**What do parents in New Zealand perceive supports their 11-to-13 year-old young adolescent children in reading?**

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**Abstract**

Learning to read is a complex process with many people being influential in supporting the success of students. As young adolescents often tend to show a lower motivation to read and also as at this critical time in their schooling, more curriculum areas require students to be competent readers, this article focuses on how parents can play a complementary role alongside the students’ teachers. Nine parents of 11 to 13 year-old students in New Zealandwere interviewed using a semi structured interview schedule. The research found that even though the parents had a range of formal educational qualifications or lack of them, they all wanted their children to be successful readers. Their interest, personal experiences and perceived ability in reading were seen to be influential in encouraging children to read.

**Key words**

Reading, young adolescents, parents, teachers

**Word count:** 6278

**Introduction**

Learning to read is a complex process that can occur in both schools and homes. As the last two years of primary schooling are most likely the final chance for students who have been underachieving in reading to receive explicit teaching in reading, this is an important area for research. There is an expectation that on transitioning to secondary school, students should have solidly-grounded reading skills and strategies which allow them to engage in and comprehend a wide range of text types. Students who have low levels of reading literacy find that this impacts on most other subject areas as they engage with the secondary school curriculum (RAND Reading Study Group, 2002). This can lead to failure in learning outcomes across a range of subjects, disconnection with schooling, reducing self-esteem, and a negative impact on long-term educational and life outcomes (Chharbra & McCardle, 2004; Everatt, 2009; Sticht, 2001).

McNaughton (2002) contends that literacy development is a co-construction of learning, where literacy activities reflect and construct social and cultural meanings. These experiences cannot be disconnected from a family’s life experiences. When families and the wider community value reading, a model is offered for young adolescents to emulate. The social aspect of discussing texts provides young adolescents with an environment where they are likely to develop a passion for reading (Strommen & Mates, 2004). Reading exposure can help increase reading achievement and promote attitudes that value reading. Furthermore, parents and teachers can complement each other in supporting young adolescents’ reading achievement.

Effective home-school partnerships promote students’ reading and learning in general. They are enhanced by parents who have high expectations for their young adolescents (Alton-Lee, 2003; Biddulph, Biddulph, & Biddulph, 2003; Wylie, 2004; Wylie & Hodgen, 2007). The role of the teacher in facilitating the involvement of parents in reading development is vital (Ortiz & Ordonez-Jasis, 2005). Partnerships between home and school are more valuable when the expectations that students will succeed as learners are mutual and shared between the teacher and the parents (Biddulph et al., 2003). Building a partnership with parents requires development of a sound and trusting relationship amongst the teacher, the student and the student’s family (Absolum, 2006).

This article aims to find out what parents in New Zealand perceive supports their 11-to-13 year-old young adolescents in reading and how their own experiences in learning to read underpin their help and support for their own children. Additionally, the research builds on our prior studies in New Zealandwith colleagues (Fletcher, Greenwood, & Parkhill, 2010; Nicholas, Fletcher, & Parkhill, 2012; Nicholas, Fletcher, & Somekh, 2011) that investigated the engagement, experiences and expectations of parents of 11-to -13 year-old students as they provided support for their young adolescent’s reading. These earlier investigations found that parents’ satisfaction and encounters with schools varied. Parents appreciated being proactively and positively involved in home-school partnerships with their child’s teacher and principal. Sharing reading achievement data, being allowed into the classroom, attending parent interviews and receiving informative school reports provided ongoing feedback and dialogue about their child’s progress, or lack of it, in becoming an effective reader and comprehender of texts. Alongside this, parents’ own interest and attitude towards reading were influential in fostering their own young adolescent child’s interest in reading. We suggest that by listening to the voices of parents, we can gain a better understanding of how parents perceive they can work alongside teachers and leaders to improve motivation to read effectively.

**Literature review**

Within New Zealand, there is a persisting ‘tail’ of underachievement in reading outcomes, particularly for young adolescent students in Years 7 and 8 of schooling (Chamberlain, 2008, 2014). Māori students (the indigenous people of New Zealand) and Pasifika students (a term used in New Zealand to encompass students from the wide range of Pacific Islands, such as Tonga, Samoa and Fiji) are also more highly represented as underachieving in reading. For example, in the 2011 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) of 10 year-old students’ reading achievement, the international PIRLS Scale Centrepoint was 500. The New Zealand/European mean score was 558 and for Asian it was 542. These mean scores were significantly higher than for Māori at 488 and Pasifika at 473. Ethnicity appears to have a profound influence on educational outcomes in New Zealand schooling. There are also distinct differences between overall success rates of ethnic groups at secondary school. Thirty-five percent of Māori adults and 48 percent of Pasifika adults who were aged 25 to 64 years had not obtained at least an upper secondary school qualification. In comparison, 21 percent of European adults had not obtained a secondary qualification (Ministry of Social Development, 2014). Although, there have been ongoing strategies put in place by the New Zealand Ministry of Education to address this imbalance of educational outcomes (see, for example, Ministry of Education, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013) the discrepancy amongst the academic outcomes for these two minority cultural groups still persists.

This link between ethnicity and reading outcomes requires consideration in the light of socio-economic circumstances. For example, while many parents are able to select their child’s school, disadvantaged parents frequently have limited choices of an appropriate and effective school, in comparison to their more affluent counterparts (OECD, 2014b). The educational levels of parents and their subsequent economic well-being arguably influence the academic outcomes and range of choices for their young adolescent’s education. In New Zealand, there is a ‘tail’ of adults who have not succeeded at secondary school. This has a flow-on effect to opportunities and motivation to engage in tertiary study. In 1991, eight percent of adults between 25 to 64 years had a bachelor’s degree or higher qualification and by 2009 this had reached 22 percent (Ministry of Social Development, 2014). These improvements are mirrored internationally, with a between link higher education and qualifications to employment opportunities. Across all 34 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, the overall employment rates for people with tertiary qualifications are 27 percentage points higher than for people who do not have an upper secondary qualification (OECD, 2014a). The ongoing intergenerational cyclical nature of underachievement in schooling, along with lower employment prospects, and parents’ socio-economic status appear to be intertwined with ethnicity.

Frequently, researchers address the issue of schooling in relation to student achievement within the school environment (see, for example, Lai, McNaughton, Amituanai-Toloa, Turner, & Hsiao, 2009; Macfarlane, 2010; Taylor, Pearson, Peterson, & Rodriguez, 2003) but we contend that by listening to the lived realities of parents of 11-to-13 year-old students we may further enhance our understandings of the connections between parenting and schooling, particularly when considering reading outcomes and motivation to read.

***Sociocultural theory***

From a sociocultural perspective, learning to read is contextually situated, thus parents and their family circumstances are an important consideration when developing understandings as teachers and educators. Bronfenbrenner (1996) asserted that there is a reciprocal and changing interplay amongst differing individuals and the environment that they are situated within. These environmental influences, that Bronfenbrenner refers to as significant others, are of importance relative to the developing child, as within these ongoing interactions are the belief systems and attitudes to learning, inherent in them.

A social constructivist view of learning to read is that it is shaped through interactions with others (Cullen, 2002). Vygotsky’s (1978) theoretical perspective is pivotal to understanding the ongoing impact of these socio-cultural interactions, particularly his conceptions of the zone of proximal development where fellow students and teachers work alongside the learner to scaffold and extend new knowledge. A wide range of literacy experiences in the community, at home and through family and social interactions all shape and influence a young adolescent’s interest and engagement in reading (Nystrand, 2006). These parental and social constructs can significantly affect adolescent reading habits (Conlon, Zimmer-Gembeck, Creed, & Tucker, 2006; Klauda, 2009). When parents actively create a home environment that is rich in literacy resources that match the ability and interests of their child, the child is more likely to view reading positively (Klauda, 2009). Similarly, parental attitudes to reading and the beliefs of significant others also impact adolescent reading habits. Klauda (2009) contended that if those close to developing readers, value reading then an adolescent is also more likely to value reading. Alongside this, parents need to present a constant opinion on the value of reading. Young adolescents’ attitudes to reading are changeable. When parents promote and encourage reading throughout childhood and adolescence, positive attitudes towards reading continue. Reading can be viewed as a social activity with regular reading-based interaction with peers and family members (Klauda, 2009).

There is an intricate strata of elements that contribute to our expertise in improving the reading achievement of students (Weigel, Martin, & Bennett, 2005; Wylie & Hodgen, 2007). Parents’ attitudes towards reading, the home and community environments and home-school relationships are wider contextual dynamics that can support reading. The connection between parents’ attitudes to and abilities in reading can influence their involvement in their young adolescent’s reading development (Fletcher, Parkhill, Fa'afoi, & Taleni, 2006; Parkhill, Fletcher, & Fa’afoi, 2005; Wylie & Hodgen, 2007).

**Methodology**

***Aim of study***

We contend that the wider systemic environment, comprising educators and parents, work together to create school and community influences. Our aim, in this article, is to inform the discussion on effective strategies to raise reading outcomes for all young adolescents. By paying attention and addressing parents’ perceptions and the lived realities of their encounters with the schooling system, we will be better situated to take informed and appropriate steps towards making a positive difference to reading outcomes.

***Design***

The design of this research was a multiple site case study where there was a comprehensible collection of conditions (Flyvbjerg, 2007). We purposively selected six case study schools that would represent a range of socio-cultural and socio-economic profiles and a range of school types and sizes for our wider research project. However, in respect of this article, only four of our six case study schools were able to obtain parents of Year 7 and 8 students who consented to be interviewed. We suggest that this was related to the work commitments of parents of young adolescent students and also may have been attributable to the wider priorities for parents bringing up their family.

The size of the four schools with parent participants, ranged from 110 to 470 pupils, aged from 5 to 13 years of age. Two schools were low decile and two were middle decile. In New Zealand, schools are given a decile rating which indicates the socio-economic community that it draws its students from. Decile one is the lowest socio-economic rating and decile ten is the highest. The lower decile schools attract more funding from the Ministry of Education. Three of the four schools had large populations of minority cultures represented. Schools Four, One and Three had 60 per cent, 54 per cent and 48 per cent respectively of New Zealand non-European students. School Two had the highest percentage of New Zealand European students with 85 percent. The percentage of Māori students ranged from 14 percent in School Two to 28 percent in School Four. In the New Zealand Census in 2013, 14.9 percent of the population identified as Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

We interviewed nine parents of Year 7 and 8 young adolescents. Eight parents were mothers and one parent a father. It was challenging for the principals of the schools to obtain consent from parents to be interviewed, particularly for fathers. Fathers of young adolescents tended to be working full time, and also many of the mothers. Although only one father agreed to participate in this study, as researchers we wanted to include his views to add another lens to our findings. Furthermore, although we selected schools with larger proportions of multi-cultural students, only one non-European parent (Pasifika) and one European parent whose child’s father was part Pasifika/Māori agreed to take part in the research investigation. The parents were interviewed individually with a schedule of questions as a starting point which led to further probing and discussion as the interviews progressed. Questions were asked such as, What kind of texts and themes does your child enjoy reading? How have you encouraged your child to read and supported their reading at school? Where does your child get most reading material from? All of the interviews were digitally recorded and also written notes were taken. On average, each interview was approximately 30 minutes in length. All of the interviews were transcribed at a later date.

***Analysis of data***

Initially, we looked for emerging themes evolving from the literature and our preliminary summaries of the interviews. These themes were filtered, as precisely as possible, into coding categories (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). Then we used open coding as we examined our list of coding categories. Next, we used the initial coding categories to probe the data (Watling & James, 2007). These themes included the parents’ own personal experiences of reading and attitudes towards reading, and the parents’ experiences interacting with the school staff. The final stage was to carry out a second order of analysis of the interview transcripts, using axial coding. We searched for any links between concepts and themes which allowed us to separate the emerging ideas. For example, the parents’ perceptions of their own ability to read linked with their own attitudes to reading.

As a final point, we sorted out our analyses from the axial coding by using selective coding which highlighted the main concepts that had recurred throughout our research analysis (Charmaz, 2003; Neuman, 2000).

**Findings and discussion**

The findings from this study are reported and discussed in the themes that emerged once the data were analysed. The themes were the parents’ own experiences in learning to read; their perceptions of reading; how parents can seek support for their child’s reading from the school; and the link between home and school communication to understand their child’s reading ability. Pseudonyms have been used when reporting the interview dialogue in the findings.

*Parents’ background*

Of the nine parents in our study, eight were mothers and one was a father. Two parents had university degrees, one parent had completed a tertiary diploma, two had completed apprenticeships, one had attended both tertiary and university, one had a secondary school certificate and the other two parents had attended secondary school but did not indicate they had gained any qualification whilst they were there. When asked to identify their occupation, one said she was a homemaker and another described her roles as homemaker and undertaking volunteer work. One parent indicated that she was a beneficiary (because of personal circumstances a beneficiary is eligible to receive a weekly benefit payment from the Social Welfare Department). Two parents were government employees and the remaining four parents were employed in semi-skilled positions (caretaker, hairdresser, teacher aide and unspecified part-time employment).

The changing generational cycles that can provide differing opportunities, attitudes, cultural mores and expectations towards learning and reading were evident. The Pasifika mother recalled her own experiences with her parents and that this had influenced how she and her husband were bringing up their own young adolescents.

When I think back now and I used to take my homework into class and it was wrong. It was usually because my parents had helped me and they had interpreted it differently – [my] parents lack of English. My homework was wrong half of the time. I realized it was too hard for my parents, so I did it on my own. I was a shy kid too. That is why we have encouraged our boys to really participate and ask questions in class. My parents were the first generation that moved over to [New Zealand] to get a better education for their kids. They moved over in the 60s. Amosa [our son] is third generation in New Zealand. Both of our upbringings [my husband’s and mine] have really reflected how we are bringing up our kids. And because the Pasifika stats are so low, we really want to punch above [the low level]. (School 3, Parent C)

For this parent, who was aware of the statistical data on the underachievement of Pasifika students in New Zealand schools, it was imperative that her young adolescent children were given the utmost support to be successful in reading, and learning in general.

Some of the parents we interviewed discussed the differences between their own reading ability and attitude towards reading in comparison to their young adolescents. For example, one mother proudly told us of her daughter’s confidence in reading.

I mean, I can read, but I’m not [good at it]… At least with Juanita [my daughter] she is a bit more confident than me and has a bit more, like she can read in front of people. With me, I could never do that and I just turned to custard. She is doing better than me. (School 1, Parent A)

This parent, although shy and aware of her low educational achievements, made a point of connecting with the school environment by volunteering at the school to help in classes and making costumes for the school students to wear at cultural events. Another parent explained how she enjoyed reading but tended to skim read in comparison to her son who had a skill in remembering the details within texts. She said:

[My] reading style is I devour books. I don’t read word for word. So I am not very good at picking up detail, but I think that is because I am always in a hurry to read the book. Christian [her son] is very good at remembering fine detail. That is why I reread books because there is stuff that I don’t pick up. (School 4, Parent C)

The parents who were avid readers and those who had little interest or time for reading unanimously articulated a genuine desire that their own young adolescents be successful and motivated readers. All of the parents expressed the intrinsic value of becoming a competent reader for lifelong well-being and for career opportunities. For example, the responses from these two parents typified those of all the parents.

I think it [reading] is very important. It sets the scene too, for high school, life development and success. If you are not at this age learning to independently read, then you’re closing so many avenues off. (School 4, Parent D)

Vital, because about everything you do in life, reading has some impact on it. It is the basis of our language. (School 4, Parent A)

It was encouraging that although the parents had a range of personal academic qualifications or a deficit in this area, they all wanted their own child to be a competent and motivated reader.

*Parents’ own experiences in reading*

In our interviews with the nine parents, we wanted to explore their experiences in learning to read. Five of the parents had positive memories of reading during their years of schooling. For example, the responses from these two parents were typical of several parents.

I have always had a positive experience with reading. All my teachers encouraged reading and using the library. (School 4, Parent B)

I loved reading. I was a librarian for a while. I read everything that was around. That comes from my Mum. She loved books. (School 4, Parent D)

However, the other four parents in our study did not recall learning to read as a positive and or successful experience. For example, one mother explained:

I think the biggest thing I remember is that we were told we had to read a book or a novel but today the young adolescents have choice and I think it is about choosing something that you enjoy reading, because it is very hard to read something that you are not into… I had books at school that I wasn’t interested in and you would read the same line three times and then think, what have I read? If you are not interested in it, you’re not interested in it are you? That has been a really big thing I have noticed in this school. They have really pushed [choice of reading texts]. I can’t remember that as a child. (School 3, Parent A)

An intrinsic part of being an effective teacher of reading is selecting texts that are contextually relevant to the students’ interests and allowing students the opportunity to select their own reading texts (Fletcher, Parkhill , & Gillon, 2010; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2005). Although this parent’s experience had been negative in this respect, it is refreshing to note that for her young adolescents there was a change in practice, which allowed her children choice of texts.

For a Pasifika mother, the home environment and her parents’ expectations of her as a female within the family had placed her at a disadvantage in regards to time to read and complete the ongoing homework over her years of schooling. She said:

I don’t think I did very well at all. Just upon reflection of what Amosa [son - pseudonym] has gone through, I could have done better. I had a bit of a different upbringing though. Because I am a girl in the Samoan culture, it was expected that I do everything at home [such as cleaning and washing chores and cooking] so I guess homework kind of came secondary. (School 3, Parent C)

Another parent had recollections of being behind her peers in reading. It was not until she reached secondary school that some intervention was put in place to help her.

I was behind and when I got to high school that’s when I got my reading recovery so it was a little bit too late. (School 1, Parent A)

This mother had found the support given to her once she reached secondary school had been too late to make a significant change in her ability to read. The early years of schooling are critical. As students transition to secondary schooling reading expertise is a prerequisite for academic achievement. Students, such as the mother in this case study, who have low levels of reading literacy find that this influences success in many curriculum areas (RAND Reading Study Group, 2002). This can lead to a spiral of failure in academic qualifications, lowering of self-esteem, disengagement with schooling, and a lowering of long-term life aspirations and outcomes (Chharbra & McCardle, 2004; Everatt, 2009; Sticht, 2001).

*Parents’ attitudes towards reading*

A parent’s attitude towards reading and how she or he role models interest and enthusiasm towards reading for leisure are key parts of the wider contextual influences for young adolescent’s subsequent interest and motivation to read. In our case study research a number of the parents reported that, although they could read, they were not avid readers. For example, two parents explained:

I can read stuff, of course. I am just not interested in doing it. I have so much other stuff to do. I am always outside. (School 2, Parent A)

I read as I am required. It is not a case of not being able to read. It is just a case of not reading. I find once you’re a Mum, you can sit down to a book but you always get distracted. Whereas with a magazine, you can get half-way through and then put it down and then get on with what you have got to do and come back to it. (School 3, Parent A)

What also seemed to be an underlying issue was the overall combined time commitment of parenting and work responsibilities. One mother, who also worked as a teacher aide, said:

I read about four novels a year. I am a pretty busy Mum. (School 4, Parent B)

Similar to our prior research on parents (Fletcher, Greenwood, et al., 2010), within the family structure, one parent was more motivated towards reading for leisure than the other parent. For example, one mother explained how her husband enjoyed reading, whilst for her she had little interest in reading.

She [my daughter] always just sits there and reads. Her Dad is the same. He has always been a reader. I’m not. Her Dad reads the same sort of things - Lord of the Rings, fantasy sort of things as well. (School 1, Parent A)

The significance of fathers as role models in regards to reading is another key issue. This aligns with our prior research findings on Pasifika Year 6 to 8 students in New Zealand schools. The Pasifika students who were achieving above their age-related peers in reading described how their fathers had an interest in reading and regularly took them to the library (Parkhill et al., 2005).

Several of the parents discussed how the library provided a key avenue for high interest books for their children.

My mother was always instrumental with taking Tammy to the library and getting books out and taking them back and being on time with things. Regular visits with Nana. (School 3, Parent B)

In this case, the wider family supported the parents in ensuring the child had regular and frequent visits to the local library.

*How parents could seek support for their child’s reading from the school*

Most of the parents were satisfied with the teaching of reading at their child’s school and the progress of their child. It was evident that these parents were quite confident in the steps they would take if one of their young adolescents was not, in their view, succeeding in reading. Similar to other parents, these two mothers said:

I would start with the teacher first of all… I would be onto it pretty quick. I guess if that wasn’t working, I would talk to another teacher or the principal. If the school wasn’t coming to the party and I had the resources, I would look outside for some private support. But because I am not working, we would have to weigh up how much we could put towards that. In my case, I might have the ability to put the extra work in myself. (School 4, Parent D)

I would ask Karen [teacher] what I could be doing at home. I would also talk to her about what was going on in the classroom with reading. I would talk to Shelley, the librarian. I would possibly look at Kip McGrath [a private coaching agency]. I put him in Kip McGrath at the beginning of last year for maths. (School 4, Parent A)

These two parents did not view the teacher and school as the sole source for supporting their child if their success in reading was being compromised by what was happening at school. Both parents suggested the use of some private support in reading if needed. This concurred with our earlier research on parents where they sought extra private support for their young adolescents in reading when they were dissatisfied with the standard of teaching and individual support offered for their child (Fletcher, Greenwood, & Parkhill, 2009).

One parent in our study, showed a lack of confidence in approaching the school to question what was happening to support her child who was underachieving in reading. She explained:

It’s not really a big thing for me because I don’t read. But I know she can read. I just really don’t understand how they sort of get to her being behind [in reading] if that makes sense. (School 1, Parent A)

When asked if she would approach the school about her daughter’s underachievement in reading, she responded that she would not, as she trusted the school. However, what this does raise for consideration, is that a mother who herself had been unsuccessful in learning to read, and whose daughter was struggling with reading, arguably did not have the confidence, drive and determination of other parents, to question the teacher and principal about what the situation was and how it could be improved for her daughter. We contend that school leaders could problematize ways to make themselves and their teachers more approachable to parents of low achieving students, and more particularly to parents who may not have the tenacity to ‘campaign’ for further support to assist their child’s reading underachievement. This difference and parental unwillingness to ask for help concurred with our prior research on parents, where we found that some parents were more articulate and confident to question and advocate for their child (Fletcher, Greenwood, et al., 2010).

**Conclusions**

As well as the literacy experiences and expertise of teachers within classrooms, a young adolescent’s family, home and community environments, and the wider school and community experiences, interconnect to influence their socio-cultural values and beliefs about reading and reading goals. Parents’ perceptions and experiences of how they can help support the reading of their young adolescents does indicate some key issues that are worthy of reflection. The parents’ interest and personal experiences were seen to be influential in encouraging young adolescents to read. Although the parents had a range of formal educational qualifications, with other parents having no qualifications, they all wanted their young adolescents to be successful readers. It was clear that they associated success in reading with success in later schooling and tertiary study which would impact on long-term life chances in wider society. As Klauda (2009) contends parents, regardless of their own ability in reading, should actively establish a home environment that has a wealth of literacy resources that align with the ability and interests of their child. When this type of support is provided, reading is more likely to be viewed positively. Public libraries can help with the provision of reading resources for all young adolescent children, regardless of socio-economic backgrounds.

#### The parents varied in their personal interest in reading for leisure. This appeared to be influenced by their own attitudes to reading and for other parents, the constraints on their leisure time due to home, family and work commitments. Some parents indicated that if their young adolescent child’s school was not addressing their disengagement or lack of success in reading, they would utilise an external tutoring agency.

A limitation of this study is that there was only one father available to take part in the research. Additionally, only one of the nine parents was non-European. Further research would provide deeper understandings if a more substantive group of parents could be interviewed, which represented both mothers and fathers, and the diverse cultural groups in New Zealand classrooms.

This study has kindled an interest for future research which explores school leaders’ abilities to better inform their relationships with parents of young adolescents who are not confident about reading. Implications for action include bolstering effective communication between teachers and parents, and establishing structures within the wider school community where all parents can seek specific information about their young adolescent child’s progress in reading. Additionally, we suggest that school leaders and teachers should problematize how they can further enhance relationships to allow them to work alongside all parents to motivate and improve reading outcomes for young adolescents. We advocate that for students with low reading abilities, school leaders and teachers proactively contact parents to collaboratively foster success.

As Bronfenbrenner (1996) contended, the wider systemic environment and those significant others have a reciprocal and changing interplay which influences an individual’s learning. When this involves learning to read and comprehend, the interplay amongst the parents and their young adolescents, along with the interactions, and specific and explicit teaching of reading by teachers, work collaboratively in weaving together the complex skills and strategies needed for successful reading achievement. We suggest that what has frequently been a ‘black hole’ in researching reading is the voice of parents. They and their young adolescents are the clients of our schools. As researchers, we need to continue to explore their views and perceptions of how schooling can better meet their expectations.

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