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Original research paper

SCAFFOLDING THE LEARNING DURING THE FIRST WAVE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC – SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVE*

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ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic was a natural experiment that allowed for the reexamination of various theories and social phenomena in a novel context. This study aimed to determine whether under these novel circumstances, greater support was provided in asymmetric or symmetric interactions. More specifically, we focused on the main actors in the provision of remote learning support to secondary school students and we examined students' perceptions in different time periods during the first wave of the pandemic. Another aim was to describe the content of the support provided to students by various actors in education. This longitudinal exploratory research followed 160 secondary school students over the course of 12 weeks during which regular classes were not held at schools. Three research cycles conducted during different remote learning periods revealed that students perceived teachers and peers as the main actors in the provision of learning support. Parental learning support was not negligible, especially during the longest movement ban during the pandemic. Conversely, students seldom recognized school counselors as educational actors providing learning support. The content of the support provided by the abovementioned actors related to the cognitive, motivational, emotional, and organizational aspects of learning.

Key words:

COVID-19, scaffolding, longitudinal study, secondary school students, remote learning.

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■ INTRODUCTION

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic led to significant changes in everyday life dynamics and altered some of the usual patterns of human functioning. One of the global consequences of the pandemic was the change in the organization of the education process and the transition to various forms of remote learning. The spreading of the virus during the first wave of the pandemic resulted in the prompt closure of all educational institutions, from preschool to university. It has been estimated that the closure of schools affected 94% of students around the world, amounting to 1.6 billion students in over 190 countries (United Nations, 2020). Schools and different actors in the education system faced multiple challenges regarding the organization of teaching and learning processes under extraordinary circumstances. A large number of countries, including Serbia, proceeded with the implementation of the curriculum with the application of remote learning models (Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije – Kabinet ministra, 2020). Thus, the learning process resumed, but under different circumstances, which encompassed more than a change in the physical environment and a transition to learning from home. The prescribed remote learning model was implemented under unique social circumstances caused by the pandemic and actors in education were expected to perform their roles in a manner that was different from usual. To understand some of the changes that occurred in the learning process during the pandemic, it was important for us to determine and describe who helped secondary school students and how in the process of remote learning under these extraordinary circumstances.

Scaffolding the Learning Process

In this paper, learning support is analyzed from the perspective of socio-cultural theory (Vygotsky, 1934/2012; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991), employing the concept of scaffolding. This term is used to define different forms of support students receive with tasks they cannot solve independently (Maybin, Mercer, & Stierer, 1992; Van de Pol, Volman, & Beishuizen, 2010; Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). Examples of such support include helping students structure their work (Fernandez *et al.*, 2001), providing feedback (Alharbi, 2017; Radišić & Jošić, 2015), building relationships of trust between students and teachers (Stanulis & Russell, 2000), simplifying tasks (Klapp & Jönsson, 2021), motivating students to solve their tasks (Duffy & Azevedo, 2015; Nedić, Jošić, & Baucal, 2015), highlighting the key points in the task, emotion regulation (Rosiek & Beghetto, 2009), and technical resources/tools that facilitate various activities (Alharbi, 2017; Doo, Bonk, & Heo, 2020). It should be emphasized that support is provided when students require it and it gradually diminishes with

students' growing independence (Granott, Fischer, & Parziale, 2002; van Geert & Steenbeek, 2005; Van de Pol, Volman, & Beishuizen, 2010).

Considering that *scaffolding* is a broadly defined term, researchers have identified a vast repertoire of scaffolding forms differing in terms of their grounding, focus, and content. Some of the defined forms include cognitive scaffolding, which supports the cognitive aspects of the learning process (Flick, 2000), motivational scaffolding (Nedić, Jošić, & Baucal, 2015), and emotional scaffolding (Rosiek, 2003).

Likewise, scaffolding can be analyzed from the perspective of “builders”, that is, specific individuals who install “scaffolds” and thus build support systems in the learning process. Initially, the concept of scaffolding focused on asymmetric relationships that commonly involve interactions between teachers and students and parents and students (Stepanović Ilić, Baucal, & Pešić, 2015; Stepanović Ilić & Baucal, 2022; Webb, 1982; Zapiti, & Psaltis, 2012). However, scaffolding can also encompass symmetric relationships in which students support one another during the learning process. If each student understands a certain aspect of the problem, through conversation, students can assist one another in problem solving and thus construct new knowledge, reach a common understanding of the problem, and identify the solution (Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Schwarz, Neuman, & Biezuner, 2000; Tartas, Baucal, & Perret-Clermont, 2010). In asymmetric interactions, the distribution of power is uneven. Children are assisted by a person who is more competent in the given domain, with the person being either an adult or a peer. Symmetric interactions most commonly take place between peers and the strength of such interactions lies in the opportunity for students to freely express themselves, voice conflicting opinions, exchange information, and integrate it into existing structures (Piaget, 1941/1999). Both interaction types can have significant effects on students and their problem-solving competencies. Older and younger students alike can represent a huge potential in mastering subject content or various skills. In contrast to peer relations, students (perhaps more often) find themselves in situations in which they receive learning support through asymmetric interactions. These interactions primarily involve teachers, followed by parents, but also school counselors and other adult mentors who can provide useful scaffolding in the learning process. Hence, there are two types of relations that can constitute significant factors in the process of learning.

The Temporal Dynamics of Remote Learning in the Republic of Serbia During the First Wave of the Pandemic

In the Republic of Serbia, a state of emergency was declared on March 11, 2020, due to the epidemiological situation in the country caused by COVID-19 (Decision on declaring a state of emergency, 2020). In accordance with decisions made regarding

emergency state measures on March 16, 2020, it was declared that regular classes would be suspended at all educational institutions, from preschool to university (Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije – Kabinet ministra, 2020). The following day, on March 17, it was decided that primary education would shift to remote learning, while remote learning for secondary school students was introduced on March 18. During the following 12 weeks, until June 1 when the school year officially ended, students received their education through classes televised on a public channel and an e-platform designed for remote learning. During this period, students had a two-day Orthodox Easter break, which coincided with the end of the fifth week of remote learning. It should be noted that at the same time, on March 18, the first movement ban was introduced, with the daily curfew lasting from 8 pm until 6 am. In the following weeks, this ban was gradually extended to the point where the movement was completely prohibited during weekends and holidays. The longest, 84-hour curfew lasted from April 17 until April 21, during the Easter holidays, which is a period that also encompassed students' spring break. For secondary school students, the school year ended at the end of May. Those who were dissatisfied with their grades had the chance to improve them over the course of the following week, during individual consultations. Finally, June 5 marked the beginning of the summer break for all secondary school students in the country.

Scope of the Study

Having in mind the changes in the education system arising from the COVID-19 pandemic, this exploratory study aimed to describe different forms of learning support provided to secondary school students. Namely, due to the extraordinary circumstances and the sudden transition to remote learning, we expected that students would need to adapt to this learning system. Considering that their everyday lives changed, we wanted to identify the main actors providing remote learning support during the first wave of the pandemic. We explored secondary school students' perspective and their evaluation of the learning support they received from different actors during different time periods within the first wave of the pandemic. Furthermore, we focused on describing the content of the support students received from different actors in education. In accordance with the novel situation and the context within which the research was conducted, we did not formulate any initial hypotheses.

■ METHOD

Study Design

The research was conceived as a longitudinal exploratory study. Data were collected using a questionnaire distributed during three different time intervals within the first wave of the pandemic, from March until the beginning of June 2020.

Sample

We analyzed responses given by 160 secondary school students. During each of the three research cycles, students responded to questions related to learning support. The sample comprised students from 47 settlements in the Republic of Serbia, with 91% of participants living in urban settlements and 9% living in rural settlements. Students' ages ranged between 15 and 19 years ($M=16,78$; $SD= 1,067$) and female students comprised the majority of the sample (77,5%). The sample included grammar school and vocational school students of all grades (1–4), with grammar school students comprising the largest portion of the sample (92%). During the three months of research, no students responded positively to the control questions aimed at discovering the direct effects of the pandemic on individual students (question: *Have you been infected with COVID-19?*) and members of their households (question: *Has a member of your household been infected with COVID-19?*).

Data Collecting

During the state of emergency, after the introduction of remote learning, students received an electronic questionnaire three times, during different periods. Each time, they were asked identical questions about the learning support they received. Students received the first questionnaire at the end of the first week of remote learning, on Friday, March 20, at 6 pm, that is, at the end of the school day. This date was selected to monitor the process of learning that took place during the first week following the closing of schools. The electronic questionnaire was distributed using the snowball method (Howitt & Cramer, 2000). It was sent to teachers, school counselors, and students' parents, who were then asked to forward the questionnaire to their students or children. The questionnaire was also posted on several teacher platforms and social media groups along with a request to forward it to students. We analyzed the responses of all students who had filled out the questionnaire by midnight on Sunday, March 22. This deadline was set to avoid the effects of the second week of

remote learning on students' answers. All students had the opportunity to read the instructions and the purpose of the research and then state whether they wanted to participate in the research and whether they consented to the provided data being used for research purposes.

The second questionnaire was forwarded to students who agreed to participate in the subsequent phases of the research. The questionnaire was sent to students at the end of the fourth week of remote learning during the state of emergency, on Friday, April 10. This date was selected due to the short school break, that is, due to the decision regarding the beginning of students' Easter break. The third and final questionnaire was distributed during the final week before the official end of the school year, that is, 12 weeks after the introduction of remote learning.

The research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Psychology Department of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade (No. 2020-024).

Instrument

In all three questionnaires, the questions pertained to the preceding week and students were asked to respond in accordance with events that had taken place during the given week. A portion of the questions were dedicated to exploring learning support. At the end of the first week of remote learning during the state of emergency, students were asked whether they received learning support from teachers, school counselors, parents, and peers and what this support comprised. More specifically, students first answered closed-ended questions (yes/no questions) about whether they received any form of support from the above-mentioned actors. If they answered affirmatively, they would see an additional question asking them to describe what this support entailed. During the two remaining cycles, students responded to identical questions about learning support, but all questions were closed-ended. During these cycles, it was decided that the question about the description of support received would be operationalized using categories obtained in the previously conducted qualitative analysis of the responses that students had provided in the first cycle. All response categories are presented in Tables 1-4.

Data Analyses

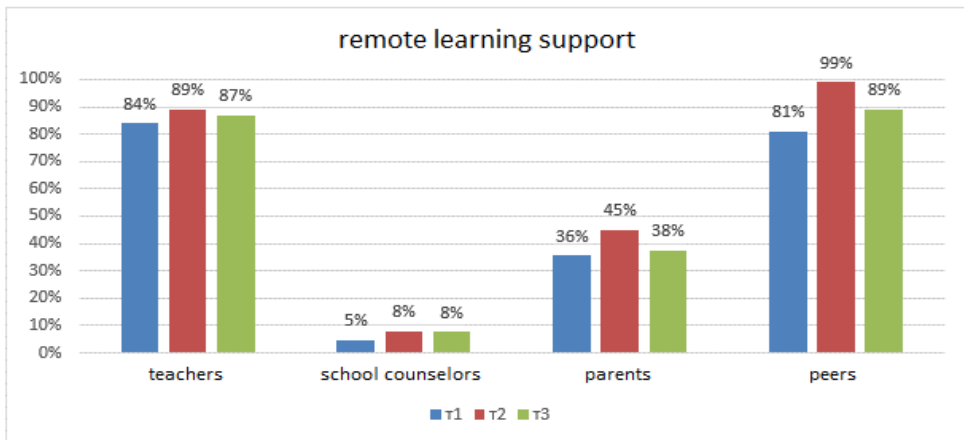
Considering the nature of the obtained data, qualitative and quantitative analysis techniques were applied. Closed-ended question data were presented using descriptive statistics (percentages and frequencies), while a chi-square test was employed to validate differences. Qualitative data were processed via an inductive content

analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007) applied to four distinct descriptions of support that students provided during the first research cycle. In the first phase of the analysis, the most common student response categories were identified. In the second phase, two independent raters categorized answers in accordance with the defined categories. Interrater reliability was measured via the coefficient of inter-subjective agreement (Cohen's kappa), which ranged from 0.85 to 1 for all categories, speaking in favor of the high interrater agreement. All isolated categories are presented in the Results section in Tables 1 through 4.

■ RESULTS

The following paragraphs provide an overview of the results that encompass the collective percentage of actors in education who provided learning support to students at different time points during the remote learning period. Immediately following are specific results pertaining to the ways learning support was provided by different actors in education who were able to scaffold students' learning.

Histogram 1: Support types during different time intervals



Histogram 1 shows the percentage of students who confirmed that they received learning support from different actors at three different time points after the closing of schools during the first wave of the pandemic. Over the course of the first week (τ_1) of remote learning, the greatest learning support was provided by teachers, followed by peers, parents, and finally, school counselors, including psychologists, pedagogists and special needs teachers. The difference in response frequency regarding support received from teachers versus peers was statistically significant in the first cycle

($\chi^2(1) = 9,22, p = 0,00$). In the two subsequent cycles, the abovementioned actors provided equal support, that is, there were no statistically significant differences. In other words, in subsequent cycles, there were no statistically significant differences in the frequency of these two support categories. Parents ranked third in all cycles, but the support they provided was the greatest in the second cycle, that is, the fourth week of the pandemic. Finally, the support provided by school counselors ranged from 5% to 8%.

Scaffolding the Learning – Role of the Teachers

Histogram 1 shows that teachers provided significant learning support in all three research cycles. In each cycle, more than 80% of students stated that teachers helped them in the learning process. Based on the remote learning dynamics, this percentage of support was the lowest at the very beginning of τ_1 (84%) and statistically it increased significantly in subsequent cycles ($t_1/t_2: \chi^2(1) = 11,55, p = 0,00$; $t_1/t_3 \chi^2(1) = 15,75, p = 0,00$). The 2% decrease between the second and the third cycle was likewise statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 134,31, p = 0,00$) and could be explained by the fact that due to the school year ending, some students received less support from teachers.

The ways teachers scaffolded learning process over the course of the research are presented in Table 1. The table shows the responses obtained via first-cycle content analysis, along with their frequency in student responses.

Table 1: Percentages¹ and frequencies² of responses of different categories to the question about the ways teachers provided learning support

Mode of providing learning support received from teachers	τ_1	τ_2	τ_3
Using online learning platforms (e.g., Google Classroom and Edmodo)	48% (60)	94% (129)	86% (118)
Using conference services combining video-calls, online meetings, and messaging(e.g., Zoom and Skype)	21% (26)	50% (69)	50% (68)
Using messaging solutions (e.g., Viber, WUP, Messenger)	34% (42)	83% (114)	75% (103)
Email communication	12% (15)	82% (112)	74% (101)

¹ Response percentages were calculated based on the total number of students who initially stated that they received support from teachers.

² Response frequencies are shown in brackets.

Providing learning materials and presentations	24% (30)	84% (115)	79% (108)
Giving homework	6% (8)	96% (131)	87% (119)
Giving exercise and revision tasks	3% (4)	74% (101)	67% (92)
Providing recorded lectures	3% (4)	42% (57)	38% (52)
Other	7% (4)	3% (4)	4% (5)

Based on the responses given by secondary school students during the three months of research, teachers provided the greatest support via online learning platforms. Other important communication tools used by teachers included messaging applications, email, and conference services that allowed for the organization of online meetings. It is interesting to note that by the end of the remote learning period, half of the students did not get a chance to meet their teachers in a synchronous online environment. In other words, these students engaged in asynchronous communication with their teachers, which did not involve students and teachers interacting in the same online environment at the same time for the purpose of learning. Considering educational activities that teachers organized, forms of learning support recognized by students included providing learning materials, homework, exercise and revision tasks, and audio lectures. The fact that all forms of support were less pronounced in the first week (Table 1) indicates that it took time for this learning support system to be established and for students to adopt this way of learning and teaching.

Scaffolding the Learning – Role of the School Counselors

Having in mind all four types of support examined in this study, the support provided by school counselors was evaluated as the least common in all time intervals. Only a small percentage of students, a total of 5% during the first week and 8% in subsequent weeks, recognized school counselors' activities as something that contributed to their learning process.

Table 2: Percentages and frequencies of responses of different categories to the question about the ways school counselors provided learning support

Mode of providing learning support received from school counselors	T1	T2	T3
Providing information about learning strategies	17% (1)	67% (8)	73% (8)
Providing information about free time management	17% (1)	67% (8)	64% (7)
Providing information about behavior in a state of emergency	17% (1)	50% (6)	36% (4)
Being available for direct communication if students require it	17% (1)	75% (9)	64% (7)
Providing service information about remote learning	50% (3)	58% (7)	27% (3)
Providing information about COVID-19	17% (1)	25% (3)	36% (4)
Counseling about the preservation of mental health	17% (1)	33% (4)	18% (2)
Other	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)

Based on the small corpus of data referring to learning support provided by school counselors, we isolated the following categories: learning support pertaining to mastering learning strategies, free time management, behavior in a state of emergency, providing service information about remote learning, offering information about COVID-19, and giving advice on mental health preservation. During the first week after the closing of schools, school counselors most commonly provided service information about remote learning. In the subsequent weeks, school counselors continued providing service information about remote learning, but student responses also featured other school counselor activities. By the middle of the remote learning period (based on the second-cycle data), two thirds of school counselors who provided learning support had given their contact information to students so they could reach them if they required their assistance.

Scaffolding the Learning – Role of the Parents

Learning support provided by parents was recognized in all three time intervals and ranged from 36% to 45%. There were no statistically significant differences between time intervals in terms of the availability of this form of support.

Table 3: Percentages and frequencies of responses of different categories to the question about the ways parents provided learning support to students

Mode of providing parental learning support	T1	T2	T3
Reducing the number of chores with the aim of leaving more time for learning	2% (1)	19% (13)	37% (19)
Help with daily organization and following lessons (waking up, schedule reminders...)	21% (9)	25% (17)	26% (14)
Working together on tasks that were not clear to students	16% (7)	21% (14)	20% (10)
Reminding about the importance of learning even under extraordinary circumstances	28% (12)	65% (96)	63% (52)
Technical help regarding remote learning	2% (1)	18% (12)	14% (7)
Expressing interest in the learning content	14% (6)	34% (23)	29% (15)
Providing feedback on the quality of tasks completed	2% (1)	29% (20)	33% (17)
Other	9% (4)	6% (4)	6% (3)

Table 3 shows the frequencies of certain student responses that described the ways parental learning support was provided. Analyzing student responses, we identified themes related to motivating students to learn, providing support with daily schedule organization, helping overcome technical challenges associated with remote learning, and participating in task solving and studying. During the first week of the pandemic, parental support mostly focused on motivation and reminding students that learning is important even under extraordinary circumstances (28%). Students stated that their parents: *warned them that they would do badly in life if they did not study; that COVID will pass, but knowledge is forever; that no one can take away our knowledge*, and more. Likewise, during the first week of remote learning, parents helped students with daily organization and with following lessons and expressed interest in the learning content. These types of support were also observable in subsequent weeks of remote learning, but there was a significant increase in their focus on the importance of learning under extraordinary circumstances. During the two subsequent cycles, parents likewise offered significantly greater support during task solving by giving students feedback about the quality of their homework. Furthermore, parents enabled students to focus more on studying by reducing their chores over time.

Scaffolding the Learning – Role of the Peers

Apart from teachers, peers provided the greatest learning support. During the entire remote learning period, more than 80% of students stated that their peers helped them in the learning process. At the very beginning of the pandemic, during the first week, this percentage amounted to 81%, reaching 99% during the second cycle, and amounting to 89% at the end of the school year, which suggests that peers had a significant role in the learning process.

Table 4: Percentages and frequencies of responses of different categories related to providing peer learning support

Mode of providing peer learning support	t1	t2	t3
Providing help with technical and technological aspects of remote learning	74% (96)	60% (94)	41% (54)
Division of work when solving tasks	2% (3)	67% (104)	62% (82)
Joint work on solving tasks	30% (39)	69% (108)	63% (83)
Exchanging learning materials	5% (6)	83% (129)	77% (101)
Motivating to learn	6% (8)	48% (75)	42% (55)
Other	0% (0)	3% (4)	2% (3)

During the first week of remote learning, the main theme in peer support was technical and technological assistance. More than two thirds of students faced technological challenges and received help in this domain from their peers. This form of support was observable in subsequent weeks, but it was less pronounced, which indicates that students gradually overcame such challenges. As a form of peer learning support, students recognized joint work on solving tasks using existing online platforms. They described it as follows: "We connect online and we all solve tasks at the same time and collaborate." During the first week of remote learning, one third of students opted for this form of learning, but this number doubled in subsequent weeks. In addition to solving problems together, students recognized another form of peer support that consisted of dividing work when doing homework, in the following manner: "Someone does one task and shares it with me/the group". During the first week of remote learning, copying homework was not common (only 2% of students), but it became increasingly common in subsequent weeks, when a growing number of students reported doing their homework this way. There was a significant difference in the frequency of exchanging learning materials during the first week compared to the two subsequent cycles. At the very beginning, few students reported

such interactions with their peers, while in later cycles, this became the dominant form of peer support. When it comes to peer support related to learning motivation, it was more pronounced during later weeks of remote learning.

■ DISCUSSION

The COVID-19 pandemic did not bring the learning process to a halt, but it transferred it into a different context. During the first wave of the pandemic, students engaged in organized remote learning and had the chance to adapt to the novel situation and test their capacity to successfully proceed with the learning process. Adopting the perspective of socio-cultural theory, this research aimed to determine who helped students in this process, how support was provided, and whether the dynamics of support provision changed over the course of 12 weeks of remote learning.

Numerous studies and multiple research perspectives focused on the role of social interaction in learning and development (Piaget, 1941/1999; Stepanović Ilić, Baucal, & Pešić, 2015; Tartas, Baucal, & Perret-Clermont, 2010; Vygotsky, 1934/2012) have highlighted two types of relations: asymmetric and symmetric interaction. Remote learning during the pandemic allowed us to test whether a dramatic change in context leads to modifications in the roles of these relations. More specifically, the results of the present study showed that all actors in education, including students, their parents, teachers, and school counselors, offered learning support in order to ensure the continuation of the process of education. From the perspective of secondary school students, the roles of teachers and their peers, as their main helpers, were equally recognized. During the two and a half months of remote learning, secondary school students consistently reported receiving the greatest support from the above mentioned actors. This finding confirms the importance and stability of the effects of asymmetric and symmetric interaction on the learning process, even when this process takes place outside the usual context and when a different learning dynamic is established. Apart from teachers, parents were likewise recognized as crucial “builders” who scaffolded learning. The results of this study revealed that parents were most actively involved during the second cycle, that is, at the end of the fourth week of remote learning. This finding could be explained by the fact that this week coincided with students’ spring break and the longest movement ban. In other words, during this week, students could most greatly rely on their parents, whose contributions at the beginning of the pandemic and the school year were smaller. It is interesting to note that students seldom recognized school counselors as direct actors providing support. The percentage of responses related to this form of support remained small across all cycles. On the other hand, a study conducted during the same time period revealed significant involvement of school counselors

and indicated that they had an important role in the organization of remote learning (Đerić, 2021). This makes our finding all the more intriguing, raising the question of why school counselors remained invisible and unrecognized as learning support providers in the eyes of secondary school students.

The content analysis allowed us to gain insight into a wide range of ways learning support was provided to secondary school students. These forms of learning support came from different actors. The results showed that the content of the support provided by teachers mostly included guidance and mediation (Vygotsky, 1978) in the domain of the syllabus and curriculum. Teachers used various information and communication tools to ensure students received learning materials, after which they covered the subject matter with students (to a lesser degree), and finally evaluated the acquired knowledge through homework. We could conclude that cognitive learning support was mostly provided by teachers.

Based on the descriptions of student responses, the content of parental support centered on several aspects that are crucial to successful learning. Their involvement partially included providing structural and organizational scaffolding. Students appreciated their parents' help with organizing their daily schedules and adapting to the novel situation in which the process of education took place at home. On the other hand, parents also provided cognitive scaffolding by joining their children in task solving and evaluating their knowledge. Finally, parents provided motivational learning scaffolding by expressing interest in the content and reminding their children that learning is important.

Although few students reported receiving learning support from school counselors, the content of this form of support significantly differed from the support students received from other actors. School counselors focused on scaffolding the emotional aspect of students' functioning, which is likewise important in the context of learning. According to student responses, school counselors performed their advisory role during the pandemic as well and concentrated on the preservation of mental health.

Peer learning support encompassed both cognitive and motivational aspects. On the one hand, students solved tasks together and organized study sessions to jointly master the content. It is interesting to note that students recognized copying, where one student completed the task and forwarded it to other students, as a form of scaffolding, which intensified and became commonplace in subsequent weeks of remote learning. It could be concluded that considering the situation in which students found themselves, this form of coordination in task solving was highly pragmatic. In addition to scaffolding focusing on the cognitive aspects of learning, students motivated one another to learn and provided significant scaffolding in overcoming technological challenges associated with remote learning. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that reaching conclusions based solely on this study is considerably limited by the convenience of the sample. The research was conducted

on a relatively small sample of secondary school students who volunteered to fill out the questionnaire at three different time points during the first wave of the pandemic, which is to be expected in longitudinal studies. Hence, it should be noted that the sample comprised secondary school students who had internet access and who were motivated to participate in the research three times over the course of three months.

The results of following the natural experiment in which the education system was immersed during the pandemic showed that secondary school students required support to continue their engagement in the learning process. Students recognized different actors and interacted with both adults and peers who provided different forms of scaffolding the learning. During the first wave of the pandemic, remote learning required all actors in education to adapt to the novel situation. In the eyes of secondary school students, learning support was not provided by school counselors, but it was their teachers, parents, and peers who scaffolded their learning. This perception of secondary school students remains an important piece of data for education policymakers, as well as practitioners in education, who can use it to improve remote learning.

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