Parent Interactions in
Mediating Behaviour Problems of School-Aged Students:
A Case Study Set in a Small BC Coastal Community

by

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Abstract

In the process of parents' interactions with principals and teachers to resolve behaviour problems, what happens that is likely to create positive outcomes for children in school? Research literature establishes that parent interactions, whether for behaviour or academic reasons, are directed by subtly defined or invisible parameters that provide inherent institutional influence to outcomes. Bourdieu's social reproduction theory, which relates to the influence of cultural, social, and symbolic capital acting as currency in social behaviour, guided the study. A qualitative case study research design was used to examine parents' experiences of parent-school interactions that twelve study-participants described in their attempts to resolve their children's behaviour problems at school. The guiding research question was: How does social reproduction theory help to understand parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour? Study findings revealed the depth of caring and persistence that parents demonstrate in their parent-school interactions and administrators' deep commitment to working with families to resolve behaviour problems. The study exposed the need to articulate differences in the concepts of parent-school involvement and parent-school engagement, ideas that when viewed on a continuum lead towards shared parent-school leadership, prompting better outcomes for children. Study results suggested school personnel had a lack of recognition and acceptance of parent knowledge about their children. Findings also suggested a lack of alignment between parents' experiences and the study's reported outcomes by school administrators' regarding their work with parents. Key themes from the research included the influence of social networks, strengthening relationships, communication practices, and social reciprocity in shaping parental interactions. Study findings indicate that parents want a space and recognition on the school landscape to share the work of supporting their children and that parent-school partnerships can create meaningful approaches in their interactions to mutually resolve their children's behaviour problems.

Keywords: Engagement; field; habitus; interaction; involvement; mediation; parent-school; participation; partnership; social resources; student behaviour

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my family, my friends, and my colleagues who provided encouragement, support, and inspiration while I completed this journey. To Johan, my husband, who recognizes my passion for study and research, and supported me in this endeavour from the beginning. To my four sons, Adam, Steve, Aaron, and Casey, who remained interested and supportive while they managed their own lives and families. To my parents, Jeffrey and Mary, who demonstrated lifelong interest in learning, dedication to family, and pride in their children, and who continue to inspire me even though they are gone now. To my friends and colleagues, synonymously, who provided suggestion, discussion, and relief, all at the right times. I am grateful to all.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Acronyms

LINK   Learning Includes Nutrition and Knowledge

PACs   Parent Advisory Councils

SES   socio-economic status

Glossary

Engagement   The shared work between parents and schools which fully recognizes both the knowledge that parents hold about their children and the pedagogic knowledge of the school.

Field   The setting where the social action unfolds (Bourdieu, 1989).

Habitus   The set of socially learnt dispositions, skills and ways of acting, that are often taken for granted, and which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. Habitus is formed by the social structures from which it emerges (Bourdieu, 1984, 1989).

Interactions   Refers to the parents' participation with the principal or the teacher to resolve children's behaviour problems.

Involvement   The opportunities for parents and families to support their children at home and school. These activities are most often related to supporting the goals and the needs of the school and tend to emanate from a school-centric origin and be school-directed.

Mediation   Describes the process and attempts in the parent-school interaction to work towards a resolution of the child's behaviour problems.

Parent-school   Refers to the presence of the parent and the school in the interaction.

Participation   For the study's purpose, describes parents' and school personnel's work together, while being aware of the school-centric connotation it may suggest.

Partnership   Refers to parents and school personnel sharing the work of supporting children together.

Social Resources Refers to types and levels of capital. Bourdieu (1986) describes capital, such as social capital and cultural capital, as taking on an influence similar to currency in the social activities of everyday life. Social capital and cultural capital are particularly noted in this study.

Student   The actions of children that become the focus of participation
Behaviour   between parents and school personnel, which includes the administrator (principal) and the teacher.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

In the past four decades, educational research literature has evolved around the concept of parental involvement in their children's education while more recently attention is being increasingly directed to the idea of parent engagement. Much of the literature has concerned the relationship between parent involvement and academic achievement in school, with less study relating to parent involvement and their participation in behaviour support (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Berthelsen & Walker, 2008; Hinshaw, 1992; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). In their work, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) query "what goes on in the process of parental involvement that makes it likely to create a positive difference in children's school outcomes?" (p. 312). Zellman and Waterman (1998) note that parents' involvement relates to meeting the material and emotional needs of their children, which includes attendance, attitudes towards schooling, and behaviour outcomes. Engagement is similar to Deslandes' (2001) idea of a partnership process in which school and parents develop a two-way relationship that empowers working together and values the contributions of each partner. Understanding the experiences of parents in the processes involved in parent-school involvement and parent-school engagement in the work of resolving children's behaviour problems at school may lead to better processes and outcomes between parents and schools in their work together.

Bakker and Dennison (2007) draw attention to the lack of clarity in the definition of parental involvement suggesting that involvement refers to school-centric activities that "directly or indirectly influence children's cognitive development and school achievement" (p. 189). Amendt (2008) refers to parental involvement as parents being invited to participate in activities that support school needs that are recognized by the school, suggesting limited opportunities for trust building and relationship development.

1

Others such as Ferlazzo (2011) suggest moving from parent involvement to parent engagement by developing a relationship-building process that uses parental knowledge of their children to build success into the hopes and dreams they have for their children. Pushor (2007, 2012) makes a clear distinction between parental involvement and engagement, describing engagement as the child's school being a shared world of mutual engagement and benefit between families and school. While parent involvement has a crucial role in the educational agenda of the school, more recently research into the concept of parent engagement is creating a larger place in the empirical literature by exposing and addressing an intuitive sense that parents have a more profound role in their children's education than acknowledged in the past (Bennett, 2007; Jeynes, 2003; Li, 2010; Lopez & Stoelting, 2010; Mitchell, 2008; Posner & Bojorquez, 2008). Educational leaders are recognizing that past and even current well-intentioned attempts for what are largely school-centric rituals to include parents in the process of their children's education do not necessarily achieve mutual benefit for children, their families, and schools. While engagement notably encompasses improved relationships and shared purpose (Fullan, 2001) the terms continue to be used interchangeably and inappropriately.

As well, research continues to address how to optimally promote parent involvement, to study the impact of parent involvement on student achievement outcomes, to examine how to account for differences across race and ethnicity, and to seek ways to manage the parameters that appear to exist around parents' involvement in the school setting (Miretzky, 2004; Parhar, 2010; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). In British Columbia, as described in the BC *Schools Act* (2014, "7. Parents' entitlements and responsibilities"), parents are encouraged to be involved in their children's schools in a variety of ways, including volunteering, consulting, communicating, and serving on Parent Advisory Councils or School Planning Councils.

Despite these encouragements and opportunities, parent involvement suggests the notion of school-centricity, whether efficacious on their part or requested by the school (Georgiou, 2007). Parent involvement is generally guided by the defining parameters of what is permissible by virtue of the school institution (Lawson, 2003). Pierre Bourdieu (1998) alludes to this work of the institution as a form of power and control where in the educational system it occurs as "the functioning of the mechanism

2

of scholastic reproduction" (p. 20), functioning beyond the realm or in spite of the work of those involved in the operation of the institution. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) suggest that parents who possess a strong sense of efficacy for helping their children are more likely to become involved with their children's school. Further, when parents are requested to support behaviour concerns, the school's entreaty is coupled with an expectation that agreement will be reached and there will be "a fit between the parent's activities and the school's expectation for parental involvement" (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997, p. 322).

A behaviour interaction is uniquely situated in the school world of parent and educator encounters and meetings. The terms parent involvement and parent engagement do not adequately describe or situate these interactions, although degrees and levels of involvement or engagement may come to play in these interactions. While this study brings attention to the differences between parent involvement and parent engagement, it is concerned with the parents' experiences in their mediation attempts with their children's school principals or teachers. The term interaction is used to describe these occasions in this study. The term participation is also used to specifically relate to their participant experience in this interaction process. Because of the parent-centered nature of this study, the terms child or children are used as parents do not call their children students.

According to Kilbourn (2006), "a theoretical perspective is explicitly and systematically used to interpret a phenomenon, usually with a view to the insights that the perspective offers for theory and practice" (p. 545). This study develops its theoretical perspective by drawing on the work of several theorists, including Bourdieu (1980), Coleman (1988), Epstein (2001), Lareau (2000), and Putnam (1995a, 1995b), who study the complexities of social behaviour, particularly as it relates to parents and education. Schools are a collecting place for "inequalities across generations and among groups" (Verba, Burns, & Schlozman, 2003, p. 45), which results in children being expectedly unequal at the starting points of their educational journeys. This is not new, as their parents "pass on class status to their offspring, [so that] socio-economic stratification persists from generation to generation" (Verba et al., 2003, p. 46). As the societal expectations of what schools offer have increased and the role of school in the child's life and family has shifted, the behaviours that manifest in schools have also

changed. As a result, parent interactions and attempts to mediate behavioural outcomes with the school have been impacted as well. It remains that schools in which families are involved "have more support from families and better reputations in the communities" (United States Department of Education, 2000, para. 4), illustrating the influence and subtle complexity of social connections. The communal work of improving parent involvement processes which lead to increased levels of parent engagement and parent leadership in their children's schools must continue by reaching out to families and the community.

For the purposes of the study, behaviour is defined as any concerns or issues stemming from school children's externalized conduct or internalized emotional difficulties that interfere with their participation or the participation of other children in their education in the school setting. As well, this definition includes the idea that there is a negative effect on children's education or the education of their peers at school, caused by their behaviour. Purposefully, this is a broad definition that intentionally covers an expansive continuum of behaviours due to the study's goal of examining the experiences of parents in their school interactions that relate to their children's behaviour problems. Parent interactions concerning positive behaviour are not considered in this study. Further, parent interaction is the term used in this study and when the term participation is used, it specifically relates to the parents' interactions with the school to support their children's behaviour problems. The intent of this study is not to examine children's behaviour, except as it relates to the parents' experiences of their interactions that are being explored. Other studies discuss the terms parent involvement and parent engagement interchangeably while understanding that these ideas are clearly different entities (Georgiou, 2007; Lawson, 2003; Lareau, 2000; Lopez & Stoelting, 2010; MacNeil & Patin, 2005). The study maintains an awareness of the vast yet subtle differences in the continuum of parent involvement leading towards parent engagement (Amendt, 2008) alongside the continuing unease that this knowledge retains when the differences are unacknowledged.

1.1. Theoretical Framework: Parents and Schooling

In this study I examine how parents involve themselves in their children's school to support their children's behaviour problems. I utilize Pierre Bourdieu's (1984, 1989, 1998) and Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) bodies of work to illustrate the underlying influences that guide parents' interactions with the school principal or teacher when they meet to support their children's behaviour. Bourdieu's research on social capital connects to his theoretical ideas on European class, extending from his studies of social life in France and his army deployment to Algiers, where he also investigated Algerian social life. Much of Bourdieu's (1980, 1984, 1986) ideas are directed at education and social culture, in which he investigates his key ideas of habitus (lasting individual dispositions acquired through social processes), field (a system of social positions), and capital (social, cultural, and symbolic capital which act as forms of currency tied to power). Bourdieu (1980, 1984, 1986) describes cultural, social, and symbolic capital as having the effect and values of social currency, and whose effects can be used to advance one's social interests. This is of particular value in investigating the social and power relationships that exist in parents' involvements with principals and teachers.

I turn to Robert Putnam's (1995a, 1995b) research on social capital, which builds on these ideas by describing "three components: moral obligations and norms, social values, especially trust, and social networks, especially voluntary associations" (Siisiäinen, 2000, para.1). In his work, *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital,* Putnam (1995a) identifies social capital as those "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 2), ideas which can be linked to the dynamics and interplay in parents' interactions with school personnel. Putnam purports that there is positive reciprocity in the accumulation of social capital, in particular that which stems from civic or community engagement and is voluntary in nature. He further states that "life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital" (Putnam,1995a, p. 2), an understanding that directly relates to the relationships that exist between parents and principals or teachers in schools. Where Bourdieu's (1989) work examines the effects of power differentials and pursuit of personal interests, Putnam (1995a) explores the "collective values of the community and their social integration" (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 1).

I draw on the work of Annette Lareau (2000, 2002, 2003) who demonstrates that social class and parenting approaches have significant impact on parent interventions in support of their children. She underpins her research with Bourdieu's (1986, 1989, 1998) studies on the influence and activation of cultural and social capital and their reproduction, which emerges in the form of symbolic capital. Lareau (2000) proposes that her work is a preliminary step in unravelling the processes whereby individuals transform cultural capital into social profit. She further states "possession of high status cultural resources does not automatically lead to a social investment" (p. 178). Lareau (2000) suggests "these cultural resources must be effectively activated by individuals, in and through their own actions and decisions" (p. 178). Lareau's work provides a necessary bridge to situate the ideas of Bourdieu, which are based on his studies of French and Algerian cultures, into a North American social perspective, making these ideas more easily identifiable and accessible to the North American reader. In her studies of middle-class, working class and poor families, Lareau (2000, 2002, 2003) relates her work to the activation of cultural and social capital, in which parenting styles of different social classes influence outcomes for children. Lareau (2003) demonstrates how parents, depending on, or reflecting their different class experiences, use individual approaches in how they support and intervene in their children's schooling. She establishes that social class and parenting approaches have significant impact on parent interventions in support of their children. This perspective of Lareau's is central to understanding the influencing factors that characterize parent interactions with principals and teachers, when parents intervene for their children to support behaviour problems.

Joyce Epstein's (1995, 2001, 2010) research is important to this study because of its emphasis on the concept of parent-school partnerships, although, similarly to the wider body of research literature, its attention is directed to academic outcomes. Although Epstein's work does not address the school-centric notion that is prevalent in including parents in their children's education processes, I use her development of typologies of parent involvement (Epstein, 1995, 2001, 2010) to illustrate the variety of ways that parents may be involved in their child's education. Epstein (1995, 2001, 2010) describes a continuum of activities that range from parenting at home to collaborating with the community so that schools can develop more positive school/family/community connections. Lunenburg and Irby (2002) note that Epstein's work has become the basis

6

of much of the research concerned with parent involvement in schools and can be useful for "developing, evaluating, and redesigning those programs" (p. 11). Where Bourdieu's (1980, 1984, 1986) and Lareau's (2000, 2002, 2003) investigations of cultural and social capital shed understanding on what underpins parent interactions, Epstein's (1995) typology (See Table 2.1. Epstein's 6 Levels of Parent Involvement, for more information.) suggests further development through concrete examples that support parent and school activities, although they remain in the realm of school-directed undertakings, rather than moving along the continuum of activities and processes leading towards parent engagement that Amendt (2008) describes.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) Theory of Social Reproduction, along with Robert Putnam's (1995a, 1995b) more recent explications of social capital, serve to illuminate how interactions between parent and school may be influenced as they proceed towards outcomes in resolving adolescents' behaviour problems. Their work provides clarity for how people make use of symbolic profit from a variety of structures to influence their aims and achievement of desired outcomes (Bourdieu, 1998). Putnam's (1995a, 1995b) work purports that the more we connect with others, the greater the amount of trust, which is also more likely to be reciprocated thereby strengthening social connections. Whether voluntary or by request, a parents' involvement with school personnel to support their children's behaviour problems is as necessary as supporting their academic expectations for their children. The studies of Bourdieu (1986) and Lareau (1987, 2002) provide a pathway to understand the finer influences that guide parent-school interactions concerning behaviour problems. Furthermore, Lareau (2000, 2002, 2003) posits that parents of middle-class, working class, and low-income families activate their cultural and social capitals in different ways to intervene and support their children at school. This underscores the complexity and importance of the relationships between home and school.

Ministry policy and documents exist to support the interactions between parents and school. Government policy documents guide and remind educators in their management of school behaviour problems in order to further their "commitment to maintaining safe, caring and orderly schools" (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 9). These include Bill M-204: Safe Schools Act (British Columbia Ministry of Education [BCMOE], 2006) and Parents' Entitlements and Responsibilities (British

Columbia Ministry of Education [BCMOE], 2014). The documentation includes parents in the work of establishing a safe and supportive school culture for their children. While not always accessed by the bulk of the parent population, these documents are available to parents, who are increasingly inclined to access them in their proceedings. Accessibility and use of supporting documentation has notably increased with the growth of the Internet. In spite of this fact, its important to acknowledge that while information may be publically available on the Internet; not all families have access to reliable Internet. For example, not all households in this study have the Internet; some parents live in areas where Internet access is limited.

1.2.   Influences and Diversity

Researchers have noted that access to certain resources may make a difference to outcomes of social situations encountered in daily living (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Parents bring varying levels of social, economic, and cultural capital to their educational involvements regarding their children's behaviour (Lareau, 2003; Vincent & Martin, 2002). In addition, diversity is an aspect of school populations in British Columbia's public schools, which include mixed compositions of socio-economic and ethnic features, sexual orientation, ethnicity, culture, and religion. In BC schools parents act on personal expectations of how their children should be treated and taught as they work to achieve their own desired parental outcomes. At the same time school leaders position their expectations in the forefront of their educational endeavours to achieve outcomes that support existing school policy, where best practices, along with policy, guide school expectations and actions (British Columbia Principals' and Vice Principals' Association Standards Committee, 2013).

The family encounters an organized pre-determined system that works to include them in supporting their child's educational experience. In the present-day social context the education system could perhaps be compared to Bourdieu's (1998) image of "sorting" that he borrowed from physicist James Clerx Maxwell, a notion of particles being separated into fast and slow, which maintain difference and order, instead of otherwise being annihilated. Bourdieu (1998) compares this to the school system which "separates the holders of inherited cultural capital from those who lack it" (p. 20), thereby

maintaining the pre-existing social differences. It is as if two different subtle forces are at work, the school system itself, which does the separating out or ordering, and the resource contributions of the child's family background and parental resource influence which affect the school outcomes for the child. As participants in the education system, pressure is placed upon the parent and student to be able to self-manage participation, self-regulate emotions, and cope with feelings of powerlessness, as the parent in this case is not fully in the control of the family or school system (Deluca & Rosenblatt, 2010).

Government and educational systems provide increasing pressure tor high achievement scores that are construed as evidence of successful provision of education, schooling which is regularly and mistakenly referred to as education. In fact, as Goens (2013) suggests, to fully define the concept of education, what is really needed along with strong academic skills is development of the intangible and necessary traits of wisdom, perseverance, and development of principled decision-making skills that support a lifetime of learning and social contribution.   When disparity in academic achievement of students is coupled with the differences in family backgrounds, which is influenced by SES and social resources, another barrier subtly presents itself for some families. As Deluca and Rosenblatt (2010) point out, marginalized families and families of lower SES, working class, or poor contexts cannot fully engage in or be recognized for the knowledge they have to contribute to their children's education.

1.3.   Defining Parent Involvement

A continuing observation among researchers is that they do not share an agreed upon understanding of what parent involvement actually is or how it is best defined. Parental academic involvement receives more attention than parent involvement about behaviour, and is described as "parents' work with schools and with their children to benefit their children's educational outcomes and future success" (Hill, et al., 2004, p. 2). Hinshaw (1992) notes that "aggression, inattention, and social problems are three behavioural issues that have a consistent and negative relation with achievement" (p. 2), but that parents who support their children academically are more likely to reduce their children's problem behaviour and improve their school academic outcomes. This

indicates a gap in the research in which to set my investigation of how parents support their children's behaviour problems at school.

Several researchers (Benson & Borman, 2010; Deslandes, 2001; Edgerton, Peter, & Roberts, 2008; Epstein, 2001; Lareau, 2000, 2003) have investigated aspects of how socio- economic status (SES) in families translate into academic advantages to influence the academic success that schools reward, looking at this from the perspective of the home, the school, and the neighbourhood environments. Behaviour can be a subtopic or secondary issue of this literature, embedded in the subject of academic involvement by parents (Hinshaw, 1992). While the difficulty of disentangling the two is ever present, in this study I focus on parents' interactions stemming from their children's behaviour, decoupling these interactions from the more typical research body that relates to those academic-related parent interactions. In my investigation, I refer to the work of Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (1995a, 1995b), Coleman (1988), and Lareau (2000), who relate their studies to the underlying influences that affect parent's educational support of their children. The narratives stemming from the interviews of parent-participants about supporting their children's behaviour problems in addition to teacher-administration participants provides the data for the examination for this study.

The subject of parent involvement in school districts can be considered in several ways. Historically, family and school have acted as a fusion point for society and have been conceptualized as the "moral juncture of individual and social value" (McCaslin & Infanti, 1998, p. 278). More recently, public education has come under increased scrutiny, with academic outcomes being compared internationally, feeding a mistrust of public education (Anderson, 2012; British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 2012; Conference Board of Canada, 2014). This decreased confidence interferes with the intended work of "policymakers, educators, and parents—for the benefit of children" (McCaslin & Infanti, 1998, p. 276). This is also evident in the United States where under the umbrella of the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* parent involvement is now a requirement, causing districts and their schools to face "added pressure to ensure that initiatives and activities to engage parents are in place" (Mitchell, 2008, p. 6). In order to make parental involvement a reality, schools and districts must have the ability to build and maintain capacity for parents and schools to be involved, leading to mutually engaged partnerships between schools and parents.

10

Problematically, in related literature, involvement is regularly used as an all-inclusive term that does not explicitly describe or capture the notion of shared partnering between parents and educators in their children's schools. More aptly the term continues to suggest the plethora of ways to be involved that implicitly remain school-directed. As Lopez and Stoelting (2010) recommend, what is required is the rethinking by all stakeholders of the fundamental beliefs and assumptions that educators and families hold regarding involvement. They posit that professional development should not be directed at refining and increasing the ways that parents can participate in school-directed involvement activities. I view this as an ongoing irritant that needs more redress than is currently recognized by stakeholders in education. Not only must the notion of involvement be rethought, but also the concept of engagement must be as equally considered, offered, and understood between stakeholders. To ultimately define and situate involvement, this cannot be achieved without also defining and situating engagement. Only then can the notion of involvement be situated, understood, and rectified in how and where it belongs in parents' and educators' work together. As Amendt (2008) suggests, this is at the beginning of a continuum of parent-school involvement leading towards parent-school engagement and leadership. In this study, I understand the term involvement to relate to school-centric activities, which may be described or implicitly suggested in parents' interactions when they support their children's behaviour problems at school.

1.4.   Researcher Positionality

To locate myself in this study, I have drawn from my interest in parent involvement in their children's education, which has evolved during the past 35 years over the course of my career as an educator in the public school system. I have moved from a somewhat superficial and naive position of expecting to attain immediate resolution of behaviour problems towards a greater effort to share and understand in a partnership approach with parents, one that endures and serves those involved beyond the immediate incident. In other words, I seek to emphasize the importance of the strengthening of the parent relationship, of supporting the ongoing need for student participation, the continuing need for improved student behaviour, and for continuing parent involvement and engagement. A variety of positions and responsibilities for

which I served over the years, which include classroom teacher, teacher in charge, department chair, support services teacher, and administrator have allowed and encouraged me to do this. In my 35 years of elementary and high school focus, I have remained curious about the dynamics and outcomes of behavioural involvement between parents and school, leading to the formation of stronger and better partnerships between the two.

In contrast to the more commonly researched academic concerns in parent-school involvement, interactions between parents and school personnel about a student's inappropriate behaviour appear to have curiously different or additional characteristics (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Georgiou, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). During my experience as an educator, I have noted that these parents appear to draw on other or additional resources than those accessed by parents to address academic matters. These differences include the notion of a different emotional engagement and a desire for an aspect of reasonableness or fairness. I am intrigued by the sense that these distinctions exist and have not received the same research attention. I am curious about the possibility that similarly to academic involvement, parents may draw on the same resources, yet the outcomes may be influenced differently, perhaps shaped by varying levels of emotional involvement due to the behavioural nature of the problem, or for other unnamed reasons which have remained unclear to this point. Ultimately, managing student behaviour potentially influences better outcomes for student achievement.

1.4.1.   Practitioner Reflections on Student Behaviour

The complexities of a student's behaviour can be a curious melting pot of many characteristics that sometimes mask the real issues. I wonder to what extent the nature of the parental interaction with the school, more than the anteceding student behaviour, influences or determines the future educational outcome for the student. The parent's ability to draw from the variety of skills and resources they possess to develop a supportive responsive position and best possible outcome for their child is an important influence, but how does this work? How does the school respond and keep the behaviour of the student and the involvement of the parent central, and if at all, create room for the parent to use their background of resources in the resolution of the

12

children's behaviour issue? Perhaps, whether parent or school leader, one is then faced with choosing between focusing on working towards an effective behavioural outcome or striving for the preservation of the parent-school relationship. Reasonable attainment of both goals is the more desired outcome. This dissertation examines what makes this kind of outcome possible.

My practice has been informed by an extensive background in restorative practice relating to behaviour and reparation of relationships in the school setting. This has prompted me to build stronger partnerships with parents in working through behavioural issues. This background provides an additional lens with which to investigate the specific role that parents play in influencing these behavioural outcomes.

I am curious how the roles of school staff who are involved in these parent-school behaviour interactions may influence the parents' ability to draw on their own resources in these interactions. Sometimes the role of school personnel is that of an administrator, a teacher or, in some cases, a dual role as both principal and teacher to the student. How are parents' interactions influenced by the school position of the school staff with whom they are interacting? Further, how are their interactions influenced by the position or stance the school personnel initiate and promote in the interaction? How does the effect of parental perception of the particular school their child attends, or of the broader idea of 'schooling,' act as a possible influence? How do the parents' various social connections influence their interactions and related outcomes regarding their children's behaviour? How does a parent's own past experience influence the ability of the parent to draw on their resources in these behavioural interactions?

These queries lead to questions around behavioural outcomes for students. How do the results of the interactions and processes affect or influence policy change for students and behaviour? With the complexity of the role that policy plays in the actions of schools, what kinds of policy change become necessary? In light of parent-school involvement, policy structures, and understandings, what is the importance of a respectful relationship outcome between the parent and the school versus a behavioural outcome that the parents and principal view as reasonable and acceptable? Is one dependent on the other? While these types of questions are not all in the scope of my

13

research, they have fuelled my interest in getting to the source of what influences these interactions between the parent and school personnel.

As I approach the end of my career in the public education system and prepare to move in new directions to work with parents from outside the system, the understandings and outcomes of this proposed study will inform my future practice. This work will allow me to be more discerning in my future engagements with parents and their children to support the bridging of parents and school in the hope of forming stronger and more useful partnerships.

1.5. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study is to increase understanding of parents' experiences relating to their interactions with the school system when they support their children's behaviour in a small West Coast school district. This process of increased understanding may lead to creating and developing more meaningful directions that engage parents and schools in achieving positive behavioural outcomes for their children. Further, greater understanding may influence and transform parent-school relationships prompting necessary and equal recognition as engaged partners in educating children. I examine how social resources and the roles of the parents influence the outcomes of these behaviour-related interactions between the parent and the school administrator or teacher. I investigate the common understandings of the family, the school, and the community, which are held alongside these parental interactions and their outcomes. While I examine the underlying mechanisms of parent interactions in parent-school behaviour mediations and outcomes, in this study I do not explore parent-school involvement with their children's academic progress.

An implicit challenge in this study is the need for clarity that literature associations are intended to relate to behaviour rather than achievement (MacNeil & Patin, 2005; McGhee, 2008; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). Georgiou (1997) suggests that parent involvement may include a variety of activities in varying levels of participation, most often relating to academic support. Still, it remains that academic parent involvement literature provides supporting ideas that can be used to further understand parents' involvement regarding behaviour.

In this study I use the term "resources" to refer to the idea of the influences of capital (i.e., social, cultural, economic, and symbolic), particularly social capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Parents possess these resources and draw on them in their behaviour interactions with school principals and teachers. In her work Lareau (1987, 2000, 2002, 2003) describes the varying resources that parents possess and access in different ways in their interactions with their children's teachers and other school personnel. For example, in *Unequal Childhoods,* Lareau (2002) notes that parents from working class and low income cultures interact less with their children's teachers and in a different manner than parents from a middle class culture who have greater economic resources and more time to interact with their children's teachers.

To account for flexibility to the notion of resources, I acknowledge Bourdieu's (1984, 1989) concept of "habitus," which he describes as being formed by the social structures from which it emerges. The idea of "habitus" allows the consideration of all those other aspects that affect a family's life. These aspects include predispositions, behaviours, and other features that extend beyond the notion of socio-economic class (MacLeod, 2009).

1.5.1.   Parents' Support for Behaviour

Although parental involvement is an accepted and expected practice in our schools, this does not address my curiosity about the internal workings and mechanisms of parent involvement around behaviour. Behavioural involvement appears to require a different kind of interaction than that of the academic involvement of parents. It may be random, invited under unusual circumstances, demanded, or planned around an outcome of an event needing reparation, reasons very different than those noted to improve achievement or address learning problems. It is difficult to uncouple behavioural maladjustment and academic underachievement. For example, early reading difficulties may have a negative impact on several other domains of a child's life including their behaviour (Hinshaw, 1992). As a developmental reading teacher, I observed young children disengage and become disruptive and angry, sometimes provoking their classmates out of frustration. Other children developed physical symptoms such as headaches or ongoing stomach-aches that kept them home from school, or boredom from lack of engagement that led to disruption due to clowning or

antagonizing others. I also observed that as children age with their established reading or learning difficulties, their academic school difficulties can be masked by many behaviours, some of which include self-medication with drugs, truancy, disrespect, physical violence, property destruction, and depression. When a child's troubling behaviour becomes entrenched in their being, it is difficult to perceive that a learning problem could be at the root of their troubles.

The relationship between parent involvement and the effects of behavioural problems and later achievement remains elusive (Hill et al., 2004). Consistently, research has addressed relationship to, and effects of, parental involvement on academic achievement. As well as parents' perspectives, it is important to consider the multiple perspectives of students and teachers in investigating parent involvement in their children's behaviour problems.

1.5.2.   The Family–School Relationship

Weininger and Lareau (2003) concur with Bourdieu's (1986) work that the education system perpetuates inequality by reproducing it through the influence of social class that is inherent in the families of the school system. This is evidenced in the school interactions of parents and through the experiences of children. Weininger and Lareau (2003) use one of the most utilized "institutional mechanisms" in education that exist to study this concept, that is, the school parent-teacher conference. They also draw attention to a key distinction in the difference between Bourdieu's view of French and American education, in that he fundamentally claims there is "the invisible and masked character of the relations between the domestic sphere and educational institution" (p. 376) in the French education system. Bourdieu (1989) suggests that the relationship between the home and the school is present, although not visible, and acts as a silent, subtly dictating influence, in its nature between the two institutions. Weininger and Lareau (2003) contend that North American researchers, educators, and policymakers have long emphasized the importance of "close, cooperative, and 'positive' family-school relationships—especially in the initial stages of a child's schooling," (p. 376) and that parents and educators consider crucial aspects of a child's educational experience. These policies and relationships are what Weininger and Lareau observe to possibly ameliorate the effects of unequal social class in schooling.

In contrast, Brien and Stelmach (2009) describe differences in the American and Canadian education systems, which include constitutional arrangements, governance and education funding, and note policy and discourse relating to parent involvement. While Canadian and American education is decentralized to the state, province or territory, a national educational governing body does not oversee Canadian public education. Different than Canada, the US Department of Education sets educational policy, enforces educational law related to privacy and civil rights, gathers educational data, and manages federal assistance for education. In both countries parents are encouraged and expected to support and participate in their children's education. However, many parents from working class and ethnic minority backgrounds whose situations do not "match the social code of schools are under-represented in school-based involvement" (Brien & Stelmach, 2009, p. 5). Brien and Stelmach (2009) suggest that in some instances, such as in Ontario and Alberta where there is legislation of parental roles, when parents do not involve themselves in their children's education, they are viewed through a deficit lens, becoming part of the problem.

Goldthorpe (2007) takes Bourdieu's concept of the "dominant" class further and purports that children of the dominant classes or middle classes have prior preparation in understanding and experiencing a continuity that seems to exist between their homes and school, and in which they share "common modes of speech, style of social interaction and aesthetic orientation with their teachers" (p. 2). Through their various levels of SES, and cultural and social capital, the dominant families foster these predispositions and behaviours that align with the education delivery that their children experience in school. This connects to Bourdieu's (1989) concept of habitus which he describes as a person's predispositions and tastes. Children of middle class backgrounds are not perturbed by the content and methods used to teach them in their classes. Children of low-income or working class family backgrounds are more likely to initially find school alienating and as the children continue in school, the difficulties of disadvantaged children may actually increase. Ultimately these children may "fail to reach the higher levels of the education system, either because they are excluded by inadequate performance or because they, in effect, exclude themselves" (Goldthorpe, 2007, p. 2). The pedagogy, curriculum, and language can appear alien and strange to

them, seemingly out of sync with what they know, how they behave, and how they speak and interact with their families at home.

1.5.3. Parent Efficacy

Parents involve themselves in their children's education and share a desire to help their children succeed in school (Lareau, 2000). Given that the purpose of educational institutions is to promote academic growth and successful outcomes for students, parents involve themselves in varying degrees and for a variety of circumstances to support their children's success in school (*School Act,* 2014). Public schools are populated by students whose families hail from a variety of backgrounds and whose parents draw upon diverse sets of resources to support their children's education. As illustrated by Lareau (2000) "middle-class and working class parents interact differently with the institutions in which their children learn and compete" (p. viii). Because we live in a society permeated by widespread agreement among professionals on what the broad principles of childrearing practice should be, and what the outcomes of various parent interactions really mean, "a small number of experts thus potentially shape the behaviour of a large number of parents" (Lareau, 2003, p. 4). Further to this backdrop, it follows that parents, drawing on and using a variety of resources in their interactions of mediating their children's behaviour issues, experience, solicit, and foster a variety of outcomes and responses for their children. It is logical to explore the processes and influences of the resources that parents use in their mediation attempts on their children's behalf, and how these may affect outcomes for their child, their family, the school, and the community.

1.6. Research Questions

With the above purpose in mind, the following questions and sub-questions are explored in this dissertation:

How does social theory help us understand parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour?

- **Sub-Question 1.**
  What resources and capital do parents bring to their interactions at school regarding their children's behaviour problems?

- **Sub-Question 2.**
  How do the interactions of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school?

1.7. Research Method and Design

This study considers the complexity and influence of parent involvement and outcomes when they support their children's behaviour problems at school. Parents are regularly requested to interact with teachers and administrators, or sometimes are compelled to solicit interaction themselves, regarding behavioural concerns and incidents relating to their children (Epstein, 2001). The complexities of these behaviour problems have increased with time, as the expectations and demands of public education have historically evolved with society.

I employed a qualitative case study research design to investigate parents' experiences in their interactions to support their children's behaviour problems at school (Cresswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). In this study, 12 parents and three administrators in a small West Coast school district participated in this study with the purpose to better understand how parents support their children in school behaviour problems. In order to capture the essence and the influence of what parents bring to their school interaction experiences, I employ an open-ended semi-structured three-part interview process. To additionally support my exploration of parent practices and conceptualization of their behavioural interactions, I use a case study research journal and also compile direct observation notes. To begin data analysis, I develop seven phases to manage and sort the data. For data analysis, I reconstruct shorter narrative and use thematic analysis to gain a deeper understanding of parent's experiences in their school involvement in supporting their children.

1.8. Significance of the Study

The intent of this study is to contribute to the knowledge base concerning our understanding of how parents experience their behaviour interactions with the school

system regarding their children's behaviour. Specifically, this study focuses on the experiences of parents when they mediate their child's behaviour with a school principal or teacher. Understanding the complexity of social interactions and the influence of human interactions on social systems supports and improves the practice of those involved and increases the quality of parent-school partnerships. This study aims to inform school leaders and teachers about more useful directions in their interactions with parents about student behaviour, leading to greater clarity for existing school policy relating to behaviour, as well as policy development.

In the study I examine the power differentials between parents and the principal or teacher, in their attempts to achieve satisfactory behavioural outcomes for their children. This challenges the development of school policy relating to behaviour. The work of Bourdieu (1979, 1984, 1986) and Lareau (2002, 2003) illustrates the complexity of social interaction, and the influence on social systems that human interactions have. These ideas offer broader understanding of the practice of those involved and provide a lens through which to examine the quality of parent-school partnerships. While the study directs its research around interactions of parents with school personnel, it will enlighten both parents and school educators about the workings and influence of the parents' interactions when dealing with behaviour problems. This study directs attention to the importance of recognition, inclusion, and understanding of parents' knowledge about their children and families in parent-school interactions for children.

Limited empirical research literature on parents' experiences of interacting with school personnel when they support their children's behaviour problems provides the initial impetus for this study. Will greater understanding of what influences the interactions of the parents or educators who are involved lead to improved relationships, improved clarity in policy, and better parent-school partnerships that lean towards active parent engagement rather than parent involvement? School-centric expectations for parents' participation (Pushor, 2007; Stelmach, 2004) and conflicting understandings of educational and parent pedagogies (Van Manen, 1991) suggest that more can be learned about the parent-teacher and parent-principal relationships to provide better support for children's behaviour problems. This dissertation contributes to the educational significance of parent-school behaviour interactions by reinforcing the need to approach these events with the intent of building and strengthening partnerships with

parents that are supportive of their children. These interactions can influence a move towards meaningful engagement of parents and school personnel in furthering the educational processes of the school for students.

1.9. Summary

Chapter 1 introduces this dissertation as a qualitative case study that investigates parent-school interactions about children's behaviour. The study is set in a small West Coast school district and uses the narratives of 12 parents and three administrators, established through open-ended semi-structured interviews. This allows emerging insight into the underlying influences in the parent-school interactions that take place to support children. In Chapter 1 I introduce the disparity and lack of clarity in the research literature's definitions and use of the concepts of parent involvement and parent engagement, and how they are often used inter-changeably and then define them for this study. At the end of Chapter 1, the direction is set for Chapter 2 to investigate the empirical literature for necessary clarification of the ideas of parent involvement, parent engagement, and parent interaction. It is necessary in Chapter 2 to take this clarification step before proceeding to the ensuing stages of this study. This research demonstrates the complexity of parent-school interactions about behaviour and is important to school personnel and educators to increase the understanding necessary for influencing better outcomes for children.

1.9.1. Plan of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 is a review of the relevant research literature that informs the study. This review supports and explores the selected themes of this study and includes an examination of the research literature relating to parental remediation regarding their children's behavioural problems at school. The review is directed to literature relating to interactions and outcomes of these behavioural mediations. Specifically, the review discusses the relationships and impacts of the resources that parents draw on in these mediations. This review also studies the effect of these resources on the parents' interactions with the teachers and principals, and on the ensuing attempts to create resolutions and positive outcomes for the behaviour problems.

In Chapter 3, the theories of several researchers are examined to create a lens through which to study the processes at work when parents interact with the teacher or principal to support their children's behaviour problems at school. In Chapter 3, I review selected theories to provide a conceptual framework for the theoretical foundations of this study, which are necessary to later analyse the findings of the study. These theories include the social reproduction ideas of Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, and Lareau, as well as Epstein's' typology of parents' levels of participation opportunities to educationally support their children.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology and methods used in this study. In this chapter, I explain my use of semi-structured 3-part interviews to examine the meanings parents and educators give to the phenomenon I have outlined. I use a thematic analysis to examine the data, and to define the epistemological understanding I hope to achieve. I also construct brief anecdotes from the interview transcripts. Anecdotal narratives "function as experiential case material on which pedagogical reflection is possible" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 120) with an important feature being that it "simultaneously pulls us in but then prompts us to reflect" (p. 121). I strive to maintain an awareness and sensitivity to the conceptual and methodological choices I have made to carry out and support my study. This is crucial in creating the logical consistencies between my research decisions and the overall integrity and ultimate quality of this work (Piantanida & Garman, 2009).

Chapter 5 presents the outcomes of Part 1: A Focused Life History, of the interview process and includes participant narratives and reported findings.

Chapter 6 presents the outcomes related to Part 2: The Details of the Experience, as described by the participants in the interview process. This chapter begins discussing the findings within the theoretical framework for this study. Part 2, for example, responds to Sub-Question 2: How do the roles of parents of school children influence the outcomes of behaviour problems at school?

Chapter 7 introduces the outcomes related to Part 3: Reflection on the Meaning, and relates to the participants' understanding of their role in mediating their children's behaviour with the principal. This chapter reports on the notion of the roles of parents

who participate in their children's school behaviour problems, and how this may influence policy change relating to school behaviour.

Chapter 8 serves as a reminder of the purpose of my study, why this study was conducted and discusses the importance, meaning, significance and implications of this research project. This final chapter also concludes the research study and tackles the findings in terms of future research needs. The chapter offers recommendations for school staff to support and promote greater parent involvement in behavioural outcomes and school outcomes in general. This study supports parents in understanding and increasing the effectiveness of their roles in school involvement. The recommendations are presented as an invitation to all stakeholders who may be involved in understanding and building the communication lines between parents and schools to support beneficial and positive outcomes for the student.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a preliminary background that situates and describes parents' involvement in their children's education, supported by research literature that has addressed this topic throughout the past four decades. In setting the context for this study, historical educational development is briefly described and the role of stakeholders in education is introduced. Initial attention is drawn to the large body of research focussed on parent involvement and academic achievement versus the more limited attention in the research given to parent involvement relating to behavioural support of their children.

Safran (1974) and Pushor (2013) remind us of the historic and ongoing power differential that exists between parents and their school partners of principal or teacher, regardless of parents' involvement. Pushor (2013) references Albert Memmi's (1974, 2004) ideas about the colonizer and the colonized as a metaphor to further illustrate the power differential. To add depth to this context Memmi (1974) suggests that what is taught to the child "is not his own" (p. 170) and their education can seem to be disconnected from the familiar world of their family. In her work, Pushor (2007) places an educational comparison beside this perspective, suggesting that parents are already situated in a context prior to their participation in a behavioural interaction with their child's school, one which is generally not recognized by the school. Taken further, this suggests that schools do not take into account or fully understand how parents' actually support their children or what kind of parental support may have the most influence for positive outcomes for students (Jeynes, 2010). At the same time, we must recognize the different roles that the parents and the principal play in the school. Where the parent's

interest is in their child, the principal also has interest in the child but is responsible for all the children, as well as upholding the school as a public entity.

Both Memmi's and Pushor's ideas illustrate that those in the positions of leaders have prescribed and perceived duties towards attaining specific outcomes that do not necessarily demonstrate the needs or wishes of those they provide leadership to. This is further addressed in Chapter 3, additionally drawing on the work of Michael W. Apple (1993, 2012). His ideas provide a wide-reaching backdrop for this study, pertaining to the relationship between education and power and how this aligns with the current and changing social order. Apple (2012) suggests that schools and other social institutions may be fundamentally contradictory in their effects on society, requiring our sensitivity to the ways a variety of competing forces and needs capture schools and other social institutions in their grip.

In this chapter, as introduced in Chapter 1, I describe and clarify the meanings of the terms parent involvement, parent engagement, and parent interaction, as they are described in the literature and how they will be used in the study. Next I refer to behaviour incidents as they relate in British Columbia schools (Boeije, 2009), the participation and attitudes of parents related to their behavioural interactions, and the role of effective leadership necessary for positive parent-school behavioural interactions. I articulate the emotional challenges parents face in behaviour related involvement with the principal or teacher, and relate this to Bourdieu's (1980, 1986) concepts of habitus and field. I also address these concepts further in discussion of Bourdieu's social theory perspectives in Chapter 3. Finally I address the noted gap in the literature associated with research attention directed at parent involvement concerned with behaviour.

2.2.   Framing the Context

Education has a long historical development and context leading to its present day delivery. The purpose of schooling has similarities in many countries around the world, particularly in the study's mention of Canada, the United States, and European countries such as France. These nations share a broad educational tenet of preparing young people to become contributing and responsible citizens as part of the local and global community in their lives and work. At the same time, we must recognize that

25

education has evolved differently in these nations, which are characterized by their different cultures, constitutional arrangements, and organization of their education systems. For example, multi-cultural diversity due to the historical Euro-Canadian aspect of early settlement in Canada and ongoing immigration activity necessitates attention to how education is delivered to children of all cultures in Canadian schools. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms gives educational jurisdiction to this country's individual provinces and territories, while affirming the rights of denominational and separate schools in certain jurisdictions (Zuker, 2013). In the US, although public education is managed at the state level, the United States Constitution contains an equal protection clause, ratified in 1868 through the United States Congress, which passes laws concerning discrimination of race, national origin, or sex (Dennis, 2000) acknowledging the country's long history of civil rights and their impact on education. Particular federal statutes detail how public and private schools receive federal funds. In both countries local school district jurisdictions operate under the guidance of superintendents and elected school boards, governed by provincial or state departments of education.

France, the country from which much of Bourdieu's research is directed, has a long history of educational development, extending back several centuries in time. Until the 18th century French education was delivered under the control of the Roman Catholic Church, evolving from a time when children went to village schools with boys being able to continue a classical education from the age of ten. Higher education for boys served Napoleon's intention of creating an educated elite who would fulfil his government and military programs (Markham, 2010.). Today the education system in France is under state control of the national Ministry of Education which provides a uniform curriculum throughout the country to its public and private schools.   French education is compulsory and free to students, where Roman Catholic and some secular private schools receive state funding. Cultural diversity and the role of government are two examples that illustrate the unique influences on education in Canada, the United States, and France.

Prior to discussing the immediate context of the study, it is necessary to acknowledge the numerous stakeholders involved in education, a term which acknowledges the many contributors involved in the decision-making process of education.   As well as the immediate personnel in a child's school, this study recognizes

parents as key stakeholders in the school and their child's education. Typically stakeholders include those who are invested in the welfare and successful outcomes of the school and its students (Abbot, 2014). Stakeholders can include government officials and groups, locally and provincially elected leaders, business and advocacy groups, as well as specific interest groups that represent their members such as teachers, principals, or superintendents, specific academic teacher groups, and parent groups. This immediately introduces the notion of tension, positive or negative, that characteristically and inherently exists among participating stakeholders who have different origins of experience and unique roles with accompanying responsibilities, which they bring to their involvement in educational decision-making and problem-solving. This study examines how parents experience and manage this tension in its investigation of parent-school behavioural interactions.

A vast arena of research investigates the nature of parents' participation in supporting their children's academic achievement in school. I note that the literature more often uses the term involvement regarding parents' in their participation with their children's schools without delineating where this participation is located on the continuum of parent involvement leading towards parent engagement (Amendt, 2008). Researchers such as Georgiou (2007) whose work is set in Greece, Sullivan's (2002) British perspectives, and Vincent and Martin's (2002) Australian perspectives on parental involvement suggest that an international interest in parent roles in their children's' education is evident. Lunenburg and Irby's (2002) review of parent involvement models in the United States, Stelmack's (2004) Canada-based review, and Mitchell's (2008) more recent American literature review are three studies that explore the factors, impacts, and types of parent involvement in their children's schools. They also note the school's role in honouring and respecting how parents involve themselves, and illustrate the importance of building trusting relationships with parents. These reviews demonstrate a pattern evident in the research literature that parent involvement, when studied, typically relates to academic achievement. For example, the literature addresses involvement as primarily related to improved educational outcomes. Epstein, Sanders, and Sheldon (2006) investigate the effects of school, family, and community partnership on student achievement, suggesting that the "major educational outcomes of the involvement process are children's development of skills and knowledge, as well as

a personal sense for succeeding in school" (p. 1). Jeynes (2010) explores the subtle aspects of parent involvement and family organization that include attention to academic work, while Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) examine the literature that explores how parent involvement "influences school [academic] outcomes" (p. 1) and "conveys the clear assumption that parents ' involvement benefits children's learning" (p. 1).

Safran (1974) states that teachers and parents must be skilled enough in working together to overcome "the constraining parochialism common among the subculture of many elementary school teachers" (p. 12). Four decades later, this thought aligns with Pushor and Murphy's (2010) notion that in a school community the educators hold "expert knowledge of teaching and learning, which they possess over that of parents" (p. 26) and which places them in a superior position over that of parents. Pushor and Murphy (2010) suggest that it is "this knowledge that positions educators to act as protectors within a protectorate" (p. 26), using their good intentions to be the protectorate. As well, parents are exposed to being educated by the school system in how to parent more effectively and to help their children have better achievement in school, suggesting an unequal alignment with the school system. Thus, the confidence in approaching their children's schools or in the support they are able to provide at home is impeded for some parents, when they do not have the economic, cultural, or social resources to help their children in the way the school recommends.

2.3.   Defining the Terms in this Study

To understand how parents participate in supporting their children's behaviour problems at school and to investigate the underlying influences that affect the outcomes of their efforts, it is necessary to clarify my interpretation of these terms to frame them in the context of the study. Clarifying and addressing the broader contexts of parent involvement, engagement, and parent interaction in this chapter clarifies terms and connects to the theoretical concepts of this dissertation presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 3 informs the study by reviewing literature about the influences of cultural and social capital and their effects on parents' support of their children through their participation. The influence of symbolic capital, which emerges through the activation of cultural and

social capital, will be discussed as well. In Chapter 3 I will clarify terms pertinent to that chapter's related literature review.

2.4. Parent Involvement, Engagement, or Interaction?

How does the research literature acknowledge and address the interactions that parents participate in with teachers or principals to address their children's behaviour? There appears to be little research that specifically addresses the mechanisms at work in the parent interactions that take place particular to their children's behaviour. Further, the lack of clarity in some instances and the myriad of definitions for the terms parent interaction, parent involvement, and parent engagement in the research literature, leads to undifferentiated terms with a variety of definitions, making it difficult to describe and study the impact of parent involvement and parent engagement (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Georgiou, 2007; Pushor, 2007). The terms parent involvement and parent engagement are the terms used more often, sometimes interchangeably, although there are researchers who have made it their work to differentiate these as two distinctly different ideas (Constantino, 2008; Pushor, 2007). Others have described parent involvement in terms of multi-dimensional conceptualizations with attention to specific components (Fan & Williams, 2010). Fan and Williams (2010) suggest a seven-component solution for parental involvement which includes television rules, communication, contact with school, parent–teacher association, volunteering, supervision and education aspiration. Joyce Epstein's (1995, 2001) typology describes six types of parent involvement, including parenting, communication, learning at home, volunteering, and community connections. These types of involvement are evident in some BC School Districts, which encourage parent participation in their children's education (School District 68 Nanaimo-Ladysmith, 2014). Parental involvement is generally described in the literature as parents' participation in their children's education with the intention of promoting their academic and social growth and success. Further, the idea of parent interactions appears to be nested in the concept of parental involvement, making it necessary to extract and create a summary view of how parents, school personnel, and behavioural interactions are described in the literature as well.

In first defining and clarifying the ideas of parent involvement, parent engagement, and parent interaction, the ambiguity that a large body of research has identified regarding these terms is addressed. This clarification around these terms creates a space in the study for these concepts to be placed and provides a way to develop the understanding of parents' participation as they work with the principal or teacher to resolve their children's behaviour concerns. Where the term participation is used in this study it refers to the presence of parents in the interactions and I do not intend its use to specifically align with involvement activities or parent engagement directions, despite its subtle notion of school-centricity.

2.4.1.   Parent Involvement

Arising from the past four decades, much literature now exists on the concept of parental involvement in schools, a component of education which is increasingly viewed as a "critical and essential support for the academic, psychological, and emotional development of youth" (Mitchell, 2008, p. 1). In the United States, one of the key components of the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* is this concept of parental involvement, based on the idea that parents "acting as informed advocates are key to holding schools and school districts accountable" (Mitchell, 2008, p. 2) in order to improve the quality of education. Despite the research activity on this concept in recent decades, a uniform definition of what parental involvement is has not been clearly established (Georgiou, 1997, 2007). Georgiou (1997, 2007), whose research arises out of the Greek education system, suggests that it has yet to be clearly defined and can include a continuum of varying activities and levels of involvement by parents. While many researchers conclude that parents' involvement has a positive effect on children's academic outcomes and social development (Henderson & Mapp, 2002), Georgiou (1997, 2002) maintains that despite the amount of favourable research and popularity of the topic, the concept and outcomes will remain vague and unclear until shared research language is used to describe the conceptual understandings and outcomes for parent involvement.

Epstein (2001) takes the idea of parent involvement further, creating a framework of six levels of parent involvement, which includes "parenting, communication, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with the community"

(p. 409). Her work extends the notion of parental involvement into a viable and supportive model of parents and their children participating in a partnership with school personnel to create a stronger link between the institution of family and school. Epstein and Connors (1992) introduce the idea of partnership to emphasize that "the two institutions [of family and school] share major responsibilities for children's education, [recognizing] the importance and potential influence of all family members, not just the parent" (p. 1). Epstein's (2001) typology of six levels of parent involvement suggests that varying degrees of positive outcomes occur from these differing kinds of involvement. While acknowledging that positive outcomes do occur, it remains unsettling that these involvements are not truly parent-school partnerships when they continue to be school-directed and to serve the school agenda, even while recognizing that this work may be important. It is also important to note that Lareau (1987), along with her colleagues (Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003) suggest that parent involvement may actually contribute to social, educational, and political inequality, as families with higher socio-economic status (SES) are more likely to engage in those involvement activities that support their children and improve the school. Activities that extend beyond academic support for their children may include committee work for school improvements, organizing school events, and collaboration with their children's school. Parents who experience economic challenges are more likely to be less involved with their children's schools and their interactions more often relate to academic and behaviour problems (Stelmack, 2004). In spite of the kinds of and levels of involvement researchers describe, these activities tend to be school-centric, that is directed by the school and for the purpose of fulfilling school needs and intentions. For all parents to become involved in their children's schools, regardless of the types and amounts of social and cultural capital they possess, school personnel must work alongside parents to create conditions inside and outside of the school that allow or encourage all parents to participate, particularly those parents who are less likely to volunteer.

Underlying much of the body of literature relating to parent involvement is the timely and more recent Canadian-based work of Debbie Pushor, which adds to the backdrop for the theory review of Chapter 3. Pushor (2007) describes parent involvement as "a common vehicle for bringing teachers and parents together in

schools" (p. 2). She views parents' involvements to typically include subtly marginalized roles of supporting, fundraising, organizing, spectating, and aiding in school events. Pushor (2007) states that "the policies, procedures, programs, schedules and routine for the children of the community [appear to operate with] good intentions that enable educators to act as protectors within the structure of a protectorate" (p. 2). Further, this idea defines a parent's comfort level and influences their level of being involved, as well as how they are involved in their children's school. In this way, parent involvement seems to suggest that there is a sense of pre-planning and intention necessary to participating in their child's education and school, which is subtly controlled and even dictated by the structure of school itself (Brien & Stelmach, 2009; Pushor & Murphy, 2010). Recognizing the subtle constraints that shape their roles within the school settings and structures, parents, teachers, and principals seek ways to find their places and voices within the school structures to establish themselves. This idea of protectorate illustrates how the school context can act as a gatekeeper towards parents and their involvement in their child's school.

Bakker and Dennison (2007) state that in the empirical research literature relating to parent involvement, there are wrongly observed or misconstrued variables that indicate high or low levels of involvements. For example, some of the frequently shown behaviours by parents are indicators of high levels of involvement and include the "frequency of teacher-parent contacts, [although] these are not located in the parents, but in the child or the child's school" (p. 194). Bakker and Dennison question whether the frequency of this parent behaviour is the consequence of parents' intentions, and query "whether this should be considered against the efforts of other parents who have the same level of contact with the teacher [and] may differ in their type and level of involvements" (p. 194). They further observe that similar levels of parents' contact with teachers can differ in content and stem from different attitudes and intentions of those parents. This dissertation investigates the role of capital, and particularly social and symbolic capital as a form of currency or influence in these interactions.

The concept of social networks extends from Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital. He describes this as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources" (p. 51) that people possess which include economic, cultural, and symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1986) describes the formation of networks of social connections that are influenced by

the possession of these capitals as having impact or affecting social situations and events in peoples' lives. Horvat et al. (2003) suggest that social networks have particular characteristics in different social classes and investigate how parents activate their social networks when their children encounter problematic behaviour at school. They argue that parents of middle-class contexts may be more likely to have professionals in their social networks with other parents, but that networks are just as likely to have a positive effect as a negative effect, regardless of class, when parents support their children (Horvat et al., 2003).   These ideas, which suggest the complexity of the social interactions between parents and school personnel when parents support their children's behaviour, receive further attention in Chapter 3.

Berthelsen and Walker (2008) note that parents increase their access to social networks and information through their school involvement, which is somewhat dependent on their own beliefs about how the school operates. Students and their parents are more likely to be part of a healthy school social network "when parenting practices develop and show evidence of the importance of three dimensions of family context for healthy development [both within the family and with their children]: connection, regulation, and autonomy" (Eccles et al., 1997, p. 263). Parents may believe that they have a shared responsibility with the school for their child's learning. Other parents who see this responsibility as belonging solely to the school, may lack the confidence to get involved and may need school staff encouragement and input to know how to participate at school and at home in their child's behaviour and learning. This requires parents to be supported in developing self-efficacy skills to enable them to support their children at home and at school so that their child is ready to participate in her or his education (Berthelsen & Walker, 2008; Epstein & Jansorn, 2004; Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) take these ideas further by looking at parental efficacy, parents' intent stemming from personal past experience, and their modern culturally permissible notions in how to attain what they as parents perceive as expected outcomes as they relate to the interactions around behaviour. Many variables are present when parents are required to act on their children's behalf and understanding the complexities and qualities of parent and school relationships is challenging.

Miretzky (2004) discusses the development of democratic communities in school based on the development and reinforcement of parent-teacher and principal and parent relationships. She observes that the embedded authority of teachers and principals remains relatively unchallenged, leaving the parent in the position of client while the teacher or principal retains their positions of authority. However, principals have authority and responsibilities provided to them through district and broader governmental policies which guide their school leadership.   This likely impacts the quality of the involvement that parents have in their child's school, and suggests that parent involvement is dictated and directed by the school's teachers or principal. Although Miretzsky's observations indicate that parents take note of a suggested power imbalance more frequently than the teachers and principal, principals can be most effective when they work with parents to co-construct relationships. Miretzky (2004) states that parents frequently mentioned that the teacher and parent connections "are valuable and that strengthening these connections is important" (p. 816).

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995) note the worth of parent-teacher relationships is most often measured in terms of student achievement. At the same time, much of the research literature discusses "parental involvement within the parameters of particular boundaries—parent tasks or parent roles" (Miretzky, 2004, p. 820). Miretzky (2004) posits that strengthening and establishing more equal parent-teacher and school-family democratic relationships "challenges the embedded authority of [those] traditional relationships" (p. 816). Further, Miretzky (2004) describes an existing wariness that teachers have towards parents' involvement, which could be based on lack of training to work with parents, and under-developed trust relationships between the teacher and the parents. As Pushor (2007, 2013) suggests, a gap of recognition and understanding appears to exist between the teacher or principal and the parents, regarding the kinds of support the parents may give to their children at home. This causes parents to be unsure of how to position themselves in their children's school landscape. Additionally, when support from home appears to be measured by homework completion, little can be known about the other quality supports that parents may also offer within their homes.

Georgiou (2007) maintains that the attempts to ascribe a solid definition to the term parental involvement remain vague and elusive in their efforts at clarity. He relates

34

that definitions provided by researchers are inconsistent, and an aspect of differing intuitive understandings that parents and educators attach to the term does little to increase clarity. Parental involvement can mean several different activities and actions, and can be influenced by attitudes and expectations by parents. As noted in Epstein's (1995) typology of involvement which is intended for educators to develop broader partnership between school-family-community partnerships, involvement can broadly include activities and actions related to parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with the community. She suggests that each kind of involvement encompasses several kinds of partnership practices for the school, that each type offers challenges that must be managed to involve families, and that each kind of involvement must be considered in terms of the particular goals of the school. Epstein (1995) also states that selected practices require their own kinds of activities that lead to different results for the students, parents, and families. While Epstein (1995) uses her typology to suggest many ways to involve parents in family-school partnerships her work does not address the notion of parent engagement.

Georgiou (2007) notes that parents who have a higher level of SES are more likely to be those parents who become involved with their children's schools. He describes the functional characteristics of parents, which include "parental efficacy, existence of stress at home and availability of social support resources" (p. 1) as influencing factors for families with low levels of parental involvement. At the same time, Lareau (1987) indicates that "the social profitability of middle-class arrangements is tied to the schools' definition of the proper family-school relationship" (p. 82), characterized by many school-centric activities that originate in and extend from the school. Despite the work of researchers, it remains that the term parental involvement includes a variety of activities, a range of attitudes, the influences of a multitude of variables that can include family SES and demographics, and an array of family-related functional characteristics. Georgiou (2007) proposes that more information is necessary to accurately describe the parameters of involvement "so interventions for the creation of parent-teacher partnerships can be better designed and implemented" (p. 1).

Lawson (2003) states that a large portion of the research on parent involvement "examines a continuum of school-centric parent involvement activities that are structured and defined for parents by schools" (p. 79). He describes the wide and diverse variety of

activities, endeavours and projects that parents can be involved in, all under the classification of parent involvement, and all emanating from the direction of the school, teacher or principal. Lawson notes activities could include parents creating school-like home environments, parents doing specific educational-related tasks at school, volunteer teacher-aid types of classroom activities that support learning, and partnering by serving on school committees related to governance, and curriculum. In the busyness of the school day, of family life, and the year-long school calendar demands, the school directedness tends to go unnoticed, and remains undisputed by many parents, keeping the school-centric notion alive.

Although parents, principals, and teachers typically frame the reasons and intentions of their encounters in terms of the children they all share, "it appears that what they look for from each other is clearly connected to what they need for themselves as people who share a community that reflects democratic values" (Miretzky, 2004, p. 814). Miretzky states that parents and teachers want parent-teacher relationships that incorporate "respect, inclusiveness, a focus on process as opposed to outcomes, an investment in participants growth and an acceptance of differences" (p. 816.) In order to break the pattern of teacher as authority and parents as client, Miretzky contends that the preceding qualities are what make a democratic community, which is the outcome parents ultimately desire with the schools that educate their children. In such a society individual outcomes honour the parents' desire to be recognized, seen, and heard, rather than to be reduced to a role.

Posner and Bojorquez (2008) state that it is clear "from research, direct experience and common sense that parent and community engagement in public education matters" (p. 3). The researchers profess that "parents naturally are not compelled to engage in an institution that does not value their contributions or that simply sees them as part of the problem" (p. 4). These researchers acknowledge that despite the reasons for parents to be involved in school, as Miretzky (2004) also noted, the need for respectful recognition that includes parents in their children's education remains.

Where Epstein's (2001) work aims at supporting the two-way aspect of parent involvement, she states that her framework of six levels of involvements is intended to

help educators "develop more comprehensive programs of school and family partnerships" (p. 408), which she purports "gives schools choices about which practices will help achieve important goals" (p. 408). For the hard work of developing broader programs and stronger family partnerships in a created space that moves away from school-centricity, the challenge remains that schools must believe, acknowledge, and act on the conviction that parents must be invited, included, respected, sought out, and valued for their input in these endeavours. Pushor and Murphy (2004) espouse this idea, describing the importance of the professional and experiential knowledge that teachers hold about teaching and learning, and the need to recognize that parents also hold knowledge and understanding about teaching and learning "that arises from their experience of living with children" (p. 234). These two ideas do not easily share the same space in parent involvement when parents are seen as "antagonists, being seen as doing, or not doing, things that interfere with the quest of the protagonists [teachers and principals] to enhance learning" (Pushor & Murphy, 2004, p. 222) rather than the parent-school participation of creating goals and designing activities that extend from shared beliefs to exemplify parent engagement.

Parents in working class or contexts of poverty were seen by Vincent and Martin (2002) to exercise lower levels of self-generated intervention with the school on behalf of their children, making them more likely to wait until they were invited or called. These parents appear to rely on their trust levels with the school, deferring to the notion that the school retains the authority and expertise in dealing with their child and the issue, even when they are not in agreement with the school approach and the outcomes. In other cases the already marginalized parents' attempts to develop relationships do not take hold, through lack of experience and not knowing how to start (Vincent & Martin, 2002). In her study, Anita Parhar (2010) notes that educators historically view schools as having the primary responsibility in educating children, thereby reinforcing a separation between marginalized parents and their children's school. Disadvantaged parents would perhaps participate if schools were to "organize opportunities that consider these parents needs and circumstances" (Stelmack, 2004, p. 1). Relationship building and providing parents with academic resources and supportive skills that they can use at home with their children are more likely to have positive effects on alleviating behaviour problems and improving academic achievement (Parhar, 2010; Stelmack, 2004). A solid

relationship between parents and the principal or teacher would improve the likelihood of positive outcomes for a child's behaviour problems. The study's collected parental insights about their efforts and experiences to support their children's behaviour concerns illuminate the process and influence of the relationships in their interactions.

2.4.2.   Parent Engagement

The notion of "engagement," a descriptor regarding parents' sharing a place with educators in the work of parent-school endeavours in school, has limited discussion and presence in research literature. Ferlazzo (2011) queries the accuracy and definitions of the terms "parent involvement or parent engagement" (p. 1) and specifically provides his viewpoint on the differences between the two terms. He emphasizes the need to distinguish them in order to develop genuine relationships and partnerships with schools. Ferlazzo believes that involvement pertains to school-based problems and initiatives in which parents are solicited to do those things that the staff perceives as important. He ventures to add that in soliciting parents there is the risk of irritating them. When parents are being engaged in school projects and activities, Ferlazzo (2011) describes this as school staff eliciting ideas of parents "in the context of developing trusting relationships" (p. 1). This allows parents to be challenged to participate and attempt activities that reflect shared goals and common purposes, build social trust, and support school improvement (Miretzky, 2004). By developing relationships with parents, school staff can find out what is relevant and has significance to them, sometimes through home visits, and always by two-way conversations, rather than the usual one-way communication approach that schools use (Ferlazzo, 2011).

Ferlazzo's (2011) work is cautionary as to whether we are describing involvement or engagement. What educators believe, and what the parents and public perceive is not always the same thing. Where teachers perceive themselves to be supportive and inclusive, parents do not always feel encouraged or supported by the teachers to be involved in their children's school (Miretzky, 2004; Pushor & Murphy, 2004). Where Ferlazzo (2011) and Pushor (2007) share similar ideas about the origins and definition of parent engagement, Pushor (2007) states that "engagement, like involvement, is used in general ways in the literature to describe activities which involve parents as well as engage them…[and that]… the term engagement is often used

interchangeably with the word involvement...[thus] determining the impact of parent engagement, in contrast to parent involvement, as a result can be a muddy process" (p. 4). In this study, I suggest that the term "engagement" indicates a stronger level of emotional presence that is evoked in parents shared work with schools, suggesting a continuum that relates to a parent's level of involvement and far way from school-centric directions of including parents. While her work clearly delineates between the terms parent involvement and parent engagement, in other literature the term "engagement" does as Pushor (2007) suggests, which is to maintain the muddy waters of the research about parent involvement. The school-centric aspect of parent involvement also persists, despite attempts to decipher the two terms. That is, parents continue to be directed and engaged in activities that remain directed by the school.

2.4.3.   Parent Interaction

The term interaction is used in this study to refer to the meetings, discussions, conferences, and planning sessions that parents and principals or teachers participate in to resolve the behavioural issues of children. I also observe that parent-school behaviour interactions are similar to school-centric parent involvement activities in that initial involvement of the parent is most often solicited by the school and has school-defined parameters for how to proceed. These behaviour interactions differ from what is entailed when parents are involved in those activities previously described, such as the "school-centric parent involvement activities that are structured and defined for parents by schools" (Lawson, 2003, p. 79), or the engagement that Ferlazzo (2011) describes as schools working alongside parents "in the context of developing trusting relationships" (p. 1), which permits parents to be challenged to do things that are important to them. While parent-school behavioural interactions may be school-centric in nature, these interactions are also defined and guided by school procedures that outline how to deal with student behaviour issues and define how parents are to be engaged in schools. It follows that because school procedures are typically determined and defined by school staff without consultation with parents or family members, these procedures remain in a school-centric domain and ultimately controlled by those in authority in the school. Similarly to the terms involvement and engagement, in the literature the term interaction is also is used interchangeably with the word involvement, and to a lesser extent, the

term engagement (Brien & Stelmack, 2009; Mitchell, 2008). For clarity and as previously noted, the term interaction is used in this study to represent the event or activity of parents meeting with the principal or teacher to mediate and support their children with regard to their behaviour.

When parents attend school to support their children in interactions that relate to their children's behaviour problems, they may be invited, self-initiate these interactions, or in some cases, have a prescheduled interaction time. Miretzky (2004) notes that when parents are summoned, or even scheduled, often these opportunities do not provide them with an equal voice in the sphere of the public school landscape. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995) further illustrate the complexity of clarifying the parent and school roles in parent behaviour-related interactions by studying parents' intent based on their own personal past experiences. They also study the present-day attitudes of parents in their attempts to achieve the outcomes they seek in their interactions regarding their children's behaviour problems. They found that if parents perceived their child's school to be welcoming and empowering, parents were likely to be more involved in their child's school (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). This would alleviate the power imbalance and dispel the notion that many of the school requests for involvement are school-centric, that is, relating to activities that are structured or defined by the school (Lawson, 2003).

When behaviour is the topic on the table, the specific intention of the interaction, which is to discuss and possibly resolve behaviour problems, can induce even more imbalance in the subtle draws of power and control that are at play on the stage between the parent and the teacher or principal. There appears to be little available literature that specifically describes the emotional draw that seems to occur in behavioural interactions versus the sizeable body of literature that relates to the topics of improving academics through parent involvement and more recently, school engagement.

2.5. Parent Involvement and Behaviour Incidents

Domina (2005) states that there is a clear link between parents' involvement at school and their children's behaviour problems, and also suggests that how parents involve themselves at home has more influence on their children's school behaviour than

their volunteering at school. After rigorous stringent checking of controls in his research, Domina conveys that his analysis illustrates that "parents prevent children's behaviour problems when they volunteer at school, help their children with their homework, and check their children's' homework" (p. 245), examples which interestingly convey a school-centric nature. This study investigates the underlying influences that are at play in parents' attempts to resolve their children's' behaviour problems at school.

In British Columbia, school-related behaviour incidents include unacceptable conduct described as "interfere[ing] with the learning of others...create[ing] unsafe conditions" (BC Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 17) in the school or on the school grounds, "bullying, harassment" (p. 17) or intimidating others, or using aggression towards others. In 2006, the BC provincial government introduced the *Safe Schools Act* (2006, Bill M 204) which "enables all students to develop their individual potential and acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to contribute to society" (para. 1). The BC Ministry of Education has compiled and made available to families an array of resources to support parents and educators in managing and resolving behaviour problems, including establishing the BC Center for Safe Schools and Communities which disseminates information and develops programs to support families, schools and community partnerships. Similarly in Ontario, school-related behaviour incidents are described as "any inappropriate and disrespectful behaviour at school or at school-related activities, or in situations where the activity will have a negative impact on the school climate" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 1). In 2012, the Ontario government developed the resource, *Creating Safe and Accepting Schools: Information for Parents about the Accepting Schools Act, Bill 13* (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2012). This outlines to parents procedures that support the expectations and problem-solving approaches regarding behaviour incidents in Ontario public schools. These BC and Ontario government guidelines for managing student behaviour in public schools inform families that there are procedures, expectations, and support for the behaviour and safety of their children. Although parents may never draw on these resources or information, they provide a common underlying structure for parents and children in both provinces, including parent-participants in this study. However, while these guidelines also serve as a structure for schools to work from when parents' work with schools to resolve their children's behaviour problems, conceptually the foundations of these

guidelines rest in the involvement realm of the parent-school involvement and engagement continuum described by Amendt (2008). While it is understood that families and school educators address the suggested approaches together, they remain school-centric in their development and in the carrying out of directed procedures.

MacNeil and Patin (2005) suggest that strengthening the parent-teacher relationship is one of the most fundamental ways to increase parents' involvement in their children's school. They also suggest that when initial contact with parents is positive, such as early in the school year, further contact about negative behaviour does not change the parents' initial positive impressions. Jeynes (2010) and Georgiou (2007) suggest that the subtle qualities of the school in parent involvement, that is, including whether the school acts positively towards parents, is supportive, reaches out, and is encouraging to parents, may have greater positive impact and influence on outcomes than the specific guidelines and directions that are available to parents, such as from the Ministry of Education or the local school district. These ideas indicate that the initial actions of the school leaders to include parents set a positive course for developing positive parent and school relationships. These steps potentially lead towards parents and schools engaging in the work of educating their children together.

2.6. Family-School Partnerships

Epstein and Connors (1992) state that as stakeholders, educators have an important role in how much the contexts of other stakeholders, which include family, school, and community, overlap. Joyce Epstein suggests that school-family partnerships are developmental in and responsive to the diverse needs of families (Epstein, 1992, Epstein & Connors, 1992). She and her colleagues recognize the changing nature of families, which requires schools to be sensitive to their needs, and the developmental approach necessary to build family-school partnerships. For several decades' families have been changing in structure, in demographics, and in how they function. Today there are more single parent families, families parented by fathers or grandparents, and blended families than in the past. Families may be in transition, possibly affected by moving and changes in family structure or employment. Thus, the families that attend a

school may change from year-to-year due to these experiences, requiring the school's responsiveness to its changing family demographics (Pearson Higher Education, n.d.).

Epstein (1992) claims the school has two possible choices in involving the family in the school and in the child's education. While one approach "emphasizes conflict and views the school as a battleground, …the other approach emphasizes partnership and views the school as a homeland" (Epstein, 2001, p. 423). The first approach is characterized by power and disharmony. The second approach has qualities of "an environment inviting power sharing and mutual respect so that energies can be directed toward activities that foster student learning and development" (Epstein, 2001, p. 423). Epstein (1992) looks at the "overlap of the family and school spheres of influence" (p. 11), which she identifies as being characteristic of effective schools and families. While an underlying sense of school-centricity remains evident in her work, there is the potential for these approaches to lead from parent involvement to parent engagement in their children's schools, if they are considered as part of a continuum of parents and schools working together towards engagement (Amendt, 2008). Epstein (1992) describes five noteworthy types of involvement for "families and schools [to] fulfil their shared responsibilities for children's learning and development" (p. 11), later including a sixth type that sees the community as also having a sphere of influence (see Table 2.1 below).

The model describes six levels of parent involvement with education and illustrates parental differences in their participation in the support of their children, specifically relating these perceptions and influences to parent behaviour-related interactions at school (Epstein & Dauber, 1991). Epstein's (1992, 2001) typology includes basic obligations of families (relating to health, parenting skills, and child-rearing approaches), basic obligations of schools to communicate (regarding school programs and children's progress), involvement at school (of parents to provide volunteer assistance in school, classrooms and school events), involvement in learning activities at home (including homework and learning activities, as directed by the school), and involvement in decision–making governance and decision-making opportunities regarding the school. The sixth level of involvement highlights broader stakeholder involvement and relates to "collaboration and exchanges with community organizations [regarding] connections with agencies, businesses, and other groups that

share responsibility for the children's education and future success" (Epstein, 2001, p. 136-137).

Table 2.1. **Epstein's 6 Levels of Parent Involvement**

Type 1	Parenting
Type 2	Communicating
Type 3	Volunteering
Type 4	Learning at Home
Type 5	Decision Making
Type 6	Collaborating with the Community

Note. Adapted from Epstein, 2001 (p. 414).

Bennett (2007) suggests that we must change the current paradigm of home and school "so that teachers and parents have an equal role in the partnership" (p. 1) by acknowledging and enlisting parents to develop a shared responsibility with the school for their child's learning. Lareau (1987) contends that parents from working class and poverty contexts who distance themselves from the school see this responsibility as belonging solely to the school, and may lack the confidence and resources to get involved. They need school staff encouragement and input to know how to participate at school and home in their child's behaviour and learning. This requires parents to be supported in developing self-efficacy skills to enable them to support their children at home and school, so that their child is ready to participate in their education (Berthelsen & Walker, 2008; Epstein & Jansorn, 2004; Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Epstein (1992, 2001) suggests that in order for parents to be part of a home and school shared partnership, the school must support their parents by offering them the knowledge and skills they need to participate, and by providing the opportunities for their participation. Within the family-school landscape schools must also create space for the knowledge, skills, and wishes parents have for their children. While Epstein's (1995, 2001) typology is useful in reinforcing and increasing necessary and positive parent involvement experiences, it does not further the notion of parent engagement which acknowledges and incorporates parent knowledge of their children in the building of mutual and beneficial relationships between the school and home (Pushor, 2012).

Additionally, Epstein (2001) emphasizes that the views of parents, teachers, administrators, and students must be considered to support good communication and

children's success. She maintains that frequent communication between home and school about behaviour can be linked to poor behaviour at school if that is the main focus of communication. The correlation is made that schools and families communicate most frequently when students run into difficulties at school. Epstein (2001) goes further in stating that the patterns of communication "could be interpreted to mean that home-school communications produce academic and behavioural problems" (p. 54). In fact, the results of communication efforts must be considered by school principals and teachers to determine which approaches and methods are most successful for students and families to experience support for positive change and stronger home and school partnerships. The notion of building stronger school ties by developing positive communication approaches leads to the following section's discussion on the role of school leadership. In spite of the suggestion of underlying school-centricity, Epstein (2001) emphasizes the importance of acknowledging the crucial roles of parents and families as stakeholders in their children's education, supporting this study's examination of parents' experiences in their school behavioural interactions. Where Epstein's (1995, 2001) typology suggests a detailed range of activities and ideas for parent involvement in their children's education, it remains school-centric. Pushor's (2007) work extends further to include and support parents as stakeholders, leading to more effective school leadership and supporting effective engagement with parents and their child's school in its approaches.

2.7. Effective Leadership

Effective school leadership recognizes parents as stakeholders and includes them in its development of school wide disciplinary approaches. Decker and Decker (2003) and MacNeil and Patin (2005) state that the surest way for the school leader to improve parent involvement in their school is to build strong relationships between the home and the school. They suggest that including parents in the planning of school discipline approaches, strengthening parent-school relationships, and increasing parent involvement in schools through parenting skills programs are ranked highly for improved family participation as well as violence prevention. However, Lopez and Stoelting (2010) suggest that effective school leaders recognize that parent involvement goes beyond actions and "performative moments that reify a set of predetermined home-school

interactions" (p.23) that serve the school agenda. These leaders also recognize that parents' involvement is not always seen and that parents may have culturally unique understandings that go unnoticed, serving to exclude them from a sometimes narrow conceptualization of involvement (Lopez & Stoelting, 2010). Parents are more likely to participate in their children's behavioural mediations if they are welcomed, acknowledged, have some skill in disciplinary measures (Decker & Decker, 2003), and can reasonably converse about the topic. In contrast to parents who may choose their type of involvement when it is related to their children's academics, parents are usually requested to attend parent-school meetings regarding behaviour. This requires the communication and restorative skills of the principal or teacher for providing an inclusive and strengthening approach to a child's behavioural problems (MacNeil & Patin, 2005).

At the same time, effective leaders step away from the existing assumptions and established rituals of how parents participate in behaviour mediations and recognize that parents bring important insights and knowledge about their child to their interaction to support their child's behaviour. Parents are aware of the subtle power differentials that they perceive or know to exist when they face the school personnel and attempt to resolve an issue about their child. These evolve from the differing levels of cultural and social capital that parents possess and how the capital is activated to serve as leverage in the interaction if needed by one of the parties involved. Lopez and Stoelting (2010) suggest that it is critical for school leaders and educators to rethink fundamental assumptions relating to how educators work with parents and how parents are involved in their children's education. This will allow all stakeholders, including teachers and parents, to share in building relationships that are rooted in a non-judgmental stance.

MacNeil and Patin (2005) also suggest that the school principal should be aware of the kinds of relationships that exist between the parents, the school and the community, and that this is fundamentally necessary to develop or improve the relationships involved between the school and home. This sets a positive precursor stage for future parent school involvements, when efforts are initiated early in the school year. While parents may select levels and forms of involvement related to their children's academics (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997), behavioural meetings require specific kinds of skills of the school personnel, and an expectation that the principal will exercise his leadership abilities towards inclusively seeking a positive outcome for the child, the

46

family, and the school. When the principal practices, encourages, and maintains open lines of communication, thereby reducing the barriers that may exist for some parents, then parents are more likely to be involved in academic support for their children or to be more open to participation in interactions that support their children's behaviour problems. In practicing effective leadership principals and teachers must challenge their own assumptions of how families are involved according to the visible examples they see and recognize the many unseen ways that families are involved at home in supporting their child's education (Lopez & Stoelting, 2010).

2.8.   The "Behaviour" Gap in the Literature

Research literature about parents' participation in the support of their children's behavioural problems has a limited place outside the wider body of research that houses parents' involvement for their children's academic achievement. In some examples, such as in Grolnick and Ryan's (1989) work, parent involvement for behavioural adjustment receives mention alongside parental involvement for achievement. Sheldon and Epstein (2008) convey the ongoing emphasis in education on using standardized testing to measure performance and accountability while suggesting that parents, educators, and community members may value good behaviour and safe schools as much as test scores and positive achievement outcomes. A lack of attention regarding parental involvement in behavioural support for children persists in the literature, although a relationship is suggested between parental involvement and its impact on student learning, behaviour, relationships, and attitudes (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Jeynes, 2010; Stelmack, 2004).

Forty years ago, Daniel Safran (1974) described parent involvement as having several competencies which included open communication between parents and teachers in a variety of settings, the school or district providing additional information to parents of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, and defining and explaining supportive meaningful tasks for parents to use with their children. He further noted bringing individual parents together to facilitate resolution of common behavioural problems, to support and help with school leadership groups so that parents may develop parent leadership skills in parents' groups, and working with and supporting parents "to

47

understand and modify the school setting so that they can better serve the needs of the children and the community" (p. 11). Forty years later, Safran's suggestions to support parents' participation in their children's education remain similar to ideas today that speak more to the notion of parent engagement than parent involvement. The focus of research literature on parent involvement is presented most often as parents' involvement related to student achievement outcomes (DesForges & Abouchaar, 2003; Jeynes, 2010; Stelmack, 2004; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). Even so, Jeynes (2010) and Stelmack (2004) note that the subtle aspects of parent involvement at home appear "to have a more significant impact on children than parental involvement in school activities" (Stelmack, 2004, p. 5). While school-centric, Epstein's (1995) "Six Types of Parent Involvement" suggest support for improved achievement outcomes by enlisting parents in a variety of and levels of involvement in their children's school. The topic of parent involvement regarding parent interactions for behavioural support remains minimally addressed in the literature. This study attempts to provide understanding about this gap.

The literature examined in Chapters 2 and 3 reveals that little empirical research exists that studies the experiences of parents' interactions at school about their children's behaviour. The shared engagement of parents and schools in educating children is an important aspect of a school culture that embraces respectful and inclusive ways to work with parents in mediating their children's behaviour problems. Even so, a large body of existing literature explores the nature of parents' educational involvement to support their children's achievement outcomes, and in spite of this, it remains unclear how this literature explains exactly what the most effective involvement approaches are. Georgiou (2007) and Zellman and Waterman (1998) suggest that many approaches have been developed to support parents' school involvement to support achievement and behaviour, yet it remains unclear what accounts for the outcomes and impacts of the involvement. According to Fan and Chen (2001) the research about parent involvement, regardless of its relationship to achievement or behaviour has been inconsistent, both in scope, and the variety of definitions and methods used to study it. These noted inconsistencies and lack of available research about parents' school interactions to support behaviour indicate a gap in the literature that makes this a relevant topic for this research study.

2.9. Summary

This chapter sets the context for this study by reviewing the literature that relates to parents' participation in interactions that are concerned with behaviour support for their children. The chapter also situates the role of educational stakeholder in the study. Supporting literature draws attention to the inherent complexity of parents' positioning of themselves and their ensuing actions in their interactions at school. As noted by Bakker and Denessen (2007), "parental involvement is a value loaded term" (p. 188) which may privilege the families of middle-class backgrounds who participate in their children's school, while omitting the parents of lower-class family contexts and families who are more often absent in their participation with their children's school (Lareau, 2003). By describing the disparity in the research literature of the meanings given to the terms "parent involvement" and "parent engagement," the idea of "parent interaction" can be isolated and described to specifically refer to the parents' moments of participation with the school principal or teacher and which directly relate to their child's behaviour. Aspects of these interactions are described in Chapter 2 by briefly introducing notions of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction theory as they relate to the underlying influences in the interactions between the parent and the principal or teacher. These include some discussion of the ideas of capital, habitus, and field, suggesting the complexity of these interactions and the possibility of additional factors that may be involved in parents' school interactions about their children's behaviour, concepts which are further discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 2 notes Joyce Epstein's model of six levels of parent involvement with education to illustrate parental differences in their participation in the support of their children, at the same time drawing attention to its school-centric nature which directs further attention to the lack of clarity between use of the terms parent involvement and parent engagement. This provides a lens of possibility by the variety of ways in which parents may operate in a democratic manner to exercise or build their support and ties with their children's school, while acknowledging the notion that parents and schools must take this work much further in becoming engaged stakeholders in educating and supporting their children (Pushor, 2007).

Chapter 2 provided clarity in the term "behavioural interaction" to specify and address the boundaries in which the ideas of this study can be addressed, leading to the theoretical framework presented in the next chapter. A central idea of this study is that

49

in their interactions with the principal or teacher, parents draw on underlying mechanisms and utilize personal resources, described as kinds of capital, which appear to influence the outcomes of the behaviour problem being addressed. Using the theoretical framework, I discuss these ideas further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3.

Theory

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter drew attention to the large body of research literature that explores parents' involvement to support academic achievement outcomes for their children. A lesser volume of empirical literature on parents' participation in resolving behaviour problems was then described, indicating a lack of research that specifically studies the influences that are at work when parents participate in resolving behaviour for their children. By introducing the role of stakeholders in the education process, the idea that unequal power differentials exist between parents and their children's school leaders or teachers was also introduced as part of the context for the study. If power is defined as the pedagogical authority held by those who hold or share a specific type of expertise or knowledge in a system, then two kinds of pedagogical authority are suggested in this study. Those who lead and educate in the school system hold one type of pedagogic authority or power, and as Van Manen (1990) suggests, parents possess a pedagogical parenting authority that is developed through child-rearing. When one pedagogic authority does not fully recognize the expertise or knowledge of the other in working together, an uneven alignment of power emerges, creating challenges that need to be worked through to create shared and acceptable outcomes (Pushor, 2007).

Power differentials become an underlying inherent theme in the involvement between parents and teachers or principals in their interactions, and require management in how they affect outcomes. The notion of power differentials invites further investigation in the literature to understand their role of influence in parents' participation at school. More broadly, Apple (2012) provides a macro view of school in which he describes the school institution as part of the capitalistic enterprise of today's

westernized society, in essence drawing attention to the contradictory nature of schooling and the inherent associated power aspects that are part of its undertaking, that is, to educate. Apple (2012) consistently reinforces the idea that education systems are part of the larger globalization process. He is concerned with helping us understand both the "larger social context and the contingent, local circumstances of daily life inside and outside schools" (p. xxvii). As it relates to power and dominant social institutions, the politicized aspect of education addressed by Apple (2012) cannot be ignored. He purports that models of concepts and institutions have a systemic history of development and the invisible underpinnings of what has influenced the current institution, situation, or ideology must be acknowledged (Apple, 2012). This study is concerned with how parents and school personnel can continue to strive for education that is built through "an ethic of caring, community, social justice, and critical literacy" (Apple, 2012, p. xxxi), exposing and suggesting how authority and power differentials by educators and families can be acknowledged and managed to responsibly and positively support children's education. To recognize these ideas about the historic underpinnings that influence how behavioural situations develop and play out is important for creating restorative solutions for all participants and particularly educators. Such acknowledgement reinforces the inherent complexity that is intrinsic to parent-school behavioural interactions for children, and intensifies the importance of the study's goal to increase understanding of parents' experiences in their participation regarding student behaviour.

Further to his notion of the school having systemic relations to the wider economy and global influences, Apple (2012) also suggests that schools are themselves sites of ideological reproduction. For example, he provides a more sophisticated view of the influence of specifically Marxist ethnographic origins (Apple, 2012), a view in which this ideology is the result of one's day to day lived practices in their particular material conditions. He describes the school as playing a wider role in a "stratified social order that remains strikingly unequal by class, gender, and race" (Apple, 2012, p.9). As Apple (2012) suggests, the implication of this idea is that the school institution and those working or participating within its structure or system, regardless of position are part of "a larger framework of social relations that are structurally exploitive" (p.9). He purports that we must not only see schools as places where students are assisted to learn and get ahead; we must also focus on the larger social patterns and outcomes of the school

that emerge, which he suggests lead back to the relations between the economic and cultural institutions of society (Apple, 2012). Apple's work recognizes that acts of parent participation to support their children must be encouraged to continue to preserve the helping and learning nature of the institution, while forwarding his concern that the actions of the institution can also "assist in the reproduction of inequality while serving to legitimate both the institutions that recreate it and our own actions within them" (Apple, 2012, p. 11). Apples' views are important to this study as they suggest the need to expose and attend to the sometimes disregarded yet significant far-reaching effects on society of the actions that take place in educational settings to support children.

In this chapter, in light of the work of respective social theorists I briefly describe the ideas of power differentials that appear to exist at school between the families, the students, and the educators in the parent-school interactions that occur due to behaviour problems. I examine the theories of several researchers, particularly those of Pierre Bourdieu and Annette Lareau, in order to study the processes at work when parents interact with the teacher or principal to support their children's behaviour problems at school. I use Bourdieu's (1979, 1986, 1989) ideas of social theory, including cultural, social, and symbolic capital, to illustrate the influence as a form of social currency in parent interactions about behaviour. I briefly introduce and situate Coleman's (1988) and Coleman et al.'s (1966) ideas regarding social capital in relation to Bourdieu's (1986, 1989) related body of literature, showing that Coleman's views of social capital have an instrumental productive purpose. His work also includes his development of the concept of intergenerational closure (Coleman, 1988), which addresses the relational utility of the connections between parents, work that is further addressed by Horvat et al. (2003).

Coleman's (1988) ideas of social capital have a potential positive good that extends beyond the benefit of the individual. This provides an avenue to consider Robert Putnam's (1995a, 1995b, 2000, 2001) perspectives on social capital. In his work, Putnam includes the element of trust among membership in a group as a component of social influence to introduce the relational value inherent in social capital. I also examine his notion of reciprocity as a social outcome of building capacity via civic engagement, which he purports to be a broader influence of social capital. I refer to Joyce Epstein's (1995, 2001) work on a typology for levels of parent involvement in their children's'

53

education to typify the areas of the social arena in which parents may activate their resources and capital to educationally support their children, recognizing that her typology rests in a school-centric realm. Although her typology is problematic in its assumptions of universally understood expectations between parents and teachers who may not share similar cultural understandings or backgrounds (Lopez & Stoelting, 2010), it is a starting point which could potentially lead to parent engagement. While the study's focus is on the parents' experience of their behavioural interactions, it recognizes that school-centricity is a concern if parent-school and school-parent involvement remains static without opportunities to become activities of engagement that can transform the school community and its work.

To orient this study, the literature review of Chapter 2 explored the disparity present in the research literature ascribed to the concepts of parent involvement, parent engagement and parent interaction. Although each of these ideas continues to uphold a sense of murkiness in the literature (Georgiou, 2007; Lawson, 2003), Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) suggest that positive outcomes to school problems, regardless of terminology, hinge on the shared commitment to parent involvement by school and families. Confusion persists, originating in the 1960s and 1970s when the US and Europe developed policy and increased parent involvement programs to help overcome the gap between school and family culture, particularly with the lower socioeconomic classes. Bakker and Denessen (2007) suggest that the governmental policies of the day "artificially tried to create parental attitudes and behaviours which seemed to spontaneously occur in middle-class white families" (p. 188). Government groups perceived these developments could somewhat ensure educational success for children, thus requiring researchers to watch for bias and assumptions directed at the educational efforts and outcomes of the families of middle-class, working-class, and low-income backgrounds. Apple (2012) provides a continuing reminder of the challenges that exist in the macro and micro views of education, exposing the contradictions that are posed by one on to the other in the schools efforts to fulfil their task of educating students.

Beginning in the early 1900s, Canada's provincial and district education authorities mirrored developments in the US and Europe, through a variety of social and educational initiatives and programs for children and their families. These included infant development programs, child-care programs, a growing awareness of the

54

importance of early cognitive development, establishment of kindergarten programs, public health initiatives for families, and the introduction of parent education (Beach & Bertrand, 2002). These initiatives continue to develop and be redesigned in line with changing current needs. Beach and Bertrand suggest that the gap between government planning and understanding the needs of the beneficiaries of these programs is a continuing challenge to the success of these programs. Early and ongoing educational developments further emphasize and suggest a historic complexity underlying parent-school interactions.

Chapter 2 noted that for the purpose of this study I use the term "parent interaction" to refer to the meetings, discussions, conferences and planning sessions that parents and principals or teachers participate in to discuss or resolve the behavioural issues of children. These interactions are often one-to-one participations of the parent and the teacher or principal, which most often begin with the student present. While the children concerned in the study's interactions were in Grades 6 to 11, the experience of the parent was the important factor, rather than the actual age of the involved student. In Chapter 3, the presented theories provide a framework necessary to later analyse the findings of the study. Relating to the guiding questions of the study, the discussion in this chapter reveals the complexity of the various ways in which parents participate in these kinds of interactions, the influence of the power imbalance between the parent and teacher or principal, and how the underlying influences in parent interactions may affect the behavioural outcomes for their children.

3.2. Power and System

3.2.1. Pedagogic Authority

Parents interact with principals and teachers on their children's behalf to support their children by participating in the work of resolving behaviour problems. In doing so, they face the pedagogic authority of the school and inherently expect that the pedagogic competence of the principal and teachers will prevail in their interactions. These interchanges take place under the umbrella of the institutional power of the school which functions as part of the larger education system, or as theorists suggest, a smaller field which operates under the auspices of a larger system or field. As suggested by

Bourdieu (1984) in *Distinction*, school is a field where the relationships of different classes of culture start to become evident in the interactions between parents and school personnel, and where the work between parents and school personnel must alleviate power differentials that emerge between the two.

As previously noted, Van Manen (1990) suggests that parents have a pedagogy of parenting which is not recognized as such by the school system. Because schools have the pedagogical responsibility to deliver education to children, the educational pedagogical authority of the school dominates that of the parent in the school setting. As Pushor and Murphy (2010) convey, the educational privilege of "knowing" by the education professionals dominates the parent privilege of their own parent "knowing" in the educational setting. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) describe this as the pedagogic authority of the dominant position of the school being indirectly imposed on the dominated who are the parents. In the school setting the pedagogical weight of parents is not recognized to have the same symbolic power as that of the school. This further emphasizes the need for the school and the parents to respect their differences and collaborate together to find solutions to resolve behaviour problems.

Van Manen (1991) describes pedagogical authority in relation to the student and the teacher as "the responsibility that the child grants to the adult, both in an ontological sense (from the viewpoint of the pedagogue) and in a personal sense (from the side of the child)" (p. 70). Unrelated to their level of comfort in interacting with the school, this is matched by a parental expectation and trust that the teacher and principal will treat their child with respect and who will be taught the appropriate curriculum. In other words, parents expect pedagogic competence on the part of the teachers and school staff (Van Manen, 1990) when it relates to their children's school learning experience.

It is during the parent-school interaction about their child's behaviour, that parents experience a sense of the power differential that is held by the unspoken but inherently experienced or understood institutional power of the school. Middle-class families with their middle-class phenomenon of parent networks are not deterred by this institutional power, as they have the resources to navigate it with their cultural and social capital and their social networks (Horvat et al., 2003, Mitchell, 2008; Portes, 1998). Bourdieu (1979, 1989) describes this as the unspoken and legitimated rules that guide

the social grouping or social class, or in education, the cultural capital that the teacher is perceived to possess "and which the student needs to acquire" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 157). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) suggest that "all pedagogic action (PA) is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (p. 5). Although they describe pedagogic action in relation to any social institution, regarding education, they also describe pedagogic action as the social system or institution having the pedagogic authority to dispense education. That is, the educational institution possesses the knowledge of all that is constitutive of the art and science of education and takes on the role of passing this expertise on to students and families. This is inherently influenced by the presence of high levels of established forms of capital among the educators, which of course, forms the basis of Bourdieu's concept of cultural reproduction.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) suggest this notion applies similarly to any social structure, which is "understood as a system of power relations and sense relations between groups or classes" (p. 5). This idea aligns with Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction, which suggests that the influence of cultural, social, and symbolic capital reproduces these social structures, transmitting social power between one structure to the next and across generations. However, others suggest that all social structures, regardless of dominance, have social capital that influences change in social structure and groups (Horvat & Lareau, 1999; Portes, 1998), suggesting strongly that we cannot minimize the influence of the less recognized working-class and poor participants in our social structures, and particularly in our schools.

The question continues as to how the pedagogic authority in the educational setting and the institutional power of the school affects how parents activate and use their cultural and social capital and how this affects ultimate outcomes for their children in their interactions with the principal or teacher. Horvat et al.'s (2003) work suggests that middle-class parents of school children are more likely to pursue a desired outcome for the children, drawing confidence from their middle-class parent network, while parents of working-class and low-income backgrounds may draw their confidence from their kinship lines and may also be less likely to pursue their desired outcomes to their children's behaviour problems. Horvat, et al. (2003) describe the notion of parents of poor and working-class settings accessing resources to support their children from

outside of the school, including the support of wise grandparents and other extended family, input from parent co-workers about resolving children's problems, and parents helping with homework. Horvat et al. further state that these efforts are not necessarily recognized or legitimized by the school personnel, thus reinforcing the school's dominant position.

Similarly to pedagogic authority, the idea of symbolic power parallels with what Pushor (2007) relates to as the school being the protectorate, or the holder of knowledge, and which is subtly and silently acknowledged by the families it serves. In the parent interaction, the tacit dominant power is with the principal or the teacher, and the parent is the dominated. Memmi (1974) and Bourdieu (1979) suggest that there must be acceptance by the dominated to be dominated in order for there to be symbolic power. Within this idea of dominance, or unspoken power imbalance, the influences of social and cultural capital, further influenced by the idea of habitus, continue to have an effect in the parent and principal or teacher interaction.

The social theoretical ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and Annette Lareau inform a basis from which to study the inherent power differentials that exist in parent-school interactions. Bourdieu's theoretical ideas are drawn from Algerian and French social behaviour, while Lareau uses and extends Bourdieu's social theory in her own explorations of social life and education in North America. Bourdieu (1984, 1989) advocates that the education system recognizes and advantages those who have been socialized and raised in the dominant culture, particularly discriminating students and families from working class backgrounds. Other theorists contend that more effort must be made to understand the contradictions and resistance as well as the possible contributions of all cultures and classes in the education system itself (Apple, 2012; Coleman 1988; Coleman, et al., 1966; Lareau, 1987). An examination of the pre-existing power differentials that appear to exist at school between the families, the students, and the educators and to investigate the underlying mechanisms that may be at play when parents interact with the school to support their children will provide clarity in the power variance between the parent and the principal or teacher. For example, these differences may arise from the kinds of social networks that families build and draw on (social capital), differences in social class, such as families of middle-class, working-class, or poverty situations, the amounts of cultural capital (cultural knowledge

or resources) families possess, and differing levels of economic means (Bourdieu, 1980, 1986; Horvat & Lareau, 1999). As Lareau (1987) and Coleman (1988) suggest, these resource capitals have different values and impacts when they are at play in social interactions, adding complexity to the social process. Further, Li (2010) purports that when educators take a culturally reciprocal and mutual approach with parents to understand how their students and families live outside of school, they will be more equipped to understand and challenge the real obstacles to education that exist for low SES families.

Although every individual has cultural or social capital to invest in any given field (the setting where the social action is played out), for their capital to have value, they must be able to activate it in a way that will influence the outcome they desire (Bourdieu, 1980, 1986, Horvat & Lareau, 1999). This suggests that a parent from a middle-class background, who possesses a high level of education, a professional job, and an influential social network would likely be less intimidated by the teacher or principal in a parent-school interaction. They may also be more forthright in their participation and expectation for an outcome they can support. In this sense, the notion of a power differential is less apparent between the parent and the teacher or principal as aspects of their backgrounds are more similar. A parent in a working-class situation, with more limited education, blue-collar employment, and a less influential social network feels subdued or less comfortable in the school setting (Lareau, 1987, 2000, 2002, 2003). In this situation a larger power differential exists between the parent and the teacher or principal. Horvat and Lareau (1999) suggest that "in analyzing social settings, researchers must attend to the capital that each individual in a given field has, as well as each individual's ability and skill in activating the capital" (p. 39). Their suggestion aligns with the study's concern to understand the experience of parents in their interactions and how their social resources involving the various capitals influence their roles in the outcomes, while also examining the role and social influence of pedagogic authority. These ideas lead to the next section's discussion on parent-school participation.

3.2.2.   Parent-School Participation

In their analysis of Bourdieu's (1998) work around the notion of education and inequality in France, Weininger and Lareau (2003) note important similarities of

schooling and inequality in the United States. Whereas Bourdieu's (1998) work presents the connections between the school and domestic sphere in French society as being hidden or masked, in the US these same connections are consistently under research scrutiny, policy development, and educational discourse (Apple, 1993, 2012). For example, during the Clinton administration in 1994 the US Congress included an article for parent participation in the National Education Goals, with Epstein contributing to its development, and with these goals suggesting a way for schools to promote "partnerships that would increase parental involvement and participation in their child's education" (United States Code, 2003, p. 3). This suggested a concern for a lack of parent participation in education and exemplifies how the interaction between the home and the school must be encouraged and developed when it is endorsed as one of the strongest legislated pronouncements of the US government of that day. It remains a continuing challenge for the state, the school, and families to find and understand the most constructive and beneficial ways to accomplish this. While the legislation encourages parental involvement, the class nature of schooling in the US is defined and supported by various laws and regulations, including taxing regimes. Accordingly, Li (2010) asserts that class-barriers to successful educational experiences for families of lower SES families can only be understood by examining and acknowledging the lived experiences of their daily lives and school interactions. She further suggests that their voices must be included as part of the conversations for educational change (Li, 2010). Consequently, the complexities of ongoing preservation and development of parent and school connections and partnerships continue to be a challenging aspect of education (Weininger & Lareau, 2003).

Brien and Stelmach (2009) describe educational reform in Canada where parents are included as stakeholders and as part of the accountability factor in school effectiveness, with educators increasing their expectations of parents, while parents are becoming more vocal in their participation (Miretzky, 2004). Miretzky (2004) describes parents as wanting the considerations and values given participants in democratic communities, such as "investment in the school community, direct and honest communication, mutual respect and mutual goals" (p. 814). Although much of school and family interaction is framed around the children they share, Miretzky suggests that what parents and educators want from each other "is clearly connected to what they

need for themselves as people who share a community that reflects democratic values" (p. 814). While this appears to fit well with Epstein's (1995, 2001) typology of parent involvement which reflects democratic opportunities for families to support their children, extending from the home to the community, her suggestions remain a starting point in creating and establishing meaningful and shared engagement for parents and teachers in what they desire in a democratic school community.

Although constitutional arrangements structure and preserve a static class system, the other less obvious reasons for the way things are in present-day schooling can be explained by the influences of economic, cultural, and social capital. Brien and Stelmach (2009) state that socio-economic differences predict who is more likely of parents in middle-class, working-class or poor contexts "to capitalize on opportunities to interact with and have influence over their children's schooling" (p. 7). They suggest that the lifestyles and behaviours (habitus) of families of working-class and poor backgrounds do not correspond with the middle-class institutions of school, making it less likely that these parents become involved. Berthelsen and Walker (2008) and Li (2010) note that this is unfortunately often viewed by educators as those parents with lower socioeconomic status and available resources being less interested in their children's education. These thoughts highlight the necessity of correcting that view to promote stronger and more useful relationships between parents and schools, a viewpoint that reinforces the need to examine parents' experiences of their behavioural interactions with the school system. Mitchell (2008) recommends that regardless of class, building stronger relationships with all parents would enable school personnel "to actually see parents as partners" (p. 4). This study furthers that discussion in the following section by examining macro and micro conceptual aspects of field in the school system and their social influence in working towards educational outcomes.

In the following sections I briefly examine themes and ideas connected to social reproduction theory as they relate to this study. Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) social reproduction concepts provide structure and underpinning for Coleman's (1988), Lareau's (1987, 2000, 2003), and Putnam's (1995a, 1995b, 2000) work in examining the social conditions and influences affecting North American education during the past six decades. I begin with Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) concept of field, habitus, and then proceed with relevant connections of capital. In particular I address social capital, and

where applicable, refer to cultural, symbolic, and economic capital, to illustrate how their characteristics and influences contribute to the theoretical framework of this study. Then I connect with Coleman's ideas (Coleman, 1988; Coleman et al., 1966) which were prominent in changing the course of social research in education, particularly around students and families rights to education, racial desegregation of schools, and social inequality in education. This examination also considers how the concepts relate to the questions of this research study.

3.3.   Social Reproduction Theory

Bourdieu's (1986, 1988, 1989) seminal model of social reproduction theory presents a way to understand the social structures in society, particularly as they relate to education and families. Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) concepts of field, habitus, and social currency which includes cultural, social, and symbolic capital, are ideas he developed to explain how societal structures are socially influenced to reproduce themselves. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) further studied social reproduction theory to illuminate the manner in which social institutions maintain or reproduce themselves in relation to these concepts, also studying the influence of pedagogic action and pedagogic authority in relation to education. This section situates Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) concepts of field, habitus, and social currency in relation to parents and their interactions with principals and teachers regarding their children's behaviour problems.

3.3.1.   The Concept of Field

Bourdieu (1984, 1986) presents his notion of field as being the arena in which the concept of habitus and capital interact. Jenkins (2007) describes Bourdieu's concept of field as "a structured system of social positions [which] is also a system of forces which exist between these positions [and] is structured internally in terms of power relations" (p. 85). Bourdieu (1998) suggests that the "distribution of forms of power or the kinds of capital which are effective in the social universe under consideration...[also] vary according to the specific place and moment at hand" (p. 32). This is what directs the influence for the outcome in a setting where the power is in the dispersal of the types and amounts of capital that the participants possess. For example, a parent who is

educated, is professionally employed, and is economically well situated in the community operates on more equal terms with the principal or teacher, and experiences a higher level of comfort in the "field" of the school environment. A parent from a working-class or low-income context likely has less education, performs blue-collar employment, and is likely less comfortable in the school setting. When a parent is called to mediate at school, they activate their individual levels of cultural and social capital (Horvat & Lareau, 1999) and use a level of practice in the school setting where "practice in the field of interaction is shaped by multiple, interacting forces, including the rules governing the field" (p. 39). Thus, whether the effect is positive or negative, using a voice consistent with their perceptions, the parent expresses their agency or sense of parental efficacy. The value of an individual's social capital may change when they engage in another social space or specific field, with the influence of their capital dependent on their ability to activate it. The concept of field in this study highlights the multiple elements and aspects that are involved in the simplest activities of participation by parents to support their children.

In terms of field, Apple (2012) describes an ongoing concern for his macro view of the education system, a macro-field which rests under the umbrella of capitalistic influence, and the accompanying and contrasting view of the delivery of education that goes on inside the school itself, a micro-field where parents interact with school personnel. Despite his neo-Marxist views, Apple (2012) suggests that the inherent contradictions between the wider capitalistic institutional influences and structures of the education system and the actual work of the school are "the contradictory results of very real cultural, political, and economic conflicts inside and outside our educational system" (p. xxxvi), neither positive or negative in their importance. This further indicates the important and encompassing presence of the notion of field. Regardless of their role or place in the system, or whether they are operating from the vantage point of a particular field, Apple (2012) also reinforces that every participant, whether parent, educator, or other, is influenced by an almost ancestral line of influence, stemming from their upbringing, past, and life experiences, later discussed in terms of habitus. These ideas serve to quell the unease of complexity in this study by Apple's (2012) reminder that nothing is simple and one must strive to take a different and unusual viewpoint if they can in the quest for clarity in seeking maximum understanding and in spite of

contradictions.   These thoughts segue to Bourdieu's concept of field and its importance for further situating the parent in the study.

3.3.2.   The Concept of Habitus

This concept of habitus establishes that people have social tendencies and preferences that guide their thinking and behaviour (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu (1984, 1986) states that families and students are internally wired as to what they are drawn to, to the kind of success they will have due to the kind of input they are capable of receiving, responding to, and experiencing. Perhaps habitus is one of the most important conceptual considerations of this study as every participatory contribution in a behavioural interaction is undeniably influenced by individual habitus. Coleman's (1988) acknowledgement that regardless of quality, acceptability, or recognition of habitus in a given field, a participant's contribution to an interaction has value in establishing outcomes. Habitus stems from what a person is born into, being what they become comfortable with, and later, what they become accustomed to. As well, Bourdieu suggests that tastes or distinctions that are acceptable or have influence in one social setting may carry a different influence in another social space. Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which cloaks the families and individual members, surrounding them in the qualities and aspects of their levels of social and cultural class, is what they know and how they are accustomed to living, speaking, and behaving, a nature which could be considered to be hardwired into a person's being.

Despite this hardwiring, Bourdieu (1977) proposes that inequalities exist in the amounts of cultural capital that individuals, in this case, parents, can hold or obtain. Bourdieu accounts for these inequalities by describing habitus as being transmitted within the home, with the dominant habitus originating in the dominant higher-class. In middle-class families this may appear as being characterized by more positive attitudes towards education. Families of working-class or low-income backgrounds, who also want their children to do well in school, possess lower levels of cultural, social, and economic capital, causing these parents to have lesser advantages when they support their children in school meetings. Middle-class professionals (the principal or teacher), characterized by a middle-class habitus and having pedagogic authority, could interpret this as working-class or poor families holding less positive attitudes towards education.

As suggested earlier by Coleman (1988), it may actually mean that these families possess kinds of capital that are not recognized in the field of school. As Lareau (2003) contends, parents in working-class and poor contexts are just as motivated for their children to do well in school, and in part, due to their social positioning, take a different approach to helping their children achieve their educational goals, one which Li (2010) suggests is less examined, understood, or acknowledged. This is an important aspect to consider in the social positioning and influences that are part of parent-school behaviour interactions.

In families, habitus provides the source for their sense of taste, and is the fabric of what the family members have become. This sense of taste is what they believe characterizes the class in which they live and draw their taste from. In some ways, parents unknowingly and continually strive to maintain this backdrop against which they adjust and measure their social behaviour and expectations. Parents bring this taste or affect into their meetings with school personnel about their child's behaviour. Jenkins (2007), who has extensively studied Bourdieu's work, interprets Bourdieu's concept of habitus as the bringing together of a person's embodiment of those ways of acting and being with the social systems that are part of their lives. He further interprets and defines Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus as being "the mediating link between an individual's subjective world and the cultural world into which they are born and which they share with others" (Jenkins, (2007, p. 75). Whether from middle-class, working-class or poor backgrounds, a parent's individual habitus has been inculcated since early childhood, through experience and explicit teaching, with the power of their habitus deriving from "the thoughtlessness of habit and habituation, rather than consciously learned rules and principles" (p. 76). Middle-class parents approach their child's school with expectations of participation or demands for particular outcomes while working-class and poor parents "typically are deferential rather than demanding towards school personnel" (Lareau, 2003, p. 198). These parents are less likely to work towards the inter-connectedness of home and school that educators desire and keep home and school separate (Lareau, 2003). With their working-class or poor backgrounds, they are less likely to have the language to manoeuvre in the educational environment with the same capability as their middle-class counterparts. Lareau suggests that although the school principal or teacher may have little idea of a child's family life or the parent's

participation, they would like these parents to be more assertive and engage more intentionally between the school and home. This desire does not serve the diversity of parenting approaches and family backgrounds equally when parents are motivated or required to participate in parent interactions for their children.

By drawing attention to individual habitus as an important and influential characteristic of parent-school interactions in this study, the distinct nature of each parent interaction is conveyed. Describing and situating the concept of habitus in this work emphasizes the complexity of all interactions and suggests the attention and heed that must be given to recognize the individuality of all parents and their family social circumstances and contexts in their endeavours to participate.

3.3.3.   Capital as Currency

Bourdieu (1986) posits that economic capital is at the root of all capital, which in this study refers to cultural, social and symbolic capital. He suggests (Bourdieu, 1986) that capital acts as a social currency which includes the effects of convertibility from one type of capital to another, transmissibility such as with cultural capital within a family, and the idea that capital can be reproduced and perpetuated in institutions such as the education system, even reproducing the system itself. The notion of capital as currency that has value and influence implicates our understanding of the social exchanges that take place in parent-school behavioural interactions. These ideas further acknowledge and reinforce the inherent complexity these situations entail.

The notion of cultural, social, and symbolic capital as having a social currency effect provides clarity in understanding that interactions are uniquely different and the participants bring varying levels and kinds of capital, causing distinctive and unique participation and outcomes. Pierre Bourdieu's (1998) belief about the need to understand social spaces with his ideas about cultural distinction and symbolic recognition help to situate parents in their behavioural interactions in the school setting. Bourdieu (1986) explains cultural distinction as an individual's acceptance of their place in society and how they include or exclude themselves in the systems they encounter, which relate to education, economics, social, or cultural groups. Similarly to parents in their interactions at school, participants in social situations are often unaware that their

social backgrounds have influence in the situation. Bourdieu (1998) suggests that cultural tastes and needs are linked to education and social origin, and have value of recognition according to what is taught, recognized, and valued in the education system (Bourdieu, 1984). In other words, the education system determines the value of the parents' cultural capital by what it values and teaches as a school.   This suggests that the social influence of various capital or its value as social currency in parent interactions is pre-determined by the recognition it receives in the social setting of school.

Depending on the parents' formal education and social origins, their backgrounds have a value and utility of recognition according to what is taught and recognized in their child's school. Parents arrive with their created sense of family, a social institution in which they have built solidarity among its members, based on shared understandings, rituals, and privileges which identify themselves as their own social entity (Bourdieu, 1998). This symbolic recognition of family background, parents' background, and cultural acquisition has influence, negative or positive, in the interplay and outcomes of school interactions with parents, providing influence similar to a type of social currency. These concepts add insight and background to the study's work of examining parents' interactions to support their children. They highlight the potential disparity in the possible outcomes if all participants in an interaction, particularly school personnel, are not sensitive to the varying levels of influence that can occur in the interactions.

3.3.4.   Parents and Social or Cultural Capital

Horvat and Lareau (1999) explore how social class, unrelated to ability, affects schooling and suggests that Bourdieu does not take his social theory far enough. They emphasize that all social or cultural capital does not have the same value in a given field, and that in order to have value, the social capital must be activated. Further, "the ability to activate social and cultural capital and the way in which it is activated influence its value in a field of interaction" (p. 39). This supports the idea that all families possess certain levels and types of cultural habitus based on their social class. Recognition of cultural or social capital in the particular field and the parents' ability to activate it in the different settings is what affects the influence that culture and social class have on situational outcomes. At the same time, researchers such as Tzanakis (2013) claim conceptual limitations in how theorists approach social capital, citing methodological and

measurement concerns that make its influence unclear. His claim suggests a debatable complexity since the influence of capital as social currency is part of the study's examination.

In *Distinction,* Bourdieu (1984) describes cultural capital as playing a role in which it is "an indicator and a basis of class position, [promoting his argument that] schools are not socially neutral institutions but reflect the experiences of the 'dominant class'" (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 154). Although the idea of the dominant class as a social measuring stick seems uncharacteristic of our inclusive and tolerant aspirations for present-day education systems, Bourdieu's ideas remain useful in this study. As previously noted, the value of his work rests in his notion that aspects of our social lives and behaviour act as a currency which influences our efforts to work and accomplish in our lives. In this study, Bourdieu's ideas help to deconstruct the complexity of the social relationships and outcomes that are involved in parent-school behavioural interactions.

In their research, Bourdieu (1998) and Horvat and Lareau (1999) illustrate that there are strong ties between the kind of educational experience that families are familiar with and possess in their family histories, and how this background impacts the ways in which families operate in their children's school environments. For example, Deluca and Rosenblatt (2010) suggest that the life conditions that families have sometimes experienced for generations do not necessarily allow them to embrace positive change from opportunities for better conditions in their family life, nor act on the opportunities that may arise from the changes. They suggest that these changes, such as moving to better neighbourhoods and therefore better schools, do not predict greater involvement of the parents in their children's' schools.

Horvat and Lareau (1999) suggest that "the ability to activate social and cultural capital and the way in which it is activated influence its value in a field of interaction" (p. 39). For example, a parent's family attitudes and personal dispositions may emerge in a behavioural interaction with a teacher or principal. As previously noted, the school setting is the field where the interaction takes place and has its own system or rules of operation. This may be unfamiliar territory to a parent, depending on their own perceptions, past experiences, and attitudes (or habitus). How the teacher or educator

values the forms of capital that the parent possesses may positively or negatively influence the outcomes of the interaction.

Lareau's (2003) work illustrates that the kinds of resources that parents are able to access and utilize in their child-rearing practices have similar influences in their interactions with their children's school. Parents who are educated and possess higher levels of social and cultural capital engage more equally with school personnel, exhibit higher expectations for their participation, and expect to be listened to (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Lareau's (2000) research, parents who have fewer economic, social, and cultural resources tend to expect that their children's school, including the principal and teachers, will direct them. Lareau observes that the dominant institutional setting is the determinant in recognizing specific kinds of cultural capital; however, a contrary position may be that parent expectations for specific outcomes are also a preliminary factor in influencing outcomes of parent-school behavioural interactions. It is also possible that parents' possession and levels of cultural and social capital may have equal or greater influence in other fields. For this study, these observations and positions provide a lens to consider the amount of personal autonomy or social symbolic power that is available to parents as they act in support of their children, and how their social power relates to or depends on the resources of social and cultural capital they possess and the backgrounds their lives extend from.

The concept of social capital is essential to this study because it provides another lens with which to look at how parents support their children in parent-school interactions. Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1989) describes social capital as pertaining to the relationships and the networks of relationships that individuals hold. Bourdieu (1986) further describes social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network...or membership in a group" (p. 51). If the right relationship is held in a specific context, it may confer advantages on individuals, allowing them to accumulate resources to leverage or have advantage in their interactions. Because parents of middle-class contexts have larger or more developed social networks, they hold the inherent knowledge that school settings are familiar to them and their like-minded and similarly positioned parent peers. In fact, it is reasonable to these parents to enlist the support of other parents who share their similar understandings and levels of social and cultural capital (Horvat et al., 2003).

Social capital provides a means to study the way in which parents' access and use the leverage provided by their group membership in their network with other parents in order to support their children. Taken further, Horvat et al. (2003) have used an ethnographic approach to examine the idea of parental networks and their effects on children's schooling. They suggest that there are noteworthy "class-specific differences in the architecture of parental networks and associated with this, in parents capacity to effectively intervene in school matters" (p. 320). Horvat et al. (2003) view parental networks as one of the most important and frequently invoked kinds of social capital related to school. These potential resources can be in the form of benefits, which imply "durable obligations subjectively felt, [such as] feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship or institutionally guaranteed [contingencies such as] rights" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51). The strength of the networks or the relationships involved allow the members of the group to reinforce the strength of the network, and to elicit the various outcomes or benefits that come from their membership in the group.

Further to Bourdieu's (1986) idea of social capital relating to "membership in a group" (p. 51), people draw on the strength of their social networks in their daily interactions. The volume and strength of their social capital is dependent on the size of the social network and the volume of the cultural, social, and symbolic capital that members of their network possess, in a way, exercising a position with status or power because of who they know. Bourdieu (1986) views cultural capital as being those social assets, such as cultural goods, intellectual assets, or education, which are indirectly and initially, related to economic assets or economic status. He states that social capital is "made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized [for example] in the forms of a title of nobility" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 3). Bourdieu (1986) posits that "economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed disguised forms of economic capital, [are] never entirely reducible to that definition" (p. 14), being most effective when they conceal their economic origins. The forms of capital are continually being transformed or activated into other forms, and often into symbolic capital, which brings influence. Ultimately, Bourdieu suggests that all forms of capital can be traced back to their economic origins.

Because social capital is inherited from the parents, the children and the parents operate from similar cultural understandings and shared experiences. Social capital draws creditability from economic capital, which is the family's economic ability (Bourdieu, 1986). As well, cultural capital draws credibility from the accumulation of goods, material evidence, and experiences, such as levels of training and education, and cultural experiences (Bourdieu, 1986).

Putnam (2001) has studied Bourdieu's ideas on social capital in relation to their influence on social interaction in American communities, giving specific attention to his view "that networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value" (p. 1). In other words, when we draw on our social networks to achieve outcomes, there is an accompanying circular return. Because certain ways of knowing and learning are privileged over others in the education system (Pushor, 2013), parents of middle-class backgrounds are more likely to be aligned with the teachers and principal of a school, more easily paving the way for a resolution in the work of behaviour problem solving. These parents are also more likely to receive the endorsement or approval of other similarly minded middle-class parents in how they manage in their interactions with the school, exemplifying Putnam's idea of social reciprocity.

Putnam (1995a, 1995b) describes social capital as having three components, which consist of moral obligations and norms, social values, particularly trust, and social networks, notably voluntary associations. Where Bourdieu (1986, 1989, 1998) particularly attributes a valuation of his notion of capital to the necessity of it being activated, Putnam (1995a, 1995b) puts value on the strength in the wider community networks imbued by an ethos of mutual trust between citizens. He explores the idea of positive reciprocity in the accumulation of social capital, in particular that which stems from civic or community engagement (1995a, 1995b). An example is parents' school participation, which builds their broader capital in the educational field, by being recognized by other parents and teachers as well as allowing them to have a stronger connection to the school. This follows with the idea of positive reciprocity in the accumulation of social capital in relation to gaining an aspect of social capital as a currency for parents at school. Where Bourdieu's ideas provide a micro-view of the power or leveraging ability of cultural or social capital in a specific field, Putnam's' macro-view of the concept of social capital suggests that it gets its strength from the

broader community or group and promotes the idea that social capital increases with use. Social capital and the way it is activated by involved individuals during parent-school interactions may advance the individual or group interests.

Putnam suggests that individuals who have amassed larger amounts of social capital through community connections have a larger potential to receive acts of reciprocity. For example, in the school setting, a parent's participation on a parent and school committee would give them a level of recognition among school staff and other parents, due to their involvement and contribution on the committee. In line with Putnam's ideas, this would mean that a principal or teacher who is more familiar with a parent who has accumulated a level of social capital at the school through volunteerism or school committee membership, could be influenced by this relationship in the work of a resolution. This aligns with Putnam's (2000) view, which he shares with Coleman (1988), that social capital is a resource with a function that is used in relationships with others for mutual benefit. However, the Bourdieuan perspective suggests that social capital value pertains more to influence than to a benefit of mutual exchange (Bourdieu, 1984) as suggested by Putnam's (2000) model of social capital and social reciprocity. This indicates a more altruistic outcome when Putnam's reciprocity approach is considered. Yet, Tzanakis (2013) challenges Putnam's idea of the broader influence of social capital, suggesting that it works best as "an individual-level concept" (p. 2) rather than when it relates to larger communities, regions, and countries. However for the purposes of this study, Putnam's ideas of social capital and social reciprocity suggest a broader perspective for social capital and provide a reassuring view that the weight of social capital does not rest solely on the individual and may even have more noble origins and influences. This leads to discussion of symbolic capital and Tzanakis's (2013) agreement with Bourdieu's (1986, 1998) assertion that social capital must be activated to have influence.

3.3.5.   Symbolic Capital

As well as the influence of cultural and social capital on parent interactions, symbolic capital is a factor in the study's examination of these events. Bourdieu (1986) describes symbolic capital as emerging in the form of symbolic power when the influence of a particular kind of cultural or social capital has been activated. This idea

suggests that in the social space of the school interaction, parents are depicted in two ways. First, they are part of an overall social space, measured by how much cultural and social power they possess. Second, parents are measured by the structure of their capital, meaning "the relative weight of the different species of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their assets" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17). This suggests that the amount and type of capital that parents have provides the ability to achieve influence for them along with the influence that their possession of various capital takes up in the social space. This is a significant factor in parent and school interactions, suggesting that the subtle influences of capital as a kind of currency in parent-school interactions determine the social power imbalances that are part of these interactions, placing parents in various positions of strength and ability in their efforts to achieve reasonable outcomes for their children. The concept of symbolic capital is important to understanding parents' interactions as it relates to both the amounts of various capital that parents possess with the potential for activation as well as the outcome of its influence on their interactions to support their children, alluded to earlier in this study.

3.3.6.   Coleman and Social Context

Coleman's research on social theory impacted education during the historic era of American civil rights and social change, changing the course of educational and social research. In 1966, Coleman et al. produced the seminal work, "Equality of Educational Opportunity," which became widely known as "The Coleman Report." The study encompassed 3,000 schools and 650,000 students and was the first of its kind to be commissioned by the government to inform future educational policy in the US. Results of the study indicated that equal opportunity in education for all children should be measured by equality of output instead of equality of input, by measuring student achievement, and by considering available resources accessible to different groups of children. Importantly, the study also showed that family backgrounds strongly influenced achievement outcomes, while achievement of students was less influenced by the backgrounds of other students in the school during the time when segregated education was waning in the US. Coleman's work is important background for this study as it identifies the historic nature of inequality, although particularly race related, that has existed in our North American education practices, the idea that more spending does not

73

necessarily improve achievement outcomes, and introduces the important role that families and family backgrounds have in supporting their children in school.

For a time, Coleman collaborated with Bourdieu on their work on social theory and social capital. Where Bourdieu's (1986, 1989) ideas on social capital emanated from the middle and upper classes, Coleman (1988) broadened his view of social capital, to be a resource that encompassed the marginalized and powerless as well as the middle and upper class. Coleman's work diverges from Bourdieu's (1986, 1989) research in another important way. Where Bourdieu looks at the value and influence of various capital, and suggests that its influence comes from its activation and transition into symbolic capital, and proposing that its origins can be traced back to economic-related origins, Coleman offers a different view. Coleman (1988) purports two characteristics: a sociological approach similar to that of other sociologists in which the individual is seen as "socialized and action as governed by social norms, rules, and obligations" (p. 95). He suggests this explains how the individual's actions are formed, controlled, and guided by the social context. Secondly, Coleman offers an economic related approach in which the actor independently chooses and acts on their goals out of self-interest in order to achieve maximum benefit.

Coleman's (1988) ideas are important to this study as they provide an optimistic view that suggests that all families, regardless of their social class, have cultural, economic, and social resources that may be important to their roles in parent interactions. Coleman's approach also suggests that parents' activation of social capital in their parent-school interactions may be less influenced by social class than Bourdieu suggests (Bourdieu, 1989). His ideas preceded the research directions of Lareau (2003) who introduced similar ideas in her investigations about parent networks and their influence on children's school outcomes. These ideas are useful in relating to today's BC public school settings as their student and parent populations are comprised of families of every class. These ideas lead to the following discussion of Annette Lareau's (2000, 2003) work on parenting practices that influence outcomes for their children.

3.3.6.   Parenting Approaches

Lareau's (1987, 2000, 2002, 2003) body of research is a tremendous resource for this study due to the in-depth and extensive insights she has achieved through her ethnographic research relating to class, race, and family life. Her use of an ethnographic approach means that her research has involved her as both a participant and an observer to characterize, relate, and culturally interpret the details of her study participants' lives. This has reinforced the depth and reliability of her descriptions of her participants' family lives and school participation. Because her investigations relate to parents' participation and support for their children's education, they align well with the parent interactions relating to behaviour that are addressed in this study.

Lareau (2000, 2003) studied the effects of cultural and social capital on middleclass, working-class and poor families extensively through ethnographic research methods. Lareau (2000) describes her study of family-school relationships outlined in *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education,* as an initial step to exploring and understanding "the process whereby individuals transform cultural capital into social profit" (p. 178). This study directs particular attention to her work on the role of social capital in families and its relationship to parent-school interactions. In her work, Lareau (2003) specifically studies children and their families together, rather than children or their parents to "capture some of the reciprocal effects of children and parents on each other" (p. 8). In order to do this Lareau conducts her research in many settings beyond the walls of the families' homes "to understand how parents and children negotiate with other adults in children's lives" (p. 8). As well, Lareau purports that parents approach childrearing from one of two childrearing positions. She describes parents of middle-class backgrounds as adopting a cultural logic of child rearing that stresses the approach of "concerted cultivation" (p. 67), in contrast to the parents of working-class and poor contexts who follow "the accomplishment of natural growth" (p. 68).

The children in Lareau's studies attend private schools and neighbourhood schools that appear to align with the families' social class position of middle-class, working-class, or poor. In this study, children of diverse family backgrounds and different parenting approaches are educated together in non-urban, small-town public

75

schools. In working with this studies' participants, similarities to Lareau's observations about parent practice and their influences in family and school interactions provide a vehicle to allow family class differences and their accompanying types of capital to emerge for comparison and investigation.

Concerted Cultivation

Lareau's (2003) notion of "concerted cultivation" (p. 1) refers to the parent practice of shaping and directing the child's development through exposure to a variety of after school activities and lessons, which can include individual and team sports, music lessons, and club memberships. In this way, parents make certain their children are included and exposed to organized activities, and engage their children in discussion, using questioning, and eliciting opinion. These parents see their roles as promoting the development of their children's talents and skills to attain a future successful position in a successful life. Because of this, their children tend to be more sophisticated in their speech and more accomplished in their social interactions. This kind of parenting style reinforces a "robust sense of entitlement" (p. 2) in these children, which plays "an especially important role in institutional settings, where middle-class children learn to question adults and address them as relative equals" (p. 2). The parents are generally educated with training and degrees, may have leadership status in their professional lives, and may be involved in various community and volunteer activities that support their status in society. Their middle-class children spend less time with family and extended family, in a sense missing out, but they make up for it in a different capacity, in that they potentially develop skills which could serve them in their future positions in the working world, "gaining important institutional advantages" (p. 4). To engender and build this potential is their parents' perceived role and hope in raising them.

The Accomplishment of Natural Growth

Lareau (2003) describes her concept of "the accomplishment of natural growth" as the practice of rearing children with less emphasis on directing the child's after school time and weekends, not filling these times with lessons, team sports and supervised activities. Although supervised by their parents, who focus on keeping their children safe, "enforcing discipline...and regulating their behaviour in specific ways" (p. 68), these

children have more freedom in their play activities and time with other peers, who are likely being reared in the same manner. These children of working-class and poor backgrounds "are allowed to thrive and grow" (p. 68). They learn how to negotiate, resolve conflict, and manage their own time. Parents observe a distinct boundary between adults and children, using directives rather than reasoning, and do not elicit their children's feelings, opinions, and thoughts. Often these children, notably boys, are allowed to spend more of their time farther away from home. As children, they develop strong relationship with kin and their immediate families. A greater sense of kinship exists in the children of working-class or low-income backgrounds, reinforced by the amount of time spent with their families and close friends. The social skills and behaviours necessary to manoeuvre themselves, and establish social advantages in institutional settings, such as school, are not reinforced in the same way as children from middle-class backgrounds.

Lareau's ideas are important to this study because they situate Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and cultural and social capital into a North American perspective. Lareau (2003) uses these concepts from Bourdieu to study the parenting styles and differences in family background that affect parents' involvement at school and children's school outcomes. More importantly, Lareau recognizes that Bourdieu has maintained his focus on the strategies and actions that individuals follow in their daily lives (Horvat & Lareau, 1999, p. 39) and she extends these ideas to look at the presence and influence of these actions and processes in the family as it pertains to school. She does not believe that Bourdieu has directed enough attention to the "difference between the possession of capital and the activation of capital" (Lareau, 2003, p. 276). Horvat and Lareau (1999) are concerned that Bourdieu insufficiently explains or recognizes that social reproduction is "not an overly deterministic continual process [and that] reproduction is jagged and uneven and is continually negotiated by social actors (p. 38). This is an important point, as Lareau (2003) demonstrates what she calls the presence of a "cultural logic" (p. 8), which she suggests emerges from the families' social class position, and is evident in school interactions between parents and teachers or principals. Where Bourdieu's studies on social processes are directed towards the middle and upper class, Lareau's studies of families of middle-class, working-class and poor backgrounds demonstrate the distinctly different social processes that are at work

in these different classes. This is a useful perspective that reinforces the diverse contexts and practices of the families that were involved in this study.

3.3.7.   Parent Partnerships

Extending beyond the previous discussion of the concepts of resources and capital possessed and activated by parents in their school interactions, Joyce Epstein's (1992, 1995, 2001, 2008) research examines approaches and settings for parents to support and participate in their child's education. While Epstein (2001) suggests that school-family partnerships are developmental in nature and "are responsive to the common and different needs of the family" (p. iii), her ideas maintain an inherently school-centric focus situated early in the continuum of involvement to engagement suggested by Amendt (2008). Ultimately, school-centricity does not allow the progression to deep and meaningful outcomes when activities remain immanently school directed. Epstein (1992) asserts that administrators must maintain a leadership role in engaging parents in their children's education. Her work acknowledges the "overlap of the family and school spheres of influence" (Epstein, 2001, p. 11) that are illustrated in her typology of six levels of parent involvement in their children's education. The model includes parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with community and indicates that parent participation in education can occur in three different social institutions, notably the family, the school, and the community (Epstein, 1992). Epstein's model illustrates parental differences in their participation in the support of their children, specifically relating these perceptions and influences to parents' participation in behaviour interactions at school (Epstein, 2001; Epstein & Dauber, 1991). Still, while Epstein's typology is useful in offering a concrete vehicle for choices and opportunities for parents to actively participate in their children's education, her ideas require a developmental reworking that allows space for mutual and reciprocal engagement of parents and educators. Georgiou (2007) states that the school must remain receptive to finding ways to increase parent involvement in order to support family-school partnerships while at the same time maintaining that parental agency to get involved rests with the parents, suggesting an additional and deeper complexity.

78

3.4. The [Dis]Advantages of Parent Participations

In 2007, Georgiou found that several factors were predictive of parent involvement in school. These included demographic factors such as socioeconomic status (SES), parents' levels of education, parent gender, and the parents' personal attitudes about being involved. Bakker and Denessen (2007) note that as well as observable behaviours in their interactions at school, parents come with their own "attitudes, beliefs, and values" (p. 189) which suggests an opening to consider the roles and influence of cultural and social capital in parent participation (Horvat & Lareau, 1999). It has been widely suggested in empirical research that parent attitudinal and other positive behaviours towards education at home have a greater influence on positive achievement outcomes than actual parent involvement at school (Christie, 2005; Jeynes, 2010; Sheldon & Epstein, 2008; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). Parents from working class and low-income backgrounds have the same lofty aspirations for their children's academic success as parents from affluent families. However, Paredes (2011) suggests that the parents of working class and poverty contexts do not possess "explicit knowledge and understanding of academic requirements" (p. 1), thus having limited ideas on how to support their children academically, both in volunteering at school and providing support at home. Paredes (2011) also states that it is imperative for school educators to understand distinctions in social class and cultural capital as they move toward creating new initiatives for parents' involvement in education. This is essential for educators and principals in BC public schools, where broad class and cultural distinctions exist among students and their families who reside under the same school roof. As well, this emphasizes the uniqueness of each family, which must be considered by school principals and teachers when they meet with parents.

Initially, it would appear that Bourdieu's idea of the influence of cultural and social capital in parent interactions provides an uncomplicated clarity in understanding these dynamics. Countering this notion, Sullivan (2002), who studied Bourdieu's social theory with particular attention to cultural capital from a British perspective, states that "according to Bourdieu, the education systems of industrialised societies function in such a way as to legitimate class inequalities" (p. 144). Because the education system assumes the possession of cultural capital, and the middle-class hold higher levels of capital and habitus, their success in school is more likely attained (Bourdieu, 1977).

Following this Bourdieuan perspective, the children of working-class and low-income backgrounds, coming from families with lower levels of cultural capital and habitus, experience less educational success. If one is to be successful in the education system, Bourdieu suggests that this is facilitated by the possession of cultural and social capital, which ultimately reinforces that higher-class students with more capital are more successful because of the capital they possess.

Sullivan (2002) claims that Bourdieu is characteristically unclear about the importance of cultural capital in relation to other forms of capital. She also suggests that the "educational advantage which higher-class parents pass on to their children may not be entirely caused by economic factors" (p. 146). This was evident when Britain's educational reforms universally reduced the costs of postsecondary education, yet the association between class origins and educational achievements did not dramatically shift (Sullivan, 2002). Sullivan (2002) suggests that Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital must be revisited to account for this lack of change. This would also clarify the role of cultural capital in educational success and increase understanding of the family's role in supporting their children with their participation in behavioural interactions at school.

When parents of middle-class backgrounds meet with the teachers and principals, they are more likely to possess similar kinds of capital, thus sharing more understandings and familiarity about purposes and expectations of the school. As well as socially functioning from a middle-class habitus, these parents arrive with higher levels of social capital and social networks that are more oriented to the school setting. They are also more likely to view themselves on a more equal level of engagement with the teachers or principal (Lareau, 1987, 2000, 2002). These parents are also more likely to expect to participate in outcomes for their children, thereby being less affected by the dominance of the institution of school (Pushor, 2007). This suggests that they experience less power imbalance between themselves and the institutional school setting and between themselves and the teachers and principals they meet with.

Parents of working-class and low-income backgrounds are more likely to possess habitus comprised of tastes and distinctions both derived from their frames of references and context; forms of habitus and capital that are not valued by those who

80

hold status and pedagogic authority. Lareau (2000, 2001) suggests these parents possess lower levels of social capital, as well as less helpful social networks, which may be more structured along kinship lines. I suggest the importance of this idea is that families of working class and low-income contexts possess social capital that does not have a similar recognized influence in the school environment in the same way as that of the middle-class parents. Brien and Stelmach (2009) indicate that parents of working class backgrounds are less likely to respond to formal or informal opportunities to interact directly with their children's teachers "because they do not consider school as their place" (p. 7). However, to remain aware of the complexity of Bourdieu's concepts of social, symbolic, and economic capital and their influence in his model of social reproduction theory, it is helpful to researchers to acknowledge this, along with the social effects of cultural capital in their work.

Pushor and Murphy (2010) purport that parents' expert knowledge about their children is fundamental to shared engagement in the work between families and schools. They further state that educators assume or take up the stance that their expert knowledge pedagogically reinforces. This fortifies the perception that "educators' expert knowledge of teaching and learning places them in a superior position over less-knowing parents" (Pushor & Murphy, 2010, p. 26). Therefore, when parents of working-class or poor backgrounds arrive to support their children their skill in relaying their knowledge and supporting their children, or their social capital, is less recognized in the school setting. Thus, they are less comfortable and skilful than their middle class counterparts in achieving the acceptable outcomes they desire for their children. Also influenced by lower levels of social capital and the more limited influence derived from their social networks, the outcomes of the interactions of parents of working-class or poor contexts may be less satisfying (e.g., not what the parents had expected or wanted). Pushor (2007) notes that "accepting the taken-for-grantedness of their positions as protectors and protected in this [school] structure, educators and parents reinforce, and are constrained and shaped by, conditions imposed upon them" (p. 2). This means parents of working-class and poor contexts operate at a disadvantage when they meet with their children's teachers or principals. In other words, they experience a power imbalance that is a result of their less institutionally recognized levels and type of social capital. Despite the less than rosy effects of the influences described as part of parent

81

interactions and participation, these aspects continue to illuminate the complexity of parents' interactions in the study's attempts to seek understanding.

3.5. Power, Influence, and Levels of Capital

Bourdieu's (1998) explanation of social capital as currency illustrates the power differential that exists between families. He notes that families have access to differing levels of capital, including social, cultural, and economic capital, leading to differing levels of influence in their interactions. Horvat et al. (2003) assessed how "social capital comes into play when problematic issues arise at school" (p. 320) and noted there were class-specific differences in the composition of parent networks. They found that these differences were directly involved in "parents' capacity to effectively intervene in school matters" (p. 320). Parents of middle-class backgrounds had more education and economic resources, and were part of a network involving other middle-class parents of their children's peers. Horvat et al. found this type of network to be a mainly middle-class phenomenon as middle-class parents were more likely to engage with other middle-class parents through their children's organized activities, and establish informal contacts with educators and other professionals. This allowed them to have a greater network of resources to draw from in managing their children's school matters, including behaviour problems. Parents of working-class and poor backgrounds tended to form their networks of support through their lines of kinship, and were less educated and had fewer economic resources. They were also less likely to question their children's teachers, leaving school matters to the teachers and principals, who they viewed as being trained to provide educational outcomes to their children (Horvat et al., 2003).

Horvat et al. (2003) found that parents of middle-class contexts tended to maximize access to positive educational outcomes for their children by the influence of their social capital and social networks supports. Horvat et al. (2003) also noted that studies suggest "the social networks accessible by working-class and poor families are less valuable than those of middle-class families for negotiating the particular institutional environment formed by the school" (p. 323). Further, parents of working-class and poor backgrounds, with less education and fewer economic resources than middle-class parents, have less means and less understanding of how to work towards

their desired outcomes for their children. Because of these negative influences, they experience but do not necessarily understand the negative effects of the institutional power of the school. Institutional power can be further understood by considering the ideas of pedagogical authority from a child and parent's perspective.

3.6.   Families and the School System

Family circumstances affect children's performance inside and outside of school in different ways. Lareau (2000, 2003) has studied these circumstances extensively looking at the various resources and influences that parents draw on to frame their interactions with their children's school. Relating to habitus (Bourdieu, 1998), if it prevails that teachers tend to teach and provide a similar teaching environment to the one they experienced, in a similar vein, parents tend to engender similar parenting practices and home environments to those they experienced as they were growing up. Kerr and Bowen (1988) indicate that we are emotionally tied to the experiences that we have in our cache of life. These experiences influence our functioning within systems, which can include the family and school systems. Further, this introduces the idea of a multigenerational transmission of how we function as systems and individuals that can span several generations or more. When Bourdieu (1998) refers to the hardwiring of what people are drawn to, this can be compared to how parents engender, behave, and recreate what they have experienced, to reproduce similar experiences and environments for their own children. Taken further, parents may utilize similar transmitted behaviour patterns from their previous life when they are motivated out of concern or required by the school to act on their children's behalf (Kerr & Bowen, 1988). This suggests that parents are motivated to naturally act in the best interests of their children, in the ways in which they know to do so.

In her work, Lareau (2003) suggests that the underlying approaches to childrearing that parents enlist influence the kind of participation that parents have in their behavioural interactions with their children's school. She suggests that all families, regardless of social class, have cultural resources, which become cultural capital in certain settings (Lareau, 1987), but some forms of cultural capital are valued more highly by the dominant institutions at particular times and in certain situations. This suggests

that a dominant social institution such as the school might not always recognize a working-class or poor family member's cultural capital, possibly influencing desired outcomes for these parents in their school interactions.

The parents who child rear with the practice of "concerted cultivation" (Lareau, 2003, p. 1) see their roles as promoting the development of their children's talents and skills, or cultural capital, to attain a future successful position in a successful life. Because of this, their children tend to be more sophisticated in their speech and more accomplished in their social interactions. This kind of parenting style reinforces a "robust sense of entitlement" (p. 2) in these children, which plays "an especially important role in institutional settings, where middle-class children learn to question adults and address them as relative equals" (p. 2). The parents are generally educated with training and degrees, may have leadership status in their professional lives, and may be involved in various community and volunteer activities that support their status in society. These middle-class parents raise their children according to their discernment of what will be helpful to them to have a similar successful future and lifestyle.

Lareau (2003) describes her concept of "the accomplishment of natural growth" as the practice of rearing children with less emphasis on directing the child's after school time and activities. These children of working-class and poor backgrounds "are allowed to thrive and grow" (p. 68) and learn how to negotiate, resolve conflict, and manage their own time. As children, they develop strong relationship with kin and their immediate families. A greater sense of kinship exists in the working-class or poor children, reinforced by the amount of time spent with their families and close friends. The social skills and behaviours necessary to manoeuvre themselves, and establish social advantages in institutional settings, such as school, are not reinforced in the same way as middle-class children. The cultural resources that these parents possess do not predictably activate or transform into symbolic capital in school settings to provide leverage in their parent-school interactions (Bourdieu, 1998; Horvat & Lareau, 1999).

Lareau (2000) claims that research into the reasons that parents fail to become involved with school is skewed. She states that there is "good evidence that the character of childrearing has changed radically throughout history" (p. 4) and that there is solid evidence of the changed nature of schooling in curriculum, its delivery, and its

84

organization. There is a solid body of research indicating that class differences exist in parent-school relations but little research that illuminates why these class differences have such impact on parent-school involvement (Lareau, 2000, p. 2).

3.6.1.   Parents and Social Networks

Lareau (2003) suggests that parents of middle-class contexts tend to be friends with the parents of their children's friends, described as intergenerational closure. Coleman (1988) explains intergenerational closure as the existing friendships and relationships between students' parents and views this as providing a positive influence on outcomes for students at school. Where Coleman purports these affects as being more positively influential to academic achievement, Horvat et al. (2003) claim that the influence of social networks between parents, often developed thorough their children's outside school activities, creates a perception of nurturing and demonstrated interest in all aspects of their children's schooling.

However, as Lareau (2000, 2003) describes, where parents of lower class backgrounds create stronger ties in their networks with other parents of similar ways of life, both within their kinship circles and their neighbourhoods, their tendency is to distance themselves further from the school. Along with their comparatively lesser educational backgrounds, this also impedes their ability to contribute knowledgeably in academic support for their children. Thus, despite their strong social networks among kin, which also illustrate social closure, parents of working-class and poor backgrounds appear less able to engage in a similar quality and level of discourse as parents of middle-class backgrounds at school, regardless of the issue (Mitchell, 2008). This is not so among the middle-class parents, who may connect with other parents towards a given end, but do not initiate this as friendship. It remains unclear how the stronger networks of parents of lower class backgrounds may influence the outcomes of discipline interactions and how this may differ from the similar interactions of middle-class parents.

In dealing with school behaviour experiences, Lareau's (2003) data on families of middle-class lifestyles implies that middle-class networks "frequently make available various resources that parents can and do use to deal with their children's school

experiences and behaviour, thereby attaining a desired outcome for their children" as Horvat, Weininger, and Lareau (2003, p. 331) suggest. These ideas reinforce the notion of parent participation in resolving their child's school behaviour problems, even leading to the idea of parents connecting with other parents to defend or object *en masse* to a perceived issue in order to expedite change. In contrast, parents from working class and low-income contexts, who do not have the same cultural and social resources, may share the same desires for specific outcomes but are unable to attain them due to their lower levels or unrecognized types of cultural and social capital. In referring to Coleman's work, Lareau (2003) suggests that this also leads to the existence of another form of social capital, that of "the trustworthiness of social structures that allows the proliferation of obligations and expectations" (p. 107). The children from lower class or poor backgrounds begin to "gain an emerging sense of distance, distrust, and constraint in their institutional experiences" (Lareau, 2003, p. 3). Conversely, children from middle-class backgrounds learn to question adults and address them as relative equals, likely influenced by their developing sense of entitlement (Lareau, 2002). At school, these differences start to set children apart, revealing the different levels of social capital, the different social networks, and the social circles from which they and their parents and families operate.

3.7. Reciprocity in Parent-School Interactions

Returning to the idea of reciprocity and social capital, which Putnam (1995a, 1995b) describes as an outcome of social capital, this may be a consideration in parents' leverage or influence in their interactions regarding their children's behaviour. As previously stated in the chapter, Putnam describes this reciprocity as the gain in recognition, or a positive outcome achieved by a person's accumulation of social capital, in particular, that capital amassed from the recognition and status derived from community engagement and other volunteerism which in this study, relates to the institutional field of school. Putnam acknowledges that even the most informal ways of building social networks, such as greeting others in the hallway, provide reciprocity or support some type of reciprocal return that can be collected in the future. Relating to this study, the parent may have increased influence due to positive reciprocity as an outcome of social capital. Positive parent reciprocity, accumulated through participation

in volunteering for school activities and committees, may act as social currency in their school participation in an interaction related to their children's behaviour. For example, a parent's recognized and amassed social capital might situate them positively in the interaction. However, as a school leader, an aspect of the principal's role is to provide impartial and fair acknowledgment, acceptance, and encouragement to all parents to support and promote their participation in their children's school, regardless of their varying levels of social capital and its influence.

In British Columbia, school-based Parent Advisory Councils (PAC's) provide an opportunity for parents to engage and participate in their child's school, thereby supporting a positive school climate while at the same time building social reciprocity. At the provincial level PAC leadership oversees the promotion and advancement of "meaningful parent participation throughout the public education system in order to advocate for the success of all students" (The BC Confederation of Parent Advisory Councils, 2014). Additionally, the provincial body functions to support parent involvement in "leadership, communication, cooperation, and representation in British Columbia at the school, school district and provincial levels" (The BC Confederation of Parent Advisory Councils, 2014). In the Seaside School District, school-based PAC's provide an opportunity for parents to engage in similar purposes at the school level. Such involvement aligns with Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) concept of field, where each parent PAC member possesses and activates their particular social capital in their specific school field. Regardless of their individual backgrounds, school leadership encourages all parents to participate in the PAC's at their children's schools. This kind of parent participation supports the two-fold notion of promoting a positive school climate, while parents increase their social reciprocity (Putnam's (1995a, 1995b).

3.8. Summary

The ideas of several social theorists are applied to the questions raised in this study which concern parent interactions at school regarding their children's' behaviour. Firstly, Bourdieu's theoretical insights, which stem from a European French environment and his time lived in Algeria, are introduced. These relate to social, cultural, and other influences in societal life, and how these influences emerge in social behaviour at school

in spite of those involved in the operations of the institution. Lareau builds a view of the American school setting, applying Bourdieu's ideas. This provides further understanding to the mechanisms at work in parents' behaviour and interactions at school. In this study, the work of James Coleman and Robert Putnam provide an additional insight by their own studies extending from Bourdieu's concept of social capital as currency. Coleman's work on the influence of social capital and his lens directed at inequality in the education system provide background for understanding parent-school behavioural interactions. Putnam's consideration of the individual's accumulation of social capital and his ideas on its reciprocity feature in its influence as a type of currency for parents in their school interactions in school matters are addressed. This demonstrates another dimension to the complexity of parent-school interactions. The ideas of these highlighted researchers support understanding of the complexity of parent interactions that occur when parents participate with the principal or teacher to understand and resolve behaviour problems of their children. In Chapter 4, I outline the methodology I employ in this research project to investigate the study's questions.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the elements of the study's research methodology and provides the context or rationale for their use in this study. Methods literature regarding the suitability of the qualitative inquiry research approach and the use of case study design for this particular study is examined. Discussion includes the importance of the research questions, and ethical considerations. As well, sampling strategies and data collection are described. Finally, trustworthiness of the study and the limitations and delimitations of the study are presented.

In Chapter 3, I reviewed empirical literature about parents and their participation in their children's education. The research methods employed by Pierre Bourdieu and Annette Lareau suggest a flexible quality in their design choices, also suggesting a fluid relationship with their investigations of the social behaviour of real people in their real life experiences. Pierre Bourdieu used ethnomethodology in much of his work, described by Lynch (1993) as "a way to investigate the genealogical relationship between social practices and account of those practices" (p. 1). This approach allowed Bourdieu the flexibility to follow his sociological and anthropological roots in studying culture, people, and behaviour, while also allowing him to use scientific analysis in his research findings (Lynch, 1993). Lareau (2000, 2003) used ethnography as her research design choice in much of her body of work. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) state that in ethnography "the focus of the investigation is on the everyday behaviors of the people in the group (e.g., interaction, language, rituals) with an intent to identify cultural norms, beliefs, social structures, and other cultural patterns" (p. 139). This approach allowed Lareau to gain deep understandings of the "complexities of a particular, intact sociocultural group" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010, p. 139), specifically families of middle-class, working-class, and

poor description. Ethnomethodology and ethnography are not approaches used by novice researchers, due to the extensive length of time required and the need for an extensive background in cultural anthropology (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). However, the flexibility in choice of methods these approaches use to explore and attain information about their research focus aligns with the flexibility inherent in the qualitative approach I have chosen for this study.

4.2. Purpose of the Study

Parents support their schoolchildren in many ways, most of which appear to be related to improving achievement outcomes. The nature of parents' behavioural involvement is less studied and less understood (Georgiou, 1997; Sheldon & Epstein, 2008), also suggesting a lack of clarity in the definition of parent involvement. The underlying mechanisms and resources that influence parents' behavioural interactions in support of their children are not understood and require further examination. The purpose of this study was to investigate the experiences of parents in their interactions with the principal or teachers in their attempts to support and mediate their children's behaviour problems.

4.3. A Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research is conducted because we seek a "complex detailed understanding of the issue" (Creswell, 2007, p. 40). In my study, a qualitative approach allows what participants say "to remain connected to the context in which they say it" (p. 40), and illuminates the contexts of the problem. Piantanida and Garman (2009) state that the final outcome of the proposed qualitative study aims "to generate deeper understandings and insights into complex educational phenomena as they occur within particular contexts" (p. 132). This study sought to gain a deeper understanding of parents' interactions about their children's behaviour at school.

Qualitative studies are often conducted in newly emerging fields of interest or on problems that have not been widely examined, and must be approached using methods that engage deep exploration (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). By choosing a qualitative

approach for this work, I have an opportunity to explore the nature of parents' experiences when they support their children in their behavioural interactions at their children's school. In qualitative studies the researchers seek to "understand how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). The research begins with "assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning [the researcher ascribes] to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2007, p. 37).

Minichiello, Aroni, and Hays (2008) state that qualitative research does not seek to "reveal causal relationships, but rather to discover the nature of phenomena as humanly experienced" (p. 10). At the same time, a qualitative approach will empower the participants to "share their stories, hear their voices and minimize the power relationships that often exist between a researcher and the participants in a study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 40). Qualitative research attempts to uncover the "thoughts, perceptions and feelings experienced by informants" (Minichiello et al., 2008, p. 9) and to study "how people attach meaning to and organize their lives, and how this in turn influences their actions" (p. 9). This study undertakes to build a potentially useful understanding of parents' experience of their behaviour interactions regarding their children's behaviour incidents. Merriam (2009) states that "qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what learning they attribute to their experiences" (p. 5). As a qualitative method, case study design for this study fits the criteria of seeking in-depth understanding of a groups' particular experience.

4.4. Case Study Design

Case study is situated in the qualitative paradigm, although it can include quantified data collection (Creswell, 2007). Yin (2009) states that case study's "all encompassing method entails the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis" (p. 18), which supports an in-depth exploration of a bounded system in context over time. This study explores a set of parents' experiences of behaviour interactions during a specific time. A 'single case' study approach is

91

appropriate to use and includes multiple participants, with the researcher "as the key instrument of data collection" (Robson, 2002, p. 38). This is the best means to expose and more deeply understand the experiences of parents in their interactions with school about their children's behaviour. A challenge in case study research is deciding whether to study a single case or multiple cases (Creswell, 2007). In studying multiple cases, Creswell suggests that "the more cases an individual studies, the less depth in any single case" (p. 76). By choosing one case for this study, it is more likely that the data collected within the defined boundaries of the case will provide an in-depth picture of the case and allow for in-depth insights to emerge later in the research analysis (Creswell, 2007).

This single-case study used the phenomenon of parents' experiences of their interactions with teachers or principals around behaviour in a real-life context. The study's context was the parents' experiences of supporting their children at school through their personal behaviour interactions with school principals or teachers to seek resolution. This situation provides the researcher the opportunity to analyze a pre-existing phenomenon (Gerring, 2007) that has not received a heightened level of formal study. Parents and behaviour interactions have always existed in schools but are generally managed with attempts to resolve them so that the process of education can continue. As suggested by Yin (2009), this phenomenon has been anecdotally understood over time, and could stimulate further research in the future as well as influence policy developments.

Creswell (2007) suggests that case study is a good approach when the researcher has a clearly identifiable case with defined boundaries such as time, surrounding events, or place. The "case" of this study is the parents' of intermediate school-aged children who experienced interactions with the principal or teachers about their children's behaviour. This case was bounded by time through an interview period of 12 months, in which parents described their experiences that took place over a 24-month period of time. The case events, or unit of analysis, were the parents' experiences of the behavioural interactions, which were set in the context of a small West Coast School District. Regarding case context, it is necessary to establish the context of a case study to situate it and provide an entry point of understanding. This study describes geographic, economic, and local details about the school district and

region where the research is conducted, later in this chapter. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) also suggest that establishing the context for a case study is helpful to other researchers to assess whether the research findings are generalizable to other situations.

A case study can be described as being bounded in time and place (Creswell, 2007) and that case boundaries must adequately surround the case. This case of parents' experience of behavioural interactions did not have evident beginning and ending points. The decision to bind the case in time with a 12-month timeframe for data collection was influenced by the school calendar and the period of time needed to invite and organize for the participants in the study. As well, the case was bounded in place by defining that participants had children who were in Grades 3 to 12 and attended the schools of the Seaside School District (fictional name). Although the participants had not always lived on the Seaside Coast (fictional name), the commonality that bound the participants to place was the fact that their children currently attended Seaside District schools. Creswell suggests that applying constraints or boundaries that relate to time, place, and sometimes events, allows for a more manageable research process.

Yin (2009) states that finding the unit of analysis in a case study is related to the way the initial research questions have been defined, and suggests that once the unit of analysis is established, other aspects of the research design become clear. In this study, the phenomenon is the real-life experiences of parents supporting their children, while the case is the behavioural interactions of the parents with school personnel regarding their children's behaviour. The unit of analysis is a group of participants, which includes 12 parents and three administrators. Teachers were not included in the unit of analysis, although the administrators had extensive teaching backgrounds and provided teacher perspectives in their interviews. Parents described behavioural interactions with teachers as well as principals. In most cases the parents described the behavioural problems ultimately being resolved by working with the principals, sometimes including the teachers. The 12 parents had one or more children in intermediate or secondary school. The three administrators were from three schools in the study's West Coast school district. Clearly describing the case study design choices by establishing the unit of analysis creates "a more solid foundation for later analysis" (Yin, 2009, p. 34).

A case study's "unique strength is its ability to deal with a variety of evidence" (Yin, 2009, p. 11) by using several sources of data. Data collection is a particular challenge of case study research design as it requires a systematic approach for collecting the data and later organizing it for analysis. Robson (2002) states this is especially necessary for participant observation and interviewing, including the semi-structured type of interview used in this study. In the study 12 parents and three administrators provided information during semi-structured interviews regarding their experiences in supporting their children's and student's behaviour. Case study method uses interviews to focus directly on the case study topic and to gain insightful explanation and deeper meaning from the phenomenon of parents' experiences (Yin, 2009). This case study method also includes journal notation and written observations by the researcher to provide insightful reminders of the interview context as well as insight into the interpersonal behaviour and motives of the participant (Yin, 2009). In case study research there is also the possibility of collecting too much or too little useful data for the study. Enough data from several sources must be collected so that an in-depth picture of the case can be constructed to reflect the real-life experiences of the participants.

Robson (2002) suggests that linking your study to formal theory is important in social science research because it provides assurance that your study "is in line with other researchers' attempts to understand what is happening" (p. 62). This study was guided by social reproduction theory relating to the influence of capital as currency in social behaviour. The study also explored the theoretical ideas of habitus, field, and social class, in relation to parents' experiences of their interactions to support their children's behaviour problems at school.

Gerring (2007) states that there are so many terms related to case study that a definitional morass could exist, especially so when researchers ascribe their own meanings to case study terms as they build their studies. To reduce confusion, as suggested by Creswell (2007), one must make clear decisions about their terminology and how they use it as they create their study. The initial challenges of case study are that the researcher must decide on the case and then select which bounded system to investigate (Creswell, 2007). Leedy and Ormrod (2010) suggest that a case is chosen because its "unique or exceptional qualities can promote understanding or inform

practice for similar situations" (p. 137). The researcher also must decide that the case is worth studying.

4.5. Research Purpose and Questions

This study specifically addresses and explores the influence of resources that include social, cultural and economic (financial) capital, and the skills that characterize the roles of parents who participate in attempts to mediate their children's school behaviour problems. If we are to believe that positive outcomes depend upon a positive development in the relationship between parents, the school personnel, and the student, then, it may be the case that without this relationship there can be no lasting positive result for the student. It is therefore crucial that understanding the mechanisms at work in these interactions are clearly understood and brought to light.

Yin (2009) states that the most important part of a case study research design is defining the research questions. He suggests that good research questions need sufficient time to be developed and have substance and form. Good questions ask, "What is my study about?" (Yin, 2009, p.10). The form component may ask who, what, where, why, or how questions (Yin, 2009). Robson (2002) describes good research questions as being clear, specific, answerable, interconnected, and relevant. They are worthwhile being investigated. Good research questions also have real world value and lead to outcomes and ideas that may be useful in the related field (Robson, 2002). Many times, Geoffrey Madoc-Jones (personal communication, 2009) stated that one must be enthusiastic towards, interested in, and prepared to be married to their research questions for the duration of the dissertation process. Similarly, according to Robson, one must have intuition that their research questions are important, timely, and will lead to successful research. The questions of this case study have continued to be developed and refined over time, and as the researcher conducting the study, they have continued to motivate me throughout the process. Yin (2009) also suggests that "the form of the research question can provide an important clue regarding the appropriate research method to be used" (p. 10). The research questions of this study suggest case study design is an appropriate method to use for this research project. This realization

demonstrates the need for persistence and thoughtfulness in developing good research questions.

4.5.1. Research Questions

As introduced in Chapter 1, the following question guided this study:

How does social theory help us understand parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour?

Two sub-questions examined in this study were:

- **Sub-Question 1.**
  What resources and capital do parents bring to their interactions at school regarding their children's behaviour problems?

- **Sub-Question 2.**
  How do the interactions of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school?

4.6. Ethical Considerations

According to Creswell (2007), ethical consideration in a research study involves more than acquiring the requisite permissions from institutions. The study proposal received approval from the SFU Ethics Review Board (Application # [2011, 0344]) and a letter of approval (Appendix B) from the Research and Evaluation Department of School District where the research study took place. Although the study was determined to be "of minimal risk" to its participants, consideration was made to protect confidentiality and any concerns of vulnerability that might arise during participant involvement or the reporting of outcomes of the project. A power differential existed between parent-participants and myself, although not between the administrators and myself. My current roles of special educator and support services teacher, classroom teacher, and teacher-in-charge likely reduced the participants' perceptions of confidentiality risk and vulnerability threat. Creswell (2007) iterates that the researcher is obligated to respect the rights, values, and needs of the participants. The trust factor between the participants and me was positive, in part due to extensive personal experience with maintaining the confidentiality factor in my roles with vulnerable students and families, as well as my long record as an educator in the school district.

The SFU Research Ethics Review Board and local school district policy requires that study participants are guided through the process of providing informed consent and also receive assurance that confidentiality is protected during and after the study. Each participant received a document explaining the details of the research. The Study Details Document (Appendix C) described the participant's role, how the collected interview data would be reported and used, as well as the conditions surrounding their participation. Prior to each interview, I obtained written consent (Appendix D2) from each participant, also providing them with a personal hard copy of the consent. Participants were asked to discuss with and get signed consent from their children who were often the subjects of some of the interview material. They were also advised that only I would have access to the research data.

Study participants were informed how their confidentiality would be protected and maintained. Kaiser (2009) describes deductive disclosure in research as being able to recognize or deduce participants and places from the descriptors and associations that may be related in the research and which lead to the recognition of participants. This is especially true when the research is set in smaller more identifiable groups and areas. In this research study, in order to maintain confidentiality, and to prevent deductive disclosure, pseudonyms were given to all participants in place of their first names and for any children of parents or students of administrators who were named in the interview sessions while last names and their pseudonyms were not used. In this study place names and locations were given fictional names and reporting of events was also adjusted to preserve confidentiality of the participants.

4.7. Research Sampling

Sampling is a crucial part of the enquiry process. No matter what research techniques or investigation strategies ensue, "sampling considerations pervade all aspects of research" (Robson, 2002, p. 260) and suggest that the sample of study participants must be able to reflect this. The strategy of sampling is linked to the idea of population, which refers to "all the cases" (p. 260) and is a "selection from the population" (p. 260). A large sample is not necessarily superior to a small sample, as in this case study where a defined number of parents and principals are interviewed. In

this study, I paid particular attention to the selection of people to be interviewed. My participants are parents of children in the public education system, where the children have been involved in behaviour problems at school, and where there is parent interaction with an administrator or a teacher about the behaviour. School personnel include three principals. Pseudonyms were used for each participant to protect their identity throughout the study procedures and reporting.

4.7.1.   Purposive Sampling Strategy

In qualitative studies a researcher uses a purposive sampling approach to select a sample from which they can gain a maximum amount of insight and understanding (Merriam, 2009). A purposive sampling strategy, also called purposeful sampling, was used in this study to select the case. Robson (2002) suggests that the researcher use judgment to select a sample for a particular purpose, giving the strategy its name. At the same time the sample selection must occur in a way that allows anyone in the population to be a participant and in a way that the most can be learned for discovery, insight, and understanding about the case (Merriam, 2009).

Purposive sampling allows the researcher to establish criteria that can be used to select the participants of the case, focusing the study direction towards the problem of the study. The researcher must decide on criterion to select the participants of the case in order that the most information and in-depth insights can be learned relating to the central purposes of the study (Merriam, 2009). As well, Merriam suggests that two levels of purposive sampling usually occur in qualitative case studies. The first level is to select the case or the bounded system that will be explored. For this study the case selected was parents who had the experience of resolving behavioural concerns of their children at school. The second level of purposive sampling involves selecting criteria to establish who will be the participants in the case or the bounded system. My criteria included parents who had school-aged children in Grades 3 to 11, and who attended schools in the Seaside (pseudonym) public school system. Another criteria was that the mediated behaviour incident had occurred in the past 24 months. I did not include younger children, because, as I have observed throughout my career, more of the behaviour problems that parents help to resolve seem to occur in the upper grades than in the lower grades of school.

A general email request was sent to parent groups requesting respondents interested in being study participants. The key participants who were invited to participate in this case study are parents of students who attend five schools in the Seaside School District, along with three principal participants from three schools in the school district. Respondents were then sent a letter formally inviting them to be part of the study (see Appendix D1).

I queried whether responding parents had experiences of resolving behaviour concerns with their children's teachers or their school principal, and whether they would like to volunteer to participate in the study through an interview process. As a novice researcher, I expected the process of establishing the study sample to be challenging and did not have an expectation for interest in this project. Participants were overwhelmingly interested in participating in the study and particularly accommodating in fitting the interview process into their busy lives. There were no incentives to participate in this study, although all participants said they valued the opportunity to describe their lives and experiences, and their participation appeared to provide them with a cathartic affect.

At the time of the research proposal, I did not state a set number of participants due to not knowing how many participants would be required to reach saturation. Creswell (2007) describes saturation as the point at which no new information will be established or found by adding more participants, increasing the number of interviews, events, or activities to gain more understanding of the case being studied. As the interviewing progressed, I identified the saturation point at 12 parent-participants. Throughout the interview data collection process, confidentiality was maintained to support a fuller disclosure of information in the interviews, aligning with the ethics requirements of the university for conducting research. Participants were unaware of the identities of the other participants in the study.

This study required a participant pool of parents who were willing to be interviewed regarding aspects of their family life and their children's behaviour and school. The parents in the study were approached on the basis of having a child who attends school in the Seaside School District and is currently involved in or has been involved in behaviour problems at school. Another criterion was that these parents have

also had interactions with the school to manage or resolve the behaviour issues for their child. The parents are the key focus in this study. Three principals were invited to be part of the case study. The principal interviews provide foundational information and context from which to view parent input and to provide a broader school context and more depth in order to understand the outcomes of the data analysis outcomes more fully. The principal participants also had a deep understanding of the teaching profession through their own extensive teaching experience during the course of their careers.

Additionally, I made the decision that student interviews are not part of the data collection of this study. Given I did not research the effects of particular parent-child relationships that relate to the study of parent interactions about behaviour, I chose to remain focussed on parent interviews. Student interviews would provide an interesting perspective but it would not be relevant to the purpose and goals of this study.

Creswell (2007) states that if the sampling numbers change during the study, researcher flexibility is necessary to adjust the sample size, which works well with case studies. This may mean using a strategy such as snowballing to acquire the desired number of participants. Snowballing is a common choice in purposive sampling and involves a participant who can identify others who may be strong contributors to the study data (Creswell, 2007). In this study, two participants were unable to continue, and without compromising confidentiality, two other participants offered names of interested parties, although they were unaware that I had lost two of the sample's members.

In qualitative research the goal is not to generalize information but to illuminate and further understand a particular problem. According to Robson (2002), qualitative researchers are also constructivist researchers who consider the task of the researcher to "understand the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge" (p. 27). This case was selected to build an understanding of the experience of parents who support their children's behaviour problems by participating in mediation attempts with the principal or teacher. Using data collection through interviewing, field study notes, and direct observation notes, I observed the realities of how parents experience their attempts to support their children in resolving their behaviour problems at school. This study is my attempt to understand the multiple realities constructed by real-world parents

and experienced by them in their natural settings (Creswell, 2007). As well, the literature review confirmed a gap in the empirical research body of literature, which suggests a lack of investigation in this area and the possibility that new understandings that emerge from this study may be useful to stakeholders in education.

4.8.   The Context of the Study

Twenty years ago, when my family first moved to this coastal area, to establish myself as a new teacher-on-call to the school district I remember driving from one end of the area to the other to discover where the several small-town schools were located. Now, 20 years later, my impressions of the uniqueness of Seaside School District remain. I have chosen Seaside School District as the setting for this research study with its uniqueness reflected in the interviews of participants and contributing to the data and outcomes of the study.

The area's coastal location impacts the lifestyle and habitation of families in this oceanside area. The region is sparsely populated to an outsider, but locals live in patches of population running along the coastline, with the Coast Mountains rising in the background. These smaller communities align themselves along the coast on a seaside ribbon of highway that can be accessed by ferry, boat, or plane. The area is not connected by road to the mainland or the rest of the province, although city life is 90 minutes away. These geographical impacts give the region the odd combination of having some city influence while living in the country.

Coast Salish people of the Shishalh Nation reside alongside and within the geographic area of the regional district. There is much history that can be derived from the aboriginal people who have a central self-governing community in the region. The First Nations culture is evident in the schools where the Shashishalhem language is taught, as well as within broader community populations.

The area is attractive to retirees from across Canada, causing upscale subdivisions and smaller residential developments to be added to the range of housing. Recreation and tourism have become the two industries for the area, and provide opportunities for outdoor pursuits year-round, including a number of golf courses, parks,

and small marinas. Young families move to the area, to work in the service industries and for the lifestyle. Many families also choose to live in the region and work in nearby cities.

There are approximately 3,400 students enrolled in the various schools and programs in the school district. Each community reflects its own distinctive personality, with each also boasting its own Kindergarten to Grade 7 elementary school, numbering a total of nine elementary schools in the district.

Four high schools, which include several sites for alternative approaches for education, are also counted among the schools. Two high schools have student populations of approximately 700, while one high school is designated a rural school and has 100 students from Grades 7 to 12. The Alternative School consists of 10 self-contained district programs located at different sites, which take both school and self or family referrals. A Community Learning Centre offers a self-paced, independent learning environment, a program designed for young people and adults wanting to complete high school graduation or wanting to upgrade high school coursework. Youth aged 16 to 19 years old who are unable to attend a regular neighbourhood school program are referred by school personnel to these alternate school settings, where they find the approach and flexible hours are more suited to their learning.

Parent Advisory Councils (PACs) are established at all schools, and parents are invited to attend monthly meetings to keep informed and support their child's education. Additional Community LINK (Learning Includes Nutrition and Knowledge) Funding is distributed to the 12 district schools to support vulnerable and at risk students in need of additional nutritional, academic, and emotional support. Several schools serve breakfast during the week, as morning meals are not a universal reality for some students. As in other centres, local service groups can be approached and also volunteer to provide additional special resources to support the schools.

4.9. The Participants

The study participants' demographics that emerged spanned a middle-class to working class continuum, although this was unintended.   Initially I expected that upper-

class contexts and poor contexts would be evident. Ethnic and cultural backgrounds tended to be Euro-Canadian and French-Canadian. Parents of Aboriginal backgrounds were not included in the study due to the additional ethic review requirements to include Aboriginal peoples in research studies were required by the Seaside School District. This suggests the need for additional studies that include other social class groups, ethnicities, and cultures.

The 12 parent-participants (pseudonyms used) consisted of 10 mothers and two fathers (Table 4.1). The 10 mothers ranged between the ages of 37 and 58. The two fathers were aged 54 and 65. Four of the parents were from single-parent households and three of the parents were from blended family households. Four parents were stay-at-home parents. Ten parents had two or more children in the home while two parents had single-child families. Families included a diverse range in financial situations with 10 parents owning their own homes. Four parents had one or two years of college or technical education and eight parents held university degrees. The children described by parents in the interviews ranged from Grades 5 to 12. Each of these parent-participants described behaviour mediation experiences in the past 24 months with their child's teacher or the school principal.

Table 4.1.   Study Participants: Parents

Pseudonym	Parent Role	Age of Parent	Household Style	Grade Level of Focus Child
Ellie	Mother	Middle -Aged Parent	Single-Parent	Grade 5
Alice	Mother	Middle -Aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 7
Jones	Father	Older Parent	2-Parent	Grade 7
Rosie	Mother	Middle -Aged Parent	Single-Parent	Grade 9
Chloe	Mother	Younger Middle-aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 10
Dane	Father	Middle -Aged Parent	Single-Parent	Grade 9
Hannah	Mother	Younger Middle-aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 6
Maria	Mother	Younger Middle-aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 6
Sandra	Mother	Younger Middle-aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 10
Belinda	Mother	Middle -Aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 10
Gracie	Mother	Middle -Aged Parent	2-Parent	Grade 5
Ramsey	Mother	Middle -Aged Parent	Single-Parent	Grade 9

Three administrators (pseudonyms used) were part of the case study sample in order to provide a school perspective and background alongside the parents' experiences (Table 4.2). Two female administrators, one an elementary principal and the other a secondary vice-principal, and a male secondary vice-principal comprised the administrator sample. They ranged in age from 45 to 58 years old. One of the female administrators had been in administration for 25 years, while the other two principals had been administrators for the past eight years. Two of the administrators had single-child households and one female administrator had two children. Each of these participants was in a long-term marriage, owned their homes and had spouses who were also working professionals. These participants drew on recent behavioural interactions that they had mediated at school in the past 24 months.

Table 4.2.   Study Participants: Administrators

Pseudonym	Gender	Age of Administrator	Type of School	Household Style	Grade Level of Focus Child
Alyson	Female	Older Administrator	Secondary School	2-Parent	Grade 9
Peter	Male	Younger Middle-aged Administrator	Secondary School	2-Parent	Grade 10
Cara	Female	Older Administrator	Elementary School	2-Parent	Grade 7

Note. Younger Middle-aged Administrator (35 – 45 years)
Older Administrator (older than 55 years).

4.10. Data Collection

Yin (2009) describes a straightforward approach to compiling case study evidence to build a case and particularly suggests the use of multiple sources of evidence. This principle helps to preserve and maintain the validity and the reliability of the research as the evidence is collected.

Creswell (2007) suggests that data collection in case study involves a wide variety of procedures as the researcher develops a thorough and comprehensive picture of the case. In case study the researcher is interested in insight, discovery, and

interpretation, and builds the data collection to support these potential outcomes (Merriam, 2009). A detailed description of the case is made from the emerging details of the data collection.

The data collection of this study included parent and administrator interviews, case study research notes in the form of journaling by the researcher, and notes from direct observation during the interviews; the interview questions are outlined in Appendix A. The interviews, field notes, and journal notes of the researcher provided a detailed picture of parents' experiences of their interactions with teachers and principals to support their children's behaviour problems at school.

4.10.1.   The Case Study Research Journal

Researcher documentation in this study includes a research journal that serves as a record of the interview experience, and supports future particular attention to the analysis of the data (Minichiello et al., 2008; Robson, 2002). Van Manen (1990) suggests that to use writing "is to measure our thoughtfulness" (p. 127) and it allows us to create a reflective awareness about our daily-lived experiences of the case study research process. The researcher's journal includes progress reporting on each interview in the study's interview process, as well as reflections and reminders that could be useful for the later data analysis. I completed journal entries after conducting each interview stage with the individual participant. I also used the journaling activity to record personal observations and reflections about my own assumptions, suppositions, and attitudes that directed self-awareness of my role as a researcher. This was perhaps the most challenging to keep organized as I amassed many notes and filled several small notebooks from the beginning to end of the research process. I also reserved and kept a notebook for participant observations, also called field notes, that could be used as evidence as well as to improve my interviewing skills, in keeping with Seidman's (2006) 3-part interview process. Research journal entries relate to the experience of the researcher, while observation notes and field notes relate more to the process of the interview.

Yin (2009) states that interviews can be influenced by "the common problems of bias, poor recall, and poor or inaccurate articulation" (p. 109). This necessitates that they

be supported by information from other sources, such as using a research journal, to aid in recall and accuracy of the interview details as they are collected. Throughout the span of interview data collection, I maintained journal notes of the real-life interview experience, which included pre and post interview notes about the details of each interview in the process. Some of the entries noted observational reflections, while others were notations about curiosities or descriptions of interview moments that had occurred, such as emotional aspects of the participants' experiences or unexpected interesting details. Keeping a case study research journal provided a source against which to compare other data sources and provided a reminder to remain impartial in the interviews and attentive to the data collection process.

Case study journaling was a valuable tool in that it supported reflexivity as entries detailed my impressions, personal concerns, and attitudes and forced me to recognize my ongoing situatedness. The journal also provided a concrete opportunity to revisit and review the research process, in some ways being able to relive aspects of the interviews and my role. This was important for accurate and bracketed detailing in the findings chapters.

4.10.2. The Researcher's Direct Observation Notes

As another source of evidence for data collection, during the interviews I recorded direct observation notes of the participant's behaviours, how they managed themselves in the interview, and included any details that I thought might be of value to the data collection. These are used to corroborate other evidence, and for making inferences from other data. Direct observation notes serve to support and reinforce the accuracy of the interviews. Like journaling and other data sources, Yin (2009) suggests they are considered stable pieces of evidence as they can be repeatedly revisited to establish meaning and understanding, making them another consideration that will support and corroborate the evidence collected through other sources.

Participant observation can act as a data source by providing insight into interpersonal behaviour and motives (Yin, 2009). Because the interviews were conducted in three parts, this provided opportunity for contact as the researcher from one to three times with participants in a variety of settings. Observations included

notations such as the comfort level of the participant in the setting, how they managed unrelated communication during the interview sessions when they were texted or called by their family member, and their behaviour in the setting, such as a restaurant setting, a private office, their office, as well as other real-life interruptions that sometimes occurred. According to Yin (2009), observational data provides another data source for additional and sometimes unknown or unthought-of information about a participant in the case.

4.10.3.   In-Depth Open-Ended Interviews

Interviews have been conducted in this study as the most significant approach to data collection. Interviews "focus directly on case study topics [and are] insightful [due to their ability to provide] perceived casual inferences and explanations" (Yin, 2009, p. 102). Use of interviews can cause concern due to the possibility of response bias when the participant relates what they think the interviewer wants to hear or questions are poorly articulated (Yin, 2009). The success of the interviews is influenced by the personal attributes of the interviewer, which include life experience, knowledge, and most importantly, their worldview. These aspects inevitably influence the interactions between the participants and the interviewer, as well as the intended goal of the interview process (Minichiello et al., 2008, p. 78).

Yin (2009) states that interviews are one of the most important sources of case study information. They are important because they focus directly on the case study topic and provide "insightful causal inferences and explanations" (p. 102), or as Merriam (2009) suggests, interviews are important for giving us a special kind of information. According to Seidman (2006), interviewing is a powerful way to get information that describes the educational or social issues "through understanding the experiences of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues" (p. 14).

When interviewing is one of the data sources of the case study, interview questions must be aligned with the research questions. Data analysis is ongoing, and begins with the first interview, in which you change and adjust your questions to relate to your intended inquiry, after reading the first transcript. Prior to my first interview, I used two interviews as practice cases, also known as a pilot study. In this instance, similar to the actual interviews, I conducted these interviews for practice, and collected and

analyzed the data. Upon completion of the practice interviews, along with noted changes to the interview questions, I matched these questions to the study's research questions, in order to cross-check that the research question and its sub-questions are being addressed throughout the interviews, and not being overlooked (see Appendix A). Questions that did not elicit the intended information were deleted. Interview data was collected by audio-recording and later transcribed so that I could thoughtfully review, reconsider, and revisit the interview process and data as many times as I felt necessary.

In this study I used a variation of Seidman's (2006) 3-part interview process for which I developed and followed a standard protocol of questions. In case studies, the researcher does not rely on "other instruments developed by other researchers" (p. 38) but creates research instruments specific to the question and the context. For this case study, I developed a protocol of interview questions to pursue the information and insight (see Appendix A). In this study the use of interview allowed the participants to have their experiences become meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them, while at the same time, building an in-depth picture of the experience as part of the researcher's data collection. At times this required using probing questions to collect more in-depth information. The use of open-ended interviews gives the participants the opportunity to develop richer meanings about their thoughts and actions. Robson (2002) states that open-ended questions have several advantages. They are flexible and permit the researcher to seek more depth to clarify information. They more easily support rapport and co-operation between the researcher and the participants, they also are useful in providing the limits of a participant's knowledge, and surprising or unexpected answers can result (Robson, 2002).

The 3-part interview process, according to Seidman (2006), allows the interviewer and the participant to establish the experience more thoroughly and to situate it in the context more deeply. This interview process occurred during one to three sessions, with each 3-part process taking a total of approximately two to three hours. Seidman suggests that "the participants thoughts become embodied in their words" (p. 114), thus recommending the importance of audio-recordings of interviews to preserve the accuracy of their thoughts.. Participants' recorded interviews provided

unique insights and information about their experiences of supporting their children in their behaviour problems at school.

Several researchers describe the interview as being one of the most widely used data collection approaches in case study (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Minichiello et al., 2008; Yin, 2009). It is the qualitative researchers' "attempt to capture people's meanings, definitions, and descriptions of events" (Minichiello et al., 2008, p. 8). Interview allows for the examination of the concrete experience of the people involved and the meaning their experience had for them. In my variation of Seidman's (2006) "three part interview process" (p. 17), each interview consisted of three parts, and was conducted as one interview session or more, as the particular participant need required. Using the same headings that Seidman recommended, Part 1 was "A Focused Life History", Part 2 encompassed "The Details of the Experience", and Part 3 entailed "Reflection on the Meaning" (pp. 17-18). Seidman's work was helpful as his suggested interview process provided a natural sequence for participants to tell their stories in a timeline approach that made sense to them and also provided them with an opportunity for reflection.

An important part of the interview, according to Seidman (2006), is establishing the context of the experience. Part 1: A Focused Life History builds a picture of the participant's past life up until the present and puts the participants' experience in context for the study's topic, which is the parent's experience of their behavioural participation with their child's teacher or principal. In this stage of the interview, participants reconstruct their earlier experiences of their own childhoods, their present family life, and their community and work life. Because the study topic is their experience of participating as a parent in behavioural interactions, I focussed on their own childhood experiences of family life with their parents and their schooling, up to their current family life experience and school participation regarding their own children. The interview structure was intended to support a "delicate balance between providing enough openness for the participants to tell their stories and enough focus to allow the interview structure to work" (p. 20).

In Part 2: The Details of the Experience, similarly to Seidman's (2006) interview model, the purpose of this section was to concentrate on the details of the present lived

experience of parents' participation in the behavioural interaction. In this section the open-ended questions are used to elicit details of the experience rather than the participant's opinions, since during data analysis the participant's opinions emerge from these details of their experience. Seidman suggests that a person can experience over 30,000 events in a typical day, at the rate of one per second, through their senses. This reinforces my role as researcher "to reconstruct the myriad details of the participants experiences" (p. 18) of their behavioural interactions to support their children.

In Part 3: Reflection on the Meaning, using Seidman's (2006) interview model requires the participant to reflect on the meaning of their experience. This part of the interview process addresses "the intellectual and emotional connections between the participant's work and life" (p. 18), that is, their work as a parent who supports their child in their school and family life. Seidman suggests that the third part of the interview structure is only successful if the combination of several factors has occurred through Parts 1 and 2 of the interview structure. Exploring and clarifying past events in Part 1, and describing the details of their behavioural interaction experience in Part 2 is what leads to and prepares the conditions for the participant to reflect on the experience and establish it in their present-day life (Seidman, 2006). Although we are making sense of the experience in Part 3, Seidman suggests that each stage of the process is about meaning making and is necessary, both separately and as part of this interview process as a whole. In adhering to the purpose of each stage, taking the understandings, context, and meaning of the two previous stages allows the reflection and meaning making of Part 3 to be the centre focus of the third stage of the interview.

In case study, open-ended interviews pose two challenges to maximize the accuracy of the data collection. The researcher is required to "operate on two levels at the same time: satisfying the needs of your line of inquiry," (Yin, 2009, p. 107) what Yin describes as Level 2 questions, while simultaneously putting forth "friendly and nonthreatening" (p. 107) questions, which he designates as Level 1 questions. The key to questioning in "in-depth [open-ended] interviews is to let [the questions] follow, as much as possible, from what the interviewee is saying" (Seidman, 2006, p. 81). The process is more about exploring than probing, following up without interrupting, and helping the interviewee to reconstruct rather than remember, and all the while limiting your participation as an interviewer (Seidman, 2006). As the research interviewer, at

times this was challenging as there is a constant need to maintain the flow of the interview, to keep the focus on the purpose of the particular stage (i.e., Part 1, Part 2, or Part 3) and to keep the participant centre-most in the interview process.

The in-depth interview is often referred to "as providing rich and detailed descriptive information which is valued precisely for its closeness or fit with 'reality'" (Minichiello et al., 2008, p. 96). The interview is the development of the real story around the experience of a phenomenon, as told by an individual. My role as the interviewer is to support and encourage the unfolding and building of the story of the phenomenon. This happens by my listening intensely and focusing on what the interviewee is saying, beginning the interview with focus questions, and seeking clarity and understanding to open-ended questions by nudging back on track with directed questions.

Parents are personally invested in the lives of their children and their perceptions, beliefs, and actions around the support they provide in their school interactions are individual and unique to them. It is to the nature of this uniqueness that open-ended interviewing is well-suited, allowing the process to expose, enlighten and clarify the participant's lived experience for the researcher.

The three parts or stages of the interviews were conducted in the course of one interview sitting or a multiple of up to three smaller interviews, whichever seemed more suitable to the unfolding interview, or the schedule of the interviewee. Depending on the preference of the participant and the timing of the interview, the three stages at times took place in one interview session. This process of three stages was used to "produce rich and detailed data about meaning, perception or function" (Minichiello et al., 2008, p. 93), in order to achieve depth, insight, and perhaps new knowledge.

4.11. Analysis

4.11.1.   The Case Study Data Base

Yin (2009) and Merriam (2009) suggest that in order to analyze the data collection of a case study, the data must be organized and documented in a manageable and useful form for its analysis and the final case study report. Yin (2009) does not

recommend rewriting case study notes to further organize them but suggests that they be "organized, categorized, complete, and available for later access" (p. 120). My use of a case study journal provided an immediate process for organizing the interview data as each journal entry was chronologically recorded, in most cases, similarly to the interview order. Researcher observation notes were also organized and easily accessible as they were contained on the actual interview protocols, which were organized in a binder section for each participant. Audio recordings of each interview were stored in a single audio file, which was easily accessible for revisiting. I also recorded the data from the three data sources in a series of related tables, which I constructed to reflect findings in a visual format. This provided one more way to view and revisit the study's data as often as I found it necessary.

4.11.2. Maintaining the Chain of Evidence

According to Yin (2009), to maintain a chain of evidence the reader of the case study must be able "to follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions" (p. 122), suggesting that in this way the reliability of the study's information and conclusions is increased. This suggests that the reader is able to move between the different parts of the case study and follow a logical path of understanding, such that the reader should be able to trace the study's steps in either direction "from conclusions back to initial research questions or from questions to conclusions" (p. 122).

Although the challenge of managing a large amount of transcriptions, the created transcription table documents, field notes, and case study journal entries was initially daunting, I believe the process of organizing the data by developing and completing the data recording instruments made the data more accessible for analysis. At the same time I increased my understanding and knowledge of my collected data. Merriam (2009) suggests that beginning with the data management the process reinforces the "interactive nature of data collection, analysis, and reporting" (p. 166). I discovered that physically associating with the data provides a more in-depth understanding and awareness of the details that emerged from my data, although it added significant amounts of time to the process. By choosing the approaches outlined in this research study, I have attempted to provide a logical progression and process to examine the

experiences of parents when they support their children in their school-related behaviour problems in an effort to further our understanding of this phenomenon thereby maintaining the chain of evidence.

4.11.3.   Data Analysis

Yin (2009) describes "analysis of case study evidence [as being] one of the least developed and most difficult aspects of doing case studies" (p. 127). There is a danger of stalling the research process when a data analysis plan has not been established during the development of the case study (Yin, 2009). As well, researchers continue to search for the most useful "formulas, recipes, or tools, hoping [that they] will produce the needed analytic result" (p. 127). Qualitative researchers attest that data analysis is not an easy task, with any number of ways to approach it (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009).

To address the study's data analysis, during 2011 to 2013, I performed several phases, which were used to assist in the process of organizing the collection of data. These phases were intended to discover and establish meaningful patterns and themes, which Yin (2009) suggests lead to causal links which further explain, identify, and increase understanding of the phenomenon being studied. To begin analysis the first requirement is for the researcher to concentrate on the complete body of data as a whole. In the following sections I describe the process I followed, using a combination of procedures suggested in the researcher literature and procedures I developed myself (Saldana, 2009). I began with transcription and coding.

Phase 1

In the initial transcription phase of data analysis, I transcribed the interviews. I initially chose to manually transcribe the interviews myself, and later also used a private agency. I then reread the transcripts, comparing them to their original audio-recordings. I followed this by returning the transcripts to the participants for their review, also called member-checking, in which I suggested they make changes and add their thoughts or other explanations to provide clarity. One parent made minor changes and the three administrators suggested no changes. Managing the transcription phase in this manner allowed me to become more familiar with the interview data.

Phase 2

Saldana (2009) suggests that each qualitative case study is context specific with its own unique data, and it is necessary for the researcher to devise and be creative in coding their research data. He largely recommends the use of In Vivo Coding, which he describes as a coding system which uses the actual language, words and phrases of the participants (Saldana, 2009). Thus, the second phase involved using Saldana's notion of an InVivo pass, in which I read through the interview transcripts, journal entries and observation notes, and manually highlighted, notated, and underlined phrases and words that seemed to leap out of the transcripts.

Phase 3

Saldana (2009) views each venture through interview data as a "pass" and suggests that researchers can devise a generic approach to their data analysis, yet remain open to changing their procedures if they are not generating discoveries. In Phase 3, I created a 4-column coding table, naming the first three columns as Pass 1, Pass 2, and Pass 3, and the fourth column as Interview Transcription. In this column I transferred the underlined questions, followed by participants' sentence-form answers, providing a visual organization for coding passes and for later revisiting. I then began the three coding passes, completing each pass with each participant, before moving to the next pass. In Column 1, I noted descriptors of behaviours, actions, activities, or situations, such as "maternal grandparents held big festive family events." In Column 2, in the second pass, I gave the note a name (i.e., family celebrations) and, in Column 3, I began the process of establishing tentative themes, such as "family connections."

Phase 4

In the fourth phase, I created a new 3-column table using the following headings: Related Question, Consolidation, and Notes Regarding Themes. For each participant, I then reread the Phase 3 coding table and recorded a short consolidation phrase, checking against the participants pass table. I then revisited each of these new documents and recorded notes in the Notes Regarding Themes column. In this step I did not look for or create themes, but rather, I recorded what was stated in the consolidation. This phase involved reviewing the InVivo codes and organizing them into broad categories that also related back to the structure of the 3-part interview process.

Phase 5

In Phase 5, I constructed five pairs of tables to reflect general aspects or categories of organization that had emerged from the fourth and fifth phases; each pair consisted of one parent-participant table and administrator-participant table (see sample tables in Appendix H). On each of these tables, I assigned one or more general aspect and continued with subheadings under each aspect. I entered the data from the previous tables in the categories, beginning with the Phase 4 table. Preceding tables were revisited to check for useful missed data. Aspects assigned to the Phase 5 tables included categories such as participants' demographics, characteristics of participants' childhood and current family life, significant family events and activities, support activities at school and home for family or children, demographics of the participants' behavioural interactions at school, characteristics of the incident described by the participant, and finally the participants' reflections of the behaviour interactions. I referred to the written interview transcriptions, the two sets of coding tables, the research journal notes, and the direct observation notes from the interviews. Using tables simplified the process of exposing newly occurring and recurring categories. I then used the tables to identify and examine connections between the categories.

Phase 6

In Phase 6, I revisited the data tables to look for emergent common themes and patterns such as family history, significant family events, family support, family cultural activities, family activities related to the community, family school support, family attitudes, and family social engagement at home, in the neighbourhood, at school, and in the community.

Phase 7

In order to relate the data to the concepts and themes suggested in the literature and theoretic reviews, I revisited the social theories investigated in the preceding literature and theoretical reviews of the study, also revisiting the data in preparation to begin the theoretical analysis. I found that many of the concepts present in the literature, such as Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) ideas of habitus, field, and social and cultural capital, Coleman's (1988) concept of inter-generational closure, and Lareau's (2000, 2003) concepts of the accomplishment of natural growth and concerted cultivation, were

reflected in the data. I also reviewed the literature on parent involvement, engagement, and interaction in school and cross-checked it with the data that related to parents' participation in behaviour support. This prepared me for writing the findings of the study.

Phase 8

By this time I was familiar with the data, easily bringing to mind each of the stories of the individual participants of the study. This phase involved turning the transcripts and the tables of data management into short narratives, in which I encapsulated each part of the interview process as an individual part of the narrative, with each participant's story ultimately being described in a 3-part narrative. Culminating data analysis with a 3-part narrative exemplified a circular approach, which reflected back to the 3-part interview transcript for each participant. In a way, this triangulated the data in that the data management phases, leading up to and including this phase, were continuously cross-checked due to the eight different phases or stages of organizing, considering, and reconsidering the data. Again, this Phase 8-step further increased my familiarity with the interview data, and also created one more reference to use in reporting, as well as an additional more fluid reference sample. However, this step also required being aware of confidentiality of participant information that was not significant or useful to the findings. Presenting the data in a storied and brief narrative form provided an additional way of organizing the data to further support analyzing and reporting of the findings.

4.12. Trustworthiness of the Study

Qualitative research is concerned with questions, finding meaning, and understanding a phenomenon, while striving for trustworthiness throughout the study (Merriam, 2009). The burden of an ethically produced and credible qualitative study depends on the credibility of the researcher. As Merriam (2009) suggests, there is credibility when the study's attempts to capture congruence between its research findings and reality are a close match. Qualitative study provides development of a body of knowledge that "can somehow be contested and shared, implying ambitions of transferability beyond the study setting" (Malterud, 2001, p. 483). Researchers are searching for patterns of behaviour and influences on outcomes from their data

116

collection that can be generalized, "predicting patterns of what may be observed and what may happen in similar present and future contexts" (Saldana, 2009, p. 13). To address the study's trustworthiness, the aspects of credibility, reflexivity, reliability, and researcher bias and subjectivity were addressed. These characteristics contribute to the trustworthiness of case study research (Merriam, 2009).

4.12.1. Credibility

Credibility relates to how closely research findings match reality and how credible the findings are in terms of the presented data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). To reinforce the study's credibility, in order to verify or confirm the emerging study findings I used multiple sources of data (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). I included member checking (Creswell, 2007; Merriam 2009) by providing opportunities to participants to review their interview transcripts to verify content accuracy. Merriam (2009) describes member checking as one of the most important ways for the researcher to rule out misinterpretation of participants' meanings and perspectives on their case. Member checking can also expose the researcher's own biases and misunderstandings, strengthening the respondent validity of the study. During the study I provided an audit trail (previously described) that detailed the processes used for data collection and data analysis, and also include descriptions of how study decisions were made throughout the research process. In order to achieve credibility through transferability, I used thick rich description (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). When enough detailed description of the setting and the findings are provided, the reader is more able to compare and recognize to what degree the study findings can apply and fit with their own situations, described as transferability. This contextualized the study in order to allow readers to discern to what extent their own circumstances will align with the study's context, allowing study transferability and reinforcing its credibility.

4.12.2. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is important for establishing the validity of a research study because it can be used in assessing the potential for the presence of research bias. In qualitative research, reflexivity is described as the researcher's awareness of how and to what degree their beliefs, social identity, and personal background have influence on the

research process (Robson, 2002). In other words, reflexivity is the researcher's awareness of how their presence as a research instrument influences the work and potential outcomes of their research. Reflexivity requires that the researcher put aside their assumptions and preconceptions so that they do not influence the research process and the study's findings. In qualitative research, reflexivity is also described as a continuous process in which the researcher examines their position as a researcher against the position of the participant.

Shenton (2004) suggests that the ongoing use of reflective commentary and writing as the study progresses serves to ameliorate threats to the study's integrity. Thus, the researcher is continuously aware of their own biases, their preconceptions, assumptions and their attitudes in relation to the participant and what they offer in the study's interview process. In order to deal with my presuppositions prior to data collection I used a research journal to record my observations and thoughts as I oriented myself for that part of the study. This included notes about my situatedness, my own background as a parent and educator, and pre-research thoughts about my research plans and the bigger research process. During the study's data collection phase, I used the research journal for reflective notes, and a separate section for direct observation notes to accompany the open-ended interviews of participants. The research journal notes served to keep my focus on the participant's input and to provide a place for my own reflections, which could later be assessed for personal bias, and as a reminder of my own situatedness in the whole process. During the interview process I also recorded notes on the individual interview protocols. These were helpful as they aided more immediate recall to the context and content of particular parts of the interview while additionally reminding me to be aware of personal assumptions or biases in relation to the data.

Even so, as Chan, Fung, and Chien (2013) stress, the importance of setting aside your own experience, assumptions, and knowledge is essential to permit the unique lived experiences of the participants to accurately emerge in their telling. By making clear attempts to be aware of my own positionality in my written notations during the interview process, I hoped this would later support the analytic process following the course of findings. Chan et al. (2013) contend that a researchers' best efforts to bracket their assumptions and preconceptions allows them to get as close to what the

118

participants mean in their telling of their experiences. Still, I worried about my assumptions and preconceptions and the risk of misconstruing and mistelling the participants' experiences. This served as a constant reminder to respect participants' telling of their stories and to accurately reflect them in recording and notating their lived experiences.   Chan et al. purport that bracketing is a continuing challenge in the data collecting process, and later the analytic steps, in addressing reflexivity and maintaining validity.

Several times I revisited Ahern's (1999 as cited in Robson, 2002, p. 173) list of 10 suggestions that identify areas for potential research bias to assess my researcher-as-instrument status in the research process. Suggestions include writing down taken-for-granted assumptions, acknowledging areas of subjectivity in your value system, identifying areas of role conflict and how to manage this, recognizing lack of neutrality, and if blocks occur finding other ways to gain additional insight on the phenomenon, for example, by using diaries or other documents. Other ideas include use of reflection in writing your account, taking a critical stance to how your write-up reflects your own background, and recognizing the possibility of reinterviewing a participant or reanalysing your transcript to resolve bias. When reflexivity is established in the written introductory stages of the study and strategies are used throughout the research process there is greater likelihood that the study will not be hampered by personal bias.

4.12.3. Reliability

Clandinin and Connelly (2010) suggest that "the language and criteria for the conduct of narrative inquiry are under development in the research community" (p. 7) and that as an inquirer one must "search for, and defend, the criteria that best apply to his or her work" (p. 7). Experts in the research community do not provide uniform agreement on which terms are most applicable to qualitative research. For example, while Minichiello et al. (2008), Yin (2007), and Robson (2002) describe a criterion of reliability in their methods, Cresswell (2007) and Gerring (2007) do not. Minichiello et al. (2008) suggest that to reasonably assess qualitative research, which includes in-depth interviewing, for reliability and to avoid the major flaw of "not providing and assessing reliability because of the difficulty of replicating such research" (p. 183) certain strategies must be followed. The researcher must document the procedures used, including the

finer details of the researcher's decisions and their perceived impact in the research process, as well as details of data collection and analysis. This allows any reader to find clarity in how the research was conducted and the decision-making that was involved.

Reliability is the test for authenticity and accuracy of what is being studied in a research study. The reliability challenge is whether, under similar conditions, the research study and results could be replicated. Minichiello et al. (2008) describe reliability as being "the extent to which a method of data collection gives a consistent and reproducible result when used in similar circumstances by different researchers at different times" (p. 332). In this study, several steps were taken to maintain accuracy and build consistency in the data collection. In order to protect the accuracy of the data collection and analysis, as mentioned, a research journal was kept. This work chronicled the interviews and data collection process in order to direct attention on researcher's reflection of participant interactions, thoughts for revision of questions, decisions in adjusting interview approaches, thoughts on problems that may have arisen, and possible solutions. In other words, the journal is the recorded details of the story of the unfolding qualitative study about the experiences of internal mechanisms and influences of parental interactions around their children's behaviour at school.

A log or journal also contributes to building the audit trail or the chain of evidence Yin, 2009). Researchers deem the research journal necessary because of its strength in depicting how the researcher arrived where they did, reinforcing their notion that this was the best way to pursue their research. In being able to revisit the details of the interviews, I have been able to keep the experiences and gleanings of the data collection close for use in confirming aspects of the case for data analysis. Merriam (2009) maintains that "if the findings of a study are consistent with the data presented, the study can be considered dependable" (p. 222) or reliable.

4.12.4.   Bias and Subjectivity

Yin (2009) suggests that case study researchers are more prone to the presence of study bias or subjectivity, due to the need to understand the issues of the case beforehand; that is, they risk attaching their personal viewpoints or attitudes to their work. Altheide and Johnson (1994) recommend that researchers neutralize or bracket

their study biases by clearly and fully describing them as part of their research reporting. Because the researcher plays a unique role as the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis, the researcher must acknowledge and be continually aware of their role as a human instrument and primary research tool. This requires the researcher to adopt a position of neutrality to consider their own views, biases and limitations throughout each step of the research process and the final reporting phases of the study (Van Manen, 1990). As well, the researcher must be amenable to the possibility of contrary findings, which will ultimately be reflected in the study outcomes. Thus, in order to promote full disclosure and preserve ethical interpretation of how parents experience their interactions to support their children's behaviour problems, I have outlined my own personal experiences that are pertinent to this study. Prior to conducting the interviews, I also conducted a self-interview to review my own situatedness and to refer to as a check for personal bias and subjectivity during the research process.

The experience of more than thirty-five years as an educator in public education, including roles as classroom teacher, special educator, teacher-in-charge, and vice-principal has allowed me to develop discerning insight in working with parents to support children's behaviour problems at school.   For the past twenty years, working in one school district has allowed me to become familiar with the demographics of the district and to deeply understand the accompanying local culture where families raise their children. My current position as a special educator provides continued insight from working with parents to resolve behaviour problems for their children. This ongoing work furthers my understanding of the processes and challenges of school administrators and other school personnel when they work with parents in these situations.

As well as influence from my professional experience in my methodological research decisions, my personal life and upbringing may also bias this research work. I am second oldest of twelve siblings in a family that values education. I moved extensively across Canada due to parental professional employment and adapted to many school settings in my own K-12 education. Prior to my current school district, I have worked in four other districts and a variety of school settings during the first fifteen years of my career. With my husband, I have raised four sons who attended school in my current district. Although my personal background has provided me with unique and additional insights in working with parents, this may also constitute a bias in the risk that

I over-identify with parents as study participants regarding their experiences of resolving behavioural concerns.

4.13. Limitations and Delimitations

Leedy and Ormrod (2010) suggest that the researcher must know precisely what they intend to do, and precisely what they intend not to do in their research study. They state that the intentions of what the study will do, or the limitations of the study, are stated in the problem of the study, while the boundaries of what the researcher will not be doing are described as the delimitations (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). These are the choices that a researcher makes in conducting the study to make it a manageable and reasonable undertaking. Carefully attending to limitations and delimitations is similar to deciding what is relevant and not relevant to the study's problem (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010).

This study was an examination of the experience of parent-school behavioural interactions and mediation from the perspective of parents and was limited to study participants whose children attended school in the Seaside Coast School District. Administrators' views on their similar experiences were included to provide a balanced perspective.

A second study limitation was that some aspects of the unique context of the school district and surrounding region in which families live likely influenced the outcomes of the study. Families of diverse backgrounds, which include varying socio-economic, educational, and cultural features and experiences, live together in the community enclaves that make up the Seaside coastal population. This diversity did not allow the semi-structured open-ended interview style to directly inquire into the participants' understanding of specific aspects of social reproduction theory such as social class, cultural capital, or habitus. However, the semi-structured interview protocol did pose specific questions which asked study participants to describe how they understood their parent-school interactions, the circumstances of their experiences, and their insights into their child-rearing approaches that they believed effectively supported their children.

In this way, although the open-ended interview structure was a limitation in that it did not directly inquire about the study participants' knowledge of social reproduction theory, the approach allowed for the unrehearsed voluntary descriptions of their own backgrounds, their unbiased summations of their experiences of their parent-school behaviour interactions, descriptions and insights of their child-rearing experiences, and reflections about the influences, directions, and outcomes of these experiences as they related to their children's behaviour concern. Thus, this limitation allowed the examination of the levels and complexities of the study participants' understanding of their mediation attempts to support their children as it related to social reproduction theory.

Another study limitation was that study-participants' demographics reflected families that rested on a continuum of middle-class to working-class contexts and did not reflect upper-class and lower-class contexts. As well, the study-participants reflected Euro-Canadian and French-Canadian ethnic and cultural backgrounds and participants were predominantly second and third generation Canadians who were white. These limitations invite future research to provide a more contextual in-depth view of the study's research questions in other school district settings with diverse participant background that range socio-economic class and ethnicitiy.

I also selected several delimitations to direct this study. I am specifically interested in parents' interactions about their children's behaviour problems rather than problems related to school achievement concerns. The parent-participants had children who attend school in Grades 4 to 12. Parent-participants described behaviour interactions about problems that had occurred within the past 24 months prior to their interviews. I used three administrators to provide a contrasting view that was situated in the educational setting in order to provide an additional real-life perspective to the study. I did not pursue the perspectives of teachers in this study, although the administrators had extensive teaching backgrounds in their earlier professional years. I also did not use the perspectives of the children in this study in order to explore a clearly defined and manageable sample of parents whose perspectives I was specifically seeking.

I purposefully did not include Aboriginal families in this study as their presence requires additional ethics approval requirements be the Seaside School District and

Simon Fraser University. Future research that includes Aboriginal families is important as Aboriginal families share the space of Canadian school landscapes and our country's cultural background.

Accordingly, with these limitations and delimitations in mind, case study research design was used to examine and illuminate human experience. As described in this chapter, a 3-part semi-structured interview process and several analytic phases were used, including a narrative-storying phase (see Appendices E, F, and G), to expose study participants' experiences for interpretation and understanding, while remaining within the boundaries of the study's limitations and delimitations.

4.14. Summary

This chapter introduced and described the components of a qualitative study, using a case study research design to investigate how social reproduction theory can help us to understand parents' experiences in their interactions when they support their children's behaviour in the school system. The chapter has outlined or described the methodologies, research strategies, and design used in the case study plan, including procedures, participants, data collection tools, data collection and analysis methods, and trustworthiness of the study. The chapter's purpose was to briefly describe the stages in the design and the processes and procedures involved in the study. The following three chapters of the study provide the findings of this case study research investigation, while the final chapter, Chapter 8, describes the conclusions of the study and future directions.

Chapter 5.

Part 1.
A Focused Life History

5.1. Introduction

The process of conducting the study's 15 interviews provided the collective story
of parents and administrators for this research (Appendix E). This allowed me a
window-view of the efforts and vulnerabilities of parents who cared deeply for their
children and how they pursued or participated in behaviour mediation on their children's
behalf. Their stories exposed the vulnerability parents felt in advocating for their children,
regardless of the approaches and attitudes they described in their methods. Three
administrator participants also offered their stories and reflections, which demonstrated
their commitment to their students despite hardships and challenges encountered in
their experiences of leading schools and parenting their own children. The three
administrators revealed similar feelings in their positions as school leaders in their
mediation attempts with parents.

The following three chapters present the findings of the study. To clarify the
setting from which the case study's findings emerge, the study's context was described
in Chapter 4. Descriptions of the community and surrounding area where study families
live and work and where their schools operate provided a detailed picture and setting in
which to situate and recount the findings of the study. In this study the concept of social
reproduction theory was selected in order to examine parents' interactions with the
school system when they support their children's behaviour problems. The described
experiences and understandings of Chapters 5, 6, and 7 provide a pathway to the
discussion of the study's findings, conclusions, and recommendations that are presented
in Chapter 8.

Chapter 5 presents emergent themes from interview Part I: *A Focused Life History* to address the research sub-question: What resources and capital do parents bring to their interaction at school regarding their children's behaviour problems? In this chapter, analysis of parent and administrator interview data reveals three overarching common themes which extended throughout participants' life story accounts of the family experiences of their own upbringings. The emergent themes included: (a) family relationships, (b) family background, and (c) family beliefs. Sub-themes that emerged included family activities relating to the parents own childhood, parents' educational attainment, family employment, parents' own childhood independence, and family discipline. In order to understand parents' mediation attempts to support their children's' behaviour problems, I asked participants to put their parent support for their children in the context of their own life history. Seidman (2006) suggests that by having participants describe how they came to be involved in supporting their child's behaviour "we hope to have them reconstruct and narrate a range of constitutive events" (p. 17) from their past family, school, and work experience that place "their participation in [their child's behaviour support] in the context of their lives" (p. 17). Tables 5.1 and 5.2 list the study participants. In Table 5.2 the focus child is the student the administrator focussed on in their parent interaction.

Table 5.1.   Parent-Participants, Children in Immediate Family, and Focus Child's Grade Level

Parent-Participants	Children in Immediate Family	Focus Child's Gender	Focus Child's Grade Level
Ellie	4	Male	Grade 5
Rosie	2	Male	Grade 9
Ramsey	2	Male	Grade 9
Jones	2	Male	Grade 7
Dane	2	Male	Grade 9
Alice	2	Male	Grade 7
Chloe	3	Female	Grade 10
Hannah	1	Male	Grade 6
Maria	2	Male	Grade 6
Sandra	2	Female	Grade 10
Belinda	2	Male	Grade 10
Gracie	2	Male	Grade 5

Table 5.2.   **Administrative-Participants, Children in Immediate Family, and Focus Child's Grade Level**

Administrative-Participants	Children in Immediate Family	Children in School Setting	Focus Child's Grade Level
Alyson	2	650	Grade 9
Peter	1	550	Grade 10
Cara	1	250	Grade 7

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide participant information using pseudonyms for the twelve parents and three administrators. To give a sense of context and reference for participant's descriptions, the number of children in their immediate family, the gender, and the grade level of the participant's focus child of their described experience were provided in these tables.   Although not included in the tables, focus children ranged in age from nine to sixteen years old. In Table 5.2 administrator-participants' number of children in their immediate families were noted as well as the number of children in their school settings since descriptions of home and school were part of their interview process. The first emerging theme in Chapter 5 related to family relationships.

5.2. Family Relationships

Family relationships emerge from the context in which they occur and provide a lens through which family processes can be examined. Family processes that arise out of these contexts are examined to explain the relationships that the participants maintain and draw from when they support their children. Families are characterized by the relationships that exist among their family members. Study findings revealed the social value that participants place on their family relationships arising from their childhood and present lives. Aspects of social class and cultural and social capital as inherent influences emerged in the study participants' descriptions.

During my initial coding passes of the Part 1 interview data a substantial variety of family relationships were acknowledged or described in detail. These were part of the participants' stories of growing up and later starting their own families. Participants' descriptions of their own childhood experiences of child-parent relationships could be placed on a continuum ranging from close parent-child emotional proximity where

parents took care of much of the necessities in structured and orderly life, to more matter-of-fact parenting where caring was less evident but the basic needs were met, to descriptions of participants as children appearing to raise themselves. Study participants described the happy and sad aspects of their own relationships with their parents. As illustrated in the following quotes, participants appeared to accept their personal child-parent relationships as part of the experience that contributed to their own development. This illustrated family ties unique to each of their family.

Maria reported on her family relationships and was matter-of-fact in her description of her mother's remarriage and not seeing her father:

> He…didn't work well in the picture. And his visits with us were so sporadic that I just remember it being heart wrenching every time he would leave after a visit because we never knew when we would see him again. I think my Mom and Dad just kind of said, "You know…you need to see them regularly or not at all," and he tried a couple of times over my life to sort of re-establish a connection but it wasn't sincere and then he died and we didn't...we weren't even notified. [Laughs.]...Like he just, he just wasn't cut out to be a dad. [Laughs.] And ya, so, kind of wasn't really in the picture. You know my Step-dad was our dad so…ya.

Maria described her family as moving to a new life on the Seaside Coast to be nearer to her grandparents who had moved for the climate and semi-retirement. Her mother was a single child and wanted to be close to family.

Other participants portrayed their childhood lives as being emotionally chaotic and full of activity where survival and growing up were the main intended outcomes of family life. Jones, the oldest parent in the study, described his family relationships and family life:

> ...I was the result of a weekend pass. My father was being held in a psychiatric hospital in a military base south of the border, and my mother was going out with his brother. We lived next to my grandparents, my father's parents. I just thought our life was normal.... We didn't know it wasn't. We didn't know what it was. We were so busy surviving that, that...um…Being the oldest son wasn't always the comfortable place to be, usually got put between the mother and the father when things got not so good. But my mother is very loving and very simple…I don't mean simple stupid…she couldn't figure out why someone would be like my father. Like all I knew was that I needed to stay away from him.... Like...and figure him out.... But she was always trying to get his approval.

Jones' experiences of his own childhood family relationships as he grew up helped him to have a positive perspective of what was happening in his children's lives. He describes himself as being "very involved with my kids' lives, the older kids.... I know how they turned out because we've talked about it, not every single thing...but a fair bit." Jones is proud of his two younger boys who he sees as becoming as successful as his older children. He is more engaged with his younger children's lives and says that his high energy level, workaholic tendencies and time away from home have changed because "the hard work…it cost me a marriage because I was kind of vacant in the marriage." Jones wants his boys to learn from him as he did by having goals and to experience the consequences of success and failure.

Participants' descriptions inherently portrayed their family units, regardless of structure, as having a sense of resiliency and strength which was suggested in the activities of daily life as a family. Rosie described her childhood as difficult when her father died and her mother raised her and her two siblings:

> Dad died when I was 4 years old; Mom immediately went out to fulltime work as one did back then. All of the grief of that time was pushed under the carpet and hidden from us children. Very, very strange as I remember finding out from a friend that my dad wasn't coming back...during an argument. Mom, she had a nervous breakdown 6 months after my dad died and was put in an institution. We were farmed out to various family members. It was all very strange and unknown— probably didn't feel too safe, I guess... I would say that we grew up in a very unpredictable environment, with an overwhelmed, working-way-too-hard single mom.

Rosie recognized that her mother did the best she could, and in spite of her mother not being able to pursue her own desired choice of career, she supported Rosie in pursuing a musical career and paid for music lessons throughout Rosie's time at home, while she worked as a single parent.

Several participants described having the perception of all families sharing similar experiences to their own when they were growing up. It was not until they were older that they realized how different the realities of everyone's lives and family relationships were. Belinda describes herself as having a great childhood:

In fact, I grew up thinking that everybody else had a great childhood, too, and it wasn't until I was in my early twenties that I started to realize that my childhood and my family were quite exceptional, compared to how a lot of kids were growing up. My parents were fair, supportive. Um…we had a loving family, and we lived in a neighbourhood with lots of kids. I wouldn't say they were strict...Either one of them could say, " I'm so disappointed" and that was worse than getting a spanking or...The last thing you wanted to do was disappoint them just because they seemed to have so much faith in me. In regular everyday life, it was pretty much like Ozzie and Harriet. I don't know...just a lot of stability. I guess that's the best way to describe it. Never worrying about unexpected changes in our life.

Belinda's comments are evidence of the strong relationship she experienced with her parents in her childhood family life. Each of the study participants described unique family relationships as they were growing up.

Peter, an administrator-participant in the study, described his parents as splitting up "about the time I was born." He describes his mother as responsible, pragmatic and supportive, moving his two brothers and him to a housing project and living there until it became a tough place to be:

I remember my Mom taking a bullet away from me that I had found and I was mad because it was my bullet. Someone else found a syringe one time and he wanted to go around and poke people. And my Mom, she was good, she got us out of there and we moved out to the suburbs at the time.

Peter's recollections of his mother's efforts are positive and although she had custody of her children, Peter recalls visiting his father, who he described as "a very intelligent guy, a jack of all trades...who welded in the camps and had lots of money in his pocket and then would come back and drink most of it." He remembers spending many weekends visiting his father in the city as a child:

I mean, he used to do the best he could but you know, he was definitely a hard-core drunk, you know, back in the day. And he would go off and on the wagon; he'd be working odd jobs and doing different things, so when he was doing better, my brother and I would go and spend time with him and…sometimes he would fall off the wagon while we were with him and then we would have to get shipped back out to the suburbs somehow…all that kind of stuff.

These excerpts of the participants' retelling of their life histories demonstrate the differences in family relationships that exist among the participants. They also illustrate the presence that relationship has in how families conduct themselves as families, even when there is a taken for-grantedness of the family relationships. Participants demonstrated that their family relationships had meaning and value for them in their lives and that the past childhood experiences of their family relationships were not forgotten as they strived to raise children and work with students. Further reporting of interview data will demonstrate these relationships as influencing other processes that figure in families and their social interactions.

5.2.1.   Family Activities

A dimension of family life that contributes to family traditions and shared family experiences that builds and strengthens family relationships are the activities that families pursue together. These events both arise from and reinforce Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1986) concept of habitus. The activities that families described also align with Lareau's (2000, 2003) models of parenting approaches, those of the accomplishment of natural growth and concerted cultivation. Study participants reported experiencing a variety of family activities when they were growing up.

> Before my Dad's accident, we used to travel a lot. We'd go internationally and then all over BC. We camped, stayed in hotels...We did all that. We were very family-oriented. My Dad used to bring us somewhere every Sunday...and it was just…the family.... My Dad was very involved in politics so we stayed in hotels when we were with him and.... I think I liked mostly when we travelled to visit our family to see my cousins and family members. I still see my relatives and my kids know them all.

Ellie also recalls life at home when she was younger:

> At home we played games and my parents had people over for dinner and…I had friends come over. My parents would go out for dinner and sometimes they would go on a holiday and stay with relatives. We would have Christmas and Easter...you know...turkey dinner and my Mom would always make Scottish stuffing. Easter egg hunts, too...you know...everything pretty much related to those traditions. We celebrated as a family on Christmas Day. On Christmas Eve we would have family friends over and have appetizers on the table and do that...I would have birthday parties.

131

Ellie has happy memories of how her family spent time together, recognizing how her mother maintained a family life for her children after their father was severely injured. Although she recounts the difficulty of dealing with the trauma, Ellie described how her mother cared for them and that "we really did feel that my Mom was looking after us." Her family had the social resources of a family network and the economic ability to draw on in order to manage their family life.

Ramsey recounts her memories of her childhood describing family activities around holidays and family events:

> My happy childhood memories are like getting together with cousins around Christmas time and that kind of thing. We did have family holidays. We used to go and stay in a caravan—you'd call that a trailer in North America…a small one near the ocean…that was something that was a more exciting time, actually.

Ramsey recalls the efforts her mother made to have family activities and celebrations after their father died:

> I do remember having birthday parties, and cake, and dressing up in a party dress and that kind of thing. I think we had things like Sunday lunch where it was traditional to have…like roast, roast meat and vegetables and things like that on a Sunday at lunchtime. And actually…we did go and visit our grandparents often, at that time. That was a strong family tradition...going to the grandparents' home…my Mom's parents' home, on Sunday for lunch. And Shrove Tuesday, which would be the start of Lent, we traditionally had pancakes. More what you would probably think of as crepes…with lemon and sugar. We only had pancakes once a year. I have fond memories of that…we used to love helping to make the pancakes. That was the tradition.

Ramsey also recollected her mother reading them bedtime stories, describing that those were pleasant peaceful moments. Study participants demonstrated that their unique family traditions and ways of celebrating events in their lives were like the glue factor in their families. Study participants often described family times as being mealtimes, which could be loud engaged affairs such as in Alice's childhood family, elaborate dinner events, such as in Dane's childhood family, or regular mealtime events where parents came home after working all day to prepare and eat dinner with their families, such as in Hannah's and Peter's families. Study participants recounted the

times where their families were together, often centred around food, and sometimes with guests and games.

Study participants also noted how today with their own families, life is different. Belinda observed how her family is often in a rush for her children to get to lessons and events, and sometimes have eaten fast food in the car *enroute* to be on time. In the past, where attending some kind of church activity, often on Sunday, was part of many of the study participants lives, today few of the study participants are engaged in spiritual church activities with their children. When we consider the numbers and types of activities that study participants experienced in their own childhoods, and understand the attempts of some participants to recreate similar activities for their families today, one recognizes the comfort, stability, and positive family social experiences that all of these activities add to family life.

Sandra identified several activities that her family did together. Her mother and father did individual activities with Sandra and her brother, which were somewhat gender organized. For instance, Sandra's mother instructed Girl Guides and was the leader when Sandra was enrolled:

> My brother and I played an instrument. We were both involved in sports.
> My brother was in Scouts. I was in Guides...so learned about camping. I
> guess because Mom was quite well-rounded; she encouraged us to be
> the same way. My Dad taught us to target shoot when my Mom wasn't
> around. She was more multi-cultural and she would take us to parades
> and Italian and Greek Days and all those kinds of things….

Sandra recollects appreciating the different activities that each parent was interested in:

> …But I don't really remember spending a lot of time together as a family
> together, like playing games or anything. When we were younger, we
> used to go on camping trips, but I don't remember that. I think in some
> ways I blocked out chunks of my life…where I didn't' want to deal with
> it...or I got to my teen-age years and I was dealing with my own stuff.
> Birthdays were always a big deal. My Mom loved cooking so she always
> made a meal or a cake. Everything was homemade...She put a lot of
> thought and effort into how the day would look and make that person feel
> special…on that day...and the gift was always something meaningful....
> My Mom was Anglican…and she'd take us to church…so we grew up
> going to Church…until I hit late-teen or mid-teens where I got a job and
> was working on weekends…and then I didn't have to go anymore.

Sandra's examples are evidence that parents put efforts into spending time with their children and creating family celebrations. She describes recreating many of the activities that her parents did for her and her brother in her own family today. She reports deciding that church provides an important grounding for ethics and morals and another way of thinking and encourages church-going with her own family.

Cara describes family activities when she was growing up, which included being encouraged to read by her parents, who were avid readers. Cara describes Saturday mornings as being chore time and cleaning the house, until it was meticulous. There were family routines and chores to do:

> …And then Saturday afternoon was going and getting groceries…so that was our Saturday for years and years.... There was the period of time where we went away on weekends to see my brother who was away in hospital, sick, for a couple of years. We didn't go on a lot of family vacations when I was growing up; one was to a very big sandy beach in Oregon…I'm not even really sure where.... And the only other vacation I really remember as a child was going to Disneyland one summer. In summers my Mom would put us on the train and we would go stay with my grandparents in the Okanagan for 5 or 6 weeks.

Cara remembers family traditions as being interesting. She relates:

> I never really had a birthday party...my birthday was 3 days after Christmas…people weren't' around; they were away at people's houses…so I got the birthday-Christmas present or the Christmas-birthday present. Birthdays were more a family celebration. We actually have a Christmas tradition that we carry on still today…and that is that we have oysters for breakfast. That's an English tradition through my step-father and we still have them on Christmas morning today.

Now carrying on with her own family, Cara describes family holidays and activities that they have adopted into their family life:

> We wanted our daughter to see as much of the world as we could get her to see. We never left her behind. I went on two fabulous Girl Guide trips with her, as a guide leader....She did skiing and outdoor activities with her Dad…so they kind of bonded doing some of those outdoor activities, and which were not my cup of tea. We had lots of family holidays where we would just visit family. We celebrate Christmas and Easter and like starting new traditions. Last year we started this tradition where they

could do their Easter egg hunt in the dark at night…with flashlights…and they thought it was pretty cool.

Study participants, whether parents or administrators, including Cara, related how they made an effort to have special activities and celebrations, or to make them memorable for their present families.

Throughout the reconstructions of their life stories, participants described unexpected family tragedies and traumas that changed their families' lives, happy and sad events, as well as activities that took courage and persistence to manage and which further shaped their family backgrounds. The study participants' wisdom, resilience, and ongoing and undeterred efforts to build their unique family lives were evident in their accounts.

5.3. Family Background

5.3.1. Educational Attainment

Similarly to Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) concept of habitus, education served as an indicator of family habitus, both historically in the parents' past experience and with their children in their present child-rearing experiences. How each participant and their family regarded and engaged in education was unique to each family. Participants in this study reported their childhood families as placing value on education, although parental levels of education and how education was reinforced among their children varied between families. Participants described the types of educational achievements their parents had experienced. Some parents related their endeavours to attain certain levels of education or training for their work and described their expectations for their children to pursue further education as well. When participants were asked to describe their own experiences with education, one parent noted:

> My dad was a paver and my mom was a teacher...and I think she was hoping I would go down that path. [Laughs.] I think it was expected that my brother and I both go to university. I don't remember having a discussion about anything other than that; it was just assumed that when we finished high school we would go onto post-secondary, which we did. (Parent-participant, Sandra)

135

Although participants regarded education as important to being successful in life and acknowledged that they promoted this view with their children, their experiences sometimes challenged their views. For example, Maria described her parents' education:

> I don't believe Mom had any schooling outside of high school...Well, I know she didn't. I remember that she did a lot of office work. Bookkeeping. That type of thing....And Dad, honestly, I can't imagine that he went to college, although I believe he was involved somewhat in the navy. Somewhere along the line, I think he got something, some training in the construction industry....But yeah, education...I think that's as far as it went.

Maria also provided details of her own and her siblings' educational experiences, as well as hopes for her daughter:

> I did a year at college with the intention of doing university transfer. My parents were supportive but they didn't have a lot of money. I got a lot of bursaries and I'm quite certain that my grandparents probably played a big role in my ability to go to college. I've got one daughter who's graduated already and I would love for her to pursue an education beyond high school.

Maria described her educational beliefs which were pragmatic regarding time and money in one's life. She felt that educational attainment must be useful for employment; otherwise becoming educated was not time well-spent:

> I believe really strongly that you have to know what it is that you want. Otherwise you invest so much of yourself in something that...I just think that at 17 years old, 18 nowadays, you're too young to know what you want to do for the rest of your life. The practical side of me just thinks that a person can't afford to be a professional student unless you have someone bankrolling it for you. [Laughs.] But you know...I just want my kids to be happy. And whether that means pursuing a degree in something and many years in school or whether it means just finding what really makes you happy and getting out and doing it, I think I'm really okay with either.

Maria's pragmatism about her children's education appears to supersede Paredes (2011) assertions regarding the importance of explicit knowledge or structural factors that are required for parents to support their children, whether at home or volunteering at school. Maria's aspirations that her children are happy, whether through pursuing a degree or working to discover what it is that

136

makes them happy is unusual, in comparison to other parents in the study, while also challenging Paredes (2011) ideas regarding parent involvement. Paredes (2011) first defines parent involvement in education as "parents having the knowledge of their children's learning program and being engaged in helping their children meet or exceed appropriate grade level academic standards" (p. 1). She then describes a training and coaching program that is provided to parents to increase their capacity to support their children in their schoolwork at home, a program very much situated in a school-centric realm. At the same time, in this study, Maria works around school-centricity in her attempts to support her child, and has a broader view in the educational outcomes that she desires for him in comparison to those of some of the other study-participants. Although she wants him to be successful in school, her greater concern is that she wants him to be happy.

Ellie described her father as an engineer and her mother as lab assistant. She related that her parents pursued what she termed a traditional family life in which her father worked and her mother stayed home with Ellie and her sister when she was younger. Ellie is unclear about her parents' views on education:

> I don't know what they thought about the education system—they always just wanted us to do our best. [Laughs.] I always knew never to rely on a man. I remember being taught that. Never rely on a man. My Dad always said that....So I guess they expected us to have an education. My Dad was very traditional but I guess he wanted us to have something to fall back on.

She also describes her mother as not being able to attend school functions during the day or volunteer like some of the other mothers because she later worked during school hours. Ellie relates that her parent were good providers and attended school conferences, stating that their involvement was more at a community level where they would volunteer and help organize town events, such as the Sea Festival.

Some participants' parents promoted education with attitude and action more than words. Hanna and Chloe described being expected to complete their homework at

137

the kitchen table after dinner with their siblings. Their parents, usually their mothers, were nearby to help them.

Peter describes his mother as working hard to support his brother and himself but not being specifically engaged in their education, although she had hopes for them:

> My brother was never good at school. I was bright enough to get by but never had the...drive to, you know, sit down and Mom was never following up with, "Are you doing your homework, or do you have a set time?"...All that kind of stuff, and stuff would be all over the place you know, the discipline, to do it like that. When we moved in Grade 11 to another low-cost housing place, I had a lot of friends there. We played sports together all through high school. And I still see them when we meet up for an annual grudge match.

Peter acknowledges receiving a different kind of education from his father, who he describes as also being extremely well-read. Peter describes bussing into the city with his younger brother to downtown where his father lived. They would spend the day walking throughout the city to explore historical sites, parks, museums, and art galleries, and then walking long distances to eat ethnic food. Peter's mother had his educational future in mind and Peter describes her efforts:

> …She got an application for a national youth program for me and basically filled it all in and then just said [laughs], "You know you would really like this." ...And so I thought that might be fun and so I sent it in and actually got accepted. Living and working in three different places. So to get that understanding of Canada and the music and culture and all that kind of stuff…

Participants described their own parents as not always having the resources, such as time, to be involved in their children's school due to work, but they demonstrated through their varied means of support that they cared and were concerned about their children's performance. Georgiou (2007) describes factors such as socioeconomic status, parent gender, level of education and their personal attitudes about education as influencing their involvement in their children's school. Interestingly, as indicated by the study's participants, Christie (2005) and Jeynes (2010) suggested that what happens at home, attitudinally and supportively has greater influence on what happens at school than parents' actual involvement at school. As well, parents' hopes and dreams for their

138

children do not always align with the school's specified or desired outcomes, as Maria describes in her example.

5.3.2.   Family Employment

Study participants demonstrated that family employment plays a significant role in influencing all aspects of family life. Lareau and her colleagues (Horvat & Lareau, 1999; Horvat et al., 2003) demonstrate that a family's ability to provide economically influences how a family is able to pursue different activities and levels of education, as well as develop distinctive preferences that relate to their position in society, in part stemming from their socioeconomic status. According to Bronfenbrenner (1978), employment of the family's main breadwinner is a key factor and influence in establishing positive outcomes for children. In this study participants described their parents' employment while they were growing up as well their own employment in their present family situations:

> My father died when I was three and my mother later remarried. My step-dad worked away from home; my mother stayed home and kept house,...a very traditional family. It was what my father believed in. We didn't have extra lessons and activities, but my parents definitely supported our sports endeavours.   (Parent-participant, Chloe)

While Chloe did not provide details, she described a sense of having enough and being provided for by her parents. Alice described the energy that her parents expended in being employed to look after her large family:

> My Dad was a merchant. He had a store in town that was two miles away from my village. And my Mom was a bookkeeper....We always had enough to eat and were always warm and well-dressed. The house looked like a shack from the outside but inside it was very nice,...'cause my Dad had an appliance store so my Mom was the first to have all these modern appliances in the village,...you know, the washer and dryer and we had a t.v. [Laughs.] You could see the snow on one channel. But my Mom, I think she worked in the store after about 10 years of being home just with kids. She went to work to help my Dad so they were always kind of financially strapped a bit.

139

Alice's parents were hardworking to support their large family, and Alice describes the sense of being cared for, having enough, and having a sense of stability even though she describes her family as being financially strapped.

Dane describes his mother as an artist who was resourceful, at one point paying for his brother's and his school fees by completing a commissioned painting for the school when, as a single parent, she had no money:

> My mother was a brilliant provider. We went to...we had summer school, summer camps, and we had private schools...and she did...She did the best thing for us...and by us...Supported by her painting.

Dane relates his own employment as a geologist as having evolved from his experiences as a young child running in the woods and outdoors near his home:

> Walked into an office in the North in the start of winter. I guess...demanded a job. They asked me what I did. "Nothin'...but I learn really quick!"...And I've been doing it ever since. Got into mining...mining exploration...and as the computers came into the industry, I was there at the ground layer.

One administrator-participant described her mother as a working parent, a single mother who later remarried. She was a teacher and they moved to a mill town where her new husband worked at the mill and she taught school. This participant describes this time in her childhood as being secure, with both parents working and having the security of living in a small town with all the amenities:

> It was a company town. It had a rec centre there; it had a bowling alley there, it had a hairdresser; it had a swimming pool,...so we had all the amenities really....And then a school of about 200 kids from K to 7....I have nothing but very, very fond memories of living in the town.
> (Cara, administrator-participant)

Cara described later becoming a teacher herself, a bit of a workaholic who took a shortened maternity leave because she missed her work so much. She stayed behind for two years when her husband left their community to take a job elsewhere:

> I stayed behind for two years with our daughter so she could finish school. In some ways, I wasn't ready to leave either, because I was

doing this job that I absolutely loved, with people that I loved, and...uh...I had a hard time in having to uh...make the move.

Cara was an exception among the study's participants in describing her passion for her employment as a teacher. She also demonstrated that her family had the resources and ability to make choices that would further their careers, such as her husband's move to a new community to pursue a new position. Her own decision to stay behind with her daughter demonstrates that her family had the economic means to do so, likely because both parents were employed as professionals with solid incomes. This could be viewed as a variation of Lareau's (2000) concept of concerted cultivation, in that the family reorganized their family life so that their daughter could finish her specific program, an example that demonstrates that employment makes a difference in the kinds of lifestyles and choices families are able to pursue.

5.3.3.   Childhood Independence

The childhood independence that study participants experienced in their accounts of their childhood was also a noted sub-theme. Most participants described a comparably different sense of independence in their childhood pursuits as they were growing up. They were allowed to explore near and far from their neighbourhoods, with the expectation of being home for dinner. Each participant related feeling a sense of safety in that they did not remember being concerned about danger, either physically or with strangers. Interestingly, independence was not related to socioeconomic status or social class as study participants from different families exercised their freedom for different reasons. Sometimes it was because their parents were working and they had unsupervised spans of time to play and explore. Other times, they were sent outside and expected to entertain themselves. At times it was a meeting of all the neighbourhood children getting together and wandering and playing in all the nearby and not so near areas near their homes. Study participants relate that it is very different times for their children now, where the expected practice is to drive children everywhere, even rather than using public transit, have tighter reins on their time, and constant interaction through texting and phoning to check in on their whereabouts and supervise their activities.

Dane, Belinda, and Peter recall exploring for long parts of the day on the outskirts of the city where their neighbourhoods were:

> My memory of childhood is very rural. I mean...at the time, there was a road, with houses on both sides, and forests backing on all the properties. We had a huge orchard out behind. We'd spend many hours throwing rotten fruit around at everybody...it was just the neighbourhood kids...and we had the power line, and we didn't feel like we were in the city. It felt very rural.

Dane recalls the sense of safety. "We didn't have to worry about security. Nobody worried about my welfare when we lived there…we didn't have problems...I look on that fondly." Dane describes how he drives his son to school, rather than having him take the longer school bus ride, allowing him more time at home. He mentions that he also drives his son to his friends' houses and sports activities, rather than public transit and biking, although he would prefer that his son did that sometimes.

Jones recalls how the kind of independence he had was due to having to get away at times from his family. He took his independence for granted and relished his time on his own:

> …And when times were too difficult, from about the time I was about 11, I would go up the mountain with two of my dogs and a shotgun and a fishing rod and some food and I lived in a stump, just below the blueberry patch...up the mountain…which was a lot of fun. I loved it actually. It was safe.

When Jones compares his children's lives to his own childhood, he believes their lives may be easier, but not necessarily better for it. He believes he had more independence, which was fostered, both negatively and positively in his upbringing. He suggests:

> Man! If they need a hand picking up and they ask, then you help them. If they don't ask, then you let them go. You want your children to be strong capable people? Then give them some room to do that. That's how it was for me anyways. I so much appreciate my parents staying out of my life.... Mostly…other than my mother giving me love and a safe place to go.

Maria describes her childhood independence as being outside playing in the neighbourhood full of other children. Her independence was closer to home:

> …As a kid it was fun because it was actually a crescent so it was a street that looped around from the main road all the way. There were kids in the neighbourhood and you could go out and ride your bikes around the neighbourhood with friends.... But in our next house...so much distance between neighbours. You know, there's no going out and riding bikes with your friends 'cause they're not that close. When I moved then, I was hitting the pre-teen mode and you relied on your parents to get you there, pretty much, so ya, it made it difficult.

Peter describes independence in his childhood as being necessary. He regularly travelled into the city from the suburbs with his younger brother via public transit:

> A lot of my memories...we'd go into the city to spend the weekend with my Dad. He lived downtown. He would go off and on the wagon; he'd be working odd jobs and doing different things, so when he was doing better, my brother and I would go and spend time with him.... Sometimes he would fall off the wagon while we were with him and then we would have to get shipped back out to the suburbs where we lived somehow.

Peter recounts the times in his childhood, where he experienced the freedom of his neighbourhood and his friends without a lot of adult supervision:

> The suburbs…a lot of people were moving out there. You know, you grow up in an environment like that and there's lots of families and lots of kids around and it was the kind of place where you could definitely play on the street. Back then it was still the edge of the suburbs so there was still lots of stuff that was undeveloped around us. You know…the forest to play in. Yeah, the outdoor experience is pretty neat. Like we'd go into these ravines and you know, have these three or four-foot trees across the back yard and some had fallen down. It was a pretty special place to be able to grow up in and play. You know, like picking huckleberries and all that kind of stuff.

He suggests that it is different now for his own child, and he is careful about what she is allowed to do, going places on her own, and as a parent he is aware of the amount of and impact of technology in her life. He relates that she does not have the same kinds of independence he had in his youth, but describes her life as having more stability than he experienced in his childhood.

5.4. Family Beliefs

The participants of the study demonstrated that the idea of family beliefs fits well with several of the social theory concepts described in Chapter 3. At the same time, beliefs are hard to describe in that they are often evidenced through action and behaviour rather than overt statements of their presence. Beliefs are often deep-rooted and can also arise from factors that relate to Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) ideas of habitus, Putnam's (2001) views of social capital which he sees as inherent in social relationships, and Lareau's (2000, 2003) work on parents' childrearing approaches in her concepts of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. All families in the study had their own unique manner of conducting their family life, based around their unique family beliefs. How they were able to live out their family beliefs was influenced by family income, the education or training of the working parents, and how they cared for and raised their children.

Hannah described family pursuits that were reinforced and that demonstrated her parents' belief in having activities that the families shared. This included family dinnertime which they ate together, the value of reading and encouraging their children to read, as well as having outdoor pursuits as a family. Hannah describes her parents' belief in the value of education:

> My parents valued school. Actually, I don't think either of my parents graduated high school.... So we very much knew that we must complete it. There was no question that we were not going to complete and you were going to complete it well.

Hannah also described her parents' belief that she and her siblings needed to learn how to be independent, even when they did not seem to provide the support to become so:

> I moved to Vancouver when I was 18. My parents just kind of dropped me off in Vancouver! I lived with a friend of mine awhile after school—for about 6 months and I found job at White Spot and I worked there...I think...a year and half waitressing. The first while I just worked...and then I tried to work and go to college to Langara. I found the transition really difficult, trying to work and attend college classes…. Having no support, that made it even harder.

Gracie describes her family dynamics and beliefs as confusing to her when she was a child. She relates that her growing up period at home was emotionally challenging and she learned to take on the role of caregiver to her siblings. Although her family did not attend church, she relates, "I decided, based on my grandmother's thinking, that she went to church, so I decided to take a page out of her book and started to go to church with my grandmother." She learned to cook, worked after school to buy her own clothes and finally realized that she was amenable to school and could excel when she graduated and was able to choose her own course in college. Gracie describes her parents as not supporting her brothers and her emotionally or practically with their schooling so could not clarify their beliefs about aspects of her life such as education, employment, and church:

> I don't really think my parents cared much about school; they didn't know what we were doing at school. They weren't involved in school. They expected us to go. We didn't get...we weren't in trouble for getting low marks. They didn't seem to care if we failed. It was not a big issue. We didn't get any extra support in school, for sure. They expected me to marry some wealthy man and raise his children.

Despite this, she relates that her parents were positive about her decision to work with children in trouble with the law.

Gracie appeared unable to decipher beliefs that her parents had about their family, although she recognized for herself the need to keep a semblance of order in her family home. She also maintained a desire to further her education, sustaining a sense of the importance and role of education in one's life.

Dane relates that his mother always wanted the best for his brother and him. He says, "She wanted us to have opportunities that I think she felt she had or didn't have." He recounts the attention given to family dinnertime in which his mother loved to cook, with the family coming together, sometimes with friends, and lots of conversation around the dinner table. Dane also describes the sense of value his parents gave to education and knowledge when he was growing up. He describes his parents in his early family life as being well-read and interested in the arts. He relates that with both of his parents being artists, this brought a value for culture to his family life:

145

I have early memories of storytelling. My Dad would tell stories. My mother...there was always storytelling and reading going on. We were exposed to a lot of different cultural activities...concerts and plays, and theatre...ballet....My mother always had some kind of book for me. There was no shortage of books. Reading was always encouraged. Someone always had a book in their hand.... I certainly did.

Dane describes wanting to provide the same things for his children, that is, to instil a desire for learning and an appreciation for culture. He suggests that it seemed more difficult to create the opportunities for his children to experience the same kinds of appreciations and cultural opportunities that were valued in his family:

I wanted my kids to have...and as I think as most parents did...I wanted them to have the opportunities on the surface that I didn't have...but I had all the opportunities. That was very well-provided. I had all those...so I wanted...what I didn't have, a stable family, and I wanted my kids to have that...um...and I like to think I provided that. But I guess it's sometimes just not good enough.

Dane is aware of the value of family stability and the challenges of trying to establish and provide this in a family, which is suggested in Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) and Lareau's (1987, 2000, 2003) studies on the influences that affect, reproduce, and change family dynamics and social outcomes.

With her background as a working class child in Britain, Rosie describes her awareness of her mother's support for her musical training but recalls, " I have no clue about how my mom felt about all that we were doing at that time. Actually, she was always very supportive in a practical way." She describes her mother as "going against the grain a bit to provide some of the things that she felt we needed...to make that happen...realizing that it was an important thing."

Rosie believes her mother placed extra importance on her children receiving an education due to her own more difficult experience in her youth:

She got a scholarship to carry on her education in textiles but her parents felt that she would be ridiculed so they refused to send her. I think she's always felt kind of sad,...and probably somewhat resentful about that...probably because she never had the opportunity to have her education that she probably could have done easily at...and to which she aspired to. That's a source of frustration for her.

146

Rosie's account exemplifies family beliefs and values, in this case for education, when she describes her mother's efforts to support certain pursuits, particularly education and musical training for her children, with limited economic resources and time. With her own children, Rosie describes the hopes she has for her children and how she is frustrated with the school system. She relates feeling sad that her children do not have the same educational opportunities that she experienced in her childhood and says, "My kids are extremely bright, for example...so that end of the spectrum is not being met."

Although Peter describes the sense of values in his family life as a child as not being explicit, he was aware that certain aspects of life were important to his parents, particularly his mother. He describes her as hardworking, a provider of stability, and a parent who expected her children to do their best in school, be independent, and do their share around the house:

> …The area that we lived in, it was pretty low income, blue collar. My Mom worked for the bank as a teller and didn't make a lot of money doing that. And then she worked for the post office because it was a union job. So she managed to get in, she was very lucky that she got in with that. So we always had dental, we always had, you know...she had a stable job and that kind of thing. But she was up and out of the house before we were up so we were the sort of typical latchkey kids, you know, and then she'd be asleep by 8:00 on the couch kind of thing…so we had to kind of make our way through ourselves.

The previous excerpts demonstrate that participants were aware of their parents' efforts to provide for them, recognizing what was inherently important to their parents, although that didn't necessarily make family life easier for some families.

5.4.1.   Family Discipline

According to the study participants, family discipline varied among their childhood families and was tied to the expectations the participants' parents had for them. This changed when participants reported more varied experiences of disciplining their own children.

One participant reported on the fairness and consistency that her parents used with her and her siblings:

Disciplining and expectations...they used consistency. You were very clear about what was right and what was wrong.... So if you opted to do the wrong thing, you knew what was going to be the consequence. They made exceptions for my brother because of his impulsivity and stuff, but not ever out of line from what they expected form the rest of us.

(Belinda, parent-participant)

In Hannah's case, she reported a sense of not knowing what to expect, feeling confused by her parents' expectations for their behaviour, and a lack of consistency in their disciplinary approaches to her siblings and her. She describes her parents' discipline practices:

…There never really were lot of consequences. My Mom would get angry and she would scream at me and it would be a big emotional upset and that would be it...Or as an older child, I wouldn't' be allowed to go somewhere....Or I would be made to feel really guilty for going somewhere. When I was very young, when I had done something bad, I would have had a spanking…um…I was never grounded. They didn't believe in grounding…which I don't understand….

Where her son is concerned, Hannah and her husband are supportive and actively communicate with him to make sure he understands what is expected of him at home and school. Hannah reports that they do not have discipline concerns with him and she describes wanting their son to be more prepared in the way of independence and life skills than she was when she left home.

Alice describes the discipline that was part of her parents' energetic parenting of her family. She remembers the stresses her parents experienced as they ran their business and experienced financial strain while they were raising their children:

…If the kids were not...weren't cooperating, or we weren't being helpful, then she'd get really upset and say, "Damnit! You know...Am I talking to the wall? " And say, " Get the heck in here. I'm going to crucify you." We thought, "Okay, now she really means it. That's gonna hurt." [Laughs.]

Alice also related her father's disciplinary approach:

…So then my Dad, he never hardly said anything; he'd be working, come home, you know, we'd see him on Sundays. He was always calm but if

he said, "Damnit!" then we moved.... It was like "Let's get going" because if he did get mad once a year, it was pretty serious if he did.

Alice describes her family as having behavioural expectations for everyone to do their part when they were asked. She views her childhood discipline with humour and recognizes the stability that her parents' strict guidance and expectations provided. She has high expectations for her own children, but describes the discipline requirements as being very different than when she was growing up, and reasons that this is partly because her children have more material things, chores are fewer and different, and they are involved in more activities away from home.

Only one participant described the sense of discipline in their immediate family as being related to what their parents had experienced as they were growing up. She reports that her father's youth experiences, including being in the war, influenced his parenting and disciplining in their family, and the very different discipline styles of each of her parents:

> …And so for him, first of all he was very reserved as a parent and didn't have a lot of...he was not a yeller. He would shut down; he would withdraw more when he was upset with us. But he could be very firm with us.... I don't remember ever being spanked by either of my parents. My mother...she was a yeller as a disciplinarian and…didn't have a huge amount of patience. My Dad had a longer fuse but when he blew, you knew it. My Mom would get…sparky with us...and intervening.
>
> (Alyson, administrator-participant)

Like the other participants, Alyson described the contrasting discipline styles of her parents and reported a similar pattern with her own children. This was related to a less and more strict approach between parents. Whether study participants were describing their own experiences of being disciplined as children, or their roles in disciplining their own children, they related a connection between expectations of what their parents had wanted in their behaviour and what their own expectations were for their children.

5.5. Summary

As Seidman (2006) suggests, participants' behaviour "becomes meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them" (p. 17). This chapter reported on findings of the interview data from Part 1: *A Focused Life History*. In Part 1 of the interview, participants reconstructed their earlier experiences of their own childhoods, their present family life, child-rearing, and their community and work life. This helped to establish the context of the study participants' experience of their behaviour interactions with their children's school. Major themes that were evident in the findings and relate to the theoretical ideas of Chapter 3 included (a) family relationships, (b) family background, and (c) family beliefs. Chapter 5 prepares the way for the findings of interview Part 2: *The Details of the Experience* in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6.

Part 2.
The Details of the Experience

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 6 presents emergent themes from the second stage of the interview, Part 2: *The Details of the Experience.* This chapter continues to address the research study's sub-question 1: What resources and capital do parents bring to their interactions at school regarding their children's behaviour problems? As well, sub-question 2 begins to be addressed: How do the interactions of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school? In Chapter 6, parent and administrator interview data reveals several common themes, which extended throughout participants' retelling of their experience of supporting their child's behaviour. Emergent themes of the participants' retelling of an experience of their interactions included the following: (a) communication, (b) relationship, and (c) discipline.

Seidman (2006) suggests that we ask the participants to reconstruct their experiences of the event in such a way that the researcher can elicit details about the participants' relationships with those involved, details of the experience, and of participant behaviour. Thus, the participant's telling situates the experience in the context of the social setting we are studying. This is reflected in the retelling of the narratives in this chapter (see also Appendix F). The participants' stories suggest where they are presently situated on the school landscape and start to nudge at possibilities of where school-centricness and even parent-centricness can move towards togetherness in sharing the process of supporting children, including through the work of resolving behaviour problems.

6.2. Communication

According to Hoover-Dempsey and Walker (2002) "concerted, system-wide and school-based efforts" (p. 3) to improve family-school communication significantly and positively impact family involvement as well as student learning and school effectiveness. Their work indicates the important role that shared two-way family-school communication practices have in supporting children. At the same time Epstein (2001) suggests that parents communicate more often with principals and teachers when there are behaviour problems at school. She further maintains that frequent communication between home and school is often linked to poor behaviour when behaviour is the main focus of communication, a form of communication that is often school-centric.

6.2.1.   Parent Communication

Hannah described a situation with her son in which she was bewildered by the communication from the school regarding all aspects of the incident, which took place after school in detention when her son was left unsupervised. Hannah relates, "I thought that was very odd...that he would be given a consequence and the teacher would leave the building." Later she contacted the principal, which resulted in an email from the teacher, expressing disappointment for their lack of support for him (the teacher) as parents:

> Our response was...My husband responded and I proofread the letter.
> But our response was that we felt that the teacher's actions were very
> unprofessional and that if you're going to give kid a consequence, don't
> put it on the parents to follow what…when we didn't even know what had
> happened.

Maintaining communication with the teacher or the principal was difficult for Hannah and she described the positions that the administrator and teacher took as being unexpected. She felt it did not allow her to patch up the communication:

> The teacher showed…the teacher was so upset by our response that he
> showed the whole School-Based Team and it became very uncomfortable
> dealing with anyone on that School-Based-Team for quite a while...I...and
> even to this day, that teacher will not talk to me. I see him in the
> community and he will not even acknowledge that I exist.

Communication was important to Hannah and she described her persistence in continuing to support her son at home, despite the experience at school:

> For our son it was a difficult year that year. Um.... That teacher did not believe that he had any sort of...that he needed any sort of adaptations for particular things.... He wasn't diagnosed with dyspraxia yet...but he needed the support.

Dane has shared custody of his son and described being frustrated by his attempts to be a responsible parent and communicate and follow up with the school:

> …With me he was up at seven, and he was well-fed and he got to school and he was alert and responsive during the day. And when he was at his mother's, the days he was there, he wasn't…you know...at school.... The secretary of the school was very helpful in that she would provide attendance records when I asked.

Dane describes his sadness at how he felt the principal was not willing to get involved regarding his son's attendance. His experience was that his son followed a routine at his house, completed missing assignments, went to bed on time, and performed well throughout the day at school. He found it difficult to establish continuity between the two households to make it work for his son, and harder still when the school maintained that they could not get involved.

> I didn't...get a good sense...that there was continuity between the conversations I had and the actions...I mean, on the surface of it, the communication with the school was all there.... And....And...nothing I can do about it. I'd like to be proven wrong.... But I haven't got...I guess I'm disappointed.

Despite his disappointment and sadness arising from his experiences, Dane reported believing that communication with your child's school is important.

6.2.2.   School Communication with Parents

Belinda reported working hard to support her son who she described as having a struggle with the whole idea of school. "I would say the biggest thing is just the sheer institution of school...he can't...he just doesn't seem to ever relax in it." She kept in regular contact with his school during his struggles to perform:

153

The first principal...I found condescending with me and a little bit.... It was sort of...it was almost like negative reinforcement instead of...well, I sort of felt like a terrible parent when I went in there. When someone's condescending with you, you feel like, "Well, I'm doing my best and...I'm so sorry he's acting this way, but it's *his* behaviour." ...And I felt judged, I guess...and not like we would work together for a solution.

Belinda described adjusting her family life so she could support her son who she reported as sometimes working on his school program partially from home. She described communication becoming easier when the administration changed at her son's school:

And then it was the complete opposite...a new principal...."Okay, how can I understand your son? ...And how can we work together? ...And what can we do? ...And what are you able to do?" ...For a parent the "Let's work on a solution together" ...because you already feel bad enough that your child is getting into trouble and causing stress to teachers and causing trouble and all the rest. You know...who is going to feel good about that?

Belinda suggested that when the principal was open to communication with her as a parent she felt more optimistic about being able to help her son with school:

And then it just makes you feel like you have some support and resources for your problem. If the administration is approachable, and you know, willing to problem solve. I think this did make a big difference for my son.... And I think before he sometimes felt very unliked…but now usually he feels that people have dealt with him in a firm manner, and they have still forgiven him…even though he messed up.

As a principal, Cara reports being diligent, recognizing the need to be willing to hear the parents' story before making decisions about how to resolve a problem. When a parent demanded that something be done about his daughter being bullied or he would be going to the School Board Office, Cara describes her sense of working with a different situation than what was reported:

And I just listened and said, "Absolutely, if this is in fact what happened." ...And "Absolutely. We'll get to the bottom of this," and I said I would certainly be starting an investigation the next day and I would get back to them about what we had found. When they left, they were calmer than when they came in, and they thanked me for my support.

Cara describes this situation as taking one month to resolve, involving a lot of communication with two sets of parents, who each saw their daughter as being a victim who was being bullied by the other girl:

> …The bottom line was...I think they felt that we had gone through a very fair process.... And we had put a lot of time into, you know, trying to be respectful of these girls and where they were coming from, and including the parents, and um...coming up with a resolution that would hopefully work.

Parent and administrator study participants described the emotionality of their communications with their child's schools or the student's parents regarding behaviour. The level of concern they felt for their children and their desire to support them was evident in their descriptions. Cara's reporting of her communication with parents provided the contrasting insight of the principal's efforts to also communicate with parents about their children's behaviour.

6.3. Relationship

It is well understood that a sense of relationship permeates the communications and interactions between people in any social situation. In this study participants consistently mentioned or alluded to the relationships that their children had with their teacher or their principal. It is the experiences of parents that are being examined in this study, including their own relationships with their children's teachers and principals in their school behavioural interactions. Still, parents' regularly described their desires for their children to have positive experiences in their relationships with these adults in their school situations. Some parents described the qualities of these relationships. The following examples suggest the parents' perspective of how the school, usually the principal, knew their child. Their descriptions reflected back onto their own relationships with school personnel.

The institution of school suggests that parents may experience a school, or a particular school teacher or principal, with a strong sense of institutional dominance, when they meet with the principal or teachers, which may affect the kinds of relationships they are able to develop with their children's educators (Lareau, 1987,

155

2000, 2002; Pushor, 2007). Participants in this study described the kinds of relationships they experienced when they met the principals or sometimes the teacher to support their children's behaviour. This connects to Bourdieu's idea of pedagogic authority as described in Chapter 3.

6.3.1.   Parents' Persistence

Rosie related initially having a desire to work together with her child's teachers so that school would be a good experience for her child. She describes the lack of trust she now feels and how she manages the times she has to interact with the principal or other school personnel on behalf of her child:

> …Unfortunately after our experience I have become somewhat cynical...so many promises were made...and never kept. You know, you would be in some meeting setup. You'd hear all these promises that we were going to do this or that and the other for your child. Now I go to a meeting...if I ever have to...and I say, " Okay, guys, let's cut to the chase here. You know and I know that promises are going to be made and many of them are never going to be met." And they just laugh because they know it's true.

Rosie described how her expectations of working out solutions for her child's behaviour were never met and how the actions of her child's school negatively affected her child and family. She relates how the disappointments contributed to her distrust of the principal's and teacher's ability to provide support, although she described the development of a somewhat workable relationship with them:

> I guess I always go into a situation with very rose-coloured glasses on, thinking it's all going to work out, thinking everything is going to be hunky-dory and work out...and unfortunately that has not been my experience.

Rosie described how she countered her child's bad experiences with pursuing individualized programming where necessary for her son, and finding programs, tutoring support, and extra-curricular lessons outside of school that would hold his interest and use his talents.

Belinda reported how she was willing to work with her child's principal and teachers, sometimes despite how she described being treated, and how she recognized the efforts that were made for her child:

> I do hear from the school about once a week, it seems...so for example, my child failed math…and I felt great about the way his needs were accommodated. "How can we make this work?" The flexibility…I just felt really, really supported by the school and the team, the principal, the teachers, the special ed. teacher...and the teachers in general have been great. When the second principal came, it was a big difference...night and day…and that's when it became more of a team approach….

Belinda's determined attitude to support her son through his behaviour and school program, despite negative experiences she described being faced with, appeared to bolster her through those occurrences, until her efforts were made easier by changes in staffing at her son's school.

Ellie describes how her frustrations with how her child's behaviour problems were dealt with affected her relationships with the principal and teachers, particularly with a lack of clarity she perceived regarding how behaviour was handled, both with her child, and other students:

> It was so confusing to me. I'm sure it was confusing to my child, too. When this first started with the bullying incident, the bully...he did stuff all the time. I just found it...confusing.... It would be confusing for anybody.... It's just tough. I know I can't be there all the time, and I can't go volunteering at school and stuff when I'm trying to put food on the table. You know, people don't quite look at it that way.... So I never really had the greatest time with the principals and the teacher...and other parents...because there were too many assumptions.... So that was frustrating.

Ellie provided frank descriptions of her experiences with her child's principal and teachers. She remained undeterred in her resolve to find ways to support her child despite the difficulty she had in building positive working relationships with her child's principal and teachers.

6.3.2.   Relationship Differences

Some study participants related how their child's behaviour at school seemed uncharacteristic in comparison to their behaviour at home. They described their experiences of working with school principals and teachers to resolve the problems at school as well as understand them.

Ellie describes her frustration at the difference between her child's behaviour at home and school and suggests the lack of insight and effort by the school to establish a positive relationship with her child, and reinforce a working relationship with her hindered support for her child:

> For me, as a parent it was frustrating. It seemed like he would get suspended for not writing or not reading...or other things like that.... It seemed like it was more complex than bad behaviour. It wasn't necessarily something bad because sometimes it would be something like just hiding under a desk.... They seemed like they were teaching with the wrong methods...like there was too much.... So many assumptions about him...

Ellie reported feeling confused about her son as having reasonable and normal behaviour at home that was completely different than that of school:

> And yet, I guess…he did different things, but I knew how to cope with them because when he did them at home, he was always disciplined, but he was predictable.... So at school I just was like, "What are you talking about?" I talked to my nanny at the time and she was just as confused because she didn't see any of this but the school was right, too, and I was still asking, "What are they talking about?"

Chloe expressed her feelings when she described how her daughter was being bullied at school and recalls that as a parent she did not have a sense of her daughter's teacher or the principal reinforcing positive relationships with the children and specifically with her daughter. She reports eventually going to the teacher to work it out. When her daughter was later physically injured Chloe describes going back to the teacher:

> The teacher said that she never saw any of this and she didn't see how she could not notice it if it were happening. I asked her if she thought I was making it up if my daughter had her back all scraped by a girl in her

class. Fortunately, it got out in the community that this had happened and after that several parents went to the principal.

Chloe's interaction demonstrated the lack of relationship she described experiencing with school staff for her daughter and the parental responsibility she felt to support her daughter.

6.3.3.   Acknowledgement and Understanding

Maria described the loving, helpful, and reasonable behaviour that she experienced from her son at home. She also described a disparity between what she experienced with her child at home and the different view that the teacher and principal seemed to have for her child at school:

> …So as a parent I now felt completely shut off because she's basically said she sees none of the same things I'm telling her I see in my own kid and that others have told me they see in my kid…and has basically reinforced the idea that she values the leadership in the girls in a higher grade...compared to my son.

Maria reported trying to make the disparity less difficult for her child by making an effort to be articulate in expressing herself to her child's teacher:

> I said, "You have an 11-year-old child in your classroom who thinks you don't like him. I don't care if you don't like him; he thinks you don't and I think that's unacceptable." So...and there was no movement on her part to think that she had...that she owned any of that.

Peter, from an administrator-participant's perspective, described making a big effort to understand the family dynamics and the family's position when he was working with discipline situations. After working particularly hard to resolve a situation Peter reports:

> …So the father seems to think that...the impression I get is that he...he thinks that we're not doing enough...he doesn't know what we're doing every day. Parents aren't necessarily privy to all of that stuff right away and so...one thing I learned from another administrator was that justice has to be seen in order to be done…so we try to be as open with parents

as possible about what the steps are that are involved in resolving the problem.

These excerpts from the study participants' interviews suggest the inexorably interwoven aspects of relationship and communication that are characteristic of the interactions between parents and their children's principals and teachers in order to support children. They also suggest the complexity that is involved in communication with each other and maintaining a reasonable relationship in order to do the work of supporting a child, as well as the child's parents and family.

6.3.4. Building Relationships

The three administrator-participants in the study described similar efforts to create or strengthen relationships with parents when they worked together to resolve behaviour problems. This was contrary to several of the experiences that parent-participants described in their efforts to support their children, as related in other sections of the findings.

As an administrator-participant, Alyson describes how her work helped a family come to support their daughter and how a better relationship evolved with them, their daughter, and herself after working through a behaviour support process. The process involved a restorative circle, in which the parents were initially hesitant to participate:

> And this girl really got to see this group of adults, you know, where she was just like...she could see this whole group of people who were really caring about and really listening to her and really wanting to support her...But the thing for me that I thought was so neat was how that process of...that we were involved in, which is just hearing each other, right? ...It really opened up that family to be able to be together in a different way.... And the step-dad, he is just so communicative with me, and always telling me about the family. The mom will say "Hi." She doesn't have a lot to say to me but the girl does, you know.

In the noted examples throughout this chapter section, study participants exhibited attempts to create and maintain relationships that would support their children. In spite of how they perceived their relationships with the principals or teachers, most study participants exhibited persistence in working with the involved educators to help

their children. Regardless of outcomes, parents retained the desire to advocate for their children.

6.4. Discipline

Some parent-participants suggested that their children responded differently to being disciplined at home than when they responded to being disciplined at school. In fact, some participants described their children not needing to be disciplined for their behaviour at home in comparison to their experiences at school and found their school behaviour surprising. Lareau's (2000, 2003) concepts of the accomplishment of natural growth and concerted cultivation were a consideration regarding home and school behaviour for the participants' children and will be addressed in Chapter 8. Study participants offered their thoughts on their children and discipline at home and at school.

6.4.1. Parents and Behaviour Support

Jones described his perceived unfairness of how his son was disciplined at school when he was seldom in trouble at home. He reported how he felt the principal had not done enough due diligence in finding out what the problem was before he suspended Jones' son:

> When there was a new principal, I said, "Don't be unreasonable." He understands where I'm coming from and if my son has something coming to him for being a dumbhead, fair enough. I told him, "You better be fair...otherwise it'll be trouble…" so he moderated considerably. My son was reasonable at home. I always talked about the issue, without doing the blame game.... And all the rest of it. …Like "Let's break it down...Here's what you did.... Here's what they have to do at school…." You know...There's always...like there's always two sides to this....

Jones reported that he has always believed in talking to his children about their school issues and was willing to work them out, both with his children and with their school. He related his experience of finding his child's principal more difficult to deal with than his child at home.

Hannah describes her experience of her son's behaviour at home and what his school experience was like for him. At home she described being ready to support him wholeheartedly. Hannah reported that getting support for her son at school was a struggle. Lack of accommodation support affected his behaviour and how the school personnel and his peers treated him:

> Our son had motor difficulties so needed accommodations. The teacher refused to make accommodations until I actually got the results of assessment and brought in the paper with the accommodation recommendations.... In dealing with our son, we supported him 100%. It was hard.... I think those kinds of things for all of us…always touch a nerve because there have been so many things that happened that are upsetting.... So I was kind of always reliving and feeling a bit prickly and trying not to take it personally and not get really upset. At home our child was pretty good.... And discipline was never a problem…but he really did not enjoy school that year…and that year his favourite teacher…across the hall...passed away. All I wanted was for him to have a normal school experience...

Hannah described her husband's and her efforts to foster the curiosity their child had for learning, reinforcing how discipline was never an issue for the family:

> When we go on vacations, we take him places that we know he'll enjoy…like when we go to Utah and we go 4-by-4ing…and like when we take him to museums...or we try to do things…or even buy things that will help him continue in what he is interested in…things like computer parts or chemistry.

Ellie described the disparity she felt between how children were disciplined inconsistently at school and how she disciplined at home. She described her belief that principals would do less to provide fair discipline and resolve behaviour problems if they felt parents were going to publicly react to their approaches:

> There was some hitting going on at school and where my kid got suspended earlier for not writing, no one got suspended for all of the hitting…. So it was frustrating…and you know, what it comes down to is what the parents are going to do. If they think the parents are going to raise holy hell, then they're not going to do anything...and I find that to be true.

Ellie related giving her views to the principal:

> …So when the principal talked to me, he said it was not my kid's fault
> because they didn't start it...which I understand, so nothing happened to
> them, anyway. With my kids, I told them how they could have handled
> it...they could have gone to a teacher...all that.... So I have found the
> discipline pretty frustrating at the kids' school.

Study participants reported being more frustrated with the inconsistency of the discipline at school and not understanding how some kinds of discipline were a reasonable way to address the problem, specifically when they were working to maintain consistency with their discipline strategies at home.

Belinda related that after all the disciplining that her son was the recipient of at school "usually he feels that people have dealt with him in a fair manner and still forgiven him even after messing up." At the same time, Maria and Ellie remained frustrated by the discipline practices at school and how the need for disciplining their children was so different at home.

6.4.2.   Administrators and Discipline

Administrators' descriptions of discipline experiences illustrated the level of commitment and concern that they drew from in disciplinary matters at school.

Alyson describes the experience of her work with the family of the daughter who was involved in a disciplinary problem. She was thoughtful and insightful about the situation:

> …It was hearing each other right, really opened that family to be able to
> be together in a different way and allowed the daughter to see her step-
> father as somebody who was really a support in her life.... That's an
> example of discipline that I think about.

Although Alyson's experience had a positive outcome, this was not always the case. Sometimes initial efforts to work together were one-sided. Peter described a situation in which the parents were not happy with the end result, and where he listened to them, and realized the futility of defending his discipline approach. He reported at the same time believing in the importance of keeping the parents in the relationship, despite their angst and suspicion about how the circumstances were being managed by him.

Peter described the number of steps involved sometimes in a discipline action plan. He related that often parents were unaware of the steps and the care involved in using disciplinary approaches with children:

> I didn't expect that one day, one consequence, and it would be dealt with. That's not how we do it. We have…you know…a program where we continue to work with the student. We'll have a counsellor continue to work with the student, I continue to monitor daily, check in with the student every day and expect the parents, that when they hear something, they are going to let us know right away.... And absolutely continue to meet with the family in school and talk about a pretty clear safety plan and how do we manage all of that....

Peter's example illustrates the amount of time sometimes necessary in resolving behavioural issues and reaching the most beneficial outcomes as well as how the process cannot be rushed.

Cara related having to put additional thought into her disciplinary approach at times and to not hurry the process. She reported that the incident she described required patience when it took up to one month to resolve it as best as she could:

> There were many steps involved…the counsellor met with the girls individually, the girls wrote letters of apology to each other for their parts,...and then we wrote a contract about how they were going to behave around each other. We never did resolve whether one girl had fabricated the story that she told about the other girl. The bottom line was…I think that the parents saw they all had gone through a fair process for their daughters.

Cara believed that parents generally do not hold a perspective of exactly how much work it takes to employ fair discipline practices in a school.

6.4.3.   The Restorative Quality of Discipline

To illustrate the efforts and approaches that administrators take in working with parents to resolve behaviour incidents, the administrator-participants described their work. They mentioned the restorative approaches they preferred to use in their disciplinary models with their students. In each of their descriptions, the administrator-participants described finding it necessary to make additional efforts to build trust with

the student's parents in order to proceed. This also served to create better relationships or positively reinforce existing parent-school relationships.

Alyson reported how the student's parents were not involved with their daughter's schooling and also related how "she was one of those kids that slunk down the edge of the hall and wasn't involved, didn't engage; teachers didn't have a lot to say about her." Alyson described that working to construct a level of trust in the relationships she developed and maintained with the parents also had an affect on the proceedings. At the end of the incident, Alyson reported the sense of warmth and engagement that occurred when the parents felt that there had been resolution and their daughter had been supported:

> …And her mom just kind of melted in the session and…the step-dad and the mom were able to really take the whole thing together as a unit because the mom came down and then they were able to work together and acknowledge some of the things that were working and not working in their own family.

Alyson described how this outcome had positive and lasting effects for everyone involved, particularly improving the parents' relationship with their daughter.

Peter described his experience with his colleagues of trying to establish the best approach to deal with the behaviour incident. He reported that each colleague had a different perception of how to approach the incident. Peter described himself as being somewhere in the middle between a hard and soft approach and that he includes aspects of a restorative approach in his disciplinary work. He puzzled over the boy's intentions:

> You know I was working with Grade 8 boys, along with the older boy to agree that they would all lay off each other. But at the same time I know it's a very stressful time of year…right at the end of the year and I'm not sure...was he just, you know...unaware of his own physicality? If it had been one of his friends…it wouldn't have been such a big deal...but the person he inadvertently pushed was a girl.

Peter's intention was that there would be resolution and everyone would be satisfied with the outcome. He suggests that resolution takes longer and mending

problems is ongoing so that the student and parents can feel that their social equilibrium and social resources to manage school have been restored:

> We have...you know…a program where we continue to work with the students. I continue to monitor daily, check in with the student every day and expect the parents, that when they hear something they are going to let us know right away. And that we're going to follow-up if we see that there is escalation. Then we go to another step with outside counselling and there's a bunch of other pieces we can put into play.... And absolutely continue to meet with the family in school and talk about a pretty clear safety plan and how do we manage all of that.

Similarly, Cara described basing her restorative approach on trust and giving students and families the benefit of the doubt, until the actual facts would emerge. She reported this allowed her to be able to use this approach, allowing parents to participate and not jump to immediately defending their children with the sometimes hard to accept evidence of the school. This provided more time to work out matters and ultimately save face. She described how sometimes it required that parents had to understand that aspects of the incident needed to be worked out as a family at home. Cara reported suggesting to the father that he sit in with the counsellor who was speaking to his daughter:

> And then of course he went in there...and then of course she had to face her Dad and say she had said what she had said.... And then she admitted that she had made this whole thing up.

Cara described the process as being slow, although seeing it eventually unfold so that she did not further disrupt the family's relationship with the school or their daughter.

The three administrator-participants reported being satisfied with the outcomes of the behaviour incidents with the parents. Each of the administrators' had chosen a restorative approach, which they reported took longer periods of time to resolve. As well as resolving the incident, the administrators reported their perceptions that the parent-administrator relationship was restored to a level where the parents felt able to re-engage with the school in a reasonably positive manner. These restorative approaches demonstrated respect, relationship strengthening and a sense of optimism for families that their children's behaviour problems could be resolved. The administrator-

166

participants demonstrated to parents that the investment of time was worth it to attain positive behavioural outcomes for their children.

6.5. Summary

Chapter 6 presented the findings of the narrative representations of Part 2:*The Details of the Experience* interviews of the participants. Emergent themes of the participants' retelling of an experience of their interactions included the following: (a) communication, (b) relationship, and (c) discipline. Participant examples of communication, which included parent communication with the school and school communication with the parent, illustrated that working to improve family-school communication is desired by parents and can significantly and positively impact family involvement as well as student learning and school effectiveness (Hoover-Dempsey & Walker, 2002). Parent-participants described the kinds of relationships they experienced when they met with the principal or sometimes their child's teacher to support behaviour. These examples link to Bourdieu's (1984) concept of pedagogic authority or the influence of institutional dominance that is described in the work of Lareau (1987, 2000, 20002) and Pushor (2007). Participants also provided examples of discipline relating to their children at home and at school. Lareau's (2000, 2003) parenting style concepts of the accomplishment of natural growth and concerted cultivation, which she suggests are associated and emerge from social class, were evident in parents' stories. At the same time, parents' described their experiences of their frustrations with inconsistent approaches at school, and some participants described not seeing the same kinds of reported poor behaviour at home.

By telling the stories of their experiences of behaviour interactions study participants demonstrate their hopes to create a level of outcome that would serve the child well and also preserve the parent-school relationship, whether with the principal or teacher. Principals' stories of their experiences of behaviour mediation were included to provide a school perspective and will be considered in the discussion process of Chapter 8. However, before discussing Chapter 8, Chapter 7 presents the findings drawn from Part 3: Reflections on the Meaning.

Chapter 7.

Part 3.
Reflections on the Meaning

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 revisits the study's research sub-question 2: How do the interactions of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems in school? In Chapter 7, I present the findings arising from narrative accounts of study participants' reflections and their attempts to make sense of their experiences of school interaction to support their children (Appendix G). The participants' reflective understandings emerged from the foundation established by Parts 1 and 2 of the interview process (Seidman, 2006). In their reflections study participants' provided examples that revealed the following theme areas: (a) relationship, (b) family background, and (c) communication, with some aspects recurring as themes or subthemes similar to those described in Chapters 5 and 6. Participants' descriptions of their parent-school relationships illustrated the concepts of social influence and social networks. According to Coleman (1988) and Lareau (1987, 2000, 2003), regardless of their level of cultural capital or social class, parents access influence from whatever level of social influence or social network is available to them, similar to a form of social currency. Study-participants described family backgrounds that inherently reflected Bourdieu's (1986, 1998) concept of symbolic capital. Whether parent-participant or administrator-participant, participants reflected on how they acted in light of their agency or sense of efficacy that was influenced by their level of social capital. Study-participants descriptions also included the theme of two-way communication, which Graue and Hawkins (2010) suggest is crucial to building trusting and collaborative relationships in order to break down the power relations that exist between home and school. Participants' understandings related to the literature review themes of Chapter 3

and the theoretical ideas presented in Chapter 4. Although I present the themes as being discrete, there is evident overlap between them. To address this I presented participant input where there was the most logical fit. Participants provided differing amounts of information, some speaking at length about one or two themes in particular, while others contributed equally regarding several themes. The perspectives and voices of all participants are represented in my endeavours to illuminate the themes arising from their reflections.

7.2. Relationship

The theme of relationship was described in Chapters 5 and 6 relative to study participants' upbringings and parenting of their own children. In Chapter 7, participants reflect on their experiences of supporting their children's behaviour problems at school. Parent-school relationships and study participants and their social networks are described in this section.

7.2.1. Parent-School Relationship

Dane described how he took his parenting of his son seriously and attempted to make sure his son did his homework and got caught up when he missed schoolwork, often after the times when he stayed at his mother's house. Dane reported his efforts to establish working relationships with his son's teachers and principal, contacting teachers, the principal and the school counsellor. He was matter-of-fact and articulate about his opinions of his son's school:

> Communication was not a problem. I mean, on the surface of it, the communication with the school was all there…You know, the principal was not willing to get involved…I especially don't think the principal is effective, when it comes to my son. I don't expect anything to happen.

Dane related how he thought the system did not support a student like his son:

> Well, the school is…I think, quite rightly designed to move the maximum amount of kids in the most efficient manner from Point A to Point B. And I don't necessarily agree on the path any more.... It doesn't serve some

kids, and it certainly doesn't serve some kids on the outside of the bell curve, like my son.

Dane's expectations for his son's education were high. He was articulate in reporting his hopes for his son and his disappointment in how he felt he had been served as a parent by the school system. When seeking support for their children, parents understood that what they expected was also based on what they felt was right for their child in how they knew their children and through their own past experiences.

As a principal, Cara related that parents did not always acknowledge what the school had done to support their child's behaviour in the past. This also demonstrated the patience and restraint that principals must practice to maintain a relationship with the parents:

> …But you know, in this scenario, I do remember, in terms of the emotions, that I went through as I was going through it, I remember being…um…being very kind of upset…at the initial stage when the parents kind of came in like bulldogs, into my office, and you know, were quite accusatory, saying, "She's being bullied the whole time that she's been here and nothing's been done about it!" And I'm sitting there thinking to myself, "You and I've had…we've probably had 10 conversations, over the course of the time that I've been in this school!"

Cara's value for education and her experience as a principal provided her with the insight and tools to manage behaviour problems and include families:

> I try to involve parents as much as possible in those kinds of scenarios, but I think it's important as to how I try and create that team approach as to how I say to the parents...."We're an elementary school here. We're all about learning, and as much as possible we don't suspend kids."

As an administrator who dealt with behaviour problems, Cara consistently brought in the family to resolve behavioural issues with her students. She described using a team approach and endeavouring to establish a working relationship with the child's family. Cara described a similar inclusive manner in how she and her husband raised their daughter. She described her approach in her work and her effort to maintain two-way communication:

170

> ...In this scenario, I remember in terms of the emotions that I went through…I remember being…very kind of upset...at the initial stages when the parents kind of came in like bulldogs, into my office…and you know, were quite accusatory. The dad seemed to have forgotten at least 10 conversations about his daughter over the course of the time that I've been in the school…

Cara related how she maintained communication by email and continued to support the parents' daughter through establishing counselling support, despite his refusal to talk in person. Cara was empathic in describing that she believed there were other concerns the parents were experiencing, giving them the benefit of the doubt, and related that she would not change her inclusive restorative approach.

Alyson maintained several volunteer affiliations in the community, and also had the experience of raising two children. Although she did not describe her volunteerism outside of school as providing more influence to her work, Alyson had experience and confidence in pursuing resolutions and including the parents in her problem solving. She instinctively recognized the value of a restorative approach, and endeavoured to make such an approach work in resolving behavioural problems, including parents in the process.

> For me, I never felt right to have punishment or consequences without a bigger framework around it.... Some parents…they were very defensive about their kids, very protective of their kids and a lot of entitlement amongst the kids and the parents. There wasn't a lot of buy-in from the parents about the discipline for their children.

Alyson describes sincere and experienced efforts in using restorative approaches to build reciprocal relationships with parents to resolve behaviour problems in order to achieve equitable and satisfactory outcomes for those involved. At the same time her description exposes some of the assumptions that are inherent in the work and attitudes of educators relating to their work with families, even when they believe they are acting with the best of intention.

Alyson described how necessary it was to establish relationships with parents, not just the child being disciplined, and suggested that her experience of being an administrator at several different schools helped. This was similar to social capital

influence or an aspect of positive social reciprocity (Putnam, 1995a, 1995b). Alison related how her past experiences gave her a history and a level of knowledge that was helpful in the work of parent-school behaviour interactions. She described understanding and recognizing that most disciplinary processes required empathic understanding and the need to create the conditions for two-way relationship building between parents and schools, so that outcomes can be mutually and satisfactorily reached.

7.2.2.   Parents and Social Networks

Coleman's (1988) ideas are important to this study as they support an optimistic view that suggests that all families, regardless of their social class, have cultural, economic, and social resources that may be important to their roles in parent interactions. This is fitting because in BC public school settings the student and parent populations are comprised of families of every class. Study participants reflected on the different kinds of interaction they experienced to support their children while illustrating that families differ in the amounts of social and cultural capital they possessed as families.

Coleman (1988) and Lareau (1987, 2000, 2003) offer that regardless of their level of cultural or social class, parents draw on or access influence from whatever level of social influence or social network is available to them. Hence, a parent's social network acts similarly to a form of social currency, either to draw on for support or to use for influence in their interactions. Interestingly, even when not actively drawing on their social networks, the influence is present, suggesting Bourdieu's (1989) idea of the inherent notion of symbolic capital. According to Horvat et al. (2003), social networks are one of the most accessed forms of social capital that parents draw on to support their children at school. They suggest that the effectiveness of how parents are able to use their social networks to intervene and support their children is related to their social class. Ellie, Sandra, Jones, and Peter provided evidence of these ideas in their reflections in the interview data.

Ellie reported how difficult it was to manage and support her children. The social capital she had with her children exemplified the communication levels she maintained

with them. However, the state of Ellie's social network in her community frustrated her and she described being left to raise her children with little support from her extended family or kin who lived in the community. This also seemed to relate to her interactions at her children's school. Ellie describes her relationships with her children and her parenting:

> They had to learn to take care of themselves. I do see that my kids are more ambitious and able to problem solve, for being from a single-parent family. I do see that. You're not going to let them do something that is grossly wrong…but you can't follow them around…so you teach them values…you teach them what you believe in…you point out that that's garbage but you know…and instead of freaking out, you all get over it.... But you can just be aware.... I've gone through a lot but you just cope with it.... So I stay fairly calm and I just do what I have to do. They'll eventually learn.

Despite the hardship and difficulties suggested by Ellie's single parenthood, she related a matter-of-fact sense of optimism in letting her children be independent while keeping them emotionally near. Ellie recognized that she could not rely on a social network of family or people in her community for support, so drew on her own resources to parent her children.

She described how difficult she found her experience of the school's way of interacting with her:

> I never really had the greatest time with teachers or other parents because there are so many assumptions. So that was frustrating…Yeah, I know I'm not a stay at home mom. That hasn't been my choice.... In this school community, some parents are good and some are horrible. I can say the same about the teachers; some are horrible...I've heard teachers say stuff about me and how I raise my kids.... A teacher told the counsellor that my kids were always left at home alone, which I always had live-in nannies…which makes me wonder why they would ever say that.

In his work as an administrator, Peter described the ways he worked to build a network of parents to improve the processes involved in running a school. He reported working on strategies to build a community of trust with parents:

I'm constantly thinking about how to improve the process. I know that I will take time to explain to parents in lots of detail about the process that we use at the school…staff supervision…how we're in the halls all the time and all the procedures that we use…Stuff that happens, good or bad, you know little details, you know big events, I want to call home. I want to keep the lines of communication open so that when parents do have a concern, when they hear about something happening at school, or on Facebook with their children that...they can share information with us…

Peter described his reasoning for the importance of establishing a network of parents who feel included in making school a positive place for their children:

…There's a kind of level of…a sense that teachers and staff of the school have a certain responsibility to run a building that...I think we've lost a lot of that, a lot of understanding from the public about what's required for that…so that's been a real challenge. I feel like there's a lot less respect for the authority for teachers, for staff and for school sometimes…that you're no better than I am is kind of the feeling I get sometimes from some parents and from some students. I respect that but there's the responsibility that we have for looking after everybody in the school.

Peter's telling illustrates his hard work and desire to build a positive school environment for students. He describes understanding the necessity of including and working together with parents. Peter also describes his sense that parents do not understand or respect the level of effort and attention required by the principal and staff to operate a school. In this way he positions himself school-centrically, suggesting that aspects of running a school are not part of a shared responsibility between families and schools. Peter feels the immense responsibility of looking after the many aspects of managing a school and student body, while not recognizing that he continues to position parents outside of the field of school. This indicates a sense of discordance between the parents' understandings and responsibilities to support their children and school personnel's understandings and school responsibilities when they meet together to create shared responsibility in behaviour interactions.

At the same time Peter was aware of how parents' involvement improved the school experience for their child and the entire school community. He suggested:

> In this small community we all live together and everybody has to learn how to be together.... Some parents get that right away and other's…it's a lot more work.

Peter described how important it was to him to include parents and create trusting working relationships with them to support their children and recounted many examples of what he did to promote this view. Peter further suggests that in his small community some parents understand how important it is to maintain positive relationships among the school staff and community families, while others do not. At the same time Peter does not mention relationships between teachers and parents of his school. Creating trusting relationships that support children in their schools requires inclusion of all stakeholders, which includes parents, students, teachers, and support staff, as well as administrators. School-centricity or school-directedness does not describe equal and trusting shared relationships between a school and its families. Peter's recounting suggests that his efforts to include and work with parents remain in the school-centric domain of the parent involvement to engagement continuum. In Peter's school, despite notable effort, parents are not included at a prerequisite level or given an opportunity in their parent-school interactions to share in creating the behaviour resolution processes together.

Study participants provided evidence of their parenting practices in their reflections, suggesting the varying levels of social currency they were able to access in their social networks. Lareau (2003) describes the cultural logic that parents adopt in childrearing approaches in which she suggests that different classes inherently access differing styles of parenting. Study participants did not always describe immediate networks that they drew support from, but often the influence was inherently suggested in how they approached their problem solving and interactions to support their children. Rosie, Maria, Ramsey, and Cara reported on their interactions, which suggested the variations in how social networks influenced their efforts to support their children:

Rosie described feeling that there were other agendas being pursued when she engaged herself in supporting her child and her experience portrayed a negative perception she had of the social network influence.

> There was a lot of job protection going on in the responses we were getting. In fact, one person said to me, "Oh, I have to protect my position

175

in this situation." I felt that people were…that they were protecting their jobs, perhaps at the individual expense of children that might be in certain situations and circumstances. I think that's very unfortunate because you lose that sense of being real and honest and really knowing what's going on.

Rosie also described her social network of professionals who supported her regarding her interactions with her child's principal and teachers. She reported that she had met members of this network through her own professional life:

If I was advising another parent in something similar to what was my situation at the time…this is going to sound a little harsh…I would definitely advise them to tell the school nothing about what is going on in the home front. And in fact I especially stopped…after my professional contacts at the medical and arts communities took me aside and said that basically had been my mistake…that I was too naïve and too open about what my experiences were at home and that you basically should never make it the school's business.

After her child's behaviour problem, Rosie described removing herself from the system and selectively interacting with one teacher to support her child. Because Rosie is a professional, she understood the social requirements and had the social knowledge to manage in the social space or institutional field of school. She reported maintaining this professional network which she periodically communicated with relating to her son's behaviour.

Jones grew up in his present community, resulting in a far-reaching social network. Although he did not relate interacting with other parents or being involved with his child's school, he described his many community experiences and work situations that he had experienced over the years. This appeared to have influence in his dealing with his child's principal:

My kid always knew I talked to these people in a way that they understood. I'm nice but just because I'm not yelling and swearing and getting all excited, it doesn't mean I'm not going to not slit your throat…like figuratively speaking…because I will.... When I've run operations...the one thing everyone liked was that they always knew what the rules were. The rules were for everybody.... In talking to the principal, he did a very poor job in finding out what the problem was and a solution. My son felt blamed unjustly.

Jones appeared to draw a certain confidence and authority from his long history of his life and work experience in the community and drew from this in his interactions with his child's principal. This demonstrated the social currency he had amassed over a long period of time in the community, and which he did not hesitate to draw on. Jones was unique among the parent-participants in that he was aware of how his community and work experiences helped him in supporting his child.

Ellie described her difficulties in establishing a supportive relationship with her son's school to support his behaviour. As a single parent, she related not having the time to volunteer or help at school as other stay-at-home parents might do. She reported her concern that this might influence outcomes of her endeavours to support her child, a contrary notion to Putnam's (1995a, 1995b) positive reciprocity. For this reason Ellie also did not have an opportunity to accumulate or increase her limited social capital in the educational field, and described how she recognized that this is what allowed other parents to have stronger connections to their child's school, including with the principal and teachers.

Ellie describes being very much alone to manage her child and his school behaviour and family life at home:

> I know the principal isn't going to tell me why he did things the way he did.... All I know from that is that my point of view was wrong.... Mine was wrong. In my opinion that whole incident with my child was very poorly managed. I think they gave up all expectations.... But I don't have anybody to support me in stuff like that so...Nobody would assist me in my doings…so it was like a clear message from everybody….

Although Ellie described having extended family in her community, she felt she could not rely on them for help that positively supported her family, either at home or at school:

> I can't enforce anything I want to enforce without the whole family stepping in. I can't do anything without someone coming to my house all the time.

She reported that this fuelled her plans to move to the city, away from her extended family and her child' school problems, where she would start afresh in establishing her family in a new community.

Jones described how his community volunteerism in which he coached youth sports allowed him to establish coaching relationships with many young people his children's ages. He reported these connections permitted him greater insight when he advocated for his children in school, particularly his son whom he supported throughout the resolution of a behavioural concern. Jones' description suggested self-confidence in his advocacy for his son, despite a perhaps unconventional approach as he related his son's behavioural issue with the administrator:

> …He was an incompetent principal. He was very stubborn...and he was very insecure. Bad combination…being stubborn and insecure....
> Because if he had a wrong opinion and point of view, or solution, he stuck with it. Didn't matter what parents spoke to him or whatever…that was it.

Jones reported that he did not have to have affinity with other parents or create stronger relationships with the school principal or teachers to have positive or supportive interactions or the benefits of positive reciprocity, and imparted that his primary goal as a school parent was to see that his children were fairly treated in school discipline practices.

Although many study participants' descriptions were sometimes not entirely discrete to one category or subtheme in this section, their accounts of their experiences in their behaviour interactions suggested an influence from the various demographics and sizes of their social networks, whether negative or positive. Participants' narratives suggested unexpected consequences and influences, such as Ellie's experience of having an extended family social network in her community that was not helpful to her as she parented and supported her children.   Jones' participation and approach provided a different view of Putnam's (2000, 2001) concepts of social reciprocity, illustrating how he received acknowledgment and positive benefits within his social network in his community, yet he did not overtly activate their influence in his endeavours to support his child's behaviour problem at school. Instead this occurred implicitly in Jones's school interactions for his son.

7.3. Family Background

7.3.1. Family Resources

Throughout the Part 3 interview data, study participants reflected on their parenting and their efforts to support their children as they interacted with their child's school. Some parent-participants indicated the relationship between their own experiences growing up and how they now supported their own children in school. Interview data inherently reflected the study's literature themes, including Bourdieu's (1998) concept of symbolic capital. The data revealed the influence of the wide-ranging life experiences of parents, extending from their own childhood backgrounds to their present parenting endeavours when they advocated for their children. Symbolic capital, which emerges from cultural and social capital and is evidenced in a setting or field, is where the power is in the types of dispersal of the capital that the participants possess. Whether parent or administrator, study participants reflected on how they acted on their agency or sense of efficacy, which was influenced by their level of social capital.

Belinda was aware of the relationship between family background, which aligns with Bourdieu's (1977, 1986, 1989) concept of habitus, and supporting her children. She related how her husband had not had the same parental support in his education as she and their children experienced:

> My mom was at school a lot for my brother who had ADHD…supporting him. My husband…I actually wept when I read his reports cards…the comments from his teachers…"the asinine laugher,...he won't sit still"...and it was just awful what they wrote about him, getting in trouble for just being who he was. Now I realize that I have a bigger role to play than I thought I did…I think it's all about your child knowing that they are loved...stability, support...just having that stable upbringing and know your parents are in your corner, even when you don't always make the right decision.

Although she did not always find meeting with the principal easy, Belinda stated that she recognized the importance of being involved in supporting her child:

> I feel like I know what is going on…I realize I have a bigger role than I thought I did. Now I realize that you have to be a partner with the school

179

they are attending. I feel a little bit privileged that I am able to play a
bigger role.

As a professional, Alice demonstrated the language and persistence necessary
to support her child in school. After many years of her child telling her that he was not
listened to and never got to tell his side of the story when he was in trouble at school,
she described telling the principal what she felt was necessary to happen for her child:

> What needs to happen here is this kid needs to know that their position is
> understood; we're not getting there."…So then we had a half hour
> conversation, that principal and I, and we had it out, like really out,
> everything on the table.... It was like you know what, "I've defended you
> for…you know, 6 or 7 or 10 years since my kids have been here,...all the
> policies you've put in place... It's not even that my kid doesn't want to take
> responsibility for what he did but he needs to know that his part of the
> story is being actually.... You don't have to agree with it but you have to
> hear it and at least understand it.

Alice described knowing how to speak to the principal and her frustration for her
son. She reported that when she realised that despite his behaviour, how her son had
continually told her he was not being listened to, she went to her son's school and
insisted that the principal listen to her concerns about his behaviour approach. This
exemplifies Bourdieu's (1989) notion that those who share similar economic, cultural and
social resources may operate on more equal terms and experience a higher comfort
level in a field, in this case the school.

7.3.2.   Parenting Practices

Regardless of their family backgrounds, current situations, and parenting
approaches such as the accomplishment of natural growth or concerted cultivation
(Lareau, 2000, 2003), parent-participants consistently described their efforts and
determination to remain informed and involved in their children's school experience.
They reflected their emotional sensitivity in their participation and reported what was
important to them in their parenting practices to support their children.

Sandra related what she wanted for her children and how she listened to them to
gauge her parenting. She used these understandings and assertions in her interactions

with her daughter's school to support her. Different than Ellie's approach, as a stay-at-home mother Sandra had more time to be concerned about her child's school experience and emotional engagement. She recognized that not all parents had that same opportunity:

> The communication is important because I think the school sees one side of what's happening, and people are busy...the kids are seeing a whole different set of things happening. The parents…some of them hear nothing, and some of us fortunate ones hear more than we would like to at times...and that depends on the kids and the parents and relationships.... I just do a lot of volunteering and driving and things around the school. You get to hear a lot of what's going on…from the kids. I stay in touch that way.

Sandra described establishing herself for volunteering and being involved in her children's school and education. She reports being aware of the challenges for parents to maintain a social network to remain involved with the school and their children's education:

> I don't know how you include the parents in…the PAC meetings are…are good to have…but not all the parents come.... And then you get the range of parents. Some of them stick their kid in Grade 7 and hope they pop out the kid in Grade 12 and he's a great educated child…and they don't really want to be involved. And then there are those of us who maybe get too involved and they maybe think should just shut up and back off.... And I'm pretty sure I won't, even by the time the last one goes through either.

Sandra also related the importance of being involved in her children' education and of listening to their input about school related matters. As a study participant, Sandra was unique in that she recognized that all parents did not have the same opportunities to be involved in their child's education. She reported that her connections through her volunteerism had allowed her to stay in touch with the administration in her child's school:

> A lot depends on administration and how open they are to hearing…things...and or taking…maybe not a stand but being proactive in trying to work with parents and kids in trying to change that.

Study participants' examples reflected how they understood the importance of being involved and connected to their children's school and school experience in their parenting. They recognized that opportunities to be involved were different for each family. For example, it was much more difficult for Ellie to volunteer and be engaged in the school setting because of her responsibilities as a single parent.

7.3.3.   Parent Action

Some parents described actions they took to support their children. Parents' school participation builds their broader capital in the educational field when other parents and teachers recognize their actions. Their participation allows them to have stronger connections to the school and with other parents, and also creates a subtle leveraging influence for desired outcomes for their children (Epstein, 2001). This follows with the idea of positive reciprocity in the accumulation of social capital when it functions as a type of social currency for parents at school. Study participants illustrated varying degrees of leveraging ability or social influence when they participated in behavioural interactions to support their children. Where Putnam's (1995a, 1995b) ideas of positive reciprocity relate to the accumulation of social capital stemming particularly from civic or community engagement, we can attribute these ideas similarly to parents and their accumulation of social capital in the school setting. Parents related ways in which they were engaged in their children's school, how this affected their behaviour, and what was most effective and encouraging for them as parents in their experiences and interactions for their children.

Parent-participants commented on the degree to which they were involved in their child's school and how this affected the support they were able to enlist and participate in for their children's behaviour. Ellie described her frustration at not feeling the school understood or listened to her concerns about her child, disagreeing with how his behaviour was addressed at school.   Eventually she decided to take her own action and manage the behaviour by supporting his behaviour and encouraging him as best she could from home.   Jones described the recognition he received from his employment history and volunteerism in the community, which likely supported his forthright approach with the school principal about his son's behaviour. He chose to express to administration how he expected his son to be fairly disciplined at school. As

an administrator, Alyson fully engaged in participating in her son's discipline concerns when he was younger by working with his principal and school staff to support him. She followed the same course of action in engaging both parents and the student in resolving discipline problems at school.

Among the study participants, Gracie exemplified a high degree of active participation in parenting, volunteering, communicating with the school, and collaborating with school staff or other parents. She described volunteering in clubs at lunch, attending open house nights, and parent teacher conferences. Gracie related how not all parents could attend school events or volunteer and also how some parents did not seem to choose to be involved in their child's education:

> I think participation is the key. I think it's a huge challenge for the principal to get parents in here or even to know how to get these parents involved. It's not just the school district…but you can't force someone…to have interest. You can let them know…laying out all the information, and you can hope to rope them in. I think it's a big issue right now… communication and getting parents involved when there are opportunities. Maybe it's the responsibility of the parents who do show up to try to bring those other parents in....

Gracie's description illustrated an awareness of degrees of participation among parents and she also recognized the difficulty in principals getting parents to volunteer. At the same time her story illustrates the assumptions and judgments individuals make extending from their own efforts to be involved, or to build trusting relationships with others they work with or live beside. Pushor (2011) suggests that as parents and educators, we look inward to understand and recognize how we are positioning ourselves when we ask others to work with us, confer with us about children, and share the work of resolving behaviour problems. In this way we are equally positioned to move forward together, and gain awareness and understanding of our own positionality so that it does not get in the way of our work together, whether as parents or educators. Where Gracie was regularly active in volunteering and being part of activities at the school, which she reported helped position her to better support her children, Ramsey related a different experience:

> I haven't tended to get overly involved. I've offered in the past, when my kids went to elementary school, you know…. But I've never been drawn

to be on a parent committee and that kind of thing. I'm grateful for parents who are…but I never felt able to do that kind of thing. I feel somewhat overwhelmed and a bit out of my depth.

Study participants were realistic and unapologetic about their level of volunteering and other activities they were able to engage in in their children's schools. Their descriptions suggested that they recognized that the level of school related participation that parents exercised somehow made it easier to support their children in the actions they took when they advocated for them.

7.4. Communication

Graue and Hawkins (2010) indicate that enhancing two-way communication is part of meaningful home-school relationships. These connections create opportunities for parents' to be involved in supporting their children at school. In this way, communication is much more than a channelling of information sharing and is crucial to building trusting and collaborative relationships to break down the power relations that exist between home and school (Graue & Hawkins, 2010). Epstein (2001) offers a redefinition of communication that describes multi-directional avenues of communication that connect home, school, and the community for a variety of purposes. While acknowledging that her work remains in a generally school-centric realm, aspects of her redefinition are useful if they are used to mean that greater ease of communication and increased opportunities for effective responses to student problems can result from strengthened communication in the work of building parent and school partnerships. Participants provided examples of their experiences and communication in their interactions to support their children's behaviour problems at school. As in other parent input, participants' examples were not entirely discrete to this sub-theme and could sometimes be similarly relevant to other areas of the study.

Sandra described how she felt frustrated with the principal's responses and decided with her husband to find another educational experience for her daughter. She reports receiving no communication about direction in how to proceed in putting her child in a temporary home schooling situation:

> I phoned the school to make an appointment to see the principal and by
> the time I got in to see him, he already had the documentation for my
> daughter and she was no longer enrolled and going to school there. I felt
> badly because it wasn't how I wanted the process to happen.

It did not appear that the school principal had looked inward to empathically position himself to understand and communicate with Sandra (Pushor, 2011). This did not allow Sandra to communicate her desire for a healthy and supportive educational situation for her daughter and her rationale for a temporary home-schooling situation. Ultimately the principal's stance or his situatedness did not support shared communication to discuss Sandra's concerns. Thus, Sandra felt the process was rushed and she had not received proper communication and school input, although she had instigated this change for her daughter:

> I told him…that I wasn't particularly pleased with his responses and just
> the way the school was running right now, and her safety and well-being.
> I thought this was the best move for her.

Sandra described the poor communication she experienced in not knowing the actual state of affairs:

> I don't know if they were equipped to deal with the issues…or if they
> thought they would just go away.... It was pretty awful....But I just thought,
> "I don't want this going on." This was not the experience I wanted for my
> daughter. Well, the administration changed the next year or so.... It was
> just a different tone and different approach and the kids seemed to really
> respect her really quickly. She was interacting with the kids and she was
> interacting with the parents, where I didn't feel it had previously been like
> that…and it wasn't difficult to talk to her.

Sandra pursued and maintained communication with her child's principal and teachers, regardless of the situation and when she felt it was necessary. She described being comfortable in remaining involved at school and the responsibility she felt to her child to remain informed. Sandra reported believing that this allowed her to have a stronger connection with the school and other involved parents due to her persistence in communication and the other forms of participation.

Gracie related how she exercised every opportunity to support her child and particularly when he was a victim of bullying. She described feeling little reserve in communicating her concerns and requests to the school principal or her child's teachers, and similar to Epstein's parenting level of participation in her typology, she chose to remain involved in her child's school experience when she felt the principal did not sufficiently act to keep her child safe at school:

> I'm not sure she appreciated my knowledge…but she respected it...and she knew that we would follow up on it…after we went to the superintendent. As parents we actually met with other parents and said, "This is what your kid's doing…and this is what has to stop." That's when we made headway and the bullying stopped.

Gracie stated that there were ways for parents to be involved, such as being on committees, that would work to prevent bullying, promote safety, and communicate information to other parents:

> I think a smart principal would be one that would go to a PAC meeting and strike a committee of parents that want to be involved and let them do the works...and have a dialogue to get more parents involved...the principal could facilitate it quite easily by pulling the people together and leading it with them...because I really do think it's important.

Chloe described the new principal in her daughter's school as being receptive to communication and how they worked together to support her daughter when she decided to do a home-school program:

> …When she decided and we along with her, that it would be better.... It wasn't how she wanted to do school but she felt much safer at home. She missed her social life…she did her schoolwork and was not hard to have at home.

Chloe's experience demonstrated that communication is crucial in working together to find solutions to support children.

In supporting his son and his schooling, Dane described his parenting efforts in communication with his son's school, attending parent-teacher conferences, volunteering his time for the school, and coaching in the community. Dane made consistent attempts to maintain communication with his son's school, and when his son

186

returned to live with his mother full-time, Dane described his inability to preserve the communication with the school in order to support his son's attendance:

> …On the surface the communication was all there.... The counsellors were amazing to work with…and followed up…and seemed genuinely concerned. I tried to communicate with his teachers…and only one teacher communicated with me. I tried to make it work.

Dane's efforts exemplify how despite his attempts to use different approaches to communicate and participate, similar to some of those described in Epstein's (2001) typology of parent involvement, outcomes may not bear the positive results that parents hope for. While containing many suggestions for communication approaches, Epstein's (2001) typology situates Dane's efforts near the beginning of a continuum of involvement strategies and Dane is frustrated by his awareness that he wants more shared engagement than he feels able to access and experience. Ultimately, Dane feels stifled and unsupported in his attempts to move forward in his efforts to support his child.

Hannah reported persistent communication efforts with her son's teachers and principal, as well as consistent parenting approaches to support him through several school concerns. Hannah described how she had to make an effort to change in order to effectively communicate on behalf of her son:

> I think I learned that I had to be assertive and I had to really push people to do what was best for my son…regardless of my own…affairs…and I had to lose that fear of displeasing people and have them mad at me...and basically do what was best for my son. It would have been easier not to say anything.

Hannah described deciding to create a communication paper trail so that her efforts to support her son were documented when she recognized that school was not serving her son well:

> It does take time and teachers and principals will tell you, "Stop sending me emails!"…But when you have a stack like that, it's hard to deny you're having an issue with the school. It's hard to deny that actual stack of paper…and so just don't give up.

Hannah's example of communication is similar to Dane's' experience in that as parents they understood the importance of maintaining communication with their child's school although the outcomes were not always what they would wish for despite their efforts. In Hannah's case, she stated that:

> You need to keep an eye out if your child is having ongoing issues, but also make sure that if you don't feel that it's working, then say something...because it really is all about the kid.

As an administrator, Peter described how he continually thought of ways to improve the discipline processes in his school. He practiced a variety of communication approaches with parents, provided opportunities for parents to see the school in session, varied his strategies in resolving discipline concerns, and created opportunities for parents to participate in their children's' school experience:

> I am constantly…constantly thinking about how to improve the process. I know that I will take the time to explain to parents in lots of detail about the processes that we use at school constantly, staff supervision, how we're in the halls, all the time, ...all the other pieces that we put into place.

Peter described his efforts to work with all parents and his desire to help them understand how it was everyone's responsibility to participate in their child's school experience and work together in doing so:

> You know...some parents are on board; they realize it's…you know…it's give and take with the kids…other's...they're looking for much more of a hammer. My perspective is that we live in a small community and we all have to learn to live together. Ultimately, they might be working together, and you know…you want to feel comfortable with that person so they have to learn how to be respectful, how to work together and all that kind of stuff. And some parents get that right away and others…it's a lot more work.

Peter's reflections, along with those of other study participants, indicated the ongoing effort necessary for shared communication practices between home and school to fulfil the school's role of providing positive support for children's behaviour.   Peter's and Hannah's experiences indicate what Lawson (2003) defines as competing roles between school educators and parents in their efforts to support children.

188

Many of the examples of this chapter exposed the beliefs and assumptions that are unnoticed yet inherent in school stakeholder attempts to parent and provide education.   Participants' examples illustrated assumptions about roles, about who decides, and for some study-participants, a need for a winner and loser in the process of working to resolve behaviour problems in parent-school interactions. Examples also illustrated the taken-for-grantedness that does not challenge how parents and schools currently work together. The notion of the school as protectorate and the holder of important knowledge was also evident in participant descriptions (Pushor, 2007; Pushor & Murphy, 2010). Conversely, this indicated possibilities for parents and educators to work together to deeply understand what must be entailed to break down the inherent and unchallenged barriers and resistance to moving towards sharing the school landscape. Participants' stories demonstrated the taken-for-grantedness that is characteristic of an often usual way of operating in schools, that is, in a school-centric way that keeps parents situated near the edges of the school landscape. These findings could be used to challenge and develop the process of resolving behaviour problems in behaviour interactions.

To change this, administrators and teachers, together with parents, must find ways to create opportunities for parents and educators to work together to resolve issues by learning about family backgrounds and each other's beliefs and practices (Li, 2010), or as Pushor (2011) suggests, looking inside. In this way they can build "strong and genuine partnerships" (Li, 2010, p. 176) that position parents and educators alongside each other to support children. For example, the subtle and inherent edges of school-centricity could be addressed and eased by concentrating on including all families, even beginning with one family at a time. School activities and events would necessarily be rethought with invitations extended and followed up for all families. Extra care to orient and maintain contact with families of marginalized contexts or families who are more often absent would be a crucial starting point to creating and reinforcing trusting relationships.   Parent-school interactions for behaviour would become a shared process that is bolstered by a strong parent-school network that encourages and permits social reciprocity that extends from those shared and trusting relationships.

7.5. **Summary**

Chapter 7 presented the findings of the Phase 8 narrative representations of Part 3: Reflections on the Meaning interviews of the participants. The emergent major themes of the participants' voicing of their experiences included the following: (a) relationship, (b) family background, and (c) communication. Similarly to Chapters 5 and 6, the findings were organized and presented around these themes that relate to the theoretical ideas noted in Chapter 3 of the study. As previously stated, these included discussion of social, cultural, and other influences of societal life and how these effects emerge in social behaviour and interactions of families and school.

By reflecting on the stories of their experiences of participation study participants described how this helped them to understand their interactions. Their respectful and sensitive portrayals illustrated the value they placed on how they supported their children, reinforcing their intentions to continue to advocate for them, despite the differing level of effort this took for each participant. The findings of the data from the three-part interview process, as outlined in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 will be discussed in Chapter 8 in relation to the literature themes and research questions of the study.

Chapter 8.

Discussion

In Chapter 8, using the data of Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I discuss the experience of parents when they participate in interactions with school personnel to support their children's behaviour problems. While three administrator-participants who also had extensive teaching background provided a balancing perspective in the study, attention is drawn to the experiences of parent-participants. To remind the reader, the chapter includes acknowledgement of the limitations and delimitations of the study and brief descriptions of the case study research purpose and the research design. I include discussion of how parents understand their experiences of behavioural interactions to support their children in relation to the theoretical ideas of Chapter 4. Chapter 8 also provides interpretations of parents' experiences of behavioural mediation attempts with school administrators and teachers and the study's conclusion, and recommendations for future study.

8.1. Case Study Purpose and Research Questions

Chapter 1 stated that the purpose of this case study was to examine the experiences of parents in the process of parent interactions in school behaviour mediation attempts on their children's behalf. Much research activity has been dedicated to the types and aspects of parents' involvement that influence their child's academic outcomes in school. As well, considerable empirical research literature is directed at the effects of parents' involvement in school improvement, based on academic achievement. This study focused on parents' experiences in their behavioural interactions. Study participants were parents whose children attended school in Grades 4 to 11 in the Seaside School District and three school principals.

The research question directing this case study was:

How does social reproduction theory help us understand parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour?

Sub-Questions investigated in this study were:

- **Sub-Question 1.**
  What resources and capital do parents bring to their interactions at school regarding their children's behaviour problems?

- **Sub-Question 2.**
  How do the life experiences of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school?

8.2. Case Study Design

A case study research design was the approach used to examine the research questions stated above. Robson (2002) suggests that a single case study approach with multiple participants and the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection is an appropriate research method to use. Case study design's all-encompassing approach is specific in its process, involving the logic of design, techniques for data collection, and specific methods for data analysis (Yin, 2009). Case study is defined as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam, 2009, p.43), and is a well-suited approach when the phenomenon's variables cannot be separated from their context (Yin, 2009). This case study presentation fits these descriptions.

As Merriam (2009) suggests, the theoretical framework underlies all research. In case study research the theoretical framework is the underlying structure of the study, or the system of concepts and ideas that supports and informs the research. This study was framed by concepts that inform social reproduction theory, after examining and situating the ideas of parent involvement and parent engagement. These included the concepts of cultural, social, and symbolic capital, power differentials that arise in social institutions and interactions, and parenting approaches. The real-life context of this case study was a small coastal school district where parents supported their school-aged children. The case was the experience of parents in their behavioural interactions in support of their children's behaviour problems. This case was bounded by time in that it occurred over a two-year period and further bounded by place in that parents supported

their children in the schools specific to the small seaside school district (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009).

This was a single-case study, in which the unit of analysis included twelve parents and their experiences of supporting their children in behavioural interactions with their children's schools. Two of the parents were male and ten parents were female. The parents had children in Grades 4 to 11. As well, three principals who had experienced behavioural interactions with their students were included in the unit of analysis, also in Grades 4 to 11. Two principals were female and one principal was male. Their students were in Grades 4 to 11. A detailed description of the study's setting was provided in Chapter 4 to further situate the study. This included geographic, economic, and cultural information and described details about social demographics of the communities and the school district and communities of the area.

8.3. Researcher Reflexivity

As previously described in Section 4.13.2, research reflexivity is described as the researcher's awareness of the manner and extent that their beliefs, social identity, and personal background have influence on the research process (Robson, 2002). The researcher must practice continuous awareness of their presence as researcher-as-instrument and through the course of the project establish a continuous practice of examining their position as researcher against the position of the participant. In fact, as suggested by Robson's (2002) and Merriam's (2009) approaches, researcher bias is actually alleviated by exposing personal biases and assumptions.

Due to the sometimes deeply emotional and personal nature of participants' interviews and revisiting the interview data many times in the data analysis phases, I was continually reminded of how I was situated as researcher-as-instrument. To review, the strategies I used included keeping a research journal of my ongoing interactions with the research process from the start of the study, recording and revisiting field notes, creating interview notes during the interview phase, writing analytic observation notes on interview documents and other research records, and reviewing each piece of documentation as required throughout the research process. As noted in section 4.12.2, each of these approaches reinforced awareness of my role as researcher and supported

my attempts to bracket my assumptions and pre-conceptions that were exposed and challenged in my efforts to maintain the integrity of the study. While competing with the constant nudging concern of remaining true to the participants' experiences, this pathway was guided by knowing that using these approaches allows one to find deeper ways to understand the lived experience while helping to maintain the study's integrity.

8.4.   Study Themes

Van Manen (1990) contends that arrived at themes are like threads that suggest the essence we are trying to get at and which we attach to constructing the phenomenological description of the experience we are examining. He compares these themes to the stars in the sky that light the way to better illuminate the experience we are examining (Van Manen, 1990). In other words, while establishing the emerging themes of the study was important, more importantly the themes discovered lead to the deeper understanding of the parent-participants' lived experiences, which in turn contributes to our fuller understanding in the realm of the wider human experience.

The findings of Chapters 5, 6, and 7, revealed themes and sub-themes that illustrated how parents understood the experience of their interactions to support their children's behaviour concerns at school. Chapter 5's emergent themes, with sub-themes in brackets, arose from interview Part 1: A Focused Life History and included the following: (a) family relationships (family activities), (b) family background (educational attainment, family employment, childhood independence), and (c) family beliefs (family discipline). The emergent themes of Chapter 6 were related to Part 2: The Details of the Experience and included the following: (a) communication (parent communication, school communication with parents), (b) relationship (parents' persistence, relationship differences, acknowledgment and understanding, relationship-building), (c) discipline (parents and behaviour support, administrators and discipline, the restorative quality of discipline. In Chapter 7, the emergent themes extended from interview Part 3: Reflections on the Meaning and included: (a) relationship (parent-school relationships, parents and social networks, (b) family background (family resources, parenting practices, parent action), and (c) communication. Study findings discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are consistent with the literature and theory discussed in Chapters 3 and 4,

which concerned situating the ideas of parent involvement and parent engagement, and the influences of social reproduction theory in parents interactions to support their children's behaviour. Because the larger themes and sub-themes have characteristically not been discrete as they emerged in the findings, aspects of each theme and sub-theme have been addressed in some manner in the Chapter 8 discussion. For example, Chapter 7's findings of the theme of communication were implicit in practically every other theme and sub-theme of the discussion. What follows is the correlation of the study findings to the literature review.

8.5. Social Reproduction in Parents' Experience

Social reproduction theory was used to inform the study, providing a theoretical background to further understand the meanings of themes that emerged from parents' descriptions of their own backgrounds, experiences of family life, parenting their children, and particularly the experience of behaviour interactions to support their children at school. Social reproduction theory focuses particularly on the work of Bourdieu (1986, 1989), who proposed that social structures, activities, and events in society are influenced by social, cultural, or symbolic capital, which act similarly to a type of social currency. He also distinguished that social class inequalities are reproduced and legitimized in the education system and are influenced by possession of cultural and social capital as well as higher class habitus (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989). The influence of the pedagogic authority and institutional power of the school also have an effect on the how parents activate and use their cultural and social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The study is further informed by the work of Coleman (1988), Putnam (2000), and Lareau (2000, 2003) particularly relating to parents and education. These theorists identified that social and cultural differences between individuals and families have a role that influences social outcomes in their life experiences, activities, and education.

Findings suggested that parents' experience and knowledge about their children must first have a place of recognition on the school landscape (e.g., field), prior to their interactions with principals and teachers for their children. Parents provided evidence of possessing profound insight and important knowledge about their children that appeared largely unrecognized or most often remained unshared with their children's educators.

195

Lack of recognition of parental insight and knowledge of their children complicated parents' efforts in their interactions. In this study, parents' recounting of their stories suggested that their social, cultural, and symbolic resources were not static entities in their individual lives. Participants' descriptions of their experiences were consistent with Horvat and Lareau's (1999) assertions that social reproduction does not follow a smooth pathway and that the value of capital is dependent on the field, and having value only if it is activated. Similarly to their work, study participants' experiences reflected variance in their skill to activate their social resources and making a choice to activate their capital or not (Horvat & Lareau, 1999).

However, their stories reflected that despite the complexities of social reproduction theory, aspects such as the influence of cultural, social, and symbolic capital could be applied to help understand their experiences. As well, other social theoretical ideas were indicated such as the important, prior, and ongoing work of creating social bridges between home and school to provide a foundation for parents and school educators to be engaged together in mediating behaviour problems. Parents' stories revealed that a variety of connections existed between home and school, and while some connections were positive and had benefit, others did not always have utility, were sometimes weak, and even stressful, such as in Ellie's experience.

Coleman (1988) identified the historic nature of inequality and underscored the important role of family in a child's education. Extending Bourdieu's ideas beyond the middle and upper classes, Coleman (1988) broadened his work to include the marginalized and powerless in society, claiming that all families, regardless of economic ability, have cultural, economic, and social resources to draw on. This aligns more aptly with the Seaside School District families and the parent-participants of this study, and is reflected in the Seaside School District's population, which represents a lot of diversity along the socio-economic status continuum. As noted in Chapter 4, one study limitation describes inclusion of participants from families of diverse backgrounds that include varying socio-economic, educational, and cultural features and experiences, and who live together in the community enclaves that make up the Seaside coastal population. Study findings depicted family backgrounds as being of middle-class or working class contexts, while participants' stories reflected non-discrete evidence of class. In other words, participant stories did not reflect that coming from middle or working-class

contexts had bearing on their efforts to support their children. As well, findings did not portray parent-participant input as emerging from upper class or low-income contexts, indicating that study findings are not generalizable to these groups of parents. This aspect of the findings suggests interesting questions about these other contexts that warrant examination to further explore the interactions of parents in mediating their children's behaviour problems.

8.6. The Concept of Habitus in Parents' Interactions

Habitus, described by Bourdieu (1984, 1986) as the social tendencies and preferences that guide a person's thinking and behaviour, is an appropriate concept to inform discussion as it allows many aspects of family life to be considered in examining outcomes. As noted in Chapter 3, families and students are internally wired as to what they are drawn to and the kind of success they will have due to the kind of input they are capable of receiving, responding to, experiencing, and accessing, a process ingrained form early childhood. These innate predispositions are shaped and influenced, or may not be, by an individual or family's access to cultural, social, and other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). In the findings of Chapters 5, 6, and 7 individual examples of habitus in terms of parents, teachers, and principals provided a challenging reminder that regardless of differences in habitus among parents, families, and educators, as van Manen (2012) indicates parents' knowledge and family backgrounds must have an established place of recognition and respect in the school space.

As the study progressed, it became increasingly clear that parents could not be fully engaged in their interactions to support their children if the body of knowledge that parents possess about their family backgrounds and children was not acknowledged, or worse, omitted. For some parents, this aggravated the gap or widened the space that exists between home and school in parents' attempts to create meaningful strategies that made sense for positive outcomes for their children. Similar to Lareau's' (2000) assertion, parent-participants with similar habitus, thus involving similar social class resources used or accessed them differently. For example, Ellie and Maria, both from similar SES contexts, approached their behavioural interactions at their children's schools differently. Ellie was unsuccessful in her attempts to be heard and to obtain a

satisfactory outcome for her son. When this did not materialize she decided to manage the concerns at home without school intervention, thus widening an already present gap between home and school.   Maria was determined in pursuing the kinds of interventions and outcomes she wanted for her son, made sure she was heard by the school principal, and persisted until she was satisfied with the outcomes. However, she later articulated that she wished she had handled the situation more thoughtfully despite the outcomes, suggesting the gap between home and school had not been improved. This also indicated Maria's awareness that her actions did not align with her sense of her own habitus.

The designated themes acknowledged in this section are listed as they emerged but are described in terms of the theoretical literature that was selected to inform the study, particularly in relation to the concept of habitus. Arising from Part 1: A Focused Life History interview data, themes that related to habitus in terms of family background included the following with sub-themes in brackets: (a) family relationships (family activities), (b) family background (educational attainment, family employment, childhood independence), and (c) family beliefs (family discipline). In Part 1 relationship data clearly aligned with the concept of habitus. Although the theme of relationship emerged in the findings of the other two interview stages as well, it was not as discretely related to the concept of habitus, despite illuminating characteristics and aspects of the concept. In Part 2: The Details of the experience, relationship (parents' persistence, relationship differences, acknowledgment and understanding, and relationship building) was revealed as a major theme, and in Part 3: Reflections on the Meaning, relationship (parent-school relationship and parents' and social networks) was also identified as an emerging theme. Relationship data is examined in terms of habitus and social capital to understand how one's habitus may affect the experience of parents' behavioural interactions in the parent-school relationship.

Similar to Lareau's' (2000) assertion, parent-participants with comparable social class resources used or accessed them somewhat differently. For example Alice, who was from a middle-class context, described being frustrated with how her son's behaviour matter was dealt with in school and took a straightforward direct approach to organize and meet with the principal. Sandra from a similar background, requested appointments, waited for responses, and took time to work through the process.   Rosie,

also from a similar middle-class background, attempted to work with the school to resolve her son's behaviour, was not satisfied, and organized her own professional resources, taking the situation directly away from the school. Rosie was fortunate to have additional social resources, comparatively beyond what the other two parents drew from, and activated them to draw a support network for her child and herself.

Ellie, from a working-class context, exhibited similar resolve as other parents to support her child. Her efforts to communicate her dissatisfaction, and confusion with the process frustrated her and she related not understanding the principal's approach. She described being unable to work together with the principal, despite her persistence and desire to support her son, and eventually stopped her involvement with the school relating to the matter.

Participants illustrated an inherent strength and resilience in each of their anecdotes. This indicated that despite the economic and social features in their lives, they were not defined and confined by the economic, cultural, and social resource levels that influenced their lives (Coleman, 1988; Coleman, et al., 1966), nor were they aware of being defined and confined by these factors. While theoretically habitus has much alignment with social class and its relationship to SES (Bourdieu, 1984; Lareau, 2000), in this study, parents did not appear aware of social class influences or differences between themselves and other families, or that their backgrounds might have influence in their interactions at school. As well, parent participants did not appear deterred in challenging the pedagogic authority of the school in their interactions, despite the outcomes. This suggests that social resources may not be a defining social feature of influence in parent-school behaviour interactions, indicating that examining for other social processes to support beneficial outcomes of behaviour interactions for children's behaviour problems may increase our knowledge.

8.6.1.   Relationships

The study drew attention to several types of relationships that emerged from the larger family relationship in connection to the concept of habitus in the field of school (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Horvat & Lareau, 1999; Horvat et al., 2003). In connection with family life, the following types of family relationships were evident in the

199

findings: the historic family relationships in the parents' own background, the relationship of the parent with their child, of the parent and the school, of the school with the parent, and the family's relationship with the community. The strength of these relationships was evident as study participants described their own backgrounds, their family life, their participation to support their child's behaviour at school, and their reflections on their involvement in those mediations. As Bourdieu (1984, 1986) suggests, the lasting individual and family dispositions of the family are formed and emerge from the social processes in which they engage. Parents' descriptions in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 arose from their family contexts which influences parent's habitus, providing a lens through which family processes were examined. The findings demonstrated that daily life and individual experiences are influenced by a variety of social relationships, which are developed from a vast set of personal and ongoing experiences.

Participants' accounts illustrated family situations and family ties that were unique to their own families, in essence, illuminating the discrete habitus of each family and the similar and different kinds of relationships these backgrounds invoked. For example, several parents related their childhood family moves to different provinces or towns that challenged, resettled, and changed how their families operated. Other participants described changing family dynamics of past and present family life caused by divorce or death, whether in their upbringing or in their immediate families. They described the struggles that took place to maintain relationships with absentee parents when they were growing up, and how it was to parent in shared parenting situations in their present lives. These descriptions suggested the inherent tensions that exist in relationships, in this case families, and that are a part of all social existence (MacLeod, 2009).   Schools build stronger parent relationships by creating opportunities to "know" these stories and the inherent family relationships that exist in the school community. Mutual understanding of each other emanates from imparting knowledge of self to each other. The study-participants' accounts suggested that through pre-requisite and ongoing efforts by schools to find ways to understand the stories of families and share the stories of their unique school, the interactions of parents at school for children might create greater possibilities for better far-reaching long-lasting outcomes.

The work of building relationships and the outcomes of relationships are dependent on both parties. In the study it is also important to acknowledge how the

schools responded to parent-participants in their parent-school interactions and other described parent experiences. We must recognize that it is not just about family relationships but also about family relationships in relation to interactions with the school. How the school personnel respond in these instances matters, indicating the receptive nature and the reciprocal possibilities of working together that parents and school personnel can share. According to Putnam (2000) relationships are dependent on social trust and this must be reciprocally built and accumulated between individuals in order for its reciprocity to strengthen relationships. Here again, as Pushor (2011) suggests, this happens when families and school personnel work together to build trusting relationships that are part of an environment that encourages parents and school personnel to share the work of education. She maintains that this can only happen when those involved look deeply inward to expose and address assumptions and judgments that stand in the way of families and schools working together to support their children (Pushor, 2011). Then reciprocity, an essential component and crucial for strengthening trusting relationships that exist between parents, their families, and schools can further enable and reinforce the shared engagement of quality support for children.

Educational Attainment

Sullivan (2002) suggests that educational advantage is not merely passed on to children by economic factors and may also be affected by higher-class habitus. Parent-participants in possession of higher-class habitus were purported to participate on more equal footing with principals and teachers (Bourdieu, 1986; Georgiou, 1997, 2007; Lareau, 2000, 2003). In this study, level of education of parent-participants also appeared to be a factor in how comfortable they were in communicating and conducting themselves with the school principal or teacher about their child's behaviour, or how persistent they were in pursuing what they considered was an acceptable outcome.

Evidence of Bourdieu's (1986, 1989) concept of habitus and Lareau's (1987, 2000, 2003) work on the influence of cultural and social capital was evident in study-participants stories of their lives and specifically, their behaviour interactions. For example, Sandra and Belinda were stay-at home mothers with university degrees. They were undeterred in approaching their children's schools to speak to the principal and initiated the encounters themselves. They understood how to engage in a professional

manner due to their university training, despite the sometimes negative reception or unresponsive reactions they experienced in some of their interactions. These parents' interactions suggested calm persistence, although other participants with less education were persistent as well. The principals' responses to these examples were not openly receptive and inviting. However, principals were willing to engage with Sandra and Belinda and work towards a resolution for the behaviour problems. These parent-participants can also be described as purposeful and determined in seeking an acceptable outcome for their children. Similarly to Lareau's descriptions (2000, 2003), their cultural capital included the language and necessary behaviour that was recognized in the educational setting or field and was more similar to that of school personnel.

On the other hand, some parent-participants described their experiences of their interactions as emotionally distressful with unacceptable outcomes. Their habitus and level of education emerged from a working-class context. For example, Ellie experienced the loss of the middle-class context she had been raised in when she became a single parent with four young children. Her cultural capital included a college diploma but she no longer had the middle-class social influences to support her as a working single parent. Ellie's described her interactions at school as being emotionally charged and unsatisfying, despite her undeterred and vocal attempts to understand the situations and enlist support for her child. She reported her school reception as being uninviting and although she was able to articulate her concerns, she related that she did not understand the school's position and was not satisfied with the outcomes. Although Ellie was initially persistent in seeking resolution in her behaviour interactions, in contrast to Belinda's and Sandra's approaches, she eventually gave up, saying she would provide her own discipline at home.

In each of these cases, the school personnel response that participants described was not ideal for a shared partnership with parents to seek acceptable outcomes for behaviour problems. The responses remained school-centric and positional. Where Belinda and Sandra described their experiences as being more reciprocally civil, Ellie described her experiences as being painful, leaving her with a heightened sense of feeling unacknowledged for her expertise about her children. In

202

these examples, principal response did not reinforce or build social trust, although there were other examples where trust-building occurred.

According to the study data, parent-participants who held university degrees and were also professionals were purposeful, articulate, and matter-of-fact when they approached their children's schools to participate in behaviour problem solving. As noted, Sandra and Belinda, described as stay-at-home mothers, holding university degrees, and each highly supportive of their child, maintained a notably greater level of civility, etiquette, and reasonableness in their interactions in comparison to study participants who were less educated and worked in paraprofessional or blue-collar types of employment. The stay-at-home parents appeared more confident and expected to have reasonable communication with their child's school, rather than encounter adversity and experience anger. For example, Sandra described feeling she could expect to speak to the principal if she called the school, regardless of the topic they wished to discuss.

Again, parent-participants' possession of cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 2000, 2003) and the social influences these aspects provided were apparent in parent-school interactions. Parent habitus, as Bourdieu (1989) suggests, influenced the level of acceptance and recognition parents were given at school, with the added complexity of maintaining school-centricity.   An inherent and unspoken selection process exists around these ideas that allows greater presence and acknowledgement for some parents and not for others, such as the examples of Sandra, Belinda, and Ellie. The implications of this understanding is that school-centricity will be diminished and parent-school partnerships can increase when deep-seated assumptions and judgments that relate to families, schools, and their work together are up-rooted. Then finite ways of thinking about families and schools working together can be challenged and the parameters of how families and schools exist and work together can be redefined so that all families are included (Lopez & Stoelting, 2010).

Other parent-participants, such as Maria and Jones, described expecting to face a challenge in their communications with the school and expressed their tenacity and anger relating to their interactions. It appeared that the amount of education a study participant had attained influenced the quality of the interactions but did not affect the

persistence of the participant in pursuing or participating in a school interaction. Bourdieu (1998) describes more positive attitudes towards education in families from middle-class backgrounds, with the acquired disposition of how to act in school interactions, which at the same time, inherently furthers the notion of school-centricity. Bourdieu (1998) and Lareau (2003) suggest that families of working-class contexts have similar desires for their children as parents in middle-class contexts, but less skill in how to advocate for them, due to their less recognized or appreciated kinds of capital in the school setting. According to Lareau (2003), these parents have fewer skills to understand and face the pedagogic authority of the school. Study findings were consistent with Bourdieu's (1984, 1998) and Lareau's (2003) determinations, suggesting that parents' habitus, according to their backgrounds, tastes, and sensibilities, and including their educational attainment, can positively or negatively influence their social interactions in the educational environment when they support their children. Level of confidence in the interaction process may be the differing characteristic, which is attached to educational attainment.

Further to Lareau's' (2003) insights, and regardless of family backgrounds, the work of theorists such as Lopez and Stoelting (2010) and Pushor (2007, 2011, 2012) challenge the taken-for-granted authority of the school in who and what is a fit with the schools' agenda and procedures. They also suggest that rather than creating new and refined strategies to involve parents, as previously noted, parents and schools must work together to examine and challenge deeply held fundamental assumptions that relate to parent-school partnerships. This study reinforces that children are part of families that are a critical part of the shared space of a school landscape, regardless of family background, and that along with educators and school personnel, each must include the other in working towards shared partnerships to support and educate children.

Study participants held a variety of educational training and background, which contributed to their habitus and served them in different ways in their participation to support their child in the school setting or "field." Bourdieu (1984, 1986) presents his notion of field as being the arena in which the concept of habitus and capital interact. However, when Smrekar and Cohen-Vogel (2001) examined parents' perspectives, they found that a parent's perceptions of their role in their child's education, and in particular

behaviour interactions "may be a function of how the school treats them" (p. 76). For example, three study participants who had university degrees did not experience the positive outcomes that they desired for their children. Of the three, the professionally employed participant also did not experience a more acceptable outcome to his participation in mediating his child's behaviour.

Bourdieu suggests that cultural capital, including educational attainment, when transformed into symbolic capital, is what directs the influence for the outcome in a setting where the power is in the dispersal of the types and amounts of capital that the participants possess (Bourdieu, 1998). Thus, a parent who is educated, is professionally employed, and is economically well situated in the community operates on more equal terms with the principal or teacher, and experiences a higher level of comfort in the "field" of the school environment. A parent from a working-class or lower income background likely has less education, performs blue-collar employment, and is likely less comfortable in the school setting. Lareau (2000) indicates that a large body of research demonstrates that "children of highly educated mothers continue to outperform children of less educated mothers throughout their school careers" (p. 29). This suggests that parents from middle-class contexts, and as illustrated in this study, especially middle-class mothers who attended school behaviour interactions appeared to be more comfortable in the school setting than parents of working-class backgrounds who also participated to resolve their children's behaviour problems. For example, Ellie, a single-parent participant who held a blue-collar position, experienced school interactions as challenging and frustrating, resulting in her decision to discipline her child herself at home.

When a parent is called to mediate at school, they activate their individual levels of cultural and social capital in the school setting where "practice in the field of interaction is shaped by multiple, interacting forces, including the rules governing the field" (Horvat & Lareau, 1999, p. 39). Whether the effect is positive or negative, using a voice consistent with their perceptions, parents express their agency or sense of parental efficacy. Study participants experienced a variety of outcomes and perceptions concerning their participation with their child's school in their interactions. For example, Maria described feeling proud of the level she had risen in her career without a formal university degree, and her ability to manage people in her work. She was not restrained

in her communication with the school regarding her child's behaviour concern, and persisted until she felt there was a favourable determination for her son. When the situation eventually achieved resolution, she described regret at her approach and continued to be frustrated with the school's handling of the situation, despite the outcome for her child. Although her training made her competent in her employment, this was not as optimally helpful in her interactions with her child's school to establish a solid and positive relationship.

At the same time, the experiences of other study participants, such as Sandra, Belinda, and Alice, showed that sometimes a higher level of educational attainment or professional employment gave them the influence or symbolic capital they needed to maintain their position of gaining support for their child. Both Dane and Jones exercised their professional and educational influence in how they approached their children's schools and made the efforts to communicate and resolve their children's situations. This suggests that the value of an individual's social and cultural capital, including educational attainment, may or may not change when they engage in another social space or specific field, with the influence of their capital dependent on their skill to activate it (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988).

8.6.2.   The Influence of Child-Rearing Practices

Habitus is strongly influenced by the experiences one has growing up (Bourdieu, 1984; Lareau, 2000, 2003) and parent-participants recognized and stated their wish for their children to experience the same positive aspects as they had in their own childhoods, or the same events and experiences that they felt were beneficial to what they considered was a good upbringing. It was more apparent in administrators' accounts, that they were more intentional than parent-participants in recreating positive aspects of their childhoods for their own children, the kind of upbringing they had experienced, particularly regarding educational expectations, travel experiences, and family reading levels.

As described in the theoretical framework, Lareau (2000, 2003) provides an extensive background on how middle class, working-class and low income families are affected by cultural and social capital, with particular attention to family-school

206

relationships and child-rearing practices, and which comprises an aspect of family habitus. In her work, Lareau (2000, 2003) suggests two child-rearing approaches that she recognized in families' childrearing behaviours in the course of her research, which she named concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. In this study, the evidence demonstrated that parents' child-rearing approaches aligned either with their expectations for their child's long term future, or for their child to successfully attend school and complete their current grade. Study findings also indicated the blurring of lines separating Lareau's (2000) described parenting practices that were theoretically described as being aligned with social class and habitus.

Concerted Cultivation

Lareau (2000, 2003) describes this approach as the parents' efforts to shape their children through exposure to organized activities and lessons that promote their talents and accomplishments, and prepare them for a successful middle-class future. These parents engage their discussion and encourage their question and opinions**.** Although children were not interviewed in this study, it was clear that parent-participants made choices about their children's activities and spent time delivering them and later picking them up. For example, Jones coached his sons in several sports, enrolled them in French Immersion for their elementary experience, and took them travelling overseas where they could improve their Spanish and also speak German and French. Jones also made available a varied library of reading material and role-modeled a strong practice of reading for enjoyment. Characteristic of concerted cultivation, he discussed his son's behaviour problem with him and sought his input on what had transpired and how it should be remedied. As a result, Jones' son voiced his opinions during his discipline concern, both to his parents and with honesty to his principal. Although this did not serve him well at the time, his parents supported him in doing this. Jones was not surprised at his son's behaviour or his son's response to what he perceived as unfair discipline because he had not been heard. One might view this reaction as what Lareau (2003) suggests is a "robust sense of entitlement" (p. 2), but for Jones his son acted and responded in an acceptable manner. Lareau (2003) describes parents who use this approach as likely being professionals with degrees and training, who may have leadership responsibilities in their professional roles, and who volunteer in the community. They also view themselves as being on an equal level with their children's

207

teachers and principal, expecting that their child will be supported and taught in an expected way, and that they will have input to the process when required or when they see it as necessary.

Of the 12 families, five parents used child-rearing practices that were more similar to the approach of concerted cultivation than the accomplishment of natural growth. Parents who used this approach were clear with their expectations for their child's long-term future. Although these parents did not schedule their children as heavily as Lareau (2003) described in her research, children in these families took one or two lessons per week and were involved in one or more organized sports and teams. Lessons included private piano or guitar lessons, ballet and dance lessons, riding lessons, and a variety of private sports activities, such as martial arts, kickboxing, particular sports teams and camps that parents paid to have their children attend.

These study participants expected their children to do well in their pursuits, supported them in their scheduling and made additional family sacrifices to accommodate them. In one instance, a parent reported occasionally staying at their in-laws' place overnight to avoid the 50-minute drive between home and the dance studio, although this caused stress for the other child, who was not part of the dance lessons. Parent-participants also described supporting their children in getting their homework done, buying them extra books for reading, and limiting their time with digital and social media. These parent-participants were vocal in their behavioural interactions with the principal, and similar to Lareau's (2003) description of concerted cultivation, expected to be listened to and to provide input that would be considered in the behaviour resolution.

The Accomplishment of Natural Growth

Lareau (2003) describes the child-rearing approach of the accomplishment of natural growth as one generally used by parents of working class or poor contexts. They do not fill their children's schedules with activities and lessons, and although they supervise their children for general safety, they allow them more freedom to play and be with their peers who likely experience the same child-rearing approach. In this study, seven of the 12 parent-participants were more aligned in their childrearing practices with this type of approach. The lines between middle-class and working class were not

clearly defined in this study, and two of the seven parent-participants were highly trained in blue-collar roles, while one parent held three years towards a degree.

These study participants supported their children in the co-ed seasonal team sports that were offered in their communities and included soccer and softball. This comprised the main scheduled event for five of the seven families of participants. In one case, the child did not participate in these activities. Two children took private piano or guitar lessons for a part of a year, and did not continue. One parent-participant supported their children in mountain bike pursuits by driving them most days of the week to different trails and sometimes to events. Four of the study participants reported their children spending time in the community longboarding or bike riding. All seven families reported family celebrations at Thanksgiving and other holidays, and travelling within the province throughout the year to visit relatives. Three of the seven parents reported their children had received a suspension at some point, and felt they had not been properly notified regarding prior behaviour leading up to the incident. Six of the seven parents reported finding the consequences and behaviour outcomes unacceptable in the child's behavioural incident they described in this study.

These reportings suggest that despite the parents' reports of being persistent in following up on their children's behaviour, this did not ensure that they were satisfied with the outcomes of their behaviour interactions for their child. This differed from parents who used a concerted cultivation approach, who had more experience in professional situations to address challenging circumstances and a habitus that was more aligned with working with professionals such as teachers and school principals. While those parent-participants may not have been satisfied with outcomes, they remained prepared to work with the school towards ongoing or future resolutions. Clear alignment with the accomplishment of natural growth approach was not evident in the research data. Even so, families showed many aspects of this approach in their child-rearing practices and this likely was an influence in outcomes for their children in the parents' behaviour interactions to support them.

The notion of habitus, which establishes that people use their social tendencies and preferences to guide their thinking and behaviour, was a visible influence in two parent behavioural interactions (Bourdieu, 1984) regardless of the outcomes and in

209

comparison to the other 10 parent-participants. The two parent-participants, whose children were raised with a concerted cultivation approach, also described appreciating a restorative approach that they experienced with the principals. Other participants did not mention this. These outcomes, described in the interview data and narratives, align with Bourdieu's (1984) idea of habitus.

For example, Sandra and Belinda had both experienced organized middle-class upbringings with parents who valued education and promoted literature, cultural activities, and a high degree of family togetherness such as dinner times, games, family celebrations, and time with grandparents and relatives. These parents appeared to approach their family life and the school behavioural situation with a practical, reasonable, and open attitude towards being involved and seeking a reasonable resolution, demonstrating their positive attitude and value for education. This appeared similar to what they suggested was the norm in their childhood, and their practical, articulate, and somewhat optimistic attitudes appeared to have continued as part of their adulthood, also described as characteristics of their habitus. For example, Sandra believed parent modelling of expected behaviour is the best way to be an example to her three daughters, something she learned from her own parents. Belinda saw good communication between parents and the principal or teacher as an important part of supporting children at school and recalls observing how her own parents supported her brother when he was in trouble at school.

In her efforts to support her Grade 6 son, Maria suggested that lack of communication between all parties interfered with supporting and resolving the behaviour problem in a timely and reasonable manner. In contrast to Sandra and Belinda, Maria's efforts to participate with school personnel were more highly charged and somewhat adversarial, although her intentions were clearly to support her son. In contrast to Sandra's and Belinda's childhoods, Maria's childhood was emotionally rocky at times and her family was involved in sports and outdoor pursuits rather than cultural events and literature. Other considerations in the study, including the influence of social, cultural, and symbolic capital, may demonstrate the influence of habitus more clearly.

The increasing complexity of principals managing school and family interactions, and establishing partnerships in behavioural mediation is mirrored in Bourdieu's (1986)

210

view of social reality. Bourdieu (1986) describes the social world as accumulated history with an equilibrium that is fluid and which cannot be reduced to individual unrelated smaller events. It is a social world that families live in, and which houses the ideas of SES, social and cultural capital, and other resources that members of society draw on. It is also the "place" where assumptions are housed, notions of tradition are regenerated, and where knowledge is created, transmitted and improved upon. Further, a principal's attempts to keep balance between the school and the home as part of a larger social institution, guided by their own habitus, and the social reality of the parent, illustrates the true complexity of these interactions. Thus, one can construct a picture of the family context of parents and their children, acting alongside the pressure of the school context led by administrators who possess their own social realities, and the interplay in the interactions of all of these subtle and sometimes not so subtle influences. This illustrates and reinforces the complexity of these interactions.

8.7. Parents' Experience of Supporting Their Children

The study's Sub-Question 2 asks: How do the roles of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school? Bourdieu (1998) suggests that the family is a social institution in which shared understandings, rituals, and family beliefs and practices create a solidarity, which also identifies each family as a unique social entity. Each family described by study participants was uniquely different, further evidenced as parents participated at school to support their children. Emergent themes of Chapter 6 were related to interview Part 2: *The Details of the Experience* and were communication, participation, relationship, discipline, and restorative factor. Although the study's data revealed each of these five themes, the two most frequently emerging themes were participation and again relationship. These themes were examined in relation to social reproduction theory, with particular attention to the influence of social, cultural, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1979, 1986, 1989; Coleman, 1988; Hochschild, 2003; Horvat et al., 2003; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau, 1987, 2000, 2003).

Parents draw on the background of their social family structure in their mediations about their children's behaviour. In doing so, they are faced with both the

institutional social structures that are an inherent part of a school setting, as well as the social resources that guide the principal or teacher. Bourdieu (1998) describes these unique social influences as resources or capital, which he suggests have an influence similar to economic currency by subtly influencing the directions and outcomes of social behaviour and interactions. As stated, these influences are evident in the behavioural interactions that parents described in Part 2: *The Details of the Experience* and are examined in the following discussion of the noted themes of participation and relationship.

8.7.1. Parent Participation

Study participants described varying levels of their own participation in their accounts of their interactions which occurred over time after the initial interaction. Almost twenty years ago, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) identified parent involvement as a dynamic process that occurs over time. By looking further at participation, study participants' interactions illustrated qualities on a continuum of lower to higher degree or duration which demonstrated levels of persistence, articulation, and intensity. Parents in this study provided few descriptions that specifically highlighted the presence of cultural activities, cultural artifacts or their derived influence in their families, although educational attainment of parents is one cultural factor that was described.

Cultural Capital

Study analysis showed that when cultural capital was an influence in behavioural interactions, it came from the parents' own childhood and earlier family background. If parents possessed cultural expertise or background, they did not tend to expose this. For instance, Ramsey, who had an extensive musical background and career, described her wish that her sons would show interest in musical experiences but she did not pressure them to pursue this, beyond lessons in their earlier childhood. She did not describe school principals or teachers as being aware of her extensive classical musical background and expertise when she participated in interactions; nor did she share this with them. It is likely that her own use of language, culturally aligned with a classical musical career and stemming from her own education, helped mediate her interactions about her son's school experience and emotional behaviour concerns. This is similar to

acquired cultural distinction, which Bourdieu (1984) suggests is part of an individual's habitus and which influences outcomes in their social processes.

If expertise in an area can be considered cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), then Ramsey's son's extensive background of gaming, understanding computer programming, and sorting out computer issues is considered cultural capital. This did not have cultural capital value in Ramsey's participation at school to help her son. Still, according to Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997), "parental, school, child, and societal contributions taken together constitute the involvement process" (p. 329). However, Goldthorpe (2007) suggests that cultural capital levels sometimes have limited effect on school and parent interactions. This is in spite of Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) work which ties cultural capital and its effects in schools to the dominant culture, and in which he also suggests that cultural capital is tied to habitus and initially formed in family and class.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) state that cultural capital is associated with the dominant culture in school, resulting in students of middle-class backgrounds being more successful in school with more involved parents. Sullivan (2002) describes Bourdieu as being characteristically unclear about the importance of cultural capital in relation to other forms of capital and school success. This makes it difficult to ascertain whether possession of more cultural capital would influence parents to have increased participation in their children's behaviour support at school. In this study, parents who possessed lower levels of cultural capital illustrated similar levels of participation as parents who possessed more. However, Theodorou (2007) found that parents who had higher levels of education also had higher levels of participation in supporting their children. Finders and Lewis (1994) state that parents who experienced negative school experiences or had dropped out of school were not confident in school settings so often did not show up to participate. This was not evident in this study's data.

Belinda described herself as being willing and later resigned to doing whatever was necessary to support her son at school and home in his education. Cultural capital did not appear to have a role in the interactions that took place for her son. Similarly to Ramsey's son's background in computer knowledge, Belinda's son possessed an extensive expertise in ornithology and recreational birding, and despite his youth was

213

recognized in the field. This form of cultural recognition, which Bourdieu (1986) classifies as embodied cultural capital or competence, was not identified or accessed as useful information in the behavioural interactions to support him. Belinda's own childhood was characterized by parents who provided many cultural activities, such as an appreciation for literature, a strong value for education, and participation in local cultural experiences. As well as her university education, Belinda's childhood cultural influences may have helped her in her persistence, patience and articulation in her role of supporting her son, providing credibility and supporting a demeanour of confident and focused involvement. These examples align with Coleman's (1988) notion that each individual acts of their own accord for their own purpose to achieve their goals, while being governed by the context in which they operate.

Theodorou (2007) suggests that the effectiveness of parents' participation is "conditional upon the presence of other forms of capital, which in its totality is used to overcome resistance" (p. 94) when parents participate in dealing with behaviour problems of their children at school. For example, the educational setting did not deter Jones, who had grown up and worked in the community, when he interacted for his son. Sandra and Belinda shared similar experience to Jones, while Hannah who was familiar and experienced as a teacher assistant in the education system, felt challenged and not regarded seriously when she interacted for her son. As Finders and Lewis (1994) suggest, there are other parents whose voices are rarely part of school practice, are not acknowledged or encouraged, and most often choose not to participate. Hannah's experience suggests that it is not clearly defined how social capital influences parent-school interactions and their outcomes. Her parent-school relationship is not one of cause and effect and much more complex.

Social Capital

We continuously draw on the strength of our social capital or our social networks in our daily interactions. Bourdieu (1986) describes social capital as "membership in a group" and parents of school children can ascribe to membership in several social groups, some which relate specifically to their children. For example, these can include the family group, the parents in the neighbourhood, the grade-based parents group, parents of the basketball team, parents on the PAC committee, or parents who run the

breakfast program. The study's parent-participants exhibited a variety of social group memberships, and described various social networks they formed from these memberships from which they drew support. These included examples such as participants' immediate families, professional networks, extended family networks, sports groups, parent-focused groups through their child's school such as PAC, church groups, and volunteer groups. Some parents professed they chose not to have particular social interactions, which then limited their networks of support. Three parents stated they chose not to maintain strong ties with their extended families, did not have many close friendships, but maintained some friendships established through their work.

How parents approached and managed their behavioural interactions for their children appeared to have some influence from their own development and upbringing, as well as being influenced by how socially connected they were presently. For example, Jones, Sandra, and Gracie engaged in volunteer activities in the community and school, including coaching teams, PAC, providing rides to sports events, and chaperoning school activities. Sandra also attended church activities with her family. In their behavioural interactions this was reflected when participants were more concerned with establishing an outcome that was right for their children, and not so concerned to maintain a reasonable parent-principal relationship or whether the outcome was positive or negative. Georgiou (2007) suggests that parents who believe that their participation in supporting and advocating for their children matters make more effort and find ways to be involved.

Bourdieu (1986) describes social capital as being inherited from the parents, allowing the parents and children to operate from similar shared understandings and experiences. Because social capital draws its credibility from the other capitals, the study's data provides some insight into characteristics of the participants' social capital. Virtually all participants described their own childhood outdoor unsupervised play, alluding to watchful neighbourhoods who were aware of children, and where safety was assumed. Every participant related watching less television when they were young and having more social times with their families, which included playing board games and doing homework together. Study participants described a sense of having "enough" in their families when they were growing up, suggesting that families worked together to be good stewards of what they had and were less influenced by modern materialism. All

215

parent-participants reported having meals together in their childhoods, and with one exception, described following the same pattern of family meals, particularly dinner, with their families today. Each participant described stronger family connections with extended family members when they were growing up, and related that this was more difficult to maintain today.

Theodorou (2007), similar to the work of other theorists (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989; Coleman, 1988; Lareau, 1987, 2000; Hochschild, 2003), implies the complexity of social capital and its origins and influence when she suggests that parents who possess higher SES see themselves as having more ability to collaborate with principals and teachers. As parents of middle-class backgrounds, they draw on their social networks with other middle-class parents, and which, as this study suggests, can be apparent or disguised, and can also provide greater connections and access to information about their child's school. Parent-participants who were professional, regardless of SES, were also described as being associated with middle-class parents, giving the impression, at least, that they also accessed similar social networks. Horvat, Weininger, and Lareau (2003) report that the social networks and social knowledge of parents of working-class contexts are less recognized by the school, so they may have less influence in disputing the school's authority. For example, Hannah, who participated in mediating a behaviour problem, challenged the principal and her son's teacher when she disagreed they had dealt with the situation. She described that she had felt treated with less regard due to being a teacher-assistant and not a teacher, although she worked alongside teachers. Her experience also relates to discussion of relationship.

8.7.2.   Relationship

Similar to the findings of Chapters 5 and 6, in Chapter 7 the theme of relationship emerged again as a salient aspect of study participants' reflections of their interactions about their children's behaviour problems. As suggested in Chapter 5, the concept of relationship can be as challenging to describe as Tzanakis (2013) suggests it is to define symbolic capital. The concept of symbolic capital, which is implicit in social relationships, is constitutive to understanding the experiences of the interactions of study participants. Symbolic capital is discussed in terms of relationship and the theoretical ideas of

216

Chapter 3, suggesting the complexity that imbues the relationships that exist as part of the parent interactions described in this study.

Symbolic Capital

In his initial description of social capital, Putnam (1995a, 1995b, 2000) describes any interaction that occurs between two beings, regardless of breadth, as having a value or a currency. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that symbolic capital emerges as symbolic power when a particular kind of cultural or social capital has been activated in a specific field and views schools as reflecting and reinforcing the dominant middle-class attitudes, beliefs, and social behaviour. While Hannah's experience may be an extreme example in which she clearly did not feel that she was included as a colleague or acknowledged as a parent with valuable input, other study participants, such as Jones, Maria, and Belinda, reported differing levels of acceptance in their child's school setting during their interaction. They also described increased levels of social capital that sustained them in other areas of their lives, such as recognition in the broader community, regard for their competence in their work, and the influence of a university education in their interactions. Bourdieu (1986, 1989) describes people as having a presence in a social space which is decided by the amount of cultural and social capital they possess, and by how much weight their different capital has "in the total volume of their assets" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17). This suggests that parents participate from various positions of strength and skill, according to their personal levels of distinct capital as they attempt to establish reasonable behavioural outcomes for their children. As noted in Section 2.4.1, a school culture that supports parent participation, regardless of parents' levels and kinds of cultural and social capital, creates the conditions that encourage all parents to participate and support their children. In order for such conditions to exist, Sergiovanni (1994) suggests that school leadership must commit to the struggle of building meaningful relationships with parents that allow them to be a part of a caring school community. Thus, according to Bourdieu's (1986, 1989) notion of symbolic power, school leaders must provide the leadership necessary in setting these conditions for all parents, regardless of the differences in qualities they bring to their interactions when they come to school to support their children's behaviour.

Hannah, who interacted on behalf of her Grade 6 son, provides one example. She describes herself as competent and thorough in her role as a teacher assistant in the school district, and reported not being social involved, either professionally or privately, in relationships tied to her work. In other words, she did not reinforce or strengthen a social network in her work place. Hannah also relates having an extensive knowledge of how the school system works, which was evident as she tracked and kept records of the interactions she and her husband experienced over time about her son's behaviour and learning. Despite her work related proficiency, Hannah reported feeling that her job-related skills and experience were not recognized in her parent-school interactions. Hannah's experience challenges the notion of the positive effects of embodied cultural capital and its transmission into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989; Weininger & Lareau, 2003). It is possible that this could be recognized in other fields for Hannah, although not in her child's school setting.

Hannah describes her family as close and supportive of each other; they do not have a large social group, but travel and pursue interests as a family, such as off-road touring, motor-biking, and cooking. Despite understanding the school system, being supportive parents, and having a strong family unit, Hannah found it difficult to establish positive outcomes for her son in her behavioural interactions to support him. She and her husband, a professional in the community, challenged school responses when they felt it necessary, and were persistent in their efforts. In this case, Hannah and her husband made clear choices about social structures in their lives, and had a seemingly healthy amount of social capital resources, that supported their own life purposes. According to Bourdieu's (1986) concept of symbolic capital, the amount and type of social capital they possessed did not emerge as a type of symbolic power that was helpful to Hannah and her husband in their interaction with the school. Although they persisted in their participation, a positive relationship with their son's school staff was not reinforced. Goldthorpe (2007) suggests that further investigation of the various capitals that influence social capital, their transmission into symbolic capital, and their influence in social networks is necessary to explain the social inequalities and social irregularities that persist in the interactions of school and family.

According to Finders and Lewis (1994), and similar to Coleman's (1988) notion, the institution of school does not necessarily recognize that all families have varying

218

levels and types of cultural and social resources, despite SES and social class differences. These are not always recognized by the school as having a positive influence for parents in the school setting. Other considerations that reduce the voices of a body of parents include factors such as parents' own diverse school experiences which cause them to mistrust, parents' not completing their high school education, economic and time constraints, and cultural and language differences (Finders & Lewis, 1994). Of course this necessitates that we examine the assumptions, beliefs, and positionality of educators and consider the social resources and capital that they exercise as school personnel.   Moreover, it is neither possible nor accurate to consider parents' capital without examining it in relation to the capital exercised by school personnel,a notion which lends itself to further investigation.

Bourdieu (1986, 1989) also describes symbolic capital arising from an asset such as a university degree, as having symbolic power in a social situation or a particular field. For example, seven of the 12 parent-participants held degrees, while five participants had college or other post-secondary training. While the parents with university degrees had more education, this did not noticeably influence outcomes; nor were parents with degrees noticeably more satisfied with the outcomes. Four of the seven university educated parents described feeling unsupported in their interactions for their child, and also were not satisfied with the outcomes. Six of the seven parents with degrees were persistent in their efforts to interact and resolve their child's behaviour problems with the principal. The interview data suggests that symbolic capital, such as a university degree, might have symbolic power in how the parent is able to conduct themselves in interactions, but in this case did not appear to have influence on the outcomes of the interactions. These examples suggest that symbolic power may not help parents attain the outcomes they desired, but has an influence on their participation in the interactions. James Coleman's (1988) examinations of family influences and social capital provide further support for these findings with his suggestion that all parents have varying levels of cultural and social resources, leading to possession of varying levels of symbolic power. These are not always recognized in a particular field, such as school, making it difficult to build supportive relationships from the social interactions in that field.

8.7.3.   Parents and Power Differentials

Van Manen (1990) suggests that parents expect pedagogic competence when it relates to their child's school learning experience. This expected manner of educating is unrelated to the unspoken but inherently experienced or understood institutional power of the school. Thus, pedagogic authority and the institutional power of the school affect how parents activate and use their cultural and social capital, which also affects ultimate outcomes for their children in their interactions with the principal or teacher. For example, Sandra, who has a middle-class habitus and background, challenged her school administrator when she was dissatisfied with broad school discipline and her daughter's undeserved inflated marks. She was not satisfied with the outcome of her concerns and remedied the situation by removing her daughter from the school for a time. Due to her helpful levels of social capital and social network, she maintained her relationship with the school principal, although she was disappointed in the result for her daughter and the situation did not change until there was an administrative change.

In contrast, Ellie has lower levels of available social capital and in her interactions with the school principal has remained frustrated and unable to move towards an outcome of what she views as fair discipline in the school for her child. She describes the situation as remaining unchanged, and feels diminished by the principal's authority and the lack of a satisfactory outcome for her child. Ellie reports that she is planning to leave the community with her children and move to the city. In Ellie's case, the dominant structure of the school, the imbalance of power relations between herself and the school principal, and her own ineffective level of social capital and symbolic power did not allow her to participate or create change for her child in a way that felt acceptable to her in order to make a positive difference for her son. However, Ellie's desire for and decision to actively create positive change for her family do not imply acceptance of the dominant structure of the school, despite its influence in her decision to move. MacNeil and Patin (2005) suggest that when the principal reduces relationship barriers and supports an expectation for effective leadership in behaviour meetings, positive outcomes and stronger relationships can occur.

Sandra's experience illustrated that persistence with clear understanding of her daughter's situation and having definite goals in mind for her support can hold a parent

in good stead to reach resolutions with the school principal. At the same time, Ellie's experience suggests that Epstein's (2001) notion of principals taking leadership roles in creating school-partnership with parents is necessary to improve behavioural outcomes for all students and their families.

8.8. Parents' Participation to Support Their Children

Parents' reflections in the third phase of the interview process were used to revisit the study's research question: How does social reproduction theory help us understand parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour? As Seidman (2006) suggests, the telling and reflecting phase of the interviews allows the researcher to see how a person's experience "interacts with powerful social and organizational forces that pervade the context in which they live and work as well as discover interconnections among people who live and work in a shared context" (p. 130). As described in Chapter 7's findings, the following emergent themes extended from interview Part 3: Reflections on the Meaning and included (a) cultural, social, and symbolic capital as resources for parents and their families, (b) social networks of parents, (c) parenting practices and cultural and social capital, (d) reciprocity and strengthening the relationship between the school and family, and (e) parents' opportunities to support their children's behaviour. Although interview data revealed each of these five themes, the two most frequently emerging themes were social networks of parents and social reciprocity related to the strengthening of family relationships with the school and the community. These were examined in relation to social reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1989; Coleman, 1998; Epstein, 1992, 2001, 2006, 2010; Horvat et al., 2003; Lareau, 1987, 2000, 2003).

8.8.1. Social Networks

Parent-participants both reported and alluded to the presence of social networks in their school interactions. However, these appeared to have a different influence than that suggested by Horvat et al. (2003) who suggest that social networks among parents of schoolchildren are a middle-class phenomenon and influence outcomes of social interactions between families and school. As introduced in Chapter 3, Horvat et al.

(2003) particularly address Coleman's (1988) concept of intergenerational closure, the network ties that connect parents of school peers, to examine "how social capital comes into play when problematic issues arise at school" (p. 320). Middle-class networks are more likely to include other parents who are professionals, while the social networks of working-class parents are more likely to follow along their family ties (Horvat, et al., 2003). They suggest that social capital influences the effects of the intergenerational closure related to social networks. However, this was not consistently apparent in the findings. Parent-participants described how they independently addressed their behavioural interactions, while alluding to social networks that did not appear to include the parents of their children's school peers. For example, Rosie reported a supportive network comprised of a group of professional friends and adult peers whom she knew particularly from her work but had no relationship to her child's peers. Chloe reported seeking support from her family and close friends, but did not have a network that included other parents of her child's school peers. However, she described feeling supported by living in a small community where others knew when incidents were happening and supported each other. For example, in one instance Chloe reported other parents individually visiting the school principal about a common concern, although she did not maintain social relationships with them, such as characterized in intergenerational closure. The study findings suggest that social networks among parents are not necessarily defined by distinct description and boundaries and do not always exist in the manner described by Horvat, et al (2003).

Tzanakis (2013) suggests that close-knit families who are actively involved in their child's education are more invested in increasing their social capital and are more likely to have larger social networks which include other parents. This was partially true for some study participants. For example, parent-participants such as Sandra, Belinda, and Gracie who described being consistently engaged in their children's education, not just behavioural concerns, implied more positive attitudes towards their children's schools. They reported making an effort to maintain their relationship with the school staff and principal to maintain a team or network approach in spite of challenges they experienced in doing so, such as feeling unheard when they discussed their concerns. Of the three, Gracie was the only participant to describe ongoing social networks in her community and neighbourhood. Jones, who had a long history in his community,

described a broad and varied social network in his community but did not maintain social networks with school staff, other parents, or his neighbours. This did not appear to negatively influence his efforts to support his son, in spite of the challenges he described, implying similarity to Coleman's (1988) ideas that social capital is productive and has instrumental purposes.

Tzanakis' (2013) research indicates that social networks may be exclusionary in that their influence does not extend outside the defined boundaries of the group. For example, Hannah described her experience of not feeling included or recognized at her son's school and among her colleagues, despite her consistent efforts to support her son. As a para-professional, Hannah reported that the network of professionals, that is, the principal and teachers, did not include her, which suggests that the social network at her work had defined boundaries that she did not know of or understand. Principals and teachers possess similar kinds of cultural capital in their personal levels of education and qualifications in the form of recognized university degrees and other formal training. Hannah possessed a high level of training in her role as an education assistant but her teaching colleagues did not recognize this as having the same cultural value. Despite her proficiency and persistence in her advocacy for her son, her colleagues' pedagogic authority and roles as educators imposed subtle boundaries that Hannah experienced but could not articulate or penetrate for acceptance. Hannah challenged their authority with her thorough and ongoing persistence to support her son which she perceived as being negatively received by her colleagues.

Similarly to Bourdieu's (1986) formulations, Coleman (1988) views social capital as requiring an element of embeddedness in social structure, and sees it as also residing in the "structure of relationships among people" (as cited in Tzanakis, 2013, p. 3). This is implicit in the complexity and muddiness of reporting on social capital and its role in social networks in this study. According to Tzanakis (2013), social networks "are becoming more open-ended resulting in less dense, close-knit relationships (p. 5), that is they have less defined and weaker boundaries that define them. I suggest this was evident in study participants' descriptions of their individualized action in their school mediations, independent of visible influence by social networks.

Parents who acted independently of a background influence of intergenerational closure in their interactions had neither more positive nor more negative experiences or outcomes in their interactions to support their children. For example, Belinda did not describe seeking support from a social network of other parents, although, according to Horvat et al. (2003), her social network would likely include other professional parents with similar levels of social and cultural capital. Despite this, Belinda was eventually pleased with the supportive outcomes that were reached for her son. In another example, Ellie also did not draw on support from a social network, which according to Horvat et al. (2003), was more likely to be formed primarily along the kinship lines of her family. Ellie described being frustrated by her extended family's regular interference in her parenting. In her parent-school interactions she accessed what social resources she possessed, according to her working-class background, and was frustrated and dissatisfied with the outcomes. Tzanakis (2013) suggests that closure in social networks is only necessary when network members are seeking and maintaining social resources, and further, that closure is unnecessary when network members are seeking and obtaining social resources. Despite their social class differences and differing levels of social resources, neither Belinda nor Ellie were seeking, maintaining, or obtaining social resources. This is contrary to what Tzanakis' (2013) suggests. As well, Belinda's and Ellie's experiences do not support Coleman's (1987) contention that the valuable social resources that are formed from the social ties of parents, who know each other, can promote positive effects for student outcomes.

8.8.2. Social Reciprocity

Social reciprocity suggests a give-and-take exchange of social benefit between individuals and is built on social trust that emerges and is reinforced in social relationships. While study-participants described some experiences of social reciprocity among parents, the more important focus of social reciprocity is between parents and school personnel. Building trusting relationships as a precursor to experiences of social reciprocity is necessary. However, perhaps moving forward means that trusting relationships and engaging in recognition can only happen in a dynamic and dialectic process that surrounds the activities of parent involvement and engagement that are part of the school landscape, and which ultimately lead to shared parent-school leadership.

224

With attention to the notion of reciprocity, parent-participants in this study revealed a variety of broader effects of the influence of their social capital activation, with differences in the degree of influence and reciprocity gained from their social capital effects. Bourdieu (1986) initially described social capital as being activated or converted into social currency, when it could be accrued, produced and reproduced, with the one in possession of it creating or influencing social connections. Where Bourdieu (1979, 1986) describes social capital as having greater value in social situations when it is activated, Robert Putnam (1995a, 1995b, 2000) takes this further by describing an increased strength of wider community social networks that are imbued by an ethos of mutual trust between community members, which also leads to outcomes of mutual benefit. Putnam (2000) also describes the quality of reciprocity in social relationships as an accumulation of social capital as currency in which stronger connections are created, along with a trust for reciprocated support among members of the specific group. Although Tzanakis (2013) and Goldethorpe (2007) challenge that Putnam's idea of social reciprocity dilutes the concept of social capital, I suggest social reciprocity provides an additional dimension to examine social influence in parents' experiences of their interactions.

Parent-participants related diverse approaches to how they activated social capital, sometimes leading to social reciprocity, in their behavioural interactions for their children. For example, Ramsey described approaching parents of her music students for their perspectives on managing their own children's educational experiences so that she could compare experiences. By approaching this network of parents, Ramsey gained a broader insight to her own experience of supporting her child, also suggesting a trust factor as she felt confident to discuss her concerns with them based on her working relationship with their children. Similar to outcomes of social networks, reciprocity in this case was evident by the perspectives of the parents of Ramsey's students in exchange for her respect and trust in enlisting their input, similar to an exchange of social benefit. This experience led Ramsey to recognize that she had the will and confidence to approach her son's school to meet with her to create a plan of support for him, which ultimately led to a reciprocated positive planning session for her son.

Several parent-participants described participation in their communities and neighbourhoods which involved reciprocation, or lack of, with other families. Sandra alluded to broad ties in her community, encircling a wide group of other parents. She was affiliated with several community groups, which also included her church, PAC, her neighbourhood, and the parents from the team sports involvement of her children. Sandra described providing rides to sporting events for her children's peers, suggesting that they otherwise would not have been able to attend. She believed other parents did not usually reciprocate with rides for financial reasons and unavailability due to their work schedules.

Sandra reported being aware of parents forming ad hoc discussion groups outside of her child's school to discuss how the school was being run and other educational concerns. She chose not to be a part of these groups, preferring to approach the school principal directly. As a member of the PAC group, she saw this as a conflict, as well as an opportunity to influence more effective change. This suggests that she protected and reinforced her positive attitudes and engagements by not participating in the ad hoc discussion groups.

Two aspects of Putnam's (2000, 2001) ideas on social capital emanate from Sandra's involvement in her children's school and her community. First, other parents allowed Sandra to transport their children to and from sporting events, which was likely due to her presence and involvement in volunteering at school and in her community. This could also be due to the convenience of an available ride rather than a social relationship with Sandra. Sandra continued to provide rides, although this was not reciprocated. Secondly, Sandra was well-positioned in the community among other parents, enhanced by several community group involvements, such that choosing to follow her own course of action in working with the school principal in a face-to-face manner did not jeopardize her position or draw negative favour among other parents in the community. This allowed the potential for actions of social reciprocity by other parents and the principal and teachers to be present for Sandra, even though she was not looking for a social return or payback in her transporting of children and volunteering. In other words, she likely had the social influence to access help, rides for her own children at different times, or leverage in social relationships.

226

Although Sandra understood the need for reciprocal input and action in working with the principal to support her child, she recognized that the lack of a mutual and trusting relationship hindered the process to positive outcomes to occur in ways that she felt were acceptable to her child and her family. She described her experience as being one-sided and potentially leading to actions she did not share in creating or agree with. There was no established context or opportunity for social reciprocity to occur.

Jones described a long-standing historical perspective about living on the Seaside Coast for his whole life, which situated him well in his community. Like Sandra, he related approaching the principal if he had concerns about his children's school behaviour and education or management of school functioning that he felt affected his children. Jones reported coaching teams, both for the school and in the community, and being involved in supporting community endeavours such as fundraising for events. He did not ascribe a lot of thought to this as having a reciprocity valuation or influence regarding his position in the community. Jones stated the view that it is a parent's and citizen's role and responsibility to be involved in their children's education and in the wider community. However, he described the social enjoyment incurred from his coaching relationships with his team members.

At the same time, Putnam (1995a, 1995b, 2000) describes the erosion of social capital in communities due to a lack of civic engagement. Sandra and Jones support their families, are engaged in their children's school concerns, and are civically engaged in different ways in their communities. Specific reciprocity or positive return for their actions is not readily apparent, although altruistic reciprocity or return from being actively engaged is evident. There may be an overall influencing effect due to the inter-dependency of each parent's three levels of participation in their lives, with each role having an influence in each other's role, sometimes with a potentially reciprocal affect.

Other parents in the study were also involved in their neighbourhoods and communities, more often in ways related to immediate activities of their children, which often included hosting their children's peers at their homes, driving children to community events, or to school sports activities and field trips. Their involvement was not in the more expansive approach suggested by Putnam (2000), which describes participation in community endeavours and volunteerism in the broader community. Two

227

parents described feeling a lack of community and school support when their children had behaviour challenges or were victimized by bullying. The demands of daily life, such as full-time working parents, whether in one or two-parent households, juggling their children's schedules and running their households, placed demands on parents' abilities to have greater involvement in activities in their communities. Relating to Putnam's (1995a, 1995b) formulations of social capital, this suggests a systemic filtering down of social erosion, eventually influencing outcomes of parents' interactions to support their children's' behaviour problems.

Goldethorpe (2007) and Tzanakis (2013) challenge Putnam's (1995a, 1995b, 2000) ideas of social capital and social reciprocity, suggesting he has weakened the concept by giving it an aggregate quality which does not permit a broad enough explanation of the influence of social capital. Despite their challenge, this study used Putnam's ideas of trust-building and the quality of social reciprocity emanating from social capital to add an additional dynamic to understanding parents' experiences in supporting their children. In the study Sandra described her school volunteerism as giving her a sense of familiarity and understanding about her child's school, while Jones imbued confidence from his work history and volunteerism in his community that bolstered his position in his behavioural interaction for his son. Similar to not having opportunities to experience the positive influences of social networks, parent-participants also did not widely experience the benefits of social reciprocity because the opportunities to create social reciprocity were not available or were not embraced in their children's schools.

Study participants described examples of social reciprocity more often with other parents or with community members or community groups, and often similar to the outcomes of social networks and their influences. Although these experiences were not school-related, they indicated parents' desires to be a part of their neighbourhoods, communities, and schools. The more limited evidence of social reciprocity between parents and school personnel does not diminish its value but, as previously noted, reinforces the prior need to resolve the pedagogical and family challenge that exists between parents and schools of how to accept and recognize each other as partners on the school landscape.

8.9. Family-School Partnerships

Family-school partnerships of collaboration and connection indicate the promise of positive outcomes for children. If Epstein's (1995) typology of six levels of parent involvement was reworked together by parents and educators, opportunities for shared rather than school-centric forms of involvement for both parents and administrators or teachers could be highlighted.   This would allow mutual and responsive relationship-building to occur, also furthering the notion of social reciprocity, a critical factor in parent-school engagement (Pushor, 2007, 2012). A reimagined and reformed typology that provides examples for parents and educators to establish family partnerships in a variety of social settings and institutions would move away from the problem of school-centricity that positions parents away from the school, even when they are attempting to be involved. This suggests a hopeful remedy for strengthening existing social ties for families, school and community, and supports parents in their school behavioural interactions for their children. However, according to Lopez and Stoelting (2010), this is only possible when we rethink our deepest and most fundamental assumptions that surround our home-school-community partnerships and then endeavour to work with parents and families in fundamentally different ways.

Study-participants described similar desires in their efforts to participate in supporting their children at school, and recognized the need to build stronger home and school partnerships. However, when the impetus to include and increase parents' participation emanates from a school-centric position, there is little chance of parent involvement moving towards engagement and shared partnerships. Thus, principals and teachers must uphold an implicit understanding that building relationships and strengthening social ties with parents is ultimately the key to successful and ongoing participation of parents to support their children's behaviour and other school directions. Recognizing that Epstein's model clearly emanates from a much-noted school-centric position, her typology provides many suggestions for school-directed activities of involvement at the home, school, and community levels. By including parents and educators as equal partners at the start, Epstein's typology can be reimagined and reworked as a new model that directs attention to increasing responsive participation from all affiliated stakeholders to partner and build supportive connections that include home, school, and the community. Such a model would address and resolve the

229

existing family and pedagogical challenge that exists between families and schools, creating acceptance and recognition of each other as partners on the school landscape.

8.10. Summary

This study found that social reproduction theory was helpful in investigating parents' understanding of their interactions to support their children's school behaviour problems, and while it did not illuminate or explain every aspect of parents' experiences, it served as a grounding or basis from which to examine parents' interactions. Examination of the 12 parent-participants' and three administrators' understanding of their experience of school interactions revealed each participant's commitment to tend to their children's behaviour in unique and individual ways. While parent-participants indicated deep caring, determination, and persistence in their reflections of their experiences to support their children, the three administrator-participants revealed their extraordinary commitment to reach restorative resolutions for the children and parents' involved in the behaviour problems they described. However, the study also revealed misalignment between several parent-participants' experiences and the positive outcomes that administrator-participants described in their parent-interactions. While this misalignment did not indicate ill will or refer to negative outcomes, it reflected the differences in perceptions of how study-participants viewed their experiences of working together to reach outcomes. As suggested throughout the study, this difference could be alleviated by recognition and acceptance between parents and school personnel as partners who share the work of supporting and educating children. For this to happen, best practice must include revisiting and addressing those deeply rooted assumptions and judgments that prevent true partnerships from forming and developing (Lopez & Stoelting, 2010).

The disparate outcomes described by parent-participants and administrator-participants suggest the need to understand how this difference or gap exists, followed by investigating ways to ameliorate its existence. The study revealed an ongoing need for clarity between the terms parent involvement and parent engagement and work on how to achieve this. The study also highlighted a need to address the lack of recognition and space for parents' expert knowledge of their children on the school landscape.

Lopez and Stoelting (2020) suggest that rethinking our approaches and understandings of what we do as educators, parents, and other stakeholders exposes beliefs and assumptions that get in the way of our efforts to parent, educate, and provide support. Furthermore, unless the notion of pedagogic authority is exposed and identified by stakeholders, it will continue to provide inherently uncontested influence to school outcomes in parent-school interactions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Understanding the cultural and social influences that are implicit in families' stories potentially impacts every stakeholder involved in educating children and supporting family participation in education. Study understandings illuminated the relevance of relationship in parent and school interactions, the influence of childrearing practices, the influence of social networks, and the importance that schools embrace parent participation. While social reproduction theory provided a theoretical understanding for study-participants' experiences, it also suggested inconsistencies that require further investigation. For example, the study outcomes exhibited that cultural and social capital were not necessarily evenly aligned with social class. Study outcomes also suggested blurred lines between described parenting practices that were associated with social class, as Lareau (2000, 2003) described in her research. She also acknowledged the non-static qualities of social class, generalizations that do not account for particularity, multiplicity, and complexity of human experience.

These understandings are important to stakeholders in education for building improved parent-school partnerships and have implications for all stakeholders. By creating new approaches to how parents and school personnel work together, by acknowledging the importance of family and parent knowledge alongside pedagogic knowledge, and by creating shared space for parents and educators to partner together on the school landscape, these directions will broaden the scope of educating and supporting children, rather than merely providing schooling. By addressing the notion of school-centricity, parent-school partners will understand which activities are important and where they may be aligned on a continuum of involvement and engagement activities that lead to parent-school partnerships. Stakeholders include students, parents and families, teachers, administrators, the school community, the school district, and broader influences in children's education. The study's findings are also helpful to the broader influences in children's education that include pre-service teacher education,

teacher professional development, educational policy development, education funding, and the larger public. Study findings and understandings provide a direction to create shared partnerships in educational settings that move towards shared leadership which ultimately supports better outcomes of parent-school behaviour interactions, and possibly other stakeholder interactions.

8.11. Research Implications

Implications for this study can be important for all stakeholders in education. Potential research could be directed at rethinking our understandings and approaches to building home-school-community partnerships, as Lopez and Stoelting (2010) suggest, and to investigate fundamentally different ways that parents and educators can work together to partner in leadership in their children's schools. Future research could also include how these noted directions might further influence parent-school interactions that support children's behaviour.

8.11.1.   Parents, Families, and Students

Parents recognize the importance of participating and contributing equitably with school personnel to support their children and hold parent knowledge that must be shared in seeking acceptable resolutions for their children (Van Manen, 1990). Unrelated to social class or SES, study outcomes suggest the importance for schools to recognize a parenting pedagogy or a space for their shared knowledge about their children. Lareau (1987) suggests that family-school interactions reflect the influence of the larger social context and that certain kinds of family-school relationships are more accepted in the school setting, resulting from the social processes in the context from which they have emerged. At the same time, Epstein (2001) suggests that family-school relationships are routinely neglected in the social sciences discussions of parental involvement. Parents' knowledge and expertise about their children provides valuable information alongside the expert knowledge of teaching and learning that principals and teachers hold (Pushor & Murphy, 2004). The study examined parent-school interactions to support behavior problems by using the lens of social theory to illuminate how social processes influence these interactions. Study outcomes indicate the importance for

schools to recognize the expert parent knowledge about their children and a need for a co-constructed space and structure on the school landscape that holds that parent knowledge alongside pedagogic knowledge in a shared space. Outcomes of this research also suggest that school settings that organize to include, develop and increase parent-school participation and interactions foster the potential to shift from unidirectional and hierarchical school agendas to approaches that operate "in relationship[s] with parents in reciprocally beneficial ways" (Pushor & Murphy, p. 234). Schools that act on these understandings co-create a supportive learning environment that accepts and includes parents and families as part of their children's learning experience.

Following these thoughts, it is reasonable to infer that a school context that embraces and values opportunities for quality communication with parents, and understands the role of social resources in school-parent interactions, particularly related to behaviour, strengthens the relationship between the school and the family. However, my study investigation demonstrates that these understandings do not go far enough. Firstly, while good intentions existed, the study exposed the notion that parents' expert knowledge about their child was not uniformly recognized or evenly valued in the work of resolving behaviour problems. Secondly, although school-centricity was not articulated, this was evident in the experiences described by some parents, creating frustration and sometimes helplessness in their efforts to support their children. Thus, while the dominant institutional position of the school and its staff understands and acts on its responsibility to collaborate with and include parents in resolving behaviour issues, positive outcomes are only possible when school-centric positioning is understood and acknowledged by school staff, and mutual strategies are established to partner together to support children. Therefore, school settings that partner with, respect, and include the expertise of parents may show results in improved behavioural outcomes and educational experiences for the student (Constantino, 2008).

The ideal school landscape is one that shares its space respectfully and meaningfully with parents. To create this ideal landscape, teachers and administrators must be willing to create a space of shared power with parents and to understand how they include parents and families. For example, understanding the ideas of school-centricity, shared work as parent-school partners, and parent-school engagement and

leadership are not regularly considered in the agendas of schooling and education. We are in a time when data is increasingly used to drive and improve achievement results and non-academic aspects of education are being diminished and omitted from curriculum. At the same time, if contexts of poverty and the marginalization are evident in our communities and schools, there is no choice or time for delay in how and whether we should re-think our working together as parent-school partners, and how we co-create the means to do so. As Lopez and Stoelting (2010) and Constantino (2008) suggest, we (being inclusive of parents, teachers, and administrators) must take the time to understand our own deepest held assumptions and judgments, individually and together, so that we can move away from school-centric positioning and into the space of shared parent-school leadership.

8.11.2. Educators

While educators can create schools that appear to be welcoming and inclusive in their work with parents and families, this study exposed a variety of ways in which for some parent-participants their parent-interactions regarding their child's behaviour was difficult and not inclusive. The study revealed that while educators held the curricular and behavioural knowledge and expectations of the dominant field of school, parents did not uniformly experience acknowledgement for their own knowledge of their children, which they attempted to enlarge on in their behavioural interactions. Parent-participants also described their experiences in which it appeared that educators did not uniformly invite this to happen. Assumptions and judgments were evident in the statements of the educators regarding parents. For example, Peter described how he felt parents' had a lot less respect for the authority of teachers and school staff, and reported his sense of purpose in a need to change and improve the discipline approaches in the school. Cara and Alyson reported how they assumed that the parents were happy with the outcomes and that the length of time it took to achieve them perhaps indicated a more lasting effect.

At the same time, Hannah described how difficult it was to change her own behaviour and become persistent with school personnel until she achieved more reasonable outcomes for her child. Belinda also described persisting, experiencing resignation at times, sometimes feeling satisfied with outcomes, and ultimately

experiencing being acknowledged and respected. For Belinda, this interaction changed over time. Hannah and Belinda also reported their sense that the administrators and school personnel viewed their efforts negatively. While school-centricity may appear to endure, conversely, the administrator-participants illustrated that using restorative approaches in partnership efforts with parents can soften the boundaries between home and school and open the school landscape for parents to have an increasing role in supporting their children at school. As the study demonstrated that a gap exists between how educators and parents experience and perceive their efforts and outcomes when they support children in behaviour interactions, educators in schools have a responsibility to acknowledge and include parents in creating opportunities together to address this apparent space. While being wary of school-centric positioning, educators must be instrumental in creating opportunities for parents to share the work of supporting their children at school. These efforts will move from achieving compliance to engaging partnerships between parents and their children's schools.

8.11.3. School Administrators

When administrators understand the importance of working closely with parents in resolving the behavioural challenges of their students this supports an inclusive and supportive school culture. The role of parent knowledge must be recognized and valued as a necessary part of a child's education and as part of the family's place on the school landscape. As school leaders, when administrators create this space for parents to inhabit as important stakeholders, parent-school relationships are enhanced. Stronger relationships with parents will further blur the lines that distinguish levels and influences of cultural and social capital among families, increasing inclusiveness. Thomas Sergiovanni (1994) suggests that to build effective community in schools, school leaders must have an agreed understanding of commitment to include all stakeholders in the endeavour, as they problem-solve, learn, and celebrate together in the related undertakings. Sergiovanni's (1994) work emphasizes the importance of administrators to understand their deeply held assumptions and judgments about their own practice, and as Lopez and Stoelting (2010) also suggest, to understand the school-centric nature of parent involvement activities so that there can be change. This also requires administrators to demonstrate their willingness to recognize parents' valuable knowledge

235

about their children, and the need to work as partners. The crucial understanding here is the commitment by administrators to shared engagement of all those involved and which must include parents. In creating a school culture of positive and effective community, Michael Fullan (2001) reinforces this notion and suggests that a key component must be the understanding of shared and principled purpose, which he describes as improving the quality of how humans relate to each other as they live and work together in community (Fullan, 2001). This is not an easy task as such an endeavour involves the development of recognition and acceptance of parent knowledge alongside pedagogic knowledge, and must be characterized by ongoing dialogue and trust building. In this way parents and schools can develop a deeper and more nuanced understanding and appreciation for their respective knowledge, roles, and responsibilities in a continuing and evolving process.

Regardless of the influence of social resources, when principals work with teachers and parents to create connections, when behaviour and other problems arise the necessary interactions for resolving behaviour can be based on shared understanding and begin from a place of recognition and trust.   As well, qualities and approaches of the principal and the school that include holding high expectations for the students, providing a caring and warm learning environment, and fostering parent-school activities that engage parents and school personnel together in shared work may be more important than actual guidelines and training for specific activities that is offered to parents. Restorative processes used in behaviour resolution, as described by the study's three principal-participants, are a positive approach for resolving behaviour problems when parents are included in the process as partners, and school-directedness is reduced. Thus, when administrators share and include parents in the responsibility for strengthening parent-school relationships that support their students, challenging circumstances in other areas as well as behaviour may be reduced, positively influencing school culture and promoting the overall success of the school in achieving academic and behavioural outcomes.

8.11.4.   The Community and Larger Society

In small communities like the Seaside Coastal communities, schools are physically centred as neighbourhood schools. Connections between schools and

communities that support engaging shared work together have broader implications for supporting school behaviour. By learning who is in the community and by creating multi-directional relationships that support each other's needs, school educators can work to create community connections that reinforce schools as part of neighbourhood communities. When schools are recognized for making community belonging an interactive process and invite reciprocal approaches, there are broader social implications. This allows schools and community resources and amenities to exist and work together. Thus, children can be supported from within the school and community while each structure shares more permeable boundaries.

8.11.5. Pre-service Training of Teachers and Professional Development

Implications of this research study are important to pre-service teacher training programs that offer training and guidance to aspiring educators in working with parents for two reasons.   First, study outcomes acknowledged the important input and parent knowledge that parents possess and can share. Teacher development in building relationships with the child's family establishes a valuable resource and acknowledges parents' as experts in knowing their children (Pushor, 2013; Pushor & Murphy, 2004). Aspiring teachers and educators benefit from receiving early training to learn and recognize that this parent knowledge has a visible and necessary place on the school landscape, and is valuable to them in establishing shared supportive relationships with families. While the study's focus was directed at parents and behaviour interactions, this has implications for all school and parent-family processes. It is advantageous to pre-service teachers when training reinforces this integral process early in pre-service practice. Second, this study describes the role of social reproduction theory when parents and educators meet to mediate children's behaviour problems. This is important knowledge that illuminates how social interactions are leveraged and can provide vital understanding of the processes and influences involved in parent-school interactions to support behaviour. Additionally, this knowledge potentially assists schools in building stronger relationships with parents and their families. Aspiring and new teachers who are guided in establishing these two practices early in their careers may have better information and stronger family support in resolving challenges, particularly behaviour.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1978), it may be that educators in most need of parent education are non-parents, as in the case of many beginning teachers. Ongoing professional development for practicing principals and teachers can further develop the same principles of pre-service training, with an emphasis on building relationships to include parents. As well, pre-service training in and embracing restorative approaches may be an effective way to approach challenging behaviour problems as they require equal partnering with parents in the process and promote increased understanding of the role of parents in supporting their children's behaviour concerns.

8.11.6. Educational Policy

Educational institutions at all levels have well-developed and well-intentioned policy documentation for managing student behaviour. Similarly to literature that does not clarify the important differences of parent-school involvement and parent-school engagement and uses these terms inter-changeably, existing policy documents often do the same. When educators decipher these differences and create the opportunities and environments that are necessary to support these partnership endeavours, they get at the core of shared engagement. Study outcomes suggest that existing policy for working with parents should be reviewed to reflect the shared role of parents in parent-school interactions that support their children's behaviour. The study also showed that social reproduction theory can increase understanding of parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour. These understandings may be more helpful if policy clarity exists regarding the roles of parent-school involvement and engagement.

8.12. Opportunities for Parent Engagement

Study outcomes demonstrated the need for schools to respect and value the input of all parents, regardless of their social and cultural capital and socio-economic status. Using social reproduction theory, the study illuminated the work of parents and school personnel in parent-school behaviour interactions and how social processes influenced the outcomes. The notion of moving from school-centric activities to shared parent-school engagement and leadership was also addressed. Extending from these ideas, opportunities in schools exist that include parents as partners in planning and

implementing a variety of school experiences that support students and create stronger school-family connections. Following are a variety of examples.

In British Columbia several opportunities exist to support aspiring teacher or provide professional development to current teachers. For example, the Seaside Teachers Association implements a mentorship program among colleagues, including new teachers, by providing time to observe, consult and advise each other in their practices. On some occasions new teachers and colleagues have supported each other to include parents in planning and implementing new programs, using their expertise in the arts, sports, digital media, and literacy realms. Mentoring time and funding for material is available.

A few years ago, I was involved in a Peaceful Schools International (PSI) initiative (http://peacefulschoolsinternational.org/) which requires schools to declare a commitment to creating a culture of peace for students, families, educators, and school personnel. To become a member of PSI, parents and guardians are included in the process of creating a mission and visions that support the culture of peace and share responsibility for establishing the school discipline policy. As well parents are included in the planning and training that extends from the initiative for peaceful and safe culture-building activities. The success of this program, which engages parents, occurs because they are present at the start of the initiative and share in the roles of planning and implementing in training, fundraising, and helping to fulfil criteria necessary to create a culture of peace.

An outcropping of the PSI initiative was the opportunity for parents, educators, and community members to become involved in a community justice program. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) and the Justice Institute of British Columbia (www.jibc.ca) provided training to interested individuals. The program successfully provided an opportunity for restorative justice to occur in response to students who had made serious mistakes. As well as bringing families and community members together, parents' engagement in the process, whether as parents of involved youth or as community members, serves to strengthen the connections between the schools, the community, and families.

For many years I provided training in restorative approaches to parents, colleagues, and students as a trainer for the Restitution Self-Discipline Program (http://www.realrestitution.com/). Parents found this program particularly appealing as it allowed them to understand how to use non-aversive measures to manage their children's behaviour while allowing them to fix their mistakes and make better choices. This was perhaps the most engaging opportunity for parents as it was a time for them to experience the pleasure and relief of learning to let go of their own controlling behaviour towards their children and others, while getting to know other parents in the school community. For some parents the training provides their entry point to becoming involved and later engaged in other school pursuits.

For several years the Seaside School District Parent Advisory Committee (D.P.A.C.) has sponsored a conference for parents, community members and educators. Presenters have included parenting and family experts such as Dr. Gabor Mate, Dr. Martin Brokenleg, and Barbara Coloroso, who have provided insights to parenting, while parents experienced opportunities to share experiences and refreshments. These occasions have served to build connections between families, schools, and the community, by being informative, social, and engaging.

The British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) sponsors an annual New Teachers Conference (https://bctf.ca/NewTeachers.aspx) for new and early service teachers.   While this could be an opportunity to introduce and reinforce the idea of including parents in the shared practice of educating their children, conference material does not reflect parents as part of the program. This initial introduction acknowledges the importance of creating a space in the school landscape for parents and teachers to participate together at the start of beginning teachers' careers.

8.13. The Researcher's Understanding of Parents' Experiences of Their Interactions

As a researcher interested in parents' experiences in their behaviour interactions with school, this study allowed me to address a personal and enduring unease about where and how parents are situated in the school landscape. While this problem shadowed me and demanded redress throughout the entire study, I was then able to

study how parents experience their interactions as parents when they work with educators to mediate their children's behaviour problems.

Firstly, I was struck by parents' interest and desire to share the stories of their experiences. While several parent-participants suggested that being able to share their backgrounds and stories was a somewhat cathartic experience, during some of their most difficult telling, they remained generous, forgiving and reflective. While study participants described choosing different approaches when they felt unsuccessful in their support experiences for their children, I observed their resolve as parents to maintain support for their children, both in their challenges to work through difficult interactions and to find other approaches.

Extensive empirical literature describes many aspects of parent involvement and engagement, often using the terms interchangeably. I gained additional clarity through Amendt's (2008) presentation of this involvement and engagement through his model of a continuum of parent involvement leading towards parent engagement, each being distinctly different from the other, moving closer and away from the school-centricity of fulfilling school agendas. I learned to see that involvement and engagement do not progressively or uniformly lead to or from one to the other but the continuum is one way to gauge and clarify parents' and educators' work together.

I learned to make decisions and choices in recognizing aspects of utility in empirical literature that did not completely align with my beliefs or understandings about shared work with parents. For example, I chose to use Joyce Epstein's (1995, 2001) typology of ways for parents to be involved, although I believe her work clearly rests in the realm of school-centricity, and I held an ongoing feeling of discomfort that signalled a warning to remain objective. However, I recognized and used Epstein's work in this study for its utility in providing a starting place to reconceptualize a new typology of ideas that span from parent involvement to parent engagement, while also being aware that the concept of a typology itself may suggest school-centricity.

This examination of using social reproduction theory to help me understand parents' experiences of behaviour interactions for their children and emphasized the need to select and create topical boundaries within my study due to the breadth of this

theory. For instance, in the early stages of this research, I believed that Habermas'
concept of communicative action related well to the theoretical framework of this study
but came to realize the additional work of using his ideas was not necessary to achieving
the study outcomes. I learned how important it was to maintain the edges of the study, in
a way, similar to reaching saturation.

This work showed me that parents' behaviour interactions to support their
children's behaviour are experienced differently than other types of involvements due to
their direct focus on behaviour and the school-centric nature of the interactions, which
are often guided by prescribed school-directed processes. These events can be
emotional, unfulfilling, and unresolved, or satisfying, pleasant and strengthening. I
realized that these kinds of interactions need to take place in a safety net of preparation,
which includes prior work in preparing schools to be places of parent and school
engaged partnerships. I came to see that the more this was true of a school setting, the
social resources, or habitus, SES, and social class descriptors were not the defining
features of parents and families in the work of mediating behaviour together, despite
their influence.

This study also revealed to me the logical importance of creating the space for
parents' expert knowledge of their children and families alongside that of educational
pedagogy in school landscapes. The study highlighted the necessity of including shared
parent and school knowledge in the processes of parent involvement, engagement, or
interactions to successfully pursue behaviour outcomes with parents for children. I
realized through this study that schools who shared this approach with their parents and
families had fewer behavioural concerns, due to their greater shared understandings.
Finally, this study taught me to enjoy the forgiving quality that many things that we study
in discrete terms are never entirely discrete, and that it is okay.

8.14. Conclusion

While the study's findings were aligned with the existing literature and theory
reviews of Chapters 3 and 4, study findings also drew attention to the educational
institution's often school-centric position in parents' participation, in spite of efforts of
principals and parents to engage in mutual interaction processes to resolve behaviour

problems of children. The guiding study question and sub-questions revealed the need to establish clarity in the terms parent involvement and parent engagement which are often used interchangeably. This clarity was necessary prior to using social reproduction theory to examine parents' experiences of their interactions with the school system regarding their children's behaviour. The study revealed that school behavioural outcomes are more successful when educators understand that parenting requires its own pedagogical recognition (Van Manen, 1990) and come to see parents as experts in knowing their children. Findings showed that positive and productive experiences of parents' participation are contingent on the school's demonstrated and active valuing of parents' efforts to support their children. Study outcomes also revealed that parents believe their children's schools can create and engage in meaningful approaches with parents to resolve their children's behaviour problems.

8.15. Future Research Directions

Study findings revealed the depth of caring that parents bring to their interactions to support their children's behaviour problems at school and administrators' commitment to working with families to resolve behaviour problems. Despite these positive findings, study results suggested a gap between parents' experiences and the study's reported outcomes by school administrators' regarding their own work with parents. Further research is needed to examine how this gap between parent and administrator experiences exists and possibilities to address it.

The findings of this research suggest developing parent-school engagement strategies may decrease the influence of social class differences among schools and parents or families. Future study might examine this and arrive at other responsive ways to increase parent-school engagement.

Future study that includes families of culturally diverse backgrounds, Aboriginal families, and immigrant families may yield a more contextual in-depth view of the research. This may be more useful to other school districts. Additional studies may use a broader sample that elicits study of families of higher-class and lower-class demographics, which may be useful to a wider audience of educators. Another line of future study would be investigating the fundamental assumptions that surround home-school-community partnerships, as suggested by Lopez and Stoelting (2010).

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Appendix A.

Alignment of the Case Study's Research Questions with Open-Ended Interview Questions

Interview Section
Research Questions
Sample Questions for Semi-Structured Open-Ended Interview

Part 1: A Focused Life History
RQ: Research Question
How does social reproduction theory help us understand parents' interactions with the school system regarding student behaviour?
SQ 1: Sub-Question 1
What resources and capital do parents bring to their interactions at school regarding their children's behaviour problems?
1. **What is the story of your life history, beginning with your own childhood and leading into the present-day as a parent?**
(SQ 1 Questions)
Examples of probing questions:
• What was your life like as a child?
• What was fostered and what was allowed to happen naturally in your life?
• How did this happen?
• How was your daily family life organized? How were your parents involved in this?
• How did your parents use language in your family and childhood life? How was language development reinforced?
• How did your parents support you in your education?
• How did they interact with your education? e.g., school events, etc.)
• How did this influence your school experience?
• How were discipline and expectations for you exercised and reinforced by your parents?
• What were your own school expectations? What were your biggest influences growing up?
• What were events and structure that were in your life that may have provided influence and that personally affected you?
• What family values were important to your parents for their family?
• What do you recall being important to you as family values in your childhood family?
• Describe your family life with your children during their various stages of development?
I continue to follow this line of open-ended questioning into the participant's experience of present-day life with their children.

Interview Section
Research Questions
Sample Questions for Semi-Structured Open-Ended Interview

Part 2: The Details of the Experience

SQ 2: Sub-Question 2

How do the roles of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school?

1. What is the story of your child's behaviour problem?

(SQ 2 Questions)

Examples of open-ended questions:

- What was your perspective of your child in this behaviour?
- What did you think of your child's behaviour in this incident?
- How did you become involved?
- How did the school figure in this?
- How did you continue to be involved? What helped/didn't help?
- What was the communication like?
- How was an outcome reached?

2. What is the story of your experience as a parent in the school interaction to resolve it?

Throughout the interview I continue with probing open-ended questions to clarify and to induce a rich descriptive telling of the experience.

Part 3: Reflection on the Meaning

SQ 2: Sub-Question 2

How do the roles of parents of intermediate and high school students influence the outcomes of mediating behaviour problems at school?

1. Given what you have said about the story of your life, and what you have said now about your child's behaviour, how do you understand your interaction with the school? What sense does this make to you?

(SQ 2 Questions)

Examples of open-ended probing questions:

- How do you understand your interaction with the school?
- What sense does this make for you?
- How do you think of the role the school took?
- How as the interaction/outcome influence your thinking?
- What would you want to see happen now?
- How did the handling of this influence your child?
- What did your child learn from this at the time? How did the handling of this influence your influence your relationship with your child?

I continue with this line of probing questions, ending with the query: Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix B.

Approval Letter

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

June 7, 2011

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive
Burnaby, BC
V5A 1S6

Dear Dr. Weinberg:

Study #2011s0344
Parent Roles in Mediating Behavior Problems of School-Age Students:
A Case Study Set in a Small BC Coastal Community

Please accept this letter as conditional approval by School District No. 46 (Sunshine Coast) of the research proposal put forward by Marian deJong. I have reviewed her proposal and methodology and am confident that her study will yield some valuable information. Please indicate by return mail that she has also satisfied the ethical review committee requirements of your institution.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Assistant Superintendent

pc   M. deJong,

Appendix C.

Study Details Document

The Study Details Document is a detailed description of the study that describes the goals of the study and the procedures that will be used, as well as the risks and benefits of the study. This document is included in the application because there is no requirement to re-contact participants and the study is not for the use of secondary data. This document is referred to in the Informed Consent Document as information given to the participants before consent is given to ensure that the consent given by participants is informed consent.

Title: Parent roles in mediating behaviour problems of school-age students. A case study set in a small BC coastal community

Principal Investigator:	Ms. Marian de Jong
Senior Supervisor:	Dr. Michelle Pidgeon
Adjunct Co-supervisor:	Dr. Byron Robbie
Committee Member:	Dr. Fred Renihan
Faculty:	Faculty of Education (Ed.D. Program)
Institution:	Simon Fraser University
Director of Graduate Programs:	Dr. Robin Brayne
Place:	Seaside Coast, British Columbia

Who Are the Participants (Subjects) in this Study?

One group of participants in this study is parents who have children attending public schools in the Seaside Coast School District. The other group of participants is administrators who work in the public schools of the Seaside Coast School District.

What Will the Study Participants Be Required to do?

Each volunteer parent-participant will be asked to take part in a one-to-one, face- to-face, 3-part interview process to explore their experience of participating in behaviour mediation for their intermediate or secondary-aged child's school behaviour. The interview will include a 3-part interview process of 40 minutes to 1 hour each and will be conducted in a timeframe of 1 to 3 parts, scheduled to suit the participant. The parent-participants will be asked to respond to open-ended and closed interview questions. The interviews will be audiotaped and transcribed, and parent-participants will be given the opportunity review their transcript before analysis. They will be given the opportunity to stop the interview recording at any time. Each volunteer administrator-participant will be asked to take part in a one-to-one, face- to-face, 3-part interview process to explore their experience of participating in behaviour mediation with an intermediate or secondary-aged child's school behaviour. The interview will include a 3-part interview process, of 40 minutes to 1 hour each and will be conducted in a timeframe of 1 to 3 parts that suits the administrator-participant. The administrator-participants will be asked to respond to open-ended and closed interview questions. The interviews will be audiotaped with the opportunity to stop the recording at any time. Interviews will be

transcribed and administrator-participants will be given the opportunity review their transcript before analysis.

How Are the Study Participants Recruited?

The researcher will be contacting prospective parent-participants. They will be recruited through a general invitation to participate sent electronically through a parent listserv in the local community. Flyers will be posted on community school and local community bulletin boards. The researcher will provide information on request so that interested parents will be informed about the study. The researcher will also be contacting interested prospective administrator-participants. A poster will be circulated at an administrators' meeting. Permission to invite parents and administrators in the Seaside Coast School District to participate in the study is being sought from Mr. Tom Hierck, Assistant Superintendent of Schools. Participants will be asked to provide informed consent to participate in the study before the interviews commence. This will include consent for the researcher to contact participants again, in the event that follow-up questions are needed to provide clarity for resulting narrative analysis.

What Is the Purpose of the Study?

The study examines the experiences of parents in their attempts to mediate their children's school behaviour problems in a small West Coast school district. This study will illuminate the process of parents' involvements and unwrap the layers of what happens in parents' participation in school mediation attempts on the children's behalf. The project is intended to address the lack of clarity and understanding in how outcomes evolve or are reached with the school, when parents involve themselves in these mediations. It remains unclear how parents and family differences may be catalysts for outcomes and how they may act as mechanisms that influence the directions of the outcomes. The study outcomes will help others, such as principals, teachers, and school district level personnel gain insight into the workings of these mediations and perhaps support policy development and support change in the future.

What Are the Anticipated Risks to Participants?

This study poses minimal risks to the physical and emotional well-being of the participants. Despite this, participants may suffer emotional discomfort from remembering an unpleasant past experience and/or perhaps by having their personal views being publicly shared and published in a study, although approved confidentiality measures will have been followed. In spite of these precautions taken to protect the confidentiality of the participants, the nature of the small sample size may allow that the participants' confidentiality might be compromised by details provided in the publication of this study. Individual responses of participants will be kept confidential and will not be shared. Study participants will be unaware of other participants in the study.

What Is the Process for Permission to Conduct This Study?

This study will proceed after obtaining research permission from both the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University and the Research & Evaluation Department in SD (Seaside Coast). The ethics application form has been submitted to the school district for review. The study will proceed when both review bodies have given their permission.

What Is the Significance and Benefit of this Research Study?

Research regarding parents' participation in their children's education has largely focused on their children's academic achievement. This study will examine parent-school interactions regarding mediation of their children's behaviour problems and will inform school leaders about more useful directions in their engagements with parents around student behaviour. Parent-participants may benefit from the opportunity to relate and reflect on their parenting experiences regarding their child's behaviour mediation at school. Administrator-participants may benefit from the opportunity to relate and reflect on their experiences with their student's behaviour mediation with parents. Study outcomes may impact development of school policy relating to behaviour, and provide information to improve the mediation practices of those involved and increase the quality of parent-school partnerships. Although the study directs its research around interactions of parents with school personnel, it will likely be more enlightening to school educators regarding the parents' interactions when dealing with behaviour problems. The researcher will benefit from the opportunity to contribute to supporting improved behaviour mediation practices between parents and school personnel for children. The researcher will also benefit from the study's role to complete the doctoral program requirements. The educational community and society as a whole will benefit from improved knowledge about parent mediation for their children's school behaviour problems.

How Will Confidentiality and Anonymity Be Assured?

The collected data of this study will maintain the confidentiality of the study participants' names and contributions made by the participants to the extent allowed by the law and evidence of abuse will be reported as required by law. Personal identifiers of the participants, including name age, date of birth, address, and contact information will remain confidential. Participants will be assigned pseudonyms and places will be given fictional names and these will be used for all data collected throughout the study. Additionally, in transcriptions of audiotapes, pseudonyms of names of study participants and fictional place names will be used, as well as in future analytical or published works. Audiotaped files and documents relating to this study will be downloaded and stored on a memory stick. This will be stored with research notes collected by the researcher at my private residence in a locked filing cabinet for 5 years. At that time audio files will be demagnetized and all related and electronic data will be deleted, shredded or otherwise destroyed. When the study is completed, contact information will not be kept.

Approvals that May Be Required from Agencies, Communities or Employers.

Written permission to invite parents of school age children and administrators of public school-age students to participate in the study is being sought from the Assistant Superintendent of School District (Seaside Coast).

Persons and Contact Information that Participants May Contact to Discuss Concerns.

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University

Appendix D.

Letters of Invitation and Informed Consent Forms

Formal Letter of Invitation to Participate and Consent Forms

<u>INFORMED CONSENT FORM</u>
**Parent Roles in Mediating Behaviour Problem of School-Age Children:
A Case Study Set in a Small BC Coastal Community**

Principal Investigator:
Ms. Marian de Jong, Graduate Student
Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University
Phone number: ███████████. E-mail: ███████████

Purpose:
This study is part of a dissertation project completed under the auspices of Simon Fraser University. It looks at the role of parents and the influence of the resources they bring to bear when attempting to mediate their children's school behaviour problems, in a small west coast school district. This study will illuminate the process of parents' involvements, and unwrap the layers of what happens in parents' participation in school mediation attempts on the children's behalf. The study is intended to address the lack of clarity and understanding in how outcomes evolve or are reached with the school, when parents involve themselves in these mediations. It remains unclear how parents and family differences may be catalysts for outcomes and how they may act as mechanisms that influence the directions of the outcomes. You are encouraged to describe your experiences and share your insights relating to your involvements in mediations with the school regarding your child's behaviour. Your personal account will help others gain insight into the workings of these mediations and perhaps support policy development and change in the future.

Study Procedures:
This study is conducted by Ms. Marian de Jong, a graduate student from Simon Fraser University. I will explore the origins and effects of the influences and resources that parents bring to their mediation attempts at school regarding their child's behaviour. In order to understand these parent involvements with the school, you are asked to participate in a three-part interview process, in a manner or variation that suits you as a participant. This will be scheduled between June and August 2011. You will be asked to agree to being audiotaped in a 2 to 3 hour face-to-face interview. The data collection procedures employed will proceed with minimal harm to your physical well-being, and precautions will be used to ensure your anonymity. However, due to the restricted sample size, it is the possible that someone reading the publication of this study could make inferences regarding a school and/or the educators involved in this research project. In these cases your confidentiality could be compromised by your unique descriptions stemming from your interview.

Ethical Concern:
Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may decide to withdraw from it at any time. Only data collected from those who have given informed consent will be used. This also means that you will be requested not to identify third parties such as your spouse or any other persons. Regardless of whether you decide to participate until the end or withdraw partway, your decision will not be shared with third party members, and will not affect any kind of school or community status you may have with SD ██

_____. I will approach you again after the interview only for clarification, and if subsequent interviews are needed, you will have the option to consent to or to decline from any future contact.

Please note that in research, when discussion of children is involved, there is the possibility that information about child abuse and illegal activities that could threaten the children may emerge. By law, the researcher must report this information to the appropriate authorities.

Confidentiality:
You will have access to the data you supplied should you feel a need to review and/or to decline the use of any personal information you supplied. Research data will be used, shared and presented among members of this project team, educators and graduate students. I believe this study to be important as this context of parent involvement under investigation is not regularly studied, and I believe it could be used to inform educators and parents, as well as to improve policy regarding school disciplinary matters of children. Although results from this project may lead to publication, data will remain confidential. Parent and administrator responses will be identified using pseudonyms, and actual names of participants and schools will not be used. Written and audio documentation and memory sticks containing research data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. This collected information will be stored for 5 years, after which time it will be destroyed.

Permission to Conduct This Study:
This study will only proceed under the condition that research permission has been granted from the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University and the Research & Evaluation Department of School District _____. Research approval to conduct the study has now been granted by School District ▮▮.

Contact for Information About the Study Procedures and Research Results:
This study will only proceed upon obtaining research permission for the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University and the Research and Evaluation Department in School District _____. Approval to conduct the study has now been granted by School District ▮▮.

Contact for Information About the Rights of Research Subjects:
If you have any questions regarding the research procedures or research results of this study you may contact Marian de Jong at _____ or _____.

If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant you may contact:
     Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
     Office of Research Ethics
     Simon Fraser University
     Burnaby, BC Canada V5A 1S6
     ███████████

Application Number: [2011s0344]

---------------------------------------Please Keep For Your Files----------------------------------

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
Parent Roles in Mediating Behaviour Problem of School-Age Children:
A Case Study Set in a Small BC Coastal Community

Please note that approval for this study has been granted by the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University, and the Research and Evaluation Department of School District ███████████.

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at any time.

Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in this study and that you have received a copy of this cost form for your records.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____
Printed Name of the Participant Signing Above

Application Number: [2011s0344]

------------------Please Detach Consent Form and Return to Marian de Jong------------------

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
Parent Roles in Mediating Behaviour Problem of School-Age Children:
A Case Study Set in a Small BC Coastal Community

Please note that approval for this study has been granted by the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University, and the Research and Evaluation Department of School District ████████████.

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at any time.

Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in this study and that you have received a copy of this consent form for your records.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____
Printed Name of the Participant Signing Above

---Please Keep For Your Files----------------------------------

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
Parent Roles in Mediating Behaviour Problem of School-Age Children:
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For Child of Parent Participant

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You are advised that your parent's participation in the study is entirely voluntary and they may withdraw from this study at any time.

Your signature below indicates that you are aware of your parent's consent to participate in this study and that you have received a copy of this consent form for your records.

_____   _____
Child's (of Participant) Signature   Date

_____
Printed Name of the Participant's Child Signing Above

Application Number: [2011s0344]

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Final Letter of Invitation and Consent Form

<u>INFORMED CONSENT FORM</u>
Parent Roles in Mediating Behaviour Problem of School-Age Children:
A Case Study Set in a Small BC Coastal Community

Principal Investigator:
Ms. Marian de Jong, Graduate Student
Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University
Phone number: ▨▨▨▨▨▨▨. E-mail: ▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨

Invitation and Study Purpose:
You are being invited to participate in this research study completed under permission of Simon Fraser University. The study examines the experiences of parents in their attempts to mediate their children's school behaviour problems in a small west coast school district. This study will illuminate the process of parents' involvements and unwrap the layers of what happens in parents' participation in school mediation attempts on the children's behalf. The project is intended to address the lack of clarity and understanding in how outcomes evolve or are reached with the school, when parents involve themselves in these mediations. It remains unclear how parents and family differences may be catalysts for outcomes and how they may act as mechanisms that influence the directions of the outcomes. You are encouraged to describe your experiences and share your insights relating to your involvements in mediations with the school regarding your child's behaviour. Your personal account will help others gain insight into the workings of these mediations and perhaps support policy development and support change in the future.

Study Procedures:
This study is conducted by Ms. Marian de Jong, a graduate student from Simon Fraser University. I will explore the origins and effects of the influences and resources that parents bring to their mediation attempts at school regarding their child's behaviour. In order to understand these parent involvements with the school, you are asked to participate in a three-part interview process, in a manner or variation that suits you as a participant. This will be scheduled between June and December 2011. You will be asked to agree to being audiotaped in a 2 to 3 hour face-to-face interview. The data collection procedures employed will proceed with minimal harm to your physical well-being, and precautions will be used to ensure your anonymity. However, due to the restricted sample size, it is the possible that someone reading the publication of this study could make inferences regarding a school and/or the educators involved in this research project. In these cases your confidentiality could be compromised by your unique descriptions stemming from your interview.

Ethical Concern:
Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may decide to withdraw from it at any time. Only data collected from those who have given informed consent will be used. Regardless of whether you decide to participate until the end or withdraw partway, your decision will not be shared with third party members, and will not affect any kind of school or community status you may have with SD ▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨. I will approach

Marian de Jong   1   May 26, 2011

you again after the interview only for clarification, and if subsequent interviews are needed, you will have the option to consent to or to decline from any future contact.

Confidentiality:
You will have access to the data you supplied should you feel a need to review and/or to decline the use of any personal information you supplied. Research data will be used, shared and presented among members of this project team, educators and graduate students. The researcher believes this study to be important as this context of parent involvement under investigation is not regularly studied, and could be used to inform educators and parents, as well as to improve policy regarding school disciplinary matters of children. Although results from this project may lead to publication, data will remain confidential. Parent and administrator responses will be identified using pseudonyms, and actual names of participants and schools will not be used. Written and audio documentation and memory sticks containing research data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. This collected information will be stored for 5 years, after which time it will be destroyed.

Permission to Conduct This Study:
This study proceeds under the condition that research permission has been granted from the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University (Application Number: [2011s0344]) and the Research & Evaluation Department of School District ▇▇▇▇▇ ▇▇▇.

Contact for Information About the Study Procedures and Research Results:
Questions regarding the study procedures and research results may be directed to Marian de Jong at ▇▇▇▇▇ or ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇.

Contact for Information About the Rights of Research Subjects:
Any questions regarding the research procedures or research results of this study may be directed to Marian de Jong at ▇▇▇▇▇ or ▇▇▇▇▇▇.

If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant you may contact:

     Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
     Office of Research Ethics
     Simon Fraser University
     Burnaby, BC Canada V5A 1S6
     ▇▇▇▇▇▇

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
Parent Roles in Mediating Behaviour Problem of School-Age Children:
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I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate.

My participation in the study is entirely voluntary and I may withdraw from this study at any time.

My signature below indicates that I consent to participate in this study and that I have received a copy of this form for my records.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____
Printed Name of the Participant Signing Above

Appendix E.

Participant Interviews:
Part 1. A Focused Life History

Single-Parent Families

Ramsey

Ramsey is a 52-year-old single mother of two boys, who has spent the past 17 years in Seaside, initially emigrating from England with her former husband. She trained as a musician in Britain, specifically in piano and recorder, and moved to Canada to pursue a performing and teaching career. She has several recordings and has performed for various symphony orchestras, including the former CBC Radio Orchestra. Ramsey has her own studio in her home, boasting a Sauter grand piano and recording equipment. She teaches music for a living, and has a large roster of students, who she prepares for concerts, music festivals and music exams.

Ramsey has been married twice and has a son from each marriage. Her older son is 23, has grown up in Seaside, and had a relatively positive school experience with good friends. His mother relates that he is musical and as a teenager became serious about guitar and rock-and-roll music. She was pleased that he had the passion, although sorry he did not share her interest in classical music. Twice a year he flew to England to visit his musician father, unaccompanied from the age of five, supported by flight staff. Later he attended college for 2 years in San Diego where his father and new family moved. He has returned home to study at university and work part-time.

Ramsey's second son, Danny, is 8 years younger, now 15, and still lives at home. Ramsey and his father divorced when Danny was 3 years old, and she believes the marriage breakdown has been much harder on him than she initially realized. He has struggled through school, often bored, and when he has been with her, unwilling and emotional about having to attend. Until recently, Danny lived with his father, and spent the weekends with his mother. This was related to his better school attendance when he was with his father; an arrangement that Ramsey reports was not amicably reached.

Ramsey describes her own childhood as "very challenging" as her father died of kidney disease when she was 4 years old and she and her twin sister were forced to go to school. She had an older brother who was 12, who created a lot of dissension with their mother. She remembers not going to her father's funeral and being told that he had "just gone away." She recalls a sense of abandonment and feeling like she had no parents. She and her siblings lived with an aunt for a time when her mother suffered a nervous breakdown. Her mother was emotionally volatile and Ramsey recalls they "did not know whether they were going to get hugged or get hit." She remembers happy memories with cousins at Christmas and family get-togethers, as her mother was one of seven, and they had "about 30 cousins." They also had a family tradition of making pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, which they ate with lemon and sugar. Ramsay and her siblings went on annual holidays to the beach in southern England, with their mother.

Money was tight and the family had to move after their father died. They were fortunate in that grandparents lived nearby, where they went weekly for traditional roast beef

Sunday lunch. This was a strong family connection. Ramsey recalls that other gatherings such as parties and family celebrations were fraught with tension.

They lived near woodlands, and Ramsey remembers that she and her sister spent much time running and playing in the woods, disappearing for the day on their bikes. She says that family communication was apparent during mealtimes, which her mother always prepared after her work and which they ate together.

Ramsey recalls a lot of emotional upheaval in her family setting when she was a young child between the ages of 5 and 8 years old. She states that the early death of her father and the difficulty her mother had in coping with her family responsibilities, contributed to her own emotional pain. She also observed that the pain lingers on and affects how you manage throughout your life.

Ramsey says her saving moment in her life was when she and her sister first heard classical music at a school assembly, and afterwards, in spite of their shyness, approached the pianist and asked what she was playing. This was the start of the girls' life with music, which Ramsey also came to see as an escape hatch. Fortunately, she recalls that her mother considered their interest in music a priority and supported it. Later she says she realized the financial and organizational sacrifices her mother had to make to accommodate her sister and herself and their music.

Ramsey and her sister were placed in an advanced stream in school, and also were able to pursue music. They spent much of their time in the music room and were not concerned with their peers. Ramsey related being bullied by another girl and being blamed as the perpetrator for many years. She recalls that it was not until after she had left and a new girl became the victim that the head teacher realized her error in not listening. This added to the mix of the volatility of her family situation, but despite this, Ramsey says she found comfort in the hymns and prayers of assembly, did well in all of her subjects, and at 16 left to attend a music school.

Ellie

Ellie is the 42-year-old single mother of four boys ranging in ages from 10 to 17 years old. Ellie relates that she works as a licensed practical nurse (LPN) and is a single parent to her four children. By marriage, she is part of a local family that is a large presence in their community and area history.

She was born and raised on the Seaside Coast and after marriage, has continued to live with her family in the small community at one end of the coast. Ellie describes her childhood years as being carefree and her family as well off, enjoying travelling and the amenities of a comfortable life. She relates that her father was an engineer for the local mill and her mother worked as a lab technician. Ellie's favourite memories are of staying in hotels at home and abroad as a child, and visiting her extended family on Vancouver Island for holidays and family celebrations, where she also got to know her cousins. Her parents loved to invite people to dinner and entertain, and the family played games at home together, celebrated birthdays, and made Christmas time a special celebration.

Ellie recalls that when she was 10 years old, and her family was preparing to move to Cuba for her father's work, he was seriously injured in a chainsaw accident, changing all aspects of her family's life. She says at that point, life became difficult and her mother had to work full-time. Ellie's father was never able to come out of the hospital and died after 7 months. She relates going to Scotland with her Scottish mother and her sister for

6 months after her father's death. Even though they were with family, Ellie describes the time away as being traumatic and difficult although their mother was emotionally supportive to her girls.

Ellie relates that her mother remarried when Ellie was 15, which she sees as the time she became a rebel, a phase that included misbehaving and running away. Ellie recalls her mother as being strict but loving and supportive, getting Ellie into counselling, and paying for her to go to college. When she quit college, her mother allowed her to live at home and work but refused to pay for college a second time.

Ellie says she met and married her husband when she returned to the Seaside Coast and describes her marriage as a disaster, which ended in divorce after 7 years. During a temporary separation, Ellie relates that she met a new partner, and had her third child. Her fourth son was born when she and her husband reunited for a short time.

Ellie is proud of her four sons who she describes as good-looking, active, and athletic. She says they are intelligent and independent, and well versed in looking after themselves due to her shift work, although she has used a nanny for several years. She relates that her youngest son attends the local elementary school, and has recently started to experience behaviour difficulties in school. Her third son, aged 11, is completing his first year at a junior alternative school to support his behaviour and learning disability. She states that his father interferes and does not support Ellie's efforts to look after her children, often not following through on promises of support, financial or other. She says he is rude and verbally abusive in person and on the phone, often threatening Ellie with court and not helping out.

Ellie describes her second oldest son, who is 15, and is in Grade 10 at the small neighbourhood high school, as suffering from Type I Diabetes since his pre-school days. She says his health has been well-managed and supported by health and educational professionals throughout his schooling. Recently, he has become resistant to support, inconsistently monitoring and reporting his blood sugar levels and ignoring his dietary needs. Ellie notes that this impacts his ability to accomplish his academic requirements, maintain appropriate behaviour, and sustain a reasonably positive attitude and mood. She says that health professionals contend that these changes are not unusual for diabetic teen-agers.

Ellie reveals that her oldest son quit school when he was 14, after disruption, vandalism and the company and influence of his peers. She says he has been involved in theft and vandalism, as well as drug and alcohol infractions in the community. Most recently he was involved in the vandalism of a local school with some of his at-risk peers. She relates that many supports have been made available to him, which he has rejected. Ellie states that she is worried that her son's explosive temper and erratic negative choices are hereditary, and that he needs mental health support. Ellie says she is working to support her third youngest son, who is in elementary school.

Chloe

Chloe describes herself as a 37-year-old mother of three girls, aged 18, 14 and 3, who works as a teacher assistant in the school district. She relates that she and her husband recently separated and share parenting of the girls. The older daughter is in her second year of a drug-rehabilitation program in the city, after completing most of her education in Seaside School District. Her middle daughter is in Grade 9 and her 3-year-old

daughter attends daycare and pre-school. Chloe says her life has been unsettled in the past year as she has made the effort to re-establish a home for herself and also share part-time parenting of the girls.

In describing her own upbringing, Chloe relates that she is the middle of three girls and that her father died when she was three. Her mother remarried and had three boys with her new husband. Chloe describes it as a busy household, with the age range of the six children being 15 years. She says her mother stayed at home with the family, while her father was the breadwinner, leaving the looking after of school affairs to her mother.

She recalls her younger childhood as being normal, everyone getting along, and having regular fun with her siblings, as well as the expected normal sibling rivalry and fighting. Her mother took the children to church on Sundays and her stepfather did not attend. Chloe says her mother was also the disciplinarian, although she never yelled and expected the children to do as they were asked. Although the children did not have extra lessons, Chloe recalls that her parents supported their sports endeavours.

She relates that the family vacationed at their cottage just over the border for 2 weeks every year. There were family celebrations at Christmas and Easter and birthdays were special, with a cake and gifts.

Chloe describes her stepfather as being a "mean drinker, especially on weekends," although he never hurt his children. Her mother later divorced him, and Chloe says she has not encouraged her own relationship with him. The family ate meals together, and Chloe says her mother helped with homework at the kitchen table, when they were younger although she expected them to get help for their schoolwork from other sources when they got older. Chloe relates that she and her siblings had regular chores, which included the girls looking after their younger brothers.

Chloe's' older sister chose to move out when she was 16, and Chloe did the same. She relates that she got a job and became pregnant at 18, and then worked and looked after her daughter, saying, "I just did what I had to do."

Chloe reports her own school experience as being positive, and she describes herself as having been a "good girl, and never getting in trouble for anything." She says she did homework, got reasonable marks, played on teams and joined clubs. She notes that she was not encouraged to go onto post-secondary after high school and believes her parents should have encouraged their children more in that regard. With her own girls, Chloe says she is aware of being intentionally more supportive and encouraging them to pursue their interests and possible post-secondary plans.

Father-Parent Families

Jones

Jones describes himself as an older parent of two boys in his second marriage, who has spent much of his life on the Seaside Coast. One of his sons is graduating from high school this year, and the other has recently begun university. Jones states that his wife is a school counsellor, is outspoken about her own role as a parent and is supportive of Jones' many endeavours. These have included various outdoor pursuits, a variety of jobs, and most recently, renovating their home and garden property. Jones has had a

variety of experiences spanning from physical manual labour to business management, as well as community volunteer work, including coaching a variety of sports.

Jones imparts sharing the accompanying workload of childrearing, including diaper changing, vacuuming and cooking. Jones views himself as an understanding father and relates that he has always pushed his children to challenge themselves, allowing them to experience "real consequences" and to develop a strong sense of their own capabilities. He sees his sons as being very good with their friends and relationships, and has always upheld respectful family relationships in his own home, insistent on utmost respect towards their mother and other women.

Although somewhat thoughtful and soft-spoken in demeanour, this masks Jones' acerbic opinions regarding local business enterprise and management, including school district leadership. He says he has little patience for what he views as discipline of children that is not based on fairness and knowledge of the situation, and says he gets involved when he feels it is necessary. Jones states that his additional insight stems from growing up in the community with some of the recent school district leaders.

Dane

Dane describes his life as having many challenges, moves, and people who were influential to him as he was growing up. He describes himself as the father of a 15-year-old boy, and stepfather to two older children, a girl, and a boy, both of whom now live on their own. He relates that he has lived on the Seaside Coast for 17 years and has recently remarried for the third time. Dane views himself as an autodidactic geologist by trade, and has worked in the mining industry for most of his adult career.

Dane notes that he was born in North Vancouver and recalls living on the edge of town near the woods, until he was seven. He remembers the freedom and independence he and his neighbourhood friends had, spending most of their time outdoors, climbing trees, throwing rotten fruit in a nearby orchard, building forts and hiking up the power lines. He recounts that when he was seven his parents divorced and he moved to Ottawa with his mother and his brother, who is 2 years younger. Dane reveals that his mother, a renowned artist, struggled emotionally, and Dane recalls that she was difficult to live with. He remembers her as wanting to be everything, the super-mom and the super-artist, and she could not be both. Her paintings are worth money and hang in the National Art Gallery in Ottawa. After 1 year in Ottawa, Dane recounts that she enrolled his brother and him at the Child Study Centre, which was run by the Department of Child Psychology at a university as a residential school.

Dane recalls that he and his brother, who had both been tested with IQ's above 160, found the school setting curious, and now believes that the bright children in the study centre were under-stimulated in school, which manifested in behaviour problems in the classroom, looking much like learning disabilities or low intelligence. He believes he and his brother were there because their mother needed somewhere to send them, and they had been accepted. Dane reports that he isolated himself from what he called bad behaviour "in that place" but states that his brother found it more difficult to do the same. He remembers that they were away from their family and sometimes went home for weekends and often did not.

Dane describes his mother as being an incredible provider, who organized quality educational opportunities for her boys, but could not provide for them at home as a

mother. He recalls that they next attended Pickering College, which was a high school boarding school for boys and run by the Quakers. He says his mother managed the tuition by painting a commissioned portrait of the president of the college, which today remains hanging in the main foyer. Dane regrets that with his strong science marks he did not go immediately to university. Instead he headed north to Yellowknife and demanded a job. He describes his job track as being in mining and exploration and "as the computer came into the industry, I was there at the ground layer."

Dane says he recalls little sense of home-life as a child because he spent so little time there. He recalls that the sense of safety was greater at Pickering College because the rules and structure of the institution provided that. He considers the early years at the Study Centre wasted time in his life, as developmentally and emotionally it was not a positive experience. At Pickering Dane reports having a mentor who took him under his wing. He recalls, "There were a lot of role models at that school." Dane spent his summers at Kawabi Summer Camp, which could house 100 children and youth, and where he later became a camp counsellor. Dane reveals, "In retrospect, I was always hoping to put my son in that camp."

He recognizes that he did not have family influences as he was growing up. Dane reports that he has reconnected with his father, and that he has long since realised that the picture his mother provided of their father was not accurate.

Dane says he experienced rare leisure time as a family. He recalls that he and his brother spent 1 week skiing with their mother once, and skied on the weekends in Ottawa. Birthdays and family celebrations were not big events although there was a "special birthday supper and maybe a gift." Dane recalls that birthdays "weren't really a big deal…in my growing up, anyways," and became more so as an adult.

Dane does not remember much to do with his extended family. When he was at Pickering he recalls that he would go to see his grandmother and spend weekends there. His grandfather died when he was very young, and he continued to maintain a relationship with his grandmother.

Dane views the breakup of his parents as a crisis for his brother and him but he does not remember battles and fighting, but more the sense of dread that his parents were not going to be together.

Dane took his second wife out to see his mother when they were first married, and relates that the visit did not go well. Recently, with his new wife, they went to visit his mother, and Dane relates, "That went even less well." He says he realizes now that his mother is fine to live with herself, but she suffers from bipolar disorder, "And it seems to work out the best for our family when she lives by herself."

Dane recalls being a reader from a young age, and has early memories of his father being a storyteller. He says reading was always encouraged and his mother regularly had some kind of book or recommendation for him. They were exposed to the arts in the form of ballet, concerts, plays, and theatre. Mealtimes were the highlight of the day because their mother loved to cook. Their mother was also a good cook, and would entertain interesting friends and there would be "fabulous spreads and good conversation." Language was encouraged and Dane said he has often been told he had a well-developed vocabulary by the time he was 4 years old. Dane relates that both parents were educated beyond high school, and Dane's mother had gone to what is now the Emily Carr College of Art. Both parents had studied in England on art scholarships.

Dane says he grew up with the legend of his father, who was not on the scene from Dane's fourth year. He recalls that his mother upheld the notion that his father had washed their hands of them, after which they moved out east. This was disproven when years later, his father showed him a stack of letters "with my mother's handwriting on them—'Return to Sender.'" Dane says he recognizes that his mother did the best she could to educate and provide for his brother and him.

Dane relates that his second wife had followed a similar educational path as his mother, in the arts, and views her upbringing to have been similar to his mother's. He says his present wife comes from a "normal family with normal academics, which might be the missing piece." Dane says he wonders if he was looking for the familiar in his previous marriages.

Dane states that he does not remember his mother being involved in any school incidents for his brother and himself. He suspects that parent involvement was discouraged at the Child Study Centre, and Pickering College was just too far away. He notes that he feels that they were constrained by circumstance when they were growing up, therefore never feeling a sense of entitlement. He recalls that there was a lot of hard work to acquire extra or special things. "I always felt I had enough, a bicycle if I needed a bicycle, a ball or bat, if I needed that—nothing fancy but what I needed." Dane says, "The sense of my mother being a good provider, although her approaches were not conventional, is probably why I never had that sense of entitlement." Dane says that he feels grateful for the way his mother provided for them, and sad that there is no relationship at present.

Dane describes having fractured relationships with his two older stepchildren, despite the length of time he spent with them. Ellen, his older stepdaughter is in her twenties, and he feels the dynamics between him and her mother prevent a more solid relationship, but says he wonders if the rare times he sees Ellen are typical of some children who have moved away from home.

Dane relates that he spent 10 years of his life raising his stepson, Michael, who is now 24. This included looking after him when his wife was immersed in her arts career. He believes that when he and his second wife separated, Michael moved on with her and there was no place for him in his stepson's life. He believes Michael remains angry with him, and says, "Fine, but it's not my doing....You know, it's a disappointment."

Dane says he raised his youngest son, Danny, until recently.

2-Parent Families

Hannah

Hannah describes herself as the 38-year-old mother of a 16-year-old boy with a learning disability, who has experienced behaviour problems in elementary school. She relates that her husband is 22 years older than she is and a social worker. He has two older children from a previous marriage and two young grandchildren. She says the family lives in a suburb along the mid coast and her son goes to the larger high school in the area via school bus.

Hannah states that she was born and raised in the interior of BC in a 2-parent family, the youngest of three siblings. Her mother was a clerk at the local Hudson's Bay store and

her father was a custodian in the local schools, often the one that she attended. She recalls spending a lot of time exploring and pursuing nature-related and outdoor activities, both by herself and with her family.

Hannah says her parents were avid readers and valued and promoted education for their three children, with the expectation that they would complete high school. Hannah does not recall her parents attending activities at school that often but remembers her mother going to talk to her very strict Grade 1 teacher when Hannah told her she was afraid of her and was not going back. She does not recall her parents involving themselves overtly in school if there were conflicts or problems. If so, she says it seemed to be a "behind the scenes kind of thing." Hannah relates that her father never let on, but she believes he usually knew more about what was going on with his children in school than they thought.

Hannah says her parents read a lot but she does not recall being read to as a young child as she learned to read at four and preferred to read on her own. Her parents recognized that she loved to read and write and encouraged her.

She relates that she was a "good girl" in school and did not get into trouble, and describes herself now as having been a "pleaser." When she was older, Hannah remembers the high school girls as being mean, notably when she was going through an awkward period with braces and glasses. In Grade 10 when she returned after a holiday with no braces and contact lenses, she says she was no longer teased. Her family attended a local church and Sundays after church throughout her childhood, Hannah recalls, they would have lunch at her grandparents' house on their nearby farm. Hannah relates that participation in the church youth group helped socially, and that it was easier to be social with the boys at school than the girls.

Hannah's brother and sister were older and involved in sports and club activities and Hannah remembers that she would take the bus home and be alone until her mother arrived home from work. She says her mother prepared dinner and her family ate together every evening. After dinner the children did their homework and typical kinds of family activities.

Hannah did not have a lot of chores, which she says caused contention between her parents, as her mother felt the children should have more responsibilities and her father did not support that. She says that typical chores were cleaning up their rooms, vacuuming and dusting.

Hannah relates that, due to her job as a teacher assistant, she is familiar with the school system, including reading special education documents and providing accommodations and adaptations for students with a variety of needs. She describes herself as skilled in supporting students in a variety of settings, and says she particularly enjoys working in the sciences and elective areas. She imparts that she uses her own initiative in organizing nutrition for students who come to school hungry.

Hannah states that her knowledge of special education was helpful in supporting her son who she says was diagnosed in primary school with dyspraxia and developmental coordination disorder. She relates that she found the school inconsistent in their support, and often resistant to her suggestions of how to support her son. Hannah says she believes she was within her rights as a parent to advocate for her son, while being aware of her role as a school district employee. Hannah relates being resisted and

challenged by school staff regarding her efforts to advocate for her son's support, despite psychological assessment that documented his support requirements.

She says her husband, Jack, is also a strong advocate for their son as he is dyslexic and did not learn to read until in his mid-20s. She notes that he does not have positive recollections of his own school experience, but eventually put himself through university to become a social worker. Hannah says that Jack encourages her in her own endeavours as a "foodie" which she relates is providing her with opportunities for travel and working with other foodies and chefs.

Alice

Alice describes herself as a 55-year-old mother of two boys aged, 18 and 22. She says she was raised in the Maritimes in a French Canadian and Acadian family, with French and English being spoken in the home. Alice states that she was a middle child of seven children, and her father insisted that they be educated in French even though they were bilingual.

Alice relates that her father owned a store that sold household furniture and appliances, and her mother was a bookkeeper. She says that both of her parents completed Grade 12 and then said that was as far as they could afford to go. Their mother worked in the family store after 10 years, when the family was more financially strapped. Alice describes her mother as outgoing and energetic where her father appeared more reserved and shy. She laughs as she describes her mother as "the one who got more upset and angry, cursing and using profanity." Alice remembers education as being highly valued and that her mother stressed the need to do well in school, being highly aware of her children's marks and ranking among the other students. Alice reports that where her mother was more emotional, her father had a harder time expressing his feelings, but they all knew that their parents loved them.

She relates that their mother was the disciplinarian although Alice states that her father was not a pushover. She says he would tell them, "Do whatever you want, as long as you're happy," while she says her mother would say, "Do whatever you want, as long as you get 'A's."

Alice also relates that her parents practiced strict Roman Catholic-based beliefs and expected the practice to be followed under the family roof. In spite of her father forbidding her to leave, Alice says she challenged their authority by leaving to travel and settle in western Canada with her boyfriend, contrary to her father's bidding not to.

Alice notes that she sees her parents' strong regard and value for education as being similarly and strongly inherent in herself. She describes pursuing an agricultural degree, so she could become an organic farmer with a degree, later changing her career directions.

For her own children, Alice describes her hope for them being that the school system would "nourish all their hidden talents and gifts, allowing them to develop to their full potential." She relates that she did not feel her older son was adequately challenged in school, nor were his strong abilities always recognized, although he could converse easily in three languages with the exchange students, who were often older than him and usually girls.

Alice relates that as a family, they have spent time, skiing, hiking and biking together. They spent a year in Spain living and traveling when the boys were in their middle school years.

Alice describes how she and her husband spent extra time with their younger son, teaching him to read, and drilling him on schoolwork when he was younger. She says that as he got older, being athletic, he was more interested in physical activity, and "just wanted to play" since his older brother was the "smart one" in the family. To get him away from his negative peer influence and to challenge his above average physical abilities, she describes their family decision to send him to a boys' boarding school in Ontario, where he could learn outdoor pursuits as well as complete the required academics. Alice relates that it was necessary to remain involved with school staff regarding the discipline and direction of her boys, who were ultimately successful in making their way through the system, despite disciplinary setbacks.

Rosie

Rosie is a 53-year-old mother of two boys, aged 14 and 17. Rosie moved to Canada's West-coast almost 20 years ago in her early 30s to pursue a new start as a classical musician. Her father died when she was 4 years old and she relates that the family grief was never adequately dealt with. Her mother had a nervous breakdown and she and her sister and older brother were farmed out to various family members for a time. Her family was reunited when her mother recovered. Rosie reports not having felt safe as a child and being aware of carrying this knowledge into her adult world.

Rosie views her British education as having been very good and feels fortunate that her schools and teachers recognized and supported her in pursing her music aspirations. She relates that she also had the benefit of being with a group of children who likely were considered gifted in their abilities, which meant "we were loved by our teachers, as we were extremely bright and motivated." She went from high school into musical training through a conservatory, which included performing, and she also supported herself by teaching music.

Rosie married after her move to Canada and considers herself an older parent, as she had her two children in her late thirties. The boys are now in high school. She and her husband separated for several years and maintained a parental shared relationship with their children, with Rosie being the primary caregiver, and despite her husband continuing to live off-coast. In the past 3 years they have reunited. This has helped provide greater stability for the two boys, who are also getting older and require parenting geared to raising teen-agers, an easier venture in a 2-parent household.

Sandra

Sandra describes herself as the mother of three teenage girls, aged 11 to 16, whose family lives on the northern end of Seaside School District, where her girls attend the village elementary and high schools. She recalls her own early life as being that of a nuclear family in North Vancouver, where she lived with her parents and younger brother. They walked to school, and played in the woods and near the Capilano River, unsupervised with their friends. Sandra relates that her Italian father and English mother were immigrants, which invited a multicultural aspect and travels to other parts of the world into their lives. Sandra's father was a paver by trade and her mother was a teacher. The family did a lot of camping and travelling, every 2 years, taking a big trip.

Sandra's describes her father as a gardener who looked after the fruit trees, went for walks and hunted. He also taught Sandra and her brother to shoot. She relates that their mother did the canning, and took them to the opera, parades, and Italian and Greek Days. She also encouraged them to be well-rounded, promoting music, sports, and reading involvement. As a teen-ager, Sandra imparts that she loved animals and volunteered at the SPCA and animal hospital.

She relates that her parents were very different, and did not seem to share any interests, eventually divorcing when she was in high school. Her father would do activities with her brother, and her mother would do the same with her, including being a Girl Guide Leader when Sandra was in Guides.

Sandra believes she blocked out a lot of her childhood, and recalls her parents fighting a lot. Despite this there were family celebrations. Her mother put thought into events, such as birthdays and made them special days with homemade cooking and a cake and a meaningful gift. She sees herself as having picked up attributes from both parents.

Sandra relates going to Italian school on Saturdays, and remembers her parents speaking Italian to each other when they did not want their children to understand. Because of the language barrier and her father's heavy accent, there was not a lot of discussion in her house. She says her mother was of strong opinion, which did not allow for openness in Sandra's relationship with her mother. She recalls that she was a "shy kid" and was introverted about a lot of things.

Her parents expected that she and her brother would go to university, which Sandra relates that she eventually did, beginning at Capilano College and later transferring to UBC. She remembers her father being more concerned about their happiness.

Her father was a non-practicing Roman Catholic and her mother was Anglican and took her children to church. Sandra relates that she carried on the practice when she had her own children, seeing it as an opportunity for her girls to develop their moral background and ethics.

Sandra describes her parents establishing two sets of godparents for her brother and herself, as they had so few relatives in Canada, particularly when their grandmother, who had lived with them for a time, passed away. Their intention was that their children would always have someone to turn to. Sandra says she has little knowledge of her family history in Europe, although they met some of their relatives on a trip to Europe, as well as a cousin in Greece when they were younger.

Sandra remembers her mother intervening at school on her brother's behalf when he was in the younger grades, which Sandra perceived to be due to the introduction of split grades. She says her mother also intervened for her when she ran into problems with her French instruction.

Sandra relates that she and her husband made the decision to move to the Seaside Coast after university, to raise their family. She wanted her children to have a similar environment to grow up in to what she had experienced, including the outdoors and animals. Sandra says she has a flexible attitude and although her life is different than she would have expected she is happy. She states that her girls have relationships with their maternal grandmother and paternal grandparents, who often attend their sports activities and visit. Sandra has recently reconnected with her father, after a long time,

282

and plans to integrate him back into the family's life as well. She says they are close to Sandra's brother and his family.

Sandra is aware of the lack of choice in a small community, in terms of peer groups and friends for her daughters, specifically in school, although there are plenty of opportunities for the girls in sports. She describes being careful about where they let their girls "hang out" as there is a lot of "smoking and drinking and stuff" in the community. Sandra says she is appalled that some parents are present at parties that local teen-agers attend, observing that these are not family parties where parents are present in a parenting role. Sandra and her husband are conscious of modelling the things they would like their daughters to do, including eating healthily, exercising, working hard and volunteering to give back to the community. She relates that they are making an effort to expose them to the broader world, and have taken them to Africa to volunteer.

Sandra has clear guidelines and expectations around computer use for her girls; and says she allows them to be on Facebook if she is their "friend," and they are 13. She and her husband have given each girl an iPhone, which is shut off at night and dinnertime, or otherwise confiscated for a time. She says she texts the girls to stay in touch and expects them to stay reasonably in touch with her.

Like her mother, Sandra is involved in volunteer work for the schools, on the PAC committee, and also works for the Learning Centre, which is near her daughters' schools. She describes being hopeful for her daughters and is intent on raising them to be good students and contributing citizens. Sandra appears to have an engaging ability to laugh at herself, see herself through her children's eyes, and act on her desire to remain solidly in a strong parenting role.

Maria

Maria is a 40-year-old mother of three children, an older daughter who graduated 3 years ago, and two boys in Grades 7 and 8. Maria relates that she works as a loans manager in a local credit union, and lives with her husband and two boys in the nearby village. The boys attend the local high school and her husband works as a fisherman.

Maria is the oldest of three children, and was born in Edmonton. She states that when she was eight her parents divorced and her mother remarried, after which they moved to the Seaside Coast. Maria attended the village elementary and high schools, where she met her future husband. She relates that her parents started a new family when she was in Grade 12, a younger brother and sister. She observes that she grew up in a time when there was not a lot of money but her family always seemed to have enough. Her father was in the commercial fishing industry and her mother worked at local jobs until she had the younger children.

Maria says that her stepfather believed that you should not work until you were at least 16, so she babysat to make the money she felt she needed. As well, her parents owned and operated a glass business.

Maria's grandparents moved to the coast and 1 year later her parents followed them. She recalls that for her stepfather, it was like returning to Ireland, his roots. In her new neighbourhood, Maria remembers there being so much distance between houses that you could not ride your bike to your friends, and instead had to rely on getting rides.

Maria's family had family pets, two dogs and two cats. She says her father trained one of them to be a retriever and took him hunting while they still lived in Alberta. Eventually, the dogs were hit by trucks in separate accidents.

Maria was happy to hear that her mother was remarrying, but found that her biological father "did not work well in the picture" and says, "I just remember it being heart-wrenching after a visit because we never knew when we would see him again." She relates that although the plan was that their step-dad would adopt the children after their move, the process was never completed. Maintaining a connection over the years proved hard, and when their father died, Maria recalls, "We weren't even notified."

Maria feels she held a grudge against her father for many years, without forgiveness, for being absent in her life. Several years later, when she met a stepsister who had shared a similar experience, she says she decided then that her father had not been cut out to be a good father.

Maria relates that she also does not share a good relationship with her mother. Her mother was a disciplinarian, and oversaw that chores were done. These included bringing in the wood, lighting the fire, picking rocks, washing dishes, helping with dinner preparations, and cleaning the house. Everyone chipped in to help. She feels the expectations were that she would be "the good kid" as she was introverted and responsible. She views herself as sometimes having seemed more responsible than her parents. Maria says she felt it was silly that her father expected the girls to "be kids as long as possible" when she would be giving them her babysitting money if they needed it.

Maria describes her grandmother as being "the rock" in her family, who expected that her granddaughters would go to college and get an education. She sees this as stemming from her grandmother's hardworking life and early marriage, including their mother's marriage at 18, and feels that their grandmother wanted something more for them.

Maria relates there were many outdoors activities with her family, and organizing motocross races with her stepfather, which involved preparing the track. She describes her parents as being relaxed in that they preferred their girls "to do any drinking at home, rather than unsafely elsewhere." Most leisure activities involved family and their grandparents. They played crib and chess, and watched their one channel of TV. She remembers her household as being noisy and active. Her stepfather was loud and Irish, joking and teasing, hard to understand.

Swearing and bad language were not tolerated in their house and Maria recalls having tabasco sauce put in her mouth only once, making swearing a non-issue. Although her mother had no training, she worked and did bookkeeping. Her parents were supportive regarding the girls' postsecondary education, and her grandparents helped financially. Maria states that she is proud of herself in that she pursued her career with a local bank after 1 year at college, and over the years has increased her seniority and grown into a management position. She views that going to school without fully knowing what you would like to study is a waste of time and money. She also believes that 17 or 18 years old is too young an age to make the decision regarding a future career direction. Maria says she has done well for herself.

Maria recalls that her parents attended school events, notably in elementary school, and much less so in high school. She has a recollection of being called out of class in Grade

9 and being told that her sister had attempted suicide. Maria says she remembers feeling annoyed rather than anxious for her sister, who was transferred to another local high school and went to live with their grandparents. She views that as another example of her grandparents having to look after difficult family matters and her parents as having the easier road. Maria says she still remembers her own indignation.

Marian does not recall a sense of entitlement, because there was not the money in her family that allowed that. She remembers wanting certain running shoes and sports bags, but knew that they were unaffordable. In adulthood, Maria recognises that her parents, in particular her mother, did the best they could for their children, and at the same time, she says she carried a lot of teen-age resentment towards her mother, something she says she later logically came to terms with. Maria remembers spending a lot of time in her own bedroom, which she liked to do, and in retrospect, thinks she was typical.

She recalls her college year as being lonely, and being happier when she met a fellow who moved back to the Seaside Coast with her. She quit college at 17, saying, "I didn't continue going to school because I didn't know what the heck I wanted to do." She had initially wanted to try nursing or teaching but observes that she let her lack of decision get the better of her. Maria relates that she "hit the road running in the working world," and has never looked back. She states that she has capitalized on training opportunities at the bank, which has also allowed her to move up in her branch.

Maria says her husband was not a troublemaker in school, but an average student, who had a great sense of humour and continually had his peers and teachers laughing. They went to high school, together, in fact, graduating from the school that their two sons attend. Maria says it took her husband a long time to feel that he was a solid contributing member of society, saying, "You know, he probably suffered the longest with not feeling like he did anything with his life,...because of society's expectations to get this education. He has family members who went to school and are making a lot of money,...I don't think he compares himself anymore."

Maria relates that everyone in her family likes to read except her son, Bryan, who also has difficulty in school. She says her parents were not readers as there was so much work to do on their property. She notes that her older son's issues were apparent even in Kindergarten, and recalls being overwhelmed by the school team that supported him. She states that a parent's bigger concern, rather than being told what the child is not doing, is discussing how the student will manoeuvre their way through the system. Maria believes they need to be supported to be successful and prepared in their choice to pursue post-secondary education or work after high school.

Belinda

Belinda is a 42-year-old mother with two junior-high-aged children in the school system, a girl in Grade 8 and a boy in Grade 10. The 2-parent family lives in the small community at the end of the highway and the two children bus to school. Belinda describes her husband as a self-made businessman who did not graduate from high school, and says the family is financially well off. She relates that he runs heavy machinery for logging camps and spends much time away from the home.

Belinda reports that her own upbringing was solid and secure, with all of her basic needs met, although there was no extra money. For instance, Belinda describes the example

of her mother keeping her home and planning 5 days of different local activities around their community, when they could not afford to send her to Camp Beachwater on the annual school outing for her grade. Belinda says she only realized the special effort of her mother when she was much older. Her parents, who have recently celebrated 66 years of marriage, valued education and she says she and her three siblings were expected to do well in school. Although her parents did not use physical punishment, Belinda felt their expression of disappointment was worse than a spanking. They believed in showing the goodness of being human, and treating each other well, and expected the same from their children. Meals were eaten together. The siblings had some chores, but their mother did most of the routine household work. Belinda says family life was quite structured, and each child was involved in one extra-curricular activity. Evenings provided time to relax together as a family.

Belinda reports her parents as being voracious readers, although they did not complete high school. There was lots of talk and her father displayed a great sense of humour. She states that she held him in high regard as a role model and influence in her life. Belinda also remembers wanting to emulate her older siblings as a younger teen.

Where her life was predictable and secure, she says this is in direct contrast to her husband's life, of being raised by teen-age parents in logging camps. His basic needs, nurturing and emotional needs as a young child were minimally met. She says school was difficult for him and Belinda reports wanting to cry when she read the report cards, a little boy who came from a difficult background and had trouble in school. Her husband is now a successful businessman and is proud of his own children. Belinda says he seldom attends school functions on behalf of his children, although he would like to see his son graduate, and particularly encourages him to do the requirements and get through. Belinda says it is painful for him to see his son, who has diagnoses of ADHD and anxiety, and experiences behavioural issues in school. She says, "There is a lot of emotion involved when your child is having behavioural difficulties."

Gracie

Gracie is a 50-year-old foster mother of two teenage boys with special needs. Gracie relates that her partner works as a registered nurse, and also runs a small health care service for the elderly, while Gracie supports the family in the role of stay-at-home mom. They have been partners for 23 years, and have raised both boys from birth. The boys attend the same small high school in the Seaside School District. Gracie imparts that she and her partner recently purchased a family home and new vehicle, further establishing that the community is their home, after moving 3 years ago from a downtown urban neighbourhood in the city.

Gracie reveals that she grew up in the Ottawa area in a family fraught with alcoholism and violence. She was the middle of three siblings, an older and younger brother. She says she often became the caregiver, the housecleaner and did the meal preparation. In high school, she relates being so fatigued it was hard to do her homework. She would go to school, come home to prepare dinner, work 4 hours at a part-time job, and then return home to do homework. She does not remember her parents ever being involved in school, attending school functions and conferences or even being aware of their children's school attendance. She says her perception is that they expected the children to attend and the school to do the job of educating. Gracie's brothers gradually stopped

attending school around the age of 16 and got jobs. She notes that she does not remember her parents being that concerned.

Gracie's father was a policeman, and her mother was a bookkeeper. She relates that her mothers' dream was to complete nursing, which she had to abandon when she became pregnant before her marriage. Gracie recalls her family life as chaotic, partying with excessive alcohol, and her parents fighting, with her father often beating her mother. When her brothers got older and no longer lived at home, she says they threatened their father and defended their mother. She notes that eventually her parents stopped drinking after she had left home, but the verbal and emotional abuse remained. She remembers that she was withdrawn and introverted when she was younger, due to the violence and chaotic lifestyle of her family. She recalls that she often escaped to girlfriends' homes in the neighbourhood, or to her grandmother's house nearby. Gracie notes that she was in her twenties before she attempted coming out, regarding her own acceptance of her gender identity and sexual orientation. She says she felt certain that any sooner, they would have thrown her out on the street.

Gracie and her brothers had the support of her grandparents, who held big family celebrations and dinners at festive times of the year, and looked out for the children. She remembers their grandmother buying them clothing and items for school every year, including new towels and linen for their beds. She also was a mentor and listener for Gracie, and taught her to cook and sew, and checked to make sure that she was safe and cared for. As well, she gave Gracie's brothers odd jobs so they could earn pocket money.

In 2003 Gracie and her partner were married in a private ceremony in Ottawa with family, and her parents have accepted this over time, also respecting the hard work they are doing in raising their two foster children. Gracie and her partner have fostered the boys since the older boy was two and the younger boy was newborn. She describes the boys, now aged 12 and 15, as having many special needs stemming from fetal alcohol and drug exposures before birth, compromising their abilities to have regular school experiences, similar to their same-aged peers. Gracie states that the family has received many coordinated health and education support services in their community in the city, and have worked hard to re-establish the supports the boys need to be able to attend and fully participate in school in their new community.

Administrators

Alyson

Alyson is a recently retired 58-year-old administrator who has spent most of her career as an educator on the Seaside Coast. She was initially a teacher and in the latter part of her career, an administrator in elementary and secondary settings. Alison relates that she has been particularly interested in restorative practices in the past 5 years, and regularly used her training in restorative approaches in her discipline interactions with students.

Alyson was born in Vancouver, moving twice before settling with her family in a North Vancouver neighbourhood. She is one of four children, who include an older brother and a younger sister and brother, all close in age. At one point Alyson observes that as a child, there were 54 pre-schoolers on her block, which created a lot of activity among a

lot of playmates. These included large Catholic and Protestant families, and because there was no Kindergarten at the time, much time for play. Alyson remembers spending a lot of time in the Catholic household that had 14 children. She recalls the sense of belonging in the neighbourhood, and a lack of supervision, although she remembers that the neighbourhood felt safe and adults seemed to know where all the children were.

Alyson says that at the time, there were jobs for everyone. Her mother worked as a manager of a Credit Union and her father worked for CBC. She recalls that when her family moved to the Horseshoe Bay area so her mother could live in a Rancher style house, everything changed, and the connections from the many families and children in the North Vancouver neighbourhood were lost. Alyson relates that her older brother found the change particularly traumatizing, which coincided with his first year in high school and which eventually led to him not graduating. Eventually, Alyson's parents moved back to North Vancouver, not far from their old neighbourhood. Alyson recalls feeling very disenfranchised, and they were called "the kids from the sticks." She feels fortunate in that a counsellor, who was a friend's mother, kept an eye on her, mentored and watched over her, becoming instrumental in getting Alyson through high school.

Alyson remembers having a lot of independence in her childhood, and a lot of trust being placed in the neighbourhood. Her parents supported a moderate amount of extra-curricular activity, including sports and piano lessons.

Alyson's' father had a difficult youth, and she reports that he came from a dysfunctional family, living with his single mother and three siblings. This led to him quitting school in Grade 9 to go to work. When the war broke out he lied about his age and enlisted when he was 16. Her mother had one sister and although there was a lot of poverty due to the Depression Era, their father (Alyson's grandfather) always had a job. Alyson describes her grandmother as being civic-minded, encouraging and being involved in her daughters' lives (Alyson's mother and aunt), supporting them in their painting and hobbies, being President of the PTA and in community service work. As a child in her own family, Alyson remembers having a sense that there was always 'enough.'

She describes her mother as a "yeller" in her discipline approach and her father as withdrawing when he was challenged or upset by his children, yet also being very firm. Her mother's parents were both MLA's and were used to having a voice and speaking up," but Alyson's mother did not actually get involved in their schooling until they were in high school, when she realized her son was threatening to quit. She involved herself in a parent group which was dissatisfied with the school, and became a strong organizer and advocate for change. This influenced Alyson in completing high school, when she realized how important it was to her parents.

Alyson remembers the family often going on holidays to Christina Lake and the family's summer place in the Kootenays, with other family relatives. They would also meet her father in the city and go to Stanley Park for picnics and other family outings. The family celebrated holidays, and birthdays with parties and cake. Christmas was a big traditional family celebration with many of the traditions coming from her grandfather's roots in New Zealand. Alyson remembers her grandfather always cooking the turkey, and Christmas day being a day for visiting. Easter was not as big a celebration, and Alyson attributes some of that to her family not attending church. The family's Thanksgiving celebrations were quieter without a lot of company, and sometimes were spent with the neighbours.

Alyson's paternal grandfather died when she was nine, after losing much of his mobility through a stroke. She remembers him typing them letters on their birthdays, which were special. They had many years with their grandmother.

Alyson remembers her siblings and she having chores at home, including dishes, helping around the house and looking after the younger children. When her mother would get severe headaches, she would instruct Alyson how to make dinner, from as young as 8 years old. Alyson recalls her mother hiring her to clean the house when she was in high school, which Alyson enjoyed, being a fanatic about tidiness. She babysat and earned money after school working at the West Vancouver School Board in the Resource Centre. After high school, while going to college, she did a variety of jobs, which included being a library assistant, teachers' aide, and a playground supervisor.

Alyson says her family ate meals together, and enjoyed lively conversation, although her father was a quiet man. The TV was never on during dinner, and language was polite. She remembers her father being the organizer of school lunches, which he would help them make after dinner.

There was no swearing, and bad language was not allowed. She reports asking her mother about an expletive she saw on a sign on the way to school, and how her mother would not tell her what it meant. At the same time, Alyson says her parents believed in resolving problems through discussion, and would sit their children down. Once when Alyson took some jewellery from a little kiosk, they took her down to the location and made her apologize and give it back. She was also not allowed to see a movie she'd been looking forward to. Alyson describes discipline in her upbringing as being based around reasoning. She remembers understanding why they were in trouble, and after an initial yelling, understanding the consequences and feeling as if they had been reasoned with.

Alyson observes that other families seemed to be more permissive in their lifestyles and discipline. There was an element of trust in their early neighbourhood, and a sense of everyone looking out for each other. She would sleep over at other children's houses, and live in anticipation of being able to have sugared cereal for breakfast. Alyson's family was careful with their money, buying nutritional food, and a yearly meat order. They would have an annual trip to Army and Navy to get outfitted for school clothes and supplies.

She feels her parents were very principled and lived by very clear values, although not religious, and they did not attend church. When younger, Alyson says she was fascinated by the neighbourhood Catholic families going to church and would dress herself, and catch the Sunday school bus to church. She also learned the political positions and opinions of her grandparents and parents, who operated from a sense of integrity and belief of standing behind their words.

Alyson independently put herself through college and university, working part-time until she finished her degree, before going on to teacher training at university. She says she has a rocky relationship with her younger sister, who had trouble in school with dyslexia, and whose life seemed to have much anger and sadness in it. Alyson visits with her older and younger brothers.

Alyson had a young son and was a single mother for a time. She relates that when she married her present husband, her son was 3 years old. Her husband was a retired policeman, with a grown up family, who later went into real estate. His own upbringing

had been harsh and emotionally chaotic. Alyson describes his father has mean and his mother, later a single parent, as very odd. Her husband was initially a harsh disciplinarian with her son, thinking that consequences and punishments were more effective without a lot of talk. Alyson was not used to this approach, and relates that it caused dissension in their marriage, including a short separation.

She describes her son as being active, and who had difficulty with spelling and being still in school. Alyson says that after intervening with academic support, out of school lessons and sports, and knowing that with what she describes as AHDH tendencies, she recognized that he would not ultimately be successful. Eventually, Alyson says she and her husband decided to send him to private school, which he attended from Grade 8 to Grade12. She recalls that it was very difficult for her to have him away, but the private school setting was his key to getting through high school. He had been to an annual outdoor camp for boys when he was younger, and his private school setting provided a similar high interest variety of activities for him to engage in. He was able to be successful in school. Their daughter was a better student, and missed growing up with her brother. She says their daughter learned to be close with her brother when they were older. Alyson believes he was a better brother because he felt better about himself in a more successful school setting.

She also attributes the hard work invested in long distance parenting via the telephone, over the 5 years her son was in private school to his success and his renown as one of his school's well-liked and successful students. Alyson sees herself and her husband as being more involved as parents than either of their parents was. She describes purposefully setting up their home up to be welcoming to their children's friends.

Many of their family traditions and activities are modelled after what was important to their own families. Over the years, Alyson relates that her son has become closer with his stepfather, and their daughter has become more independent. She describes their family completing a family and personal development program together, which she feels helped mend and clear up a lot of unresolved emotional work. Alyson states that they have supported their children in their postsecondary endeavours, and now are involved with their two grandchildren.

Alyson believes she has always sensed a need for principle-centred discipline, and has not always known how to establish that with her school staff. She relates that although "we had values around cooperation and respect, and all of those things that are very much in line with restorative approaches, we weren't a school using restorative practices at the time." Alyson recalls that it was difficult with this lack of clarity to help her staff in one school recover from a school wide crisis, and in another school, to align the parents with restorative approaches that made sense, rather than the unease she felt that resulted from punishment and unrelated consequences. Even at her next school, where the staff adopted the Effective Behaviour Support Program, Alyson says she did not view it as a satisfying model. Later, at the high school, where the prevalence of substance abuse at the time became a good fit with a restorative approach, the school was able to demonstrate that this could help integrate family life with school life. Alyson felt the process reinforced to parents that their children are whole people beings supported by the school. She believes there is an enduring opinion in communities that restorative practices cannot be used in a high school.

Alyson relates the necessity of the whole school being engaged and using restorative practices for it to be successful. She cites that there are very few whole school

approaches in the district, and there is no district wide approach to discipline. She acknowledges the Ministry of Education's requirement for every school to have a code of conduct, while "the model they still use really continues to reinforce the consequences, punishment kind of model" as a predominant model. Alyson states that there are no parameters around what a code of conduct should look like and says, "I really want to see a restorative model. I think kids learn so much from their mistakes and parents can be supported to help kids learn in restorative ways, what discipline is really about."

Peter

Peter is a 45-year-old married father of a 10-year-old daughter, and is a vice-principal of a local high school on the Seaside Coast. He has been in administration for the past 7 years, and has had a varied teaching career. Peter states that he owns his own home, and his daughter can walk to school. His wife, who is bilingual, works in a French Immersion school, where their daughter also attends.

Peter says his parents were divorced at his birth and he grew up in a working class neighbourhood and was raised by his mother, the custodial parent. Peter was one of three boys, an older boy with special needs and a younger brother whom he often looked out for. He states that his family had several challenges, which included his father's alcoholism and the brother with special needs, who eventually could not live with the family.

Peter recalls visits to his father, and their trips on public transportation that allowed his brother and him to travel in to Vancouver on weekends to see him. They accompanied their father to taverns and pubs, and Peter describes him as a man who drank his money away, and spent his life being "on and off the wagon." Peter characterizes his father as intelligent, resourceful and energetic. He and his younger brother spent much of their time with him walking miles around the city of Vancouver, and conversing intellectually about diverse topics. Peter imparts that he also took on the responsibility of looking after his younger brother on those visits into the city. On one occasion Peter recalls his father creating a handmade battleship game for them to play with, and other times many paper sculptures and Origami animals.

Peter relates that eventually his brother with special needs was admitted to Woodlands, although he was able to come home for visits. After a time he could no longer visit as he became too physical for the family to manage, and later was moved to a group home prior to Woodland closing its door. Peter remembers his brother's extensive support team and how they were on board with every aspect of his support.

Peter's family lived in a low-income neighbourhood, and he felt fortunate as their mother had a stable job with the post office. They were latchkey kids and Peter's memories are of growing up on safe blue-collar neighbourhood streets and spending time with boys who became life-long friends. Their mother directed the boys towards sports and after school jobs, which introduced rugby and soccer to Peter's game plan. Peter describes spending 9 months in the Canadian Katimavik work experience program, and working in a cemetery before and after. Katimavik introduced Peter to the far reaches of Canada, and after 2 years of college, that experience led him back to Dalhousie in Halifax to finish his degree. There he studied, accumulated student loans and met his future wife. After working in Montreal, Peter relates that he and his wife made their way to the West Coast, and began teaching careers. His career began in an integration program in the

Lower Mainland as a teacher's aide, which motivated him to complete his professional year to become a certified teacher.

Peter and his wife moved to the Seaside Coast and he says they were fortunate to be hired to teach. After some years of teaching, Pete moved into administration. He has since completed his master's degree and his professional experience now spans from working in the Aboriginal culture, includes the children of working class and privileged families, and also working in Alternate Education. He says his mother always advised his brother and him to do their best. He says she is proud of him, as there are no university degrees in the family. Their father always told them to work hard.

Peter recalls his report card comments regularly stating, "capable of doing better" and says his mother's form of discipline was a paddling with a "hotwheels track," and that she had no qualms about telling them when she was disappointed with their efforts and choices. Their mother sought warm family-oriented daycare for her sons and although very young at the time, Peter recalls that his daycare was his first experience where he experienced a sense of class difference. He remembers "the daycare lady's husband would come home in his overalls every day, and the first thing he would do is sit down and have a beer."

Today Peter recognizes that his mother gave him far more support than he realized. She was supportive and reliable, and showed her boys that she had expectations for both of them. Peter says his brother became a chef and has also managed eating establishments around the city.

In raising his daughter, Peter has ensured that she speaks French so she can share family relationships with her cousins and family in Quebec. He and his wife have read to their daughter regularly, and he reveals that he is disappointed that she does not share her parents' love of reading. He describes attempting to limit her use of technology with no cellphone, no TV in the bedroom and time limits for use of her one item, an iPad. She takes piano lessons and he is proud of her ability to create music and sit down and play without being told.

Her grandmother lives nearby now, and is involved with the family, providing a stability that Peter realizes he never had. His daughter can walk to her grandmother's and to her friends' houses in the neighbourhood. She calls Peter's father "Mike" and Peter sees that although he is "rough around the edges" Mike loves his granddaughter. Peter is sad that there are no other siblings for their daughter and makes an effort for her to have time with her cousins and extended family. This past summer a 16-year-old female cousin from Quebec spent 1 month with them in BC. Peter values the stability of the family life and what he and his wife are able to provide for their daughter. Peter says family traditions have been built very much around food, and with his chef brother there is always cooking when they are together, for special occasions and holiday times.

As a vice-principal, Peter is interested in behaviour and prefers to use a restorative approach in his work with students. Peter notices that in the past, families and children attached more value to their belongings, and took better care of them. He says, "Today's students lose items and never check the 'Lost and Found.'" He relates that "lockers are bent and students request new locks without thinking they have to pay." When it comes to holding events, attending them or putting them on, Peter says the students are more inclined to look to their parents to pay and volunteer, rather than doing or helping with the fundraising and giving of their own time, and interestingly,

many parents step right into the picture to do so. Peter views his students as holding a sense of entitlement, and observes that they are unaware of this attitude.

Cara

Cara was born in New Westminster, and upon her parents' divorce and her mother's remarriage, her family moved to Beachwood, a small mill town on the West Coast of BC, accessible by ferry. Cara's stepfather adopted Cara and her older brother, which her father believed was in their best interests as children.

Beachwood was a close community and had many benefits for a small town, including a hockey arena, a library and an elementary school. Cara remembers it as being a place where they built rich memories of their childhood experiences.

When her older brother was diagnosed with Perthes Disease, he was transferred to a Victoria Hospital where he spent the next 3.5 years. Cara and her mother travelled every weekend during that time to visit him. Cara remembers not being permitted to see him and when her mother would visit him, she waited with the gatekeeper until her return.

Their mother was a teacher, and when Cara had difficulty with early reading, she diligently worked on it with Cara until she became a reasonable reader for her age. Cara recognizes that her support had a positive effect. Her family was a family of readers, and purchased a lot of books. Her mother was a diligent parent regarding home and school support, which included homework supervision and bedtime routines.

Their home was organized and Cara recalls her mother being obsessed about chores in the home, routines, and being meticulously organized. Cara recalls that to surprise her mother, sometimes she would clean the whole house so her mother could come home and be pleasantly surprised.

Cara and her brother spent many summers with their grandparents in the Okanagan, travelling by train on a 5- to 6-hour trip. She reflects now that the summers away strike her as odd, as her mother was a teacher with summers off. Their family did not take many family vacations, but she remembers travelling to Oregon, and to Disneyland

Family celebrations were centred on the traditional holidays and Cara remembers the English tradition of oysters at Christmas, which she still prepares for her own family today. Christmas was also her birthday, but she never experienced birthday parties as hers was too close to Christmas.

When Cara was in Grade 7 the town of Beachwood shut down and her family moved to a nearby larger town. In junior high now, Cara was introduced to school in a much bigger setting. As well, her stepfather became an alcoholic, and Cara describes her teen years as being "a rocky time in our family." Her stepfather was a binge alcoholic who "was jealous of our relationship with our mother. He also resented our contact with our father," and had no contact with his two daughters from his own previous marriage. Their stepfather was in and out of treatment, which stressed the family dynamics, and Cara remembers him as being a much different person when he was reformed.

Mealtime in their household was family time, and there was ingrained mealtime etiquette, such as not eating until everyone was seated and served. Conversation and dinner table discussion were topical and family oriented. This included natural conversation regarding the day and homework.

Cara recalls that she and her brother knew right from wrong and what was expected. They were told and directed regarding chores, and in comparison to today, Cara makes the observation that there is more discussion than telling with today's children. She and her brother were spanked, and if trouble occurred at school, there was the threat of harsher discipline at home. Cara relates that she also feared her stepfather.

As Cara and her brother got older, their family life improved. Her stepfather made an effort to contact and reconnect with his first children. She recalls much unhappiness from his side of the family, and remembers the aftermath effects of his previous bitter divorce and unhappy first wife. Eventually their own father died of cancer.

She has vivid memories of her mother and stepfather fighting, and hiding in her own bedroom and crying, due to the yelling and fighting. Her parents were splitting up and she was privy to all of the unpleasantness.

Cara believes that the negative experiences that were in her own upbringing made her desire to seek positive change for her own future family. She wanted a lasting marriage and to distance herself and her family from the effects of alcoholism. After Cara received her teaching degree from Simon Fraser University she relates moving to her first teaching position on a little First Nations reservation call Lac La Lund on BC's northwest coast. There she taught 5 years and also met her future husband. Cabin fever and no road out shaped their move to Prince Rupert, where their daughter was born. Their little girl accompanied them everywhere, and was raised in the camaraderie of northern small town living, where life remained somewhat isolated for them.

Cara, who views herself as a workaholic, was soon back at work. She describes her colleagues and herself as reflective practitioners, whose school showed such educational leadership that its success was noted and studied by Simon Fraser University. Cara says she remains enthused about students and professional learning today.

Her next professional challenge involved becoming a district helping-teacher for literacy, which led to her leadership of the P.A.LS. Program (Parents as Literacy Supporters). Cara relates that the program was highly successful and involved engaging parents in their children's school experience. This was accomplished by teaching parents how to work with their children at home to support their success in school, as well as how to connect and engage the parents with their children at home. The program was the first of its kind in the province, and with its main goal being parent engagement, was successful. Cara recalls working with parents who told her they had not set foot in their child's school in 7 years, an aspect which affirmed the success of the program to her. After 5 years in this position, Cara realized she was becoming ill-equipped to advise classroom teachers when she had not been in a classroom herself for several years, and she returned to the classroom.

Cara views their daughter as being more enabled than she or her husband were in their upbringings. Their daughter had expectations to do chores, and Cara sheepishly admits that she would "re-clean" after her daughter if her own expectations were not met. She admits that she felt a mess was a reflection of herself and her parenting, realizing now that it was not important to her daughter at the time. Her daughter learned to cook as she grew up and prepared dinner 1 day a week for her family. Cara and her husband upheld a high standard for her work and behaviour.

Going to university was never a question for her daughter, and Cara recognizes some aspects of her own childhood experiences being evidenced in her own parenting. Cara relates that her daughter recently graduated, and is still unclear about her future professional pursuits, although she is maturing and becoming more independent. Cara thinks that perhaps her daughter was more enabled as an only child.

As a young child, her daughter embarked on becoming a world traveller, accompanying her parents on holidays throughout the world. The first days of the trip were spent driving to relatives or to a larger centre airport, and the family treasured this time in listening to audio books and being together. An aunt started a Christmas ornament tradition with Cara's daughter, sending her a collectible each Christmas. Now the family has fun building their own traditions, which are based around visiting and getting together on the seasonal holidays. Cara relates that her daughter has many family connections.

Cara's mother makes long-term visits to the family and at one point, came to stay with them and tutor their daughter through Grade 12 math so that she could get her university entrance math requirement. Her daughter had set this up herself with her grandmother.

As a child Cara had attended church with her grandmother and later sensed a religious void with her own family. She found a church companion, and her husband also attended for a time. Their daughter joined the church youth, which met regularly, travelled and conducted many youth activities. There was a lack of religious pressure in their home, although Cara and her husband became good friends with the pastor and his friends. The pastor organized many wilderness adventures with interested parishioners, which included a 5-day hike, a wilderness river canoe trip, river rafting and mountain climbing. Her daughter participated as well.

Cara feels she was glad that she exposed her daughter to religion, although she does not attend now. Cara misses attending church, but is comforted in that the pastor and his wife moved to the same southern community when they did.

When Cara's husband received a principalship in southern BC, and their daughter graduated and moved on to university, Cara followed, enrolling in a master's program at the University of Victoria and successfully obtaining her own administration position. She says her present school has similar demographics and personality as her previous school in northern BC. She also experiences a similar challenge in her perception of a lack of counselling time, which slows down restorative processes she tries to accomplish in her work.

Cara believes everybody shares in the wisdom necessary for a positive learning environment, which empowers successful learning experiences. She believes we must always be open to trying new approaches to continually improve learning and the bigger picture of education. She notes that children now have big needs; there are more identified special needs, more family breakdowns, poverty seems to be more prevalent and lower-income families need more support. She also sees drugs and alcohol and lack of parenting skills as now more evident as negative influences in young parents lives, despite how these parents love their children.

Cara sees her daughter's own upbringing as rich in experience and family support in comparison to many of the children's whom she sees every day in her school. She remains hopeful that her efforts to use restorative measures and encourage school parents to participate will make a positive difference for the children in her school.

These stories of parents, their childhoods and upbringings, and now their own family life, act as the backdrop for their mediation experiences with their child's behaviour and their interaction with the administrators in their child's schools.

Appendix F.

Participant Interviews:
Part 2. The Details of the Experience

Single-Parent Families

Ramsey

Ramsey's younger son, Danny, has spent his past school year at home, refusing to see his father, and not being well connected to school. He is also in the midst of puberty, which she believes has affected the recent events. She describes him as "very bright and extremely sensitive" and relates that school has not been a motivating place for her bright son. She has realized over the past year that Danny has a lot of fear and anxiety, and that part of his survival mechanism at his father's was to keep quiet about his educational discomfort, as she says, "surviving as a people pleaser." She says that during the past year, it was the first time that she became aware of any bullying and teasing experiences in his past, as her son seldom shared any negative school experiences.

Ramsey relates that she was unaware of how a lack of academic challenge, being overwhelmed by the amount of requested work, and the bullying were affecting her son. She realizes she was completely unaware that school had become an overwhelming negative experience for her son. She says her son "couldn't express himself to his father so would torture himself into going to school."

She describes how difficult for her son to avoid school when he was with his father, who would not tolerate absence, and Danny would attend after "being pushed into a state of submission." She recognizes that she understands her son differently than his father does, although his father "pictures me as a hopeless parent."

Ramsey relates that she was forced to pursue the sorting out of her son's education by herself, as Danny refused to have any contact with his father. She describes Danny as feeling "safe with me" although she felt "out of my depth and I didn't know how to handle all of this." Her hope is that she can do whatever is possible for her son to be well adjusted for adulthood.

In the past 6 months, Ramsey decided to take Danny completely out of school, and explore the alternatives. She spoke to other parents, and looked into alternative education approaches. Ramsey regrets that she and Danny's father had not home-schooled Danny, although work demands and circumstances would have made it challenging for them. When Danny eventually enrolled in a home schooling program, his teacher consultant was in Bali. Despite Skype and emailing regarding the work, Ramsey says her own input was not enough to meet the degree of input that was expected from the parent. Where she had thought that Danny would figure much of the coursework out himself, due to his strong computer abilities, she states that "he was not mature enough, really, to do that" and didn't have the required level of self-discipline. As well, Ramsey relates that she quickly knew that there were other more demanding issues that needed attention and required prioritization. She recognized that she would need to figure this out herself.

Ramsey describes her contact with the counsellors at the high school as positive. Initially they attempted to change his schedule to that he could be at school on an adjusted individualized schedule. She soon realized that she was dealing with a far more serious problem than school and that she "most likely had a suicidal teen-ager on my hands." Ramsey approached the Alternative School System, and could see that there was some flexibility in how Danny could do school. There, "80% attendance was required, and just the very act of walking in was a huge ordeal for him." Eventually the Outreach Program teacher visited them at home, but did not understand Danny, and Ramsey notes, "was getting carried away with all these expectations when Danny just wasn't ready to cope with that."

Ramsey managed to arrange a meeting with the Alternative School counsellor, the special education teacher, and the principal of the alternative school system. This set the ball rolling for Danny to be referred to a community counsellor. She recalls that it was "obvious to them that Danny had suffered a lot of psychological abuse as a young child and "this was all going into this melting pot of what we were dealing with." Meanwhile, Ramsey feared that if Danny's father were involved in any of this, he would not validate it, which would further traumatize her son. She says for the first time in her life, it was "Danny and me first," despite joint custody and guardianship with his father. After two sessions with the new counsellor, Danny refused to see her any more. Ramsey feels the counsellor did her best but "did not understand much about teen-age boys."

Recently, after a meeting with alternative school program staff, Ramsey says "it all came together like magic," and this resulted in a child youth worker coming to the house and "she was able to coach him very gently, and make suggestions without putting pressure on him." She also brought him work packages. Since then Danny has been able to attend on Friday mornings when few of the alternative students attend. This has increased to Tuesday morning, and Ramsey reports being able to leave him there now, and pick him up later. Ramsey sees this as a fragile but hopeful re-entry of her son into completing his education.

Ellie

"School has always been awful for all three of them," Ellie says of her younger three sons. Robbie in particular has had a difficult time because he has needed additional help but the nature of his needs have never been conclusively established by the family doctor or the school district. Because he has a different father than her other sons, one who is difficult to deal with, Ellie describes supporting and advocating for Robbie as bringing additional challenges.

Ellie relates an incident in which Robbie was involved in hitting another student. He became frustrated with being bullied by a boy who perpetually antagonized him but never seemed to have his own discipline meted out. She was also particularly aware of the school's no hitting policy. In one event Ellie describes how the student "actually took a street hockey stick to Robbie's head, but he never got suspended." Additionally, Robbie's brothers immediately jumped in to deliver their version of justice in support of their brother, hitting the bullying student. She was contacted, her boys were spoken to, and the incident was dropped.

Ellie wondered why there was an exception as she was well aware of the school's no hitting rule. She found it odd that at other times her son could be sent home for his

refusal to write, and yet not receive any discipline intervention for hitting, regardless of fault. She says, "If it had been my kid that had hit, he likely would have been suspended right away."

Ellie relates that later when the principal talked to her, "He basically said it was not my kids' fault, because they did not start it, which I understand, so nothing happened to them." She spoke to her children at home, and told them they could have managed by going to the principal or the teacher, although she is unclear regarding how that would have helped the situation.

Ellie is frustrated with the inconsistent response to behaviour and bullying by her children's principal and the school staff, regardless of whether her children are involved or not. She believes that the parents in her small community are the impetus behind what happens with behaviour, saying, "If they think the parents are going to raise holy hell, then they're not going to do anything, and I find that to be true."

Chloe

Chloe's middle daughter suffers from anxiety, is having issues with her friends, and finds academics difficult. She recently transferred to a different high school to start afresh, with new peers. Her mother reports that although the change was difficult for her daughter, she is persisting and may return next year.

Chloe describes her older daughter as being bullied in elementary school, and despite her own efforts to sort it out, it took a long time before she or her daughter were believed. After several parents in the community had similar experiences, they went to the principal and something was done about it. Similarly in high school, when the same daughter was bullied, Chloe felt she was not listened to as a parent until the second occurrence, when her daughter was beat up and the principal listened. Her daughter was embarrassed by her intervention and support. A change in administration provided what Chloe felt was a safer environment for her daughter. By this time her daughter had decided to complete school through home schooling and alternate programming. Chloe relates that her daughter was also becoming involved with drugs, which was causing more problems and creating the need for intervention.

Chloe took it upon herself to get training through the Justice Institute regarding restorative behaviour management with teens. She relates, "Now I tell myself, I wouldn't wait while my children are getting hurt. I would want the principal and teachers involved. And I would want it stopped as soon as it could."

She believes that now she would provide encouragement to other parents and tell them to act quickly and be persistent. She says, "Make sure you know what is going on with your children, and if you don't, go to the school and talk to someone." Chloe feels that times have changed enough that people with "more advantages, like more money and bigger more important jobs, don't necessarily get better treatment now."

She sees that children are taught about how to manage their behaviour in school to do what is socially right. Chloe observes that this is a new thing, since the time that she attended school.

Father-Parent Families

Jones

Seth, Jones' younger son in Grade 6 in a French Immersion School, was involved in being victimized by an older student, who continued to physically push him around and antagonize him. Jones recalls that when Seth responded and hit the child back, he was disciplined with an in-school suspension and his parents were notified. Seth ran away to his mother's work. The other child complained to the principal, and in Jones' view, the situation exposed itself as being unfair, with his own child being inequitably disciplined in comparison to the other boy.

Jones views the negative experiences and influences of the school as what gets the attention of parents and says much of school is "just words." He believes limited time is given to children who are bright or gifted. In his son Seth's case, he perceives this and his son's experience with behaviour have contributed to his son's "jaundiced view of school."

Jones says he is angry and frustrated at what he views as an administrative lack of support for his own child. He believes Seth had his own logical understanding of the situation and was not given an opportunity to be listened to or understood by the principal. Jones believes the principal used a discipline process based on assumptions and refused to listen to Jones' parental concerns for his child.

Jones says that he found the administrator's' response confusing, and feels the principal did not pursue the actual truth of the situation. He imparts that he has taken several opportunities to go in and speak to the principal, explaining his own position as a parent, talking directly about the principal's mishandling of the situation and the ensuing unfairness for his son.

He relates that he has empathized with his son and has advised him and talked about the situation reasonably. Jones views the administrator's position of "zero tolerance" as based on intolerance and continues to feel frustrated and hold little respect for his behaviour management approach. His decisions were made, according to Jones, from misinformation and lack of proper investigation, leading to disciplinary actions and decisions based on assumption. As a parent Jones perceives that little has changed in the handling of behaviour concerns in the school, and because of this, believes that bullying is allowed to continue in the school.

Jones relates that he had no qualms in approaching the administration and teachers, believing that parents need to be intuitive and observant, while facing the situation honestly. He relates that he felt personal anguish in how his younger son was treated and notes the importance of maintaining ongoing communication with your children when behavioural events occur.

Jones acknowledges some of the significant teacher and principal relationships his sons experienced in their schooling, which for the most part has been in the French Immersion school system. He also voices his frustration on the negative discipline experiences both sons encountered throughout school, his younger son in particular. He feels the principal's incompetence in handling behaviour contributed to unnecessary anguish for both of his children, adversely colouring their school experiences.

He sees the necessity of being supportive and reasonable with your children, and remaining calm and persistent with involved school staff. Jones' advice to his children has been to do what it takes to graduate and move on.

Dane

Dane describes his youngest son, Danny, as being a joy, and says he wanted all the things for Danny that he had not had himself, as a child "and that was a stable family, and support, and opportunities, and all those other more positive things I got…." Dane describes the parenting books he has read about raising children in two different households with two different styles of parenting "and how they all assume that both parents are on the same page."

Dane attributes the fact that Danny went to live with his mother 1 year ago, and the ensuing lack of contact was the result of his pressure "to spend a little bit less time on the X-Box and a little bit more time studying for those upcoming exams in 2 weeks." He says it was at this point Danny left and did not return. Dane relates that he has not seen his son for 14 months, despite living in a small town.

Dane sees his presence in Danny's life as being a huge difference in comparison to his own childhood. In his marriage to Danny's mother, Dane describes his attempts to have family meals each evening, and for that to occur, he had to prepare the meals. He describes himself as being the driver for the boys, the person who got them up and the parent who took them to emergency in the middle of the night.

Dane does not view Danny as sensitive or frail in the way he perceives that Danny's mother does, saying, "I think Danny projects exactly what he needs to project to get the result he wants to get. " He sees his son as very bright but lazy and someone who will take the easy way if given the choice. Dane worries about Danny's social world, and describes him as having few friends, mostly from school, but when he is online "playing his massively multi-player on-line role-playing game or whatever they're called, he has friends all over the world."

Dane has become frustrated in his dealings with Danny's school. He relates that he had good communication with school personnel when Danny was with him, and he delivered him to school and picked him up every day. Dane shared custody with Danny's mother on alternate weeks. During the times with his mother, Danny was often absent from school "and 50% of those times he was with his mother he wasn't in school."

Dane felt that the school knew Danny was alert, well fed and on time when he was staying with him and states, "They recognized what was going on but nobody was willing to do anything about it." Dane relates that the school was unwilling to give him documentation describing Danny's better performance when he was with his father.

The secretary of the school was helpful in providing Dane with written attendance records and reporting to him when he verbally queried about his son's attendance. He describes Danny's teachers as being very open and in the parent-teacher conferences establishing what assignments Danny was completing and missing. He believes when Danny came to live with him, which lasted 2 years, "there was a regular routine and he didn't have to play catch-up on missing assignments. It was easy!"

Dane recalls that his communication with the elementary principal was positive, and if he took issue with different events and outcomes, he was satisfied with her responses. He

says later, the principal was unwilling to get involved and refused to write a letter or note for him to take to court for full-time custody, saying, "She was not willing to get involved; yet she knew there was a problem. I was disappointed."

At the high school, Dane felt there was follow-up by the school counsellors, and they were genuinely concerned. Dane relates that he made the effort to communicate with Danny's Grade 8 teachers, and one out of the seven replied, his French teacher. At that point they created a plan together to support Danny.

Dane felt frustrated by the short 10-minute parent-teacher conferences held at the highschool, and relates that he did not "come away with any sense that there was any commitment on their part to Danny." Although Dane realizes that secondary teachers have 190 students or more on their class lists, he says as a parent talking about his child, "He's the only one I care about, and I want them focussed on my kid." He believes the teachers were well meaning but that Danny needed something different than this system could offer.

2-Parent Families

Hannah

Hannah relates an incident in which her son's Grade 6 teacher gave him what she and her husband viewed was an unreasonable consequence for a behaviour incident. She and her husband had experienced many behavioural interactions with her son's teacher and administrator. On this particular occasion, he had been left alone in his classroom after school to serve a consequence, while his teacher had left the building to attend an appointment. They were not notified that he would be serving an after-school consequence. Subsequently, Hannah and her husband were called and informed by the administrator that their son had messed up the classroom and knocked over desks. Because the situation was so odd, Hannah says she visited the principal in person, to reiterate that she and her husband felt the incident had been mishandled in an unprofessional manner. She felt this caused more upset to their son, as she says school staff continued to disbelieve his need for support, and were not appreciative of his parents' desire to advocate on his behalf. During the same year, their son's favourite teacher passed away, and his mother recalls her own sadness at the seeming elusiveness of a positive school experience for her son. Hannah and her husband make a continued effort to foster their son's curiosity and creativity, and attempt to guide him in the right direction, supporting his interests at home and helping him with his schoolwork.

Alice

Alice says she and her husband found it difficult to deal with the French Immersion program principal for those school years when their children attended. She believes that her children's behaviour problems arose from not being heard and acknowledged. In particular, when her son was disciplined, in his mind unfairly, and left the school grounds, showing up in her office for her support, she describes her ensuing experience with the administrator as one of frustration, as he refused to hear her son's side of the story, or hers. She felt this theme was often repeated during the time her son attended the school. Over time Alice says she became insistent with the administrator that she must be heard, as well as her children, when they got into trouble. Alice believes this became a time where she exercised her experience and authority within the school

system and challenged the principal, demanding that he handle the situation in a more complete and fair way. She says it was a new experience for her children to see her support them outside of the home and persist as she did in trying to help them.

Rosie

Rosie feels sad that her own children have not had the same positive experiences in school that she had. However, they have been able to attend the same elementary school and high school in their community. She believes her children's giftedness has gotten in the way of their progress, and recognition and accommodations for their learning have been inadequate or inconsistent, despite the schools' efforts.

Rosie's younger son was diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder midway through elementary school. This created many family problems, as Rosie believes his elementary school team interfered with his performance and support from home, as none of the behaviour reported had happened in school. She relates that in one instance, after her son had had a violent outburst at home on the weekend, when it was resolved, the school principal and support team enlisted the area medical health officer who banned her son from attending school until certain requirements had been met.

Rosie relates that she has a broad base of friends in the arts community, both local and in the nearby city, some of whom were professionally involved with her son, through the medical profession. She states that this includes a child psychiatrist whose advice to her was to stop discussing her son's behaviour concerns from home with her son's school. He advised her not to include the school in her advocacy for her son, as it had caused such hardship for her son and her family.

She believes when she sought support from her son's paediatrician and her family friends in the medical profession it was then that school improved for her younger son. Now that he is in high school, she relates that she has made a determined effort to find alternative approaches for him to complete some of his courses in ways that support his learning style and abilities. She reports that her older son is poised to graduate from high school.

Rosie says she has also promoted her boys' interests in extreme sports and particularly mountain biking, creating and seizing many opportunities for them to develop their skills and compete, to recharge and down-charge so that they could be calmer and more focussed when pursuing the demands of school. This has involved weekends away, training camps and competition. Despite the pressure and sacrifices on her limited budget, Rosie believes this has been both the fuel and an outlet that has enabled her boys to remain in the school system.

Rosie has little to say in support of working positively with the principal to support her younger son in school. She relates that her own efforts and the advice of her professional friends has been her impetus and her advocacy network and what has helped her boys to experience success and get through school.

Sandra

Sandra explained that she is aware of issues brought up by parents with more senior children in her daughters' school, which have included fires being set in the high school, safety issues, alcohol and drugs. She relates that her 15-year-old daughter approached her to be home-schooled, and Sandra initially deterred her, as she didn't feel qualified to

support her. At one point Sandra says that she queried a teacher about inflated marks, which she did not feel her daughter deserved, and also visited the principal to voice concerns about the learning environment. She did not feel her concerns were taken seriously and found the experience confusing. She and her husband communicated their concerns to their daughter and investigated the options, removing her mid-year to embark on a home schooling program. Her daughter was able to efficiently complete her academics, and pursue her interests, including sports, although she missed the daily social interactions with her peers.

Sandra relates that she also told the principal she was not happy with his responses to her queries or the way in which the school was currently being run. She says that other parents were forming discussion groups outside of the school regarding these and other issues. She recalls that the next year the administration changed, bringing a different tone and level of respect to the school, which Sandra says helped her husband and her to know their daughter was reintegrating into a safer and more positive learning environment. Sandra recommends that parents need to involve themselves in the school in some way, and communicate and listen to their children.

Maria

Maria began the interview by saying that her younger son, Hilary, has spent his life being happy to entertain himself, and until lately, has been easy going and tolerant. She says that in the past year Hilary has resisted going to school, has felt that the girls are treated more positively than the boys, and has been involved in altercations, acting together with the boys in his class. This past year has been characterized with Hilary having stomach aches and not being able to attend school.

Maria reports that she remembers being angry when she heard her son's case being discussed by other community people, who she says had heard the details from his classroom teacher. She relates that Hilary reported to her about being in trouble and in the hall many times, which she says the teacher denied. His refusal to go to school and poor behaviour when he was there were difficult to manage as a parent. Maria says she challenged the school, and regretted not pursuing the issue from the start of the year. At home she relates that Hilary was not sleeping and was refusing to attend school.

Finally, Maria said she decided to move her son back to his neighbourhood elementary school, when his brother was beginning at the local high school. When the similar behaviours started emerging at Hilary's new elementary school, Maria imparts that her queries elicited responses as judgments of his behaviour rather than what the behaviours actually were. She states that she "never got a picture of what he was doing, just that it was unacceptable, disrespectful or disruptive and attention seeking." She says Hilary continually complained of being sick and not being able to sleep at night. Maria relates that a psycho-educational assessment was then recommended and completed, which indicated a solid above average intelligence and an extremely low processing speed. She says this indicated the need for more time for Hilary to complete his Grade 6 requirements. Maria relates that this was coupled with therapeutic counselling being set up for Hilary to address his anxieties, and that the whole family pursued counselling intervention as well.

Maria relates that after pursuing her concerns and several school-based meetings, Hilary was placed in the nearby high school setting, a teacher assistant was supplied by the school district and an individualized program was delivered. She reports that Hilary

completed the school year, did will in his academic subjects with the individual attention and began his Grade 7-year with his peers.

Belinda

Belinda reports that her son experienced behavioural issues throughout elementary and early high school, and has had a rocky path throughout his education. She says that after many attempts at high school, he is now enrolled in the alternate self-paced learning program in one of the communities down the road from his home. Belinda says that she made it her mission to keep the communication lines open between her son, herself and the administration and teachers at his original school. She relates that with his disruptive behaviours, he spent half of his time completing his work outside of the school so that eventually it made more sense for him to be referred to an alternate setting. Belinda says she felt disheartened, as he then began riding around with what she called "real" alternate students, which she states increased her concerns about drugs and at risk behaviour. She recalls that a particular school administrator made it difficult for her to support her son in partnership with the school, although she was willing and available to help make school work for her son. She believes the administrator's lax discipline worked to her son's detriment, until administration changed.

Belinda relates that when the new principal became an integral part of her son's planning this was the beginning of positive change for her son. She says she remained persistent in her work of keeping her son engaged in an education program, and now reports that her son is participating fully in his studies, even recently going to his family doctor for a trial run of Ritalin. She reports that he expressed to her that it seems to be helping his focus and concentration, and that for the first time he is enjoying school and recognizes that the alternate programming is what he needs for his success.

Gracie

Gracie says that shortly after moving to their new community, her older son was targeted at school by peers, being bullied to the extent that his parents temporarily removed him from school. She relates that she and her partner felt that the principal and teacher at the time did not take their concerns seriously, so eventually took their case to district administration. Gracie says this resulted in an additional support assistant being assigned exclusively to their son, and the peer group being suspended until safety measures were fully in place. She says this further resulted in a school wide bullying program, which dramatically changed the mood of the school. Gracie states she feels that when the bullying situation was rectified, the support given their son was excellent. She imparts that he continues to attend the same school as these peers, now at the high school, and feels that growing maturity and increased height are possible factors that have staved off bullying.

Gracie relates that she and her partner believe in exposing the boys to as many different activities, cultural events and community events as possible, to build on their experiences and give them background to make choices later in their lives. She says they are happy in their new home and lead a busy family life in their small community.

Administrators

Alyson

Alyson relates an involvement with a student and substance abuse when she was vice-principal at a local high school. She describes the 14-year-old girl, Sophie, as Goth-looking and not engaged socially or academically in school and says she was caught smoking marijuana, and when caught "was very disdainful and edgy."

Alyson imparts that she had been working on a restorative circle approach for dealing with substance abuse at the high school. She says that with help from their parent(s), the offender is requested to complete a booklet that deals with substance abuse, its effects, and reflection on the impact and level of substance abuse in their life, followed by participation in a justice circle. Alyson reported that Sophie completed the booklet and a circle was organized, which included Sophie, the RCMP liaison officer, the school counsellor, the parents, and Alyson. She says Sophie's mother "was angry and belligerent about the booklet, screaming and jumping around" until Sophie described how the booklet had caused her to reflect and learn about herself, although she did not agree with all of it. Alyson related that Sophie's parents "just kind of melted in the session" and were able to "work together and start to acknowledge some of the things that were working and not working in their own family." Alyson reports that the parents will see her now and converse with her about how things are working for them in their family. She says the process allowed Sophie to see her stepfather as a supporter, and helped her to rethink her choices for behaviour, which no longer include marijuana.

Peter

Peter tells of a mechanically inclined student, Joey, who has recently been taking up most of Peter's disciplinary time. He reports that the boy also has two younger siblings in the school, and the three are regularly reactive to each other on the school campus. Peter says Joey became involved in a physical altercation with some Grade 8 boys, which staff and Peter felt was out of character for him. He relates that this began with some younger students teasing him, and Joey constantly asking them for sips of their "Slurpees." Peter describes this as evolving into a physical altercation in which he pushed and injured one of them. Joey's father brought him in and told Peter he was intent on seeing that his son had a different and better experience than he had had in school. Peter says that Joey could not promise that he would behave safely as he did not believe that the Grade 8 boys would stop taunting and egging him on.

Peter relates that shortly after, in a second incident, a female acquaintance was walking behind Joey at break and 'goosed' him. He describes the boy reactively flinging his arm out behind as he kept walking, giving her a large goose egg near her eye. When a teacher noted this, Joey was reported again to the office. Peter says he found at this point that individual staff members were vocal in their offering of differing opinions of the boy's role. He relates that he questioned whether Joey was aware of his own physicality and queried the safety of the situation around Joey.

In sorting out the incident and calming down the different parents, Peter says he was aware of how the context of a situation is sometimes difficult to explain, and that parents and even other staff bring their own interpretations to the situations. He says they are selective of what they hear and want to believe. In this case, Peter relates that he found that Joey's parents requested help and then backed off. He recalls that although there

was mediation involved at school, the parents were dissatisfied with the process and began speaking out against the school in the community. Peter says teachers at school continued to support Joey.

Peter relates that a colleague once told him "Justice must be seen in order to be done." When a community citizen approached with concern, Peter said he realized that her concerns were based on rumour and perception rather than truth. He says that she did not have children in the school, but shared a growing community perception that there were a lot of behaviour problems in the school. Peter reports that he took it upon himself to communicate with the citizen and with parents, that the school had a discipline process that was fair and which sought to repair the harm and restore the persons involved.

Peter imparts that as these events took place in late spring, this supports his notion that the end of year is a stressful time for many students and sees this as supporting his belief in the benefits of year-round schooling. He relates that he is constantly thinking of ways to improve the process, and that one must spend the time to communicate with parents and that schools must make an effort to keep the lines of communication open. Peter says there are a variety of ways to keep parents informed, and it isn't always the technological way. He says he encourages his parents to be friends with their children on Facebook, so that they know their children are safe. He relates that he believes in keeping the school doors open and welcoming to parents. Peter says that he recently invited a parent into the school to observe, and the parent was shocked at the rudeness and disrespect of many students in the classroom.

As an administrator, Peter reports that he wants to share and have common expectations with parents and students. He says students need to inform staff more readily when there is physical concern for getting hurt. Peter relates that a lot of work is necessary with parents to change some of their emerging habits as well. He says that parents' misinformation also causes issues and that every issue needs to be dealt with.

Cara

Cara describes an altercation that involved a shoving incident between two girls, which she heard about after the fact. The parents of the girl, Vicki, who had allegedly been pushed, were angry and came in to see Cara. She says they were convinced that their daughter had been bullied and wanted justice to be done. Cara's position was that she would put a process in place, hear all sides and "get to the bottom of all this."

It became clear to Cara that Vicki had antagonized the other student until the girl retaliated in frustration. She reports that the other girl's parents were upset and angry about their daughter's accusation, and were worried about her as she suffered from anxiety. Cara says Vicki's parents were demanding an outcome and punishment for the other student, and both parents demanded that the girls not interact, which was difficult as they were in the same class. Cara says Vicki continued to annoy and interact with the second girl. She describes bringing in a district counsellor to work with the girls and organizing a Restorative Circle process for both sets of parents and the two girls, until the second parent changed her mind. Cara says she then resorted to both girls meeting with the counsellor individually and having them write a letter of apology, followed by helping them to develop a behaviour contract. She reports that the second mother felt the process was fair. She relates that the incident took 1 month to get a resolution.

Cara relates that shortly after, this was followed by the occurrence of another lying incident involving Vicki. She says this time Vicki was spreading a story of getting marijuana from her younger sister, and telling students that she needed her parents to believe her. Cara says she got Vicki to repeat her story on the phone, and her father came in to the school again. Cara reports that she immediately took him in to see Vicki with the counsellor, and left them together. She relates that Vicki's father was aware of his daughter's lying and now suspected his daughter as being untruthful about the first incident.

Cara reflects that although it was quite obviously a made up story, even with the first incident, she says she had to appear fair and to believe both of the girls. Soon after, Vicki moved away with her family. Although the whole process took time, Cara says she deems it to have been necessary, and with the additional insight of Vicki being attention-seeking and lying, believes she was able to set Vicki on the right track.

Appendix G.

Participant Interviews:
Part 3. Reflections on the Meaning

Single-Parent Families

Ramsey

Ramsey's hopes are that her son will gradually be reintegrated into longer periods of attending the alternative school, where he can work independently, and have support if he needs it. She recognizes that these are early days, but feels the support of the staff and counsellors will help Danny to be more fully integrated back to school. Ramsey believes the support she has received at the Alternative School to help Danny has encouraged her, as if to say, " It's okay. It's all right. You're not crazy and this happens." Ramsey experienced this in contrast to her own school experience, and she says her own mother never would have been able to seek support, as "she never would have been able to live down a situation like this." Ramsey says in order for her to get help for her son, she has had to "break through her own barriers and not be afraid to speak the truth." School staff has encouraged her by saying that "it's okay and we'll find a way to make this work."

Ramsey feels that her son knows that they need the support and the resources, as well as the teachers' expertise, whether in the classroom or online. She is grateful for the support of the alternative school, indicating, "We had to go through a lot to realize we were out of our depth."

Ramsey says, "I would certainly be an advocate for creating more flexibility in the system." With parents working and children being at school, she says, "It would take pretty radical thinking to change the system drastically." Both of her children see the school system realistically, which she feels has failed them both in some ways.

Ellie

Ellie says she is frustrated by the inconsistent behaviour management at her third youngest son's elementary school and has contacted the principal regularly when she has not been satisfied. She reports that she is tired of the many reports of behaviour at school, which is in contrast to her son's behaviour at home where there is no acting out. When her third son was temporarily suspended from school for safety's sake, regarding both bullying and being victimized, Ellie reports this was counter to how she thought it should have been handled. She says she is angry at the lack of consistency used for disciplinary events, and perceives unjust accusations made by teachers regarding her involvement and handling of situations, both at school and at home.

Ellie imparts that she has recently decided to move to the city with her three younger boys, and has taken a new position in a city hospital. She believes this will be a fresh beginning away from the interference of her ex-husband's family. It will also give her three younger boys a new start in new school settings.

She says, "It took me a while to get on board, so how can we expect teachers and people in the education field to fully understand our kids? We don't even fully understand them ourselves. It's a huge job to understand a child, even when they're your own. I don't see any obvious solutions."

Chloe

Chloe believes that "a principal must act." She says that when her daughter became involved with drugs, and it also became a family crisis, the principal's inaction at school put the parents in a helpless situation, causing risk for her daughter and her family. Chloe says that now she would be quicker to act and would also encourage others in the same difficult situation to take more immediate action. Chloe states that parents need to be supported. In her daughter's case, some of her drug activity involved her school peers and took place on school property. She relates that the school administrator did not support her daughter and her family. Chloe said she recognized and understood what her daughter needed, and was able to get her daughter into a community program in a nearby city. She also maintains that this is difficult for some families and not all parents can recognize that their children are in crisis or that they need to be responsible as parents in getting them help. Chloe believes this is where the school can work with the parents, and the family and school can support each other.

She states that there is more fairness and impartiality for all children in schools now, saying "School is more equal for children nowadays." She sees that schools are taking more time to teach children how to behave and practice personal safety, but that it is also the parents' responsibility.

Father-Parent Families

Jones

Jones remained outspoken in his final thoughts regarding his experience with his son's behaviour. He says that as a parent, one must remain observant, astute, and calm while being reasonable and persistent. He states that principals can be less than honest about their own capabilities in getting the job done, and that parents and teachers remain close-mouthed about their abilities and strengths in providing support.

He relates that he continues to feel somewhat anguished by the suffering his son endured regarding the discipline he received at school, and has a continuing lack of confidence in the administrator due to his perceived unfairness. Jones says he is disturbed that his son stopped caring about school as a result of constant unfair discipline, and has advised him to do what is required to graduate to the high school, and keep moving on. Jones states that he is proud that he was there for his son, who he says felt supported, and which Jones views as successful in his own handling of the situation

He feels the principal was stubborn and insecure, and views him as "easy to read...too black and white." Jones went as far as advising other parents who were dissatisfied to put pressure on the principal to leave his job.

Jones feels the experience caused him to resurrect negative memories of his own school experience, involving an administrator and a negative teacher influence. He believes in leadership with integrity and that a principal must act with reliability and

balance and that he expects honesty in leadership. Jones states, "It's important to be nice but expect honesty."

Jones has much to say about Seaside School District, where he spent his own schooling and whose childhood peers are some of the district leaders and teachers of today. He views that "sometimes principals get their positions for merit and not ability." He states that there are no real incentives for principals to do a great job. Jones purports that there is nepotism in the district, and the school district's hiring practices do not make sense to him. With his wife being an employee within the education system, he sees this as unfair to the rest of the employees and the families of the Seaside catchment. Jones believes processes need to be transparent, and the same rules must apply to everyone. For Jones, it remains that "it must be about student safety and having their needs met."

Jones relates that all parents should be listened to, despite his own experience with the present school system, which he says is "insulting, intolerant and power abusing." He says that the system is not user friendly and states that attending parent-teacher activities is a waste of time.

Jones believes efforts should be made "to get poor administrators out of there," which he says would improve schools such as his son's, where he felt the administration was self-serving. Despite these impressions, Jones says that there are some good administrators, and sees it as a frustrating world for them. He maintains that "administration is a 'them and us' situation" and his childhood peer in upper level administration is a "'them and us' kind of guy." Jones states that the government exacerbated the situation long ago by taking the principals out of the union, separating them from their teaching colleagues, causing negative widespread influence on the education system. He says this is not helpful for administrators in doing their jobs.

Jones says that in spite of his negative views, and the fact that his son is still negatively affected by past unfair treatment, he believes his son will have better and more positive experiences in his life. He also states that whatever his son does, he will be good at it. Jones says he has faith in his children's abilities, and wants to see them exercise their potentials.

Dane

Dane believes that the current school system does not serve students who lie outside of the bell curve. He says the state of the present education system works well for the traditional nuclear family, and if resources are becoming more limited, as he perceives, asks how we can change it to support all students. Dane states that teachers are as supportive as they have time to be, saying this is evidenced by the fact that only one of his son's teachers responded to his queries about his son.

Dane believes his son needs to be pushed, and that he has not been given the attention he needed in school. He says that his son's boredom and lack of motivation likely made it easy for him to feign illness or stay away when he was with his mother. Dane states that his experiences of communication with the school were acceptable most of the time, but the school did not always follow through, evidenced by his son's poor attendance and lack of achievement. He says that Danny will likely have one or two dropout years before he is mature enough to complete high school. Dane states that he is not sure what type of school setting his son will attend. He says he continues to be sad about

their broken relationship, and has not made steps to remedy that. He reports that he does not communicate with Danny's mother.

2-Parent Families

Hannah

Hannah and her husband have continued to play "good cop, bad cop" in their behaviour interactions with their son's school, with her husband talking on their behalf while she takes on any required written communication. She says she advises other parents who find themselves in similar situations regarding their children's support, to document everything in as professional a manner as possible. Hannah believes her son's teachers do not appreciate her professional knowledge, and although this has caused her social discomfort among her professional peers, she claims it does not deter her from advocating for her son.

She recalls that it has been a very emotional experience for their family to deal with these issues, with the additional aspect that her colleagues did not always show respect towards herself and her husband, as a colleague and as parents. She says that this has been especially difficult for her husband, as he was not supported in school as a child, and was diagnosed with dyslexia in his twenties, although he attended university after that. Hannah states that he continues to view schools with suspicion and has found it hard to admit the breadth of his son's learning issues. Despite this, Hannah says they have supported each other in their advocacy for their child, who they believe is grateful and more secure in the support they have given him.

Hanna reveals that the situation has taught her to have more empathy for her son in particular, but also for other children and their parents. She says she advises parents to follow their instincts and be persistent. She also advises them to keep records and document "because the proof is undeniable" in enlisting support. She relates that she consistently had to remember, "You're there to advocate for your son, not be his teacher's friend."

Hannah also says, "You must be intuitive to your child; they may not communicate to avoid your getting involved." She advises that parents must remember that not all teachers are good for all kids and "to not be afraid to speak up in support of your child." Hannah purports that children understand, appreciate, and learn to get involved, as they get older.

Hannah relates that recently she and her husband withdrew their son from Seaside School District and enrolled him in an online approach to learning, also hiring a tutor for when he needs the extra support. She states that she is disappointed that he is not part of the regular system, and the isolation of on-line learning is not what they would have chosen for their son. She says this has given him the opportunity to pursue advanced computer science courses and complete the required academics at his own pace. Hannah says she believes this is temporary and as her son matures, he will have more opportunities to learn according to his own preferred style. She reports that her family plans to move to a new community in the next few months.

Alice

After the interactions with her son's administrator, Alice says she views the outcomes as positive and that her son "felt recognized and supported, and I think it brought us closer together." She relates the principal "cut him a bit of slack after that" and he informed her and her husband that the behaviour reports would be shredded after their son had been in high school successfully with good behaviour for 2 weeks in September.

Just before the end of the year, Alice recalls that her son was in trouble again. She relates that a group of children were playing and joking inappropriately with puppets, her son included. The Teacher-in-Charge informed Alice and her husband, but told them she would be meeting with the boys and taking care of it in school, managing the situation with reasonable emphasis.

Alice states that it is important to listen to everyone involved in an incident, the perpetrators and victims alike. She reiterates that everyone has a purpose to their behaviour, and sometimes additional time must be taken to make sure the real reasons become evident as the situation may not be how it looks. Alice also believes there must be time for due process, so that fairness can prevail. She states that administrators must be given more training in managing school conflict to ensure that they can make informed decisions to resolve behaviour issues. She says she is also interested in the research that discusses how to work with the perpetrators so they do not turn against the school.

Alice recalls, "When my kid wasn't willing to take responsibility, it was because he always felt the other person was never held accountable for any of their part they played in things they would get into trouble for. In the end that's why something snapped after 7 years, and he says, 'I'm going up the hill to talk to my mother.'" She states that we need to listen to our children and hear what they are saying.

Rosie

Rosie states, "I would really have respected the circumstances and the people involved in the circumstances, if they had been honest. In fact, the superintendent said to me, "Oh, I have to protect my position in this situation." Rosie recalls that she felt as if she was getting responses to rules and regulations and saw it as unfortunate, and says the sense of being "real and honest and knowing really what's going on" was lost.

She believes that had she known then what she knows today, she would not have involved the school. She reflects that "in some ways I feel I didn't or wasn't able to support my child, really, to the best advantage." Rosie laughs when she thinks of all the promises made about adaptations and how they are not followed. She says this is frustrating for her son who she states is above average in intelligence and also has special needs. She relates his frustration when previously discussed adaptations were not given to him such as reduction in numbers of questions. Rosie says, "This very thing is exactly what leads to his frustration and behaviour concerns."

Rosie believes that her son might have been better served in an alternate setting, but with her husband away more than at home, and working her diverse hours as a musician, "When it was all set up, at the eleventh hour, we decided that he would be better staying with other children in a regular school setting." Rosie would like to see more of a streamed system, similar to her own educational experience in Britain. She wonders, "Would we get it right if we had unlimited funds?"

313

"In the end, I basically removed myself from the system and have as little to do with it as I possibly can....And we just get on with our lives ourselves," Rosie reflects. She states that her son is involved in his own interests, particularly his mountain biking, and that she stays in touch with his high school support services teacher, and is satisfied with that one-to-one approach. Rosie feels her sons are similar to a lot of young people she is in contact with. She views young people as "quite cynical and in the know, not in awe or in fear of adults with all of their experience and wisdom" as she says she was when she was young.

Rosie believes that you are on a different path as a parent, when you have a child with special needs. She says, "Your experience of the whole school system and navigating it is such a more intense different experience." She views herself as having become "desensitized to the system, which you do when you live with things outside of the ordinary and the usual. It becomes the norm to you." Rosie concludes that as a parent of very bright boys, one with special needs, their needs in school are not met.

Sandra

Sandra views her community and the area as diverse, including financially and educationally, and stresses that to live here one must understand the dynamics of the place. She believes that school was more consistent when she was a student "and that parents and kids are not all that easy to deal with now."

She also observes that it is the same few parents who are involved in the school. Sandra sees that the commitment and availability of parents varies in her community, although there is community support both in the wider community and the school. Sandra says there is a sense of belonging in the community and she feels that community members support each other and each other's children. She states that her experience in her small community is that there is some pooling of resources between families to make it more equitable for everyone's children. This includes sharing the driving into the next town for sports and looking after each other's children when their parents are away.

Sandra relates that there are downsides to small-town life, in that there are not enough peers in certain school age groups "which influences who your friends are, peer pressure, and what is available for students to do." People also know a lot of everybody else's business, and she sometimes describes it as "fishbowl living."

Sandra believes that you are more aware of what your kids are doing in a small community and has mixed feelings about the problem kids. She says she and her husband encourage their girls to be generous and supportive, and kids are welcome at their house, and are expected to adhere to the house rules.

Sandra realizes that home schooling increased her daughter's confidence as a learner and states that she found the different learning structure was an over-all positive experience for her daughter. Now back at school, Sandra says that her daughter does not like the "boy" disruptions, and would like to have the home schooling experience for herself again.

Sandra sees that social interaction has changed for her daughters, and wonders as well, if the use of technology in school is being appropriately promoted and taught. She reports that her daughters have iPhones now, and have been told that the primary use is for their family to stay in touch. She says they have strict guidelines about technology

use, which means no phones at the dinner table, no phones in their bedrooms at night, and that their mother is one of their Facebook friends. Sandra says strong guidelines and expectations have supported a stronger family awareness for Internet and social media safety.

She believes that parental modelling is the best example, and states that she and her husband have high expectations for their daughters, academically, socially, and in the community. She reiterates that she makes a point of knowing what is going on in school, through the school blog, regular conversations with administration and teachers, as well as volunteering in the breakfast program and for the PAC. She laughs as she describes how clear her daughters are in telling her they do not want her to chaperone school dances. Sandra relates that being involved is a way of being aware of her daughters' school experiences and also provides a pulse of how school life is going for them.

Maria

Maria relates that she is proud of how she handled the situation with her Grade 6 son and interacted with the school, although she admits that at times she let her emotions take over. She feels she did everything that she could for her son. She relates her disappointment at the number of roadblocks she encountered, saying, "There is a real lack of sort of facilitating….Facilitating communication channels beyond the school itself." She views the communication as having been poor at the elementary school and when the district Support Services principal got involved, she says that in retrospect, she feels it was not his role to be involved, but rather should have been the principal who facilitated the leadership of the case.

Maria believes that the problems with her son at school became "somewhat personal between the principal and me, which it never was." She relates that when everyone involved agreed that "it was like irreconcilable differences," that was the point at which she was directed to a higher level for help with the problem. In her view, lack of communication between all parties, even where the transfer into the high school setting was concerned, appeared to be mismanaged, or did not happen. In the end, Maria says she showed up at the high school with Hilary, and the school was unaware of it being a start date. With report cards and parent teacher conferences happening, she was told Hilary's entry would be delayed 1 week. Maria says that ultimately the move served Hilary well, and he completed the rest of the year as a transition time into the high school, participating in electives, and completing his Grade 6 academics. Maria reports that Hilary also now has diagnoses of separation anxiety disorder and a learning disability.

Maria says that Hilary's father accompanied her to several meetings, feeling frustrated and unheard, until the final meeting with the superintendent, where Maria relates that "we finally felt listened to and acknowledged." She says, "It's a fine line, and when your communications with the school are not moving forward with the people and the school, there needs to be more availability or understanding of what...the thing is that maybe we're not given enough credit as parents to feel that we have a voice."

Maria reflects, "Everything became so political and big. Honestly, if we could just have had a conversation, without the letters to the superintendent, and copies of letters to the Board for accountability….If a conversation had taken place much sooner, it could have changed the whole thing,...it could have made the difference."

Belinda

Belinda reflects that it is hard work to parent two very different children with such different needs and performances, and the additional aspect of two parents having very different parenting styles. She observes that a possible outfall of this is that a pecking order emerges at home where "when their Dad is mad at our son, he is mad at his younger sister."

Belinda feels her son's behaviour is a direct reaction to his behaviour at school. She also believes that despite the pressure her son's poor behaviour puts on his teachers, the student-teacher relationship remains important. She says, "The emotional support you give your children is the difference, despite the bad choices they make." She states that the experience of a positive principal and parent relationship as key, and that the principal must create opportunities for parents to work together with them.

"Every situation and family is different," Belinda says. In her case, her experience with her son has been "two steps forward; one step back." As a parent she is resigned but open to communication from school, good or bad, regarding her son. Belinda sees good communication as crucial to working towards a positive outcome for her son, and states that she is appreciative of the time that the administration and school team has taken to work with her and support him.

Gracie

Gracie reflects that if the bullying had occurred in their old school in the city, the school would have immediately taken responsibility. She says, "The school and the parents would attack it; seize it as an opportunity to learn." Gracie believes that when things happen here on the Seaside Coast, "People turn their heads so that they don't have to deal with it, and it all just keeps on going."

Gracie relates that living in a small community is more conducive to being involved, although it does not mean that parents necessarily get involved. She believes that parents' special interests and skills can be to the school's advantage, if they are invited to use their skills to present to and coach the students. She believes that parents stay away based on their perceptions, and in this way it means there are some parents who expect the school "to do it all."

Gracie believes that parents live with their own past memories of school, "So some feel uninvited and unwelcome and don't show up." As well, she suggests that children do not want their parents in school. She believes that a large number of teens are becoming segregated from their parents with parents not knowing what they are up to and with students promoting separation from their parents and home life with the help of their peers. She says as well as not feeling invited at school, many parents do not see any need to get involved anymore, hence her opinion that "the same few parents are the ones involved in everything."

Gracie states, "I think it's the parents' responsibility to know where their kids are, and I don't see a lot of involvement of parents with their kids." She also describes going out of her way when she sees children who need reminding about their behaviour, or their at-risk choices. Sometimes this is at school, when she picks her own children up each day. She states that other adults' lack of response compels her to take notice.

Where the principal is concerned, Gracie says, "If the expectations are known the students will rise to them." She believes these have to be explained to and understood by the students. She also says that parents need to play a supportive role to the principal. The principal needs to facilitate and promote opportunities for parents to be involved, but parents need to do the work of being involved. Most importantly to Gracie, she believes that communication is the key and parents need to know the ways in which they can communicate. She says a parent should be able to walk into the principal's office at any time and be well received. This notion is supported by her belief that keeping the lines of communication open is critical.

Gracie states that it remains a huge challenge for the principal to get the parents into the school. She believes this problem extends beyond her community and school district. "You can't force someone to have interest when they don't want to," she says.

Gracie says she is also aware of the parents in her community who come in to school with loud demands concerning their children, saying, "They are not here to get a better education for their kids. They're here to demand one—and that's not how it works."

As a parent with children who have complex special and learning needs, Gracie believes parents need to be the suppliers of information to the school. She says parents also need to academically support their children. She strongly believes that parents need to take a bigger interest in their children's school life and that "they must have a realistic attitude about their kids' schooling, but it's up to the kids in an environment that supports it, to stand up and earn it." Gracie says this is done through being taught by their parents and adults in their lives to gain necessary self-will and self-discipline.

Administrators

Alyson

When Alyson embarked on resolving Sophie's behaviour issues, she states she recognized the need for principle-centred discipline from the start. Because Sophie was somewhat disengaged from school and her family retained a distanced position in her education, Alyson believed that a sensitive approach would have the best chance of bringing unity and resolution to Sophie, her family and the school. Alyson states that she knew the school had core beliefs but did not feel there was a structure in place from which to work with them. "The school needed a framework." She relates that she recognized the need for extra effort in helping Sophie feel that she was safe and engaging in a fair process.

Alyson recalls her work as an administrator in one district elementary school where, she says, "The parents did not want to be on board with restorative work. They were defensive and protective about their kids," remaining collectively unwilling to move in that direction.

More recently, in another school, she states the school staff endorsed a behaviour support program, and she reports "It was a good experience but not an overly satisfying program as it lacked a sense of restoration for the children." Alyson relates that she wanted to help children restore themselves in their families, and that it was important to involve the parents in the process. She views that it is important to integrate school and family life, and that the family must feel supported by the school.

Alyson states that the restorative approach is not district wide, and is a hit and miss process among schools in the district. The Restitution Model has been used successfully throughout the district, although not widely supported in its capacity building. She says, "There is a prevailing belief in the district that the Restitution Model is not possible in high school," whereas her belief is that it is possible and necessary to "teach the children to be 'the person they want to be,'" one of the tenets of the Restitution Model. She says her own use of the model in high-school reinforces her belief that it is an opportunity to reengage parents with schools, their children, and each other, particularly around situations that involve discipline and behaviour.

Alyson notes that the "code of conduct" reinforces the ideas of consequences and punishment, and that for it to have meaning, it must be embedded in the belief system. She believes her school district must make an effort for restorative practice to be part of Seaside School Districts efforts in their discipline approaches. She says there must be an opportunity for children to learn from their mistakes and to gain an understanding of how to carry on. She recommends school wide training for students in restorative practices, and similar training for their parents.

Peter

Peter views year-end as a stressful time for students, which he believes can lend itself to the increased behaviour problems and incidents within the school setting. He sees the introduction of year-round schooling as in some foreign countries, as a way to alleviate some of the discipline problems. Peter states that throughout the year he works hard to keep the lines of communication open between parents and the school and believes the increased methods and choices of communication today can make that possible. He reports that he encourages parents to "friend" their children on Facebook.

After the incident, when he invited a parent in to observe their child in the classroom, the mother reported being shocked at the general level of rudeness and disrespect towards the teacher and peers in the classroom. He spends much time mulling over ways to increase respect and also communication.

Peter views the authority of the school as being diminished by societal influences, and that a lack of public understanding regarding what is required to run a school increasingly prevails with some families. He says parents call his front office to dictate what their children will be doing regarding going to class, not going to class, finishing work on something else instead of class, etc. Peter states that parents understand when they have it explained, and that their misinformation causes issues when they do not understand the whole picture.

Peter queries how to do a better job of meeting the needs of the students, and wonders what the best way to do that is, given what he perceives as diminishing resources from the Ministry of Education, and an expectation to maintain flexibility in providing programs with breadth and depth in schools. It also worries him that the media distortion of reporting of behaviours in schools is not always challenged, but rather, is sensationalized. He finds that current media fixation on bullying is not helpful to the students.

He recognizes that parents have their own approach regardless of how different school is to them, and despite this, administrator must continue the ongoing work of upholding the notion of fairness and restoration in creating a safe place for students to come to and

parents to engage and participate in. He says that despite the changing nature of schools, he believes the administrator holds a large part of the responsibility in promoting "truth" about the beliefs and activities of what is really happening at school.

Cara

Cara feels that she managed the situation well, despite the aggression and anger displayed by Vicki's parents. She reveals that the father denied any past issues with his daughter, although there had been many at her previous school, out of province. Cara relates that Vicki's father and brother, who also had children in the school, had recently lost their jobs. She reports that they blamed the school for incidents their children were involved in, sharing hostility and anger towards most people involved with their children at school.

Cara remembers how much time the initial incident took to resolve, and says she was offended at all the time spent and the two brothers' attitude towards the school and its efforts to serve and support their children. She reiterates that the bottom line *is* the children, and feels satisfied that she did not resort to suspension, as it would have been the wrong alternative. As well, Cara was aware that other people "knew" and that the incident had to look like it had been fairly taken care of. She also wanted to spend time with the girls, rather than have them sent away from school.

She reports that the parents' choice is not suspension and that families can learn to be together and work together with the school, and that instead of automatic discipline, we must employ restorative action, where learning is the mode and the creation of a plan instils the hope for repair and renewal to the student, the family and the staff. She emphasizes the importance that the restorative approach must involve making a plan with the student.

Cara believes that suspensions send the wrong message to children and their families. The perpetrators must fix their mistakes and learn from them. Students must be invited into the process. She says she seldom uses suspension now, and recalls her first suspension, which was about bullying with bystanders involved. As soon as the suspension letter was received at home, everything changed; parents were not happy with the negative tone. Cara no longer sends the letters home, and believes there should not be suspension letters until high school.

Cara recommends, as a relatively new administrator, that it would be a good idea for new administrators, or perhaps, all administrators to be partnered with a mentoring colleague so that issues, concerns and outcomes of their work, particularly behaviour related issues, could be discussed and reviewed. She believes this would provide support, instil confidence, and lend a discerning view to allow administrators to envision, plan and manage behaviour problems more objectively, and improve interactions with parents.

Appendix H.

Samples of Working Tables Created from Part 2 Interview Data

Demographics of Parent-Participants' Interactions with Administration Relating to the Parents' Child's Behaviour

	Ellie	Chloe	Ramsey	Jones	Dane	Alice	Rosie	Hannah	Maria	Sandra	Belinda	Gracie
High School Age Child (Gr. 8-12)		*	*	*		*		*		*	*	
Intermediate Age Child (Gr. 4-7)	*					*		*				*
Primary Age Child (Gr. K-3)												
Female Gender of Child re Incident		*								*		
Male Gender of Child re Incident	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Child with Spec. Need	*	*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*
Child with No Spec. Need						*						
Administrator Initiated	*	*		*				*	*	*	*	
Participant Initiated	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Teacher Initiated	*							*	*	*	*	*
Interaction with Teacher	*		*		*			*	*	*	*	*
Interaction with Administrator	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Several Interactions	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Single Interaction												
Parent-Participants	Ellie	Chloe	Ramsey	Jones	Dane	Alice	Rosie	Hannah	Maria	Sandra	Belinda	Gracie

Demographics of Administrator-Participants' Interactions with Parents Relating to Their Child's Behaviour

	Peter	Cara	Alyson
High School Age Child (Gr. 8-12)	*		*
Intermediate Age Child (Gr. 4-7)		*	
Primary Age Child (Gr. K-3)			
Student with Spec. Needs			
Student with No Spec. Needs	*	*	*
Female Gender of Child re Incident		*	*
Male Gender of Child re Incident	*		
Participant Initiated	*	*	*
Several Interactions	*	*	*
Administrator-Participants	Peter	Cara	Alyson