Parents' and Teachers' Cooperation: Mutual Expectations and Attributions from a Parents' Point of View.

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According to Oevermann, there is a working bond between both teacher and individual student and between teacher and the entire class. Parents are depicted as a 'third party' involved in the process of constituting and shaping this working bond. An account of such a teacher-student bond with its innate antinomy and paradox can for instance be found in the work of Helsper. Our article aims at examining more closely the bond between teacher and parents from a parents' point of view. For this purpose, guided interviews have been conducted with 27 parents. Following grounded theory methodology, we develop a theory about parents' views on mutual expectations, in particular with regard to the respective competence of teachers and parents. This underlines how the parent-teacher relationship is characterized by contradictions and expectations that form upon those attributions. The analyses offer a basis for a possible professionalization focus in teacher education.

Keywords: Children's parent-teacher-cooperation, Professionalization, Teacher training, Parent education programs.

Parents and legal guardians have an influential role in the processes at school. They have been shown as decisive factors in their children's educational biographies by various studies discussing the interaction between parental home and school (e.g. Minsel, 2007; Epstein & Sanders, 1998). There are further studies that focus on the integration of parents into the school work and that examine more closely the parent-teacher discourse as a prerequisite for a successful cooperation between parents and school (e.g. Aich & Behr, 2010). Despite their different angles, these studies share the assumption that a successful parent-school interaction highly influences the children's development and generally enriches the daily school routine (Sheldon & Epstein, 2002; Simon, 2004; Epstein & Rodriguez Jansorn, 2004; Cankar et al., 2009).

There is a definite lack of studies which recognize parents as participants of ongoing pedagogic working bonds between teacher and student. The working bound can be seen as a triadic working bound teacher-student-parents. The focus of our study is on the relationship between parents and teachers. Our study aims on the development of a theory about the triadic working bond. The article first gives a broad outline of a theoretical analysis of the terms of professionalism and working bond as used by Oevermann and Helsper, the latter being the one which the following case analysis will draw on. Hereafter a brief introduction into the methodology is given. Using the particular case of a mother, parents' views of teachers as professionals will be displayed. Different factors that impact the degree of professionalization will be outlined. Furthermore, the way a pedagogic working bond between parents and teachers is formed, will be analyzed. We outline the starting point of their interaction and the enrolment of their professional relationship.

As an outlook we offer a basis for a possible focus for professionalization in teacher education and for parent education programs.

Theoretical Framework

According to Oevermann's structural approach [*strukturtheoretischer Ansatz*] (1996, 2002, 2003, 2008), teachers have three different areas of responsibility as professionals: transfer of knowledge, communication of norms and therapeutic function. Undoubtedly, the main objective of their occupation is the "primacy of transfer of knowledge" (Oevermann, 1996, p. 144). Students attend school in order to obtain knowledge, aspects of their culture, traditions and experience. Another duty performed by teachers is the communication of norms. Herein, the communication of norms does not merely consist in reciting normative contents, but also in the meaning of normative contents in social life. In this respect, the communication of norms includes the communication of a habitus. In order to include pedagogic professionalism into teacher's activities, there need to be more areas of responsibility in the teacher-student relationship. In order to achieve this, Oevermann introduces a therapeutic function. Students have to face given crises during their educational and development process. These crises can be rooted in lacks of knowledge, ability or study skills (cf. Koring, 1997, p. 22). In addition to this, crises can arise due to naturally given biographical development processes. Students, with their individual education and development process, face a crisis which, according to Oevermann (2002, p. 35), they would not be able to handle with their own 'resources' [on-board resources; *Bordmittel*]. It is the teachers' and professionals' duty to handle those given crises on the students' behalf by forming a pedagogic working bond with them and by initiating learning processes and forms of help (help them to help themselves). This teachers' assistance constitutes the therapeutic function. The central idea in this process is for the students to achieve and to maintain an autonomous way of life. Following Oevermann, teachers whose task is confined only to the transfer of knowledge and norms can be called experts of their subject but not professionals. According to Helsper (2007, p. 568), cutting off the therapeutic dimension of teaching "encourages the de-professionalising and false self-understanding of just being responsible for the transfer of the knowledge in a specific subject". Thus, the focus in this case is placed on the specialist of a subject, the expert [*Expertentum*], rather than on the teacher's professional behaviour.

In order to manage the demanding responsibilities of relaying knowledge and norms as well as fulfilling the therapeutic function, teachers need access to two different kinds of knowledge. First, a base of scientific, standardised knowledge is applied. This allows for proven and standardised knowledge to be routinely converted into schematised processes. This basis of knowledge is sufficient for the expert. Oevermann compares this kind of knowledge with the knowledge of the occupational group of engineers because their professional knowledge and acting is determined by structure and standards. He therefore uses the notion of engineering base of knowledge [*ingenieurale Wissensbasis*].

Second, professionals rely on the application of a knowledge that is based on interventional practices. That means in addition to the engineering base of knowledge of an expert teachers need hermeneutical and case-specific knowledge [*interventionspraktische Wissensbasis*]. Teachers are thus enabled to reconstruct not only a student's individual, case specific life situation, but also to reconstruct "specific scenes of school and teaching life" (Helsper, 2007, p. 571). Hence, teachers provide possible solutions that can be applied on the individual and innate logic of a case.

In general, the demonstrated possible solutions can be characterised as forward-looking and not affected by routinization and standardization. "In this respect, the teacher is in need of professionalization not only on the level of introducing scientific discourse, herein similar to an engineer, but furthermore on a level of reference to the client, herein different to an engineer."(Oevermann, 2002, 29)

While working together on a daily basis, teachers and students build a relationship that Oevermann (1996, 2002, 2003, 2008) calls a pedagogic working bond [*pädagogisches Arbeitsbündnis*]. If teachers and students accept this bond and thus are willing to cooperate in school, the areas of responsibility of teachers, knowledge and norms, will be relayed as well as how students cope with innate crises of their development and education processes.

Helsper and Hummrich (2008) differentiate between two different working bonds. Primarily, there is a dyadic bond structure between the teacher and the individual student (cf. diagram). Due to the cooperation in and with the class, this dyadic bond structure between teacher and student is embedded in the entire class and the
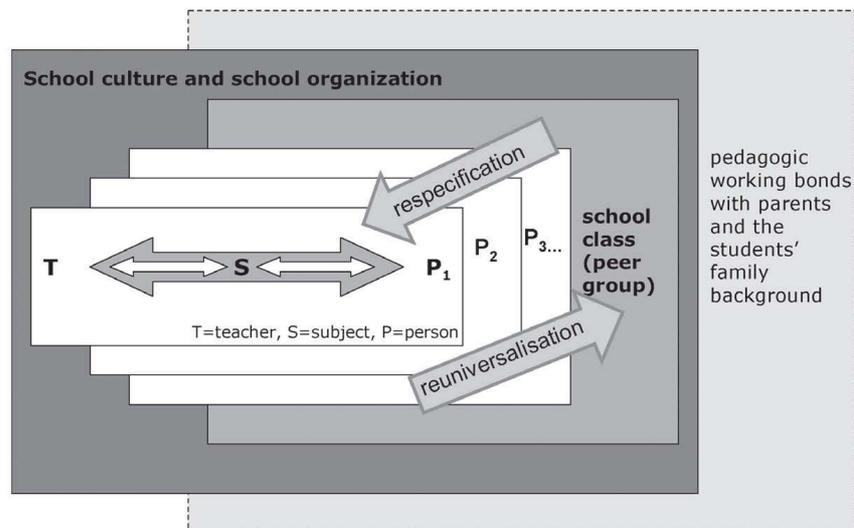
Fig.1 Pedagogic working bonds (following Helsper & Hummrich, 2008)

school peer group (reuniversalisation) (cf. diagram). At the same time, the universally valid school class working bond needs to be referred appropriately to the single student with his own individual situation and needs (respecification).

Within a teaching context, it is insufficient to limit the pedagogic working bond to the teacher-student or teacher-class cooperation. Parents need to be included in the ongoing teacher-student/ teacher-class working bond, firstly because of the students' non-existent independence and majority status (Helsper & Hummrich, 2008, p. 58). Secondly, the students' crises due to development processes do not exist independently from their social circumstances; they are rather embedded in the family's entire interactive system (cf. Oevermann, 2002, p. 36). Aside from the cooperation with the single student, parents have to be included, too, when teachers manage a student's crisis within the framework of the pedagogic working bond. This is why we need to recognize ongoing working bonds in school life as a triad consisting of teacher, student/class and parents (Helsper & Hummrich, 2008, p. 58) (cf. diagram). Both the dyadic bond teacher - student/class and the triadic bond teacher – student/class – parents influence the parental home. The two bonds, however, have a different range at their disposal. While in a triadic working bond, parents are equal partners who, within their given area of competence, directly exert an influence onto school processes and thus shape them; whereas in the case of dyadic bonds, it is assumed that parents are only marginally involved

or not included at all. With regard to the teacher-student working bond, parents may exert their influence only indirectly via their children and have a minimal role in shaping this bond. The non-existence of triadic working bonds is, according to Oevermann (2002, p. 36), a "fact that has been systematically overlooked in pedagogic discourse, and even more so in teaching practice." Another critic take on this has been formulated by Helsper and Hummrich (2008, p. 64): "In general, the theory of pedagogic/school working bonds does not differentiate enough nor explain the determination of the relationships between the dyadic teacher-student working bond, the bond within the class, and the bond involving parents." Therefore, our study aims on the development of a theory about the triadic working bond. Within this triadic bond we focus on the relationship between parents and teachers.

Methodology

Following grounded theory methodology (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) this research project develops a theory of parents' learning processes. Our study relies on autobiographical data (v. Felden, 2008). There are two forms of data including 27 interviews with mothers and fathers, chosen by theoretical sampling; and the analysis of two diaries written by parents. Each parent wrote diaries for several years. The diaries of the mothers cover a period of 20 years; the first mother kept her diary for nine years (writing

nearly weekly), the second one for 11 years (writing weekly). In conducting the guided interviews we tried to produce as much narration as possible. Therefore, we created a guideline with open questions where the interviewees had the possibility to create their own talking points and to answer according to their subjective meanings and relevances. The interviews lasted between one and two hours. Different interviewers conducted the interviews at the parents' homes. All interviews were transcribed.

Using grounded theory methodology, we began with a broad research perspective based on a rather open theoretical basis in keeping with the pragmatist notion of learning by Dewey. In order to identify a central phenomenon based on the data, we collected and analysed data and constructed theory in an alternating fashion.

After analyzing the first two interviews, open coding results suggested that we identify parenthood as a situational and interactive category. As a matter of fact, parents do learn meanings of their parenthood in interactions. In an interactionistic approach parenthood can be reconstructed as an active process of learning to be a parent. With continuous learning, parents acquire more and more experiences.

By the time the central phenomenon takes shape, the interaction with professionals could be identified as a very important resource for the parents' learning process. Therefore, we focused on the teacher-parent interaction in school.

So it is important to bear in mind that we – and the other interviewers – never asked about expectations or attributions in the cooperation between teachers and parents directly. It is a phenomenon which is grounded in the field of parenthood.

At this point the structural approach of professionalization by Oevermann (1996) and the theory of working bond in school by Helsper and Hummrich (2008) were added to the theoretical framework of our study. It should be remembered that in grounded theory the structure of the data always determines the development of theory. Additional theories help only to describe the findings.

In the following, we present first results of our theory construction about parents-teacher cooperation. Outlining our theory we use examples of our data. During the following section, we will first be displaying the particular case of a mother who reconstructs teachers' professionalism while referring to ongoing working bonds. Afterwards, we will add material of a further interview to differentiate our emerging theory.

Example case

The following example of a particular case has been drawn from a research project on parental learning processes. During this project, guided narrative interviews with parents have been conducted. These interviews contain long narrative sections. The following interviewee is a mother of three. At the time of the interview, the children were about five, nine and twelve years old.

B: well once there was a teacher who was very aah* […] she was very unpleasant cause she would say STRAIGHT TO YOUR FACE what* problems there were in her opinion, *2* you don't enjoy being told those kinda things straight to your face. one time i* did not think it was appropriate the way,

I:yes

B: how she handled it. but she was courageous and made a big EFfort.* she dealt with the child and with a lot of other things too.* this is something MOST teachers wouldn't DO at all.* cause they just do if the child does not fit in then aah you get the corresponding evidence or grades, * and then no one makes an effort to confront the parents.

I:yes

B:and this is what that teacher DID.

(interview 2, 122-126; for transcription manual cf. appendix)

In this excerpt, the mother is talking about 'a teacher'. From the conversational context that this excerpt is taken from, it is apparent she is referring to her middle son's class teacher, a primary school teacher. In this excerpt, the mother characterizes on one hand this particular teacher; on the other hand she states her understanding of teachers in general. Her son's teacher can be "very unpleasant". She communicates problems in a direct way. The mother judges the way this teacher communicates ("how she handled it") in a negative way. However, she honours the fact that this teacher did get pro-active, from her point of view; the teacher was "courageous" and made a big "Effort". She later elaborates on the nature of this effort.

For example, the teacher deals with every single child. This attention given individually to the child and the resulting communication with the mother are particularly emphasized by the interviewee when she introduces a negative counter group, "MOST teachers". In the mother's opinion, most teachers do not choose to give special attention to a child that "does not fit in". She believes that as a consequence to not fully meeting the requirements and demands at school, a child will obtain worse grades. The performance assessment is replacing a difficult and individual occupation with a child and their parents. Similarly, Oevermann (2002, p. 49) considers the fact that teachers have to give grades as an indication of the non-existing attention to the individual child: "Taken alone the obligatory grading, which is based on formal distributing features within the class, it becomes evident how difficult it is to deal with students on a case specific basis." What the interviewed mother finds most teachers lack, is the individually given attention and the analysis of individual life practice to solve occurring problems (crises) together with the child and their parents. During such a process, the teacher-parent confrontation seems to be important to her ("an effort to confront the parents"). In this context, the use of a negative connotation is striking. She does not speak of a teacher-parent conversation, but rather of a confrontation that teachers should seek with the parents.

Using Oevermann's terminology (1996, 2002, 2003, 2008), we can state the following: According to the interviewee, many teachers remain on the expert level when realizing that a child cannot fulfil the school's requirements by documenting this with bad grades (expert level); they do not look any closer at what the child is missing or what support might be needed (professional level). These teachers only refer to their basis of inspectable, standardized knowledge.

In keeping with Oevermann (1996, 2002, 2003, 2008), a teacher's professional duty involves solving problems for the students till they have reached a certain age. These problems may be either based on performance/study processes, or on different areas of the child's life. The mother is implying that many teachers do not manage the student's crises for the students but only look at the level of school requirements. In such a scenario, the child would be regarded as not fulfilling the requirements and graded respectively. Here, teachers remain mere experts.

They have to have specialized knowledge at their disposal and be capable of grading the students.

In contrast to this, the teacher mentioned in the example of our particular case pays attention to the single child. Thus, she does not only fulfil the expert status but also the professional status. During her "difficult occupation" with this child and his parents, she is incorporating the level of interventional practice. In dealing with the child and more, the teacher takes into consideration more than just the school's performance requirements which the child fails to meet. The mother in this case is criticising that many teachers only act as experts referring to a standardized basis of knowledge. She finds there is not sufficient attention given to the child and their parents in the way of an action that is referred to as a basis of interventional practice. The mother thus perceives both levels of the teaching profession. At the same time, she names possible consequences if teachers act professionally. If teachers act as experts, their behaviour can be accurately documented with reference to the basis of standardized knowledge. It becomes evident whether a student meets the school's requirements or not; and his performance can be graded according to documentable and litigable regulations. The teacher can justify their proceedings and remains invulnerable. In contrast to this, however, the teacher in this scenario renders herself vulnerable on several levels because she acts on the basis of interventional practice. The mother judges the teacher's direct way of communicating in a negative fashion. She generally approves of the teacher's willingness to "confront" her and to talk about the child, but she does not agree with the way "how she handled it", i.e. how the problem was addressed to her. Although it is not mentioned in the given excerpt, we can reconstruct from the continued interview that the teacher made herself vulnerable on a content level, because the mother assessed her son's situation differently, vehemently arguing her case against the teacher. The teacher renders herself further vulnerable in her proposed solutions to the problems. Firstly, the mother is able to assess the problems differently to the teacher. Secondly, given propositions to solve problems always come with an uncertainty and unsure outcome because the success of a possibility cannot be guaranteed. This point, too, is strongly argued over between mother and teacher in our example. The interviewee thus gives possible reasons why some teachers choose

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to stay on an expert level. Later on, the interviewee talks again about teachers' expert status. She explains what aspects of professionalism this particular teacher is lacking and how they could be improved.

> B: yes. *7* exactly and what just has come to my mind now I had already said that yesterday,* is that you well from mY experience is that you notice a difference between teachers that have children themselves and those who have none *1*
>
> I: mmh
>
> B: cause aah* those who have none, they just live by their theory and by their oh no no no now I'm being unfair here well aah well from what they've learnt in their training and also of course from what they've experienced with children in school and in kindergarden
>
> I: yes
>
> B: you can't say this is pointless, there's no question about that, but *2* ALL those that I know who had no children at one stage and later became parents, went through an emotional change.*[…]
>
> B: and When you've experienced this yourself* you see things in a different light. * I'm convinced.* aah you are more open to a lot of other things* well you feel more open towards a whole lot of other things. for example since maybe I have a rather problematic child the middle one* I am a lot more TOLerant towards other problematic children now.*
>
> I: aha
>
> B: than maybe I was before. but just because I have had the experience myself*2* (Interview 2, 186 – 194)

In the mother's opinion, experience plays an important role. In this excerpt, she starts her train of thought with her own experience, too ("from mY experience"), and differentiates between two kinds of teachers: there are teachers with children and teachers without children of their own. For her, teachers' parenthood makes a difference. Here, the mother differentiates on two different levels. Firstly, there are teachers and parents – this separation has already been established in the first excerpt. The teacher group has now to be further divided into teachers who are parents and teachers who are not. By this double differentiation, certain identification on the part of

the mother with a part of the teachers (those that are parents) is made possible. The interviewee is trying to provide proof for this differentiation ("they just live by their theory"), withdraws from that explanation however right away ("oh no no no now i'm being unfair here") and tries in a second attempt to prove the differentiation. On one hand, there are teachers who accumulated knowledge during their training and teaching practice. On the other hand, there are teachers with their children who have, in addition to this knowledge, an additional experience at their disposal, which cannot be surpassed by training or school practice. This experience allows teachers to take into consideration the children's individuality. In the given excerpt, the mother explains that with the example of her own child ("the middle one"). She is convinced that she treats "other problematic children" differently, i.e. more tolerantly, since her own child is a "rather problematic child". The experience with their own child is valued as an essential necessity in order to consider each child's individuality and specific life practice. Herein, the parental experience is elevated above knowledge gained during teaching training and practice.

She weakens her first differentiation between "theoreticians" ("they just live by their theory") and "practitioners" (parents) by granting the "theoreticians", too, a basis of experience due to their teaching practice. There remains, however, a differentiation based on levels of experience: the interviewee qualifies the parental experience differently, because it is an emotional one. She considers the experience with students to be less valuable than the experience with one's own children. Theoretical knowledge thus comes after the personal experience. It is implied that theory can never fully display reality and that, in order to learn and to act accordingly in the future, one needs to experience real life situations on an emotional level. Personal emotional experience is being regarded as an essential way of acquiring knowledge and competences. The importance of the personal experience is justified by the resulting emotional change. This idea exceeds the level of mere experience; it claims that there also needs to be a connection to an emotional level. A professional distance is not being valued in this context.

The parental experience is, as stated by the interviewed mother, followed conclusively ("all those that I know") by a changed perception of the world ("you see things in a different light")

and by a higher tolerance ("you feel more open towards […]"). In line with the mother's opinion, the emotional experience is the basis of the different perceptions of the world for parents and non-parents. It is assumed that all parents share an identical basic experience and that teachers without own children lack this basic experience.

Furthermore, the mother introduces another specification, which, however, remains imprecise. She states that, being the mother of a "problematic child", her experience has led her to be "more tolerant". It remains blurry whether this tolerance is shared by all parents or only by those who have a "problematic child" themselves.

Regardless of that, we can note the following: the mother thinks her own competence and that of all parents lies in the basis of interventional practice. She is convinced that this competence cannot be sufficiently gained by training nor practical experience.

She attributes the basis of interventional practice only to those teachers who have children themselves, i.e. who went through emotional changes due to their personal experience. This means that, as reported by the interviewee, training and teaching practice alone permit teachers only to get as far as the expert level; parenthood, however, exclusively allows for professionalism and thus a basis of interventional practice.

In both examples we presented disregarding the child and its individuality bears a problem for the parents. The first sequence shows how a mother appreciates the individual treatment of her child though it is difficult for her to interact with the teacher. The second sequence points out that professional teacher acting can only be learned by becoming a parent. The blocking out of the individual child and its individuality by teachers parents sense as a conflict between parents and teachers. Parents try to protect their child as an individual in school. Therefore, they seek talk with teachers. The interaction with teachers often is identified by problems and conflicts.

Parents address these conflicts in interaction to teachers. But it cannot be taken for granted. The communication with teachers is a learning process within parents have to break down several barriers as the mother in the following example describes.

*and at school I do it just so anyway like I said I first wait a little speak with the child try that it can handle it itself and then in case it doesn't work * then I now have no*

problem to go for the teacher to call to talk to him before I got a racing heart on the phone when there was something and I stuttered and I fluffed and just because of my missing self-confidence yes and this is now very different I still don't like to do it I'm not the type who does this really enthusiastic but I can do it meanwhile and I act responsible for my child * and I know what I'm fighting for and for whom I fight (interview 14, 53)*

This mother first awaits whether her child could solve the problems on its own. She trusts on the dyadic teacher-student working bond. Only after the working bond fails the mother intervenes. This intervention can be described as a parents' learning process. Previously, the mother got a racing heart; she stumbled when trying to speak with the teacher. Nowadays, the communication with a teacher is no problem anymore. She acts responsible for her child, and knows what she is fighting for and for whom she fights. The notion of fight suggests an emotional dispute. In spite of the conflictual situation the mother is proactive and contacts the teacher for a dialog.

The learning process is linked with the development of her self confidence, it is a process of growth like the following sequence shows:

with that one grows anyway I've had problems at first quite badly to position myself face-to-face to pre-school teacher or then as well most of all to teacher (interview 14, 53)

Conclusion

Our article aims at reconstructing how a mother questions the understanding of teachers' professionalism and working bond. The second interview excerpt particularly questions teaching professionalism and the teaching training system.

According to Oevermann, the level of standardized knowledge is achieved during the first phase of teaching training at university. Here, theoretical knowledge is being relayed; future teachers reach the expert status. The basis of interventional practice is mainly achieved during the second phase of teaching training as well as during the later practice as a teacher, e.g. by the use of supervision.

The concept as proposed by the mother is herein different. The interviewee claims that

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teachers may well be able to reach the expert status during their training and practice with school children; but she sees the acquisition of a basis of interventional practice exclusively through parenthood. The mother's different perspective is based on her constructed source of knowledge. Oevermann subsumes the basis of interventional practices into the basis of technical, standardized knowledge, i.e. individual problems can be managed from an expert level. Thus, both kinds of knowledge can be gained during training and practice. In contrast to this, the mother negates the possibility to achieve a basis of interventional practice by training. In her opinion, training can only go as far as expertise. She grants the practical experience the acquisition of certain knowledge of interventional practice, postulates, however, that the emotional experience of parenthood is a necessary basis to the occupation with the individual child. Parenthood, the personal experience with one's own children and the related emotional experience are becoming a necessary source for the acquisition of knowledge on interventional practice.

Primarily, the mother thus realizes the very deficit that Oevermann puts under a theoretical heading. Oevermann claims that the teaching profession is in need of professionalization but that it can practically not be professionalized. The mother seems to realize the lacking basis of interventional practice. She ignores the possible and urgent embedding of this module into teaching training or following professional practice and argues rather with lacking parenthood knowledge. Moreover, the interviewee questions whether the lack she and Oevermann perceive can be overcome. With regard to professionalism, the mother states the general uncertainty and vulnerability which teachers expose themselves to when they are acting professionally and when they are making use of a level of interventional practice.

Furthermore, the cooperation between parents and teachers could be a conflictual relationship. Different mutual expectations can be seen as one reason for the occurrence of conflicts. The parent-teacher interaction cannot be assumed. Parents have to learn how to act within the triadic working bond.

Outlook

The explanations mentioned above demonstrate the essential professionalization priorities of teaching training. Teacher education should exceed the relay of standardized knowledge (expert level). The acquisition of an expertise is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the training of professional teachers. Teacher education rather involves a professionalization of teachers on a second level, being the practice of methods with regard to a basis of interventional practice. During the introduction and practice of methods, it is essential for the professionalization of future teachers to understand working bonds as a triad consisting of teacher, student/class and parents. Pedagogic working bonds and parent cooperation should be a major priority in teacher education (Shartrand, Weiss, Kreider, & Lopeze 1997). Therefore, there is a need for further research which analyzes and differentiates the ongoing working bonds between parents, students and school. Teachers need to be able to reconstruct their students' specific, individual life practice. In order to do so, there needs to be a strengthening of interpretational and reflectional skills. These should be a core part of the training and be included in all phases of teacher education. The teaching occupation today is characterized by uncertainty, unsure outcomes and non-existent standardization, which can, all together, lead to the teacher's failure. It is necessary to prepare teachers during training for unsure out comes by discussing the proneness to crises in pedagogic methods, thus preparing teachers for the non-existent technologization and standardization in the field of the teaching occupation. In discussing this in advance, the possibility of failing, which is implicitly included in professional activities, will not be felt to be individual failure, but rather a naturally given consequence to a teacher's professional activities. Professionalism and teachers' professional activities are often considered from a teaching perspective. A change of perspective by incorporating parents could bring forth important stimuli for the professionalization of future teachers.

In addition, there are some important implications of this study for parent education and further research. The knowledge about interactions with teachers and their liability to conflicts have implications for the development of parent education programs. Our findings promote the importance for parents to reflect on their positioning towards staff in schools.

The results reported here suggest that it would be helpful for parents to know about the triadic

working bond between teacher-student/ class-parents with its own dynamics. Besides, parents need help to reflect about the working bonds effects on their own learning processes.

Furthermore, they require the possibility to ask for support in actual conflictual interaction processes with teachers.

Parent education programs might start with reflecting their own interacting with teachers, and then open up new perspectives for additional possibilities for parental acting, in order to extend parents' horizons.

Appendix

Transcription manual
Small initial letters only.

upPER CAse letters	accented syllable/part of the word/letter
*	short break
3	break of about 3 seconds;
,	higher pitch
.	lower pitch

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