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From Digital Divide to Digital Literacies and Mother-Child Pedagogies: The Case of Latina Mothers

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ABSTRACT: This article reports on a qualitative study of 22 Latina mothers and their experiences supporting their children's remote education during COVID-19. Drawing on digital literacies and *mujerista* theory, the authors analyzed focus group data to find the following: Latina mothers' struggles involved not just understanding online learning platforms but an educational system that was not responsive to the economic constraints and stressors faced by families; Latina mothers perceived the school district's response to COVID-19 as performative and inadequate; Latina mothers developed mother-child pedagogies or pedagogies in which the mother and child are involved in teaching to and learning from each other. The findings lend support to the idea that the digital literacy divide does not exist outside of social and economic structures, and to the resourcefulness of everyday Latina mothers.

KEYWORDS: Latina mothers, pedagogy, digital literacy, COVID-19

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With COVID-19, children and youth had to shift to remote learning – a shift that has exacerbated the psychosocial, education, and health disparities in poor communities of color (Parolin, 2021). According to the U.S. School Closure and Distance Learning Database, school closures, followed by a shift to remote learning, were most prevalent in high-poverty districts serving students of color and English learners (Parolin & Lee, 2021). Remote education entails synchronous and asynchronous instruction delivered through web-based instructional platforms like Google Classroom (Domina et al, 2021). The shift to remote education has increased students' and their families' reliance on Internet connectivity and highlighted the significance of digital literacies (Domina et al., 2021; Katz

& Bond, 2021). It has also highlighted digital inequalities, defined as “unequal access to the Internet and technologies that connect to it” (Katz & Gonzalez, 2016, p. 236).

The transition to remote learning has also involved fundamental shifts in how parents participate in and support their children’s schooling. In this article, we report on a qualitative study of 22 Latina mothers and their experiences supporting their children’s remote learning. We refer to the mothers as Latina mothers because that was how they referred to themselves. But in our efforts to be inclusive and challenge gender binaries, we use the term Latinx when making general references to parents and children of Latin American descent. We draw on and extend emerging research on Latinx parents’ experiences with and uses of digital literacies while educating their children during COVID-19 (see Domina et al., 2021; Kim & Padilla, 2020; Soltero-González & Gillanders, 2021). Instead of school administrators and teachers, we highlight the work of Latina mothers as they simultaneously managed inequitable access to digital literacies, and supported their children’s academic development. Understanding Latina mothers’ lived experiences as educators of their children can inform the development of programs, policies, and research agendas that respond to families’ needs and reflect their resources and knowledge.

Literature Review

In research and media accounts, mothers have been described as frontline workers responsible for family members’ education, socioemotional well-being, and even survival (O’Reilly, 2020). COVID-19 has compounded “maternal thinking” or the “organizing, remembering, anticipating, worrying, and planning that mothers take on for the family” (O’Reilly, 2020, p. 8). The toll of maternal thinking has been disproportionately greater for Latina mothers than white mothers (Hibel et al., 2021; Laurencin & McClinton, 2020). For instance, because higher numbers of Latina mothers are essential workers employed in occupations where it is difficult to maintain social distancing (e.g., food manufacturing), they are more likely to contract the virus (Hibel et al., 2021). In the state where our research was conducted, Latinx residents comprised 12% of the population, but the rate of positive cases was nearly 30% (Rivera et al., 2020). In national studies and surveys, Latina mothers also reported worrying about economic cutbacks, as well as housing and food insecurity (Hibel et al., 2021; Parolin, 2021).

Many Latina mothers also assumed the responsibility of supervising or assisting their children’s online learning, especially for their young children (Soltero-González & Gillanders, 2021). From September to December 2020, school closures across the U.S. were more common in urban, high-poverty districts (Parolin & Lee, 2021). In October 2020, 35% of white students were attending school remotely, compared to 52% of Black and 60% of Latinx students. This national statistic is mirrored in the local school district data where our study took place.

How children learn remotely at home is influenced by several factors, including the amount of time that a parent can devote to assisting their child, access to resources and materials (e.g., computers, science kits), and the parent’s comfort with digital literacies

(Katz et al., 2017). During COVID-19 in the U.K., primary school children from socioeconomically advantaged families – where children had their own computers and access to reliable Internet – spent on average 2.9 hours per day on schoolwork, while children from working class families – who had to share a computer with family members – spent 2.3 hours per day. The differences were greater for secondary students (Pensiero et al., 2020). U.S.-based researchers have shared similar findings (see Auxier & Anderson, 2020; Kim & Padilla, 2020). In the U.S., the “homework gap” or inability for students (PK-12) to complete schoolwork at home became more pronounced during COVID-19 for Black, Latinx, and lower-income households (Auxier & Anderson, 2020). A report from the Migration Policy Institute suggests that immigrant children and youth, especially newcomers and English learners, did not show up for school online or logged on intermittently (Cherewka, 2020).

Some school districts in the U.S. responded by providing loaner laptops and wifi hotspots for families. Yet even with baseline-level access to technology, Latinx parents reported challenges with supervising or supporting their children’s learning (Kim & Padilla, 2020). Their challenges included limited English proficiency when using online platforms and communicating with teachers, insufficient time at home, economic hardships, and increased mental health struggles for themselves and family members (Kim & Padilla, 2020; Soltero-González & Gillanders, 2021).

In this article, we go beyond digital access and focus on digital literacies, which we theorize in the next section. We also emphasize that, despite inequitable access to digital literacies, parents, in this case Latina mothers, supported their children’s learning in a remote environment. They did this through the creation of joint mother-child activities. Using race-based feminist or *mujerista* theory (Bernal et al., 2006; Dyrness, 2008; Oliva & Alemán, 2019), we highlight the resources, strategies, and agency of Latina mothers as they navigated and challenged their children’s education system during COVID-19.

Theoretical Frameworks

While the digital divide, as a construct, has usefully highlighted differential access to hardware/software and Internet connectivity, Warschauer (2002, 2003) and others (Kim & Padilla, 2020; Light, 2001) have problematized framing the *divide* as a “technology problem” rather than a sociopolitical issue that reflects and maintains social and economic exclusion. These scholars have offered a structural analysis of who has fewer or greater opportunities to access and use information and communications technologies, why disparities exist in the first place, and why certain uses of technology lead to the accumulation of wealth while others do not (Warschauer, 2002).

From Digital Divide to Digital Literacies

Instead of the digital divide, we focus on digital literacies. We define digital literacies as the knowledge and competencies necessary to “engage technology and

mobilize information resources to address everyday needs” (Katz & Gonzalez, 2016, p. 236). Katz and Gonzalez also described this as *meaningful* digital connectivity. By focusing on digital literacies, we are calling attention to how everyday people understand and use technologies to achieve different goals (Bawden, 2008; Jones & Hafner, 2021). The concept is plural (literacies) because there are many occasions when one has to utilize digital texts or tools for problem solving. A digitally literate person can, for example, locate and evaluate information; take and edit digital photos; work through a collection of linked texts; and interact with others in a virtual environment (Jones & Hafner, 2021). According to theories of digital literacies, the knowledge and competencies that an individual acquires is informed by context, developed through participation in communities of practice, and tied to social identities and power (Warschauser, 2002, 2003). In becoming digitally literate, people are not just developing skills, but creating new ways of relating to others, making sense of their surroundings, and representing themselves.

Digital literacies – as opposed to the digital divide – enables researchers to focus beyond Internet connectivity and beyond the absence or presence of hardware. While important, these concerns only partly explain how people navigate and experience online environments. Instead, the framework of digital literacies highlights the knowledge and resources that Latina mothers effectively mobilized or struggled to mobilize during COVID-19, as well as the structural barriers to their full digital inclusion. We also recognize that, just as there are many ways with words (Heath, 1983), people use information and communications technology in ways that fall outside dominant norms and practices.

Theorizing Latina Mothering

Notwithstanding structural barriers, the Latina mothers in our study supported their children’s remote education during COVID-19. To understand this, we drew on theories of Latina mothering from critical feminist perspectives (Cleaveland & Waslin, 2021; hooks, 2014; Qin, 2004). Critical feminism illuminates how intersections of race, class, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, and ability influence lived experiences, accounting for the shared and divergent experiences of women. It also theorizes oppression as the product not just of patriarchy, but of neoliberalism, which Cleaveland and Waslin (2021) define as “economic and social policies designed to promote the growth of financial markets and capital through the de-regulation of banking, business, and trade, as well as the privatization of healthcare and the diminution of the social welfare state” (p. 3).

We also take a critical feminist perspective that is Latina-oriented, known as a *mujerista* perspective (Bernal et al., 2006; Dyrness, 2008; Oliva & Alemán, 2019). A race-based feminist theory, *mujerista* centers the “agency and cultural resources of local actors and their own strategies for making change” (Dyrness, 2008, p.24). It highlights not only women’s experiences with and resistance to oppression, but the knowledge and ways of knowing which emerge from their everyday experiences. Other concepts associated with *mujerista* include: *la facultad* (knowing through experience and intuition); *pesadora* (creative thinkers); *sobrevivir* (survival and beyond); *convivir* (praxis of living together); and *valerse por si misma* (to be self-reliant) (Villenas et al., 2006, pp. 4-5). Also salient in

mujerista theory is the borderlands or “somewhere in between” (Bernal et al., 2006), addressing the tensions associated with being simultaneously within and outside of oppressive systems.

In addition to a focus on everydayness (Dyrness, 2008), mujerista conceptualizes mothering as a form of pedagogy or an approach to educating oneself and others for personal and collective uplift. Guzmán (2012) found that Latina mothers educated their adolescent daughters about surviving white supremacy and patriarchy through testimonios that center analysis of how and why certain situations occur, and how to navigate them. Galvan (2006) characterized Latina mothers’ pedagogy as encompassing the children and their own personal, spiritual, and relational needs. As pedagogy, mothering is shaped by epistemologies, or theories of knowledge (i.e., what it means to know and learn; what counts as knowledge and whose knowledge counts).

With COVID-19, Latina mothers have had to literally engage in and develop pedagogy – teaching and assisting their children from home in the midst of school closures. Much of their teaching and assisting requires not only reliable connectivity and hardware, but the capacity to engage with and mobilize their digital literacies. This capacity, however, is constrained by social and economic factors as well as language proficiency (Warschauer, 2002). Therefore, our theoretical frameworks – digital literacies and mujerista – complement each other, illuminating not only the structural barriers to digital literacies, but Latina mothers’ adaptive strategies for supporting their children’s remote learning.

Context: Research-Practice Partnership in the Time of COVID-19

The research we write about is situated in a larger research-practice partnership between the authors and a cross-sector coalition on families with young children, Equity from the Start (the names of our study participants as well as the names of the coalition and city are pseudonyms). With 50+ member-organizations, Equity from the Start includes providers of early education, health and human services, parent groups, public schools, and higher education institutions. Formed twenty years ago to address the increasing incidence of young children exhibiting challenging behaviors in preschool, Equity from the Start developed a multi-focal intervention focusing on the family, child, teachers, classroom, and school.

Equity from the Start is based in Gateway City, the second largest city in the New England region of the U.S., with approximately 185,000 residents. Over 21% of residents were born outside of the U.S. and 35% speak a language other than English at home. A heterogeneous group, Latinx is the city’s largest minoritized population. Of all racial/ethnic groups in the city, the Latinx population has the highest overall percentage living in poverty (37%) and the highest unemployment rate (11.4%). Even before COVID-19, the city had struggled with the price and speed of broadband services, which can be attributed to a regional monopoly (i.e., residents have only one choice for a wired broadband provider) and lack of infrastructure investment. On a survey administered during the height of COVID-19 by a local community foundation, Latinx families in Gateway City

identified these areas of need: lack of basic goods (e.g., cleaning products, diapers, etc.); concerns about finances and housing security; and Internet connectivity and comfort using technology.

When public schools in Gateway City closed and shifted to remote learning, the school district responded by delivering Chromebooks and purchasing wifi hotspots for 3500 families. The school district also created a website for parents and caregivers, with training videos on web-based platforms like Google Classroom. It also offered training webinars, although the webinars did not begin until August 2020. Many of these measures, however, left out families with young children (ages 0-5). Therefore, Equity from the Start was interested in understanding the experiences of Latinx families with at least one child under the age of six that have had to shift to remote education. They enlisted us for research support because of their relationship with the second author, who has a long history of work with Equity from the Start.

Researchers' Positionality

In line with research-practice partnerships (Coburn & Penuel, 2016), we collaborated with Equity from the Start to co-develop the purpose and design of the study. As noted, the second author is a member of Equity from the Start. She invited the first author, a literacy researcher trained in participatory and practice-based research methodologies to participate in the study. The third author was, at the time, a student majoring in Education, and played a pivotal role in the project as a bilingual research assistant. All three of us are based in a small liberal arts research university in Gateway City.

We were mindful of the ways in which our social identities intersected with the research process, and with the participants – for example, while the first two authors are mothers and the first author is an immigrant, the third author is not a mother. The first author is Korean American and the second author is white. The third author is the only Latina in the group and fluent in Spanish. Therefore, she played a central role in recruiting the mothers and facilitating the focus group conversations. In addition to our partnership with Equity from the Start, we pursued this inquiry because of our scholarly interest in community and family systems, and in the literacies of immigrant families and children.

Methodology

Equity from the Start wanted to understand the experiences of Latinx families whose children have had to shift to remote education during COVID-19 and enlisted the support of the authors, who obtained a grant through the American Education Research Association to pursue the study. Following a research-practice partnership model, we collectively decided on focus groups as the primary data collection method. While Equity from the Start recognized the utility of quantitative survey data, we wanted to learn from the stories of Latinx parents. Equity from the Start also cited survey fatigue in the

community, given several large-scale surveys from the city such as a COVID-19 community survey and the school district's technology and education survey. Lastly, we recognized focus groups as a potential relational space for participants to engage in dialogue and build shared understandings about the issues they were facing during the pandemic.

After obtaining approval through the authors' Institutional Review Board, the third author recruited 22 participants – all of whom identified as female and lived in Gateway City. Recruitment was done through word of mouth, with participants saying that they learned about the focus group through friends, social workers, and health care providers. Ten participants said that they learned about the focus group through Facebook. In an initial questionnaire, the participants indicated they had one to four children, with at least one child under the age of six. In terms of the number of Internet-connected devices, the mothers reported one to ten devices, with a mean of 4.125 devices. Sixteen mothers reported using both Spanish and English, while six mothers said that they only used Spanish.

From January to February 2021, we conducted four focus groups, all in Spanish. This was done at the mothers' request. While the longest conversation was two hours, the other three were approximately an hour each. Given the pandemic, the third author and another facilitator (a Latina mother with three children) conducted the focus groups on Zoom. The facilitators also reviewed and provided feedback on the focus group protocol, ensuring that it was culturally responsive. The focus group conversations centered on Latina mothers' experiences with their children's remote education, with questions targeting not only barriers to supervising or supporting their children's learning, but also their resources and strategies. The third author transcribed the audio-recordings in their entirety, then translated them.

Data Analysis

First and second authors engaged in thematic coding and analysis of the transcript data, utilizing both inductive and deductive approaches. First, we coded the data inductively in the sense that we read the transcripts multiple times and annotated them, noticing patterns and salient comments – for example about mothering and the multiple responsibilities associated with schooling from home (e.g., getting snacks, supervising break times, checking the homework system) and about their identities and worldviews as Latinas. This step in the process was useful in creating a general shape of the data. Then, we honed in on what the participants said about their experiences with supporting, assisting, or supervising their children's remote education during the pandemic. We identified instances in which the mothers named the stressors associated with supporting their children's remote education, as well as instances in which they described developing strategies for supporting their children's learning. At this point in our analytic process, we involved Equity from the Start, sharing our preliminary analysis with them. This proved to be an intervention that helped Equity from the Start better understand family systems from the Latina mothers' perspectives.

In the next step, we made connections across the mothers' experiences and developed several themes, utilizing the *mujerista* framework and theories of digital literacies. That is, we analyzed what the mothers did through the lens of *la facultad* (knowing through experience and intuition); *pesadora* (creative thinkers); *sobrevivir* (survival and beyond); *convivir* (living together); and *valerse por si misma* (self-reliance). In making sense of the stressors and challenges, we focused beyond Internet connectivity, and the absence or presence of devices, instead paying attention to the mothers' digital capacities and the social and structural barriers to meaningful digital participation. In the next section, we explicate these themes through the voices of the participating mothers.

Findings

The women strongly identified themselves as mothers. In their view, mothering involved being an educator, friend, caregiver, healer, and provider. Two mothers, from different focus groups, introduced the metaphor of the *pulpo* (octopus) to describe mothering. Given the scope of this paper, we focus on their role as educators, specifically their navigation of digital literacies and multimodal landscapes, as well as the mother-child pedagogies they developed in order to support their children's learning.

Theme 1: Beyond the Digital Divide and Performativity

For the mothers, a significant challenge in educating their children during COVID-19 had to do with their lack of familiarity with web-based learning platforms like Google Classroom. Several commented on not understanding how to find and submit their child's homework. We share statements from two mothers:

Well, something that hasn't helped – which frustrates me a lot is that – at the beginning, actually it still happens – one doesn't manage everything in totality – the computer system and how to work it, you get me? That they – that they – my child fell behind a lot with homework because he didn't know where it was. He didn't know any of that. Like there was no preparation for parents on how to work the system, where you turn in homework, nothing. And that drove me crazy because one wants to help their child, but we don't have the tools, you get me? (Anna, mother of two, Focus Group 1)

Another thing that I think is very frustrating is the limitations in terms of the English language – for example us as Latinas have – teachers don't talk in Spanish. We have children who, for example, are left with homework as if they were in school. And aside that, there is the technology and that everything is in English. It is very frustrating for us. And how someone mentioned before, there was no preparation to ensure that things were clear. It was improvised, something that we didn't know was going to happen, but there wasn't even an orientation first for us parents to help our children, you get me? To explain is what is the best way, the easiest way

to help them, like help them with homework (Carmen, mother of four, Focus Group 1).

Instead of a digital divide, the mothers described a *digital literacy* divide, with inequitable access to knowledge and to human, digital, and social resources – or, as Anna put it, the “tools” necessary for supporting her children in remote learning. In the second quote, the digital literacy divide reflects and upholds dominant language ideologies (e.g., English-only instruction in schools and online content). According to Carmen, parents had to know more than how to log on, mute the microphone, turn on/off the video, and submit homework. They also had to know how to explain concepts or skills to their children. For Latina mothers, digital literacies in the context of COVID-19 meant understanding ways to support children’s active engagement and learning in their online classrooms.

Therefore, while the local school district in our study provided training videos on using Google Classroom in multiple languages, the mothers characterized this as a performative response to what parents really needed in order to support their children’s learning. In educational settings, performativity refers to actions or responses in which individuals, units, or systems “[go] through the motions or [tick] off checklists of skills without paying due attention to larger issues” (Warschauer et al., 2004, p. 576). In the second focus group, Flora, a mother of three, stated:

I had to change my work hours because no one could connect them so then the school was calling me every day and saying “They’re not logged in.” They even threaten to send, to like take my kids away because they weren’t logging into class on time and because they would leave class, and my older child always gets there late. So what I had to do was change my work schedule so that I could log them in and now I’m working from 2:00 PM to 11:30 PM or sometimes 11:00 PM. And they, they give them so much work. Work that one – most of the time – doesn’t understand. And apart from not understanding, apart from not understanding it, I don’t even have time to do the homework because I work from Monday to Saturday. (Flora, mother of three, Focus Group 2)

The challenges Flora identified are not ones that can be easily addressed by a training video. Instead, she described the complicated and complex ways in which her children’s educational experiences are shaped by economic forces, assumptions about parents, and an educational system that is not culturally responsive to working-class families. Rather than ask the mother what would enable her to support her children to log on and stay present in the remote classroom, the school threatened to take away her kids.

The digital literacy divide does not exist outside of social and economic structures, meaning that it reflects larger structures of racism, discrimination, income inequality, toxic stress, and a culture that threatens to punish “negligent” parents. Offering computers to parents who are structurally and culturally excluded from the public schools, or creating training videos without recognizing parents’ cultural and linguistic backgrounds or their constraints does little to shift who holds power in educational institutions and who gets to define the terms of participation in online learning environments.

Theme 2: Overcoming Challenges through Mother-Child Pedagogies

The *mujerista* framework posits that women are agentive and resourceful actors who develop and deploy strategies for making change (Dyrness, 2008). As Anna, the mother from the first focus group, pointed out, “We had to stick it out and figure so much out.” From our data we found that Latina mothers, driven by their commitment to their children’s education (Valdés, 1996), developed mother-child pedagogies (Bernal et al., 2006), or pedagogies in which the mother and child are intimately involved in teaching and learning from each other. This aligns with *mujerista*’s emphasis on *convivir* – or the relational practice of togetherness.

Throughout the transcripts, there were multiple references to togetherness, or mothers “being by [the child’s] side.” Togetherness means more than physically sitting next to and supervising the child. Instead, the togetherness of mother-child pedagogies refers to joint activities in which mother and child learn together – from and about each other. Here are statements that illustrate mother-child pedagogies, as enacted by the Latina mothers in our study:

I feel that my greatest trick – If I were to call it that – is to involve myself with my daughter and tell her “OK we’re going to take class, both of us. We are both taking class because I want to learn English and I can listen to your teacher while you’re in class.” I couldn’t do this before. Now I can hear her and I will also learn, so we’re both going to be students here at home. “You’re going to take class and I’m also going to take class and we’re going to pay attention.” Sometimes I ask her [daughter] “What does this mean? What did the teacher say?” And she’ll say, “I’m taking notes.” She gets excited and says, “Mom you’re missing out. Come here, she’s speaking. Are you understanding what she’s saying?” And because of that she’ll pay more attention because she has to help me too. (Ronalis, mother of four, Focus Group 3)

When [teachers] say dance, I get up and dance. When they say clap, I get up and clap. If the teacher says frog I’ll jump. I become a child with them and I take class with them like others have mentioned – I take class the same, as if I was in first grade. I try to enjoy the class and at least that helps me understand English and what they’re learning a bit more. (Maria, mother of one, Focus Group 3)

Mother-child pedagogies go beyond strategies for managing behavior or motivating a child (e.g., offering incentives for finishing a task or creating games). Instead, this concept refers to ways of teaching and learning that emphasize *togetherness*. Ronalis emphasized the *we/us* – “We are both taking class. We’re going to pay attention.” Both mothers challenged the parent-child separation and emphasized the idea of being with one’s child, evident in Maria saying, “I become a child *with* them, and I take class *with* them.” The *mujerista* frameworks suggests the value of the mother positioning herself as a learner, asking the child what something means or what the teacher said. In Ronalis’s comment, we see how mother-child pedagogies also empower the child and expand the ways in which the child can engage with her mother.

Another important element of mother-child pedagogies is the mother learning about the child's learning and the child as a learner. As Carla said,

For me, the benefit that I have taken up to now is that when, when, how fast the child – my own child – is learning and I'm there every step of the way – at the same time that he's learning online I'm there. I'm saying that this has given me the opportunity to see and I'm like "Wow, he's reading." (Carla, mother of two, Focus Group 4)

Carla described learning about her child's learning and being able to "see" him and his literacy development differently.

Discussion

We found that Latina mothers' struggles involved not just navigating web-based learning platforms but an educational system that was not responsive to economic constraints or stressors faced by Latinx families. The mothers described working one or two full-time jobs and returning home to cook, clean, and care for family members. They described receiving threatening phone calls from the school because their child had not logged on and feeling guilty that their child's grades suffered because neither they nor their child understood the homework submission system. This finding suggests that districts, school administrators, and teachers need to go beyond performativity – beyond offering manuals, training videos, or "drop-in" help hours that do not account for parents' work schedules, or the distrust between Latina mothers and some teachers. This finding also shifts the focus from a digital divide to a digital literacy divide, and conceptualizes the "divide" through the lens of social inequity. In line with our theory of digital literacies, we found that the knowledge and skills that Latina mothers mobilized (or struggled to mobilize) can be attributed not to individual shortcomings but to structural barriers associated with poverty, racism, and monolingual practices and policies in schools.

Despite structural and interpersonal racism and economic instability, we found that Latina mothers who participated in our study managed to develop and enact mother-child pedagogies rooted in togetherness or *convivir*. Mother-child pedagogies are defined by the following characteristics: active participation in child-adult interactions where the child and adult are learning about and from each other and teaching and learning through modeling and play (for example, Maria describing the way she dances and hops like a frog with her child). The mother-child pedagogies emphasize togetherness, as well as learning in and through social interactions. They also reflect Latina mothers' deep attention to how their child is experiencing the virtual classroom, how the child is positioned by the teacher, and what enables or hinders their child from learning. The Latina mothers' capacity to enact mother-child pedagogies challenge deficit-oriented perspectives in the area of family literacy and parent involvement (Johnson, 2009), specifically depictions of Latinx caregivers as not directly supporting or able to support children's academic learning. The type and nature of mother-child pedagogies also speak to Latina mothers' resilience, creativity, resourcefulness, and unyielding commitment to their children's education.

The main limitation of our study had to do with gathering data from one set of focus group conversations instead of multiple rounds of conversations over time, which may have yielded more nuanced insights into the shifts in the mothers' digital literacies, and engagement with their children's remote learning. Notwithstanding the limitations, the study offers implications for research, practice, and policy. For practice and policy, the study's findings lend support to interventions that go beyond providing hardware, software, and Internet connectivity. While important, these are just the first steps of assisting parents. Education programs and school districts can employ platforms that use languages other than English (Kim & Padilla, 2020). Furthermore, programs and policies in digital literacy education for parents have to account for their social and economic realities, which influence whether parents are able to or choose to develop their digital literacies. Such programs and policies need to begin with and leverage the mother-child pedagogies that are already in place in the homes.

Conclusion

COVID-19 serves as an important backdrop for understanding how Latina mothers teach and support their children at home and in remote classroom environments. The mothers in our study voiced the importance of going beyond technical solutions or the digital divide, and instead addressing the sociopolitical and economic contexts that shape parents' access to and use of digital literacies. Their perspectives call for a multilevel research agenda (Katz & Gonzalez, 2016), as well as program and policy development that focuses not just on the individual but on family and community-level influences on parents' digital literacies, and leverages parents' resourcefulness and adaptive strategies.

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