attitudes toward such sedentary activities (Bar Lev et al., 2018; Cingel & Krcmar, 2013). Yet, extensive screen time of young children was reported in many countries, including Israel (Bar Lev et al., 2018; Israeli National Council for the Child, 2019).

The benefit of preschool children's non-mediated exposure to screens (including educational content) is small (Bar Lev & Elias, 2019; Barr, 2019; Griffith et al., 2019; Nathanson et al., 2013; Segal-Drori et al., 2010). However, limited and mediated exposure to screens with children aged 1- to 5-years-old have the potential to contribute to their cognitive, sensorimotor, social, and emotional development (see review by Chassiakos et al., 2016). For example, parents' involvement in their children's digital activities (i.e., co-viewing television, videos, and DVDs) contributed to 1 to 3-year-old children's language skills (Anderson & Hanson, 2017; DeLoache et al., 2010; Richert et al., 2010) and to 3 to 6-year-old children's social understanding (Nathanson et al., 2013). Also, Aram and Bar-Am (2016) videotaped mothers helping 4–6 years-old preschool children write a three-item shopping list using a paper and pencil and using a computer keyboard. They found that when using the computer, mothers supported their children through a more complete cognitive spelling process and gave them more independence.

Parent involvement in their children's digital activities refers to the manner in which parents enable their children's access to technologies and moderate media usage (Chaudron et al., 2018). There are different types of parental involvement, like restrictive mediation (time or content limitation, banning various social activities and sites, or using software which filter sites and content), active or instructive mediation (e.g., discussion about content), co-viewing/playing (shared viewing of content and/or discussion and guidance regarding online activity) and monitoring (covertly or overtly checking up on activities after use) (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008; Warren, 2003).

Chaudron et al. (2018) studied the way that parents of 6 to 7-year-old children manage digital activities at home. They found that parents tried to regulate their children's media use mainly by time restriction but only superficially supervised the content that the children consumed. Additionally, parents were unaware of their children's various web activities. Children did not understand, and sometimes even actively bypassed parents' restrictions, thus engaging in unsupervised activities. Oftentimes, activities were inappropriate and occasionally even included dangerous content and interactions.

## Parenting and Digital Activities in the Israeli Context

The cultural diversity of Israeli society creates a unique opportunity to study both shared and culture-specific properties of parenting and digital activities during the COVID-19 lockdown. As mentioned previously, two major cultural-ethnic groups in Israel are Jews and Arabs.

## Israeli Jewish Parenting

The State of Israel was established less than a century ago, based on values of solidarity and mutual care within the Jewish community (Doron, 2003). Traditional Jewish norms focus on the centrality of the family and of children within the family (e.g., Lavee & Katz, 2003; Oryan, 2014). Despite current international influences, the Israeli family is still a relatively stable institution, more than in most industrialized countries (Scharf, 2014). About 95% of the couples are married, and the rest are cohabiting couples (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Extended family relationships are based on interdependence and mutual care (Samoocha, 2005).

At the same time, the majority of the Israeli Jewish society holds Western, individualistic family values, such as egalitarianism among family members and children's autonomy (Beystrov, 2012; Malach-Pines & Zaidman, 2003; Mikulincer et al., 1993; Samoocha, 2005). Jewish parents tend to give freedom to their children (Cohen, 2007; Dwairy & Achoui, 2006), and are not especially concerned with authority and boundaries (Chen et al., 2014).

## Israeli Arab Parenting

Israeli Arab society is collective in nature. Extended families often live closely and interact daily, and family values are characterized by traditional patriarchal and authoritarian approaches (Ben-Arieh & Haj-Yahia, 2006; Cohen, 2007; Kaufman et al., 2012). There is an emphasis on obedience and adherence to behavioral patterns that advance the harmony of the collective. The socialization of children traditionally relies on rules that enforce values, norms, and behavioral manners (Cohen, 2007; Dwairy & Achoui, 2006).

In the past three decades, however, Arab society in Israel has been going through modernization processes (Agbaria, 2020). Consequently, traditional Arab parenting has undergone changes, expressed by less conformity to traditional views, such as somewhat favoring individualism over collectivism (Shechory-Bitton et al., 2015). Today, Israeli Arabs are often concerned with preserving Arab family culture while also integrating Western influences (Lavee & Katz, 2003). One major change is in media use; More and more families introduce internet-based media into their homes. This is the focus of the current study.

## Children's Digital Engagement in Israel

Cultural differences worldwide have also been demonstrated in children's screen time and parents' mediation (Tzischinsky & Haimov, 2017). Israeli children were ranked the highest TV viewers and computer users within the OECD countries (Goldschmidt, 2019). Surveys on young children's daily screen time report extensive exposure, ranging from one hour (Meoded Karabanov & Aram, 2020) to three hours a day (Israeli National Council for the Child, 2019), despite recommendations of the Israeli Pediatric Association (2015) against sedentary behavior.

A comparison of Jewish and Arab school children's (7 to 11 years) media habits found that Arab children were exposed to twice as much screen time as were Jewish children, despite having fewer televisions and computers in their homes (Tzischinsky & Haimov, 2017). Also, there is an ambivalent attitude in the Arab society toward digital devices, combining suspicion and admiration (Korat et al., 2020; Samuel-Azran, 2012). Being a mostly religious and traditional society, the use of internet-connected devices is often rigorously monitored (Elbadour, 2013).

## The Present Study

Following the COVID-19 outbreak in Israel, on March 15th, 2020, the entire education system – from early childhood to higher education, formal and informal – was placed under closure. Jewish and Arab children alike regularly attend government educational settings from age 3 (compulsory and free) six



days a week and were forced to stay home. On May 15th, the preschools re-opened their gates (Weissblei, 2020). During this period there was an increase of 490% in unemployment claims and of 600% in domestic violence reports (Israeli Domestic Violence Center, 2020; Israeli National Insurance institute, 2020). A survey issued by the Israeli parliament in May (Koch Davidovitz, 2020), found that 20% of adults reported a decline in their mental state and 25% in their children's wellbeing. The findings in the Arab sector are even worse, with a third of the parents reporting high levels of stress.

The data for this study were collected during this first lockdown period in Israel (March-May 2020). The aim of the study was to explore Jewish and Arab parents' daily parenting behaviors (in line with the PPM) and their involvement in their children's digital activities during the lockdown. Importantly, we did not statistically compare the two groups. Rather, we explored them separately, while recognizing the shared context. Our questions were: (1) What are the characteristics of Israeli Jewish and Arab parents' behaviors? (2) What is the extent of parents' involvement in their child digital activities in both groups? (3) What are the associations between beneficial parenting behaviors and parents' involvement in their children's digital activities, beyond family background measures (child's age, number of children in the family, and the responding parent's education)?

## Method

### *Participants*

Participants were 487 Israelis – 290 Jewish and 197 Arab parents. They answered questionnaires focusing on one of their young children. Young children are defined by UNESCO as children whose age is between two to eight years (UNESCO, 23/12/2020). Table 1 presents their socio-demographic characteristics.

### *Measures*

The parents answered questionnaires which pertained to their family's background measures, daily parenting behaviors, and involvement in their children's digital activities.

### *Parental Daily Behaviors Questionnaire*

The self-report PPM questionnaire (Aram et al., 2019) originally included 74 items, characterizing parenting behaviors according to each of the five constructs of the PPM. Its content validity was assessed by 15 Jewish and Arab MA educational counseling students who learned the model. They were asked to sort the statements according to the five constructs. Items for which there was no agreement among all students were removed, leaving the questionnaire with 49 items. For further validation we used Mplus to run a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) to assess the overall fit of the PPM model. We assessed the psychometric equivalence of the five constructs separately in each of the two groups (Jewish and Arab). Several goodness and badness of fit factors were examined including chi square, comparative fit index (CFI), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Eleven items were removed due to low factor loadings ( $< .40$ ). After items removal, CFI values were .928 and .920; RMSEA values were .051 and .047; SRMR values were .053 and .063; and  $\chi^2$  values were 1107.5,  $df = 628$ ,  $p > .001$  and 824.5,  $df = 575$ ,  $p > .001$ , for the Jewish and the Arab groups, respectively. These outcomes reflect a good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2015). Due to the high correlation between two of the factors within both groups, we compared the 5-factor model with a 4-factor model (combining the two factors). The 4-factor model showed poorer goodness of fit (GOF) in both groups.

**Table 1.** Participants' Socio-demographic Descriptives (N = 487).

|                                     | Jewish (n = 290) |               | Arab (n = 197) |               |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
|                                     | Range            | M(SD)         | Range          | M(SD)         |
| Child's age (months)                | 24–96            | 56.65 (18.16) | 18–109         | 60.08 (18.31) |
| No. of children in family           | 1–8              | 2.70 (1.21)   | 1–11           | 3.40 (1.73)   |
| Parents' age                        |                  |               |                |               |
| Responding parent                   | 23–54            | 37.58 (4.95)  | 20–55          | 33.36 (5.62)  |
| Spouse                              | 18–61            | 39.77 (5.63)  | 24–57          | 37.13 (6.40)  |
| Parent's education level            |                  |               |                |               |
| Responding parent                   | 1–5              | 3.44 (0.835)  | 1–5            | 2.95 (1.16)   |
| Spouse                              | 18–61            | 39.77 (5.63)  | 24–57          | 37.13 (6.40)  |
| Child' gender                       | N                | %             | N              | %             |
| Male                                | 147              | 50.7          | 107            | 54.3          |
| Female                              | 143              | 49.3          | 90             | 45.7          |
| Birth order of participating child  |                  |               |                |               |
| Eldest                              | 124              | 42.8          | 75             | 38.1          |
| Middle                              | 43               | 14.8          | 70             | 35.5          |
| Youngest                            | 123              | 42.4          | 52             | 26.4          |
| Responding parent's gender          |                  |               |                |               |
| Male                                | 18               | 93.8          | 10             | 5.1           |
| Female                              | 272              | 6.2           | 187            | 94.9          |
| Responding parents' education level |                  |               |                |               |
| High School                         | 7                | 2.4           | 52             | 26.4          |
| Professional Certificate            | 27               | 9.3           | 30             | 15.2          |
| Bachelor Degree                     | 104              | 33.5          | 66             | 33.5          |
| Master Degree                       | 135              | 46.6          | 45             | 22.8          |
| Ph.D.                               | 17               | 5.9           | 4              | 2.0           |
| Religiosity                         |                  |               |                |               |
| Secular                             | 224              | 76.3          | 16             | 8.1           |
| Religious                           | 66               | 23.7          | 181            | 91.8          |
| Marital Status                      |                  |               |                |               |
| Married/Partnered                   | 278              | 95.9          | 195            | 99.0          |
| Divorced/Single                     | 12               | 4.1           | 2              | 1.0           |

Parents education: 1 = High School, 2 = Professional Certification, 3 = Bachelor's degree, 4 = Master's degree, 5 = Ph.D

Additionally, to assure that the 5-factor model is simultaneously the best for the Jewish and the Arab groups, a Multi Group test for invariance was performed. Common CFI values of .926 indicated that the items are similar in both groups. Finally, Weak factorial (CFI value .918;  $\Delta$ CFI value .008) and Strong factorial (CFI value .888;  $\Delta$ CFI value .038) indicated a minor difference, suggesting that the 5-factor model results are similar across the two groups. In conclusion, CFA demonstrated that the 5-factor model is appropriate for both the Jewish and Arab groups. The final version of the questionnaire included 38 items (see appendix 1).

Parents were requested to report the frequency of their behaviors on a scale of (1) = never to (6) = always. The items referred to each of the constructs: Partnership – ten items described parents' daily collaboration behaviors, for example: "I back up my partner in her/his reactions to our child"; Leadership – eight items described daily behaviors that emphasize the parents' role as the family leaders who organize family life and set an example for their children, for example: "I behave according to goals I have relating to raising my child"; Love – ten items described daily physical (e.g., hugs, kisses) and verbal expressions of love, sensitivity and empathy toward the child, for example: "I hug and kiss my child"; Independence – five items described encouraging the child to independently perform tasks that match his age and abilities, for example: "I encourage my child to be independent in his/her day-to-day activities (e.g., dress, shower, eat, brush teeth on their own)"; and Rules – five items described parents' daily adherence to the home rules and routines, for example: "I remind my child of the rules of the house". The average score across each construct's items constituted the construct's score. Higher scores indicated more beneficial parenting. Reliabilities among items for Partnership, Leadership, Love, Independence



and Rules were Cronbach's  $\alpha = .89$ ,  $\alpha = .87$ ,  $\alpha = .94$ ,  $\alpha = .80$ , and  $\alpha = .83$ , respectively for the Jewish group and Cronbach's  $\alpha = .85$ ,  $\alpha = .75$ ,  $\alpha = .87$ ,  $\alpha = .65$ , and  $\alpha = .71$ , respectively for the Arab group.

### ***Parental Involvement in Their Children's Digital Activities Questionnaire***

We used a self-report questionnaire that aims to assess the richness of the digital environment and activities of young children at home (Meoded Karabanov, 2019; Meoded Karabanov & Aram, 2020). In line with the goals of the current study, we selected five items that assessed parents' involvement in their children's digital activities, as follows: (1) Planning: How would you characterize the situations at home in which digital devices take place? The 3-point scale ranged from "spontaneous" to "planned ahead"; (2) Joint parent-child activity: To what extent do you and your child engage together with digital devices (smartphone, tablet and computer) at home? The 5-point scale ranged from "never" to "frequently"; (3) Involvement in selecting digital content: What is your level of involvement in selecting digital content that your child uses (TV, smartphone, tablet, computer)? The 5-point scale ranged from "very low" to "very high"; (4) Interpretation: To what extent do you interpret the instructions or content that appear on a device for your child? The 5-point scale ranged from "never" to "frequently"; (5) Screen time: How much time, on average, does your child spend using digital devices, per day? (TV, smartphone, tablet, computer). The 7-point scale ranged from "not at all" to "more than five hours". The original Hebrew questionnaires were translated by an Arabic expert translator and a back translation was conducted using Google Translate. In addition, five Arabic-speaking mothers confirmed that the questions were clear.

### ***Procedure***

A united file of the questionnaires in Hebrew and Arabic was distributed by the researchers through social media (Facebook and WhatsApp groups). They invited parents to participate in a study that aimed to learn about parents' behaviors and activities with their young children (ages 2-to 8 years). The participants completed an anonymous online Google Form questionnaire that took 10–15 minutes. The first question in the form confirmed their consent. All questionnaires were approved by the Ethics Committee of Tel-Aviv University.

### ***Results***

We first describe parents' daily behavior at home (the PPM measures) and parental involvement in the child's digital activities at home in each group (Jewish and Arab). Next, we present, for each group, the correlations between the family's background measures (child's age, number of children in the family and the responding parent's education) and the PPM measures, as well as parental involvement in the child's digital activities. Last, we present hierarchical regression analyses predicting parental involvement in the child's digital activities from the family's background measures and the PPM measures, in each group.

### ***Descriptive Statistics***

#### ***Jewish and Arab Parents' Behaviors***

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics of the measures in each group.

Table 2 shows that in both groups, among the PPM measures, parents scored highest on the Love construct. They reported frequent expressions of love toward their children (e.g., touch, hugs, empathy, shared parent-child time). An Analysis of Variance within each group found significant differences between the five parenting constructs in the Jewish ( $F_{(4,1156)} = 104.66$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $\eta^2 = 0.27$ )

**Table 2.** Descriptive Statistics: Range, Means, and Standard Deviations of the PPM Measures and Parental Involvement in the Child's Digital Activities at Home <sup>a</sup> (N = 487).

|  | Jewish (n = 290) |             | Arab (n = 197) |             |
|--|------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
|  | Range            | M (SD)      | Range          | M (SD)      |
| PPM  |                  |             |                |             |
| Partnership                                  | 1.50– 6.00       | 4.35 (0.70) | 1.40– 6.00     | 4.80 (0.73) |
| Leadership                                   | 2.63– 5.88       | 4.61 (0.56) | 2.88– 6.00     | 5.19 (0.53) |
| Love   | 2.80– 6.00       | 4.94 (0.66) | 3.50– 6.00     | 5.55 (0.48) |
| Independence                                 | 2.20– 5.80       | 4.43 (0.59) | 2.80– 6.00     | 4.90 (0.63) |
| Rules  | 2.20– 6.00       | 4.38 (0.63) | 2.40– 6.00     | 4.85 (0.66) |
| Involvement in children's digital activities |                  |             |                |             |
| Planning                                     | 1–3              | 2.00 (0.78) | 1–3            | 2.04 (0.83) |
| Joint activities                             | 1–5              | 3.10 (0.96) | 1–5            | 2.96 (0.88) |
| Selecting the content                        | 1–5              | 4.04 (0.88) | 1–5            | 3.58 (1.02) |
| Interpretation                               | 1–5              | 2.69 (1.05) | 1–5            | 2.96 (1.07) |
| Children's screen time                       | 1–7              | 3.43 (1.17) | 1–7            | 3.54 (1.44) |

<sup>a</sup>Possible ranges: PPM – 1 to 6; planning – 1 to 3; joint activities, involvement in selecting digital activities, and interpretation – 1 to 5; screen time – 1 to 7.

and Arab ( $F_{(4, 784)} = 99.72, p = .00, \eta^2 = 0.34$ ) groups. Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that in both groups, Love was significantly higher than all other constructs. Leadership was significantly lower than Love and higher than Independence, Rules and Partnership with no significant differences between them.

### **Parents' Involvement in Their Child's Digital Activities**

Regarding involvement in children's digital activities at home, parents in both groups reported that children's digital activities were moderately mediated. The means show that digital activities were occasionally planned, parents occasionally joined their children's activities, they sometimes interpreted digital content to their children, and were somewhat involved in selecting the digital content for their children. Parents reported that, on average, children's daily screen time ranged from two to three hours per day.

We calculated the correlations between the family's background measures (child's age, number of children, and parent's education) and parenting daily behaviors (Partnership, Leadership, Love, Independence and Rules) in both groups. We also studied the correlations between the family's background measures and parents' involvement in their children's digital activities at home. Due to the large age range of the participating children (two to eight years), and research demonstrating that children's age is related to the level of their exposure and use of digital media at home (Kabali et al., 2015; Wiederhold, 2020), we controlled for children's age in these analyses. The correlations are presented in Table 3.

### **Associations between Beneficial Parenting and Parents' Involvement in Children's Digital Activities**

Table 3 reveals that among the family measures, in both the Jewish and Arab groups, the number of children in the family negatively correlated with parents' planning of digital activities and involvement in selecting content. In larger families, parents planned less and were less involved in their children's digital activities. In Arab families, the number of children also positively correlated with screen time – the more children in the family, the more screen time. The other measures correlated somewhat differently in each of the two groups.

In terms of parents' education, in the Jewish group, more highly educated parents planned digital activities for their children more frequently. In the Arab group, more highly educated parents were more involved in selecting the digital content for their children.

**Table 3.** Correlations between the Family's Background Measures and Parental Involvement in the Child's Digital Activities at Home; Correlations between the Family's Background Measures and the PPM Measures, controlling for the Child's Age (N = 487).

|  | Jewish (n = 290) |                  |                |                       |             |
|--|------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|
|  | Planning         | Joint activities | Interpretation | Selecting the content | Screen time |
| Child's age  | -.01             | .16**            | .21***         | -.19***               | .32***      |
| No. of Children                                      | -.14**           | -.07             | .02            | -.15**                | .03         |
| Parent's education                                   | .13*             | -.03             | -.05           | .04                   | -.01        |
| Parenting measures (PPM) controlling for child's age |                  |                  |                |                       |             |
| Partnership  | .17**            | .09              | .06            | .28***                | .03         |
| Leadership   | .20**            | .12**            | .07            | .31***                | .03         |
| Love   | .08              | .12**            | .13**          | .24***                | .12*        |
| Independence   | .08              | .06              | .13**          | .22***                | -.01        |
| Rules  | .14**            | .11*             | .11*           | .17**                 | .03         |
| Arab (n = 197)                                       |                  |                  |                |                       |             |
| Child's age  | -.06             | .03              | -.03           | -.11                  | .04         |
| No. of Children                                      | -.13*            | .12*             | -.07           | -.21***               | .18**       |
| Parent's education                                   | -.01             | -.00             | .11            | .20***                | -.06        |
| Parenting measures (PPM) controlling for child's age |                  |                  |                |                       |             |
| Partnership  | .16**            | .04              | .18**          | .27***                | -.27***     |
| Leadership   | .13*             | .02              | .18**          | .29***                | -.13*       |
| Love   | .14*             | -.02             | .13*           | .23***                | -.22***     |
| Independence   | .01              | .00              | .19**          | .25***                | -.06        |
| Rules  | .02              | .03              | .08            | .17**                 | -.06        |

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Additionally, in the Jewish group, the older the children were, the more parents interpreted digital content for them and jointly engaged with them in digital activities. Also, older children had more screen time. Age negatively correlated with parents' involvement in selecting digital content for their children, i.e., the older the child was, the more she independently selected digital content.

Regarding correlations between PPM and parental involvement in their children's digital activities, in both groups, more beneficial parenting behaviors (i.e., higher PPM mean scores) correlated significantly with more parental involvement in their children's digital activities. In the Jewish group, all the PPM constructs positively correlated with parents' involvement in selecting their child's digital content. However, they did not significantly correlate with children's screen time. Also, PPM Rule setting positively correlated with all the parents' digital involvement measures. Parents who reported greater attention to family rules, also planned digital activities ahead, joined the child, translated more, and were more involved in selecting digital content for their child.

In the Arab group, all the PPM constructs were negatively associated with screen time. Children whose parents reported more beneficial parenting behaviors (higher PPM mean scores) were less exposed to screens. Partnership and Leadership positively correlated with all of the parental involvement in digital activities measures (excluding joint activities). Also, parents who collaborated as partners and who were more "on top of things" as the family leaders reported significantly less screen time for the child.

### **Predicting Parent-child Digital Practices and Child's Screen Time**

We were interested in exploring the contribution of beneficial parenting behaviors to parent's involvement in their children's digital activities, beyond family background measures. Preliminarily, we examined the correlations among the five parenting measures within each group. In both groups, medium to high positive correlations were found among all five parenting constructs:  $r = .46$  to  $r = .80$ ,  $p = .000$  in the Jewish group, and  $r = .38$  to  $r = .65$ ,  $p = .000$  in the Arab group (See Table 4). In order to avoid multicollinearity within the regressions, we created an integrated beneficial parenting variable as the mean score of the five PPM constructs. Reliabilities among items were  $\alpha = .88$  and  $\alpha = .83$  for the Jewish and the Arab group respectively.

**Table 4.** Correlations among the Parenting Pentagon Constructs in the Jewish and Arab groups<sup>a</sup> (N = 487).

|              | Partnership | Leadership | Love   | Independence | Rules  |
|--------------|-------------|------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| Partnership  | –           | .67***     | .58*** | .46****      | .47*** |
| Leadership   | .56***      | –          | .80*** | .60***       | .64*** |
| Love         | .55***      | .65***     | –      | .62***       | .55*** |
| Independence | .39***      | .60***     | .47*** | –            | .58*** |
| Rules        | .40***      | .57***     | .38*** | .52***       | –      |

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

<sup>a</sup>Above the diagonal line we present the correlations among the Jewish group and below it we present the results of the Arab group.

Next, we ran five two-step hierarchical regression analyses, predicting each of the parents' involvement measures, in the Jewish and Arab groups. In the first step we entered the family background measures (child's age, number of children in the family, and responding parent's education) and in the second step, we entered the integrated beneficial parenting measure (see Table 5).

The first step showed that in the Jewish sample, children's age significantly contributed to the level of parents' involvement in their children's digital activities. The older the child was, the more parents joined in the digital activities and interpreted directions and subtitles. Also, the older the child, the more screen time parents approved. At the same time, the older the child, the less parents were involved in selecting and supervising the digital content that they were exposed to. Number of children in the family predicted less parental involvement in their children's digital activities.

**Table 5.** Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Parental Involvement in their Children's Digital Activities at Home from the Family's Background Measures and Beneficial Parenting (N = 487).

|               |                      | Jewish sample (N = 290) |                 |                      |                 |                    |                 |                           |                 |                 |                 |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|               |                      | Planning (β)            |                 | Joint activities (β) |                 | Interpretation (β) |                 | Selecting the content (β) |                 | Screen time (β) |                 |
| <u>Step 1</u> | Child's age          | .02                     |                 | .18**                |                 | .21***             |                 | -.17**                    |                 | .33***          |                 |
|               | No. of children      | -.16**                  |                 | -.10                 |                 | -.02               |                 | -.12*                     |                 | -.03            |                 |
|               | Parent's education   | .14*                    |                 | -.03                 |                 | -.05               |                 | .06                       |                 | -.01            |                 |
| <u>Step 2</u> | Child's age          | .02                     |                 | .18**                |                 | .22***             |                 | -.16**                    |                 | .33***          |                 |
|               | No. of children      | -.16**                  |                 | -.10                 |                 | -.01               |                 | -.12*                     |                 | -.03            |                 |
|               | Parent's education   | .13*                    |                 | -.03                 |                 | -.06               |                 | .04                       |                 | -.01            |                 |
|               | Beneficial Parenting | .15**                   |                 | .12*                 |                 | .12*               |                 | .28***                    |                 | .05             |                 |
|               |                      | R <sup>2</sup>          | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>       | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>     | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>            | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>  | ΔR <sup>2</sup> |
| <u>Step 1</u> | Family's measures    |                         | .04**           |                      | .04*            |                    | .05**           |                           | .05***          |                 | .11***          |
| <u>Step 2</u> | Beneficial Parenting | .06                     | .02**           | .05                  | .01*            | .06                | .01*            | .13                       | .08**           | .11             | .00             |
|               |                      | Arab sample (n = 197)   |                 |                      |                 |                    |                 |                           |                 |                 |                 |
| <u>Step 1</u> | Child's age          |                         | -.02            |                      | -.02            |                    | -.01            |                           | -.05            |                 | -.04            |
|               | No. of children      |                         | -.13            |                      | .13             |                    | -.05            |                           | -.16*           |                 | .19*            |
|               | Parent's education   |                         | -.03            |                      | .02             |                    | .10             |                           | .17*            |                 | -.02            |
| <u>Step 2</u> | Child's age          |                         | -.02            |                      | -.02            |                    | -.01            |                           | -.05            |                 | -.04            |
|               | No. of children      |                         | -.11            |                      | .14             |                    | -.02            |                           | -.12            |                 | .17*            |
|               | Parent's education   |                         | -.03            |                      | .02             |                    | .10             |                           | .17**           |                 | -.02            |
|               | Beneficial Parenting |                         | .10             |                      | .04             |                    | .19**           |                           | .29***          |                 | -.17*           |
|               |                      | R <sup>2</sup>          | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>       | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>     | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>            | ΔR <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup>  | ΔR <sup>2</sup> |
| <u>Step 1</u> | Family's measures    |                         | .02             |                      | .02             |                    | .01             |                           | .07**           |                 | .04             |
| <u>Step 2</u> | Beneficial Parenting | .03                     | .01             | .02                  | .00             | .06                | .04**           | .15                       | .08***          | .07             | .03*            |

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

The second step of the regressions revealed the contribution of daily parents' beneficial parenting (PPM) to parents' involvement in the children's digital activities. In the Jewish group, beyond family measures, beneficial parenting significantly contributed (additional 1%-8%) to parents' planning, joint digital activities, interpretation of digital content, and involvement in selecting digital content/activities. Parents who reported that they frequently practiced beneficial parenting behaviors tended to plan ahead their children's digital activities, join their children's digital activities, interpret the text for the children, and were more involved in selecting their children's digital activities' content. Overall, regression analyses significantly explained between 5% to 13% of the variance in parents' involvement in their children's digital activities.

In the Arab group, beyond family measures, beneficial parenting (PPM) significantly contributed (additional 1%-8%) to parents' interpretations of the digital instructions, involvement in selecting digital content, and child's screen time. Parents who reported that they more frequently practiced beneficial parenting, interpreted digital content for their children more frequently, were more involved in selecting their children's digital activities and allowed their children less screen time. Overall, the regression analyses significantly explained 6% to 15% of the variance in parents' involvement in their children's digital activities.

## Discussion

The current study aimed to explore Israeli Jewish and Arab parents' daily parenting behaviors and involvement in their children's digital activities during the COVID-19 lockdown. We were particularly interested in examining whether beneficial parenting according to the PPM could predict increased parental involvement in their young children's digital activities during this stressful period. The PPM pattern was similar among Jewish and Arab parents, with parents from both groups reporting Love behaviors as most frequent, fewer Leadership behaviors, and even fewer behaviors of Partnership, encouraging Independence and enhancing Rules. Parents from both groups were moderately involved in their children's digital activities. Importantly, beneficial daily parenting behaviors according to the PPM contributed to better parental involvement in their children's digital activities beyond the family measures (child's age, parents' education and number of children in the family) in both groups.

### ***Beneficial Parenting***

The PPM pattern was very similar in the Jewish and Arab groups. Among the five constructs, parents reported that they most frequently expressed their love to their child, by hugging, showing empathy, playing together, and more. This finding is in line with findings of a previous study, not during an unfamiliar stressful period, in which Israeli Jewish parents reported the highest incidence of Love, compared to the other PPM constructs (Even-Tov, 2020). It is interesting to learn that during the stressful time of the lockdown, Love was also the highest of the five constructs. Positive emotions and emotional support are essential in stressful situations in which parents are the only significant adults continuously present in their children's everyday lives (Cohen et al., 2014). It seems that regardless of parents' cultural background, they recognized that expression of Love was central in their parenting role during the lockdown.

The centrality of Leadership in parents' reports seems to reflect taking responsibility for decision making and monitoring the family's changing needs. These behaviors have been shown to provide children with a sense of safety and trust in the significant adults (Cohen et al., 2014; Popper & Mayseless, 2003). Furthermore, the Leadership statements in the PPM questionnaire reflect the extent that parents act according to their values, beliefs and opinions. Recognizing the existential nature of the pandemic's challenges, researchers have suggested that parents' reflection on their values and constructs can significantly assist them in leading the challenging family processes during this irregular time (Fraenkel & Cho, 2020).

The lower frequency of the other three PPM constructs – Partnership, Independence, and Rules, in parents' reports may suggest that applying them during the lockdown was more challenging for parents, Jewish and Arab alike. Updated reports have shown that couples' coping as partners decreased under the current stress, resulting in increased rates of conflicts within couples (e.g., Kluge, 2020). Studying Israeli parents' challenges during the pandemic reveals that couplehood disagreements and tensions were a central issue that parents had to cope with. Mothers felt a heavier burden during the lockdown for caregiving and house duties than in regular times, without sufficient sharing with their spouses. Furthermore, parents missed the assistance they are used to receiving from grandparents (Lemish & Elias, 2020). They point out that having to cope with these demands in the Israeli context of large families was especially challenging for parents.

Finally, balancing children's Independence and Rule setting, when the whole family was closed in at home, may have also been more challenging for parents. Jewish parents in Israel, in general, find it difficult to encourage independence and set rules at the same time (Chen et al., 2014). They have a flexible approach toward rules and often, do not set clear boundaries and consequences for their child's behavior (Oryan, 2014). Interestingly, despite the centrality of adherence to Rules in Arab families (Cohen, 2007), during the lockdown, this construct seems to have been challenging also for Arab parents to apply. In line with our findings, other researchers have found that maintaining a daily routine and creating the right balance between children's autonomy and relatedness was difficult for parents during the lockdown (Prime et al., 2020; UNICEF, 2020). Israeli parents specifically were aware of how unsuccessful they were in doing this (Lemish & Elias, 2020). Taken together, the findings reveal parents' strengths and challenges in coping with the stressful pandemic-related period. Specifically, parents provided their children with supportive love expressions and acted according to their values and beliefs. Yet, managing the couplehood partnership and balancing children's Independence and Rule setting seems to have been less prominent in their daily routine. This finding may highlight parents' need for assistance in these domains.

### ***Parents' Involvement in Their Child's Digital Activities***

In order to portray a richer picture regarding parenthood during the lockdown, the current study also explored their specific behaviors related to children's digital activities. The results showed that children spent a lot of time engaged with screens (Meoded Karabanov & Aram, 2020). In regular times Israeli children spend five to eight hours, five or six days a week, in educational settings. It seems that during the COVID-19 lockdown, digital activities at home replaced these experiences to a certain extent. Thus, selecting quality content and parental involvement were vital.

Parents in both groups reported that they were moderately involved in their children's digital activities. Parents' involvement is important because mediated exposure to screens has the potential to contribute to children's development (Chassiakos et al., 2016). In particular, parental support of age-appropriate activities contributes to preschool children's language skills (e.g., Anderson & Hanson, 2017) and social understanding (Nathanson et al., 2013). It seems that during the lockdown, at least some of children's screen time was more valuable than serving merely as a "babysitter". Parents may have engaged with their children in activities initiated and led by the children's teachers or with content provided by the Israeli Ministry of Education (MoE), such as suggestions for recommended books and book-related activities (Ministry of Education (MoE), 2020).

Nevertheless, children spent several hours a day consuming digital content without their parents' attendance or supervision. Parents were obliged to focus on many more issues than they normally do, such as attending to their children for 24 hours a day, keeping them busy and maintaining good relations with their siblings, monitoring the distant learning of older children, and working at home. Some may have been stressed with financial issues and emotional stress and as explained earlier, could not rely on the support of grandparents, which is especially valuable in handling the day-to-day routine in large families. Additionally, parents lack sufficient knowledge on how to manage the educational needs of their children (Lemish & Elias, 2020). Thus, improving their understanding



and skills of effective monitoring of their child's digital activities under these conditions is of utmost importance and calls for guidance of parents on these issues.

### ***Relations among Family Background, Parenting, and Children's Digital Activities***

In order to better understand the interconnection of parents' involvement in their child's digital activities with the broader family context and family processes, we explored the relations among family background, parenting daily behaviors (PPM), and parents' involvement in their child's digital activities, as well as the predicting factors of such parents' involvement. Among the Jewish families, child's age was correlated with, and predictive of parent's involvement in digital activities. Parents interpreted and mediated digital content to older children more than to younger ones and were more engaged in digital activities with them. Older children also had more screen time. It seems that with older children, parents were concerned more with mediation during digital activities than with the actual time that their children spent engaged with digital media. They may have prioritized attending to the quality of digital activity over monitoring screen time.

The number of children in the family predicted less parental involvement in their children's digital activities. In Jewish and Arab families alike, parents in larger families planned less, and were less involved in selecting their children's digital activities than in smaller families. Moreover, in the Arab group, children from larger families had more screen time. The current findings indicate that the larger families of Israeli parents (Weinreb et al., 2018) may have added to their burden during the lockdown and this was manifested in less involvement in children's digital activities.

Parents' education was correlated with, and predictive of parent's involvement in their child's digital activities. In the Jewish group, more highly educated parents planned digital activities for their children more frequently. In the Arab group, more highly educated parents were more involved in selecting the digital content for their children. Hence, in both Jewish and Arab families, more highly educated parents were more involved in monitoring the quality of their child's digital content. Although the current study did not directly explore this content, the findings may suggest that children of higher educated parents were exposed to higher quality content than children of parents with less education. This corresponds with other studies that reported a positive correlation between parents' education and active mediation of their children's use of internet (Livingstone et al., 2015; Nikken & Schols, 2015). Thus, their screen time may have been more beneficial for their learning and wellbeing.

Previous research has highlighted the benefit of parents' education for increased involvement in children's educational activities (e.g., Hassunah-Arafat et al., 2017) and for young children's learning and development (S. K. Cheung et al., 2020). The current study enriches these findings by indicating the advantage of parents' higher education in mediating children's digital activities during a time in which they are central in children's lives.

A central question of the current study concerned the associations between beneficial daily parenting behaviors and parent-child digital activities, beyond family background measures. In both Jewish and Arab families, beyond family measures, integrating the five PPM constructs by parents in their everyday lives during the lockdown was associated with increased involvement in digital activities with their children. Parents who better collaborated with their partners and acted as leaders of the family, expressed Love to their children, provided Independence to their children while setting clear Rules, were also more positively involved with their children's digital activities. Previous research on parenting during stressful times, including pandemic diseases, found that different aspects of beneficial parenting positively affected preschoolers' well-being, behaviors, and coping with the stressful situation (Cohen et al., 2014; Hafstad et al., 2012; Laor et al., 1996). The current study showed that during the lockdown, cohesive beneficial parenting according to the PPM was related to parents' involvement in their children's digital activities, practices that were found to be important for children's learning (Anderson & Hanson, 2017; Aram & Bar-Am, 2016; Nathanson et al., 2013).

The predictive power of the PPM constructs was evident in both Jewish and Arab families. Importantly, we cannot conclude from this finding that Jewish and Arab parents behaved identically

during the lockdown or that the exact same behaviors were predictive of their involvement in their child's digital activities. Rather, we suggest that the model's five constructs create a framework that can be meaningful to parents from different cultures and interpreted in light of their cultural and/or individual values and beliefs. Consequently, using it in the current study has provided important initial insights regarding shared and culturally-specific parenting behaviors during the lockdown, as reported by the parents themselves.

### ***Limitations and Recommendations for Future Studies***

The current study has several limitations that should be acknowledged and addressed in future studies. First, it focused only on a few specific aspects of home digital activities. Future research should elaborate on the nature of children's digital activities at home in the Israeli Jewish and Arab societies (e.g., which digital tools they use, what activity they prefer), bearing in mind the differences between the groups in number of tools and internet access.

Second, participants in the current study were recruited through a "snowball" procedure, preventing us from ensuring that they accurately represent Israel's diverse population. In future studies, efforts should be made to verify that the sample is representative of Israel's population.

Importantly, the current study provided important initial information regarding general and digitally-related parenting behaviors, based on quantitative, closed-ended self-report tools. Future studies, using multiple methods, are required for an in-depth exploration of the meaning that parents from different family backgrounds and cultures assign to the PPM structures and manners of implementation. This will enrich our understanding regarding the model's universal properties along with culturally-specific values and behavioral norms that can be integrated into it.

Finally, the current study focused on Israeli parents' behaviors during the COVID-19 lockdown. To enrich our understanding of the unique characteristics of this time, we plan to conduct a post-COVID-19 study.

### ***Summary and Educational Implications***

Despite the study's limitations, the findings highlight significant points regarding parenting in Israel during the first COVID-19 lockdown and its manifestation in their involvement in their children's digital activities. During this stressful period, with no education settings and extended-family support, Israeli parents reported that expressions of Love and acting as the family leaders were more prominent than parental Partnership and enhancing Independence and monitoring children's rules. Young Israeli children (Jewish and Arab) were engaged in digital activities for a considerable amount of time on a daily basis. Importantly, beneficial parenting predicted parents' involvement in their child's digital activities, indicating the advantage of positive daily parenting for coping with a major challenge of the pandemic, i.e., increased screen time and reliance on screens for young children's education and entertainment.

The similar descriptive and predictive properties of PPM in Israel's two major ethnic and cultural groups suggest that the model can be meaningful and helpful in discussing beneficial parenting with parents from both groups. Given parents' crucial role in maintaining their children's wellbeing and education during crisis situations like the lockdown, addressing parents' needs, while recognizing their strengths, is essential. The current findings suggest that deepening parents' awareness and knowledge regarding beneficial parenting may assist them in coping with complex circumstances. For example, parents may benefit from receiving guidance on how to balance between providing independence and setting rules for their children, especially in a time when the familiar routines and rules are less relevant. Additionally, enriching parents' knowledge on appropriate content and mediation of children's digital activities can assist them in providing their children with nurturing educational experiences. Furthermore, age-appropriate, diverse in language (Hebrew and Arabic), and culturally sensitive digital media activities should be accessible to parents of young children. Selecting quality

digital activities for their children, while providing supportive mediation can assist parents in ensuring that their children's screen time is valuable, even when they attend to their other children or house duties (Livingstone et al., 2015).

When supporting and guiding parents, it is important to enable and encourage them to interpret the professional guidelines in accordance with their values, beliefs, family characteristics and community. For example, Leadership and setting Rules may be differently understood by Jewish and Arab parents. These structures should be openly explored and discussed in order to authentically ground their implementation in parents' worldviews. In addition, programs for parents should accommodate and address diversity in families' financial resources, access to digital tools, family size, and more.

The current study's findings and proposed educational implications may assist educational policy makers and professionals in prioritizing, planning, and implementing timely programs, aimed at improving the coping and agency skills of parents, for the benefit of all family members. Specifically, acknowledging parents as central agents in their children's learning and development during COVID-19, while recognizing the positive potential of digital activities, can strengthen their sense of leadership, responsibility, and management of a routine during the continuing stressful situation.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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## Appendix 1.

Parenting Pentagon Questionnaire (Aram et al., 2019)

The Corona outbreak created new conditions (“quarantine”, parents working from home, lack of educational frameworks, social distance from the extended family, etc.).

The questions relate to your behavior, since the crisis broke out, as a parent with your partner in raising children, and not your thoughts, or aspirations. Please answer each of these sentences as honestly as possible regarding how you actually behave.

|  | Never | Very rarely | Rarely | Sometimes | Often | Always |
|--|-------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------|--------|
| 1 My partner and I discuss issues relating to our parenting  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 2 I tell my child that I love him/her  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 3 I am satisfied with the division of tasks between my partner and myself in terms of raising the children   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 4 I have goals relating to the raising of my child (e.g., what he/she will learn or the nature of his/her relationships with siblings are important to me)                           | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 5 I hug, kiss, and hold my child   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 6 I ensure that my child know the rules for behavior at home   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 7 As a parent, I have a major influence on my child  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 8 I pay attention to signs that my child need help or support (e.g., my child comes home from preschool and is quieter than usual)   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 9 I teach my child to solve his/her problems on his/her own  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 10 As a parent I behave the way I think I should   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 11 I make sure that my child behave according to the rules I set   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 12 I laugh with my child   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 13 I encourage my child to be independent in his/her day-to-day activities (e.g., dress, shower, eat, brush teeth on their own)  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 14 I teach my child that he/she is responsible for his/her behavior  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 15 I behave confidently according to my opinions and beliefs   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 16 My partner and I agree on the rules in the house  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 17 I am interested in what my child feel   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 18 My partner and I make important decisions together relating to our child  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 19 My partner and I compliment each other for how we act as parents  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 20 I talk to my child about his/her day  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 21 I apologize to my child if I think I made a mistake or that I hurt him/her  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 22 I encourage my child to explore the world (e.g., to separate from me, to touch new things, to use objects on their own)   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 23 My partner and I start to fight when we discuss parenting   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 24 I say loving expressions to my child (e.g., sweetie, I love you, I adore you)   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 25 My behavior as a parent brings my child to a good place   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 26 My partner and I both participate in events relating to the child   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 27 I behave according to my goals as a parents   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 28 I praise my child (e.g., good job, I appreciate the effort you made)  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 29 My partner tells me what happens with our child during the day  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 30 When I set a rule, I do not give in until it is followed. For example, if I decided that we eat at the table I will not agree that the child will eat somewhere else in the house | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 31 My partner backs me up in my reactions to the child   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 32 I think about my parenting behavior   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 33 I plan my parenting behaviors (e.g., I prepare for toilet training, for weaning off a pacifier, transitioning from preschool – I gather information, seek advice, etc.)           | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 34 I encourage my child to occupy himself/herself even when I am home  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 35 I make sure that my child will behave according to the values and the rules of the family   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 36 When my child are sad or bothered I support him/her and comfort him/her   | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 37 I remind my child of the rules of our home  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |
| 38 I back my partner up in her/his reactions to our child  | 1     | 2           | 3      | 4         | 5     | 6      |