Inland Norway
University of
Applied Sciences

Faculty of Education

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Norwegian high school encounters migrant families

A case study of parental involvement in three schools

PhD Thesis in Teaching and Teacher Education
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Sammendrag

Foreldres involvering i sine ungdommers utdanning i videregående skole oppfattes å være betydningsfull for ungdommenes faglige og sosiale utvikling. Forskning på involvering av migrantforeldre i videregående skolesammenheng er imidlertid begrenset. Denne doktoravhandlingen undersøker hvordan enkelte migrantforeldres involvering anses som akseptabel og rimelig, det vil si legitim, mens noen former ikke får støtte blant lærere og elever. Det overordnede forskningsspørsmålet er *Hvordan konstrueres legitim foreldreinvolvering i utdanning i den norske videregående skolens møte med migrantfamilier?* De sentrale kontekstuelle faktorene som studien går inn på, inkluderer mangfoldet i erfaringer som familier der foreldre har migrert som voksne, arbeidsmigranter eller flykninger, kan bidra med, alderen da elevene utforsker sin utdanningsfremtid, og utdanningssystemets mål om å fremme demokrati og mangfold.

Studien bygger på Pierre Bourdieus begreper felt, doxa, habitus og kapital, og er ei kritisk drøfting av skolesystemets rolle i fordeling av ressurser innen utdanningsfeltet. Basert på dette teoretiske rammeverket utforsker studien migrantfamiliers muligheter til å tilegne seg og aktualisere sin kulturelle og sosiale kapital til støtte for ungdommenes utdanning og valg.

Studiens design innebærer en casestudie av tre skoler, inkludert intervjuer med lærere og skoleledere, og analyse av dokumenter og nettsider fra tre skoler med forskjellige sosioøkonomiske profiler. En byskole med en stor andel elever med migrasjonsbakgrunn fungerte som hovedforskningssted, og her består dataene i tillegg av elev- og foreldreintervjuer og observasjon.

Sentrale funn viser at foreldreinvolvering som er sett på som legitim, først og fremst skjer i hjemmet, er indirekte og forsiktig. Den aktsomme involveringen er anerkjent gjennom kontaktformene og temaene som ble diskutert når lærere møter foreldre. Analysen viser også at formene for foreldreinvolvering i videregående skole er i utvikling. Dette gir enkeltforeldre, ofte de uten innvandrerbakgrunn, mer innflytelse over barnas utdanning og valg, til tross for verdien som tillegges elevenes autonomi. Studien problematiserer ytterligere dette doksiske synet på selvstendige elever, da det skaper barrierer for rettferdig foreldreinvolvering og kan undergrave verdien av migrantforeldrenes kunnskap og erfaring.

Stikkord: foreldreinvolvering, migrantforeldre, videregående skole, Pierre Bourdieu

Abstract

The involvement of parents in the education of high school students aged 16–19 is known to benefit the students' academic and social development. However, research on involving migrant parents in high school contexts is limited. This doctoral thesis examines how some migrant parents' involvement is deemed acceptable and reasonable—that is, legitimate—while some is discouraged. The overreaching research question is thus *How is legitimate parental involvement in education constructed in the Norwegian high school's encounter with migrant families?* The significant contextual factors addressed in this study include diverse experiences of families, the age when students explore their educational futures, and the educational system's goals of promoting democracy and diversity.

The study draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, doxa, habitus, and capital to critically consider the school system's evolving role in redistributing resources in the field of education and investigates the opportunities for migrant families to acquire and leverage cultural and social capital, which affects students' choices and educational futures.

The case study methodology is used at three schools of different socioeconomic profiles and features interviews with teachers and school leaders and analysis of documents and websites. An urban school with a large proportion of students with migrant backgrounds served as the main research site; there, the data also consist of observations and student and parent interviews. Migrant families are defined here as families where both parents have moved to Norway as adults, as refugees or workers.

The central findings highlight that parental involvement viewed as legitimate is primarily indirect and cautious. The subtle involvement is recognized through the forms of contact and topics discussed when teachers encountered parents. The analysis also reveals that parental involvement in high school is evolving to offer individual parents, often those without migrant background, more influence over their children's education and choices, despite the traditional value placed on student autonomy. The study problematizes this doxic view of independent students, as it creates barriers to equitable parental involvement and undermines the value of migrant parents' knowledge and experience.

Key words: parental involvement, migrant parents, high school education, Pierre Bourdieu

Preface

The idea for my doctoral project stemmed from online discussions among Russian-speaking mothers about their engagement experiences with Norwegian schools. The newly arrived mothers would share their amusement or frustration with differences—some large, some small—between schools in their home countries and this new, unfamiliar environment. Experienced mothers would provide practical advice on effective strategies for talking to teachers, preparing packed lunches, and helping children with homework. It was clear that I needed to deepen my understanding of how schools engaged with these resourceful mothers.

I am grateful to the informants, school leaders, teachers, students, and parents who made this project a reality by sharing their time, knowledge, and even food. I was sometimes moved to tears witnessing the dedication and care exhibited by parents, teachers, school leaders, librarians, and other school staff for the young people in the case study schools. And to the students, you love and appreciate your parents deeply, and your diligent work, along with your aspirations for a good future, are truly inspiring!

Special thanks go to my main supervisor, Thor-André Skrefsrud, who always answered my emails instantly, provided detailed and insightful comments and questions on my numerous drafts, welcomed me into his research network, and trusted my decisions. To Jarle Pedersen, my co-supervisor during the first phase of the project, thank you for your valuable contributions to the study's design and theoretical framework. And to Randi Myklebyst, my co-supervisor during the second phase of the project, thank you for your attentive listening, caring, and thorough reading and for exposing me to new and unexpected ideas.

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The librarians at Volda University College deserve a special mention for their endless patience, warm sense of humor, and ability to arrange what must seemed an endless number of interlibrary loans.

Thanks to my family. To my mother, father, and Ilya, thank you for always encouraging me to reach beyond my imagination. To Ada and my extended family in Norway, thank you for making me feel at home, not to mention all the wonderful cakes. To Nikolai, you are funny, kind, and curious, and I learn a lot from you! Last but certainly not least, thank you to my loving husband, Per Halse. Throughout the sleepless nights, endless workdays, late dinners, and countless conversations about the strange and wonderful encounters in my research and real lives, you have shown unwavering support without a single complaint.

The invasion of Ukraine by my home country of Russia deeply saddens me. I long for a day when those who were forced to flee can return home to a free and restored Ukraine and for Russia to undergo profound change. As Ukrainian children attend Norwegian schools, I aspire for my research to create a comfortable and enriching experience for these families.

Julia Melnikova

Hovdebygda, 22 August 2023

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Melnikova, J. (published after submission, 2023). The role of migrant parents in high school as constructed by teachers and students: A "double-edged sword." In V. Tavares & T.-A. Skrefsrud (Eds.), *Critical and Creative Engagements with Diversity in Nordic Education*. Lexington Books.

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1. Introduction

This PhD thesis contributes to the understanding of the social processes at work in the encounter between migrant families and the high school education system in Norway. Both internationally and in Norway, the role of parents in their children's education is being re-negotiated. Increased responsibility for their children's futures is being placed on families, and both politicians and teachers have raised particular concerns about how migrant parents should be involved (Dahlstedt, 2018; Vincent, 2017). Now, even in high schools (upper secondary level, grades 11–13, students aged 16−19), involving parents in the education of their children is viewed as essential for students' successful school performance and enriching their experiences (Deslandes & Barma, 2016). Still, despite the overall pedagogical and political expectation for parents to become engaged, large parts of children's lives and family knowledge may be left outside their school experiences because school practices, defined as schools' established activities and strategies, do not necessarily provide for equal involvement and recognition of all parents (Pushor & Amendt, 2018). To demonstrate this trend, I share an extract from one of the interviews in my study. An experienced teacher in a vocational track I call Anders asserts his interest in understanding the contexts of his students' lives. In this case, he is talking about young refugees who have recently become part of his class:

> We do try to understand the situation of each student. Some love to talk about themselves, others. … For some, I know everything from the time when they fled their home country to the time they arrived in Norway. But with others … it can be difficult.

This passage demonstrates that Anders is clearly interested in his students' past and present and is concerned for their well-being while also humble enough to acknowledge not always being able to reach out to every one of them. Later in the same interview, I ask him when the teachers have contact with parents, and he explains that "if we must contact parents, when it's not about the general assembly … it is often not so positive."

Anders explains that parents are expected to attend the general assembly as an indication of their support for their child and are further contacted only if students are experiencing academic difficulties or engage in problem behavior. These extracts from the interview with Anders illustrate one of the main issues that I raise: each student's unique situation will ideally be understood, but the families and their manifold stories do not seem to be part of this understanding. Difficulties in the recognition of migrant parents as sources of knowledge and

experience have been amply discussed in the literature (Antony-Newman, 2019; Goodall, 2019; Kim, 2009; see section 2.3), but only a few studies look at the special situation of the involvement of migrant parents with children in high school (Hill & Wang, 2015; Zhou & Bowers, 2020), and they tend to focus on the issue of educational choice (Ball et al., 2002; Vincent, 2017). In other words, research often discusses why migrant parents have less or less satisfactory contact with high schools but seldom why they should meet and what should happen in these encounters (DeCastro & Catsambis, 2009). Addressing this gap by providing an understanding of how legitimate migrant parental involvement in education is constructed is the central aim of this qualitative article-based PhD thesis. By *legitimate* involvement I mean the involvement of immigrant parents that is recognized as acceptable and reasonable and is encouraged in the high school context.

The welfare state context, the country's growing young migration profile, and recent changes in parents' role in their children's education are central to establishing this study's relevance. The Norwegian welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990) which places equality of opportunity and recognition of diversity among its central goals is a particularly rich ground in which to investigate the social construction of migrant parental involvement. Universal access to high-quality healthcare, education, and childcare ameliorates inequalities and provides for greater intergenerational social mobility and lower income differences (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2020). In the sphere of education specifically, a common curriculum, delayed tracking, small differences between schools and school classes, and tuition-free higher education all contribute to the goals of equality. As a result, family socioeconomic status has less impact on student performance and outcomes in Norway than in most other European countries. The core values clause of the national curriculum mandates schools to "help each pupil to preserve and develop their identity in an inclusive and diverse environment" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020). Schools in Norway are committed to providing room for cultural development and dialogue and enhancing diversity (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014). At the same time, social reproduction persists, and egalitarian ideals may conceal factual inequalities (Wiborg & Hansen, 2018). That is, background-related differences in the ways parents involve themselves and the ways that schools involve parents may be less visible than in less equal societies, and diverse family experiences and knowledge may be more readily overlooked by teachers.

This study is also relevant because of Norway's migrant education profile. The country has a large population of recent migrants, and the share of the young migrant population is growing rapidly (OECD, 2018). For example, students born inside and outside Norway to migrant parents made up 21% of the country's total high school enrollment in 2021, compared to 12% in 2012 (Statistics Norway, 2022). Norway is regarded as one of the most equal societies in the world, but, on average, young people with migrant backgrounds academically achieve significantly less than non-migrant students, and reducing this gap is viewed as a major political priority (OECD, 2020). Migrant students are more likely to drop out of high school or finish without the necessary qualifications. Students born in Norway to migrant parents perform better than migrant students but still have somewhat lower test scores than non-migrant students (Bakken & Hyggen, 2018; Steinkellner, 2017). It is important to note that there are substantial differences in outcomes between groups of migrants, depending on country of origin and duration of residency in Norway (Steinkellner, 2017). Girls born in Norway to migrant parents receive better grades than boys with the same background; they are also more likely to complete high school and continue on to higher education. Norwegian-born women with migrant backgrounds are over-represented in pharmacy, dentistry, and medicine, are more likely than majority girls to choose natural sciences, and less likely to choose teacher education (Egge-Hoveid & Sandnes, 2015). In terms of recognition of skills and knowledge, young people with migrant backgrounds cite experiencing racism and discrimination, particularly in the job market (Midtbøen, 2015) and at school (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017). Specifically, Norwegian high school teachers report that they lack the skills to successfully engage with linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity in their classrooms and in their communication with parents (Andersen, 2017; Dyrnes et al., 2015).

A decade ago, the formal rights for parental participation in school were specified in greater detail by Norwegian government policies and supported by financial incentives offered by national authorities to develop initiatives that would increase parental involvement (Bæck, 2015; Helgøy & Homme, 2015). These measures were mainly adopted as part of the effort to address the problem of high school dropout, understood as students failing to obtain formal qualifications through schooling. Nevertheless, recent Norwegian research indicates that when students reach higher grades, teachers and school still have less contact with the home (Vedeler, 2021). At the same time, there are indications that some middle-class non-migrant parents are becoming more involved in communication with Norwegian schools to promote

their children's interests (Dahl et al., 2016, pp. 25, 200; Eide, 2021). To get the best possible grasp on parental involvement practices and views displayed in this evolving context, I draw on several concepts of Pierre Bourdieu that have been shown to be useful in studying concealed mechanisms of inequality. In particular, I look at issues of recognition of different forms of involvement by migrant parents in the *field* of high school education. Changes in the expectations of school practice and parental involvement in Bourdieu's (2000) terms can be described as challenging that field's *doxa*. I investigate how these heterodox tendencies may affect expectations and opportunities for how migrant parents to become involved in their children's education.

I engage in a multiple case study of parental involvement in three schools, one urban (Park High), one suburban (Birchwood), and one rural (Fjord High; all school names are pseudonyms). The families in the study came from Eastern and Central Europe, South Asia, Central and East Africa, and the Middle East. The complexity of the current flow of people across borders may place the informants in my study in various legal categories so that different institutions may recognize some of them as migrants, permanent immigrants, work migrants, or refugees (Moretti, 2021). For the purposes of this study, a *migrant* is broadly defined as a person who has temporarily or permanently changed their place of residence by crossing state borders, irrespective of the purpose of that movement. They represent a diverse group that arrive in their host country with a wide spectrum of expectations and experiences of different school systems. Based on the characteristics of the Norwegian migration system, it might be expected that most of my informants had working-class backgrounds (Reisel et al., 2019). However, this was not the case: it was difficult to place the families in specific class categories, especially as their home-country socialization was important for the analysis. Some parents had experienced downward social mobility in Norway because they had to take on low-qualification jobs or were precariously employed. As their children indicated, one mother used to own a shop in her home country, another studied economics, two studied chemistry and physics, several held cleaning jobs, and at least three were receiving disability benefits. The fathers included an engineer, a bus driver, two office clerks, several small business owners, and one teacher; one father was receiving disability benefits after a low-qualification working career. Individual students or parents do not act as representatives of their ethnic or social groups.

My interest in the theme is twofold. On the one hand, I am a teacher educator, and the joys and sorrows of relations with migrant parents are something my students, both pre-service and in-service teachers, often write about and discuss. The available literature often focuses on the primary and lower secondary levels and emphasizes involving the parents more or resolving conflict when communication becomes difficult, and reflections on the reasons for and age-appropriate content of this involvement are sometimes lacking. On the other hand, as a migrant parent of a bilingual child, I observe how parents in the Russian language community try to make sense of the new school culture. Both more knowledge and more discussion on the theme of my research could benefit my students and my community. My broader ambition is to contribute to the discussion on promoting the Norwegian school's goals of supporting justice, belonging, and cultural understanding in an increasingly diverse society.

1.1. Aim and research questions

The project aims to contribute to the understanding of social processes related to migrant parental involvement in the Norwegian high school field through a multiple case study (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2018) of a suburban general study (non-vocational) high school, an urban general study high school, and a rural high school with mostly vocational study tracks. I look into the legitimizing practices and views on parental involvement roles, forms, and goals in the field of high school education. The exploration is based on insights gained from interviews with students, their migrant parents, and teachers, combined with observations of practices (i.e., established activities and strategies) and review of school documents and websites. The analysis of the field logic that sets the boundaries for practices and views that can be pronounced legitimate—that is to say, reasonable and worth encouraging—is carried out with the help of Bourdieu's theoretical tools.

The overreaching research question is *How is legitimate parental involvement in education constructed in the Norwegian high school's encounter with migrant families?* To operationalize this, I formulated the following sub-questions to investigate based on the analyses of data containing descriptions of practices and views, beliefs, and expectations around parental involvement from the three schools:

1. How do the schools create opportunities for migrant parental involvement through home–school encounters?
2. How are roles for parental involvement constructed by the teachers and students?

3. How do the students and their parents describe their families' contributions to the exploration of their educational and occupational futures?

How schools organize home–school relations affects how parents see their role in their child's education and on which matters students invite parents to have a say. The first question, therefore, deals with how the three schools enact their responsibility to create opportunities for parental involvement. This question is addressed through the analysis of all data available in the study, but with a special focus on in-school observations.

The second question focuses on parental roles. I examine how parents' roles in their children's education are recognized as more or less legitimate based on insights gained mainly through interviews with teachers and students but also informed by all the data collected throughout the multiple case study.

Further, the third question takes up student perceptions of their parents' possible contributions to that negotiation of their educational and occupational futures as represented by aspirations, fears, plans, and dreams. In three cases where students agreed, their perspective is supplemented with comments from their parents. This question is addressed via a single-school case study.

Accessing a variety of experiences at three high schools that differ in social makeup and location was intended to provide deeper insights into parental involvement practices and views in the field of high school education. Throughout my study, I explore and offer an understanding of some commonalities in what is regarded as legitimate and made possible in terms of migrant parental involvement in the high school field.

1.2. Choice of concepts: Parents and their children's education

Many terms describe the encounter between families, communities, and schools. To different degrees, these terms emphasize the role of schools and the roles of parents and community. Their use can hint at what the discourse in which they appear expects from the various parties. The *school-family-community partnership* model introduced by Epstein (1995) focuses on the school's active role in engaging parents in students' education both in school and at home, often in ways that are recognized as most beneficial for students' academic performance. The term *home–school collaboration* used in Norway has similar connotations and is anchored in

the preamble to the country's Education Act (1998), which states that the school performs its role in "collaboration and agreement with the home" (§ 1-1).

Parental involvement (both home- and school-based) is used when attention is drawn to what parents do to support their children's education. This kind of involvement, unlike partnership or collaboration, also occurs when there is little interaction between parents and the school and when communication mostly happens through students; it is then referred to as home-based. *Academic socialization* is a related term describing the practices, attitudes, and shared knowledge that establish children's beliefs and aspirations about school (Bæck, 2017).

Parental engagement refers to practices in which the school invites parents to have a voice in decisions about the curriculum and school practices. In contrast to parental involvement, this tradition emphasizes building long-term dialogical relationships with families to adjust teachers' beliefs and assumptions about parents and communities (Doucet, 2011; Pushor & Amendt, 2018).

My preferred term, *parental involvement*, is conceptualized in this thesis as family interactions in relation to their children's education. I use *at-school parental involvement* to describe what the school organizes, including parents attending school meetings and activities, communicating with teachers, and volunteering at school. *At-home parental involvement* refers to families' practices and attitudes, including engaging in learning and extracurricular activities, discussing academic or occupational plans, and conveying high educational aspirations. I employ *home–school relations* to describe communication and mutual influences between school and home. In some more normative contexts, *encouraging* parental involvement and *engaging* parents can occur. By these terms, I mean that schools may encourage parents to be involved in their children's education even without directly communicating with them or meeting the ideal of engaging them as equal partners. The opposite is also true: parents can be discouraged or disillusioned even if they are closely engaged in communication with the school (Westergård & Galloway, 2004).

When I refer to *parents*, I also include legal guardians. Although I note the importance of siblings and other relatives for the students I have interviewed, I do not use the term "parents" for siblings or extended family members. This choice recognizes the parents' legal and ethical responsibilities regarding their children.

Migrant families are for the purposes of the present study defined as families with two parents who have, as adults, permanently or temporarily changed their place of residence to Norway, irrespective of the reason for that movement. This is a large group that shares distinctive and diverse knowledge, experiences, and expectations shaped outside the Norwegian educational system. These families can at times and to different degrees encounter difficulties when communicating with schools and other institutions, possess incomplete information about the education system, lack access to social networks, and experience that their resources are not always recognized in new contexts.

1.3. Study context

To understand the social processes involved in the encounter between the three case schools and migrant families, it is impossible to look away from the broader national and international contexts that form this encounter. As already noted, migrant parents represent a diverse group, mirroring the precarity and struggles of the modern world and the complexities of the ongoing flows of people across borders (Bauman, 2013; Paret & Gleeson, 2016). Norwegian schools meet newcomers with the ideal of a society that is equal and egalitarian, but, until recently, has been known to have "problems accepting difference" (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, p. 185). Here I first expand on these two moments—who the migrant parents are and what society they encounter through the educational system. I then briefly sketch some of the elements of the high school policies and ideals that are relevant for further discussion.

Many faces of migrant families in Norwegian schools

A first-year student in an academic track whom I call Mark is a good example of how migrant youth in Norway negotiate complex identities. Despite being well integrated and knowing Norwegian culture well, in our interview, Mark told me he would never call himself Norwegian. He identifies strongly with his heritage country, its language, and its religion and often travels there for holidays and during the summer. Mark's grandfather was a work migrant in the late 1960s and then returned and established his family back home. Mark's father came to Norway as a youth when the situation at home "got tough"; later, a war broke out. Now Mark has a baby sister, and he recognizes that "we are still in Norway … which we thought would be just temporary." In one family narrative, we meet representatives of what may be categorized as different groups of migrants: work migrants, Muslims, EU member country residents, war refugees, family reunification migrants, those who are fluent in

Norwegian, and those who hardly speak any. As time passes, we see how the stories blend: war refugees settle down, find work, and send children to their home country for a few years, while temporary workers return to find permanent residence. It becomes increasingly difficult to rely on generalizations about the different groups. Much of the international migration we witness today is mixed, so the reasons for and outcomes of moving across state borders are not easy to pin down for both researchers or migrants themselves (Van Hear et al., 2009).

In-group variations are large, but it is not unreasonable for school leaders in my study to often speculate in terms of "the different wars that break out." War geography affects the big picture of the kind of refugee families schools can expect to meet and what can roughly be assumed about their education levels, English language skills, and the need for translators for specific languages. Generally, the low selectivity of the Norwegian immigration system explains an overall gap in socioeconomic backgrounds between migrants and non-migrants, which, despite strong measures designed to combat child poverty, may account for some of the differences in school performance. In this context, some of the responsibility for unequal distribution of opportunities for schooling can be placed outside schools' reach (Behr & Fugger, 2020). It is paramount that the individual situations, living conditions, and resources of all migrants, including refugees who are permanently settled in Norway, their families, and work migrants, are not overlooked.

Some categories can help researchers and practitioners in schools orient themselves in the unique issues migrants may face. In the second half of the 20th century, historians often refer to three waves of immigration to Norway (Kjeldstadli, 2003). The first wave that came at the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s were labor migrants, with Pakistanis making up a large group. The second wave included those labor migrants' family members. Finally, there came the wave of asylum seekers. In the 21st century, the same groups include people from new geographical areas and family members of those in earlier waves. The first group, work migrants, has experienced record historical growth since the expansion of the European Economic Area in 2004 and 2007. Poles and Lithuanians are by far the largest groups of non-Nordic migrants in Norway today. Increased inflow from new EU countries has also made the second group of migrants (family members reuniting with migrants) the largest between 1990 and 2020 (Molstad, 2022). In the third group, asylum seekers and refugees, a substantial influx was experienced in 2015–2016 as part of what is called the European refugee crisis, with the largest group of refugees coming from Syria, along with a continuous flow from

Somalia, Iraq, Eritrea, and Afghanistan. Over 20,000 Ukrainian refugees are arriving at the time of writing; many of them are highly educated but also do not speak much English, which is widely used in the Nordic countries (Hernes et al., 2022). This new group is now creating unique experiences in their encounter with Norway.

On a more general note, the Norwegian welfare state provides the population with high rates of intergenerational mobility and a broad range of universal social security services, which also apply to migrants, and thus secure high levels of child well-being (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Reisel et al., 2019). Scandinavian welfare states are generally presented as offering vast support to families and children through universal access to early childhood education, school, and healthcare services. The encounters with these institutions influence family choices and approaches to parenting. Migrant parents may find it difficult to navigate the opportunities created by the Norwegian state's extensive institutional system and negotiate its demands. This difficulty is especially pronounced around unspoken or contradictory standards they feel obliged to conform to in order to be defined as competent parents (Friberg & Bjørnset, 2019; Smette & Rosten, 2019).

Norwegian school: Ideals of equality and recognition

On the policy level, discourses of equality and recognition evolve and find new ways to operationalize society's goals. In schools, everything from free school meals to attendance rates to the representation of non-dominant groups in textbooks could be politically advanced as a measure of the system's equality. Fraser (2007) talks of justice in terms of redistribution, recognition, and representation. This allows the operationalization of equality in terms of distribution of economic goods, appreciation for diversity, and access to democratic decision making not being limited to dominant groups, which are defined here as groups of people who are in a position to exclude others based on race, culture, and/or socioeconomic status. In terms of representation in Norway, at least formally, high school students and parents can be represented in school governance, and county administrations have strong rights and responsibilities in terms of funding high schools and teachers' professional development. At the same time, the school system in Norway is highly centralized, and major decisions are taken at the national level (Bæck, 2022). In terms of recognition, the Norwegian Education Act (1998) grants all students the right to a discrimination-free education that should give them an understanding of both the national heritage and international cultural traditions and

"provide insight into cultural diversity" (§ 1-1). In terms of redistribution, school choice in Norway is more limited than in other countries, and children normally attend local schools. There are very few private schools; they enroll fewer than 3% of students, follow the national curriculum, and are not allowed to make a profit (Volckmar, 2019). Moreover, until the upper secondary level, the school system uses little formal tracking or ability grouping, following the ideal of a unitary school system and expecting that pedagogics will be adapted to meet individual needs and interests (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014). Upper secondary education is free of charge and open to all students; although it is not obligatory, over 97% of youth enroll in it. Both high school and university students may apply for grants and loans to cover their living costs. Most university education is also free of charge.

Norwegian language proficiency is essential for the academic progression of migrant students, especially newly arrived ones. In terms of redistribution of resources in favor of this group, it is important that students who cannot follow ordinary instruction in Norwegian have the right to attend classes in Norwegian as a second language (Education Act, 1998, § 3-12). Newly arrived students can either be directly included in classes with students of the same age or attend induction classes of up to two years. The students also have a right to receive instruction in their first language and bilingual subject teaching "if necessary" for the transition to regular teaching in Norwegian. The form of assessment of Norwegian skills and how Norwegian or bilingual subject teaching is organized depends on the local municipality (Rambøll, 2016). Differences in approaches and outcomes can become visible in the transition from local compulsory schools to the larger high schools, as reported by high school teachers (Ministry of Education and Research, 2021, p. 16).

The unveiling of the shameful history of the forced assimilation of the Indigenous Sami population—including a ban on the Sami language in schools—and other national minorities has had a sobering effect on some policies and attitudes toward new minorities. This understanding made full assimilation an unacceptable aim and recognition an important ideal for Norway's education system (Kjeldstadli, 2003). Schools are expected to approach diversity from a resource rather than a deficit perspective (Østberg, 2010). In addition to continual school research and development efforts in this area, a five-year national Competence for Diversity program in 2013–2018 aimed to strengthen the competence of early childhood education institutions, schools, and adult education centers in their work with cultural and linguistic diversity. The institutions could choose from a broad range of focus

areas to concentrate on for one year. For most high schools that participated in the program the main focus was on language teaching and testing, while elementary and middle schools chose to focus on parental involvement nearly as often as on language (Lødding et al., 2018). A national expert group (Dahl et al., 2016) appointed by the government to examine the role of teachers advised teacher educators to pay more attention to issues of recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity and attract a larger share of teacher students with migrant backgrounds.

Tensions still exist around including high school students from across social and geographical divides in school communities and curricula and making them feel that they belong (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Dyrnes et al., 2015). Both teachers and students report that discussing matters on which minority students may have different opinions from the majority is unusual and sometimes avoided because it creates discomfort (Andersen, 2017; Johannessen & Røthing, 2022). Anthropologists note that sameness of values and lifestyle may appear to be a prerequisite for equality and being recognized as belonging to the Norwegian "we" (Gullestad, 2002; Aarset, 2018). Teachers may experience difficulty in assigning worth to the capital of migrant families. Both students and their parents may be perceived as very different from the non-migrant Norwegian population and thus needing to become more like "us" to become equal. The school takes on the role of an educator for parents and, especially in lower grades, parents may be presented with cultural middle-class parenting ideals as the model for how they should be involved (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020).

Among other ideals, the concept of young people's autonomy (Gullestad, 1996), especially regarding educational choices, is very strong in Norway. Even when students at age 15 and 16 are separated according to their ability and interests for the first time, the choice of tracks is constructed as independent (Smette, 2015). Under the law, young people can make their own educational choices as of age 15 (Education Act, 2008, § 32). Still, by using the term construction above, I side with Gullestad (1996) in that the ideal of independence in the Norwegian context can also represent how children internalize their parents' values and expectations. In a closer emotional relationship, less visible control appears to be necessary, even though in reality the young person is not fully independent (Bakken, 2016; Elstad & Stefansen, 2014). In line with a similar interpretation of autonomy, children are not expected to break away from their parents, but to gradually develop self-insight, agency, and a sense of responsibility within some implicit boundaries (Lidén, 2003; Smette et al., 2017). The rights of children to self-determination in Norway are rather extensive and expand gradually until

they reach 18, the legal age of adulthood. Parents, meanwhile, are responsible for seeing to it that a child receives "an education according to his or her ability and aptitude" (§ 66) and must provide financial support for the child's education, even beyond age of 18 (Children Act, 1982, § 68). As Vedeler (2021) points out, the balance between students' rights and parents' obligations regarding involvement in children's education can be difficult to strike.

In many cases, parental efforts to meet their responsibility for their children's education would be conducive of educational success. In other cases, parents' efforts may include academic aspirations and social restrictions that can be excessive and detrimental for young people's confidence and well-being. When it comes to migrant parents, these negative effects of parental obligations taken too far are rather visible in public discussions. Among others, some cases of what is referred to as "migrant drive" were pointed out by Leirvik's (2016) interview study of high school minority advisors of young adults with Indian and Pakistani backgrounds. Research also indicates that representatives of certain migrant communities in Norway, such as the Tamil community, tend to express more direct expectations of academic success and a greater commitment to following up on students' schoolwork (Engebrigtsen & Fuglerud, 2007). Pronounced educational strategies, possibly less visible in the non-migrant population, may then be met with suspicion by teachers who were socialized in the Norwegian school system and share the values of independence, as described by Gullestad (1996). After these general reflections on the Norwegian school and its values in general, I turn now to a more specific introduction to Norwegian high schools and parental involvement.

Parents and the Norwegian high school system

Upper secondary education, or *videregående opplæring*, the non-compulsory part of Norway's school system, has been open to all 16- to 19-year-olds since 1994. It is thus a relatively recent phenomenon that high school is part of the unitary school that all children are expected to complete, rather than a privilege and choice for a few. Before World War II, professional education was highly specialized and minimally supervised by the state. Only a small share of students continued to the *gymnasium* that prepared them for university studies (Sandberg & Høst, 2009). After World War II, the unitary school system expanded, with its democratic role firmly established as part of a social democratic welfare state. The state gradually extended its control over professional education, and the number of students that continued beyond the compulsory school level soared. In 1974, 60% of 16-year-olds

continued directly on to high school (Bjørndal, 2005). That year, a coordinated two-part upper secondary education consisting of academic and vocational education was formally established. By 1990, nine tenths of students were enrolled in high school. Under the comprehensive school system reform of 1994, all 16- to 19-year-olds were granted the right to enroll, and the number of vocational tracks was streamlined to 10 (Sandberg & Høst, 2009). Finally, in 1998 compulsory primary, secondary, and upper secondary education were placed under the common Education Act.

The current preamble to the Education Act (2008), states that "education and training in schools and training establishments shall, in collaboration and agreement with the home, open doors to the world and give the pupils and apprentices historical and cultural insight and anchorage" (§1-1). This paragraph, developed throughout unitary school history, mirrors the eventual tension between the role of parents and the state in defining and taking responsibility for children's education. As society modernized and the unitary education system was enhanced, more learning took place in classrooms than in local communities or at home. This development led to political discussions over what knowledge should be considered legitimate for children to learn. For example, Edvardsen (1996) describes the struggle in a northern coastal community between 1850 and 1900. The state regarded the local people as stubborn in their resistance to the expansion of the school system, making village schools more like those in the cities, while the community saw the new knowledge to be taught in those schools as unnecessary and costly (Edvardsen, 1996, pp. 82–83).

In recent years, a major line of school conflict lies in the rural-urban divide, with small rural schools closing down at accelerating rates since the 1990s due to centralization and standardization pressures and a lack of recognition of the value of community knowledge and culture (Kvalsund, 2009). Still, such struggles can be considered the exception rather than the rule, and the school system has been and remains highly centralized; major decisions that concern matters like goals and standards, curricula, assessment, and distribution of teaching hours per subject are debated and adopted on the national level (Bæck, 2022). Parents have been invited to participate in school governance through election to parents' committees since 1969. Those committees have an advisory role and can issue statements on school matters, but they do not make decisions (Bæck, 2022). A National Parents' Committee was established in 1976 with the goal of representing parents' interests in the legislative process and to advise

both parents and schools on matters of home–school collaboration (Foreldreutvalget for grunnskoleopplæringen, 2016).

The curricula, exam arrangements, and overall structure of Norwegian high school education is currently under review. The government report that introduced the reforms prescribed that the process was to involve "students, teachers, school leaders, county councils, the Sami Parliament, employer's and employee organizations, higher education and higher professional institutions," but parents were not mentioned (Ministry of Education and Research, 2021). Strengthening parental involvement is likewise not prioritized in other reform documents that have appeared thus far. The reform is projected to take 10 years, so it is possible that the role of parental involvement will be addressed at a later stage. At the time of writing, the curriculum offered at high school is divided into 12 tracks, three of which provide general academic qualifications. Academic-oriented tracks typically take three years to complete and lead to the upper secondary school leaving certificate, which is required for admission to universities and other higher education institutions. Vocational tracks usually offer two years of school-based courses and two years of apprenticeship and result in vocational certificates, but they can be combined with an extra year that qualifies a student for university admission. Some schools may offer additional programs in sports, maritime studies, or the arts, often focusing on professional careers in these fields. Students are enrolled in different tracks based on their interests and grade point average, and not all tracks are available to all students in a given geographical area.

A little under half of students choose vocational tracks, with more doing so in rural areas. Vocational education may, at the outset, look more attractive to students with a relatively short time of residence in Norway because of its smaller class sizes and practice-based language teaching. In terms of outcome, there are relatively small wage and job stability differences across vocational and academic career trajectories. However, the challenge that the vocational education system is constantly addressing involves which students have secured workplace training. Employers are reluctant to enter into agreements with students with lower grades or migrant backgrounds (Jørgensen, 2018; Nevøy et al., 2022). Additionally, some vocational tracks can be more popular than academic tracks, especially in rural areas (Lervåg, 2023). These tracks would not be available to all due to higher costs for municipalities and employer selectivity.

The Education Act (1998) and its regulations specify that home and school are expected to collaborate, which could be interpreted as working as equal partners. According to the regulation introduced in 2006, as part of the Knowledge Promotion Reform of the 1–13 school system, this collaboration should be designed "to support the academic and social development" (Education Act, 1998, § 20-1). More specifically, the collaboration is said to be a resource for the learning environment and improvement of academic results that should lead to higher graduation rates. It may be argued that the broader role of discovering the world in "collaboration and agreement with the home" established in the preamble (Education Act, 1998, § 1-1) is here narrowed down to a more instrumental aim of improving academic outcomes. The same can be said about the more specific regulation of home–school collaboration at the upper secondary level introduced in 2010.

Specifically, under the amendment of Section 20 of the Education Act (1998), Norwegian high schools are required to hold regular general parent meetings and parent conferences, report on students' academic progress, and warn both students and the parents if progress or attendance may be insufficient for graduation (Education Act, 1998, § 20-3). Schools are also required to maintain "ongoing contact" with all parents. This responsibility is typically assigned to a contact teacher, who has similar tasks as homeroom teachers in the United States and form tutors in the United Kingdom. No specifics of what "ongoing contact" means are provided, and the content of that contact or its purposes should be something beyond providing required information. Additionally, schools' accountability in terms of students' social well-being has recently expanded with the amendment of Section 9a of the Education Act (1998, amended in 2017). Every student has a right to a positive school environment that promotes health, well-being, and learning. With this new amendment in force, an individual student's negative experience makes the school responsible for developing and implementing a specific plan of action to improve the environment or face penalties (§ 9a-7, 9a-8). Staff and students and their parents can call for action under Section 9a, which gives parents a new instrument to influence school matters.

Still, unlike compulsory schools, high schools are not expected to include parents in school governance. Both an older large-scale mapping study of Norwegian high school teachers (Sletten et al., 2003) and a much more recent multi-perspective focus group study (Vedeler, 2021) indicate that a more limited view of communication with parents remains prevalent. As Vedeler's study shows, outside the obligatory meetings, contact with the home mostly

happens “on demand”; that is, when students are viewed as experiencing problems by schools or parents. In short, based on what is known from the sparse research that is available, the aspects of collaboration and ongoing contact that are laid out in the legislation do not appear to have gained a strong foothold in current high school practices.

1.4. Outline of the comprehensive summary

This thesis contains a comprehensive summary and three articles. After presenting the aim and research questions of the study and describing the Norwegian context for migrant families’ encounters with the high school system in this introductory chapter, I address previous research on migrant parental involvement in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 discusses what Bourdieu’s social reproduction and transformation theory can contribute to the analysis of the high school education field. In Chapter 4, I describe the study’s multiple case study design and methodology, focusing on my positioning as a researcher and issues of research quality and ethics. Chapter 5 outlines the study’s findings by summarizing the three articles that are part of this thesis. Building on the theoretical perspectives and previous research presented in Chapters 2 and 3, I draw the results of the study together in an overarching discussion of the legitimation processes at work in the encounter between migrant families and high schools (Chapter 6). Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the comprehensive summary with some remarks on the limitations of the study, implications for practice, and suggestions for further research.

2. Previous research: Migrant parental involvement at students' transition to adulthood

Parental involvement receives a great deal of attention from researchers internationally and in the Nordic countries, both in the field of education and in broader research on parenting in sociology and psychology. As noted in the introduction, most studies that explore the pedagogical perspective on parental involvement, including school partnerships and parent-teacher relations, address the elementary and middle school contexts. The contributions and experiences of parents, particularly migrant parents, of students in upper secondary education are comparatively under-researched. In this overview, I focus on contributions to research on parents' involvement in their children's upper secondary education. Some of the central studies that address the involvement of non-dominant parents, including migrant parents, in school at the lower secondary level are also included, as are those that do not differentiate between migrants and other non-dominant groups. The search strategies are detailed in section 2.4. Studies on encounters between schools and migrant parents draw on different theoretical frameworks and perceive the goals of such contact differently. The work is presented thematically, starting with a discussion of common goals and forms of involvement, followed by central studies on family involvement in students' educational choices. Later, I outline several papers on inequalities in involvement with a focus on migrant parents. I conclude the chapter with a reflection on my study's contribution to the research field.

2.1. Parental involvement outcomes and the role of school practices and expectations

The most widely used framework for discussing practices surrounding parental involvement in their children's schools is Epstein's school-family-community partnership model (1995, 2011), an adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979) suggesting that overlapping spheres of influence between the three sides in the relationship should result in the optimal environment for a child's development. Researchers who use this framework often see the primary goal of involving parents in increasing students' academic achievements and well-being through parents becoming familiar with school pedagogy and curriculum and creating mutual respect between teachers and parents. Parental forms of involvement are divided into home- or school-based and defined in specific ways, from parenting and communicating with the school to collaborating in the community. In research following this

tradition, not all forms of involvement are found to contribute equally to student achievement at all ages, so more involvement is not necessarily better, and quantitative research is used to locate the most beneficial practices.

In terms of what forms of involvement are to be encouraged, similar to earlier meta-reviews (Castro et al., 2015; Wilder, 2014; see also Shute et al., 2011 for secondary school) and a longitudinal study by Benner et al. (2016), Boonk et al. (2018) find that the strongest association lies between student achievement and their parents' high academic expectations, in contrast to involvement directly related to school activities. The authors of this recent meta-analysis note that middle-class parental involvement in the form of academic socialization expressed through parental academic encouragement and planning for a child's future appeared to be more beneficial than other involvement forms. Boonk et al. thus call for providing guidance to parents who could not "provide an academic advantage for their children" (2018, p. 42). This kind of analysis has been criticized for failing to distinguish between the effects of parenting practice and environmental factors in line with the logic of parental responsibilization (Dahlstedt, 2018; Griffith & Smith, 2005; Vincent, 2017). That approach encourages schools to promote specific universal parenting practices, such as the authoritative parenting style (e.g., Shute et al., 2011), in a misguided expectation that placing increased responsibility on individual parents will remedy society's ills (Vandenbroeck & Bie, 2006). Recent meta-analyses have shown positive links between various at-home and at-school forms of involvement and children's motivation and well-being (Barger et al., 2019) and academic achievement (Boonk et al., 2018), except for homework assistance, which is positively correlated with motivation but not performance. Yet again, this research is not easy to translate into specific guidance, as it is difficult to conclude whether parents should not help with homework because that will lead to poorer results for their children or that they help only when a child is already struggling academically, which seems more likely.

In terms of student age, studies reviewed by Boonk et al. (2018) point in the direction that, in secondary school, at-home practices appear to be more beneficial than school-based activities. However, Barger et al. (2019) do specify that the difference in forms of involvement at different school levels may be explained by the lack of opportunities for parents to be involved in high school (p. 42). Studies of reported invitations to parental involvement in Canada have shown that, especially in high school, parents are more likely to become involved in their children's education if they perceive that teachers and their children want

them to do so and that they can make a difference (Deslandes & Bertrand, 2016). Similarly, a study (Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014) of 15- to 17-year-old students at 10 urban high schools in the United States found that there was less school-based than home-based involvement reported, especially by African American parents, and offers the following explanation:

> It is possible that these lower levels of school-based involvement during high school indicate parents' recognition of schools' and adolescents' attitudes towards their involvement and the lack of opportunities to increase their engagement within this setting. (p. 620)

Like Barger et al. (2019), Benner et al. (2016), and Deslandes and Bertrand (2016), the authors in this excerpt point out that changes in parental involvement strategies and their relative benefits at high school are related not only to students' development or increasing complexity of curriculum but also to school practices and teacher beliefs. Even though it appears that in many contexts, school-based involvement in secondary school is not encouraged, small acts like attending parent-teacher conferences or volunteering for non-academic tasks still benefit students' mental health (Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). However, at least in the United States, it is parents with highest socioeconomic status and with children more likely to be attending small private schools who are most often demanding of children at home and have frequent contact with schools (Zhou & Bowers, 2020).

An Icelandic study of parental involvement at primary and lower secondary schools represents one of the few studies looking at how adolescents themselves experience the encounter between home and school (Jónsdóttir, 2013, 2015). In contrast to common expectations that adolescents would pursue independence, this study found that students did seek parental support with academics. At the same time, the students surveyed by Jónsdóttir were uncomfortable with the more traditional parental participation in social activities that teachers and parents tended to construct as the ideal of school–home collaboration. One in five students wished their parents had never visited their school. In a Norwegian multiple-perspective focus group study, high school students also acted as defenders of their parents' interests in their academic progress. They insisted that parents had an important role for them even during high school, despite teachers and school leaders often underrating parental contributions (Vedeler, 2021).

Beyond pointing to the associations between existing parental involvement practices and student outcomes and addressing schools' efforts to engage parents, the above studies and

reviews can be read to show that unless schools deliberately interfere, parents are likely to become less involved in secondary school. This tendency is in line with the earlier findings of a mapping survey and follow-up interviews based on materials from 16 high schools in Norway (Nordahl, 2003; Sletten et al., 2003). These surveys found that both school staff and parents expected high school students to take responsibility for the education process. As many as 36% of teachers felt it was unnecessary to increase parental influence, and 40% did not wish to discuss curriculum matters with parents. In terms of one-on-one communication with teachers, parental involvement had an on-demand quality, meaning that contact mostly happened when students experienced problems (Sletten et al., 2003). A nationwide survey of lower secondary schools showed that the teachers were reluctant to let parents enter what they saw as their territory and at times described relations as stressful (Bæck, 2007, 2015).

In many ways, parents were satisfied with their relationships with schools but were careful not to be seen as too demanding and were not invited to discuss teaching methods or curricula (Bæck, 2009). This reluctance to participate actively and insecurity about what they could contribute was especially true of parents with lower levels of education and those from minority backgrounds (Bæck, 2010a; Sletten et al., 2003). Both studies were conducted before parental involvement was established as a legal requirement for all high schools, so more encouragement for parental involvement from high schools could be expected to be demonstrated in later research in Norway. However, Vedeler's (2021) recent focus group study involving six high schools once again problematized the on-demand approach many high schools adopted in communication with parents. Parents still tended to be contacted only when the school or parents indicated there was a problem to be solved. The schools lacked a systematic approach to sharing the responsibility for all students' progress and well-being with their parents and, on several occasions, appeared to encourage keeping parents at a distance instead of guiding them to more age-appropriate forms of involvement (Vedeler, 2021).

Positive attitudes at home, clear communication between teachers and parents, and empowering students to gradually take more responsibility for their studies are found to be named by both teachers and parents as important ways to support high school students at risk of dropout or with mental health problems (Krane & Klevan, 2019). Vedeler (2021), however, shares her concern that schools continue to expect such active parental involvement only in times of crisis. When high school teachers did report changes in Norwegian secondary school

culture and power dynamics, indicating closer and more demanding communication with parents outside critical situations, it appears that they mostly responded to non-migrant middle-class parents, those who had mastered the powerful legal and academic language that enabled them to intervene in school practices on their children's behalf (Dahl et al., 2016; Eide, 2021, pp. 108–121; Eriksen, 2021).

In brief, studies on outcomes of parental involvement do appear to point in the direction of encouraging academic socialization in preference to other involvement forms, such as homework assistance or participating in school events. However, the analysis that supports these conclusions is limited both because school and student factors are difficult to take fully into account and because it may be insensitive to social conditions underlying the differences in parental involvement practices (but see Hill et al., 2004, for sociodemographic analysis in the United States). The studies also have a somewhat narrow view of the goals of parental involvement, limited to student academic achievement, well-being, and mental health, while overlooking parents' roles in terms of communicating home cultures, knowledge, and language, student identity development, and fostering school community belonging, although those could all be conceptualized as sub-categories of well-being.

2.2. Academic socialization and migrant parental involvement

Parental involvement through academic socialization, which is less dependent on how welcoming schools are and can foster students' autonomy and decision-making skills, still appear to show the strongest association with adolescent school engagement and well-being (e.g., Barger et al., 2019; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Academic socialization may include parents communicating educational and career aspirations and emphasizing the high value of schoolwork, linking curricula to current events, and cultivating learning strategies and making plans for the future (Hill & Tyson, 2009, p. 5).

On the positive side, research indicates that it is precisely these strategies of academic socialization and at-home parental involvement that are most common among migrant parents (Antony-Newman, 2019). Research on migrant parental involvement attributes choosing these forms of involvement to the parents' educational experiences, entrusting the academic role to the teachers, and to disappointment in the limited academic feedback parents receive from teachers (Antony-Newman, 2019; Dyson, 2001). Migrant parents and parents with migrant backgrounds are shown to make use of their ethnic capital (Erel, 2010; Modood, 2004) and

their communities' funds of knowledge and cultural wealth (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014; Yosso, 2005) to inspire their children and advocate for their rights at school (Vincent, 2017).

At the same time, research indicates that these at-home strategies do not always compensate for other factors that alter post-secondary educational and career trajectories for children of migrants compared to children of non-migrant parents, such as teacher expectations (Crozier, 2001), a lack of contact with non-migrant parents (Bunar, 2015; Zhou & Bowers, 2020), and student behavior and achievement (Hill et al., 2004). Notably, the effects of the initial immigrant drive among immigrant students wane for most children of immigrants. They tend to adopt the host country's view of their positioning in the educational system and lower their aspirations in anticipation of discrimination (Friberg, 2019; Portes & Hao, 2004). This decline may, for one, contribute to the tendency by which children of migrants are more likely to be advised and even convinced to pursue vocational careers, even though they are less likely to secure vocational apprenticeships as part of their education (Helland & Støren, 2006; Midtbøen & Nadim, 2022).

In addition, teachers often still expect parents to be involved in at-school activities as a token of their support for the school and interest in their children's education (Crozier and Davies, 2007). Moreover, teachers do not always appreciate migrant parents' ambitions and strategies, especially when parents become critical of the school and actively interfere in academic processes or choices (Antony-Newman, 2019). In Norway, educational choice is generally constructed as individual decisions. This autonomy is even seen as an ideal because students choose high school tracks at age 15 or 16, when, irrespective of class and with little difference in terms of majority or minority status, students "describe their choice as their own" (Hegna & Smette, 2017, p. 1121). At the same time, children in Norway often end up in professions in the same fields as their parents, and parental levels of education strongly predict their children's education, even while intergenerational social mobility in terms of income remains high (Mastekaasa & Birkelund, 2022). The guidance and influence on educational choice may be more subtle among parents of non-migrant students than among migrants (Hegna & Smette, 2017) and among middle-class parents with predominantly cultural capital than among those with predominantly economic capital (Eriksen, 2021; Strømme & Helland, 2020). However, subtle forms of influence and broad choice horizons grounded on secure economic and cultural foundations may still entail much parental control, as in the case of Kirsti, a middle-class high school student in Ball et al.'s (2000) study. Kirsti quotes her

mother reacting to Kristi spending more time with her boyfriend and less on her schoolwork: "I've let you make your own decisions about when you come in and when you do this and that but when you make the wrong decisions, we have to help you" (p. 88). Here, the mother exercises a great deal of control over Kirsti's daily life, but familial influence is also clear in how little constraint her educational choices face in terms of the skills and resources available to her. However, this study does not dwell on the schools' construction of the parental role and whether that has anything to say about students' choices.

2.3. Inequalities in parental involvement: Barriers and positioning

As highlighted in the sections above, migrant parents of high school students do not generally lack interest in their children's education; they tend to inspire their children to work harder than others, discuss their children's educational futures at home, and are often supported by their ethnic parental networks. Migrant and other non-dominant parents (for example non-White parents or those belonging to the working class), however, may find it difficult to participate in at-school activities, but when school practices and teacher beliefs change, so does the parents' involvement (Kim, 2009). Unlike the Epstein-inspired studies, the *critical tradition* of looking at school–home contacts presented in this section questions the school's role in relationships with different families. These studies can point to barriers to migrant parental involvement, describe the ways that parents negotiate their power and knowledge in their encounters with schools, and aim to counter deficit discourses on migrant and other non-dominant families (Crozier and Davies, 2007; Levine-Rasky, 2009).

The most common school barriers experienced by non-dominant parents—non-White, not belonging to the middle class, or not native-born—at school described in the literature lie in teachers' beliefs about the limited efficacy or availability of these parents and limited confidence in communicating across cultures. The studies report a lack of flexibility and the absence of clear and responsible leadership in the way communication with parents is organized at schools in terms of meeting times and the availability of school staff (Kim, 2009). In addition to these barriers, Antony-Newman's (2019) meta-synthesis, which specifically targeted migrant parents, points out that they more often experienced less encouraging contact with schools than non-migrant parents. The reasons Newman cites include migrant parents' limited mastery of the majority language and lack of knowledge of the local education system and the practices it takes for granted. Students thus often serve as

mediators between home and school. This development may become part of what Portes and Rumbaut (2006) describe as role reversal when, in an immigration context, families are forced to rely on their children when making important decisions. For a family with migrant background having its younger members take up the role of interpreting and navigating the school system may be more problematic than in a majority situation (Bouakaz, 2007; Holm, 2011). By contrast, parents drawing on the resources of an ethnic network (for example, Indian, Iraqi, or Tamil) well versed in local education strategies or having contact with middle-class parents through work, as well as mastering the majority language, gives migrant parents access to school-related knowledge (Al-deen & Windle, 2015).

Further, research in this tradition is concerned with which groups of parents have more say in school practices and how parents' power and knowledge are negotiated. Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction (1984; 1990; 2000) and concepts of *cultural* and *social capital* have been used and further developed to point to how school practices may privilege the involvement of middle-class non-migrant parents both internationally (Grenfell, 2009; Lareau, 1987; Reay, 2004; Vandenbroeck & Bie, 2006) and in Scandinavia (Bergset, 2017; Bæck, 2005; Holm, 2011; Magnúsdóttir, 2016). Following the logic of parental responsibilization noted above (Dahlstedt, 2018; Griffith & Smith, 2005; Vincent, 2017), schools now expect more involvement from parents than in the past, in terms of both emotional backing and supporting their academic progress, at least until the secondary level. In several countries, though less so in the Nordic region, parents are also heavily involved in school choice and university application processes (Weis et al., 2014). At the same time, when parents with non-dominant backgrounds do get involved, the schools do not always welcome them (Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Pananaki, 2021). Research guided by Foucault's (1977) concept of governmentality has also pointed to the marginalization of groups of parents, especially migrants and those with migrant backgrounds (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Crozier, 1998; Dahlstedt, 2009; Kryger & Ravn, 2009; Vincent, 2000).

Another tradition in this field applies the funds of knowledge and funds of identity conceptual frameworks, which encourage teachers to abandon deficit perceptions of parents and communities that do not fit their schools' cultural assumptions and pedagogically incorporate into classroom curricula the knowledge and skills that non-dominant families possess and students find meaningful (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014; González et al., 2006; Hogg & Volman, 2020). Combined with Bourdieu's theory, this approach also calls for teachers to

engage with the students' life struggles and the "dark" knowledge that stems from painful experiences and histories (Thomson & Hall, 2008; Zipin, 2009; Zipin et al., 2021).

Several publications have examined the encounter between Nordic institutions, including schools, and specific groups of migrants based on ethnicity (Holm, 2011; P. Thomas et al., 2016) or migration status (i.e., Bergset, 2017; Bunar, 2015). The topic of restricted access to non-migrant networks and a lack of trusting connections across cultures is important for researchers in this area. A recent study of parenting and parental restrictions in families from Pakistan, Somalia, and Sri Lanka (Friberg & Bjørnset, 2019) shows that parents with conservative views on gender roles and sexuality experienced encounters with the state that interfered with family life to an extreme degree; they came as a shock, where the school was seen as both an ally and a threat to parents' relationship with their children. Bunar (2015) also describes parents feeling a growing distance between them and their children and the lack of communication with non-migrant families in three municipalities in Sweden. The newly arrived families in this study refer to strong local kinship and ethnic networks and an associated feeling of security as one of the main reasons they chose Sweden as a destination country. Ironically, belonging to tight-knit communities distances them from their children, who both learn Swedish more easily, develop local knowledge, and gain access to diverse friendship networks that their parents lack. In that study, irrespective of how culturally sensitive and welcoming (both primary and lower secondary) schools were in parents' eyes, none of them had invested in supporting the development of a parental community that would include newly arrived, established, and non-migrant families.

These findings align with an earlier study by Bouakaz (2007) based on interviews with Arab parents and primary and secondary school teachers in Malmö. Similar to Friberg and Bjørnset (2019), Bouakaz points out that teachers were concerned with the parents' lack of language skills and cultural differences, while the parents struggled to find essential knowledge about the school system and build up their social networks (Bouakaz, 2007, p. 271). He described the children as experiencing a "double loneliness" when home and the school appear as different arenas with a shared goal but often conflicting understandings of the means of success in terms of schoolwork and grades (Bouakaz, 2007, p. 299). In Norway as well, several studies have focused on the experience of parenting in the migration or minority context; Smette and Rosten (2019) interviewed 32 minority parents, including refugees, work migrants, and representatives of religious minorities. All the parents in their study had lived in

Norway for a long time and all but two were employed. The school was seen as a place for making local contacts and developing a feeling of belonging in the host country. However, schools were also sources of additional worries, especially when located in neighborhoods parents regarded as unsafe. Generally, minority parents were more aware of the choices they made in terms of parenting practices and of society's watchful eye directed at them, including at school (Smette & Rosten, 2019).

A recent project entitled Parenting Cultures and Risk Management in Plural Norway (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2019, 2020) explored urban parenting, with a focus on how perceptions and ideals of the good parent are formed and negotiated in a situation of increased neighborhood diversity. This project included studies of parenting practices at school with interview data from three elementary schools. Like an earlier Danish study (Akselvoll, 2016), the project found that the new parental involvement policies place higher expectations on parents who may not have the resources to meet them (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020). While Akselvoll focused primarily on class, Bendixsen and Danielsen looked specifically at migrant parents and found similar patterns of pressure to conform to middle-class parenting norms. Another theme this project took up is the meager effort by well-meaning middle-class parents to be inclusive in a socially mixed urban area (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2019). These studies can shed light on the newer practices and parental role negotiations that could eventually move from lower grades to high school.

2.4. Literature search strategies

Both at the start of the project in 2018 and when nearing the end in 2022—and for each of the articles—I have conducted searches for relevant publications from the most recent 15 years in electronic databases, including Google Scholar, EBSCOhost, Web of Science, and ProQuest Dissertation Search. The search targeted three groups of keywords in English and Scandinavian languages. The first group included parental involvement with relevant terms such as parent engagement, parent influence, parent role, parent-school relationship, home–school collaboration, and home–school partnership. The second group emerged from the present study's focus on students' family backgrounds and included migrant-related terms like immigrant, minority, multicultural, and transcultural parents and communities. The third group was targeted at studies that involved high school students and included college-bound students, upper secondary, and educational choice. This search was narrowed by excluding

studies on more specific topics, such as school collaborations with parents of children with disabilities and studies about specific subjects (science, sports, arts, etc.). I initially limited the search to peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters from the Nordic countries and Canada, as the school's structure and goals in these countries are somewhat similar to those in Norway. However, because the number of relevant studies was extremely low (under 10), I included all studies on migrant parental involvement in the relevant regions, excluding those addressing children under age 15 and university students. As I moved along with the project, the scope of the literature addressed was broadened to include some key studies on migrant parental involvement in high school from other regions and some studies that contributed to my theoretical discussions in this project. I specifically searched for relevant literature reviews and dissertations. I have also used reference lists, research groups, conferences, and manual searches of key journals to find potentially relevant research.

2.5. This study's contribution

The present study contributes to the body of research that examines the encounter between the school and families from a critical perspective. It addresses a knowledge gap by looking at migrant parental involvement in Norway, a welfare state with a clear, longstanding political focus on equality and diversity. In the current research landscape, my project can contribute to the field of knowledge by reflecting on how high schools, which are expected to promote equality and diversity, actually engage with migrant families. This reflection allows me to complement the parental perspective documented in much current research on migrant parental involvement, as noted in Antony-Newman's meta-synthesis (2019). Additionally, my research takes into account the influence of teacher beliefs and school practices on how legitimate parent roles are constructed.

Furthermore, my approach expands the understanding of home–school collaboration by considering more mature students and the various ways in which their parents are involved in their education. On one hand, students' choices are more clearly articulated and have more visible consequences for their post-school lives. On the other, the role that parents play at school and in relation to their children's educational choices is not at all well defined and can be perceived as more or less legitimate depending on parents' ability to leverage their social and cultural capital in the field of high school education.

The focus on the intersection of high school and migrant families is new and particularly relevant because it provides fertile ground for discussing student autonomy within the context of new legislation that supports greater parental involvement. Because of the focus on high schools, it was essential to permit the students' perspectives come through in my study. To ensure that outcome, I interviewed students to see what they think about school practices and their parents' contributions to their education. Overall, my analysis is built on three embedded case studies that explore the encounters between three families (including parents and students) and schools. These case studies involve interviews with all three parties and observations, resulting in a comprehensive understanding of the context of the involvement.

Finally, I offer a multifaceted description of encounters between schools and families without limiting the study to a single ethnic or religious group or to specific migration experiences. The study goes beyond predefined categories of formal collaboration to offer a wider view of what happens when high schools engage with families.

3. Theoretical framework: Reproduction of inequalities and possibilities for change

The role of childhood experiences and the school in the reproduction of social inequality is central to Pierre Bourdieu's writing. His theoretical tools have been widely used to describe the mechanisms that shape the school practices that redistribute and appraise economic and non-material (social and cultural) resources students possess (e.g., Grenfell, 2009; Reay, 2004; Vandenbroeck & Bie, 2006). Bourdieu's theory of practice builds on four central concepts: field, doxa, habitus, and capital. There is an evolving relationship between habitus and field, where the individuals' habitus structure and constrain their embodied activities and strategies, or *practice*, in the field. In turn, the field shapes this habitus and leads, in various degrees, to the accumulation and exchange of various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977). The field in its established state maintains its pseudo-natural and self-evident principles of practice, classifications of capital, and hierarchies that comprise its doxa. In times of crisis, the doxic view of reality can be challenged and thus become visible and in need of *legitimation*. The unspoken can potentially become contested and in need of recognition as acceptable (legitimate) or unacceptable and thus either encouraged or discouraged. I now present these key concepts and illustrate how they contribute to the understanding of the social processes in encounters between migrant families and the case study schools in the field of Norwegian high school education.

3.1. Field

Bourdieu uses the concept of field to describe the structures that steer and restrict the positioning and behaviors of people within a bounded social space. Resources with monetary and temporary value and resources that are not monetary in nature and take time to accumulate—that is, cultural and social resources—can be transformed into one another and exchanged; together, they constitute a social order. The field or different fields are where these transactions and transformations take place (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 16). Examples of fields include professional sports, higher education, investment banking, and religion. In the present study, I examine the dynamics of the field of high school education in Norway. The field metaphor can be explained with a parallel to games. In an analogy with a football field, the rules of the game concern both thinking and the body, and the goal is to win based on possessing certain skills evaluated by specialists (Thomson, 2012). A field can also be

compared to a board game in which the rules make certain objects worth more than others. These can be exchanged with other players. The participants believe that the items exchanged in the field are truly valuable and that the game is worth playing. Those recognized as having more of the right possessions are positioned higher in the hierarchy of the players and can partly determine the rules in the field, or the doxa. This hierarchy is thus not upheld by the dominating classes exerting force, as in classic Marxist theory, but by internalized norms and expectations (Burawoy, 2019). The game analogy, however, is somewhat limited, because the social game that Bourdieu examines progresses over long periods, sometimes over generations, with much of its logic remaining intact. Players' positions change as the game continues based on their skill, reputation, and possessions (Thomson, 2012).

The important characteristics of a field are the rules defining the game (doxa), the players' investment in the game and interest (*illusio*) in pursuing its specific profits, and the hierarchy in the exchanges made possible between players. A field is relatively autonomous from other fields where other rules may apply and other interests are at stake. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), fields are "spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and a necessity that are *specific and irreducible* to those that regulate other fields" (p. 97). In my study, the field of high school education needs to be seen in the context of the national and international fields of education (or schooling, as Bourdieu often calls it). Historically, the educational field has been characterized by high levels of autonomy, with the unique appreciation of specific kinds of knowledge and practices, such as Latin, algebra, or essay writing. Bourdieu argues that this autonomy is sustained by the educational system's function of reproducing and legitimizing the social order by defining excellence in what appear to be neutral academic terms (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). An institution can be so powerfully influenced by outside forces—social, political, and economic—that it can no longer determine its own value structure; at that point, it is no longer a field.

Changes in the field or an individual's positioning in the field can be as unpredictable as other market fluctuations. The profits and losses made by individuals and families are not uniform across class or status groups. A field can be studied both in its present form and as it transforms in time with changes in taste, the positions of players, and the distribution of capital (Moore, 2012, p. 106). Field changes can be caused by internal and external struggles. Particularly lasting and radical change is caused by the demands from the field of power, which is the metafield where dominant social fractions struggle over the recognition of capital

stemming from different fields (Bourdieu, 2000). For example, Bourdieu and Champagne (1999) describe the field structure and changes in the economic and symbolic value of educational cultivation practices that emerged with the dramatic expansion of access to higher education in Europe beginning in the 1960s. An important element of both persistence and change in a field is its doxa, which is comprised of the beliefs that guide players in that field.

3.2. Doxa

The social order of the field, its hierarchies, systems of legitimation of knowledge and practices, and limitations of choice are reproduced most easily when it has a well-established doxa and is thus taken for granted (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 164–171). The degrees of how much the players in the field experience its mechanisms as natural and indisputable varies over time and depends on people's individual dispositions. In terms of education and life trajectories, a doxic view would, for example, entail choices seen as acceptable "for the likes of us" by those who belong to a given social group (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 17). In contrast, orthodox or heterodox beliefs are not self-evident and emerge when players recognize the possibility of a different social order (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164). A doxic classification system can be contested by legitimate actors in times of crisis driven by deep conflict over legitimacy and autonomy within a field or between fields. This is the time when questions that "cannot be explicitly asked" emerge, the unspoken is discussed, and the unformulated becomes explicitly formulated (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 168).

In these terms, the legislative codification of parental involvement practices at high school is an attempt emerging from the field of power to shift the balance in schools. Teachers' practices, however, can be quite capable of at least partly restoring doxa through orthodoxy, or rationalizing practices by reinterpreting new legislation and guiding how it can be implemented (Bæck, 2010b). However, at times the field becomes destabilized, as in higher education in Europe during the 1968 student protests that Bourdieu analyzed in the context of a wider social crisis in *Homo Academicus* (1988). The world is no longer experienced as self-evident and the way it should be, and players may develop new heterodox aspirations and practices. The consequences of heterodoxy and change, however, are not all positive. On one hand, domination eventually reestablishes itself based on the new reassessment of different forms of capital. On the other, rapid change results in the destabilization of individual

dispositions and feelings of belonging in one's social world. The next section describes this experience in terms of maladjustment and the splitting of habitus.

3.3. Habitus

Bourdieu describes the experience of being thrown into a foreign element where one can no longer follow one's tastes, instincts, ideas, and skills without unexpected consequences. He notes that in this place of tension, a person becomes most aware of the hidden structures of the social world (Bourdieu, 1999a). This describes the experience of a mismatch between an individual's habitus, defined as "the system of structured, structuring dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52), and the field the individual finds herself in. Dispositions for Bourdieu describe durable states or inclinations of the mind and body, beliefs, feelings, instincts, and ideas that can be transposed from one situation to another. They are structured by history and the social conditions of growing up, they structure the practices that come to a person or group easily and without coercion, and are a structure; that is, an order and not a random combination of elements (Maton, 2012, p. 50). Habitus can be both individual and act in groups and institutions to form practice.

Habitus originates in an individual's earlier experiences, especially those in childhood and at school, but it is shaped by the field. An individual's past comes into her present to be interpreted and involved in her choices, depending both on the current state of the field and on what she perceives as commonsensical, doable or not doable, and worth aspiring to (Maton, 2012, p. 58). From early on, across a group or individual history, the habitus adapts to the field, and the external internalizes and becomes second nature (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55). The field that matches the habitus will be structured so that making choices comes naturally as a "procedure to follow, paths to take" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53), with the instruments and institutions to follow them set in place for competent practice. Habitus makes possible the historical reproduction of institutions like church or school:

> An institution, even an economy, is complete and fully viable only if it is durably objectified not only in things, that is, in the logic, transcending individual agents of a particular *field*, but also in bodies, in durable dispositions to recognize and comply with the demands immanent in the *field*. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58)

Established institutions will thus have members with a homogeneous habitus that fits them well enough that no coercion or direct reference to rules is required to enable them to function

in “conductorless orchestration” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 59). By offering the theoretical tool of habitus, as with the concepts of field and symbolic capital, Bourdieu emphasizes both synchronization with fields and several tensions. These tensions arise between institutional and individual, the collective and individual past and present, and hidden, embodied, and calculated choices. In *The Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu shows how the social world of the French middle class was losing stability in the 1960s. *The Weight of the World* (1999b) was based on interviews with those suffering from being on the outskirts of this structured space. Their habitus is failing to adjust to changes in the fields of education or clashing with it due to migration or social mobility.

One example from *The Weight of the World* explains the education system’s role in the “splitting” of habitus. Bourdieu’s colleague Alain Accardo (1999) interviews a political journalist whose father, representing the *petite bourgeoisie* (the lower-middle class), had invested heavily in his son’s educational career in the hopes of his achieving social mobility. The description of the man’s academic experience or, as the author puts it, “academic humiliation” is moving and illustrative:

> In high school, Sébastien has the experience of being completely out of his element, of suffering the most complete uprooting, geographic, academic and social: the split away from his family and the familiar universe of his school friends … the strangeness of an academic universe where they do “dictation in musical notation,” where the “teachers who teach French-Latin-Greek” seem to him kinds of “monsters,” “demigods,” foreigners,” in short, people who are not from the same world as he is. (Accardo, 1999, p. 516)

Sébastien’s feelings of “strangeness” and not belonging continue into his work experience, as he fails to take a technical degree but makes it into journalism, which he detests as a profession. Through a series of “lucky” encounters with sympathetic teachers and academic bureaucrats, the young man progresses through the school system, thus achieving the social advancement that his family expected from him, but at the price of suffering and self-contempt. The education system thus reproduces inequality. To use a playing card analogy, Sébastien has been dealt the cards of cultural capital (knowledge, bodily dispositions, and ambitions) through the school system and encounters with his beneficiaries. However, he cannot play them in the most advantageous way (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014).

Bourdieu does not exclude the possibility of transforming the habitus by accumulating cultural capital. At the same time, he demonstrates that even though the decision to move

upwards can be conscious, the knowledge of the conditions required for succeeding in that attempt can be limited, so the choice of priorities can fail. The same tension is illustrated by a Norwegian study of Somali parents of high school students (Holm, 2011). Holm shows that parents in this group focus on homework or providing material help for their studies to be able to "work hard" and fail to understand the critical skills and bodily dispositions (showing respect) that teachers value.

As Reay (2004) has pointed out, "despite the implicit tendency to behave in ways that are expected of 'people like us,' for Bourdieu, there are no explicit rules or principles that dictate behavior, rather 'the habitus goes hand in hand with vagueness and indeterminacy'" (p. 433). The reason for this mismatch between accumulated cultural capital and the possibility of activating it has to do with the irregular character of habitus: while clearly excluding some possibilities for people playing in different fields, there are no clear rules for outsiders who move from one field to another.

3.4. Capital

The agents in a field are positioned hierarchically based on their capital—the various kinds of assets that are appreciated or depreciated and exchanged in the field. Unlike football or a card game, the game that enfolds in the social field does not have an aim that is clear and visible to all like collecting points and tokens or getting rid of cards (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99). In addition to the fundamental economic exchange where players seek to maximize material profits, Bourdieu looks at relations that set a value on what is not immediately quantifiable (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). Here the "game tokens" are hidden, not placed clearly in view on the game board to be counted. The players are not altruistic and disinterested, although they may appear to be. The choices and possibilities are limited by "what is and is not doable and thinkable, in terms of what is (and is not) recognized and rewarded in a given field" (Grenfell, 2009, p. 20). To get a grasp on this hidden reality, Bourdieu supplements the general concept of economic capital with those of social and cultural capital, which, carrying value in a particular field, give the owner recognition and new possibilities.

Cultural capital

Bourdieu developed the concept of cultural capital to explain inequalities in school performance between children with different backgrounds (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Cultural capital is not immediately transmitted or quantified; it is often inherited and can be

hidden and misrecognized as a laboriously acquired and valuable competence or talent (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). There are three forms of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Based on their upbringing, students in any class will arrive with their own sets of skills, knowledge, tastes, ways of speaking, postures, and perceptions that make them more or less aligned and at ease with what is appreciated in a given school context. This describes embodied cultural capital. Bourdieu argues that embodied capital is less of an individually developed set of traits or natural aptitude and a product of heredity and a result of the time invested by the family from a child's early years. This "being at ease" suffers from any form of reflection or self-consciousness, as it can then be exposed as fake (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18).

Bourdieu observes that cultural capital also has an objectified, material state that is found in books, paintings, and musical instruments and can be transmitted in those forms. Still, the new owner cannot always fully profit from this capital in the symbolic exchange in the specific artistic or the general field of social class. The recipient first needs to spend enough time to acquire the "means of consuming" a painting or using a machine. The third, institutionalized state of cultural capital comes in the form of academic qualifications. To describe this form of capital, Bourdieu uses the words "social alchemy" and "collective magic," as it produces substantial and lasting profits even when the owner does not possess the necessary cultural knowledge or skills. However, with the necessary institutional recognition, she does not need to prove herself. The value of institutionalized cultural capital varies in how it can be converted on the job market, as demonstrated by devalued degrees that are not uncommon with the dawn of universal access to higher education:

> After an extended school career, which often entails considerable sacrifice, the most culturally disadvantaged run the risk of ending up with a devalued degree. If, as is more likely, they fail, they are relegated to what is undoubtedly a stigmatizing and total exclusion even more absolute than in the past. The exclusion is more disgraceful in the sense that they seem to have "had their chance" and because social identity tends more and more to be defined by the school system. (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 423)

In this passage, Bourdieu reveals the situation in which institutionalized cultural capital (a degree) that requires labor and time to produce is of little symbolic value and cannot guarantee any conversion to economic capital such as a job or paid internship. The mechanism that lies behind this depreciation is hidden, as the students Bourdieu interviewed say that the reason for their disappointing situation is that they "do not work" (Bourdieu,

1999, p. 433) and that there is something wrong with them (or their teachers). In reality, we see a functioning reproduction of domination and exclusion based on making only certain qualifications scarce.

The mechanisms of recognition of particular cultural knowledge and skills varies from field to field and over time. In the field of French higher education that Bourdieu examined, it was the familiarity with the high culture of theater or classical arts that ensured student success, while Lareau (1987) notes the importance of participating in team sports and mastering bureaucratic language in the United States to create an advantage at school. A more traditional educational system like the French one analyzed by Bourdieu may be more likely to rely on unspoken and implicit socializing mechanisms than the more rational one that he advocated (Weininger & Lareau, 2018). Over time, families with migrant backgrounds acquire (and transfer to their children) different elements of cultural capital that are not equally appreciated in the social field of Norwegian high school education. Moreover, the cultural elements that are appreciated and can be acquired through hard work or in an economic exchange rather than simply inherited may be kept out of sight by what Skrefsrud (2016) refers to as the school's hidden assimilative pedagogy. School curricula and official documents on the general level emphasize the principles of recognition of diversity and students' cultural and linguistic identities. Teachers, however, still have room to continue to teach from the "cultural perspective of the majority" (Skrefsrud, 2016, p. 122). This implicit pedagogy reinforces differences in aspirations and possibilities to achieve in school for students with migrant backgrounds.

In this situation, teachers and parents with the most legitimate capital at a given point can determine what is appreciated, as they possess the symbolic power that grasps the various stratification and distribution mechanisms. According to Bourdieu (1986), as with economic capital, it is possessing scarce resources (i.e., those that are not sufficient to cover demand) on the cultural capital market that will produce the most profit for an individual:

> The share in profits which scarce *cultural capital* secures in class-divided societies is based, in the last analysis, on the fact that all agents do not have the economic and cultural means for prolonging their children's education beyond the minimum necessary for the reproduction of the labor-power least valorized at a given moment. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18)

Note that the capital that is exemplified here by a longer period of education has both material (economic means) and non-material (cultural means) components. That time is taken into account both as the time it takes to acquire this form of capital and as a recognition of how the value of labor power changes from one moment to another. The quotation shows how much Bourdieu's theory complicates analysis compared to economic theories—for example, if we were to simply evaluate the human resources available to different students statistically—so that we recognize that capital in the field of education is distributed arbitrarily. The distribution structures and structuring processes lie hidden. Players in the educational field will also require social capital to advance in the social space after obtaining educational qualifications by applying their cultural capital. The cultural capital concept has also been used outside Bourdieu's theoretical framework (Grenfell, 2009, p. 20), but I am placing it in context with both field and habitus. Simply measuring parents' cultural capital, for example, in terms of educational background or athletic achievement would have created a deficient analysis. Only the use of the framework as a whole provides an appropriately nuanced understanding the complexity of the logics and dynamic interactions of the various fields in which parents, students, and school staff can be involved.

Social capital

As Bourdieu recognized, children with variations in background perform differently at school based on differences in their cultural capital. He also noticed that people with very similar qualifications and cultural or economic capital could be variously positioned in a given field and thus gain different profits based on their access to particular social circles, networks, contacts, friends, and acquaintances. Depending on the field, these connections can be useful in different ways in multiplying the capital of its members in both the immediate context and over time (Moore, 2012). Social capital is collected gradually, and this accumulation can appear to be disinterested—that is, not openly oriented toward profit—but actually be some higher goal or an individual's pleasure (Bourdieu, 1986). There is a difference between purposefully building a network of useful job contacts and "just" making friends at school or university, baking a cake for your neighbors, volunteering at a soup kitchen, or playing tennis. It is in the latter cases that social capital accumulation would be misrecognized as disinterested. In such misrecognition, practices are not taken for what they really are as part of the social exchange. As shown above, Bourdieu is concerned with the hidden aspects of social

capital accumulation that add to the system of long-term reproduction strategies. He describes the mechanism as follows:

> In other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term. (1986, p. 22)

These investment strategies include emotional and institutionalized actions, where exchanging gifts, rituals, and experiences over time creates mutual feelings of belonging and confirms recognition while excluding those who could potentially undermine the accumulated symbolic capital accessible to the group. As with other forms of capital, individuals and groups rich in social capital will also need to exert less energy to acquire even more. They and their existing networks would be attractive to new people from the same field. The skillful acquisition of social capital is recognized as natural and sincere, similar to art that is appreciated for its own sake: "Innocence is the privilege of those who move in their field activity like fish in water," asserts Bourdieu (1986, p. 28).

As Horvat et al. (2003) observed in their study of home–school relations in the United States, the social networks of working-class and poor families were different and carried distinct values depending on context. Middle-class parents knew more of the other parents from the same class at school and were more likely to know professionals like doctors, teachers, or lawyers. Moreover, these acquaintances were not necessarily made consciously with profit in mind. Working-class and poor families built their networks on kinship. They had more contact with their relatives, who often lived nearby. Because of the higher cultural capital produced by their networks, middle-class parents exercised more control over and enjoyed greater ease in their communications with the school. They could effectively intervene when they saw fit, work proactively, and act collectively (Horvat et al., 2003, p. 331). Poor and working-class parents, in contrast, could rely on extended family for help with childcare, emotional and sometimes financial support, and transportation but faced the school largely alone and had little influence on teachers' decisions (Horvat et al., 2003, p. 340). This description of difference parallels Palludan's (2007) research in the early childhood education context. She found that the tone in which conversations were held with minority children and parents was different from the one used with majority children and parents, with an overemphasis on instructions and question-and-answer sequences for minorities and more dialogue and genuine exchange with the majority (Palludan, 2007).

To take into account the time aspect of social capital accumulation, middle-class parents, often over generations, have used time—and as Bourdieu notes, specifically mothers' free time (1986, p. 25)—to build their networks. They can also rely on established contacts to help select schools, teachers, and classes or plan for higher education to help their children accumulate capital, even for succeeding generations. They can use their capital to some degree to control and structure the local field of school education by disputing teaching and assessment practices and determining the hierarchy of practices, subjects, teachers, and staff members by valuing some over others. As noted above, this social capital exchange (as with all activity in the field of education) is not free of risk, and the transmission of capital is not guaranteed. Simply belonging to a class or social group does not give uniform profits and future possibilities to all members, as they do not have equal amounts of cultural or social capital (Moore, 2012, p. 110).

3.5. The contemporary context and Bourdieu's conceptual tools

According to Bourdieu, from an early stage, an individual's or group's habitus adjusts to the field and creates "common-sense" responses and intuitions. However, does this common-sense world still exist at all? Zygmunt Bauman, a social philosopher who, in a way, inherited Bourdieu's role as the source of big-picture descriptions of the mechanisms of modern society, writes about liquid modernity. He claims that modernity's attempt to get rid of unstable premodern institutions (including the family) and replace them with solid economic and scientific principles has led to the continuous smelting and re-smelting of society's structures so as to abandon the very goal of stability and order (1991). Bauman writes about liquid modernity as a time when having a permanent job or profession, a permanent address, or solid connections to a family or a community is difficult to maintain because of market fluctuations and fleeting capital. According to Bauman, cultural capital, tastes, and manners become unimportant for the reproduction of social dominance:

> The age of cultural hegemony seems to have passed: cultures are meant to be enjoyed, not fought for. In our type of society, economic and political domination may well do without hegemony; it found the way of reproducing itself under conditions of cultural variety. The new tolerance means irrelevance of cultural choice for the stability of domination. And irrelevance rebounds in *indifference*. (1991, p. 274)

Modern omnivorousness may require new tools for analyzing difference and the mechanisms of devaluation. Forms of habitus become unstable and need to match a fragmented spectrum

of fields as parents migrate and change jobs and schools while markets change. Prieur (2002), however, holds that Bourdieu intentionally focuses on social reproduction rather than social change, avoiding superficial optimism:

> He believes that tradition, continuity and reproduction are more prominent than renewal, rupture, and mobility. His work constantly aims to refute widespread notions of change: he has shown how class society reproduces despite a meritocratic ideology . . . and how male dominance survives in modern societies despite an ideology of equality. (Prieur, 2002, p. 5, my translation)

Bourdieu, according to Prieur (2002), does account for the movement of *habitus* across new fields; in the present study, I find his framework, when the concepts of field and doxa are engaged, sufficient to account for the parental involvement legitimation processes, despite registering some elements of the new liquidity that Bauman (1991) identifies. The potential for change in the field I examine is limited and requires teachers and school leaders to demonstrate a high degree of reflexivity and openness regarding the use of their symbolic power to advance the values of a more equal society. Another aspect of today's world and research that Bourdieu did not examine in depth is intersectionality, the way dominance expresses itself simultaneously across race, gender, culture, and other social markers. This gap is a common source of criticism of Bourdieu's tools, but it also leads to new theoretical and empirical contributions to his legacy of understanding the current complexities of social relations and growing inequalities (Gale & Lingard, 2015). One way to tackle intersectionality with Bourdieu, which I employ in this study, is by carefully studying interfiled interaction and movement. For example, Yosso (2005) has worked on strategies for ensuring that schools acknowledge the capital possessed by Latino and Black communities, such as critical thinking, close family networks, and multilingualism. To support her work theoretically, she has introduced the concept of community cultural wealth, which enables understanding the different contexts in which students live and the capital that garners them economic and social profits in different fields.

The last challenge to Bourdieu's applicability in different contexts specifically concerns Norway and the debate on whether it is a class society. While in the United States, a researcher can define informant parents as "middle class" or "working class" without much difficulty, this is not straightforward in Norway. There have been a few studies on parenthood for specific class groups (Stefansen & Blaasvær, 2010), and one can talk about parents with or

without higher education, but higher education is also stratified. International comparisons show that Norway has the greatest intergenerational social mobility measured by children's and parents' income, even when compared to other Scandinavian countries. Still, family background makes a difference to outcomes later in life, even in Norway, with a background of migration from some regions having particular significance (Blanden et al., 2005). The key strength of Bourdieu's theory is not in making empirical generalizations across national and historical contexts but in using his concepts as flexible tools that have proven valuable in conducting subtle analyses, even in societies when differences may be underplayed but are nevertheless significant (Hjellbrekke & Prieur, 2018).

3.6. Summary

To sum up, the theoretical framework of my PhD project builds on Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, doxa, habitus, and capital. The framework can be used to reveal insights into legitimate parental involvement construction by analyzing how parents, students, and school staff, with their respective habitus, make available and appraise economic and non-material resources available to migrant families. This redistribution of capital creates opportunities for students to accumulate social and cultural capital, over time, that can secure them different positions and create different future possibilities. In this chapter, I have presented the main concepts and addressed criticism raised about the use of Bourdieu's theory in today's context. My response to that criticism is that the framework needs to be used as a whole by combining its key conceptual tools, and that it is necessary to use it flexibly with an emphasis on empirical differences between national and social contexts.

4. Research design and methodology

My study of the encounter between migrant parents and high schools has a qualitative, embedded, multiple case study design. In making my choices when planning, carrying out, and refining the project, I aimed to gain a fuller contextual understanding of legitimate parental involvement in high school, an educational field that has not previously been studied in depth (see section 2.5). This combination of the significance of local contexts and individual insights and novelty explains my choice of a qualitative approach. This chapter has the following structure: in section 4.1, the project's design and methodological principles are presented. I then describe the process of selecting the cases, the main characteristics of selected cases, and the methods used to collect data. After outlining the analytical process, I consider the implications of my positioning as a researcher. I also discuss other aspects affecting the quality of the study's findings and interpretations, including language issues. This is followed by an account of the project's central ethical considerations.

4.1. Methodological principles

The research project was designed to investigate what characterizes the encounter between migrant families and the Norwegian high school. To understand the practices and social constructions of parental involvement in this field, I chose to conduct a multiple case study. Stake defines a case study as "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (1995, xi). In this thesis, the three cases of practices at schools with different histories or circumstances and socially different student bodies are embedded into one case study. That is, I chose to study the practices at Birchwood High, Park High, and Fjord High to take account of the interplay between capital and habitus in the field of high school education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Rather than comparing or evaluating the schools, my study focuses on field dynamics, which is why I studied both schools as institutions and the views of individual teachers, students, and students' families (see Table 4.2 for an overview of data material).

According to Stake (2006, p. 7), a design that includes several cases creates an epistemological challenge in choosing whether to focus on the general and what is common to the cases or on the individual. To address this issue in my approach to data, I first looked closely at what I could understand about the practices at each case school, drawing on

various data sources. In this effort, I tried to keep each case within its boundaries, even though those boundaries were not "clearly evident," as in most case studies (Yin, 2018, p. 15). In particular, the parents' roles at home were both constructed by the school field and by other different—and often contrasting—socialization networks characteristic of modern society (Lahire, 2019). My opportunities to become familiar with the families' wider contexts were limited, and it was school socialization as it encounters family socialization that was central to my approach. After analyzing the embedded school practice cases, I gradually expanded my theoretical focus to shed light on the construction of parental involvement in the entire field of high school education and its relation to other social fields.

Ontologically, my aim was to unveil hidden structures and assumptions to make power relations visible, in line with a critical approach (Kincheloe et al., 2018). Any criticism is not there to place individual blame on teachers or parents but to raise awareness of inequalities and help create possibilities for change. Specifically, I questioned the notion, found in policy documents (see section 1.3), of parental involvement at high school as a clearly defined collaboration, an easily operationalized context-free practice similar in goals and content to practice in the lower grades. I also viewed parental involvement practices at home and at school as internalized and collectively sustained over time. This internalization, or in Bourdieu's terms embodiment of practice in habitus (1977), means that the nature of interplay in the field may remain hidden from informants. To study practices that may be taken for granted, the theoretical framework and the empirical work had to go hand in hand and inform each other.

To understand each case, I went back and forth between the theoretical instruments of field, habitus, capital, and doxa and the logics of the specific practices of individuals and schools. On one hand, I did this by analytically breaking with the subjectivism of individual narratives of and explanations for why something was doable or not doable and common or uncommon for parents and schools. This process involved a break from the participants' native theories; that is, simple ideological explanations of how things are done as a matter of custom (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 19). Such theories keep people engaged in a given field blind to how these customs benefit some at the expense of others and thus help maintain social inequality. On the other hand, my theorizing had to be restrained by the empirical evidence of my informants' lived experiences, as practices are not set in stone and can vary in different contexts. In addition, a Bourdieusian approach calls for the development (and not just testing)

of theory from empirical evidence and is critical of what he calls "theoreticist theory" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 161). The case study hence has some deductive design elements but was otherwise largely led by the evidence, meaning that the design was adjusted as I grew more familiar with my embedded cases. Furthermore, the Bourdieu-inspired understanding of a need to embrace both the subjective experiences of individuals and the objective structures of society meant that my own thought patterns and interests as a researcher and a migrant mother had to be questioned (see section 4.6).

With respect to these methodological principles, the case design had to be flexible, and choices of methods were sometimes made on the spot when meeting people who could inform my study because of their positioning in the field or differences in cultural and social capital and habitus. More than this, at the end of my first round of interviews at Birchwood High, I had to go back to my research question and reconsider it because I saw that the more normative approach, exploring what high schools could do to collaborate well with migrant parents, had given way to a more exploratory inquiry into what was happening and if it could be called collaboration in any sense. In the second year of the project, I chose Park High as the main site, because that school provided access to the most extensive data material. The design, therefore, does not correspond to Yin's (2018) definition of a multiple case study as guided by a replication logic with all cases "receiving equal empirical treatment" (p. 52). Instead, I pursued the goals laid out by Stake: providing relevant embedded cases in a diversity of contexts with good opportunities to learn about the complexity of the schools' interrelated practices (2006, p. 23). This choice was guided by my ontology, the view that the reality of cases was holistic and could not be reduced to a few predefined comparable dimensions (Thomas, 2016, p. 49). In the next section, I provide a detailed account of how my case study evolved over time.

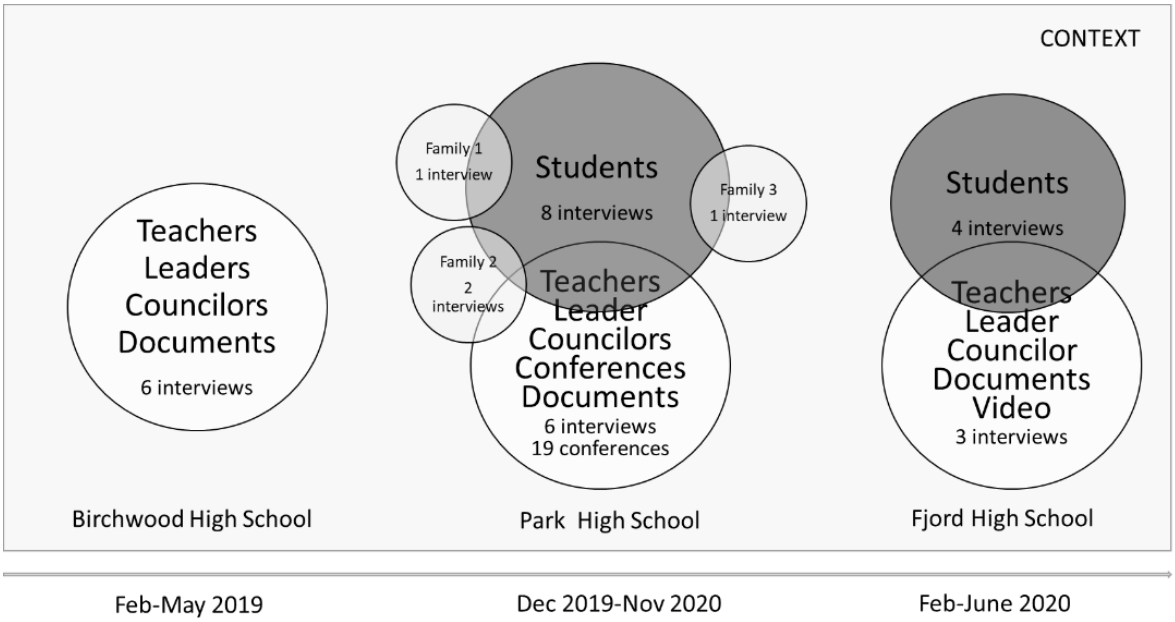
4.2. Choice of cases: The main site and access troubles

This case study has three embedded cases of high schools—one urban (Park High), one rural (Fjord High), and one suburban (Birchwood High). High schools in Norway often specialize in either vocational or academic tracks, and in my case selection, I followed a strategy of maximizing variety across cases. In line with this approach that has the purpose of "obtaining information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230), the three schools in my study offer different tracks and have

different social histories. This variety allowed me to gain insights into a breadth of approaches to involving migrant parents. The goal was not to provide representativeness, as it would be with a sampling approach, but to reveal the complexity of the field. From previous research and my experience as a high school teacher, I was aware that systematic school-based parental involvement at the high school level is new and not common across all high schools. Given that background, an important criterion for selecting cases was that they could provide substantial insights into practice. The specific schools I approached were recommended by local teacher education programs that identified them as actively working to involve migrant parents. This made them critical cases, which are defined by Flyvbjerg (2006) as having "strategic importance in relation to the general problem" (p. 229). The logic behind my choice was thus to find cases that could reveal more than the little that was already known: that there is little collaboration between the school and the home at the high school level in Norway (Vedeler, 2021), and that non-dominant groups of parents are underrepresented (Bæck, 2010b). This strategy proved to be a reasonable approach, as the selected case schools also felt that they were falling short in terms of parental collaboration and could have done much more, so going into a "typical" school was unlikely to be fruitful.

Gaining access to schools that met my selection criteria was challenging, especially for the two schools located outside large cities. Only a few schools there met my criteria, as the Norway's migrant population is mostly concentrated in large central cities (Høydahl, 2013). The response to my initial communication with the selected schools was mostly positive, but several principals said their schools were already involved in other research projects or felt that they did not have enough expertise to contribute. After introducing the project to school staff, data collection at the first school, Birchwood High, started in the winter of 2018, before the two other schools were selected. At the other schools, the interviews and observation were expected to start after the summer break, but in reality, interviewing and observation began in the winter of 2019, and observations of student-teacher conferences at Park High took place online in November 2020, with the same contact teacher that I interviewed the previous winter, but with a different class (Figure 4.1). These delays were foreseen, especially under COVID-19 lockdowns, and extra time was allowed in the design for the project to fully take shape.

Figure 4.1 Multiple case study with three embedded cases



What was unexpected was that the initial positive response and clear engagement from both principals and multiple staff members at all three schools did not mean that I had secured access to informants I could interview or observe. My contacts at Birchwood and Fjord both struggled to recruit students who would talk about the topic and, especially, invite me to interview their parents. They admitted that, at the time of my study, they did not communicate with migrant parents much outside difficult situations and general meetings, even though practice may have been different earlier. Since it was not possible for me to communicate directly with parents, I am unsure if the low level of interest was connected to the motivation of students, their parents, teachers, or a combination of all three. I believe the way communication with parents was organized did have an effect. I considered recruiting via channels other than schools but prioritized seeing my informants in their specific contexts, guided by the boundaries of my cases.

Other studies focus more on migrant parental involvement observed at home and from the parental perspective (e.g., Akselvoll, 2016; Bergset, 2017; Matthiesen, 2014), although only a few focus specifically on older students (e.g., Auerbach, 2007; Kindt, 2019). The three families that I did speak with at Park High had much to say on the topic and came from different social and ethnic groups. Of course, they could not be used as representatives for those groups, but they did provide different insights that contributed to the analysis of practices at the study's main site and a further analytical generalization about schools' views

of parental involvement. In terms of design, the families can be viewed as three embedded cases inside the Park High case and are represented by the three smaller circles overlapping with the main Park High circles in Figure 4.1. I describe the school and family cases in the next section to provide an understanding of the general contextual foundations of the more formal and specific analysis that appears in the articles that are part of this thesis. Observations at general meetings and conferences were also complicated by several waves of lockdowns due to COVID-19, and here also communication with my contact at Park High made it easier to gain access to more data. More details on the interviews, observations, and document analysis conducted with each embedded case are provided in section 4.3. On balance, the resulting variety of school contexts and participants interviewed and observed inside the embedded cases was sufficient to make significant findings, permitting analytical generalization within a case study.

4.3. Embedded case descriptions

To provide contextual information about the three schools that make up the embedded cases in my study, I present short, anonymized narratives constructed on the basis of interview data and information in relevant newspaper articles and official school documents. The purpose is to present data in a more detailed and interconnected form than the tables that are more common in similar studies and to offer insights into the analytical groundwork of this thesis. Similar but longer narratives were used as the first stage of the formal analysis conducted for all three articles. Additionally, background information on the teachers, school leaders, and students interviewed in the study is presented in Table 4.3. No statistics on student or parent backgrounds are available for schools in Norway; therefore, only school population sizes and locations are presented. The descriptions of the student population in narrative school profiles are based on information provided by school leaders. Like the school names, participant names are pseudonyms, with some details omitted or changed to protect informant privacy.

The three high schools

The three schools differ significantly in school results, parental education levels, and share of students with migrant backgrounds. They also have different histories and offer different tracks (see Table 4.1) that attract staff and students with consonant habitus. At the same time, the curriculum is similar for analogous tracks across the schools, all of which are operated by their local municipality. In a pre-study, I interviewed one school leader from an urban private

high school who helped me gain some insights into how schools with a predominantly middle-class, non-migrant population relate to parents. The conversation was not recorded and was not included in the study, as it turned out that the school had very few students with migrant parents.

Table 4.1 School contexts

School	Location	Tracks	Number of students
Birchwood High	Suburban	Academic General Academic Science Sports Music and Drama Academic, Adapted	650
Park High	Urban	Academic General Academic Science Academic Business Sports	750
Fjord High	Rural	Vocational Academic Preparatory for Migrant Students	400

In the 1980s, the key differences between students living in the high-rises and single-family homes around my study's main site, the urban Park High, had to do with class, but the intersection of class and migration gradually became central to school life and politics. The grade point average required to gain admission to the school is relatively high, especially for this part of the city, and it is common for students to go on to university and college. The school enrolls approximately 750 students, and some 80% in the general academic tracks have migrant backgrounds. Many are children of migrants, some were born outside Norway, and some arrived recently. The school's hallmark athletics track, dating from the 1970s, is one of the most competitive and mainly attracts students without a migration background (70%–80%, according to school leadership). This track's classrooms are located in a separate building, and the staff are attempting to get the students to mix more. The local media and communication track was recently discontinued due to a lack of applicants. This change is part of a general trend where students, especially those with migrant backgrounds, prefer tracks specializing in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) subjects. This is especially true of students whose parents arrived in Norway from South Asia in the 1980s, who now make up a large group of Park High students.

Birchwood High is located in a popular residential area for commuters to one of Norway's largest cities, but it also has some agriculture, industry, and several large construction projects that attract foreign engineers and builders. Ever since the expansion of secondary education in the late 1960s, the school has maintained a standard of *gymnasium* quality that is honored in the glass trophy cabinets, maps, and black-and-white pictures decorating the walls. Its upper-middle-class past also comes through in the way that new and old principals and job announcements describe Birchwood as "a school with a proud history" where student ambitions run high. The school has extensive experience with courses and tracks supporting education for Norwegian language learners and has an adapted academic track in three smaller classes combining Norwegian students and 30 newly arrived migrant students. In addition to students in the preparatory courses and the adapted academic track, there are migrant students and students born in Norway with migrant parents who attend regular classes and may or may not receive extra instruction in Norwegian. Some of the students the teachers referred to are the children of Central and South European construction workers and engineers from the local development projects, but they are relatively sparse among the approximately 650 enrolled at Birchwood.

The mountains, fields in the valleys, and the sea still provide much of the employment and income in the district where Fjord High is located, although tourism and the service industry also contribute. There is a general trend in the region for young people (including migrants), especially young women with higher education, to move to larger municipalities in the region and to Norway's larger cities for better jobs. The area's share of migrants has decreased in recent years. According to a regional report, it is difficult to provide education, job opportunities, and housing for recently arrived refugees. The region, however, has been somewhat more successful in employing migrants than Norway as a whole. The school enrolls approximately 400 students and primarily caters to those who want to continue in the modern version of their families' traditional fishing industry, in the oil sector, or in other vocations. For over 20 years, Fjord High has been supporting education for students with migrant backgrounds and now runs a preparatory academic class for migrant students "who want to improve their grades from compulsory school," according to the school's official profile published online.

The three families at Park High

I interviewed four parents of three Park High students: Boris, Helena, and Hana; no students were willing to let me interview their parents at Birchwood High and Fjord High (see section 4.2). These interviews took place after I had interviewed the students. In the case of Boris and Helena, I also interviewed their teachers and observed their student-teacher conferences (with two different contact teachers). Boris and Helena were both first-year students. I had the opportunity to talk to Boris's parents twice, once in January and again in May, at the end of the school year. The latter interview happened under COVID-19 restrictions and was mostly concerned with how the situation at school had changed due to the pandemic. Only a small part of the data from that interview was relevant for this study, which does not have lockdowns as its theme. Hana was in her third and final year at high school, had received her final grades, and had applied to universities when I interviewed her mother. Hana wanted to be present to help with language issues, and I asked her some follow-up questions about her university choices and final grades. The parents vary in terms of ethnic background, socioeconomic status, education, civil status, and knowledge of the Norwegian school system but are not intended to be representatives of these categories; they also share some common experiences and beliefs.

Boris is 16 and in his first year at Park High, which was his first-choice track. His father has a high-paying job in the information technology sector, which allows his mother to stay at home. They moved to Norway over 10 years ago, and Boris attended preschool and school in Norway, except for one year of elementary school when he and his mother moved back to Eastern Europe. The goal was for him to become confident in his mother tongue and Russian, his family's second language. Boris has friends in his heritage country, and they meet both during summer breaks and chat almost daily online when they are playing computer games. He also has some Norwegian friends and switches seamlessly between his three languages and English. Boris says he has a hybrid identity, partly identifying with his heritage country and partly with Norway. As a younger child, he played football and chess and went skiing, but as a 16-year-old, he prefers to stay at home. Boris has good grades (4–5 out of 6), which would probably be sufficient to get him into the university program of his choice, but they are lower than what his parents achieved. Academically, he focuses on math and science.

His parents are in their 40s and are both educated beyond the master's degree level in science. Boris' mother is somewhat critical of the Norwegian school, mainly because teachers, she believes, rely too early on children's internal motivation and have little contact with parents, especially in the higher grades. Still, she and her husband agree that the Norwegian school is excellent in developing students' social skills and less stressful than school was for them. They have been active as parents throughout Boris's schooling, attending meetings, showing interest in his grades, and helping with homework. His mother was on the parents committee during the year he attended school in her home country. They hardly know any other parents whose children attend Park High, even though they live nearby.

Helena is in her first year at Park High, her school of choice. She is 16 and was born in Norway; her family came to the country about 20 years ago from Central Europe. She has three siblings. Her parents are divorced; her mother is now receiving disability benefits, and her father works in construction. The parents have no education beyond lower secondary school. However, both older sisters completed high school and are studying at university. Helena speaks her mother tongue and has friends in both Norway and her heritage country. She says that she wants to learn her mother tongue even better, not because of her parents' wishes, but out of love for her heritage country, where she spends every summer with relatives who are now living across Europe and beyond. Helena has made many new friends at Park High and says that she wishes her teachers understood that this is her chance to enjoy her youth, not just study. She also sometimes works on weekends. Helena's mother and, sometimes, her older siblings attend school meetings.

Helena's dream is to complete higher education and start her own business. However, she is struggling with several subjects, particularly mathematics, in which she doubts she can even earn a passing grade. Her mother talks positively of the school environment at their local elementary and middle schools, where she knew many teachers and parents and organized social events. She now lives relatively far from Helena's high school and knows no other parents whose children attend Park High. She did moderate when Helena had a conflict with her contact teacher. She shares concerns about the quality of education her daughter has received. Helena is more openly critical, saying that she is now lagging behind because she was discriminated against during her previous schooling, making her experience enormous stress about her grades and future. Her mother would have liked to communicate more with

the high school, especially “when things go well,” and feels the final exam system is unfair and creates unnecessary stress.

Hana is 18 and in her final year at Park High; she has two siblings. She had hoped to go to another school but has gradually changed her opinion about Park High and talks with gratitude about several of her teachers. Hana’s family came to Norway from a country in Asia in the 1980s. Her father completed vocational training at the secondary level in Norway and works as a floor manager in an industrial context. Her mother also holds a vocational certificate but works low-qualification jobs. Still, before getting married, she had completed the highest possible level of education in her home country available to a woman at that time, including science at the advanced level. Her parents, Hana’s grandparents, live with her sister in another Western country, and Hana has been there for a visit. Hana speaks her mother tongue and has for 10 years attended a supplementary weekend school organized by her ethnic community, which was fun but also demanding because of high academic expectations. She says that she stands with feet in both cultures and tries to adapt to her different environments. Hana’s mother was able to help her daughters with both math and science homework until high school.

The family also had the means to pay for tutors in the core subjects. Hana’s sisters have both completed what is considered a prestigious university education, now hold stable middle-class jobs, and give Hana valuable advice about talking to teachers and choosing subjects. During our first interview, Hana talked about hoping to become a dentist, but because of insufficiently high grades (5 rather than 6 out of 6), she has settled for a university pharmacy degree. Hana’s mother speaks very positively about the schools in Norway, noting that the teachers there take responsibility for the students learning a great deal, while in her home country, children seem to have been obliged to engage tutors in all the core subjects. She is also fascinated with how warm and kind the teachers in Norway are. She did attend school meetings at Hana’s primary and lower secondary schools but has not continued at high school, as she sees no need for them.

4.4. Methods employed

In order to provide a deeper understanding of parental involvement at the three case schools and with the families at Park High, I have employed a combination of observations, a review of relevant documents, and interviews with teachers, school leaders, other relevant staff

(a nurse and a local municipal community worker), students, and some students' parents. Using multiple data sources is one of the main ways to increase the reliability of case studies and ensure that a wide range of issues are addressed (Yin, 2018). I selected methods that would yield relevant data rather than because I was familiar with them (Simons, 2009, p. 34). Still, I had interviewed parents and students before, including those with non-dominant backgrounds, and have done some systematic and non-systematic observations at schools. My previous experience with document analysis, however, was largely limited to the field of history, so having almost unlimited access to many documents was new and challenging. The methods were combined throughout the study, depending on when informants were available, so the presentation in this section is not chronological.

It was necessary to interview the school leaders first to gain insights into how the schools organized their practice, to secure rapport, and to discuss which other interviews might be valuable for the project. At Birchwood High, the nurse had substantial contact with students, and her education and understanding of the role of parents in students' lives provided important insights. At Park High, a mothers group was organized by the municipal authority, and the group's leader helped me better understand some of the problems faced by the local community. This explanation was later used to construct that school's narrative. Even though I had become familiar with school websites before the project started, a more systematic analysis of schools' forms of electronic communication with parents and local media took place closer to the end of the project. I read two local history books featuring Birchwood High and Park High, respectively, while awaiting further access, which helped me clarify and structure the leaders' accounts of their schools' histories.

Table 4.2 provides an overview of data and methods used in the study at each school, with some details in terms of the length of interviews and practices observed, although no table could ever capture the complexity involved. Where possible, transcripts, relevant documents, observation notes, relevant emails, and case narratives were uploaded into the NVivo qualitative data analysis software and sorted under pseudonyms. The sound recordings had to be stored separately from the transcripts and informed consent forms, as they represented sensitive data. Some of the physical documents were kept in a locked case. Keeping a data register, as suggested by Yin (2018, pp. 118–122), proved to be invaluable.

Table 4.2 Overview of data and methods

Method	Birchwood High	Park High	Fjord High
Interviews			
Students	–	8 x 30–45 min	4 x 30–45 min
Parents	–	4 x 45 min–120 min	–
Leaders	2 x 45 min	1 x 45 min	1 x 45 min
School nurse	1 x 30 min	–	–
Teachers	1 x 45 min	3 x 45–60 min	1 x 60 min
Teachers with counselor duties	2 x 45 min	1 x 45 min	1 x 45 min
Community worker	–	1 x 45 min	–
Observation			
School spaces	1 school day	5 school days	1 school day
General parent meetings	PowerPoint presentation	PowerPoint presentation	Video file
Teacher-student conferences		19 x 10–15 min; 15 online, 4 at school, with 3 teachers total	
Review of documents			
	Local report on integration of migrants, local history book, annual plan	Form for parent conferences, parent collaboration initiative, local history book, annual plan	Invitations to parent meetings, annual plan, local report on migrant integration, form for parent conferences
Relevant national policy documents, annual plans, school websites, local newspaper articles, invitations to parent meetings			

Interviews

As the purpose of my case study was to investigate the construction of legitimate parental involvement in the field of high school education, it was—as pointed out by Yin (2018, p. 146)—most important to find and interview key informants; that is, those who would be sources of the richest possible insights in the case. The contact teachers and counselors were recruited based on their experience with migrant parents and their interest in the study. I then planned to both interview and observe their students and their parents. Not all students were interested, and I also interviewed students who had other contact teachers. This change, I think, positively contributed to the quality of the study since it provided more information on the practice of the school as a whole. Two mothers at Park initially agreed to be interviewed, but during my next visits were unfortunately not available to meet in person due to COVID-19 restrictions and were uncomfortable with online interviews. In line with the

approach of ensuring maximum variation inside the embedded cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006), the students had different backgrounds: some had parents who came to Norway as economic migrants, while others were refugees or children of refugees. According to the interviews, the students' parents came from Eastern and Central Europe, Central and Eastern Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. Some teachers had worked or studied abroad, but none were migrants or had migrant backgrounds. Table 4.3 provides an overview of participants that were interviewed at each of the three schools.

Table 4.3 Overview of interview participants

School	Participants	Migrant status and region of origin
Birchwood High	School leaders (2 females)	Non-migrant
	Teacher (1 male)	Non-migrant
	Teachers with counselor duties (1 female, 1 male)	Non-migrant
	School nurse (1 female)	Non-migrant
Park High	School leader (1 female)	Non-migrant
	Students (6 females, 2 males)	Eastern and Central Europe (3); Western Europe (1); Middle East (2); Southeast Asia (2)
	Parents (3 female, 1 male)	Eastern and Central Europe (3); Asia (1)
	Teachers (1 male, 2 female)	Non-migrant
	Teacher with counselor duties (1 female)	Non-migrant
Fjord High	School leader (1 male)	Non-migrant
	Students (1 female, 3 males)	Middle East (2) Central and East Africa (2)
	Teachers (1 female, 1 male)	Non-migrant

Semi-structured interviews are the main source of data on the cases in this study.
The interview guides (see Appendices 1, 2, 3) were developed and gradually adjusted with theory in mind so that a narrative of the informants' experiences and meanings could emerge, along with an understanding of the schools' social contexts. Bourdieu explains his outlook on social interactions in interviews in *The Weight of the World* (1999b, pp. 607–626). He insists that any interview is a social relationship that inevitably intrudes on the participant's perception of the situation. My goal in conducting the interviews and their subsequent

analysis was to soften the effects of academic language use and verbal and non-verbal signs, thus reducing the distance between the informants and me. The interviews were recorded (after gaining informed consent), but I did take notes, drawing the setting of the interview, noting some body language, degree of comfort, clothes, and accessories, along with questions I would need to ask later. Here, I was inspired by Simons (2009, p. 53), who explains that note-taking both helps maintain concentration on the issues discussed and makes the interviewee more comfortable by breaking sustained eye contact. For some informants, especially students, the distance was impossible to overcome without a certain amount of pretense. Nevertheless, in these interviews, I was supported by my familiarity with the subject and my experience as a teacher and migrant parent. Some of the asymmetry in interviews with parents was mitigated by the fact that I do not command Norwegian as fully as a native speaker, so both sides spoke with an accent and thus possessed somewhat similar levels of linguistic capital. One set of interviews (student, parents, follow-up with the student and follow-up with the parents) was conducted in my first language (Russian). The interviews with school staff and students were conducted at the schools, while parents were interviewed at cafes and libraries in the neighborhoods where they lived, which in two of three instances was not the school neighborhood.

Another danger with interviews is that the researcher can exert symbolic violence by focusing on "what is wrong" with the informant, so knowing my presuppositions and being available to the interviewees and their unique life histories was important (Bourdieu, 1999b). Surprisingly, this was most challenging in my encounters with some of the teachers. Even though I have worked in schools and met teachers as a teacher educator, it was difficult for me not to side with the parents. I noticed that this sometimes made the teachers and administrative staff go on the defensive and choose their words carefully. I was, after all, a migrant parent questioning them on how the system treats migrant parents, and that treatment always has room for improvement. What helped most to build rapport was to let the conversation flow more freely and discuss at length things that may not have been directly related to my research topic. When we learned more about what we had studied, where we had worked, and our families, it was easier to talk about "business." Ultimately, the teacher interviews provided the richest ground for my analysis. As bearers of the field's doxa and commanding the field's language, they have had the power to influence both students' and parents' perspectives, and I found little resistance to this doxa among other informants, irrespective

of the amount of capital with which they arrived at school. As I analyzed my material, I recognized that interviewing non-migrant parents, such as all the parents in one class with two contact teachers, could have provided more nuance to the study. However, I also believe that the consequent amount of data material may have been too large to handle.

Observation

Based on my methodological principles, it was important for me to not only explore the informants' understanding of practices but also observe at least some of them in their natural environment. As Simons (2009) notes, "through observing, you can tell if you are welcome, who is anxious, who the key players are in the informal structure, and whether there are any unspoken rules" (p. 550). The phenomenon of unspoken rules of a culture or sub-culture is particularly significant because my study is based on Bourdieu's theory, where the "rules of the game" are often said to be embodied and taken for granted. Here, the Park High case in particular provided rich data. Following a school leader during her informal communication with students and parents, observing teachers in the school environment students in the homework club *(leksehjelp*) or engaged with teachers in free one-on-one tutoring, and witnessing 19 teacher-student conferences (nine with parents present) allowed me to attend to the "experience of those who are less articulate" (Simons, 2009, p. 55). The observations also supported my conclusions and sparked new themes in the analysis. Had it not been for COVID-19 travel restrictions and the frequent rescheduling of meetings, I would have also observed general parent meetings and evenings at all three schools.

As to the details of the application of the observation method, most of my observations in different school areas were structured, at least to some degree. I had a list of questions about the schools, where I reminded myself to look at the age of the buildings, what was displayed on walls and blackboards, what parts of the buildings were used by students during breaks, and how groups were formed. From previous studies, I recognized that the library, the cafeteria, the teachers' offices, and the hallways were important places to observe. Nevertheless, as is usual with observation, much of this approach included listening. For example, I experienced that the leader I was shadowing at Park High on several occasions talked with students about previous conversations with their parents, thus providing support for her earlier interview statement that students at Park care about what their parents know about their grades and behavior at school. Drawing my attention to the map in the hallway,

the Birchwood leader explained how the municipal system's recent restructuring had affected that school. Making notes while walking around schools would have made the students uncomfortable, but all schools generously provided me with small conference rooms with a table and access to coffee and water; there, I could make field notes analyzing what I had observed and crafting new questions I might need to ask. I returned to the notes in the evenings to ensure I could re-address issues that arose in the subsequent interviews.

As noted earlier, I observed 19 teacher-student conferences conducted by three teachers (1, 2, and 16 conferences, respectively). I interviewed two of these teachers and had a short informal conversation with the third. I have also interviewed four of the students in depth before and shortly after the conferences and interviewed the parents of two of them. The students and teachers could decide if the parents were to be present, though the school leaders encouraged their presence. Four mothers and three fathers attended, with one online conference attended by both parents. I was aware that 10–15 minutes was a relatively short window that demanded thorough preparation from me as an observer, so that, here again, observation was not purely inductive but also aimed to capture details and some differences in the atmosphere of the various schools and spaces within each one (Wästerfors, 2018).
I decided not to videotape the observed interactions, as information shared at such meetings, especially during COVID-19, could be sensitive. I did note parts of what was said, but my focus was on the structure of the conversation, the main themes, and what parents could contribute or ask. After the first two conferences I observed on school premises, I obtained forms that several contact teachers used to help students prepare for the conversation. Not all teachers I observed used those forms, but it was helpful to see the similarities and differences. Both the forms and field notes were uploaded into NVivo, and I was able to go back to them as part of the analysis of individual embedded cases and across the cases in the general study of parental involvement in the field of high school education.

Documents

To understand the complexity of the encounter between the school and the migrant families, in addition to the two core methods of interviewing and observation, it was important to study the education policy field to which the schools must adhere. I reviewed the various school documents that shed light on the practice of communication with parents and on parental involvement—they included sections of school websites addressing parents, emails,

and presentations. As Yin argues, documents are "useful, even if they are not always accurate and may not be lacking in bias" (2018, p. 103); they can often be used to verify information and arguments from other sources. For example, local newspapers, history books, and reports provided valuable information on the different tracks that were started and withdrawn at the schools and how schools communicated their values to their local communities. In building argumentation, documents were always used in combination with interview and observation data as part of the case-by-case analysis.

4.5. Analytical strategies

A distinctive feature of a case study that is important for analysis is that data are organized into cases rather than pooled from different sources (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 28). The contexts were significant as I looked at how the students, their migrant parents, and the schools construct parental involvement in high school education in Norway. A case study approaches practice from different perspectives (Yin, 2018). Drawing on different data sources in the analysis created a more complex picture, and I recognized the differences in the accounts made by the various teachers, parents, and students. Observing practices and following up with interviews also allowed me to reflect with my informants on topics that might not have otherwise been articulated. For example, I asked a student and his parent about their experience of several moments during a student-teacher conference. Observation also gave me some impression of the informants' dispositions, which Bourdieu regards as unconscious and embodied, making some live school life like fish in water and others feel out of place (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 28). Thus, my analysis started long before I formally organized all the transcripts of the interviews and one video, observation notes, documents, and presentations in NVivo. I was guided by theory and new empirical findings at all stages of the project, including when drawing up the interview guide and preparing for observations.

In the formal structuring of the analytical process, I was inspired by models by Simons (2009, pp. 135–138) and Murray (2015) that combine narrative and thematic analysis and repeated readings of data material. However, I did not follow any approach exactly. The stages of analysis were followed for all three articles but were based on different themes and applied different theoretical concepts, as presented in Table 5.1. The first stage can be referred to as *zooming out* and contained creating a descriptive school and student narrative highlighting the key issues of the case and connecting different parts of the description to capture

the overall account presented in the interviews and connect it to its context (Murray, 2015, pp. 90, 104). Stage two involved *zooming in* and was structured as a reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2021) by coding inductively inside each case to identify common themes and then connecting codes across cases into common themes that were also connected to theory. Stage three returned to zooming out, connecting the themes arising in stage two with the contexts described in stage one, eventually creating a narrative that enabled the study of practice and views in all three articles.

Interviews with students and analysis

My study is one of a few that includes student perspectives in the encounter between the school and migrant families, which required some extra responsibility in how I handled interview data. Canagarajah (1996) warns, "because the subjects exist in the report only through the voice of the researcher, there is a natural tendency for their complexity to be suppressed and their identity to be generalized (or essentialized) to fit the dominant assumptions and theoretical constructs of the researcher and the disciplinary community" (p. 324). To counteract this limitation, I included insights gained from students that were not elaborated in their comments in the interviews in the analysis and examples used in articles. In addition, I have changed the language of my informants, either directly through translation or by making their language fit the conventional norms of Norwegian, such as inflections and sentence structure, during transcription. This strategy and shortening of students' narratives inevitably created an extra distance between the students in my study and me as a researcher. I had little room for long, consistent narratives about the families and schools in my articles, and the extracts from many interviews are compressed and anonymous. This limitation was one reason for including somewhat longer case narratives in this comprehensive summary.

Still, basing my conclusions on a range of evidence from several sources provides extra trustworthiness to my analysis, as indicated by both Yin (2018) and Stake (2006). Rapley (2014, p. 57) argues that in case studies, the researcher only presents some aspects of lived experience. In my study, this selectivity refers to the encounter between the school and the student, compared to other methods that would, for example, encompass an informant's entire life story. The document overview placed the students' construction of parental roles in context politically and economically. Rather than placing the narratives of just a few students at the center, I have chosen to show the tension between their different views and my

theory-driven perspective. Thus, I avoided pretending that I was somehow unaware that, as in most projects, "the researcher eventually holds the pen" (Canagarajah, 1996, p. 326).

4.6. Rigor and quality

Internal generalizability

Holding the pen also entails generalizing. As Schreier (2018) points out, empirical research "wants to go beyond those instances [included in a given study] and arrive at conclusions of broader relevance" (p. 84). For educational research, the expectation of relevance and even normativity is especially strong (e.g., Biesta, 2007). There is an overall issue of generalization in qualitative research that has been extensively addressed in the methodological literature (e.g., Gobo, 2004; Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014) and in terms of its application to case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2018). In this section, I show how my study analysis of the different data inside the school cases established generalizations to persons and aspects that were not directly observed, which Maxwell & Chmiel (2014) call internal generalizability. More specifically, this concerns the quality of the analyses that produced conclusions about the practices at Park High, Birchwood High, and Fjord High based on interview data, documents, and observations.

The first guiding principle in producing research with broader relevance involves constantly moving between the particular and the general, seeing what is unique in the context of social and cultural forces (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011, pp. 295, 313). Practically, this means that the theoretical categories and models with which I went into the analyses were reviewed in light of the different kinds of data. For example, a model of home–school collaboration developed for primary or middle school included help with homework and organizing activities for the children, but those would not necessarily work at the high school level. Even more strikingly, a model developed in one cultural or political climate, such as Spain or the United States, that produces a large share of research on parental involvement, may not necessarily apply in Norway. I have thus chosen where possible to connect data and pay attention to details rather than strip away context through early generalization based on available parental involvement models (Stake, 2006).

The second principle I have applied is analytical generalization (Yin, 2018). To follow it, inside my school cases, I carefully selected my interviews and observations to provide variety.

In line with Yin's methodology (2018), I have ensured that I provided support for evidence (descriptions, experiences, generalizations made by informants, documents) from some embedded cases by the others.

Another guiding principle was transparency about what I see as important and unimportant and how I theorize the processes at the case schools. The reader can consider whether my cases can provide insight into their own contexts.

Reflexivity

In my project, I have followed the critical practice of self-reflexivity; that is, being aware that I was not collecting data but (partly) creating it by representing it. Theory had to be carefully tested to avoid what Bourdieu (1977) calls confusing the model of reality with the reality of the model (p. 29). The are two pitfalls here: the first involves considering what happens with some regularity to be a rule (roads are red because they are red on the map), and the second is to formulate a rule that fits what is observed and what the informants are describing, ignoring the social mechanisms behind the practices that the informants need not be aware of (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieusian reflexive methodology also requires that at all stages in the research process, there are not just practical and ethical but also theoretical reflections (Wacquant, 1989). I was informed by theory when designing the questionnaire, selecting the schools and informants, and making choices about language. Reflexivity also involved explicitly reflecting on my role as a researcher when negotiating access to the field (see section 4.6) and at moments of interviewing and observing, considering how the position of my body could affect informants and in view of the time I would be communicating my results through texts and in teaching (Finlay, 2012).

Positioning

My being an Eastern European migrant researcher, a teacher, a teacher educator, and the mother of a bilingual student has influenced my study. In my interviews, as mentioned earlier, I noticed that talking with the mothers was easiest. Especially when talking about what was perceived as parents' excessive ambitions for their children, one principal expressed unease when I asked what the school and school system could have done to help the students come closer to realizing those aspirations. Talking about my experience as a high school teacher helped relieve some of this tension, but, more importantly, I had to remember not to judge my

respondents. When talking with the parents, I was concerned about maintaining the balance between staying in the neutral researcher role and offering some explanations to help them navigate the school system. Several parents asked me what I thought about school in Norway, as they were seriously concerned with the quality of the education their children were receiving. I felt they were entitled to an honest answer, but that came in informal conversations at the end of the interviews. The trust my accent and background often evoked was not "deserved." One of the mothers told me that she wanted the interview to last longer because she saw that my study would improve the Norwegian school system, of which she was highly critical. That was a grand expectation for me to live up to.

Language: Translation and transcription

The issues of language in my study bridge the areas of ethics and research quality. Transcribing an interview or field notes is always a process of interpretation and translation (Kowal & O'Connell, 2014). I transcribed the interviews in full in the languages they were conducted in and only translated excerpts used in article texts into English. The transcripts included questions, pauses, laughter, and overlaps, but not the exact length of pauses or response tokens. When citing, I changed the sentence structure to make the language more "written." The goal was to make the text easier to follow, anonymize it by removing sociolects and dialects, and avoid displaying informants' grammatical or lexical mistakes to an excessive degree (Kvale, 1994). As this reduces the understanding of the dynamics of conversations (Rapley, 2012), I returned to the sound recordings several times during the study. I also transcribed and anonymized all field notes and notes that followed the interviews in the three languages I used (Norwegian, English, and Russian). This was also a reduction, so I kept the notes (locked, because they contained information on schools and contact details for some informants) available for double-checking when using quotations in the articles.

Regarding translation, I explained to my contacts at the schools that I was looking for students and possibly parents who were relatively fluent in Norwegian and who had arrived at least two years earlier. This information about students and their parents was difficult for the schools to obtain, as they had little contact with most parents. I told the students that I could invite a translator to my interviews with their parents, but most of them felt that their parents were fluent enough in Norwegian to participate. As noted in section 4.3, Hana was present at

the interview with her mother and helped with two to three misunderstandings, but translation was unnecessary. According to Cohen et al. (2018), "it is incumbent on researchers to ensure they do not engage individuals incapable of making such [informed and voluntary] decisions because of either immaturity or some form of impairment" (p. 260). Still, I felt I should avoid devaluing other people's autonomy to the extent that only middle-class and middle-aged people from the majority would participate in research (Flick, 2018, p. 141). I also obtained valuable insights from data material where the informants did not master the Norwegian language in full. The wording in my informed consent forms (see Appendices 4–7) and presentation of the project before the interviews were critical when some informants had limited literacy in Norwegian. With this discussion, I have already broached the issue of research ethics, which I take up more fully in the next section.

4.7. Research ethics

In following the principles of reflexivity and rigor described above, I have provided some foundations of the study's ethics. Some aspects and dilemmas, especially informed consent and confidentiality, require special attention because of the close relation I developed with my informants as part of the case study. I address these key issues in this section, although I refer the reader to the section above for other relevant reflections.

Access and informed consent

Obtaining informed consent is necessary at different stages of the case study research process. The application of this principle and increasingly rigid regulation of research has been a subject of much controversy and dispute over many decades (Kitchener & Kitchener, 2009). As I worked closely with my informants, the ethics of informed consent was an especially important point for reflection because the principle of informed consent restricted how much of the case reality I could explore. In the informed consent procedure, the potential participant must be assured of making a genuinely informed decision about his or her involvement. The decision is to be based on information about what participating in the research entails, its possible consequences and benefits, and the choices involved, including the right to withdraw at any time. Obtaining informed consent when processing personal data was required under the EU's personal data protection regulations, as administered by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), at the time of my project submission. Informed consent principles are also explained and specified in the research guidelines from Norway's National Committee for

Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (NESH, 2022) with the goal of maintaining the principle of autonomy of research participants and protecting and respecting their right to freedom and self-determination.

Part of the procedure of obtaining informed consent involved presenting my study. Letting informants read my informed consent form would, on most occasions, not have been sufficient to answer all their questions and concerns. I prepared brief information that was not overly technical and was useful for presenting orally to participants before the interviews. I did not present that material to the entire staff to preserve the anonymity of my informants and because issues still needed to be addressed on an individual basis to consider possible pressure from the administration, colleagues, or other informants. Furthermore, if the information presented revealed all the details about my study's hypothesis and underlying theory, the interview results could have been affected or even distorted by informants trying to provide the "right" answers to fit my theory.

In school settings, where recruiting of participants was carried out through administrators and teachers, often on the run in the corridors, this time alone with the informant was of utmost importance to ensure that their consent was both informed and voluntary. It was also paramount that participants made competent and voluntary decisions about participation at different stages of the research project, which stretched over two school years, not just at the beginning. However, using too much of the time allocated for the interview to answer questions and discuss ethical research issues before observing a 10-minute teacher-student conference could be unproductive. Therefore, I needed to be in contact with my informants (teachers, students, and parents), give them more information, and ask if they were still comfortable with the project between the different stages of my study.

Finally, the big picture did not emerge from interviewing as many people as possible but from asking the right questions and looking for answers in different places. This organizational principle may have created extra pressure on my gatekeepers and some of the parents that I interviewed twice, with a substantial amount of their time also used to simply arrange the interviews at the right time and place, as I was not entirely flexible in terms of availability, often traveling to a given school for just a couple of days.

Young people and informed consent

My case study benefits from hearing the students' perspectives, but because of this, I needed to consider how informed consent would best be defined for this group. Children and young people merit special concern for protection. The age at which children can generally consent to the use of personal data independently, excluding sensitive personal data, is 15, according to the NESH guidelines (2022). All informants were at least 16 when they were interviewed. At the time of writing, all students have finished high school and are unlikely to be recognized from my descriptions.

In the case of young people from minority groups, I also had to be careful to assess the risk of interviewing or observing older children without parental consent as that could cause conflict and put unnecessary pressure on someone who went against parental or community interests. In my project, this concern mostly arose regarding the communication of results, especially in teacher training situations. When presenting some negative aspects of the local community, it is especially important not to violate the principle of informed consent and maintain the anonymity of schools and individual families. I have also changed some facts in the presentations of schools so that the social and ethnic groups represented are not affected by unnecessary generalizations.

Close rapport and vulnerability

Another important ethical issue was building rapport with the informants. The COVID-19 epidemic affected my relationships with both school leaders and students. I maintained some contact with the schools while trying not to overwhelm them during the most intensive lockdown periods. At the same time, as I was relatively closely involved with some of my informants, those relationships could naturally develop into friendships. Several ethical issues emerged from this reality, particularly when I was invited to conversations and meetings that were not specified in the informed consent forms. Even though I did not record any personal data on those occasions, I feel that the rapport we had established could have given me access to information that might make participants, notably teachers, vulnerable.

I generally needed to show ethical sensitivity for how much data was required to answer the main research question and sometimes decided not to collect all that was initially planned at the start or to collect more. For example, three students the school administration invited to

my interviews did not have parents that the school could expect to collaborate with—one student was over 20 years old, and another had parents living abroad. I chose to talk to them out of respect for their desire to be part of the study and because their stories were valuable in describing the school context for migrant students; these voices need to be heard.

4.8. Summary

In brief, this thesis presents an embedded three-school case study conducted over three years with parts of the data collection conducted online during COVID-19 lockdowns. Birchwood High, Park High, and Fjord High were chosen for their intention to actively involve migrant parents and experience in that area. I interviewed teachers and school leaders and had access to relevant documents and websites across all three schools. Park High, an urban school, served as the main research site, where I interviewed students, observed parental conferences, and interviewed some parents, with their children's consent. To ensure a comprehensive analysis, it was essential to first understand the context of each school case individually, as demonstrated by the short narratives. This contextual understanding served as the foundation for generalizing about the processes of legitimizing certain parental involvement practices within the broader field of high school education.

Throughout the study, reflexivity played a central role, requiring a balance between my responsibilities, interests, and prior knowledge as a teacher educator, researcher, and migrant mother. In terms of ethical considerations, one of the paramount issues was to ensure informed consent for vulnerable informants, including young people and minorities. Participation in the study had to be open to informants who may not have been comfortable with academic language and procedures.

5. Article summaries

5.1. Article 1

Melnikova, J. (2022). Migrant parents at high school: Exploring new opportunities for involvement. *Frontiers in Education, 7,* 979399. https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2022.979399

Research question: How do the schools create opportunities for migrant parental involvement through home–school encounters?

Methods: The article draws on data collected from all three case schools. Four school leaders participated in semi-structured interviews. The material analyzed also includes notes from observations of 19 teacher-student conferences and the activities of a school leader responsible for parental involvement at Park High, the primary research site. Various documents, including presentations and online and print materials, were also incorporated. The analytical process involved constructing individual case narratives and conducting cross-case thematic analysis.

Central findings: I found that schools mostly adopted traditional models for parental involvement, similar to those used in lower grades. The parents were expected to be passive, to meet on school territory, and to follow the school's agenda. The second finding was that efforts to involve parents differed from school to school. The urban case school was active in engaging parents with all backgrounds, experimenting with new dialogical forms of interaction, and establishing a mothers network. Third, one-on-one contact between teachers and parents occurred less than once a week, involved only a selection of parents, and was carefully planned and structured. Regarding subjects discussed with the parents, I found that the schools chose a limited number of topics, which could be connected to the high value placed on safeguarding student autonomy. Despite this autonomy discourse, school behavior and attendance were not outside the limits for discussion with parents, at least when a school experienced problems with student discipline.

Implications: In a diverse world, building mutual relations with parents through non-traditional forms of involvement would allow schools to benefit from cultural diversity. Appreciating parents beyond their traditional roles of disciplinarians, complainers, and quiet supporters of the school system would benefit students at this stage of schooling.

5.2. Article 2

Melnikova, J. (published after submission, 2023). The role of migrant parents in high school as constructed by teachers and students: A "double-edged sword." In V. Tavares & T.-A. Skrefsrud (Eds.), *Critical and Creative Engagements with Diversity in Nordic Education*. Lexington Books.

Research question: How are roles for parental involvement constructed by the teachers and students?

Methods: The article builds on interviews with school leaders (4), students (12), and teachers (9) at the three case schools. The students have been in Norway for at least two years and had parents who were refugees or work migrants and came from both inside and outside Europe. The teachers worked in academic and vocational tracks, and some were guidance counselors. I followed an analytical process similar to that in Article 1, investigating each case in detail before drawing general conclusions. The themes that described the construction of parental roles in the material included care, educational guides, academic instructors, disciplinarians, and threats.

Central findings: The analysis demonstrated that teachers and students assigned different values to the various parent roles constructed within the high school field. Roles involving caring for a child's school life and offering guidance at home were generally considered more acceptable than active roles such as academic instructor or disciplinarian. Despite this shared understanding of a hierarchy of roles, schools still encountered actively involved parents. First, parents deemed rich in school-related cultural and social capital were actively involved, even though teachers perceived that as intrusive. Second, in situations experienced as "trouble," parents took charge of attendance and student behavior, causing mixed feelings among teachers. In the urban case school, parents were sometimes viewed as a threat due to concerns about negative social control. Finally, there were minimal differences between how teachers and students constructed acceptable parental roles. However, students were more open to and positive about parents delegating the role of academic instructors to private tutors.

Implications: Middle-class non-migrant parents can be more actively involved in their children's education, even though their presence challenges teachers' doxa. To develop more equitable parental involvement, the teachers and teacher candidates are invited to explore parental roles other than what is now constructed by the field of high school education.

5.3. Article 3

Melnikova, J. (published after submission, 2023). Migrant parents' contributions to students' negotiations of educational futures: A case study of a Norwegian high school. *International Journal about Parents in Education, 13*, https://doi.org/10.54195/ijpe.16414

Research question: How do migrant parents contribute to the negotiation of the students' educational futures in a Norwegian high school context?

Methods: Central to this single-school case study of parental involvement at an urban high school were interviews with eight students, supplemented by interviews with their parents and some background information from the school's assistant principal and four teachers. The students had different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. The analysis was informed by Bourdieu's conceptualizations of the connections between people's life choices with their primary socialization in the family. The central themes that emerged in the analysis were the students' backup plans and dreams, views on languages and STEM subjects, parental pressure, and broad and narrow life horizons.

Central findings: The central finding in this article was that the prevailing view of students as autonomous and independent young people creates some barriers to parental involvement in negotiations of their children's educational futures. Parents were only expected to be involved in subtle and indirect ways and were not invited by the school or students to directly contribute their knowledge to the negotiation of possible and encouraged choices. This careful approach has relieved the students of some pressure but may also have constrained the horizon of possibilities that students saw for themselves.

Implications: Students' choices and views of their educational possibilities are affected by numerous factors in school, at home, and in the wider society. The involvement of parents and migrant communities needs to be appreciated as an important element of students' negotiation processes, creating not only pressure but also a wider appreciation of global possibilities and the challenges that young adults face.

5.4. Article contributions

As reflected in Table 5.1, each article focuses on a selection of empirical data, while case narratives and individual school context descriptions were drawn on in all three. Central elements of Bourdieu's theoretical framework also appear throughout, but individual concepts received different treatment depending on the research question addressed in a given article. Each article poses and examines an independent and significant research question and stands on its own. Overall, the detailed descriptions of school practices and teacher and student views across the three articles contribute to understanding the complexity of social processes underpinning parental involvement at high school.

Table 5.1 Research designs and findings

	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3
Research question: *How is legitimate parental involvement in education constructed in the Norwegian high school's encounter with migrant families?*			
Sub-questions	How do the schools create opportunities for migrant parental involvement through home–school encounters?	How are roles for parental involvement constructed by the teachers and students?	How do migrant parents contribute to the negotiation of the students' educational futures?
Data	Interviews with leaders Review of documents Observation, all schools	Interviews with students and teachers, all schools	Interviews with students and parents, Park High
Focus	Organization of home–school relations	Parents' legitimate and illegitimate roles	Students' negotiation of their educational futures
Central concepts	Field, doxa, habitus	Concerted cultivation Field-specific rules for activation and acquisition of capital	Cultural, social, and economic capitals valued in the field Migrant drive
Central findings	- Doxa of parental involvement reserved to crises challenged, but not by migrant students - Practice determined by tradition and context - Little recognition of family knowledge	- Capital combination decides legitimate involvement roles - Subtle roles are assigned highest value - Active roles available to parents with dominant capital or in cases of trouble	- View of autonomous students complicates broader and direct negotiations - Students see limited range of possibilities - STEM knowledge assigned highest value - Parents take on subtle involvement roles

The thesis comprises three articles, which are presented in the order in which they were published. While not intentional, this order follows a certain logic from the more general to

the more specific. The first article sets the scene and includes more details on the Norwegian high school context in general, changes in beliefs about parents' role in school, and the intentions behind new parental involvement policies. School practices are in focus, and exploring the field doxa of parental involvement reserved to situations perceived as crises is the main theoretical contribution. The second article looks in particular at the more and less legitimate roles in which teachers and students see parents and is more concerned with such views and expectations. The theoretical approach in this article relies on the interconnectedness between field and capital. The third article examines students' negotiations of their educational futures and the legitimation processes of parental roles as addressed in this distinctive area and is concerned with how student habitus responds to experiences in the field of high school education. Chapter 6 integrates some of the central findings from the articles into a discussion of the dynamics of legitimizing parental involvement.

6. Discussion: Inequality, choice, and possibility for change—The three dimensions behind the legitimation processes in the family–school encounter

In this chapter, I draw on the findings presented in the articles to discuss three dimensions of the encounter between migrant families and the Norwegian high school system. As guided by the overreaching research question, my aim is to contribute to the understanding of legitimation processes around parental involvement, specifically in the context of migrant families encountering the Norwegian high school system. Through my analysis, I first demonstrate the dimension of *inequalities* within current practices to then emphasize the significance of inequalities in parental involvement in relation to the *choices* students are negotiating and consequently for their future prospects. I also reflect on the dimension of *change* in parental involvement practices, exploring the challenges and opportunities it presents for recognizing and empowering migrant families, children, and their parents. Table 6.1 illustrates how the findings in individual articles have contributed to the overarching analysis.

Table 6.1 Integration of findings

	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3
Research question: *How is legitimate parental involvement in education constructed in the Norwegian high school's encounter with migrant families?*			
Focus	Organization of home–school relations	Parents' more and less legitimate roles	Students' negotiation of their educational futures
Central findings	Doxa of safeguarding student autonomy and free choice challenged, but not by migrant students	Capital combination determines legitimate involvement roles	View of autonomous student complicates negotiations
Dimensions of the encounter	*Inequality* (A1, A2): Different opportunities to accumulate and activate capital *Choice* (A2, A3): Doxa of autonomous student legitimizes subtle involvement *Possibility for Change* (A1, A2): Teachers respond uneasily to unorthodox intrusions, but change may offer hope of legitimizing new parental roles		

The findings in the three articles are addressed from the perspective of the power dynamics within the field of high school education. A1 and A2 shed light on how the field encounters individual dispositions of migrant parents through teachers and students and constructs parental involvement practices, including the assignment of legitimate roles for parents. Specifically, in terms of their involvement in the students' negotiation of their educational futures, parents are expected to adopt a more subtle role, concealing their own hopes and

aspirations to some extent (A2 and A3). Furthermore, as demonstrated in A1 and A2, the high school field is influenced by broader social dynamics within the general fields of education and power and the dispositions of non-migrant parents, which creates the potential for change in which parental roles can be legitimized.

6.1. Unequal opportunities to activate and accumulate cultural and social capital

Expectations around parental involvement and school practices encouraging some parental roles and discouraging others are formed over time in the process of socialization within the field of high school education, which tends to shape the habitus of both teachers and students. The findings in A1 and A2 confirm that high school practices and teacher views continue to establish the premises for their schools' encounters with parents. This tendency has been observed by researchers internationally (Benner et al., 2016; Deslandes & Bertrand, 2016) and in Norway (Bæck, 2010b; Nordahl, 2003; Sletten et al., 2003). Particularly in the case of migrant parents in my study, teachers may have an advantage in influencing student attitudes toward the legitimate forms of parental involvement in their education. The format and agenda of meetings described in A1 make it difficult for parents who have not mastered the school language to activate their cultural capital and to be recognized by teachers and school leadership in roles beyond subtle care and support. In certain critical cases, they are assigned the questionable role of disciplining their children. A2 demonstrates that the roles of parents with less recognized cultural and economic capital are constructed differently. For example, they are viewed as unable to provide legitimate academic support or career guidance but as powerful, though in a problematic way, in terms of carrying out discipline. Migrant parents appear to have little opportunity to negotiate the position in which they have been placed. Hence, my study suggests that high school teachers can define parental involvement roles both through at-school practices (A1) and by influencing student perspectives (A2).

As revealed in the interviews in A1 and A2, some parents do renegotiate their role in their children's education. Among migrant parents in my study there are, for example, those who hire private tutors for their children, despite teachers' negative views of this practice. The investment these parents make illustrates that conversion of economic capital to cultural capital happens even though it is not clearly recognized as a legitimate strategy by the school doxa. A home practice that was recognized by teachers at one school was teaching children

their heritage language. Still, this recognition was communicated in the context of the extra exam points that knowledge could contribute, in contrast to parents' and students' descriptions of the broad field of life experiences that mastering these languages offered them. According to interviews with teachers and school leaders at the two schools that primarily offered academic programs, middle-class non-migrant parents whose capital is recognized were also involved in both orthodox and unorthodox ways. In a school-legitimized practice, they were more likely to attend meetings, allowing them to "show that they care" and influence teachers' attitudes towards their children. Through a more heretical strategy, some of the parents interfered in the school pedagogies by directly taking contact with teachers or the principal, demanding individual adjustments, and leveraging their cultural and economic capital for their children's benefit. This approach challenged traditional norms and put school staff on the defensive. What I observed may be part of the unfolding of Bæck's (2010b) scenario, in which highly educated parents become more influential in schools after home–school collaboration expectations are expanded through policy changes.

However, the demands and complaints described by the teachers in my study rarely emerged from migrant parents. Even those with significant cultural and economic capital seldom voiced their concerns, as A1 makes clear. In the case of younger children, this lack of open resistance or dissent on behalf of migrant parents can be attributed to unfamiliarity with the school system, fear of child welfare services, and perceiving teachers as experts during meetings (Matthiesen, 2014). Notably, at the high school level, students are formally free not to enroll and are culturally viewed as making their own decisions, so the fear of welfare services may be less relevant than understanding the expectations to grant students at that age greater autonomy. Additionally, a lack of direct engagement with the schools, beyond carefully structured meetings, may leave migrant parents unaware of the unspoken norms of more subtle parental involvement practices with older children and the ways those practices can be negotiated. Lacking familiarity with the field's doxa, they may either not be involved where their support and guidance would be valuable or be involved in ways perceived as interfering with student autonomy, potentially leading to family conflict that, as confirmed by Vedeler's study (2021), schools do not systematically attempt to mediate.

The parental roles were defined by many of my study's informants as contrasting with the behavior of "other" parents. For example, a first-year student quoted in A1 suggests that more school cooperation with "other" parents could create "unpleasant" situations in their families,

because “other” parents may not be as cautious as his own. This finding is consistent with what Pananaki (2021) reported in Sweden: participants compared themselves to other parents who were viewed as putting too much pressure on teachers. This observation highlights a competition between parents and teachers to define legitimate capital. Likewise, teachers in Norwegian high schools experienced (Dahl et al., 2016, p. 200; Eide, 2021, p. 112) increased demands from “some” parents to tailor their pedagogics to an individual child’s needs. Teachers quoted by Eide (2021) note that, in their view, these parents lack sensitivity for the school’s responsibility to build a community that includes all students.

These reflections on the declining recognition of the value of community within schools are interesting in light of how little the high schools in my study seemed to invest in community-building among parents. This restricted approach may align with the trend of individualization in modern institutions and society, as theorized by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002). As noted in the introduction to the thesis, students often choose not to go to the nearest high school, and because there is little at-school involvement, parents have limited opportunities to expand their social capital. For example, a school leader at an academic-oriented school in A3 reported not knowing anyone at her children’s high schools. While that situation is an irritation for her and aligns with the school doxa of limited at-school parental involvement, her cultural capital as recognized by the school and her social network outside the school context likely compensate for this limitation. However, she has no opportunity or intention to share this capital through participation in parental networks that include migrant parents and to recognize their cultural capital in return. The situation of this non-migrant school leader is somewhat similar to the findings of Pananaki (2021), who discovered that migrant parents felt excluded from Swedish parental networks (p. 109). An important difference is that, as my study suggests, no parental networks were associated with high schools, with the exception of an international mothers group at an urban high school described in A1.

In summary, my study indicates that opportunities for parents to activate and accumulate cultural and social capital at school and transmit it to their children are still defined by the schools through practices, teacher beliefs, and student perspectives. Parental access to the accumulation of new social and cultural capital and opportunities to activate the capital they have acquired appear to be more limited in high school than at lower levels. At the same time, non-migrant middle-class parents appear to have recently gained influence at schools and to engage more actively and openly in their children’s education.

6.2. Questionable freedom of choice

The part of my study focused on student choice and educational futures may initially appear quite far removed from the discussion on school pedagogies and the negotiation of legitimate parental involvement roles and practices. Existing research on the educational decision making of migrant parents is more concerned with cultural differences in aspirations, values, and knowledge available within their social networks and less with the role schools play in the construction of these strategies (e.g., Appadurai, 2004; Ball & Vincent, 1998; Friberg, 2019; Hegna & Smette, 2017). However, it is important to keep in mind that, as with other parental involvement practices, the invitation extended to parents by schools has a direct influence on both student attitudes and the ways in which parents choose to become involved in their children's education (Barger et al., 2019; Deslandes & Bertrand, 2005; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). This includes discussing life choices and educational futures as part of academic socialization (Bunar, 2015; Dyson, 2001). Taken together, the analyses presented in A3 and A2 shed light on the role schools play in shaping student choices and aspirations. For example, the school, not only through teachers but also through peer influence, clearly communicates which forms of capital are most valuable to acquire, prioritizing math and STEM subjects over history and languages and the homework club (*leksehjelp*) over other after-school activities.

The aspirations for personal development shared by parents in A3, such as investing in children's cultural capital through travel, teaching heritage languages, encouraging involvement in extracurricular activities, and suggesting study abroad opportunities or professions that could align with their interests, were sometimes overlooked by both students and schools. Clearly, some students could not afford to adopt a broader outlook in their education and career plans, whether due to their academic performance and choices or the anticipation of discrimination in the labor market. Still, that was not the case for all my informants, even as students and schools generally tended to adopt instrumental views of education. What appeared to be realistic plans were prioritized over ambitious dreams, which parallels findings from Eide's (2021, p. 141) analysis of pedagogical priorities in Norwegian schools. Eide observed an increasing focus on measured academic outcomes and behavior control at the expense of the schools' stated goals of providing a democratic upbringing and promoting diversity.

In A2, I demonstrate how the length of time that families have had to familiarize themselves with the school system, combined with their cultural and social dispositions, can sometimes enable them to use that system to their advantage. However, this also creates ambivalence where the dispositions from home do not match those acquired at school. As demonstrated in previous research (Benner et al., 2016; Boonk et al., 2018), academic socialization is the most effective form of parental involvement for secondary students. It is unfortunate that schools have little awareness of their potential to establish a more equitable system in this sphere and only in exceptional cases involve parents in discussions about students' educational futures. The doxa of autonomous youth who make independent choices under the subtle supervision of their parents (Gullestad, 1996, A2 and A3) seems to complicate the negotiation of parental roles. The teachers may also feel that their professional autonomy is threatened by parents who possess significant legitimate cultural capital and engage in heretical practices, leading them to keep their distance. A similar argument was presented by Bæck (2010b) in relation to lower secondary schools, but her study found that teachers were willing to engage with parents considered to lack cultural capital, albeit only in a supporting role. It appears that the three high schools in my study maintain their own professional autonomy by keeping most parents at a distance, not just those perceived as threatening.

6.3. Possibility for change in legitimate parental involvement doxa

The first article in this thesis highlights the changes in school practice resulting from the empowerment of certain parents, both in terms of topics addressed in meetings and the forms of these meetings. Although these changes may not be directly evident in the other two studies, references made by teachers and students to "other parents" demonstrate that parental roles at school are indeed being contested and renegotiated. Consequently, teachers attempt to reinstate their existing doxa and protect the autonomy of the educational field. In addition, forms of parental involvement can be transmitted from middle school, and there is a growing tendency to involve parents to a greater extent, as observed at the urban case school. This change can be partly attributed to the parental responsibilization trend (Dahlstedt, 2018) and partly to behavioral and anti-bullying programs that have been recognized as a new aspect of parental involvement by Bæck (2022). It appears that, as student behavior and the school environment increasingly influence school choice and parent' legal actions (see section 1.3), parents' roles in high school are becoming more active.

Teachers respond by protecting the doxa of traditional models of parental involvement, with an emphasis on at-home involvement and participation in carefully planned meetings. However, some parents are able to negotiate involvement that is more assertive. The cultural middle-class habitus allows the parents to be involved in less visible and more subtle ways (A2), which is most acceptable for the school and creates the least tension in a careful orchestration between the field and the parent habitus (Wacquant, 1989). According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), schools and homes compete over what is worth and not worth attending to, with schools holding the upper hand. This is particularly true in the encounter with migrant parents, whose capital tends to be misrecognized by the school system (Crozier & Davies, 2007). In the situation described in the present study, when parents have limited opportunities to be actively involved at school and thus learn how other parents negotiate their roles, and where their preferred role is defined as passive support, schools wield significant defining power. In Bourdieu's (1990) terms, the school system exercises symbolic dominance in the educational field and conveys dominant views of what practice is legitimate, which choices are reasonable, and which form of capital has the greatest value. At the case high schools, this dominance is exerted in an extremely indirect manner, as parents have a minimal physical presence on school grounds. Migrant parents appear to be even less visible at diverse schools than in analogous situations in the past, when, as several teachers remembered, students who did not have Norwegian as a home language could be segregated into their own classes, with their parents invited to attend school meetings that were translated into languages in which they were comfortable, as described in A1. The ultimate consequence of symbolic dominance in the school field is a contribution to the reproduction of social inequalities in terms of individual choices seen as acceptable "for the likes of us" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 17). While numerous factors outside the control of schools influence the futures viewed as possible by students and their ability to navigate these choices (Appadurai, 2004), schools play a role in communicating societal values regarding a wide range of knowledge, professions, and careers.

As demonstrated by the above analysis, change in and the potential transformation of the field of high school education to make room for greater parental involvement do not automatically grant more power to migrant parents. In the logic behind the three dimensions of my study—inequality, choice, and change—the dimension of unequal opportunities to accumulate and activate capital is the most visible element and is explored through the analysis of the school's

practices and views on parental involvement in students' education. This dimension, along with other elements of the education field and contextual factors, influences the educational strategies adopted by students, which represents the second dimension of my study. The final dimension, which was not directly observable but emerged from the interviews with teachers and school leaders (A1, A2) and a deeper understanding of the study's context, is the potential for change. A shift in expectations toward communication with parents could lead to a meaningful transformation of the field, although, it is worth noting that this transformation has not yet taken place, although than a decade has passed since the relevant change in policy. The transformation of the field of high school education could bring about changes in practice that could prompt a reassessment of diverse forms of parental capital. Whether any of this would be beneficial to migrant parents and their children depends on how reflexive field practitioners (i.e., teachers and school leaders) are in terms of seeing the consequences of their practices for the equality of the educational system (Bourdieu, 1990).

In place of treading on the already weakened autonomy of the field of high school education, middle-class parents could also contribute to positive change towards more inclusive practices (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2019; Mendel, 2020). The powerful Norwegian discourse of equality and inclusion in education that still resists international neo-liberal trends, along with the capacity of the welfare state to maintain some level of social mobility within local society (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014), offers some hope. The challenge posed by the schools' crisis-oriented involvement doxa may result in some cultural redistribution and recognition gains for migrant families. That, in turn, may eventually translate into more open and bold dreams regarding educational futures for the new generations of students, both migrant and non-migrant, as the educational system helps society to recognize the knowledge of migrant families and communities and support democratic participation for all parents. Other research in this area demonstrates that dominant views of community knowledge can be effectively challenged, at least from the short-term perspective of individual projects in the traditions of funds of knowledge and funds of identity (e.g., Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014; González et al., 2006; Hogg & Volman, 2020).

6.4. Summary

In discussing the present study's overreaching research question, my goal has been to provide a comprehensive understanding of legitimization processes for parental involvement in their

children's high school education in Norway, with a specific focus on the experiences of migrant families and their children. By examining the dimensions of inequality, choice, and change within that field, I uncovered several aspects of the power dynamics that shape parental involvement practices and their potential impact on students' future prospects. Beginning with the dimension of inequality, I have highlighted the existing disparities in parental involvement practices and the different roles that parents are invited to play both in school and at home. I also explore the opportunities that migrant families have for expanding and activating their cultural and social capital within the educational context. Moving on to the dimension of choice, I have examined how the logic of the high school field may contribute to students' views of their possible futures and influence the educational choices they make. Lastly, I have introduced the dimension of change, which focuses on how parental involvement practices are evolving, giving some parents more power in the high school context. This dimension revealed the challenges and opportunities in recognizing and empowering all parents at school. Practitioners with a reflexive approach to these changes may foster more equitable parental involvement practices that legitimize a wider range of parental roles and thus ultimately better meet the needs of all children and their communities.

7. Conclusion

The overreaching research question of this thesis is *How is legitimate parental involvement in education constructed in the Norwegian high school's encounter with migrant families?* The findings from the three articles emphasize the importance of school contexts and histories in shaping the involvement of migrant parents in their children's high school education and their negotiation of educational futures. At the same time, each family's cultural and social capital composition influences the perceived legitimacy of their involvement roles. Although individual parents and teachers did question the prevailing logic, the study suggests that differences in legitimate parental roles remain largely invisible and not openly negotiated.

The first sub-question addressed the opportunities for migrant parental involvement that were created through the organization of home–school relations at the three case schools. The findings highlight that the prevailing doxic view of legitimate parental involvement as passive and subtle was maintained by the forms of involvement and the topics discussed when teachers did encounter parents. This restrictive practice was rooted in the traditional understanding of parental involvement as a potential obstacle to student autonomy and independence, especially in making life choices. Indeed, in its traditional forms, especially involving disciplining a student, parental involvement does not appear to benefit young people's independent development. In disciplinary matters, parental involvement was already viewed as a necessary evil by most of my informants, including students and teachers. Furthermore, meeting parents in large assemblies or short sessions defined by the schools' academic agenda did not adequately recognize family knowledge and could create barriers between the young people's home cultures and their educational experiences.

The second sub-question examined the construction of parental involvement roles in the field of high school education. Parental roles were not solely defined by the schools, so that teachers and school leaders had different views of what roles were more or less legitimate. The findings do, however, illustrate that a family's combination of capital had much to say for how it was expected to be involved. While subtle roles were doxically assigned the highest value, active roles were also available to parents with dominant forms of capital or when students were perceived as experiencing difficulties. I suggest that discussing a wider range of parental roles would ultimately benefit the students.

The third sub-question focused on migrant parents' contributions to the negotiation of students' educational futures. My findings suggest that parents were often indirectly involved in their children's negotiation process. At the same time, the range of possibilities considered by the students was somewhat limited and instrumental. These limitations can be attributed to many factors, including the students' academic performance and the value assigned to different aspects of knowledge by the job market or their previous educational experiences and choices. Still, I question the disqualification of parents' active contributions out of an ostensible concern for student autonomy. This disqualification appears to disregard parents' knowledge of global possibilities and the challenges that young people face.

The three dimensions of inequality, choice, and opportunity for change introduced in the discussion chapter of this comprehensive summary comprise a model that illustrates the social processes underlying the parental involvement legitimation processes discussed in the three articles. The dimension of inequality addresses the different opportunities available to different groups of parents, with choice being especially important at the high school stage of the educational journey. I do, however, observe an opportunity for change in the field's doxa that would require that teachers, school leaders, and teacher educators adopt a more reflexive approach to high school practices that incorporates student and parent voices.

7.1. Study limitations and opportunities for further research

The limitations of this thesis stem from the theoretical, methodological, and ethical choices I have made. Theoretically, the inquiry has been limited to aspects of parental involvement practice that focus on the power dynamics in the field of high school education and age range of the students. This may have led to my underplaying cultural and gendered differences in practices, particularly those emerging from the home. Migrant parents are a diverse group, and though the commonalities I point to are significant, the experiences of individual groups of parents based on factors such as time in Norway, migration experiences, gender, and ethnicity also need further research. For this purpose, interview studies may work better than case studies, as they would resolve some of the difficulties in recruiting informants through schools. Another promising avenue for future exploration that would be more concerned with family cultural experiences is the integration of Bourdieu's field theory and the funds-of-knowledge approach.

As previously argued (see section 4.6), my analysis of the different data in the three school cases can, to a large extent, lead to generalizations to people and aspects that were not directly observed. At the same time, the focus on migrant parents complicated the analysis of the field as a whole, as I lacked direct evidence from non-migrant parents and their children. Future research in this area could involve diverse groups of parents for comparison. The theoretical generalizability of the study's findings is supported by consideration of existing research on parental involvement at the high school level and in the broader social and political context of the field. Nevertheless, further communication of the findings is necessary for their validation, even though the results may be met with some skepticism from a field that is guided (but not determined) by its doxa.

In this thesis, I question the idea of autonomous student choice and its implications for the inequality experienced by parents. At the same time, it is important to note that I have no intention to dispute the school system's goal of creating independently thinking and acting adults (Biesta, 2013). Rather, I recommend that the topic of developing student autonomy in age-appropriate and culturally sensitive ways be given a larger place in teacher education curricula and professional discussions. Interviews with teachers indicate a perceived gap between teacher education (including in-service education) and parental involvement practices. Furthermore, the subject of educational futures and aspirations appears to be mostly researched in the field of sociology rather than teacher education. As part of the school's area of responsibility, parental involvement in student decision making needs further pedagogical research, with action research as a possible approach.

7.2. Policy and practical implications

The findings of my thesis are situated within the critical tradition, which entails my responsibility to highlight the aspects of the school system that contribute to the perpetuation of social inequality. This is a difficult task for a teacher educator, as I am acutely aware of the many structural factors that limit teachers' professional autonomy and sometimes impose unrealistic demands on schools. Social inequalities should first and foremost be addressed at the societal level by providing families and schools with economic and cultural resources, fostering public discussion on the value of diverse forms of knowledge, and embracing the life experiences that migrants bring to society. The results of the study suggest that teacher educators can look at how schools can better tap into parental knowledge; that is,

learn from parents. Teacher education programs would then need to discuss and clearly communicate non-instrumental forms of parental involvement and the role of schools as mediators between parents and older children, particularly with regard to the development of student autonomy. As for teachers, I suggest that they continue to work with student beliefs and understanding how parents can be involved in non-traditional roles. This would require the allocation of more resources from policymakers to contact teachers at the high school level. The teachers in my study are already aware of the problematic use of "parents as a threat," but there still appears to be a need to discuss more positive and neutral forms of involvement. Teachers and school leaders need to articulate and document their expectations for all teachers to engage all parents. Finally, policymakers should further encourage educating, employing, and empowering migrants and children of migrants in the school system for migrant parents' and young people's voices to become an essential part of any discussion of equitable parental involvement.

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Appendices

English translations of interview guides and informed consent forms are available on request.

Appendix 1	Interview guide: Teachers and school leaders
Appendix 2	Interview guide: Students
Appendix 3	Interview guide: Parents
Appendix 4	Informed consent form: Teachers and school leaders, interview and observation
Appendix 5	Informed consent form: Teachers, observation
Appendix 6	Informed consent form: Students
Appendix 7	Informed consent form: Parents
Appendix 8	Norwegian Centre for Research Data ethical review approval
Appendix 9	Norwegian Centre for Research Data ethical review additional approval for use of Zoom for interviews

Appendix 1. Interview guide: Teachers and school leaders

1. Kan du fortelle litt om deg selv og din faglige bakgrunn?

   Hvor lenge har du jobbet i skoleverket?
   Har du jobbet mest på videregående?
   Hvor har du studert?
   Føler du at skolen har forandret seg vesentlig siden du begynte? Kan du gi noen eksempler?
   Hva med foreldrene?

2. Kan du fortelle litt om skolen og elevene her?
3. Hvilke begrep bruker dere: flerkulturelle, flerspråklige, minoritetssrpåklige?

   Hvem er inkludert i disse kategoriene?
   Hvor mange elever er det snakk om?

4. Hva slags retningslinjer eksisterer på skolen for samarbeid med foreldre generelt og med innvandrerforeldre spesielt?

   Har det blitt vesentlige forandringer etter lovendringen som har pålagt videregående skole foreldresamtaler /møter (Opplæringslovens § 20-4) i 2010?
   Kan du fortelle litt om klassen du er kontaktlærer for i år?
   Hvor mange barn har innvandrerforeldre (en eller to, flere)?
   Hva vet du om kulturen og livssituasjon til foreldrene av elever i klassen?
   Hva vet du om skole i de landene foreldrene kom fra?
   Hvor mange språk kan elevene dine?

5. Hvordan blir du kjent med foreldrene?

   Hvem tar kontakt?
   Hvordan foregår et vanlig første møte?
   Er det noen skjemaer som dere bruker til vanlig?
   Bruker dere tolk?
   Hva synes du er viktig i første kontakt?

6. Hvordan foregår kontakt videre?

   Når tar skolen kontakt med foreldrene?
   Når tar foreldrene kontakt med skolen?
   Personlig, på telefon, SMS eller?
   Hvordan er foreldremøter og foreldresamtaler lagt opp?
   Hvem av andre ansatte kan være med på møter?
   Hva snakker dere om?
   Skjer det noe spesielt rundt eksamenstida, russetida?

7. Blir kontakten dokumentert? På hvilken måte? Hvem har tilgang til dokumentasjon? Hvem samarbeider dere med?
8. Er det noen spesielle arrangementer her på skolen for foreldre med annen språklig og kulturell bakgrunn? Er det andre måter elevenes bakgrunn trekkes inn i klasserommet? Hvordan opplever du foreldrenes deltagelse i disse situasjonene?
9. Opplever du at eleven vil at foreldrene hans/hennes involvere seg mer eller trekker seg mer?

10. Diskuterer dere elevenes planer og ambisjoner med foreldre? Synes du at elevene har realistiske planer? Hva med foreldre?
11. Oppleves det at du ringer foreldre av og til som straff eller disiplineringstiltak?
12. Hva synes du om leksehjelp på skolen?
13. Hva synes du kjennetegner godt foreldresamarbeid?

    Kan du gi noen eksempler på når samarbeidet har gått bra eller dårlig?
    Hva forventer du av foreldrene?
    Tror du at foreldrene kjenner til disse forventningene?
14. Er det kontakt mellom skolen og lokalsamfunnet? Er det samarbeid med lokale arbeidsgivere, organisasjoner?
15. Hva føler du har forberedt deg best for ditt møte med innvandrerforeldre?

    Var det noe i lærerutdanningen som du husker var viktig?
    Spesielle personer eller opplevelser i livet ditt? Kurs? Kollegaer?
16. Hva er den største glede ved å samarbeide med innvandrerforeldre?

    Hva er den største utfordring?
17. Hva synes du at foreldrene bør vite om hva de kan bidra til barnas læring og trivsel?
18. Hva mener du kan være grunner til at noen foreldre samarbeider lite med skolen eller er vanskelige å samarbeide med? Og hva kan være grunner til det at noen er aktive og gode samarbeidspartnere?

Vignett: Om jeg var en mamma til en russisk-talende elev som kommer inni klassen din midt i året med lite språk, hvordan ville vi bli kjent, hva ville skje gjennom året, etc. Om jeg var ei mor som vil at sønnen min skal trives på skolen og ha gode karakter, hva ville du har sagt?

Appendix 2. Interview guide: Students

1. Kan du fortelle litt om deg selv?

   Var du født i Norge?
   Hvor lenge har familien din bodd i Norge? Hvor kommer foreldrene dine fra?
   Her du søsken?
   Hvilke språk kan du snakke, lese eller skrive?
   Hva med foreldrene dine?
   Er din erfaring utenfor Norge og bakgrunn til dine foreldre noe som er viktig for deg? Er din foreldrenes religion viktig for deg? Hvordan?

2. Hva er dine drømmer og planer for framtida?

   Hva er din drømmejobb?
   Hva ville du har gjort i livet hvis du kunne ha gjort hva som helst, ikke avhengig av karakter eller hva familien din tenker?
   Hva er dine planer for etter videregående?
   Hvordan har skolen påvirket dine planer?
   Hvordan har familien din påvirket dine planer?
   Hvis du tenker på fremtida er det noe du er redd for?

3. Hva kan du si om XX (skolen)? Hva liker du, hva er utfordrende?

4. Hvordan er din opplevelse av å være en med erfaring utenfor Norge i en Norsk skole?

   Bruker lærere eller medelever av og til å kommentere bakgrunnen din?
   Ser de det som noe spennende/utfordrende?

5. Var noen lærere eller andre voksne gjennom skolegangen din spesielt viktig for deg?

6. Har foreldrene dine vart i kontakt med skolen?

   Tar skolen kontakt med foreldrene? Når?
   Hva er din rolle? Sender de beskjed begge veier?
   Forklarer du ting?
   Var di med på foreldremøte? Utviklingssamtaler?
   Tok foreldrene dine kontakt med skolen?
   Personlig, på telefon, SMS eller?
   Var det mer kontakt på ungdomsskole? Hvordan opplevde du det?

7. Kan det at skolen tar kontakt med hjem oppleves som straff?

8. Hvordan opplever/opplevde du utviklingssamtalene/konferansetimene?

   Hva synes du er interessant å snakke om?
   Får du snakke om det du ville snakke om?

9. Hva slags arrangement er det på skolen?

   Deltar du i noen av dem?
   Er det noen spesielle arrangementer for elever med ikke-norsk bakgrunn?

10. Kan du fortelle litt om hvordan du har det på skolen?

11. Hvordan opplever du samarbeid med hjemmet?

    Er det for mye, for lite?

Opplever du at foreldrene dine blander seg inn for mye, for lite?

12. Hvor bruker du å gjøre lekser?

    Bruker du leksehjelp?
    Er det ok å gjøre lekser hjemme?
    Kjenner kontaktlæreren din/andre voksne på skolen til hvordan du har det hjemme?

13. Hvilke tanker har foreldrene dine om din utdanning og dine valg for fremtiden?

    Hva er dere enig om?
    Hva er dere uenig om?

14. Har din familie kontakt med andre familier av elever fra klassen eller på skolen?

    I hvilken kontekst treffes dere?
    Vet du hva de bruker å snakke om?

15. Føler du at foreldrene har (for mye, for liten) innflytelse på hva du lærer på skolen?

    Hva med hvordan du har det på skolen?
    Kommer de med innspill/ønsker til skolen?
    Har det skjedd at i konfliktsituasjon med skolen de tok din side?

16. Hva gjør foreldrene dine for at du skal ha det bra for skolen?

17. Hva føler du kunne hjelpe foreldrene dine til å støtte deg?

    Er det noe i det skolen gjør?
    Er det noe andre voksne (venner til foreldrene dine, andre foreldrene i klassen) kunne gjøre?

18. Har du forslag til hva som kunne vært gjort annerledes fra skolens/ læreres eller foreldrenes side med tanke på et godt foreldresamarbeid?

Appendix 3. Interview guide: Parents

1. Kan du fortelle litt om deg selv?

   Hvor lenge har du bodd i Norge?
   Hvor kommer du fra?
   Her dere flere barn?

2. Kan du fortelle litt om skole i hjemlandet ditt?

   Hva er likt og hva er forskjellig med norsk skole?
   Hvordan var forholdet mellom lærere, rektor og foreldre der?

3. Hva synes du om skole i Norge? Hva liker du, hva er utfordrende?
4. Har du vært i kontakt med skolen?
5. Var du på foreldremøte/utviklingssamtale?

   Hva var viktig/interessant på foreldremøte?
   Fikk du stille spørsmål?
   Hva synes du er interessant å snakke om?
   Får du snakke om det du ville snakke om?

6. Var du på utviklingssamtalene?
7. Om ja, hvordan ble dere kjent med lærer, rektor, andre ansatte på skolen?

   Hvem tok kontakt?
   Kan du fortelle noe om møte?
   Hvordan opplevde du dem?
   Hva kunne vært annerledes?
   Brukte skolen tolk?

1. Hvordan foregikk kontakten videre?

   Tar skolen kontakt med dere?
   Tok du eller mannen din kontakt med skolen?
   Personlig, på telefon, SMS eller?
   Hva snakket dere om?

2. Hva slags arrangement er det på skolen?

   Deltar du i noen av dem?
   Er det noen spesielle arrangementer her på skolen for foreldre med ikke-norsk bakgrunn?

3. Har du kontakt med andre foreldre i klassen eller på skolen?

   I hvilken sammenheng treffes dere?
   Hva bruker dere å snakke om?
   Hvordan opplever du det å bli kjent med andre foreldrene til elever i klassen til ditt barn?

4. Kan du fortelle litt om hvordan barnet ditt har det på skolen?
5. Hva er dine drømmer og planer for [barnas navn] framtid?

   Hva ville være drømmejobb hans/hennes?

Hva er hennes/hans planer for etter videregående?
Hvordan har skolen påvirket disse planer?
Hvordan har dere som foreldre påvirket disse planer?
Har du hatt mulighet til å diskutere planene med skolen?
Hvis du tenker på [barnas navn] er det noe du er redd for?

6. I hvilken grad og på hvilken måte opplever du støtte fra skolen?
7. Hvor mye informasjon har skolen om deres situasjon?
8. Føler du at du har innflytelse på hva dine barn lærer på skolen?

   Hva med hvordan de har det på skolen?
   Kommer du med innspill/ønsker til skolen?
   Opplever du at sønn/dattera vil at du blander deg inn mer/mindre?

9. Har barnet ditt hatt konfliktsituasjoner på skolen? Har det skjedd at du tok sida til barnet i konflikten?
10. Hva mener du er godt foreldresamarbeid sånn som du opplevde det i Norge eller i hjemlandet?

    Kan du gi noen eksempler på når samarbeidet har gått bra?

11. Hva skulle du ønske at skolen/lærere visste om hva du gjør for å støtte barnas læring og skolegang?
12. Hva føler du hjelper deg til å støtte barna dine på skolen (hjelpe dem å lære og å ha det bra)?

    Er det noe i det skolen gjør?
    Spesielle personer eller opplevelser i livet ditt? Noe du har lært? Venner og folk du kjenner?

13. Er det noen fordeler ved å ha barna på en norsk skole?

    Er det utfordringer/frustrasjoner?
    Hva er det viktigste når det gjelder utdanning til dine barn?

14. Er det andre forhold du ønsket skolen skulle engasjert seg i, tatt mer initiativ til?
15. Har du forslag til hva som kunne vært gjort annerledes fra skolens/ læreres side med tanke på et godt foreldresamarbeid?

Appendix 4. Informed consent form: Teachers and school leaders, interview and observation

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Informert samtykke for å delta i forskningsprosjektet

Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole

Med dette vil jeg spørre om du vil delta i et forskningsprosjekt. I forbindelse med doktorgradstudiet vil jeg samle inn informasjon om hvordan hjem-skole-samarbeid er organisert på denne skolen. Jeg har spesielt fokus på innvandrerfamilier, både nyankomne familier og slike som har bodd i Norge i over to år. **I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.**

Formålet

Formålet med prosjektet er å bidra med kunnskap om hvordan videregående skolen kan fremme samarbeid med innvandrerforeldre. Jeg har valgt å lage en casestudie. Det betyr at jeg vil skrive grundig om *en* skole og noen få familier og lærere ved den skolen. Jeg vil skrive både om hvordan samarbeidet er organisert formelt og om erfaringene fra alle parter som er involvert (lærere, andre skoleansatte, foreldre og elever). Jeg har fått informasjon fra NAFO om at XXX er spesielt engasjert i arbeid med minoritetselever og kan vise kompetanse og interesse på feltet, og det er derfor jeg er her.

Anonymitet

Jeg vil ta notater og ta opp lyd under intervjuet, men all informasjon vil bli anonymisert og opptaket slettet etter at det er transkribert og prosjektet etter planen avsluttes høsten 2022. Selv om ingen detaljer som direkte kan identifisere deg eller skolen blir tatt med i datamaterialet eller i publikasjoner, kan du likevel bli gjenkjennelig for enkelte kollegaer og elever/foresatte ut fra din stilling og situasjoner du beskriver. Dersom du ikke vil krysse av for dette i skjemaet nedenfor, kan vi i lag vurdere hvordan prosjektet eventuelt kan justeres.

Det er helt frivillig å være med, og du har også mulighet til å trekke deg når som helst underveis uten å oppgi grunn. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg. Kontaktinformasjon finner du nede på dette arket.

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at jeg intervjuer deg to ganger på avtalte tidspunkt. Intervjuene vil ta ca. 45 minutt. Det første intervjuet vil handle generelt om organisering av foreldresamarbeidet på skolen og dine erfaringer med det. I det andre kan jeg også be deg om å beskrive noen konkrete situasjoner som involverer elever og familier. Før dette andre intervjuet må vi be om skriftlig samtykke fra foreldre eller elever vi vil snakke om for å løse deg fra taushetsplikten.

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 97 89 25 98

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Metode

Prosjektet vil innebære at jeg intervjuer rektor, rådgivere og to eller tre lærere. Til våren vil jeg også intervjue to eller tre familier, foreldre og elever. Det kan være elever på tredje trinn. De kan snakke om hvordan de opplevde samarbeidet i de første to årene. Jeg vil gjerne snakke med familier som har opplevd meningsfullt samarbeid: for eksempel at en vanskelig situasjon oppstod, men skolen og familien kom til en bra løsning. Hvis det blir mulig vil jeg også observere ett eller to foreldremøter og noen foreldresamtaler. Det vil også være interessant for meg å se på dokumenter som skolen bruker i samarbeid med foreldre: brosjyrer, skjemaer (blanke), rundskriv, planer, rapporter og liknende. For konkrete elever og familier ønsker jeg å få tilgang til meldinger og brev som er vekslet mellom dem og skolen etter at jeg har fått samtykke fra både dere og elever og familier.

Resultat

Som resultat av prosjektet vil jeg publisere tre artikler i vitenskapelige tidsskrift på norsk og på engelsk. Jeg håper også eventuelt å skrive en bok som kan brukes i lærerutdanning og vil bruke noen av eksemplene i undervisning.

Personvern og taushetsplikt

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Det er bare mine veiledere som vil ha tilgang til dataene før transkribering. Under transkribering vil jeg erstatte navnet ditt med et pseudonym. Og jeg vil lagre navnet og kontaktopplysningene adskilt fra data på lydopptaker.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,

- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir meg rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Jeg behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra meg, Julia Melnikova ved Høgskolen i Innlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 97 89 25 98

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Dersom du har spørsmål til prosjektet eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med

- Julia Melnikova på epost julia.melnikova@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 97 89 25 98.

Det er Høgskolen i Innlandet og Høgskulen i Volda som er ansvarlige for prosjektet. Om ønskelig kan du også kontakte mine veiledere:

- professor Thor André Skrefsrud, Høgskolen i Innlandet, på epost thor.skrefsrud@inn.no eller telefon: +47 62 51 78 98) eller
- førsteamanuensis Jarle Pedersen, Høgskulen i Volda, på epost jarlep@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 51 71.
- Høgskulen i Voldas personvernombud Cecilie Røeggen på epost cecilie.roeggen@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 50 73.
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personvernombudet@nsd.no) eller telefon: +47 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlig

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 97 89 25 98

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet "Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole" og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i intervju
- ☐ å delta i observasjon
- ☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg i enkelte tilfeller indirekte kan gjenkjennes av noen kollegaer og elever/foresatte
- ☐ å bruke informasjon om min erfaring med foreldresamarbeid fortalt av mine elever/deres foreldre i artikler og bøker publisert under prosjektet
- ☐ å bruke informasjon om foreldresamarbeid fra korrespondanse utvekslet mellom skolen og elever/foresatte

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet (ca. september 2022).

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

(Navn, blokkbokstaver)

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 97 89 25 98

Appendix 5. Informed consent form: Teachers, observation

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Informert samtykke for å delta i forskningsprosjektet
Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole

Med dette vil jeg spørre om du vil delta i et forskningsprosjekt. I forbindelse med doktorgradstudiet vil jeg samle inn informasjon om hvordan hjem-skole-samarbeid er organisert på denne skolen. Jeg har spesielt fokus på innvandrerfamilier, både nyankomne familier og slike som har bodd i Norge i over to år. **I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.**

Formålet

Formålet med prosjektet er å bidra med kunnskap om hvordan videregående skolen kan fremme samarbeid med innvandrerforeldre. Jeg har valgt å lage en casestudie. Det betyr at jeg vil skrive grundig om to-tre skoler og noen få familier og lærere ved dem. Jeg vil skrive både om hvordan samarbeidet er organisert formelt og om erfaringene fra alle parter som er involvert (lærere, andre skoleansatte, foreldre og elever). Jeg har fått informasjon om at deres skole er spesielt engasjert i arbeid med minoritetselever og kan vise kompetanse og interesse på feltet, og det er derfor jeg er her.

Anonymitet

Jeg vil ta notater under observasjon, men jeg samler ikke personlige opplysninger om deg elle andre deltagere. Selv om ingen detaljer som direkte kan identifisere deg eller skolen blir tatt med i datamaterialet eller i publikasjoner, kan du likevel bli gjenkjennelig for enkelte kollegaer og elever/foresatte ut fra din stilling. Dersom du ikke vil krysse av for dette i skjemaet nedenfor, kan vi i lag vurdere hvordan prosjektet eventuelt kan justeres.

Det er helt frivillig å være med, og du har også mulighet til å trekke deg når som helst underveis uten å oppgi grunn. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg. Kontaktinformasjon finner du nede på dette arket.

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at jeg observere deg og elevene og foreldrene under utviklingssamtaler.

Metode

Prosjektet innebærer at jeg først intervjuet rektor, rådgivere og noen lærere. Jeg har også intervjuet noen familier, foreldre og elever og har sett på noen relevante dokumenter.

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 70 07 54 86/ +47 97 89 25 98

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Resultat

Som resultat av prosjektet vil jeg publisere tre artikler i vitenskapelige tidsskrift på engelsk. Jeg håper også eventuelt å skrive en bok som kan brukes i lærerutdanning og vil bruke noen av eksemplene i undervisning.

Personvern og taushetsplikt

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Jeg vil lagre navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine adskilt fra notatene.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,

- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir meg rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Jeg behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra meg, Julia Melnikova ved Høgskolen i Innlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Dersom du har spørsmål til prosjektet eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med

- Julia Melnikova på epost julia.melnikova@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 54 86 (kontor) eller +47 97 89 25 98 (mobil).

Det er Høgskolen i Innlandet og Høgskulen i Volda som er ansvarlige for prosjektet. Om ønskelig kan du også kontakte mine veiledere:

- professor Thor André Skrefsrud, Høgskolen i Innlandet, på epost thor.skrefsrud@inn.no eller telefon: +47 62 51 78 98 eller

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 70 07 54 86/ +47 97 89 25 98

- førsteamanuensis Jarle Pedersen, Høgskulen i Volda, på epost jarlep@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 51 71.
- Høgskulen i Voldas personvernombud Cecilie Røeggen på epost cecilie.roeggen@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 50 73.
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personvernombudet@nsd.no) eller telefon: +47 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlig

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HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet "Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole" og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i observasjon
- ☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg i enkelte tilfeller indirekte kan gjenkjennes av noen kollegaer og elever/foresatte

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet (ca. september 2022).

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

(Navn, blokkbokstaver)

julia.melnikova@hivolda.no

Julia Melnikova

tlf. +47 70 07 54 86/ +47 97 89 25 98

Appendix 6. Informed consent form: Students

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Informert samtykke for å delta i forskningsprosjektet

Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole

Hei! Jeg er Julia Melnikova og jeg jobber med en doktorgrad. Jeg er spesielt interessert i hvordan de som har kommet til Norge fra andre land opplever samarbeidet med skolen.

Jeg ber deg om et intervju som vil ta ca. 45 minutt. Jeg vil ta notater og ta opp lyd under intervjuet, men jeg skal slette navn, sted og andre personlig informasjon i intervjuteksten (anonymisere det). Lydfilen av intervjuet og vil slettes når prosjektet etter planen avsluttes høsten 2022. Du eller din familie vil ikke gjenkjennes i mine artikler og bok da all informasjon vil være anonymisert.

Foreldresamarbeid er et viktig tema å forske på fordi foreldre har rett til å være med på å diskutere og bestemme over det som skjer på skolen. Foreldre også har mange måter å støtte barnas læring hjemme. Likevel kan dette være utfordrende for foreldre med andre bakgrunn enn norsk. Også dere som videregående elever kan i forskjellig grad være villige til å la foreldrene blande seg inn i deres skolesituasjon og fremtidsplaner. I min forskning vil jeg se på hva kan gjøres bedre. Jeg vil skrive tre artikler og forhåpentligvis en bok. Jeg vil også gjerne bruke eksempler fra disse intervju og det jeg observerer på skolen i undervisning av lærerstudenter – uten å oppgi deres eller skolens navn. Jeg vil skrive både om hvordan samarbeidet er organisert på denne skolen og om erfaringene fra alle som er involvert (lærere, rådgivere, rektor, foreldre og elever).

Det er helt frivillig å være med, og du har mulighet til å trekke deg når som helst underveis uten å oppgi grunn. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg. Rektor eller lærere vil ikke få vite om du har deltatt eller hva vi har snakket om. Du kan ta kontakt på telefon eller epost som du finner nede på dette arket, og jeg vil slette intervjueteksten.

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Det er bare mine veiledere som vil ha tilgang til dataene før transkribering (når jeg gjør lyd til tekst). Jeg vil lagre navnet og kontaktopplysningene et annet sted enn lyden.

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

På oppdrag fra meg, Julia Melnikova ved Høgskolen i Innlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Om du har spørsmål eller vil trekke deg kan du ta kontakt med meg:

- Julia Melnikova på epost julia.melnikova@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 97 89 25 98.

Det er Høgskolen i Innlandet og Høgskulen i Volda som er ansvarlige for prosjektet. Om ønskelig kan du også kontakte mine veiledere:

- professor Thor André Skrefsrud, Høgskolen i Innlandet, på epost thor.skrefsrud@inn.no eller telefon: +47 62 51 78 98) eller
- førsteamanuensis Jarle Pedersen, Høgskulen i Volda, på epost jarlep@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 51 71.
- Høgskulen i Voldas personvernombud Cecilie Røeggen på epost cecilie.roeggen@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 50 73.
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personvernombudet@nsd.no) eller telefon: +47 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlig

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet "Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole". Jeg har fått mulighet til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i intervju
- ☐ å bruke informasjon om min erfaring i skolen fortalt av min lærer/pappa/mamma i artikler og bøker publisert under prosjektet

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet (ca. september 2022).

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

(Navn, blokkbokstaver)

Appendix 7. Informed consent form: Parents

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Informert samtykke for å delta i forskningsprosjektet

Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole

Hei! Jeg er Julia Melnikova og jeg jobber med en doktorgrad. Jeg er spesielt interessert i hvordan de som har kommet til Norge fra andre land opplever samarbeidet med skolen.

Jeg ber deg om et intervju som vil ta ca. 45 minutt. Jeg vil ta notater og ta opp lyd under intervjuet, men jeg skal slette navn, sted, kjønn, alder og andre personlig informasjon i intervjuteksten (anonymisere det). Lydfilen av intervjuet og vil slettes når prosjektet etter planen avsluttes høsten 2022. Jeg ber om å få lagre den anonymiserte intervjuteksten hos NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS) for at andre forskere skal kunne lese og analysere materialet.

Jeg vil også observere to eller tre møter mellom deg og skolen og lese meldinger eller brev som dere har utvekslet med skolen i år. Jeg skal ta notater under observasjonen og vil ikke skrive ned noe som kan identifisere deg eller barnet ditt eller ta opp lyd. Jeg vil ikke bruke ekte navn eller personlig informasjon når jeg siterer fra deres meldinger eller brev. Du eller din familie vil ikke gjenkjennes i mine artikler og bok da all informasjon vil være anonymisert.

Foreldresamarbeid er et viktig tema å forske på fordi det er foreldre som kjenner barna sine best. Dere har rett til å være med på å diskutere og bestemme over det som skjer på skolen. Dere også har mange måter å støtte barnas læring hjemme. Likevel kan dette være utfordrende for foreldre med andre bakgrunn enn norsk. I min forskning vil jeg se på hva kan gjøres bedre. Jeg vil skrive tre artikler og forhåpentligvis en bok. Jeg vil også gjerne bruke eksempler fra disse intervju og det jeg observerer på skolen i undervisning av lærerstudenter – uten å oppgi deres eller skolens navn. Jeg vil skrive både om hvordan samarbeidet er organisert på denne skolen og om erfaringene fra alle som er involvert (lærere, rådgivere, rektor, foreldre og elever).

Det er helt frivillig å være med, og du har mulighet til å trekke deg når som helst underveis uten å oppgi grunn. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg. Rektor eller lærere vil ikke få vite om du har deltatt eller hva vi har snakket om. Du kan ta kontakt på telefon eller epost som du finner nede på dette arket, og jeg vil slette intervjueteksten.

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Det er bare mine veiledere som vil ha tilgang til dataene før transkribering (når jeg gjør lyd til tekst). Jeg vil lagre navnet og kontaktopplysningene et annet sted enn lyden.

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

På oppdrag fra meg, Julia Melnikova ved Høgskolen i Innlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Om du har spørsmål eller vil trekke deg kan du ta kontakt med meg:

- Julia Melnikova på epost julia.melnikova@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 97 89 25 98.

Det er Høgskolen i Innlandet og Høgskulen i Volda som er ansvarlige for prosjektet. Om ønskelig kan du også kontakte mine veiledere:

- professor Thor André Skrefsrud, Høgskolen i Innlandet, på epost thor.skrefsrud@inn.no eller telefon: +47 62 51 78 98) eller
- førsteamanuensis Jarle Pedersen, Høgskulen i Volda, på epost jarlep@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 51 71.
- Høgskulen i Voldas personvernombud Cecilie Røeggen på epost cecilie.roeggen@hivolda.no eller telefon: +47 70 07 50 73.
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personvernombudet@nsd.no) eller telefon: +47 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlig

HØGSKOLEN i INNLANDET

HØGSKULEN I VOLDA

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet "Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole-samarbeid i videregående skole". Jeg har fått mulighet til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i intervju
- ☐ å gi tilgang til meldinger og brev vekslet mellom meg og skolen
- ☐ å bruke informasjon om min erfaring i skolen fortalt av min barnas lærer eller av mitt barn i artikler og bøker publisert under prosjektet

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet (ca. september 2022) og at anonymisert data blir lagret ved NSD for videre forskning.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

(Navn, blokkbokstaver)

Appendix 8. Norwegian Centre for Research Data ethical review approval

Vurdering av behandling av personopplysninger

Referansenummer	Vurderingstype	Dato
504144	Standard	24.01.2019

Tittel
Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole samarbeid i videregående

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon
Høgskulen i Volda / Avdeling for humanistiske fag og lærarutdanning / Institutt for pedagogikk

Felles behandlingsansvarlige institusjoner
Høgskolen i Innlandet / Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk / Institutt for pedagogikk og samfunnsfag - Hamar

Prosjektansvarlig
Julia Melnikova

Prosjektperiode
20.10.2018 - 30.09.2022

Kategorier personopplysninger
Alminnelige
Særlige

Lovlig grunnlag
Samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a)
Uttrykkelig samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a)

Behandlingen av personopplysningene er lovlig så fremt den gjennomføres som oppgitt i meldeskjemaet. Det lovlige grunnlaget gjelder til 30.09.2022.

Meldeskjema

Kommentar
Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet den 24.01.2019 med vedlegg, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Behandlingen kan starte.

MELD ENDRINGER
Dersom behandlingen av personopplysninger endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. På våre nettsider informerer vi om hvilke endringer som

må meldes. Vent på svar før endringen gjennomføres.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET
Prosjektet vil behandle særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om rasemessig eller etnisk opprinnelse, religion samt alminnelige personopplysninger frem til 30.09.2022

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG
Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og art. 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 a), jf. art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER
NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen:

- om lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER
Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: åpenhet (art. 12), informasjon (art. 13), innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), underretning (art. 19), dataportabilitet (art. 20).

NSD vurderer at informasjonen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER
NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

Høgskolen i Innlandet er felles behandlingsansvarlig institusjon. NSD legger til grunn at

behandlingen oppfyller kravene til felles behandlingsansvar, jf. personvernforordningen art. 26.

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og eventuelt rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET
NSD vil følge opp underveis (hvert annet år) og ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet/pågår i tråd med den behandlingen som er dokumentert.

Takk for gode diskusjoner og lykke til med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Silje Fjelberg Opsvik
Tlf. Personverntjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)

Appendix 9. Norwegian Centre for Research Data ethical review additional approval for use of Zoom for interviews

Vurdering av behandling av personopplysninger

Referansenummer	Vurderingstype	Dato
504144	Standard	18.05.2020

Tittel
Innvandrerforeldres involvering i hjem-skole samarbeid i videregående

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon
Høgskulen i Volda / Avdeling for humanistiske fag og lærarutdanning / Institutt for pedagogikk

Felles behandlingsansvarlige institusjoner
Høgskolen i Innlandet / Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk / Institutt for pedagogikk og samfunnsfag - Hamar

Prosjektansvarlig
Julia Melnikova

Prosjektperiode
20.10.2018 - 30.09.2022

Kategorier personopplysninger
Alminnelige
Særlige

Lovlig grunnlag
Samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a)
Uttrykkelig samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a)

Behandlingen av personopplysningene er lovlig så fremt den gjennomføres som oppgitt i meldeskjemaet. Det lovlige grunnlaget gjelder til 30.09.2022.

Meldeskjema

Kommentar
NSD har vurdert endringen registrert 14.05.20.

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen av personopplysninger i prosjektet vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet med vedlegg den 18.05.20. Behandlingen kan fortsette.

Endringen innebærer at enkelte intervju gjennomføres via Zoom. Lyd tas opp ved fysisk isolert

maskinvare (diktafon) og lagres offline i en kryptert mappe.

Zoom er databehandler i prosjektet. NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene til bruk av databehandler, jf. art 28 og 29.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET
NSD vil følge opp underveis (hvert annet år) og ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet/pågår i tråd med den behandlingen som er dokumentert.

Lykke til videre med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Silje Fjelberg Opsvik
Tlf. Personverntjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)

Dissertation articles

1

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Migrant parents at high school: Exploring new opportunities for involvement

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This article examines the at-school opportunities Norwegian high schools provide for involving migrant parents in their children's education. The legal and societal expectations of systematic school-home cooperation with all parents at this time of transition to higher education or employment are relatively new in Norway. Thus, how schools act on these expectations as they meet migrant parents is under-researched. To address this gap, interviews with four leaders of three high schools with different sociocultural profiles and observations of meetings with parents at one of the schools were conducted as a part of this study. Examined through a Bourdieusian lens, parental involvement—or rather traditional lack of at-school parental involvement outside crises—can be interpreted as a form of high-school doxa. This unquestionable truth is now challenged as more rights are granted to parents, and new heterodox beliefs and discourses about parents of adolescents at school emerge. At the same time, the schools in the focus of this study appear to have limited room for imagining forms and content of non-crisis communication with the home, especially when parents do not directly claim their rights, as is true for many migrant families. This study thus contributes to the existing research on parental involvement and home-school relations by emphasizing the need for a professional discussion on more equitable and better situated forms of engaging parents, as well as the school's areas of responsibility in including families in educational communities.

KEYWORDS

parental involvement, high school, migrant parents, upper-secondary education, parental engagement

Introduction

Educators, researchers, and policymakers argue that, just like parents of younger children, parents of adolescents and young adults (those aged 16-19) have a strong potential for cooperating with their school to support the performance and well-being of students (Wang and Sheikh-Khalil, 2014; Vedeler, 2021). At the transition from high school (upper-secondary education) to higher education or career, students come to terms with the tensions between their developing individual autonomy and more

pronounced expectations regarding their choices from both family and culture (Kryger, 2012; Ball et al., 2013). For students with migrant parents, this transition takes place in the context of negotiating multiple identities and belongings affected by race, religion, and language. Therefore, teachers need to reckon with the changes in the students' life and use other strategies for relating to families than in lower grades (Hill et al., 2004; Deslandes and Barma, 2016). They should thus include all families in the dialogue and support around their children's general well-being, schooling, and higher education and career plans as a part of the educational community (Epstein, 2008). This idealized representation of a democratic partnership is, however, criticized for being based on assumptions of homogeneity of families' experiences and positioning with the school (Vincent, 2000). Parents with migrant experiences are a heterogeneous group and are defined for the purpose of the present study as parents or guardians who have moved to Norway as adults with experience of migration and studying in a different school system. Antony-Newman's (2018) meta-synthesis confirms that migrant parents have different stories, distinctive educational expectations, and unique struggles that are often made invisible to the school. Studies looking at how schools meet migrant parents make an important contribution to the discussion on parents and power in education, exploring the differences the families' sociocultural background make in terms of how confident and successful or compliant the parents are in approaching the schools and interpreting their codes (Crozier and Davies, 2007; Vincent, 2017; Pananaki, 2021). The significance of teachers' perception of the role parents should play in their children's education and efforts made by school leadership to make schools more friendly for all parents, as reflected in school practices, have been highlighted as particularly significant for ensuring equitable parental involvement (Kim, 2009; Rissanen, 2019).

At the transition to higher education and career, family migration experiences have been shown to play a significant role in student choices, strategies, and exploration of their identities. Most of the strategies adopted by migrant parents are pursued at home through high aspirations and the use of ethnic networks (Reay et al., 2001; Kindt, 2018). At the same time, there is a dearth of literature on the role high schools play in their encounters with migrant families. At-school parental involvement that is the focus of this paper is here broadly conceptualized as interactions between schools and students' parents or guardians. The practices that high schools initiate, based on Epstein's model, may take the form of organizing school meetings and activities, communicating with parents, and inviting them to volunteer at school and participate in school decision-making (Epstein et al., 2019). A case study involving two U.S. schools conducted by Villavicencio et al. (2021) adds several new age-appropriate contextualized forms of at-school parental involvement. These include mediating between families and students in conflict situations, being open for unplanned conversations, making home visits, and building legal, educational, and emotional support networks for migrant parents. Still, extant research consistently shows that schools are less likely to reach out to parents as their children reach higher grades and mostly do so when there are problems with performance (Seitsinger, 2019). At the upper-secondary level, there is little evidence for schools adopting practices associated with Foucault's (1991) governmentality, where the teachers interfere in their students' home culture in an effort to adjust the socialization process according to the non-migrant middle-class norms (e.g., Vandenbroeck and Bie, 2006; Bendixsen and Danielsen, 2020). In Norway, Vedeler's (2021) recent study involving focus groups with teachers and school leaders shows that where school policy is not clear and deliberate, some high school teachers may choose to have less contact with parents, citing safeguarding the boundaries of student autonomy as their "natural" motivation. Older students may resist parental involvement in forms they see as inappropriate, and the parents, lacking school and community guidance, may retract in response rather than adapt the balance between autonomy and connection (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009; Deslandes and Barma, 2016; Jónsdóttir et al., 2017).

By focusing on the practices Norwegian high schools adopt for involving their students' parents, this paper contributes to the broader research on the schools' role in shaping the dispositions of students with migrant parents at the transition to higher education or career. I examine how three schools enact their role to create opportunities for parental involvement through their home-school encounters. Specifically, I look at how the practice was organized and what matters were discussed during the families' encounters with these schools. In the following section, I present the theoretical tools adopted for this analysis that include Bourdieu's concepts of doxa and field that help expose the mechanisms of the field of high school education and its traditional ways of imagining and doing at-school parental involvement.

Doxa and field change in at-school parental involvement

Bourdieu's theory is often applied to question the school endeavors purported to be beneficial to all students. Bourdieusian analysis has contributed to the exposition of mechanisms of inequality in expansion of higher education, promotion of free school choice, or increasing parental access and representation (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1999; Holme, 2002; Pananaki, 2021). Following in this tradition, in this work, I use the concepts of field, doxa, capital, and habitus to examine how family backgrounds interact with schools' social and cultural contexts. The relationship between the school and the home can be described as a struggle for recognition of various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984). In

this struggle, the acquisition and engagement of different forms and amounts of capital depend on the students' or their parents' habitus. Habitus is the individual's embodied history, including family socialization and early school experience, which manifests itself in the present in the form of behaviors, preferences, and perceptions deeply involved in choice and interpretation of present experiences. A field that the habitus matches is structured so that making choices comes naturally as "procedures to follow, paths to take" with the instruments and institutions set in place for the individual's competent practice (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). An established institution will thus tend to have members with homogeneous habitus that seamlessly fit into their surroundings without the need for coercion or direct reference to rules. The institution will then function in "conductorless orchestration," as the prevailing harmony does not require conscious guidance and can reproduce itself (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 59). Thus, at some high schools, staff and students would share history, language, social codes and a "common sense" regarding the manner and degree of parental involvement at schools and at home. Other schools would have evolved during a shorter time and thus resort more to coercion, not expecting students or parents to understand the implicit ways of the school's practice. More recently developed theories of community cultural wealth and ethnic capital challenge deterministic interpretations of Bourdieu to insist that schools can change and develop appreciation for the capital students coming from non-majority homes possess (see for example Modood, 2004; Yosso, 2005).

Bourdieu highlights the role of the field's doxa—"a set of inseparably cognitive and evaluative presuppositions" most people in a social field take for granted—in constructing the education system's practices (Bourdieu, 2000). Those caught up in the field's game would commonly comply with the doxa, including its imposed sense of limits of what is doable and not doable. Competing beliefs, however, can arise, as in the case of the emergence of more active parental involvement at high school. These changes may stem from the influence of the metafield, that is the field of power where the interests of business, cultural, and intellectual elites of the modern societies clash (Bourdieu, 1996; Lingard et al., 2005). However, in a field, any new discourse can only be mediated by recognized parties (Deer, 2008). This means that, although dominant beliefs can be challenged and changed, the power structures in the field would largely remain the same (Bourdieu, 2000). The middle-class parents—possessing the cultural, social, and economic capital appreciated by the school—are thus best positioned to shape the school field to their advantage (Reay, 1998; Lareau, 2011). Still, parents' ethnic background, migration experience, and different combinations of capital (cultural vs. business middle-class) the families possess also affect how they operate at school. Middle-class families that have migrated to their host country may also experience difficulties in translating their high cultural or economic capital into that of the local schools, even though some gradually become more familiar with the local system through acquisition of social capital and additional education (Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Antony-Newman, 2020).

Norwegian high school context

High school is the first formal point of student selection in Norway, as admittance to the different tracks is based on grade point average. All students who have completed primary and lower secondary education are entitled to high school (upper secondary) education and nearly all (98%) enroll. However, not all students can apply to all tracks, as some tracks qualify students for higher education, others result in vocational certificates, and some combine both. The choice of track and subsequent choice of subjects and subject levels are presented as the young person's independent decision (Hegna and Smette, 2017). In addition to tracking coming late in the schooling process, the understanding of independent and equal choice is reinforced by the absence of university fees and the availability of low-rate loans to support housing and living costs for those pursuing higher education. Vocational tracks are advertised as equally appropriate for all students due to the availability of relatively stable and well-paid vocational career paths. In practice, however, the vocational labor market and apprenticeships are less open for students with migration backgrounds, especially refugees (Jørgensen, 2018). In Norway, there is generally a close relationship between family background and educational and career choices, as students tend to enter occupational domains similar to those of their parents (Helland and Wiborg, 2019).

Since 2006, Norwegian high schools have been bound by law to organize regular general parent meetings (assemblies) and parent conferences, report on student academic progress, and send out warning letters if that progress or attendance may be insufficient for graduation (Norway Ministry of Education and Research, 2006). Unlike compulsory schools, high schools are not expected to involve parents in the decision-making through participation in school boards. Maintaining "ongoing contact" with all parents, irrespective of whether the student is seen as experiencing problems, is required and this responsibility is assigned to a contact teacher, even though the specifics of what ongoing contact means are not provided. This vagueness in the regulation may have a variable effect on the roles of parents depending on their backgrounds. Bæck (2017) argues that the new government policies endorsing parental involvement at school in practice encourage more involvement from middle-class parents, which may eventually increase rather than moderate social differences. This concern echoes Crozier's (2001) earlier warning that treating all the parents equally without recognizing their ethnic diversity may contribute to "widening the gap between the involved and the uninvolved" (p. 338).

In Norway, a contact teacher has similar function to that of homeroom teachers in the U.S. school and form tutors in the UK. While teaching regular subjects, the contact teachers are responsible for attending to their students' administrative issues, organizing special events, participating in teams formed to support students with special needs or in special circumstances, and keeping in contact with the home. In lower grades and some tracks in high school (sports, dance, and recently some specialized science tracks), the same teacher can follow the class over 2 or 3 years. In the teachers' nationwide collective labor agreement (binding for all schools), one to two school hours per week are allocated to this function. This agreement that concerns teachers' pay and working conditions has been recently renegotiated by the trade unions that have a strong influence in Norway. After teachers repeatedly complained of the increasing workload related to out-of-classroom assignments, extra time was included to cover contact teacher assignments. The time was doubled for classes with over 20 students in primary and middle school, but not in high school. As a result, high school teachers have received an extra 15 min of paid working hours per week per student (Bjurstrøm, 2022). This debate around legal distribution of work hours shows that many teachers view their student care responsibilities outside the classroom as a significant burden. The difference in hours allocated between school levels may indicate that the contact teacher role is valued less or is seen as less of a drain on teacher resources in high school. Against this backdrop, the aim of the present study was to examine the high schools' role in encouraging parents to engage in the education of their children. As this is a relatively new topic, a contextualized exploratory multiple-case study was conducted, as described in the next section.

Materials and methods

This paper draws upon the material gathered during a 3-year multiple-case study of three Norwegian senior high schools—one urban (Park High[1]), one rural (Fjord High), and one suburban (Birchwood High). High schools in Norway often specialize in either vocational or academic programs. Following maximum variation case selection strategy to provide rich complexity to the collected data (Flyvbjerg, 2006), I chose schools with different tracks and social histories to explore a breadth of approaches for involving migrant parents these schools adopted. I approached these specific schools as local teacher education programs indicated that they actively worked to involve migrant parents.

The schools: Contextual details

The urban Park High[1] has a large population of students whose parents or grandparents have migrated to Norway, many from Southeast Asia, but also some students that have recently arrived from the Balkans, Middle East, and Eastern Europe. The assistant rector estimated the share of students with migrant backgrounds in the general academic tracks at 80%.[2] Park specializes in academic programs and professional sports tracks but has also previously offered art programs. The school is open in the evenings for free tutoring (Homework Club), exam help, and access to training facilities. After the initial interviews, Park High became my main research site, as this school offered the level of access required for studying their school-home practices in more depth (see Table 1 for an overview of the data collected at the three schools that was used in this article).

Birchwood High hosts highly competitive academic tracks and is located in a suburb where some parents work in the city, some at large local construction projects, and a few are involved in agriculture. Polish, Kurdish, Urdu, and Dari are the most commonly spoken home languages by students with migrant parents at Birchwood. The school hosts both an induction program with Norwegian as a second language (NSL) for recently arrived migrant students and two adapted tracks that admit 30 migrant students who intend to continue into higher education.[3]

Fjord High is a rural school that hosts two academic tracks and five vocational tracks with further specialization, which are popular among local students. Students arrive from local fishing and agricultural villages and from the town located about an hour's bus ride away. Both refugee students attending the local induction program and those already studying in the main tracks come to Fjord on this bus. Other youth travel to the town where the school offers a wider choice of academic, sports, and arts tracks. At the time of this study, approximately 25 students were receiving extra tuition in Norwegian while attending regular classes,[4] many of whom were refugees and most were unaccompanied minors.

1 All names are pseudonyms, and some details were omitted or changed to maintain confidentiality. Schools, and subsequently individual staff members, otherwise could be easily identified in the relatively small Norwegian context.

2 The schools in Norway do not collect or publish statistics on student or parent backgrounds. School profiles are based on interviews with the school leaders.

3 According to municipal information, the offer is adapted for students who need to strengthen their knowledge of Norwegian, English, and other general subjects, before they can apply for ordinary senior high school courses.

4 According to municipal information, the offer is adapted to students who can complete high school in the standard 3 years with some extra language support. The offer is designed for students who can compensate for academic gaps by "working hard" and who aim for higher education. The study requires approximately 3.5/6.0 grade points in science and/or social studies from secondary school.

TABLE 1 School profiles and data.

School	School profile	Interviews	Tracks
Park high	Urban 750 students[2]	School leader (female), 46 min	Academic (three tracks) Sports
Observation of 19 student-teacher conferences with three teachers (one male, two females; average duration.			
Parents of the 19 students present at these conferences: 4 mothers, 3 fathers, 1 with both father and mother, 11 without.			
PowerPoint presentation from general parent.			
Observation of school leader in different contexts, one school.			
Birchwood High	Suburban 650 students	Two school leaders (both female), 55 and 45 min	Academic (two tracks) Academic, adapted[4] (two tracks) Music and Drama Sports NSL-program
Video of principal addressing parents			
Fjord High	Rural 400 students	School leader (male), 43 min	Vocational (five tracks) Academic (two tracks) Preparatory for NSL-students[3]
PowerPoint presentation from general parent meeting			

Exploratory multiple-case study methodology

The present study builds on interviews and observation notes selected from data gathered during a larger multiple-case study. Multiple data sources were brought together to provide deeper understanding of high school encounters with migrant parents in different contexts seen from different perspectives (Stake, 2006; Thomas, 2016). First, I present data from my semi-structured interviews (Rapley, 2012), lasting on average 45 min, with four school leaders—two principals, one assistant principal, and one department leader (see **Table 1** for the details). I have asked them how the school-home cooperation was organized at their schools, what they expected of their students' parents, and whether and in what way the parents were different. As all school leaders had teaching backgrounds and long experience (over 20 years on average), we also discussed school histories and the types of students and parents they had encountered over time, both migrant and non-migrant.

The current paper also builds on my observations of contact with parents at the main study site, Park High. I have analyzed notes of 19 teacher-student conferences (nine of which involved parents), as well as of my informal observations of the work of a school leader with special responsibility for parent contact—at her office, in the school corridors, in the school library and at the teachers' quarters) —and the documents she provided. Due to COVID-19 travel restrictions and rescheduling of meetings, no observations at parent general meetings and evenings were possible. Instead, I used presentations made by the principals at these or pre-COVID meetings, two of which were available in PowerPoint format and one was a video file that Fjord shared with me. Other resources from the case study, including teacher, student, and parent interviews and other online and printed material representing the schools, provided background information. All text was transcribed and coded in the original Norwegian or my first language, with some elements of oral speech remaining. The citations used in this paper were translated and edited into more standard written English to better safeguard the informants' identities.

The required ethics clearance from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) was granted for this project. Due to the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, 15 of 19 of teacher-student conferences I observed were conducted online. Upon a discussion with the contact teachers and the ethics advisor from the NSD about maintaining student confidentiality and well-being, a conclusion was reached that video recording was inadvisable, as it could interfere with what the students and families would be willing to share in these conversations. The participants were informed that my role as an observer was limited to witnessing the school practices, rather than focusing on individual students. They were further advised that they could choose not to have me present in these meetings, and one did. Although I have not discussed individual students with the school leaders, some of the excerpts that might have unintentionally divulged identifying information had to be omitted from the school descriptions to avoid breaches of anonymity.

The analysis conducted as a part of my larger study involved a combination of intuitive processing and some elements of formal inductive coding (Simons, 2009). Interview and video

TABLE 2 Multiple case analysis example.

Stage 1. Zooming out School case narratives	Stage 2. Zooming in Thematic analysis across cases	Stage 3. Zooming out Results: Contextual narrative in study of practice
Birchwood High. Practice, 14 initial codes, including: • Less segregation • Few attend general meetings • Student autonomy • Little contact with migrant parents • Little contact between parents • No policy documents **Park High. Practice**, 27 initial codes, main research site, including: • Less segregation • Few attend general meetings • More attend other events • Student autonomy • Mother's group • Ethnic networks • No policy documents **Fjord High. Practice**, 9 initial codes, main research site, including: • No policy documents • Few attend, general • Student autonomy • Little contact with migrant parents	Theme: Community networks • Less segregation (less recognition of cultural capital) means less network • Little contact with migrant parents (less power/symbolic capital) • Few migrant parents attend general meetings (different cultural capital) • Doxa: Expectations of student autonomy • And no policy documents leads to • Little contact between parents • But Mother's group • But Ethnic networks	Section: General Meetings and networks • Little contact with migrant parents at two schools, more before desegregation at Birchwood • Changes at Park: mother's group, ethnic networks, new forms for meetings • Contextual reason at Park: behavioral issues • Discussion: Can expect more contact, but still around behavioral issues – no change in doxa, but helps with social capital?

transcripts, observation notes, and presentations were organized in NVivo software. The material was first used to construct narratives of school and individual leader cases. Shortened and anonymized versions of these initial school narratives (2–3 pages long) are used in the section "The schools: contextual details" and provide context for the discussion section. In the second stage of my analysis, the material from all data sources, including observation material from Park High, was coded inductively inside each of the cases. It is here that the practices schools adopted to involve parents, rather than what the research informants thought about their experiences with parents, came into focus. My final analysis conducted for this article was performed across the cases to identify a variety of common themes connected to school practices while defocusing in order to increase the study's validity by being sensitive to the specific school and community contexts (Stake, 2006; Simons, 2009). The categories that emerged included General meetings, Crisis communication (at one-on-one and class level), Community networks, Concern for student autonomy and safety, Time and other resources, and Choices and assessment. Change was a theme that originated from the individual case narratives and permeated all categories. The interpretation of data in this study was not linear (Rule and John, 2015), but a simplified example describing the steps in the analysis process for theme Community networks is provided in Table 2. I take up the themes that emerged in the analysis in the next section to answer the research questions of how practice of involving parents at school was organized and what matters were discussed with or presented to the parents. Given the differences in the school contexts and available data, no systematic comparison was attempted. This strategy also aligns with the main objective of this article—establishing how difference was constructed in schools' practices rather than examining discourses about parents and experiences with them. This focus was born out of my engagement with Bourdieu's theory and previous research, as well as my interest in the schools' enactment of the new regulation on involving parents at the high school level which had been in force in Norway since 2006. However, none of my informants remembered that change, so other elements of school governance became more central to the analysis, such as the collective labor agreements.

Results: School efforts to involve parents in children's education, old practices, and change

At all three schools at which my study was conducted, the leaders agreed that parents were important for the students' well-being and performance, including positive and negative influences. They particularly appreciated the subtler at-home forms of encouragement and care. Indicating the changes in the field of schooling, the leaders acknowledged that the old, for some nostalgic, days of academic gymnasium schools predating the reforms of the 1990s were relegated to history. The teacher

could no longer go into the classroom, shut the door, teach the subject, and then go straight home to prepare the next day's lectures alone. Cooperation was now widely expected not only with other teachers, but also with other professionals (including various specialized counselors, nurses, and psychologists) and social agencies, and with parents. In the words of the leader from Park High, "The autonomous teacher is gone." Another important change that all three school leaders referred to was that, in the current system, the students have much greater legal rights in terms of the school's responsibility for providing an environment free from bullying and generally supporting their well-being and learning. Birchwood and Fjord in particular have experienced that parents and students would accordingly refer to the new Section 9A-4 of the Education Act (Norway Ministry of Education and Research, 1998) that came into force in 2017, enforcing the students' right to experience a "good physical and psycho-social environment." This section, rather than changes to home-school cooperation regulations, came to mind of my informants when I talked about the changes in the legal framework of their work with parents. Still, the strategies, policies, and the amount of effort the schools and individual teachers invested in their encounters with parents varied across schools and teachers, as well as among what they recognized as different groups of parents. I now present forms of at-school involvement practices, general and one-on-one, before turning to matters discussed with parents at the three schools.

Forms of involving parents at school: How practice was organized

Generally, I found that contact with migrant parents did not constitute a significant part of the teachers' job, with the exception of a few students that required special attention (due to being in some sort of difficulty or crisis) and some work related to testing and formal notices about attendance and grades. The framework of the collective labor agreement with approximately 2 h per week allocated for contact teacher work was mentioned by leaders at both Fjord and Birchwood when discussing this topic. There were no other local policy or strategy documents concerning parental involvement at the schools, and only Fjord had a section of its website dedicated to parents. The teachers and leaders at Birchwood and Fjord struggled to recruit migrant parents for my study, admitting that they had limited contact with student families, or had contact with parents who would not feel comfortable talking about rather difficult situations that required their involvement at school.

General meetings and community networks

Based on my interviews with school leaders and observations at schools, with the exception of critical situations, the expectations from all three schools in terms of at-school participation by parents were confined mainly to attendance at two to four general meetings during the first 2 of the 3 years of high school. The first general parent assembly soon after the start of the first school year was seen as particularly important. Still, all general meetings were held outside work hours to facilitate attendance and were considered the central arena for establishing and maintaining contact. There was, however, a marked difference in attendance between groups of parents and the efforts to invite parents varied from teacher to teacher. Having general parent meetings at the high-school level, although not legally required prior to 2006, was not new at any of the three schools, were this practice dates back to the 1990s and 1980s. In the past, at times of large refugee crises, Birchwood organized separate general meetings for parents with specific refugee backgrounds and invited interpreters. However, as the number of languages the parents could speak increased over time, having too many interpreters was deemed impractical as it would disrupt the meetings. The school leaders noted that there has also been less segregation of migrant students over the years. This means that schools now have fewer classes where all or most students are migrants or where no students have migrant backgrounds, reducing their visibility as a group and efforts made at including parents from specific ethnic groups. Judging by PowerPoint presentations and the video I received from the schools, these general meetings were now organized in a traditional format where the principal and some leaders welcomed the families and introduced themselves and the school, after which families moved to individual classrooms where contact teachers made their presentations followed by a few questions from the parents. The second general meeting was often reserved for discussions with subject teachers and was popular with the more involved parents at Park and Birchwood. Career guidance counselors were also available for the parents and students to ask questions at the end of these meetings.

For a few years, the urban Park High has been testing a new strategy, whereby a general parent assembly was replaced by meetings with the contact teacher, which in the views of the school leader would also allow the parents to get to know each other. I have also received a one-page description of Park's attempt to organize a meeting where parents were more active. As a part of this initiative, contact teachers were supposed to hold a 20-min group discussion in a classroom setting about how parents "think middle school is different from high school" and what expectations they have of "the teachers and the school" with written answers presented in plenum. The following excerpt is taken from the description of the reasoning behind this new plan:

> School-home collaboration project method aims to reach parents with immigrant backgrounds in a more dialogue-based way that seems engaging and in a slightly more "harmless" setting. The goal is to get immigrant parents more involved in the field so that they can help the school to help their children succeed in school.

Although the counselor who suggested the method was on parental leave during my study, it is interesting that the suggestion was still presented to me as a form of documentation. Not going into details of how migrant parents are presented in this discourse, in terms of school practice, which is the focus of this article, the idea of changing meeting form to reach out to parents is in this document seen as novel and requiring "committed school leaders and committed teachers."

In terms of other opportunities for building networks, and thus maintaining and gaining social capital, when asked if parents formed any groups or if they mostly had one-on-one contact with the school, a school leader at Birchwood answered:

> You used to know all the parents of your 10th grade, but suddenly you're in our region. Now you can apply to seven different schools, and then here, you suddenly have no parent network. So, I, as a parent, also experienced going to parent meetings and not knowing anyone. It's a bit like "hello," but very distant.

The school leader argues that it is normal irrespective of parent background, for parents of all high school children to lose contact with each other as the students choose schools in different parts of the city or municipality. Contrary to this description of normality in this middle-class suburban school with migrant parents in the minority, urban Park High was hosting a newly established mothers' group. According to the group's leader that I interviewed, their purpose was mainly to empower the local women to support the community by, for example, patrolling the streets at night, and to help the newly arrived families orient themselves in the city's public services. The school was not the organizer or the sole focus of the group's program, but they offered parenting courses where the importance of attending parent meetings was specifically communicated. At Park, the leader hoped that the new parent network could help them reach the parents they "needed."

At this school, the expectations regarding parental involvement were higher than at the two other schools, partly because of behavioral issues. I observed planning for a meeting at Park to address student behavior in one of the classes. A counselor led the discussion, listening to what the teachers who worked with the class experienced and giving advice on how to guide the meeting so that the conflict did not escalate, but all sides felt heard and appreciated, as exemplified by the following excerpt from my observation notes:

> Counselor: [We need to master the] way to listen and understand, not comment, not justify ourselves, so that they [the students involved in a conflict] feel understood and listened to. Take up some challenges and how they experience them.

The counselor, the contact teacher, and the school leader came back to me after the meeting and said that they were thrilled and relieved when several parents came and showed support and understanding for the school. In my notes after the meeting, I quote the contact teacher saying:

> It's very good when the parents are, like, "I know how this feels, what you are faced with" when they support us. It is good that you've put some effort into [planning] this.

As I interpret it, parents were "needed" by the school partly because student behavior was, like in the situation I observed, more often perceived as a challenge. School leaders and teachers were thus disappointed when many parents did not meet up. Both general and individual meetings were seen as an important opportunity to establish and maintain contact and, apparently, control. Irrespective of the motivation behind the efforts to invite more parents and build a parent network, the parents at Park were visible. The leader expressed to me that she was surprised at how many parents now showed up for the open house the school organizes for potential applicants. Students attended and were actively involved in all the aforementioned meetings. This is also true of the so-called parent conferences, which in my experience were teacher-student conferences with parents in attendance, which are described below.

In sum, the two primary forms of at-school involvement including groups of parents were general meetings and school-initiated contact in crises. On those occasions, the attending parents were, as was the tradition, expected to be passive listeners, with room for only a few questions after presentations made by the school staff. When attempts to introduce dialogue were made, the discussion was still to be carefully planned and strongly controlled by the school. The parents could write or speak in front of a large audience and always on school territory. Only Park High leadership was concerned with building a community network that connected local parents and the school. Given the cultural heterogeneity of this school's parent population, this effort can contribute to parents maintaining and developing their social capital, especially if it prompts the parents to see each other as a source of support. This initiative can be further strengthened if, hopefully, some of the Southeast Asian parents (a large group at Park), many of whom are already rich in school-related social and cultural capital, are also invited to join the group. This assertion also aligns with the findings of Li and Sun (2019) pointing to the importance of closer contact between schools and Asian immigrant families. They argue that when parents meet the school, students get new opportunities to negotiate the sociocultural differences that can create conflict between how education is approached at home and school, while teachers better understand the differences within this group, thereby avoiding the model minority stereotype.

One-on-one contact: Planned conferences and crisis communication

In terms of planned direct contact between parents and teachers, there is a legal requirement that high schools hold two annual parent-teacher conferences before the students reach the age of majority of 18 to discuss student progress and well-being. Starting from the compulsory school, students almost always attend these meetings, and sometimes take the lead in organizing them as a presentation of their recent work and progress. As high school students could, to a large degree, decide whether the parents needed to be there at all, I noted that the teachers often did not know whether the students' parents would be attending.

At the online student-teacher meetings I observed under COVID-19 rules at Park, one or two parents were present at 8 out of 15 conferences. One of the three conferences I observed at the school premises was attended by a father. One teacher explicitly decided not to invite parents on this occasion, choosing instead to maintain contact *via* regular phone calls. The meetings were organized as 10-15 min conversations with individual students, where the teacher, once or twice, asked the parents whether they had "anything they wonder about," and after receiving a short answer or a simple "no" followed by one more question and a brief response, the conversation returned to the student. On a few occasions, the parents were unsure whether the teacher was talking to them or the student, as the student was usually at the center. This dynamic is demonstrated in the following extract from an online conference with a first-year student. After suggesting some strategies to improve his English grade, the teacher turns to the father:

> Teacher: Anything you wonder about?
> Father: Generally, how it goes. Many things are new [after middle school. It's] difficult to follow.
> Teacher: A lot is new for us too. We see society turned upside down.
> Father: What will happen to the assessments [under lockdown]?
> Teacher: Assessments are so much more than just tests. Tests do not show the full extent of what students can do! We take a more holistic approach. I think it's important. Some do well on the tests, some do very poorly. The math exam is fully digital, English – more listening, filling in, oral, choice. We don't know much yet. Teachers are also waiting.
> Father: [There's] lots of change, from day to day.
> Teacher: Some classes are quarantined for the fourth time. You [students] need to be at school, but it works when you come every other day.
> Father: Better than nothing.
> Teacher: I focus on 16 students. [Back to the student] Anything you wonder about?

All parents except one had migration background but did not seem to have problems understanding Norwegian. All three schools reported that they used interpreters in individual meetings whenever parents indicated that this was required. All students in the class I observed were born in Norway or came to Norway as small children, except for one. This student's father, who has been in Norway for 4 years, was present and responded to the teacher with a few words. The student struggled somewhat with language related to educational and subject choices, but the teacher explained things several times until the point seemed to come through. The language barrier and time expectations could have made some parents more hesitant to ask more questions and the teacher reluctant to delve deeper into the matters they were discussing (the content of conversations is addressed in more detail in section "Matters to discuss with parents").

Most attention was placed on students' measurable goals and individual strategies for reaching them in the different core subjects, with the contact teachers dedicating more time to their subject areas. A few migrant parents engaged actively and naturally with these matters in their dialogue with the school, asking about homework, grades, and tutoring opportunities. However, most parents, including the only non-migrant (mother), took on a more subtle interest and caring role, often briefly praising the student for being clever, hard-working, or motivated. A leader at Park stated that the school alternated between inviting and not inviting parents to student-teacher meetings because the one-on-one time between the teacher and the student with complete focus on the student's academic progress and goals was seen as necessary, as indicated below:

> Because you may want to create motivation in the young person, and then the parents may be sitting there being very critical of their own child. We have to try to do a little bit of both.

None of the parents I have observed or interviewed in the larger study, however, appeared to be critical of their children. The COVID-19 lockdown has provided opportunities for gaining insight into more personal and familial exchanges between the teacher and the families in online meetings. I have observed the teacher expressing concern regarding the time spent by the student on schoolwork, proposing ways of going out to get some fresh air. I have also witnessed a short exchange about a recent loss of a family member, where the teacher responded, "When something like this happens, it will affect anyone. You should allow yourself. just always do your best." One of the parents questioned their adolescents' multitasking habits, and the teacher calmed her down:

> It's not good, but mine at home are the same. The brain works best when we sit and focus. [...] But listening to music is effective. They don't notice. [With] 23 [students] in the classroom, they're not used to having it very quiet.

Here, the teacher can be seen as helping the parents to support student autonomy, in line with Deslandes and Barma's (2016) observation that high school teachers need to be mindful of the challenge parents face in establishing a right balance between adolescents' autonomy and connection to allow for openness in their relationship. However, these short exchanges never developed into full-scale mediation between parents and students, and the conversation quickly returned to the student and specific learning strategies and goals.

At Birchwood and Fjord, the direct information flow between the school and the parents for "non-problematic" students was limited unless initiated by the parents. No opportunities for parental engagement in school decision-making or digital communication were provided. Parents could ask for access to the students' digital platform with grades and lesson plans. Based on the information gathered as a part of my larger study, students and teachers at all three schools concurred that most parents never made such requests. The leadership of all three schools spoke of their attempts to expand outreach to all parents by promoting the practice of the contact teacher routinely phoning or sending an e-mail to parents of the entire first-year class, making them welcome at school, and inviting them to the first general meeting. Several teachers commented that the parents were surprised when the school used the time just to welcome them, as they were used to be approached only in difficult situations. It appears that some parents (mostly non-migrants) did initiate communication with the school, usually by calling to raise a complaint or claim their child's rights. At Birchwood, according to the information a school leader shared during the interview, a special hierarchy was developed for parent calls to prevent parents from routinely contacting the principal. At Park, where most parents had migrant backgrounds, the leader I interviewed and observed did have contact with several parents, as students that we met followed up on earlier conversations she had with their parents, and parents ringed while I was in her office. Even contact in times of difficulty or crisis could be limited to students under the legal age of 18. Older students could withdraw permission for the school to contact their parents and, as a leader at suburban Birchwood said, contact was generally "phases out" once students reached the age of 18.

To summarize, my findings concerning the form of one-on-one contact with the parents, digital or physical, correspond to those of Seitsinger (2019), who reported that high schools had contact with parents less than once a week. They also concur with the observations made by Deslandes and Barma (2016), indicating that parents of high school students perceive teachers as reluctant to make contact before things get "very serious" (p. 19). Some parents did have contact with the school, but they had to possess the relevant cultural capital in order to initiate it. Before turning to the content of school-parent encounters, I note that the agendas of these meetings were predominantly formulated and often carefully conceived by the staff. The school not only largely decided how meetings were organized but also formulated the matters to be discussed. In the next section, I analyze these discussion topics based on my observations, PowerPoint presentations from general meetings, and templates for student-teacher conferences.

Matters to discuss with parents

The matters the schools expected to discuss with the parents, outside crises, were predominantly related to students' individual academic achievement and well-being expectations. At Park, the school leader, for example, said that some parents phone her often early in the year and share concerns that their child has not yet made any new friends. According to the interviews and presentations I studied, the typical themes of general meetings included teaching and attendance, assessment (the difference between summative and formative evaluations), student rights and ways to handle complaints, and subject and education choices (see summary in **Table 3**). These topics concur with those that emerged from Antony-Newman's (2018) meta-synthesis of research on parental involvement of immigrants, showing that involvement was defined in narrow school-centric terms of academic performance, which meant that "issues of genuine inclusion of immigrant parents, their cultures and experiences are often side-lined" (p. 367; see also Doucet, 2011).

When presenting their expectations of parental involvement at the general assemblies, all school leaders highlighted the importance of school-home collaboration and provided contact information and dates for new meetings, as well as outlined the way student attendance was registered. The principal at Fjord defined the parental role at high school as follows:

> Many people probably think that now the students and children are so big and mature, they are 16–17 years old, and now we as parents do not have to think so much about school anymore. But all experience shows that it is very important that you, parents, get into the school race together with the student by asking about how things are going at school, what kind of subjects you have had today, what did you learn today and so on. That's very important. We do not expect you to be able to provide homework help in all sorts of subjects, but [to communicate] general interest in schooling. It helps to strengthen the opportunity for the student to graduate and pass the school year.

The school leader further expressed that they expected to be able to contact the parents even once the student turned 18, and the students signed special voluntary consent forms to enable this continuation. Birchwood also had a detailed

TABLE 3 Themes presented at general parent meetings.

Park high, meeting 1	Birchwood high, meeting 1	Birchwood high, meeting 2	Fjord high, meeting 1
PowerPoint, 28 slides	*PowerPoint, 14 slides*	*PowerPoint, 24 slides*	*Principal's video address, 25 min*
Welcome to cooperation, 2 slides Contacts, 4 slides About our school, 2 slides Teaching, 2 slides Assessment and exams, 1 slide Attendance, 9 slides Student well-being, 5 slides Parental involvement, 1 slide Subject choice, 3 slides	About our school, 1 slide Parental involvement, 2 slides Expectations from students, 1 slide Teaching, 2 slides Assessment and exams 4 slides Student well-being, 1 slide Attendance, 2 slides	Subject choice, 15 slides Assessment and exams, 5 slides Application forms, 2 slides Contacts, 1 slide	Welcome to new students Contacts, 1 min Parental involvement, 5 min Subject choice, 1/2 min Student well-being, 10 min Assessment and curriculum, 5 min Attendance, 1 min Stipend for PC, 2 min Cooperation around substance misuse, 1 min Welcome again

summary of their view of parental involvement at high school, which according to its PowerPoint presentation, is:

- The students are approaching the age of the majority.
- Parents and guardians become less important.
- School is the students' choice and responsibility.
- However, parents can support and help.
- Be aware of notifications about attendance.
- We call in parents and guardians when needed.

The schools appear to differ in their approach to parental involvement. It is more welcoming at Fjord that, as a school with mostly vocational programs, is not often approached by "complaining" middle-class parents, and is more reserved at Birchwood, where those parents are in the majority. It is also worth noting that no references to culture, religion, or social issues were made in any of the presentations, thus treating all parents as a homogenous group. Both presentations are in line with the findings obtained in the Norwegian (Vedeler, 2021) and international context (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2009; Deslandes and Barma, 2016), showing that at-school involvement is not part of the natural, doxic ways of parents of high school students. The involvement is seen as largely instrumental, with the aim of supporting completion and ultimately graduation (see also Antony-Newman, 2018).

As described in the previous section, the parent conferences I observed loosely followed the school's template that teachers were encouraged but not required to use. The template states the goals of the conversation as a reflection on the student's academic ambitions, learning strategies, and classroom environment. The latter meets the requirements under Section 9A-4 of the Education Act adopted to counteract bullying and protect student well-being. The template also included questions related to student well-being, first-semester grades, learning strategies, teacher expectations, choice of subjects, and dreams and ambitions. In relation to the learning strategies, the teacher and student discussed organizing study groups and transitioning from school to university, requiring more independent learning strategies. The parents showed interest in homework, tutoring (Homework Club), and organizing the time and space for homework completion. All parties were concerned with the new formative assessment forms and subject choice.

When asked about parent complaints in their interviews, the leaders of all three schools talked about their responsibility to get the parents to trust that they work in the students' best interests. At the same time, especially when migrant parents were concerned, the school leaders were sometimes convinced that the teachers and school counselors had a better understanding of students' interests than their parents did and felt they would breach the students' trust if they engaged with the parents. At Park High, there was also a clear concern for students' safety at home, and the school provided room for a special "minority councilor" employed by the Directorate for Integration and Diversity specifically to counter "negative social control, forced marriage, and honor-related violence." These concerns were notably made by teachers and school leaders based on their conversations with students and experience dealing with crises, given that they did not have long-term trusting relations with many of the parents. The schools especially guarded students' independence in choosing subjects and higher education or career. Park and Birchwood saw it as their responsibility to guide the parents to understand that "not everyone should become a doctor or a lawyer" and that many other professions existed and that could be more appropriate for their children. Apart from minority councilor's job description, in the three schools and outside general meeting context migrant parents were not treated as a homogeneous group. The school leaders, sometimes after being prompted to share their views about students outside induction classes, did indicate the somewhat essentialized categories of refugees, newly arrived students, work migrants, Muslims, and model minority Asian students, or remembered individual parents with whom they were in more

regular contact. Both leaders interviewed at Birchwood said that, in their experience, differences between migrant parents are much greater than between "Norwegians." Still, the school policies and practices did not indicate that the schools saw this heterogeneity as worth exploring in any depth. Moreover, the information leaders provided about individual students was not always confirmed in the interviews with those students.

Discussion: Schools' shifting responsibility

The preceding analysis of interviews with school leaders, observation notes, and presentations indicates that the way the three schools in focus of this study addressed parental involvement was contextualized. Schools differed in terms of the matters discussed, including which parents got to have a say on their children's education and choices. Differences were also noted in the degree to which teachers and school leaders saw engaging all families as their responsibility. Interestingly, as the schools moved from the more segregated practices of individual "migrant" classes to more inclusive practices, their attention to migrant parents waned. As a result, the doxa of minimal parental involvement beyond the context of crisis management was implicitly restored. The exception was made for parents who "knew the students" rights' and had the right forms of capital (which mostly applied to parents that were not migrants) to position themselves as dominant in the field and make the school responsive and responsible. This created what Bourdieu (2000) calls the situation of "real inequality within formal equality" (p. 76). When crises occurred, the migrant parents were invited but were engaged in the discussion in a subordinate role of disciplinarians. Still, getting them on board was difficult, primarily because no time was invested by the school personnel to earn their trust, as pointed out by Deslandes and Barma (2016).

The ideal of free choice and the teachers' concern with safeguarding student autonomy by not involving the parents unless this was deemed necessary correspond to some of the values demonstrated in Vedeler's (2021) study of the Norwegian high school approach to all parents. The emphasis on student independence and individual choice can be connected to Gullestad's (1996) descriptions of the modern quest of youth finding themselves and exploring their identity through resisting and reinterpreting family influences. The author argued that, to meet the needs of the modern flexible entrepreneurial economy, children needed to learn to be "tuned to indirect and subtle cues, to be a part of teamwork where the power relations can be more or less hidden" (p. 37). The modern parenting style Gullestad describes with its subtle expectations and focus on internal discipline today can be attributed especially to the cultural middle-class of academics, journalists, or writers, which can include teachers. In her interviews with middle-class high school students, Eriksen (2020, p. 108) observed that, in contrast to the cultural middle-class with its "detachment between parents and school" and internalized career ambitions, financial middle-class parents made quite explicit academic demands of their children and practiced direct consequences to award or punish school achievement. This assertion may indicate that the teacher practices identified in the present study are guided by habitus associated with their class rather than by any uniform Norwegian or Western culture they intend to instill in students whose migrant parents are not socialized with the same values of flexibility and identity exploration that form the cultural capital appreciated by the field of schooling (see also Lareau, 2011).

In line with this doxic understanding of parent role at high school, all three schools provided limited opportunities and had no expectation for parental involvement in positive or neutral cooperation. There were also no systematic guidelines for moderating conflicts between parents and children, and unplanned contact or access to community networks was rarely provided by the schools, unlike the findings reported by Villavicencio et al. (2021). Schools did not invite parents to discuss curriculum or the students' home culture values, dreams, and educational plans, although at Park, they could be present at some of such discussions between teacher and student. Generally, families were recognized as an important part of the students' life, which was seemingly expected to largely remain outside the school's purview. In line with the national trends recognized in the general labor agreement, insufficient resources were allocated to support development of trust by all parents, as other pressing issues were given precedence (school behavior, new curriculum, new teaching and assessment methods, anti-bullying campaigns). These priorities describe the influence of the field of power that impacts what is recognized as valuable capital in the global field of education policy (Bourdieu, 1996; see also Lingard et al., 2005). The teachers, especially in the Norwegian context, still maintain a degree of autonomy from the field of power and could demonstrate resistance to the dominant practices by recognizing the migrant parents' capital, as for example described by Rissanen (2022). As long as teachers only merit non-migrant middle-class parents' attempts to interfere and remain unwilling to initiate change themselves, the school system will only serve to perpetuate inequalities in student performance, well-being, and educational aspirations. The findings yielded by this study confirm the observation made by Lareau and Horvat (1999) more than two decades ago that only parents who manage to engage their cultural and social capital in the school field by actively demanding attention and acting in the interests of individual students benefit from the legislative change. As a possible exception, staff at Park High, with its large population of students with migrant backgrounds, is readily discussing new ways of involving parents more, thus breaking with the traditional discourses on parents' absence at high school from a position of power. However, these discussions still mostly focus on "hard-to-reach parents" (Crozier and Davies, 2007)

who may be failing in their taken-for-granted role as emotional supporters and disciplinarians for their adolescent children. Some indications that schools are willing to take greater responsibility for broader involvement of all parents are emerging at Park High, both through new, more inclusive forms of involvement and communication, including this school's cooperation with the local mothers' group, as well as through unplanned telephone contacts and new conversations with parents about student well-being and future plans brought about by the recent COVID-19 pandemic.

Conclusion

A decade after the first policy changes introduced mandatory home-school communication in Norwegian high schools, the teachers that took part in the present study have developed a new awareness of the importance of parental involvement in students' transition to higher education and work. At the same time, the schools appear to have limited room for imagining unorthodox forms and content of cooperation with the home. The focus on the relatively few formally organized occasions when parents meet the school staff is mostly on appraisal, attendance, and student behavior. These themes and forms of communication are more appropriate for the parents with middle-class habitus who are more concerned with their children's performance and are more at ease in the school environment. Hence, many migrant parents' reluctance to be involved in these limited roles may not be surprising. An unorthodox broader recognition of the families' resources, interests, and futures beyond individual student performance on measurable outcomes would be a positive next step in expanding parental involvement in a diverse world. In light of Bourdieu's analysis of the school as a stratified field, this recognition would be more difficult to accomplish at schools with a long history of "orchestrated" relations with parents in which parents' more subtle forms of engagement with the children's education are taken for granted (Bourdieu, 2000). It remains to be seen how the new stream of immigrants from Ukraine can affect the schools' practices. The school system may perceive this development as a crisis requiring extra temporary investment to build mutual relationships, if only initially, to resort to some practices of governmentality common at lower grades (Bendixsen and Danielsen, 2020). At the same time, the relatively high level of education and perceived cultural closeness to this new group of parents could create an expectation of a more seamless orchestration with the school's doxa and relieve the teachers of their sense of responsibility to initiate more contact. In this case, they will be unlikely to make sufficient room for the new migrant parents to engage their cultural capital. Still, as indicated by the findings reported here, there is an urgent need for a wider professional and political discussion on more equitable and situated forms of engaging parents with an emphasis on school responsibility for taking the initiative and establishing trust. To accomplish lasting change, additional resources should be made available for contact teachers in the collective labor agreement. As recognized parties in the field's discourse, who possess a certain degree of reflexivity, teacher educators and teachers should take the lead in these discussions and demonstrate resistance to the field's doxa. As this study indicates particularly strong doxic resistance against equitable involvement of parents at the upper-secondary level, further empirical research, including larger quantitative studies at high school, is needed. Change in practice is necessary if the schools are to fully benefit from cultural diversity. School leaders and staff then can appreciate all parents beyond their currently narrow roles of disciplinarians and complainers and to facilitate respectful inclusion of students and families of all backgrounds in educational communities and society.

Data availability statement

The datasets presented in this article are not readily available in order to maintain participant anonymity. Requests to access the datasets should be directed to JM, julia.melnikova@hivolda.no.

Ethics statement

The studies involving human participants were reviewed and approved by the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research. The patients/participants provided their written informed consent to participate in this study. Written informed consent was obtained from the individual(s) for the publication of any potentially identifiable images or data included in this article.

Author contributions

JM was the only contributor to this article and has designed the study, completed ethical approval process, data collection, analysis, and all writing in the manuscript.

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Conflict of interest

The author declares that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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2

The Roles of Migrant Parents in High School as Constructed by Teachers and Students: A "Double-edged Sword"

Julia Melnikova

Introduction

Parental involvement in their children's education has long been viewed as a resource that can contribute to students' school performance and well-being at all school levels, including high (upper secondary) school (Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Current parental involvement policies and practices, however, are a cause for concern among researchers for two major reasons. First, some practices can infringe on the autonomy of the families by bringing the dominant classroom culture into the home (e.g., Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Vandenbroeck & Bie, 2006). Second, parents' positioning within the school context is unequal, as the roles they are allowed (or able) to play are influenced by class, ethnicity, and gender, which can create an imbalance of power in their encounters with school officials and staff (e.g., Auerbach, 2007; Goodall, 2019; Lareau, 1987). This study is placed in this critical tradition and focuses specifically on the encounter between migrant families and Norwegian high schools.

Social class and migration from specific regions remain significant factors for student dropout decisions and lower school performance in most countries, including Norway, despite its relatively high levels of intergenerational social mobility (Reisel et al., 2019). Migrant families constitute a heterogeneous group that brings to school a diversity of expectations and experiences, including knowledge of other school cultures. For the purposes of this study, I have defined the group broadly to include parents and guardians who have moved to Norway

as adults, both as refugees and workers. Based on a longitudinal study of children of migrants in Norway, Friberg (2019) concluded that migrant parents held high educational aspirations for their children, expecting them to work hard at school despite having lower economic and cultural resources compared to their non-migrant peers. Migrant parents may possess school-related cultural and social capital, including behaviors, knowledge, and attitudes institutionalized as high-status in the educational field (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). This capital, however, is seldom easily recognized and activated in the school context (Vincent, 2017).

Parental involvement in this study is broadly conceptualized as the family's various interactions pertaining to their children's schooling, including both school-based and home-based practices. According to Epstein's typology (Epstein et al., 2019), school-based practices encompass attending school meetings and activities, communicating with school staff, volunteering at school, and participating in decision-making at the school and community levels. Expectations regarding involvement at home include imparting high educational aspirations to their children, engaging children in extracurricular activities or learning at home, following their learning progress, discussing their academic or career plans, and creating a supportive home environment (Epstein et al., 2019). In Norway, policies endorsing parental involvement relate solely to school-based practices. A decade ago, policy was changed to make ongoing contact with parents obligatory at high-school level, mainly to reduce school dropout rates. Research still indicates that when students reach these higher grades, schools can allow contact with home to dwindle and tend to initiate communication only when problems are identified by teachers or parents (Melnikova, 2022; Vedeler, 2021).

In this chapter, I explore the teachers' and students' constructions of roles for involvement for parents of students between the ages of 16 and 19. Two questions are of interest here: What do high school teachers and students say about what migrant parents can

and should do to support their children's education? How do constructions of parent roles differ depending on parents' economic and cultural capital and different school contexts? In addressing these questions, I draw on the data gathered as a part of a multiple case study and analyze it in the light of Bourdieu's capital and field theory (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000), connecting socialization to social practice after briefly describing the Norwegian high school context.

Norwegian Context: Autonomous High School Student and Parental Involvement

The Norwegian school system has a declared function of promoting inclusion and equality of educational opportunity in a common school for students of all backgrounds and abilities, resulting in little formal use of tracking or ability grouping (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014). Interaction across social and cultural boundaries at the high-school level, however, is challenged because students are enrolled in general academic and vocational tracks based on their previous school attainment. This transition marks the first formal stage of selection in the Norwegian education system. Upper secondary education is not compulsory, but is free of charge to all students, and over 90% enroll in high school. The outcomes, consequential for college degree completion and trajectories later in life, are strongly associated with parents' education levels (Grendal, 2021). However, the central choices students make at this stage are culturally constructed as being made by the secondary students independently (Hegna & Smette, 2017). Gullestad observed that the role of parenting in the Norwegian context could be defined as "getting them to choose freely to manage themselves in certain ways" (Gullestad, 1996, p. 37), although these allegedly free choices are kept in check by the parents' indirect mediation.

This individualization of responsibility for life choices has been attributed to the culture of late modernity and is argued to be unlike the more explicit role of communicating specific values or ideas characteristic of parenting in more traditional, collectivist societies that emphasize family interdependence (Bauman, 2001; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Although not all migrants come from collectivist societies and not all parents from collectivist or individualistic societies are the same, some cross-cultural and cross-generational differences in parenting style can be expected. Nevertheless, Kindt's (2019) study of students with migrant parents enrolled in prestigious higher education programs indicates that they have experienced what would be considered as typical middle-class upbringing and were allowed to make autonomous choices.

This expectation of student autonomy at the high school level is in stark contrast to the high degree of parental involvement in the education of younger children prompted by schools' demand for intensive school-related parenting, or more specifically, mothering (Griffith & Smith, 2004). In a study by Bendixsen and Danielsen (2020), Norwegian primary school teachers expected parents to attend school activities, as well as help their children with mathematics and memorizing English words, while also reading or swimming with them, and organizing parties. This list of duties is consistent with the concept of concerted cultivation, a parenting style rooted in the premise that parents are solely responsible for their children's future (Lareau, 1987). In contrast, the requirements of the current regulation for what in the Norwegian policy context is referred to as "home-school cooperation" are rather humble. High schools are bound by law to organize regular general parent meetings and parent conferences, report on student academic progress, and send out warning letters if that progress or attendance is considered insufficient for graduation (Regulation to the Education Act, 2006). Maintaining "ongoing contact" with all parents is also required and is the responsibility of a contact teacher[1].

The specifics of what ongoing contact entails, what the contact should contain, or how this contact needs to be documented, are not provided. There is no mention of the parents' at-home practices, albeit these are known to be especially significant for the academic progress of older students (e.g., Boonk et al., 2018). At this level, parents are no longer invited to participate in school governance, although the country's Education Act (1998, § 1) states that education in all schools must happen "in collaboration and agreement with the home." The policy's openness means that the quality of support and guidance for the involvement of migrant parents is largely dependent on the professional judgment of school leaders and teachers. In this context, studying teacher and student construction of parent roles is particularly relevant.

Migrant Family Capital Meets Field of Schooling

Bourdieu's (1990) theory of practice helps reveal mechanisms of reproduction of inequality that can go unnoticed in the schools' parental involvement practice. Social fields are demarcated from other fields by their relative autonomy in that they, over time, set their own constraints on what is doable, reasonable, and valuable. Bourdieu (2000) compared these limitations to those of a masterful "composer at her piano" (p. 116), who has unlimited and unpredictable creative possibilities, while also being constrained by the mechanics of the instrument. In her ethnographic study of parental involvement in the USA, Lareau (1987) described an example of such mastery in the field of education, denoting it as concerted cultivation in reference to the parenting style adopted by parents whose social and cultural capital is highly valued by the school.

Through numerous and varied organized after-school activities and the way they communicate with teachers and other professionals, these parents foster in their children

reasoning skills, a sense of academic entitlement, command of time management, and self-confidence when interacting with various bureaucrats. The middle class families that took part in Lareau's study were rich in economic capital (in the form of money and consequently time) as well as cultural capital (constituting relevant skills, knowledge, and credentials acquired over time) and relevant social capital (manifesting through networks involving other parents and professionals with relevant experience and knowledge). The combination of relevant capital and habitus orchestrated with the field gave these families privilege over working-class parents and migrant and otherwise minoritized parents, who were likely to be less familiar with the field. Studies conducted across Europe show that migrant families may have limited knowledge of the school system or face significant barriers when communicating with schools (e.g., Vincent, 2017). Under those constraints, even migrant parents who have relevant school-related cultural or social capital may fail to activate their advantage (Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

The link between habitus and field, as elucidated by Bourdieu (1990), shows the futility of investing in the intensification of migrant family practices without giving attention to the conditions in schools. Different forms of capital can be potentially activated when a field encounters a matching habitus, which is embodied history translated into behaviors, perceptions, choices, and evaluations of possible life trajectories of the person (Bourdieu, 1990). Habitus is made by and makes structural patterns as it is exposed to external forces, and those patterns are "enduring but not static or eternal" (Wacquant, 2016, p. 66). Bourdieu recognizes that habitus develops tensions and irregularities and transforms in response to new environments (Wacquant, 2016). Students' habitus evolves in their encounters with the school, but still the key aspects of their "self" formed at home often remain unchanged (Reay, 2004a).

Recent approaches to studying family educational strategies challenge deficit assumptions about the role of migrant parents in their children's educational experiences (Goodall, 2019). Several of these studies show migrant families can validate their cultural and social capital in education and point to the heterogeneity of minoritized family experiences and student outcomes (Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Modood, 2004). Research conducted in this domain also has advanced pedagogical approaches that seek to transform the educational field by making visible to schools what is valuable to the lived lives of students and their identities (Esteban-Guitar & Moll, 2014). The latter studies make a particularly significant contribution in terms of the pedagogical implications of parental involvement research.

Research Design: Materials and Methods

The work presented here draws upon the data gathered as a part of a three-year multiple-case study of three high schools: Park High, Fjord High, and Birchwood High[2]. I selected them after local teacher education programs indicated that these schools actively involved migrant parents, and the teachers expressed interest in contributing. All three schools had parental involvement practices in place before this became mandatory for high schools. Park High, an urban school with an academic focus where most students have a migrant background (comprising about 80% of student cohort in the general academic track), was chosen as the main research site, because it has provided access to the richest data. Here it was possible to collect interview data with both students and, when students agreed to it, with their parents, and observe the school's practices. As high schools in Norway often specialize in vocational or academic tracks and recruit students from different social groups, to bring more nuance to the study, rural Fjord High featuring vocational programs and suburban Birchwood High were included, although the variety of data collected here was more limited (see Table 1 for

overview). Overall, I interviewed 15 staff (teachers and school leaders) and 12 students. The school leaders (two principals, an assistant principal, and a department head) also had teaching responsibilities, and each had over 20 years of teaching experience. Three teachers also worked as guidance counselors. Parents of students that took part in the study were economic migrants or refugees from Eastern and Central Europe, Sri Lanka, Central and East Africa, and the Middle East. None of the teachers were migrants, but some had experience working or studying abroad. Notes from observation of school-based practices, parent interviews at Park, and, for all three schools, relevant official documents are not directly cited in this chapter but provided foundations for the overall case analysis (see Table 1).

Table 1

Study Participants

School	Participants	Migrant Status and Region of Origin	Available Educational Tracks
Park High, (main site) Urban, 750 students	School leader (1 female) Students (6 females, 2 males) Teachers (3 females, 1 male)	Non-migrant Eastern and Central Europe (3) Western Europe (1) Middle East (2) Asia (2) Eastern and Central Europe (3) Asia (1) Non-migrant	Academic General Academic Science Academic Business Sports
Fjord High Rural, 400 students	School leader (1 male) Students (1 female, 3 males) Teachers (1 female, 1 male)	Non-migrant Middle East (2) Central and East Africa (2) Non-migrant	Vocational Academic Preparatory for Migrant Students
Birchwood High Suburban, 650 students	School leaders (2 females) Teachers (1 one female, 2 males)	Non-migrant Non-migrant	Academic General Academic Science Sports Music & Drama Academic, Adapted

Initially, to ensure maximum variation and include critical cases, informants were recruited through purposeful sampling (Flick, 2018). I invited students who have gone to school in

Norway for at least two years and whose parents are refugees and work migrants. When recruiting, I informed the school principals that I wanted to talk to fresh and experienced teachers from different tracks and to families with much or little involvement with the school. Three students gave consent for me to talk to their parents. Further recruitment was inspired by the themes that emerged during the initial analysis of the first interviews with teachers and students. For example, students with parents from South Asia, a large group at Park High, came up as a recruitment category that could give additional dimensions to my data.

All interviews were conducted at school during school hours and typically lasted no more than 45 minutes to fit the school's schedule. Before inquiring into specific home-school practices and parental involvement roles and experiences, I asked informants about their backgrounds, job situations (for parents and staff), favorite activities, and plans and dreams for the future. The school and personal history and perceptions of change in the education system were also of interest to me. This interest was informed by theory but also affected by my positioning as an immigrant researcher, a teacher, and a mother to a bilingual student. In the first interviews, some of the teachers may have experienced that I sided with the migrant mothers in considering the consequences of school practices, but drawing on my experience as a high school teacher helped relieve some of the tension. In terms of reflexivity, I reminded myself to not mechanically impose my perspectives on the participants' realities. I have not interviewed parents or discussed students with teachers without first gaining informed student consent. The Norwegian Centre for Research Data has granted its clearance for the project and has provided guidance throughout the data collection process.

All students in this study felt that they had mastered Norwegian to a degree where they saw no need to use translators during the interviews, which were transcribed in Norwegian. Only excerpts used to corroborate the study findings were translated to English. Where this was deemed beneficial for capturing the essence of the message conveyed, I changed the

sentence structure. This was also done to conceal the informants' identity and avoid making them self-conscious due to grammatical mistakes in their speech (Kvale, 1994).

When analyzing the data, I combined intuitive processing and some elements of more formal inductive coding, breaking down the data into segments and establishing and verifying patterns (Simons, 2009). In line with Stake's (2006) guidance, I started by writing up cases as descriptive narratives based on all data available from each case to ensure that "the issues of the individual Cases *not* merge too quickly into the main research questions of the overall multicase study" (p. 46). To support the more formal analysis in this chapter, I chose categories relating to the construction of parent role across cases. Notably, there are internal differences in the group 'migrant parents,' and their engagement with their children's education is dependent on social position, gender, time they have spent in Norway, and employment status and type. However, the scale of my study precludes any generalizations about the experiences of individual students as representatives for their parents' class, ethnicity, migration status, or language competency. This study's findings are also not meant to support any generalization claims about parent perspectives or voice, but focus on practices and beliefs that are formed by the field of schooling (Bourdieu, 2000). It was possible to track important and somewhat surprising commonalities across the data material when it came to socially constructed expectations for legitimate migrant parent roles and school practices. Thus, it is these commonalities and not comparison across categories of families or individual schools that were in the focus of analysis in this study. As a result, the Birchwood case analysis generated the overall theme of "care" as a parent role that later was discovered to be common across the three cases. The category "aspiration and expectations" also stemmed from the Birchwood case and was later merged into the "guides" theme. The themes "threat" and "academic instructors" were initially contributed by the Park High case and closely connected to the school's context.

Findings

The teachers expressed that parents can be good supporters of their children's academic progress but can also be unhelpful and difficult to deal with, irrespective of their migrant status. Most teachers emphasized that they have the same expectations and face the same challenges when engaging with students' parents irrespective of their background because what mattered the most was that parents "cared about school." I observed differences in practice, a lack of local written policy, and a deal of experimenting by individual teachers and schools.

Parents Who Care About Life in School

Notably, teachers and students valued the subtle role of support and caring about school more than any direct parental engagement with subjects or teachers. Teachers specifically commented on the benefits of emotional support in the form of encouragement in difficult situations, serving as a positive role model by learning the Norwegian language, showing interest in what is going on at school, attending general parent meetings, and celebrating success together. As I am a migrant mother, during the interview with Catrine, a teacher and guidance counselor at Birchwood, I prompted her to offer me some advice for strategies I could adopt to make my child happy at school. She responded as follows:

> I wish that you are committed to your child, and that you see and listen to your child. Try also to get to know this specific school and its life. And I think about life in general, as the child should be living, [find out] what is it that is important

> for your child to be happy and to hold out—instead of focusing on what grade you got in math, or on how now you should become a doctor or a lawyer.

As indicated in the excerpt above, providing emotional support to the student was seen as reasonable in contrast to checking grades and discussing career choices. This parent role of caring about the school and the child's school life was seen by Catrine as paramount when a student reaches what she calls the "tipping point" and can either handle the difficult situation and persevere or give up. In a different context, at Fjord High, where some students are at a high risk of dropping out of school, different boundaries are set for parental interference. According to Eva, who is an experienced teacher, parents show that they care by asking, "How did you do on that test? What are you going to do at school today? What did you do at school?" or similar, but without being "preoccupied" with results and grades. The same role was described by Ray, a recently arrived first-year student at Fjord, who is attending an industrial vocational program. His father was a driver and his mother used to work in a shop in their home country. She is now learning Norwegian and is alone caring for his younger siblings. They talk about Ray's dreams, and she supports him in his school effort, according to Ray. When asked what she could do to support him, Ray explained:

> We have a Catholic family, she prays for me, she gives me advice, saying that I should not be afraid and should study very hard. [She also says that] sometimes you should work very hard to get what you want in life, because it is not easy.

From this account, it is evident that Ray perceives his mother as a caring parent that gives advice and encourages him. However, as, according to Ray, she never has time to attend general school meetings or parent−teacher conferences, she does not perform the practice that

several teachers perceive as a central way for a parent to show they care. As further interview material shows, she also shares his ambitions that seem difficult to fulfill. Here, caring is just one of several roles that intersect in the mother-son relationship.

In my interviews with teachers, however, caring was often brought up not as one of many forms of involvement but, as in the above quote from Catrine, as an idealized contrast to other allegedly less reasonable and unreasonable roles. In what worked as a delimitation of the high school field's boundaries (Bourdieu, 2000), the role of caring was presented as available to all parents, irrespective of background. Building on Bourdieu's understanding of capital to conceptualize its affective aspects, Reay (2004b) does suggest that emotional investment made by mothers in their children's education was less class-determined: even though it may have at times cost them more emotionally, working-class mothers in her study did give their children encouragement and hope and may have demonstrated less anxiety about their children's future than middle-class mothers. However, it has been repeatedly argued that the success of mothers' emotional engagement in their children's education is dependent both on the time available to the parents and on their own emotional well-being and confidence, that is on the forms and volumes of dominant cultural, economic and social capital they possess (e.g., Reay 2004b; Vincent, 2017). In contrast to what appeared to be a "democratic" form of involvement as care, one of the roles seen as unreasonable for most teachers was parents intruding into the children's schooling through what the schools interpreted as exaggerated ambitions in the role of an educational guide.

When it comes to this less welcome parent role constructed by the informants, for Birgitte at Park High, similarly to several teachers and school leaders at Park and Birchwood, the parents' ambitions to "select subjects for their children" to meet specific university program criteria were misplaced and inappropriate, as teachers believed that educational choices belong to students alone. Birgitte referred to the negative experience she had when she worked in a school in a more affluent area of the city where some parents wanted their children to have top grades in all subjects. She contrasted these attitudes to those of parents at Park High who, according to her, were "strict with their children, but they care, and at least they will not put the blame on us [laughs]" as the parents at the other school apparently did.

In suburban Birchwood, migrant parents were often seen to aim too high, and choose the hardest STEM subjects, as well as academic over vocational studies. The teachers and school leaders thus claimed that migrant parents put unnecessary pressure on students who, to them, were striving in vain after their highly competitive non-migrant classmates. In contrast, non-migrant parents were criticized for putting pressure on the school, not the students, acting as their children's "cheerleaders." As a result of these allegedly intrusive attitudes, Birchwood even had to establish a "chain of command" system to prevent non-migrant parents from repeatedly contacting the principal instead of attempting to resolve issues with contact teachers. Thus, in line with Lareau's (1987) findings on concerted cultivation strategies, teachers mostly experienced increased and intrusive engagement from non-migrant parents rich in economic capital, and not from migrant parents.

Nevertheless, according to Aage, a new teacher and school administrator at Birchwood who previously worked in the business sector, migrant students put pressure on themselves, rather than being pushed by their parents. He ascribed this pressure to "the high ambitions

they have for themselves or, maybe, [the desire] to prove to those around them that 'Also here [in this new country] I've made it big'." Aage observed that the parents who come to Norway from Europe for highly qualified work can be more demanding of their children's performance, but also in this group, no student seemed to him to be "strongly marked" by any pressure from home. Also, the four newly arrived refugee students at Fjord felt the responsibility, but not pressure, to help their families in Norway and their home countries. Aage generally appeared to be more accepting of his students' ambitions and their parents' demands. His attitudes may have been shaped by his habitus that was established outside the field of schooling, unlike that of other teachers and school leaders I interviewed. Aage's example demonstrates how the same parental involvement efforts may be recognized or not recognized as legitimate even within the walls of the same high school, making capital activation not a matter of parent, but teacher attitudes (Vincent, 2017).

In line with Aage's observations, students I interviewed at Park High displayed little concern about their parents' ambitions for them. As an example, Layla, the oldest of four children, could speak some Arabic and had visited her parents' home country as a child. She spent a semester in a vocational program at a different school (not her first choice) and recently transferred to Park when a space became available. When describing her first disappointment over her middle-school grades and her unsatisfactory experience in the vocational program, Layla did not mention any involvement from her family. She did, however, comment on her mother's surprise at her wanting to become a police detective, stating:

> At first, she was very . . . 'no, don't you want to be a doctor or an engineer,' because for some reason she thinks I am so good at drawing. And I do like to draw, but I just do it for fun, not for work.

Yet, despite these misgivings, when Layla insisted on her choice, she met no resistance from her parents: “I said I wanted to be a police detective and that was it!.” Layla also shared that her career choice was primarily driven by external factors, including her fear that having a “foreign-sounding” name could make it difficult to apply for jobs.

Generally, the students that took part in the interviews agreed with the teachers that migrant parents have little legitimate say in their educational strategies, showing that over their years of schooling the students have experienced a considerable degree of habitus orchestration (Wacquant, 2016). However, their views diverged with respect to direct pressure from the parents to make a specific choice, as none of the students felt that they were coerced into making any academic or career decisions. In the next section, further incongruities are revealed in the roles teachers and students believe parents should play in students’ academic progress.

Parents as Academic Instructors

Staff at Birchwood and Fjord indicated that they meet their students’ parents more often than in the past and recognized that a good parent was now expected to take more responsibility for their children’s schooling. While these views align with the findings reported by Bendixsen and Danielsen (2020), they pertain to non-migrant parents. Extended academic involvement for those parents who have not attended school in Norway is not expected by any of the three schools examined in my study.

Brit, a leader at Birchwood with a long teaching and school leadership career, justified those lower expectations for migrant parents by noting that not being able, through language, to express oneself precisely, “understand the society you live in very well” and discuss this at

home presents an insurmountable barrier for ambitious students with migration backgrounds. Some migrant parents that took part in my study have compensated for this lack of legitimate knowledge by employing tutors for their children, demonstrating what Bourdieu (2004) conceptualized as the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital. Helena, a student at Park, was struggling academically, especially with mathematics. During the interview, she stated that, if her family's financial situation permitted, she would have likely asked her parents to pay for a private tutor, but that was sadly not possible. She elaborated:

> I go to school [for extra hours] to get some help . . . but my results are not better. I just get so stressed out . . . [Interviewer: Can your parents help you?] My parents can't help much. They have always been there to help. But perhaps the ones who help me the most are my older siblings [smiles]. But they have also had a lot to think about . . . they also [need to] study. So, I must do it on my own. I have to take care of myself.

According to our interview, Helena placed some withering hope in extra tutoring with her teacher, while a distance from her family was created not so much for lack of their care or academic ability, but because Helena saw her academic work and choices as her individual responsibility. As Bourdieu would say, the family and Helena are socialized to "make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway denied." In this case, they do not interfere more in Helena's academic progress at school by accepting that this is the way schooling is organized. Teachers did not mention private tutors in my interviews and said they disapproved of the students that relied on re-taking school exams as private candidates to improve their grade averages. This position may be interpreted as an effort to disguise the economic aspect behind the distribution of cultural capital by the school system by insisting

that success at school should be based on hard work and natural qualities, not on the children's inherited capital and family investment (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 25). As it comes through in the four interviews with parents at Park, migrant parents, also those possessing high levels of dominant cultural capital seemed to view academic work as solely the school's territory.

Parents as Disciplinarians

Birchwood and Fjord have relatively few students with migrant parents, and most of those parents are not involved in school activities. In contrast, as migrant parents are in the majority at the urban Park, they were highly visible at the school during my observations and appear to have been assigned an extra role concerned with improving student discipline. Dagny, one of the school leaders that I interviewed, noted that students at Park High "are more considerate of the parents than the school". For her, it is "a little scary that you have to involve parents in some contexts for behaviors, for example, to get better."

Bent, a contact teacher for a first-year class at Park High, joined the school upon completing a one-year teaching course, having previously worked in the business sector. He was the only informant that spoke only positively, without any reservations, of parents and his communication with the students' homes, and it is the role of disciplinarians that he invited the parents to take on. Bent phoned the parents of his students almost every day and sent the parents a text message every time a student was late for class. He was also planning to send out a weekly summary of homework for all subjects, although other teachers were difficult to convince that this was necessary. He said that all the parents in the class were engaged, the students did not mind this, and the discipline was improving. He further noted on his recent contact with all parents of the class he administrates by telephone:

> I have never had such a positive telephone round in my life. They were so happy that I called everyone. And got really proud . . . We have such parents who often . . . come from another country, where you may have and . . . What should I say? The whole school system may be more authoritarian, and things like that, right? So, it was at least enormous respect I got, I noticed right away. At least they were very, very, very positive about working closely with their children.

He also understands the parents' ambitions, even though they differ considerably, as some have high expectations for their children, while others simply want them not to drop out. Although other teachers at Park High may also rely on parents for improving student discipline, Bent is the only one of those interviewed who did not consider this problematic. Most students I presented with Bent's ideas as examples responded with some skepticism. They were generally not supportive of involving parents in school-related matters such as attendance, behavior, or homework, as they thought they were old enough to handle these issues themselves but agreed that discipline needed improving. The social context forces the teachers at Park to reconsider migrant parents' role, if only to help with behavior problems. This new power dynamic, however, causes discomfort as teacher and student habitus get unsettled by the change (Bourdieu, 2000; Wacquant, 2016). Interestingly, again, as in the case of Aage at Birchwood, this change is less disconcerting for a new teacher, Bent, whose habitus has not yet fully adjusted to the field's expectation of student autonomy.

Parents as a Threat

Several teachers in my study shared their concern that migrant parents were more likely than non-migrant parents to have little to offer in terms of their children's academic progress. It was, however, only at Park High that all teachers and the school leader, as well as several students, expressed that some parents made them apprehensive. They justified this view by stating that, in the local community (where teachers and leaders often lived or had previously lived), a teacher's call home can be perceived as a punishment for students, and may contribute to the already excessive social control, negativity, or neglect. School staff also concurred that parents could cause problems for the students. The more ambitious parents, in the eyes of the school, could be preoccupied with academic success and not allow their children the freedom to live more autonomous lives. On the other hand, those that lacked the economic and social capital could not offer their children adequate support and could even be feared to be neglectful or violent.

During her interview, Emma, a teacher and guidance counselor at Park High, shared that these concerns make her and her colleagues reluctant to contact parents with migration backgrounds:

> There are things that pull in the opposite direction [from involving parents more]. This may have to do with uncertainty about minority parents, such as how much Norwegian they can speak. And if a student comes to us and says, 'If someone calls and tells this at home, I'd get beat up . . .' We live in such a span, where you don't always manage to navigate correctly. Is it right to think differently about immigrant parents than Norwegian parents? Shouldn't one think exactly the same?

None of the students at Park High openly expressed that they were afraid of their parents, even though this was a topic addressed by several teachers, but some did come up with generalized examples of neglect similar to that shared by Emma. Many also admitted to withholding a great deal of information from their parents and setting boundaries to how much parents should know and be involved.

Boris, a quiet and relaxed student from Park High with no apparent risks for creating discipline issues or dropping out, with both parents holding PhD degrees from East European universities, struggled to define the right roles for parents in school education, as he viewed involvement as a "double-edged sword":

> Here, on the one hand, the school could, like in [his parent's home country], have had more contact with the parents and told them even more, almost everything—every grade you make—and they could even call home if you get an F, for example. But, on the other hand, this could create unpleasant situations, at least in some families. Well, I do not care either way—I have very good parents. But, still, I sort of, do not always want them to know everything.

After observing that parental involvement at Park High mostly means disciplining the student, he concluded that he was not eager to invite more of their involvement, even though he was aware that his parents were keen to know more about his school life. The school staff is also trying to strike the right balance, as parents could help them with discipline, but some could take this role too far and actually cause harm to their children. This apprehension may be partly caused by failure to recognize that many parents do possess school-related cultural and social capital beyond that of disciplinarians, because Park is only exploring new opportunities to meet parents outside crises (see Melnikova, 2022). The teachers may also unconsciously

strive to maintain the field's professional autonomy, which is already under threat from the political and economic fields (Bourdieu, 1990).

In summary, across all parental involvement categories constructed by teachers and students, some parent roles were appreciated, and some were seen as unreasonable but still prevalent. Parents were welcome to care for their children's life and progress at school, while neglect and intrusive educational guidance were deemed unacceptable, though guidance was prevalent in some contexts. Most staff and students concurred that parents should not assume the role of academic instructor, deemed largely unachievable for migrant parents. However, several students at Park High were aware that lack of cultural capital could be compensated by involving tutors. The roles of parent as disciplinarian and as a threat were only identified by the participants from Park High, the first seen as ambiguous and the second as harmful and even as a reason to not involve parents at all.

Discussion

In the three schools in my study, migrant parents—irrespective of their capital combinations that largely remained invisible to the teachers—were primarily involved in their children's schooling by caring, showing interest, and guiding at home. This choice of strategies aligns with the findings reported by Antony-Newman (2020) and Schmid and Garrels (2021), indicating that school-based involvement by migrant parents is rare. These authors attributed these results to language barriers and lack of familiarity with the school system. Based on my analysis, I further suggest that, especially as children reach higher grades, teachers and students whose habitus is well-orchestrated may choose to exclude migrant parents from school life (Bourdieu, 2000). As a result, parents unfamiliar with the Norwegian school system met constraints to activating their cultural and economic capital (e.g., Goodall, 2019).

It is even more problematic to note that, as described in interview accounts, the acceptable or unacceptable roles were assigned to different parent groups seemingly without any investigation of the specific student situation or open discussion involving school staff, students, and parents.

In addition, teachers mostly experience increased and intrusive engagement from non-migrant parents rich in economic capital in line with a trend similar to that found by Eriksen (2021). She observed that Norwegian young people from the financial middle class experienced more direct pressure to perform well at school than students belonging to the cultural middle class whose parents had more subtle expectations. The present study findings further indicate that the non-migrant parents who were involved more than expected created discomfort for the schools, especially for Birchwood High, where they hold privileged positions and expect to be catered for. My study thus shows that the intersection of class and migration background complicates the analysis of educational strategies, where activating the more forthright competitive economic middle-class strategies may be reserved solely for non-migrant families.

On the other hand, in the situations when the parents did not take the initiative, their role was uncertain despite declarations that parents should not be held entirely outside the high school, as was the case over a decade ago. This unease in constructing roles for migrant parents in high school can be ascribed to the teacher habitus being unsettled by the recent changes in social conditions, as parents were previously not expected to be involved in high school (Bæck, 2017; Bourdieu, 2000). However, unlike the non-migrant middle-class parents, migrant parents and their children are mostly expected to accept the situation rather than challenge it.

At the secondary level, the students have much to say on how much and how their parents get involved in their school life (Deslandes & Barma, 2016). Boris's description of the involvement of migrant parents as a "double-edged sword" points to a paradox that lies in many present-day parental involvement practices. From the students' perspective, parental involvement is seemingly a necessary weapon to deal with discipline issues, but it can also infringe on individualized choices highly valued by the Norwegian middle-class parents rich in cultural capital, as described by Gullestad (1996). As viewed by the teachers at Park High, invitation for greater involvement may even result in excessive social control and violence at home. At the same time, as argued by Vandenbroeck & Bie (2006), favoring individuality over interdependency and emancipating children without taking their parents' voices seriously carries a risk of misunderstanding the student's contexts and objectifying them and their parents. Then it is only the middle-class non-migrant parents that take advantage of the changes that welcome more parental involvement in high school, as they are in position to legitimately create tension in the teachers' habitus (Bourdieu, 2000; Wacquant, 2016). Therefore, teacher candidates can be invited to discuss if there exists a potential to engage parents in roles that extend beyond caring and disciplining. For example, high school teachers could support students' autonomy development systematically in partnership with the parents, as suggested by Vedeler (2021). There could also be other ways to help transform the 'weapon' of migrant parental involvement as an instrument for enhancing student well-being informed by exploration of diverse family experiences that are valued by the students (Esteban-Guitar & Moll, 2014; Yosso, 2005).

Another takeaway from this study that requires further professional discussion pertains to whether the idea of a self-regulated fully autonomous youth is essentially a late-modernity

construction, as argued by Gullestad (1996). This view may not be familiar or acceptable to all families or relevant for all students' well-being and should be approached critically, especially at the time when students make choices about further education and career. The parental involvement practices adopted at any school have to be developed and implemented reflectively, taking into consideration the context and the respect for any tensions that may arise, as well as the inequalities associated with involving some parents more or in different roles than others.

Notes

1. The role of a contact teacher in Norway is somewhat similar to that of homeroom teachers in the U.S. and tutors in the U.K., as in addition to regular subject teaching, they are expected to take responsibility for administrative issues, organizing special events, and maintaining contact with the home.
2. All school and participants' names are pseudonyms, and some personal details, including specific country origins, were changed or omitted to maintain confidentiality.

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3

Migrant parents' contributions to students' negotiations of their educational futures: A case study at a Norwegian high school

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The educational futures students aspire to and make specific choices in shaping are formed in the encounter between school practices and family dispositions. More research is needed to understand whether and how migrant parents are invited to contribute to high school students' negotiation of these possible futures. Drawing on observations and interviews with students and parents from a single-school case study, this article explores how migrant parents contribute to students' decision making. Seen through a Bourdieusian lens, the logic of the high school education field sets boundaries around what is regarded as feasible and valuable parental involvement. Parents are experienced as acting indirectly through hints and suggestions. The study indicates that providing guidance is complicated by expectations of student autonomy. The findings warrant further research on school parental involvement practices that can support students' negotiation of possible futures.

Introduction

High school, as a point of transition to adulthood and thus higher education and work, is critical for students' educational and occupational choices. In the encounter between teacher and school practices and family dispositions, students negotiate who they are at school, what their futures can and should be, and the educational strategies that are and are not feasible for them. International research has explored the tension between the host countries' socioeconomic contexts and the "migrant drive" (Portes, 2012) shaped by the workings of student families' social capital, commonly specified as ethnic capital in the form of expectations, values, and social norms (Modood, 2004; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Migrant parents tend to communicate greater educational aspirations about and to their children than non-migrant parents of similar socioeconomic status. This tendency may be sustained to a different degree depending on the migrant group, the receiving educational system, and the educational stage (Friberg, 2019; Lessard-Philipps et al., 2014). However, the pursuit of high social goals by migrant families has been shown to be misrecognized by schools and society (Hegna & Smette, 2017; Portes, 2012) and does not necessarily translate into higher educational or occupational outcomes (Fekjær, 2007).

Norway's legal and cultural norms give significant recognition to children's rights to autonomy, particularly in terms of educational choices (Gullestad, 1996; Hegna & Smette, 2017; Vedeler, 2020). Southern European migrant mothers interviewed by Herrero-Arias et al. (2021) experienced parenting in Norway as strongly directed toward developing children's self-sufficiency and autonomy. The mothers both appreciated and found it difficult to keep up with Norwegian society's emphasis on engaging in dialogue with children and encouraging decision making and independent learning from an early age. They experienced this emphasis as more pronounced than in their home countries (Herrero-Arias et al., 2021, p. 8). Looking at

older children in analyzing the results of a survey of 2,029 youths from Oslo, Hegna and Smette (2017) concluded that even at the age of 15-16, educational decisions regarding choice of high school tracks were constructed as autonomous. Young people with migrant parents were more likely to agree that their parents had a large impact on their educational choices, but very few, irrespective of background, experienced any conflict or pressure in that process (Hegna & Smette, 2017, p. 1117). In a retrospective study by Kindt (2022), 28 university students said they grew up with expectations of high academic achievement that could come from both their migrant parents (born in Asia, the Middle East, Somalia, Chile, Russia, and Poland) and their broader ethnic communities. They also experienced parents setting clear external educational goals for them. Kindt attributes these educational strategies of purposefully developing specific instrumental skills through schooling and after-school activities both to high social status parents held in their home countries and to their effort to safeguard children from future discrimination (2022, p. 201).

Norway offers a compelling case for studying the shaping of students' educational futures not only because of cultural norms but also because access to higher education can be obtained without much financial support from the parents. The choice of 15 three-year academic or four-year vocational high school tracks is based on student interests and grades from middle school (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2022); it is possible to switch from the vocational to the academic track in the third year. At the university level, there are no significant student fees, and students living away from home can apply for low-interest loans to cover rent and other living expenses and even partly cover study abroad. Norway thus appears to offer extra room for what students, families, and schools might deem "doable and not doable" (Bourdieu, 1984) for students with a migrant background. In this context of lower financial dependence on family, studying the perspectives of students is especially significant.

Interviews with eight students and, in three cases, their parents, combined with observation at the case high school, revealed a complicated negotiation process about educational choices that involved schools, families, and the larger socioeconomic context. That process is explored here to help understand how migrant parents contribute to the negotiation of the students' educational futures in a Norwegian high school context.

Conceptual background

Starting with his own educational system studies with Passeron (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 1990), Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field have been highly influential in research that aims to make explicit the mechanisms of social reproduction of disadvantage and the symbolic violence behind school practices. Bourdieu's theoretical and methodological toolbox has also been used to shed light both on parents' strategies related to their children's schooling (Lareau, 2011; Reay, 2004; Vincent, 2017) and on educational choices and identity (Katartzi, 2021; Kindt, 2018; Uboldi, 2020). In the present study, these tools are applied to see how school practice meets influences from home in negotiating high school students' educational futures.

Bourdieu (1984) calls attention to how cultural, social, and economic capital are transformed into performance in the social space (or field) of education in terms of learning, cultural consumption, behavior, and values. Students with early exposure to specific forms of primary socialization in terms of class, culture, and language possess privileged dispositions (or habitus). Working in the same theoretical tradition, Lareau (2011) empirically demonstrates how middle-class parents develop—often unconsciously—desirable skills, values, and aspirations in their children. From childhood to young adulthood, children are encouraged to ask teachers or university professors for help and accommodations, which creates lasting educational advantages over children with other types of cultural and social capital (Calarco, 2018; Lareau & Weininger, 2008). Middle-class parents communicate with

schools in ways that are viewed as legitimate by teachers and involve children in extracurricular activities that generate cultural and social capital in a process Lareau calls concerted cultivation (2011). As middle-class students transition from high school to university, they can take advantage of their parents' detailed knowledge of the university admission process and favorable subject choice strategies once at university (Lareau & Weininger, 2008).

Education is always a secondary form of socialization, which limits its power to develop and validate students' dispositions (Stahl & McDonald, 2021). According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), the inequality of students at school is visible, for instance, in terms of dispositions toward language and conversation acquired at home. In the case of migrants, this difference can become tangible in terms of language and the ability to understand and appreciate abstract teaching or in the ways that parents do and do not involve themselves at school. From a Bourdieusian perspective, school is a place not only for developing dispositions but also of competition for acquiring "field-specific capital according to field-specific rules" (Burawoy, 2019, p. 57). Students acquire some of the rules in the schooling process and can be somewhat successful in playing the game in the high school education field. However, the ease with which students play the schooling game depends on the degree to which their new dispositions are orchestrated with those embodied in at-home socialization (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This dependence on a student's past limits both student (and family) agency and the influence of the high school education field in terms of acquiring new dispositions.

The school and home can compete with or complement each other in terms of inscribing what is and is not worth attending to for different categories of students in terms of acquiring certain forms of capital:

> People are "pre-occupied" by certain future outcomes inscribed in the present they encounter only to the extent that their habitus sensitizes and mobilizes them to perceive and pursue them. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 26)

Based on this reasoning, it can be argued that the migration experience and socialization in the country of origin and along the migration path tend to mobilize some families to develop higher aspirations for their children and encourage them to persevere at school. The size of this relative aspirational advantage over non-migrant families once social background is taken into account varies with home country and the receiving country's educational contexts (Feliciano, 2020; Friberg, 2019; Lessard-Philipps et al., 2014). Norway's comprehensive school system appears to be more likely to sustain and in some cases fulfill the migrant students' (and their parents') ambitions than schools with early tracking (Frieberg, 2019). Still, as the generations succeed one another, habitus tends to adapt to the receiving country's school-related expectations. The migrant drive has been shown to wane in follow-up generations as students, to differing degrees that vary with receiving country context, become disposed to act and work "like everyone else," and their advantage in academic effort over their non-migrant peers may disappear (Friberg, 2019; Portes, 2012).

The study

The data drawn on in this article are part of a qualitative inquiry into encounters between migrant families and schools carried out at three high schools located in different areas and contexts in Norway. The present study focuses on one such school, Park High,[1] an urban school that primarily enrolls Norwegian-born children of migrants with medium levels of academic achievement. According to the staff, they also recruit some high-achieving students with migrant backgrounds who feel unwelcome at "majority Norwegian" schools because, for example, they wear a hijab. Park High was selected because the staff shared a particular interest in involving parents, more than is usual in the Norwegian context. The school offers several tracks qualifying for higher education, some of which require a higher grade point

average (GPA) in middle school than other schools in the area. I interviewed and observed students from three different tracks. At the time the case study was conducted, the established Academic General track was the most competitive, while both the Academic Science and Academic Business tracks were new and attracted fewer applicants. Academic General tracks in Norway all offer a general introductory year, after which students gradually specialize in humanities or sciences.

I visited the school three times from December 2019 to November 2020. The first visit lasted three days and evenings, and the two subsequent visits lasted one day each. The evenings offered important opportunities for observation, as Park High offers free tutoring and exam preparation after regular school hours, and the teachers called an extraordinary parent meeting on one of those evenings. The school case also included one day of online observation under the COVID-19 lockdown. I also familiarized myself with the school's online communication with parents and other relevant data. The observation, teacher interviews, and other background data, although only occasionally explicitly cited in this article, provided important foundations for situating the Park High case and the students' process of negotiating their educational futures in that social context. I interviewed students (six male, two female), their teachers (three female, one male), and, where students agreed, their parents (three mothers, one father).

As seen from the case overview in Table 1, the students had different backgrounds and chose different academic tracks. Six of eight were born in Norway, and all eight had parents who immigrated to Norway as adults. Three of the eight students had apparent middle-class backgrounds, as their siblings had completed or nearly completed education at the university level and their parents were teachers or scientists, although they were not necessarily employed in those occupations in Norway. One student had several relatives who had completed education at the university level and a mother who received more education than

would be expected for a woman in her home country, indicating relatively high social status prior to migration. The informants thus offer accounts of various viewpoints and experiences at Park High, although they are too few in number to be viewed as representatives of their respective groups.

Table 1
Park High case overview

Informants	(Parents') Region	Study Tracks
School leader (1 female)	Non-migrant	
Students (6 female, 2 male)	Central and Eastern Europe (3)	Academic General
	Western Europe (1)	Academic Science
	Middle East (2)	Academic Business
	Asia (2)	
Their parents (3 female, 1 male)	Central and Eastern Europe (3)	
	Asia (1)	
Their teachers (3 female, 1 male)	Non-migrant	
Background data: Observation of student-teacher conferences (7 hours), other communication with parents, documents, website, local newspaper.		

The students talked about their previous school experiences, aspirations, and educational plans in interviews that lasted from 30 to 60 minutes. I asked parents about their own school experiences, their hopes for their children's future, their thoughts on Norwegian schooling, and their approaches to supporting their children's education. Material from interviews with Park High school leaders and observation of 19 teacher-student-parent conferences and general parent meetings is used in Melnikova (2022), together with interviews from two other high schools. All interviews with students and parents were conducted in Norwegian, with the exception of one student-parent pair, who both chose to speak a Central and Eastern European language that they shared with me. Speaking a home language may have created additional mutual trust during these interviews, and during the analysis process, I made sure I have not unduly emphasized insights from these informants. I have not experienced any language difficulties when interviewing the other informants at Park High, as all those people were migrants who had studied or worked in Norway for at least four years. In the study, I positioned myself both as a teacher educator and as a migrant

mother, albeit not one with a child in high school. Being a parent may have made me more accepting of the migrant parents' concerns and possible interference in their children's education than some of the teachers.

The research question for the project and the interview guide structure were informed by a Bourdieu-inspired interest in family and school histories and contexts and the structures that students and families navigate. The NVivo qualitative software was used to facilitate the organization of data from three cases in the project, but each case was analyzed independently (Stake, 2013). I found common codes that constituted thematic patterns identified in the Park High case, including backup plans, language, fears, and wider horizons. There were also breaches in these patterns of what can be referred to with Bourdieu's term of *practical logic* of the field. It was important to mark the occasions on which the school's logic and the students' and parents' engagement with it appeared to be incoherent (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 23).

Only excerpts used in the article text were translated into English from the languages in which the interviews were conducted and transcribed. In transcription, I have made the language more "written," partly to make the text easier to read and partly to help protect informants' identities. Ethically, I was cautious to protect the well-being and anonymity of the informants. The well-being concerns were addressed by limiting the time and subject matter of the interviews and not insisting on gaining a complete overview of all the young people's family stories if they were uncomfortable with sharing some of those elements. I have also withheld some information to secure anonymity. I ensured free and informed consent by discussing my project and the informants' rights orally instead of merely having them sign a form. A case study makes it easier for informants to be identified and to identify one another, but the students who participated have now graduated from Park High and are thus unlikely to

be recognizable in text as it is formulated now. The project received ethical approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Students negotiating a limited range of possible educational futures

Backup plans and some lost dreams

In this section, I discuss the students' dreams and plans for their future education, including the relative value they placed on humanities subjects and education in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). Most students I interviewed at Park High had rigorously defined academic plans. They told me that they had discussed them with classmates, teachers, siblings, cousins, and guidance counsellors at both middle and high school. All shared some version of their plans with their parents and were aware of their parents' expectations. All student informants in the first, second, and third years of their studies named specific university programs to which they planned to apply.

When asked about their dreams (what they would do if they had perfect grades, money, and time), all but one student—a recent migrant from Western Europe who dreamed of becoming a teacher—were less clear. Boris, a first-year student whose parents come from Eastern Europe and hold advanced degrees, says what comes to his mind is becoming "rich, driving nice cars and eating at expensive restaurants." But he prefers to be realistic and not have dreams, "just plans." His mother believes that Boris, with his Western education and what she recognizes as skills of a diplomat in interactions with his friends, could do almost anything in life, but Boris himself is thinking about going into information technology like his father and studying at a local university. In another example, Hana, a third-year student whose parents come from Asia and hold Norwegian vocational certificates, was hoping for a dental career after regaining confidence in mathematics with the help of a private tutor. However,

her chemistry class ended up being too difficult and she had applied to a program for her second choice—a university course in pharmacy, as she discussed in her senior year:

> Hana: Dreams and plans? I don't really have any; I really have no such special dreams. But I want to become a dentist. And that's why I take science. And medicine was never a big thing for me. Besides, the GPA there is quite high. So, I always had a little bit like that ... if I were to be anything, then it's a dentist. But if it's not a dentist, then it's becoming a teacher. Because I like to explain things, and then there is the fact that it's not just you alone, but it's also students. If I could do anything…
> Author: Travel?
> Hana: Travelling was always a dream. To travel around the world, to really experience it all—that's one thing. But other than that, I can't come up with anything.

Like Hana, several informants across tracks talked about backup plans, with four of eight naming teacher education in that regard. They often moderated their aspirations with time, as their grades were too low to qualify for programs they had counted on at the beginning of high school. Hana ended up entering a pharmacy program rather than going into dentistry. Other examples of what students experienced as downgraded educational plans include going from becoming a veterinarian to a teacher and from being a business owner to an accountant. Arina, a junior student, said she had always aspired to become a veterinarian but now had no chance of making it, and she was unsure about teaching because she "was not especially fond of kids." The new and more modest ambitions that Arina considered in her backup plan were not a mere readjustment, as would be the case for some students; rather, they resulted from a dawning realization that in the transition from high school, she would be forced to give up her long-held dream.

Languages and choice of subjects

All the interviewed students said they liked languages, and most had been successful on exams in their heritage languages. Many had visited or even frequented their countries of origin, with several naming religion, psychology, and sociology as subjects they found

relevant and accessible. However, none of the informants saw language, humanities, social sciences, or the arts as suitable future trajectories. There were also very few students who invested their time in after-school activities. The teachers said that being part of student parliament or participating in the annual school musical could be excellent ways to expand students' horizons; to their regret, they noticed that this involvement often resulted in declining grades, which the students at Park High could not afford because they already had mid-level grades and lofty ambitions. In addition, the teachers noted that the students' parents could not provide extra financial support for the traditional school trips abroad. Their summer holidays in their parents' home countries did not appear to possess the same cultural value in the teachers' eyes.

Aspiring to careers like doctor, lawyer, or engineer are commonly associated with model minority students (Lee, 1994) and were prominent in the student interviews. Unlike in other research (Leong, 2000), these aspirations were not limited to Asian students, although many students at Park do have Asian backgrounds. Both teachers and students talked about how many parents they meet see medical studies as the perfect choice. Only one mother invited to a teacher-student meeting I observed presented this as a deliberate strategy, mentioning that the student's two older siblings were studying medicine. Teachers at Park High said that they hoped to change the relatively narrow patterns in students' (and parents') aspirations. However, according to the local newspaper, the school's Media Design and Communication track had recently shut down because students with migrant backgrounds preferred tracks focusing on subjects that could lead to careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). I also observed that the homework assistance available at the school focused mainly on science and exam preparation in mathematics.

Breach in pattern: Success outside STEM subjects

Todor is a first-year student whose family arrived in Norway from Central Europe in the 1990s. He says that even though he was born in Norway, he would never call himself Norwegian because of his pride in his heritage language and culture. He is socially engaged; he works on many projects with his friends after school and organizes events at school. He is also an exception to the general tendency to see mathematics and science as proxies for school success. During my observation of a meeting with Todor's teacher, he resisted the teacher's attempts to involve him in extra mathematics tuition, saying he was satisfied with a 3 (out of 6) in math and would "rather concentrate on my geography grade." However, despite this below-average math performance, his plans in life include being what he sees as "successful" by going to business school, starting a business like a restaurant or—as a worst-case scenario—becoming a teacher to take advantage of his outgoing nature. As I observed, he also agreed with his teacher that he should not be put into a study group with his friends because, like other students and teachers at Park High, he admitted that friends could distract him from studying. Todor mulled over studying abroad in the distant future and perhaps taking some courses in religion as a minor subject. He did not, however, see himself as a student who could turn studying religion into a job that could bring him the success with which he was so preoccupied. Similarly, working as a teacher did not meet the definition of success for Todor or the other students who had that career as a backup.

To summarize, dreams were difficult to discuss for most students in my study. They generally had rather specific plans for education after high school; STEM subjects were viewed as the key to success, with medicine regarded by Park High students and their parents as the zenith but also as largely out of reach. The humanities, social sciences, and arts were not considered, while a teaching career was regarded as a backup. The students appeared not to have inherited the extra resources to invest in cultural capital in the forms of extracurricular

interests or international trips, and friends were seen as limiting rather than enriching their futures.

Family history is not directly translated into educational futures

Little direct pressure

This section focuses on how family history translated into students' thinkable and unthinkable futures in the school context before analyzing how some families dealt with the educational choice dilemmas they encountered at school. The students I interviewed generally talked about their parents' ideas about their futures without intimating any feelings of direct pressure or threat. One exception was a student who reported that her parents may have plans to send her to study in her home country, which was not something she wanted. Hana, a third-year student, sensed the pressure to excel academically in the stares and questions from other members of her ethnic community to such an extent that she found it "funny" how "the first thing everyone wants to know is if you have top grades." She was, however, free from this pressure in her family; on the contrary, her mother said that her daughter worked too hard. Todor also did not experience any direct interference in his choices, although he did say that "other parents" could pressure their children to be doctors or lawyers. Boris mentioned that his parents initially had high expectations for him, but they "did nothing" when his grades were not as high as they would have liked:

> My parents, they had very good grades. My mom had all the top grades in university, for example. … And at first at least, they expected [the same] from me. … What's important is that no matter what grades I get, they always support me. … They don't like it when I get 4s [out of 6]. Mom doesn't like it, but it doesn't matter. They don't do anything about it.

As the excerpt shows, despite being a student from a family with a history of high academic achievement, Boris did not directly experience pressure to work especially hard during high school, although he was aware of his mother's disappointment. Bashra, a junior whose parents

come from the Middle East, wanted to become a police detective and eventually study in another city. She described the process of negotiating with her parents:

> I would have really, really wanted to work in the legal field, something like a lawyer, yes. But my plan is to study to be a police detective. … I haven't said I want to move from [anonymized city]. But I told my mother I wanted to become a police detective. And at first, she was, like, "No, don't you want to be a doctor or something, or an engineer?" Because I don't know why, but she thinks I'm so good at drawing and stuff. And I do like to draw, but I don't want, in a way… I just want to draw for fun, not to work with it. So, I just said, "No, I just want to be a police investigator."

The model career of doctor or engineer thus existed in this mother's world of aspirations but did not translate into pressure or a realistic trajectory for Bashra. Even though she cited becoming a lawyer as a dream job, she also had more specific and pragmatic plans, with a specific police school in mind.

Fears

It was fears about their futures that Bashra and the other students shared with me, rather than disappointing parents with their grades. Structural racism in the job market was also an issue. For example, Bashra admitted that her greatest fear was having difficulty finding a job because of her name, after applying for over 10 part-time jobs and having no luck. This experience contrasted with the experience of a friend of hers with a "Norwegian" name: she applied "for many of the same jobs, but she gets answers, while I never get any."

Another fear that often emerged in my analysis is "doing nothing," This was a fear that the students who reported experiencing success at school said their parents did not have for them, while those who said that their parents had failed to realize upward mobility in Norway often shared the fear of "going nowhere, not getting into a university or a program that I do not like or want; being looked down on" (Amira, second-year student). "Ending up like them" on social aid or without enough money because they (the parents) did not live a good life was an intense fear that lay behind the careful and fearful calculation of future

trajectory, where adult life sometimes appeared as something worse than the still-undefined present.

In essence, family history for students at Park High was not directly translatable into specific trajectories or dreams. The parents might have some vague ideas about stereotypical professions, but by the time those students reached high school, their dreams had turned into specific plans for which parents could at times serve as negative models.

Family indirectly involved in the negotiations

More subtle involvement with school

This section illustrates the subtle ways in which parents were involved in the negotiation of their children's educational futures through carefully formulated advice about present educational strategies and possibilities for future choices. In the interviews, the students did not seem to perceive that parents had any direct say in their choices. Neither were they, as demonstrated by the three-school case study (Melnikova, 2022), involved in negotiations happening at school with teachers or guidance counsellors. With a few exceptions, my informants—students, parents, and teachers—shared a common view of the world in which parents were not involved directly at school except in extraordinary cases. This understanding was presented by all students and their migrant parents, irrespective of the economic or cultural capital available to a given family. There are some indications that several families were engaged in concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2011) at a younger age. Three students were involved in ethnic or religious weekend schools, and all had at some point tried organized sports. Boris's mothers talked about how she and even his grandmother, a teacher, tried but failed during middle school to convince him to talk to the teachers to get better feedback on assignments. These strategies, as they appeared in the interviews, were no longer seen as appropriate once the students entered high school. In the end, it was clear that all the

informants' parents, siblings, and other relatives were involved in the negotiation of educational futures; that involvement, as described below, was simply more subtle.

The previous section has shown that students experienced conflict between their long-held dreams and the opportunities that were open to them, between their friends and academic success, and between spending time studying and devoting time to expanding their social and cultural horizons. The mothers and one father I spoke with and those I saw at meetings with teachers were there to support their children in dealing with these conflicts.

Parents pointing to the wider horizon

The parents were often concerned about their hard-working and stressed-out young people's limited social lives. One mother spoke at length about how she tried to support her son in making friends, suggesting that he take money from her to go to the movies with a girlfriend or involve himself in a sport. Another said that high school was a time to get a boyfriend and maybe begin thinking about having a family.

Further, according to student interviews, families also contributed to the academic side of schooling by teaching them their heritage language or by paying for private tutors. The students also reported that their parents made cautious attempts at extending what to them appeared narrowed horizons for their children by suggesting that they study abroad or encouraging them to consider a profession that did not require mathematics. For example, Hana's mother wondered whether her daughter needed to work so hard:

> I don't like it that there is so much stress for her. I told her, "You can't stress so much." I do not press her to go into medicine. "No," I said, "no matter how far you'd come, you can take a job." … We study, we have a job. That's enough.

What emerged in the interviews was not a direct pursuit of concerted cultivation but parents refraining from most interference in school choice matters or at least carefully avoiding pressure when attempting to influence student decision making. This navigation of students' worlds involved, for example, resolving a conflict with a teacher so that a son could receive

extra mathematics tutoring, restoring his hope in his academic skills, and sometimes meant saying it was alright to try something else. As Helena's mother put it,

> I am a little afraid that she maybe won't make it into [specific program]. But I always say that if you miss one way, you should find another way that suits you. And it will come, little by little. … My older daughter also always tries to talk a lot to her, to give her hope. You should … you should just work at it, yes.

Other older siblings were reported to be involved in the informants' choices, university and school applications, and learning processes invisible to the school. In short, when the family's social and cultural capital was not directly recognizable by the school, it was still operating behind the scenes, although in this study it was not possible to compare its effectiveness to the value of family capital that is more readily and traditionally recognized by schools.

Discussion and conclusion

In my study, the parents at Park High were highly engaged in their children's education and were concerned with the educational choices they made. At the same time, they chose to proceed cautiously, and the students I interviewed did not appear to be under intense pressure from their families. This is in line with findings reported by Kindt (2018, 2022), who interviewed successful university students with minority backgrounds: They said that despite societal assumptions, the pressure in their lives did not come directly from their parents. In the last decade, policymakers in Norway have granted parents a more powerful role in their children's education. However, my study, as well as other research in the field (Melnikova, 2022; Vincent, 2017) indicate that, especially in the case of parents disadvantaged by society and the school system, a distance from school remains.

Among other factors establishing distance, the normative Norwegian value of individual autonomous choices (Gullestad, 1996; Hegna & Smette, 2017; Herrero-Arias et al., 2021) appears to be clearly communicated, at least to migrant families. Some families may not fully accept this value and actively engage in their children's education and choices at

home, as demonstrated by Kindt (2018). However, the parents in my study were particularly careful about sharing experiences and knowledge that could help guide their children's choices. Thus, the negotiation of student educational futures in my study, when viewed in Bourdieu's terms, may demonstrate how a secondary socialization system leads students to gradually limit their aspirations to something practical and doable, thus adjusting the habitus to the rules of the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). These rules are determined not only by teachers, who sometimes resist their students' rigorously defined market-driven choices, but also by broader social processes in the metafield of power. The global educational market and policy powers affect all other fields; they shape the students' and their families' perceptions of what is realistic and "safe" for them (Kindt, 2022).

The students may be driven by what Bourdieu (1984) saw as the logic of necessity. He recognized that it is more acceptable for the representatives of the middle and upper classes to choose something that is not practical or appropriate, even something vulgar. The working classes, by contrast, tend to be more conservative in their aspirations and tastes (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 134–145). In terms of contemporary Norwegian society, students viewed by the school as having less economic and cultural capital available from the family would be advised and eventually find it natural or in line with their habitus to avoid risky choices. This means that they adjust their aspirations and choose educational programs that are more likely to secure stable employment. The high aspirations in the dreams that they and their parents once had were waning in the face of specific constraints such as ability in mathematics, stress management skills, and racism in the job market. These findings are similar to the descriptions of migrant choices in other Nordic studies (e.g., Hegna & Smette, 2017; Varjo et al., 2020) and the constraints that were recently described for middle-class students in Greece (Katartzi, 2021).

Everyone interviewed, except for two students and one parent, saw mathematics as the

key to success—the ultimate cultural capital that opens up the world to the supreme goal of studying medicine. However, access to this form of capital is limited by the results of previous socialization, which Bourdieu and Passeron regard as "irreversible" (1990, p. 43). Because of this limitation, the vision of equality of educational access in Norway, as in the rest of the world, is showing some cracks, especially at the high school level that is the focus here. In my data, the students needed to direct their educational trajectories to more realistic and less attractive goals. These findings align with Walther's categorization of *universalistic transition* regimes, which assume guaranteed access to—but not successful completion of—a high school education (2006).

My study also indicates that parental contributions to translating students' dreams into specific futures are complicated by the boundaries of what knowledge and experiences schools and other social contexts view and communicate as valuable. For example, the majority of students evaluated academic success as more relevant than social success or expanding their knowledge outside school subjects. Experiencing their home cultures or becoming involved in out-of-school activities were seen as distracting. This finding contrasts sharply with how middle-class parents negotiate their children's educational trajectories in Lareau's study of concerted cultivation (2011) and a more recent study of academic pressures experienced by children of middle-class parents in Norway (Eriksen, 2021). The new horizons of students' future and present lives in the present study often appeared to be narrower than the horizons envisioned by their parents, but only indirectly communicated because of the autonomous choice norm. The students could end up having even fewer options when they were dissuaded from pursuing strategies that include investing in less school-related cultural or social capital. They would thus be voluntarily excluded from the global middle class (Ball & Nikita, 2014).

It is recognized that migrants are usually positively selected from their home country

population: in many cases, because of the difficulties entailed in the journey, it is those with the most resources and firmest sense of purpose who arrive in receiving countries (Feliciano, 2020; Portes, 2012). At Park High, the acculturating forces translated through the school appear, in the case of several interviewed students, powerful enough to eventually cause a decline in the original migrant drive, which eventually gives way to the idea of becoming "like everyone else" (Portes, 2012). These forces create barriers to school-based parental involvement in student choices and indirectly devalue the cultural capital in the form of knowledge and experience possessed by the migrant parents and their ethnic communities. To some extent, these barriers are justified by the common middle-class pattern in Scandinavian cultures of giving students the visible autonomy of choice while communicating expectations vaguely and indirectly (Bach, 2016; Hegna & Smette, 2017; Kindt, 2018). However, through this justification, for high school students with migrant parents, the school appears to win the competition for communicating what is and is not worth attending to (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For example, the students gradually become convinced that math should be prioritized over the humanities and arts, and that specific instrumental goals are more important than broader dreams and interests.

To conclude, the school system may be seen from a Bourdieusian perspective as successfully creating an advantage for families that can communicate their expectations to the students in the indirect way that has become acceptable in Norway. For these students, what emerges in my study is a story of dreams that the school's socialization process transforms into realistic choices. These students win in the competition for the capital required to advance in the high school education field through hard work, which is at least partly a response to the pressures that are indirectly exerted on them. Some minor readjustment of plans is aligned with the expectations and capital combination that were translated through family socialization that may have included direct help despite the ideal of an autonomous

student. Nevertheless, for many students with migrant parents, the story is one of a rather dramatic adjustment to the new school context. The renegotiated educational trajectory is restrictive when compared to the dreams that they and their families once had. When what can be interpreted as direct pressure is unacceptable, the students are left alone with weighty choices. In this context and in a school system with the explicit goal of promoting social equity, the way family aspirations and knowledge may be devalued in the school context should be critically assessed to arrive at a more complex understanding of the parental role. Without ruling out the interpretation of migrant drive sometimes acting as unwelcome pressure on student autonomy and a result of less than fully realistic assessment of possible student futures, the present study indicates that not all parents are unrealistic and that their carefully communicated views of the global possibilities and challenges their children may face in the world need to be heard. The students' negotiation of their educational futures during high school occurs not solely between school and student but also includes the family, the ethnic community, and the wider social context.

Note

1. I use pseudonyms for the school, teachers, and students; some details, such as specific school demographics, are also withheld to maintain informant anonymity.

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The involvement of parents in the education of high school students aged 16–19 is known to benefit the students' academic and social development and have important consequences for their school experiences and career choices. However, research on involving migrant parents in high school contexts is limited. This doctoral thesis examines how some migrant parents' involvement is deemed acceptable and reasonable – that is, legitimate – while some is discouraged. The overreaching research question is: How is legitimate parental involvement in education constructed in the Norwegian high school's encounter with migrant families?

The case study methodology is used at three schools of different socioeconomic profiles and features interviews with teachers and school leaders and analysis of documents and websites. The central findings highlight that parental involvement viewed as legitimate is primarily indirect and cautious. The subtle involvement is recognized through the forms of contact and topics discussed when teachers encountered parents. The analysis also reveals that parental involvement in high school is evolving to offer individual parents, often those without migrant background, more influence over their children's education and choices, despite the traditional value placed on student autonomy. The study problematizes this, in Pierre Bourdieu's terms, doxic view of independent students, as it limits the opportunities for equitable parental involvement in their children's education and choices and undermines the value of migrant parents' knowledge and experience.