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Native and Immigrant Parents' Involvement in School-Related Activities in France and Italy

Debora Mantovani* and Giancarlo Gasperoni**

Abstract: Sociologists of education have devoted relatively little attention to examining whether, and to what extent, parents interact with schools and teachers, on what issues and whether such engagement varies according to parents' native or immigrant status. Yet this topic deserves to be explored, since students' academic success is closely associated with the degree of parental participation in school-related activities. Data drawn from the 2015 edition of PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), and more specifically from its parent questionnaire, show that immigrant-origin parents of 15-year-old students are more likely (with respect to native parents) to face a set of barriers to parental involvement with teachers and schools, in both France and Italy. Parental involvement in a set of school-related activities is explored via multivariate analyses in order to investigate the role of native/immigrant status, its interaction with parents' socio-economic-cultural status, and the effects of a host of other variables relating to ascriptive characteristics, parent-child relationships, students school-based behaviour and parental perception of school contexts. Findings are heterogeneous in nature: they point to stronger parental involvement in Italy than in France and highlight the importance of teacher- versus parent-initiated activities, as well as the varying role of socio-economic-cultural status.

Keywords: parental school involvement, immigrant parents, Italy, France

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Parental involvement and immigrant-origin students

Parental involvement¹ (PI) in children's education is a complex phenomenon that has to do with activities supporting children's learning efforts and investing resources in the achievement of schooling institutions' goals. Joyce L. Epstein's framework of six types on involvement (Epstein et al., 2012; Epstein, 2016) is perhaps the most influential illustration of the multi-faceted nature of parental engagement in schooling, even though it is developed in reference to early childhood education (most research literature also focuses on pre-primary and primary schooling). Epstein's framework underlines the importance of parenting (developing home environments to support children as students), home learning (support for parents wishing to help their children), communication (about school programs and pupils' progress, in both school-to-home and home-to-school directions), decision-making (parental participation in school policy mechanisms), community collaboration, and volunteering. This classification is often simplified into a distinction juxtaposing *internal* (parents supporting their children efforts by conveying the value of education, helping with homework, providing home resources, talking with children about their school experience, etc.) and *external* (direct interaction with the school environment, most typically with teachers) forms of involvement.

Literature reviews on PI highlight its tendency to contribute to children's school performance, motivation to achieve, discipline, social skills, health conditions, and self-esteem (Desforges & Abouchar, 2003; Jafarov, 2015; Poncelet & Francis, 2010). Other recurring aspects of theoretical and empirical works on parental engagement focus on the interplay of multiple actors (parents, students, teachers); how, even when they share overall goals, such actors cultivate different concepts of involvement (Barge & Loges, 2003; Fotinos, 2014); how these actors' characteristics (in terms of cultural and material resource levels, for example) affect degree of parental involvement (Borgonovi & Montt, 2012; Mantovani & Gasperoni, 2017).

Although there exists a wide consensus as regards its benefits, parental school involvement – especially in its “external”, school-based form – tends to be more *avowed* than actually *practiced*. Hornby and Lafaele (2011) stress the gap between “rhetoric” and “reality” as regards parental involvement. As far as the former is concerned, the literature emphasizes the “formal” promotion of PI supported by educational institutions: school policies and educational professionals encourage parents' participation in school-related activities, stimulating forms of partnership and collaboration (Galli, 2000;

¹ The literature also refers to *engagement*, *participation* and other concepts, at times with different meanings (see, for example, Goodall & Montgomery, 2014). In this text we will use such terms as synonyms, with no intention of conferring distinct meanings to them.

Eurydice, 2005; 2012). Nonetheless, many barriers continue to exert their influence against parental engagement, as testified by both teachers' and mothers' complaints about each others' weak efforts (Binns et al., 1997; Williams et al., 2002).

There are several types of phenomena that may inhibit – separately or jointly – parents' engagement in school-based activities. Researchers usually identify the main barriers to engagement in parents' low level of education, low socio-economic status, working time constraints and poor knowledge of the education system (Andrews, 2013; Chiswick & DebBurman, 2004; Glenn, 2004; Kristen & Granato, 2007; Kristen et al., 2008). Generally, such features tend to overlap and involve to a greater degree lower social classes, as well as immigrant parents, due to their over-representation in working and low-educated social groups.

Immigrant parents are more likely to face additional hindrances more closely associated with their “foreign” status. Studies emphasize language issues and cultural aspects. First-generation immigrants are frequently not fluent in the host country language, which inhibits parents' ability and self-confidence in communicating with teachers and reduces their interactions with school (García Coll et al., 2002; Yakhnich, 2015; OECD, 2017c; Hornby & Blackwell, 2018). Weak language skills may also contribute to misunderstanding, when teachers misinterpret immigrant parents' low involvement in school activities as lack of interest. Teachers' misapprehension may also be affected by cultural aspects, which rely on “a mismatch between the culture of the school and that of the home” (Andrews, 2013, p. 499). In some immigrant-origin families – in particular Chinese and more generally Asian- and Hispanic-origin families – teaching is deemed to be the teachers' domain, whereas parents are responsible for children's discipline and behaviour (Yao, 1988; Espinosa, 1995; Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Ramirez, 2003; Guo, 2011; Klein, 2008; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). In other words, immigrant parents may appear to be less involved in school activities, but does not mean they are uninterested in their children's school performance: parents and teachers just play different roles.

Immigrant parents may have a higher likelihood of not being correctly informed that they are expected to participate in school activities (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Barge & Loges, 2003; Ramirez, 2003; Turney & Kao, 2009); among immigrants, socialisation to PI may occur *informally*, by interacting with and observing other parents, with whom however they may have little contact (Guo, 2011). Moreover, a mismatch between parents' and teachers' ethnic origins may encumber interaction (Calzada et al., 2015), feed immigrant parents' feeling of discrimination, and end up discouraging their involvement (Sohn & Wang, 2006).

On the other hand, families' migratory projects are typically motivated by the desire to improve socio-economic conditions and children's life chances, especially via the pursuit of educational opportunities that may be taken less for granted by immigrants than within native families. This could easily translate into heightened parental engagement in offspring's education among immigrant-origin families, especially when the children themselves are first-generation immigrants (Vallet & Caille, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Kristen et al., 2008).

As regards sociological research on PI in Italy and France, empirical findings are consistent with the above-mentioned results. Overall, immigrant families' are more likely than native ones to be less engaged in school-based activities, and this depends on a combined action of "general" (not related to having an immigrant background) and "specific" (migration-based) factors (Favaro & Genovese, 1996; Migeot-Alvarado, 2002; Colombo, 2004; Besozzi, 2005; Feyfant & Rey, 2006; Pattaro, 2010; Blanc, 2011). In her pioneering research, Favaro (1990) stressed the need to fill the cultural gap between schools and immigrant families in order to promote PI. Educators need to acquire new skills in order to cope with immigrant parents' tendency to not to observe school rules and not to attend meetings with teachers, since such behaviour is more a cultural matter than an indicator of disinterest in children's education. Although this warning may be dated, later research continues to suggest that cultural barriers are hard to overcome (Balsamo, 2003; Besozzi, 2005; Maggioni & Vincenti, 2007; Pattaro, 2010; Colussi, 2011).

A major limit of many studies on PI is their local setting: much research has been conducted in specific cities or regions, in part because qualitative approaches have been privileged. In this article we will explore the degree of (some forms of) parental involvement in their children's school-related activities in France and Italy, via an analysis of an international data-base (see next section). More specifically, we will preliminarily explore the incidence of a set of barriers to parental engagement in order to examine if differences between native and immigrant-origin families are detectable both in Italy and France, as highlighted by international literature. Furthermore, we will use the same data-base to develop a set of multivariate analyses in order to evaluate if, and to what extent, self-reported parental involvement varies according to families' native/immigrant status. Overall, it might be expected a lower scholastic involvement among immigrant families, which may be affected by their extra and "specific" barriers. Nonetheless, immigrant families' PI might be a more complex phenomenon. In fact, "general" hindrances – such as socio-economic and cultural conditions – are able to exert a negative effect on PI, as well. As a consequence, it might also be expected that, after controlling for family's socio-economic and cultural background,

differences in PI between immigrant and native parents will shrink or even vanish.

As for any set of countries, there are both credible and less convincing reasons for considering France and Italy as comparable contexts. Both their schooling systems, for example, feature a relatively centralised administrative structure, single-track lower secondary schooling, mandatory schooling up to age 16, distinct “general/academic” and “vocational” streams at the upper secondary level (flanked by vocational training programmes), and a significant immigrant-origin student population. The two countries, however, also feature non-negligible differences, such as: in Italy upper secondary education typically starts at age 14 and lasts 5 years versus, respectively, age 15 and only 3 years in France; with respect to Italy, France features an adult population with higher educational levels, engages in appreciably greater spending on education, has better-educated foreign-born residents and a longer experience of managing migration flows; the two countries' immigrant populations originate from different geographic areas. We are aware of these differences and a wide array of others (some described below, in the “Parental involvement in France and Italy” section and in Tables A1 and A2), and the reader should realise as well that the scope of our models is accordingly constrained.

Data, variables, method

The data used to pursue our goals are drawn from the 2015 edition of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). PISA evaluates, every three years, 15-year-old students' knowledge and skill levels in an international, comparative perspective. The 2015 edition (OECD, 2017a) involved 72 countries and economies and over half a million students. The Programme's relevance as a tool for evaluating the performance of education systems is well-known. Perhaps less familiar is the fact that PISA also explores parents' standpoint towards education via a structured questionnaire administered in a subset of participating countries (18 in all, 11 of which – including France and Italy – in Europe)². This specific has been relatively underused with respect to the main PISA data-base focusing on student's competence levels, yet holds great potential for improving our understanding of parent's attitudes, behaviour, beliefs, expectations as regards education and their children's learning endeavours.

² The other countries/economies in which the parent questionnaire was administered are: Chile, Dominican Republic, Georgia, Hong Kong, Macao, Mexico, South Korea and – in Europe – Belgium, Croatia, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Spain, and (in part) the United Kingdom.

We are especially interested in *two* sets of questions posed to tested students' mothers or (less frequently) fathers. In the first item battery, parents are asked to indicate whether their participation in their child's school activities have been hindered, over the last school year, by any of the following issues³:

- inconvenient meeting times;
- inability to get off from work;
- unavailability of someone to take care of their child(ren);
- unsafe nature of way to school;
- transportation problems;
- feeling unwelcome at their child's school;
- insufficient skills in local language;
- belief in irrelevance of participation for their child's development;
- unfamiliarity with modes of participation in school activities;
- their child's wish for parents not to participate.

In the second item battery, the most important for our analyses, parents are asked to indicate whether they have participated, over the last school year, in each of a set of school-related activities, including⁴:

- a. discussing their child's *behaviour* with a teacher on a *parent's initiative*;
- b. discussing their child's *progress* with a teacher on a *parent's initiative*;
- c. discussing their child's *behaviour* with a teacher on a *teacher's initiative*;
- d. discussing their child's *progress* with a teacher on a *teacher's initiative*;
- e. attending a *scheduled meeting* or conferences for parents;
- f. talking with a teacher about how to support *learning at home* and homework;
- g. exchanging ideas on *parenting*, family support, or their child's development with a teacher.

The information recorded by each of the two batteries is rather limited. The only possible answers to each item are "yes" and "no". No additional information is collected on other potentially relevant dimensions, including, for example (as regards the second battery): frequency of contact with teachers, number of teachers involved in such contacts, duration of the exchanges, the latter's collective (simultaneous presence of other students' parents) or individual nature, mode of interaction (face-to-face, via telephone, written correspondence, etc.), evaluation of the interaction's usefulness, gender of

³ The 2015 edition is the first PISA wave to explore *obstacles* to parental involvement in school-based activities.

⁴ The battery also includes three other items that reflect parents' *external* involvement in schooling (see introductory section of this article) and that will *not* be further addressed in this article: participating in local school government (parent councils, school management committees, etc.); volunteering for physical or extra-curricular activities (building maintenance, field trip supervision, etc.); volunteering to support school activities (library assistance, guest speaking, etc.). By and large, parents engage in these external forms of participation much less frequently than in those listed in the main text.

the engaged parent. The data stemming from both batteries are also characterised by another intrinsic limit, typical of sample surveys: the data reflect *stated* rather than actual behaviour and may therefore feature bias due to social desirability (if parents are reluctant to admit not meeting with teachers or their children's learning or behavioural difficulties). Nonetheless – as well stated by Turney and Kao (2009) – there are no reasonable rationales for believing that self-reported “over”-involvement should vary according to parents' immigrant status.

The analyses developed in the following sections are based mainly on variables originating from the questionnaire administered to parents, but some variables stem from the student questionnaire. The Italian sample in the 2015 edition of PISA comprises 11,573 students and parents of 7,194 of these students; for France, the corresponding sample sizes are 6,108 students and 5,358 parents. The overall parental participation rate is equal to 79% for Italy and 88% for France. This incomplete coverage within the student sample is, obviously, another potential source of bias. Additionally, every variable used in our analyses (both those mentioned here and the covariates described in the “Model specification” section) features a certain incidence of non-response, leading to the exclusion of some cases. In general terms, for both the French and the Italian samples, aggregate (questionnaire- and item-level) non-response tends to be higher among students with lower socio-economic status, of male gender, and with immigrant origins.

Native/immigrant status has been operationalised as follows: “native” refers cases in which at least one parent is born in the reference country; “immigrant” describes situations in which both parents are (or the lone parent is) born in another country. The choice to classify “mixed” couples (a native-born parent and a foreign-born one) as “native” was made in order to simplify the variable and because mixed couples and more strictly-defined native ones display similar profiles, at least as regards their involvement in their children's schooling (and we can confirm that this would be the case here if we were to adopt a three-category classification scheme). As expected, and as can be clearly inferred from Table 2 (see below), immigrant status refers to small minorities of parents. Native/immigrant status has been defined in light of parents, rather children's, circumstances, since the former are more important in determining pattern of parent-child relationships (Kao, 2004; Turney & Kao, 2009). It should be pointed out that the only information provided in PISA is country of birth, simplified into a dichotomy: “country of test” and “other country”; there is no additional information concerning *migratory* experiences.

Moreover, for the multivariate analyses performed below, we have excluded students who cannot be unequivocally defined as attending an *upper* secondary school programme. On the whole, these multivariate analyses re-

fer to approximately 60% of all PISA students in both the French and the Italian samples.

In our analyses, data are weighted via implementation of the “final trimmed non-response adjusted student weight” specified in the PISA data-base; reported sample sizes, on the other hand, refer to unweighted cases. PISA adopts a two-stage stratified sampling design: firstly, schools attended by fifteen-year-olds were identified via systematic probability proportional-to-size sampling; then, students were drawn from among the enrollees of these schools. In order to obtain correct estimates of standard errors, the sampling strategy entails balanced repeated replication via the use of 80 replicate weights (OECD, 2017b, 116-135).

Barriers to parental involvement in France and Italy

For the first time in the PISA surveys, the 2015 edition parent questionnaire investigates reported barriers to PI. Parents were asked if each of a set of factors (described above and listed in Table 1) had hindered participation in their children's school activities over the previous school year. Parents were limited to a yes/no response; therefore, the barriers' frequency or intensity cannot be explored.

The obstacles identified by PISA are hardly attributable to a specific construct from a theoretical perspective. The great majority of them might be defined *parent-centred* barriers (USDE-NCES, 1998), which refer to socio-economic class constraints (inability to get off from work, unavailability of guardians for children), weak language proficiency, cultural differences (believing participation is not relevant), low familiarity with schooling. Other barriers correspond to more external, *school-related* constraints: inconvenient meeting times, transportation problems, unsafe nature of journey to school. Lastly, the child's aversion to PI is a distinctive, *student-centred* barrier⁵.

Table 1 reveals that the most common barriers to PI relate to time constraints – inconvenient meeting times and inability to get off from work – that also tend to overlap with one another. Inability to leave work is significantly more crucial for immigrant parents in Italy (fully half of whom mention the issue) with respect to natives, whereas in France the corresponding difference is negligible. Conversely, inconvenient meeting times are mentioned more often by immigrant parents in France; in Italy the gap is insignificant.

⁵ The barriers' heterogeneous nature is also statistically confirmed by the low global internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.63$) we encountered in attempting to build a unidimensional scale.

Table 1. Percentage of parents in France and Italy reporting that participation in their children's school activities in the previous school year was hindered by listed circumstances, by immigrant status

	France			Italy		
	Native	Immig.	Diff.	Native	Immig.	Diff.
Inability to get off from work	38.1	41.9	°	29.6	50.4	***
Inconvenient meeting times	35.8	43.0	*	32.0	31.6	°
Unfamiliarity with participation modes	14.0	16.5	°	16.0	30.1	***
Unavailability of child guardian	8.2	15.1	**	7.7	18.5	***
Weak French/Italian language skills	0.4	13.9	***	4.3	23.2	***
Belief in irrelevance of participation	2.8	11.0	***	10.3	18.0	***
Transportation problems	4.5	7.7	*	8.2	15.6	***
Child's aversion to parental participation	3.2	5.1	°	7.1	12.4	**
Feeling unwelcome at school	0.8	1.3	°	4.3	6.0	°
Unsafe nature of way to school	1.0	0.7	°	5.4	6.3	°

Note: Minimum / maximum N = 4,071/4,103 in France; 7,650 / 7,795 in Italy.

° Not significant; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Another relatively common barrier to PI relates to poor familiarity with school routines. Only in Italy, however, does parents' lack of information about how they could participate in school activities differ significantly between natives and immigrants, with the latter being more likely to mention this hindrance.

The remaining potential stumbling blocks are mentioned less frequently, but many of them highlight native/immigrant differences. In both countries, immigrant parents are more likely to report that they do not participate in school-related activities due to unavailability of someone to look after their children, transportation difficulties, belief in irrelevance of participation, and weak language skills. Immigrant parents in Italy are also more likely (than natives) to report their children's desire that they not get involved in school-related activities.

Unavailability of guardians for children in immigrant families could be due to two factors: children are usually more numerous in immigrant families, often originating in countries where the fertility rate is higher than in the host country; immigrant families often rely on weaker social networks

and have fewer opportunities to entrust their offspring to relatives. Irrelevance of participation in school-related activities could be linked, as stated in the introductory section of this article, to cultural orientations, again originating in immigrants' origin countries, according to which parenting and schooling are two *separate* domains, with teachers being held responsible for the educational sphere.

On the whole, immigrant-origin parents display a higher propensity to cite many obstacles to participation in their children's school-related activities. This is true in both France and Italy (although the barrier-specific patterns vary from one country to the next). On the basis of these findings, it would be reasonable to expect immigrant parents to be less engaged, in comparison to native parents, in such activities due to their higher exposure as regards barriers to participation. In the next section we shall ascertain whether this is the case.

Parental involvement in France and Italy

So how widespread is the involvement of parents in their children's schools? Table 2 reports the incidence (in percentage terms) of parents who have engaged in the listed activities. The results show how participation rates vary greatly across countries (comparatively high in Spain and Portugal, for instance; relatively low in France, Belgium and Ireland) and across types of activity (generally higher for scheduled meetings and conferences; lower for exchanging ideas about parenting). PI is far from a universal phenomenon⁶. If we focus on the first four types of activities (a-d), parent-teacher discussions initiated by parents are, in general, more widespread than those requested by teachers (although, of course, this difference may be due to the fact that parents, not teachers, are providing the information). Differences relating to immigrant/native status do not appear to mirror any systematic pattern across countries, although in general teacher-initiated discussions appear to be more frequent with immigrant parents than with natives, and the opposite is true for scheduled meetings.

Each country/activity possesses specific features, but we will focus on France and Italy, that display a similar, intermediate profile compared to other European countries. Overall levels of reported participation are appreciably higher in Italy than in France for 6 of the 7 activity types (scheduled meetings are the exception). In both countries – as in most European coun-

⁶ These PI rates might appear to be low, but this could be due to the fact that parents' engagement in school-related activities declines as children age: in adolescence, students attain greater independence, self-esteem and ability to interact directly and personally with school professionals (Seginer, 2006; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

tries, as previously stated – parent-initiated discussions (about their children's behaviour or progress) are more common than teacher-initiated ones.

Table 2. Incidence of a selection of school involvement activities among parents in a set of European countries, by immigrant/native status (percentage values)

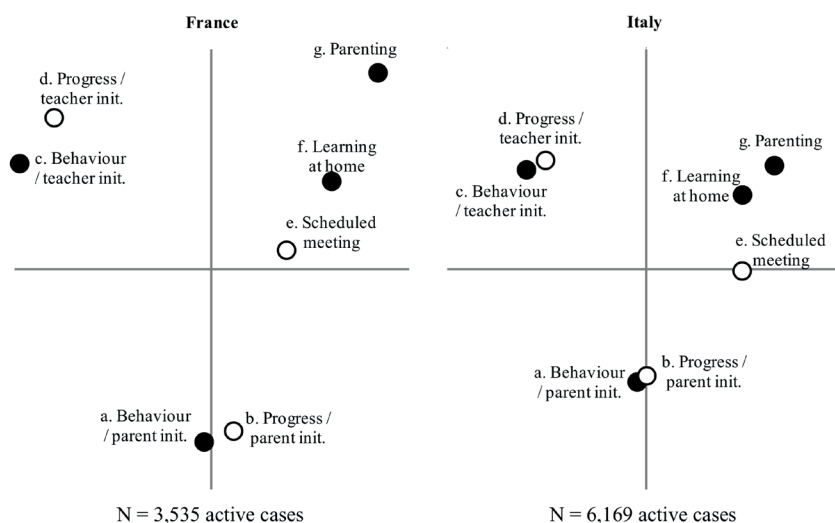
	a. Behaviour / Parent init.	b. Progress / Parent init.	c. Behaviour / Teacher init.	d. Progress / Teacher init.	e. Scheduled meeting	f. Learning at home	g. Parenting	Minimum (N)
<i>France</i>								
All parents	42.3	41.4	29.0	31.1	69.1	37.1	20.0	(4,887)
Native	42.4	41.1	28.3	30.0	69.8	37.0	19.2	(4,346)
Immigrant	40.7	44.2	34.2	41.7	63.9	37.4	26.1	(502)
<i>Italy</i>								
All parents	58.2	64.4	37.5	41.3	62.9	44.0	35.9	(7,840)
Native	57.9	64.4	36.5	40.3	63.9	44.4	36.0	(7,226)
Immigrant	61.9	64.9	49.1	53.5	51.5	39.5	34.4	(514)
<i>Belgium</i>								
All parents	33.7	35.7	37.2	47.3	79.4	40.5	25.5	(4,496)
Native	33.8	34.9	37.0	47.0	80.4	40.2	25.2	(3,985)
Immigrant	36.8	41.3	38.3	48.7	72.9	42.3	26.9	(468)
<i>Germany</i>								
All parents	63.5	54.1	38.6	29.5	91.2	45.7	28.8	(3,238)
Native	63.6	53.9	36.7	28.0	91.9	44.3	28.4	(2,850)
Immigrant	61.0	54.1	53.2	41.0	86.4	55.3	29.7	(320)
<i>Spain</i>								
All parents	71.4	75.0	55.7	60.2	81.9	67.4	58.3	(4,472)
Native	71.8	75.7	55.6	60.0	82.9	68.1	59.5	(4,071)
Immigrant	68.1	68.6	56.9	61.9	73.1	60.8	46.9	(373)
<i>Portugal</i>								
All parents	76.3	73.8	52.6	58.1	72.8	62.7	60.4	(6,590)
Native	76.7	74.3	52.2	57.9	72.7	62.7	60.5	(6,161)
Immigrant	69.6	66.4	58.0	61.0	74.1	60.6	57.6	(366)
<i>Ireland</i>								
All parents	31.3	35.7	19.4	29.1	84.0	54.2	26.7	(4,823)
Native	30.7	35.9	18.4	27.9	85.3	55.1	26.3	(4,155)
Immigrant	34.5	33.5	25.7	35.0	75.8	48.1	28.3	(623)

Parental involvement in the two countries differs appreciably in relation to native/immigrant status. In France, immigrant parents are *more* likely

than natives to acknowledge having engaged in 5 of the 7 activities, and the same holds in Italy for 4 activities. The largest differences involve (as in most other countries) teacher-initiated discussions (more common among immigrant parents) and scheduled meetings (less widespread among immigrant parents) (Tables A1 and A2 in Appendix).

A multiple correspondence analysis was performed separately on each of the two national samples in order to obtain a multivariate representation of parents' participation profiles. The two analyses produced markedly similar results⁷, in which the primary component (not displayed here) simply discriminates between "yes" and "no" answers to the seven items; overall, parents who are engaged in one of the activities tend to be engaged in each of the others. Figure 1 portrays the semantic space corresponding to the second (horizontal) and third (vertical axis) components emerging from the analysis.

Figure 1. Semantic map underlying the frequency of some types of school involvement activities among parents, in France and Italy (second and third dimensions extracted via multiple correspondence analysis; white circles correspond to types of activity that are further explored in the following sections)



Three clusters of activities are clearly identifiable: *teacher-initiated discussions* about the parent's child (regardless of whether progress or behaviour is discussed), in the upper left-hand quadrant; *parent-initiated discussions* (again, regardless of whether progress or behaviour is discussed), in the low-

⁷ The first three components (the only ones with eigenvalues greater than 1) account, respectively, for 36, 20 and 16% (72% collectively) of total inertia in the French sample; for 37, 19 and 17% (73% collectively) in the Italian one.

er part of the plane; *less focused activities* (exchanging ideas about home learning support or parenting, scheduled conferences), in the upper right-hand quadrant. Proximity of circles in the figure means that parents who tend to engage in one of the corresponding activities also tend to participate in the other. We reasonably expect the regression models discussed below to produce similar findings for activities belonging to the same cluster (especially as regards the first two). Below, we will develop regression models concerning only 3 (those represented by white, rather than black, circles in Figure 1) of these 7 activities, which also happen to be the three activities featuring the largest gaps between native and immigrant parents.

Model specification

In the next section we will develop binomial logistic regression models in order to better identify the effect of native/immigrant status on parental participation on 3 school-related activities. We have classified variables – that are both available in the 2015 PISA data-base and deemed useful for accounting for PI – into four groups⁸.

The first group contains ascriptive characteristics (from the children's standpoint). The variable of major interest here, of course, is parents' *native/immigrant status*, our main explanatory variable. Student's *gender* is also a highly relevant trait in this context⁹. PISA provides an *economic, social and cultural status* (or "ESCS": OECD, 2017b, 339-340) composite, internationally standardised index, the value of which is determined by parents' occupational status and education levels and by wealth of home possessions (such as books, etc.); separately for each country, the sample was divided into quartiles. It seems reasonable to expect that higher ESCS would correspond to higher levels of PI, at least when meeting with teachers is initiated by parents; vice versa, if one assumes that teachers seek out parents more often when their children face problems, one could expect lower ESCS to

⁸ Text length constraints prevent us from discussing in detail the reasons why we have chosen these covariates or reasonable expectations concerning their effects on parental involvement, although some information can be inferred from the initial section of this article, is revealed in the "Results" section or is in any case not difficult to imagine. Some relevant variables in the PISA data-base, especially those deriving from the school questionnaire, were excluded due to non-negligible non-response rates. Also, unfortunately, pertinent variables available in previous PISA studies do not appear in the 2015 edition, which, for example, did not record family structure, number of siblings and mother's age; living in a single-parent family and higher numbers of sibling reduce PI (Crosnoe, 2001; Downey, 2001).

⁹ Elsewhere (Mantovani & Gasperoni, 2017), using 2012 PISA data, we have explored the gender gap afflicting parental involvement: parents of girls engage in parent-teacher discussions significantly *less* frequently than boys' parents, and we have no reason not to expect a similar pattern in the 2015 edition.

correspond to higher levels of PI. We include in this group a variable relating to the most common barrier to PI reported by the parents themselves: *inability to get off work*.

The second covariate bloc relates to the relationship that parents entertain with their children as regards their school experience. *Parental emotional support* is another PISA standardized index (OECD, 2017b, 332-333)¹⁰. Parents' *familiarity with child's school friends* is a binary variable taking the values 0 (few: "up to 5 friends") and 1 (many: "6 or more"). Similarly, *familiarity with school friends' parents* takes the values 0 (few: "up to 2 parents") and 1 (many: "3 or more"). Greater awareness of children's school experience could be expected to correspond to higher levels of PI (as least in its parent-initiated forms).

A third set of regressors focuses on students' school behaviour. *Repeat* simply records whether the student has ever had to repeat a year (presumably due to inadequate school performance). *Truancy*, similarly, records whether the student has, in the last two weeks of school, ever skipped a school day, skipped some classes, or arrived late for school¹¹. Poor school performance could be expected to correspond to higher levels of PI (as least in its teacher-initiated forms).

The final set of regressors addresses parents' relationship with their children's school. *Perceived school quality* and *perceived parental involvement policies* are yet another two PISA-produced standardized index, each based on parent's level of approval of 7 items (OECD, 2017b, 334). *Trusted teachers* is a binary variable reflecting the number of school staff members with whom parents would feel comfortable talking to if they had a question about their children (0 = few, i.e. up to 2; 1 = many, i.e. 3 or more).

Tables A1 and A2, in the appendix, supply some information about the frequency distributions of participation in school-related activities and the covariates (plus school track) among natives and immigrants within each of the two national samples. The values reported in Tables A1 and A2, and the samples analysed in the next two sections, refer *exclusively* to (parents of) students attending upper secondary schools; this helps explain why differ-

¹⁰ The index's value depends on the parent's level of approval of the following items: "I am interested in my child's school activities", "I am supportive of my child's efforts at school and his/her achievements", "I support my child when he/she is facing difficulties at school" and "I encourage my child to be confident".

¹¹ *School track* would appear to be another obvious choice here, but we have decided not to include it among the regressors for two reasons. Firstly, the variable displays little variance in the French sample, which at the upper secondary level distinguishes only between *lycées généraux et technologiques* (which account for 9 out of 10 children of respondents), on the one hand, and, on the other, *lycées professionnels et agricoles*. Secondly, in the Italian sample, school track (with three categories: *liceo, tecnico, professionale*) covaries with native/immigrant status (immigrant-origin students are less likely to attend the academic track), and this would entail additional interaction terms in the regression model (see below).

ences between natives and immigrants do not correspond exactly to those reported in Table 2, the values of which refer to *all* (parents of) 15-year-old students, regardless of the educational or training level they attend.

By and large, parents living in France are less likely to participate in school activities than parents living in Italy, and this difference holds within each native/immigrant status subgroup.

In both France and Italy, differences in participation rates between natives and immigrant-origin groups are statistically significant for 3 of the 7 activity types, with immigrant parents displaying higher percentages than natives as regards meeting with teachers on the latter's initiative, but lower percentages as regards scheduled conferences.

In both countries, the native and immigrant subgroups also differ on a number of the other variables that are plausibly connected with parental engagement. Most importantly, their distribution among the ESCS quartiles shows a strong concentration of immigrants in the lower quartile and their underrepresentation in the upper two quartiles.

Again, in both countries, native parents, with respect to immigrants, provide higher levels of emotional support to children, are more familiar with their offspring's friends and the latter's parents, and trust a greater number of teachers – all of which seem to suggest a higher degree of engagement, which nevertheless does *not* translate, for native parents, into more intense participation in the school-related activities on which we are focusing.

Also, in France, immigrant-origin students are more prone to truant behaviour; in both countries, students are more likely to have chequered careers, plagued by a school year repetition (which in any case is a more frequent phenomenon in Italy).

In order to ascertain whether natives and immigrant parents have different participation profiles once these covariates are taken into account, for each of the 4 activities we estimate three models:

- In Model 1, the only covariate is native/immigrant status. This is simply a base-line, bivariate model.
- In Model 2, child's gender and ESCS are added, as well as an interaction term combining native/immigrant status and ESCS. This model should tell us whether immigrants' lower social, economic and cultural resources account for (or conceal) native/immigrant differences in PI.
- In Model 3, the remaining covariates described here are added.

Results

In the Appendix, Tables A3 (for France) and A4 (for Italy) display the results of Models 1, 2 and 3 for each of the 3 types of school-related activities examined here: discussions about children's progress initiated by parents;

discussions about children's progress initiated by teachers; attendance of scheduled meeting or conferences for parents. As regards the first activity (parent-initiated discussion of children's progress), in France native/immigrant status does not exert a significant effect in the base-line Model 1 nor in the more complete Models 2 and 3; in Italy, the initially insignificant positive effect of being immigrants in Model 1 becomes significant in Models 2 and 3. As regards the second activity (teacher-initiated discussion of children's progress), in France the initially positive effect related to being immigrants in the base-line Model 1 disappears when the covariates included in Models 2 and 3 are taken into account; in Italy, the same pattern can be observed. Finally, in the third activity (scheduled parent conferences), the initially significant and negative effect of being immigrants on participation fades away in France when Models 2 and 3 are run, whereas in Italy immigrant status continues to exert a strong effect.

In the two types of activities requiring parental activation (parent-initiated discussions and attendance of scheduled meetings), in both countries parents' emotional support towards children is positively associated with PI. In France, additionally, the fact that parents trust "many" rather than "few" teachers also exerts a positive effect on PI. In the activity in which parents are summoned by schools (teacher-initiated discussions), in both countries, levels of involvement are higher when students engage in truant behaviour and when parents perceive schools as promoting policies that encourage PI.

More importantly, in both countries, as concerns native parents, ESCS is associated with significant effects for all three activities: for parent-initiated discussions and scheduled conferences, propensity to participate grows, other things being equal, as ESCS increases; for teacher-initiated discussions, the opposite occurs (propensity to participate grows as ESCS decreases).

Interpretation of logistic regression parameters has several disadvantages. Parameters (log-odds ratios) cannot be interpreted in a straightforward manner and do not allow us to compare models across samples (Mood, 2010). To overcome these limits and more effectively represent native/immigrant differences in PI, we have estimated predictive margins for each of the three activity types, which can be directly interpreted as engagement probabilities¹². The results of these estimations are shown in Figures 2, 3 and 4 and more clearly convey the implications of the models¹³.

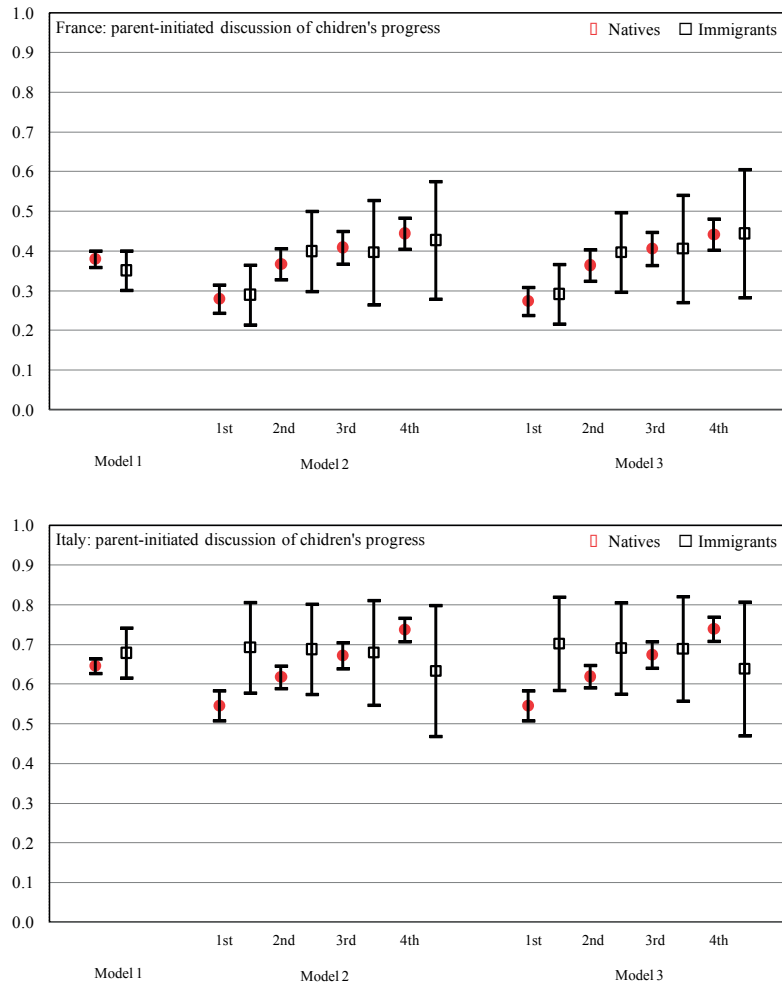
Figure 2 (parent-initiated discussions) shows that in France the difference between natives and immigrants in each of the 3 models is virtually

¹² Predictive margins have been estimated in each of the three models, with all other covariates held at their means.

¹³ Figures 2, 3 and 4 display predicted probabilities accompanied by 95% confidence intervals. These intervals are systematically wider for the immigrant parents because the corresponding subsamples are smaller than the native subsamples'.

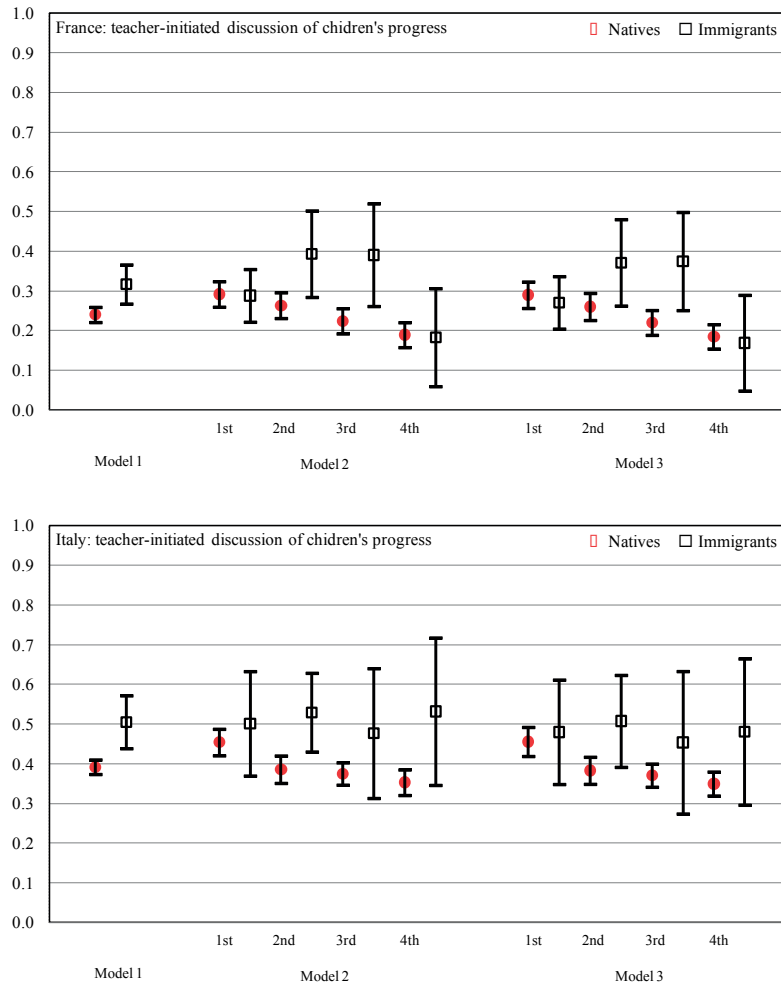
null (and never statistically significant), overall and within each ESCS quartile. Higher levels of ESCS entail higher PI probabilities for both natives and immigrants (but differences across ESCS quartiles are significant only for natives). In Italy, where we re-emphasise the fact that participation levels are higher than in France, immigrant parents have a higher probability of meeting with teachers (as compared to natives') when they belong to the lowest ESCS quartile. As ESCS increases, significantly higher PI probabilities are observed among native parents, whereas immigrant PI levels do not vary as a function of ESCS.

Figure 2. Predicted probabilities (with 95% confidence intervals) of engaging in parent-initiated discussions of children's progress in France and Italy, by immigrant/native status and ESCS quartile (other variables at their mean values)



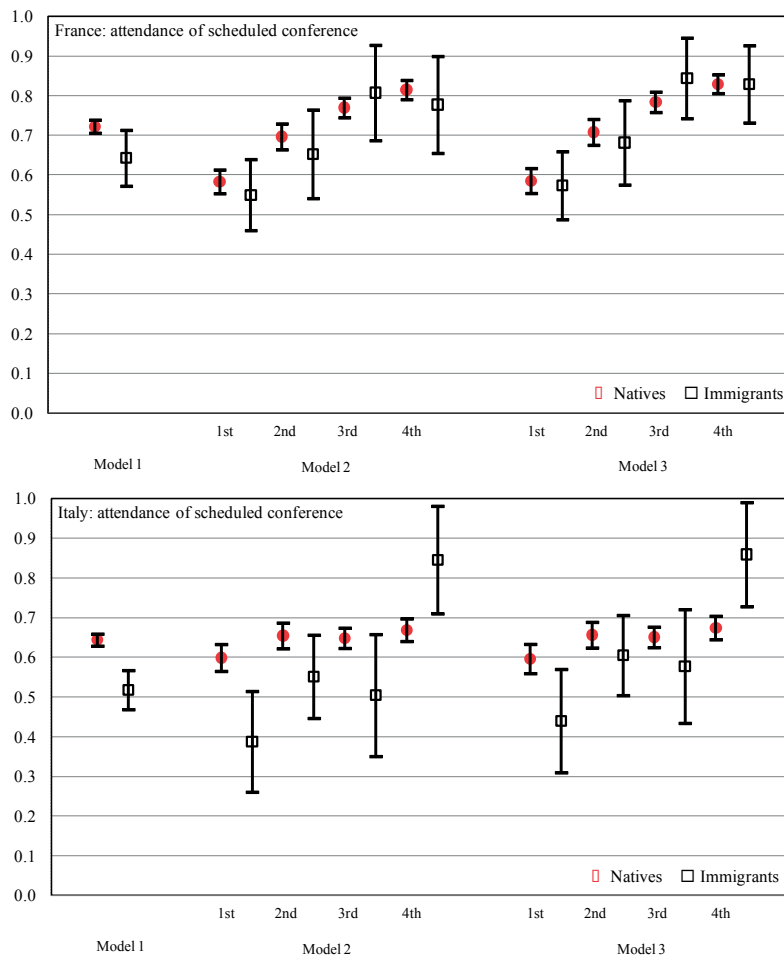
As shown in Figure 3 (teacher-initiated discussions), immigrants express a higher level of participation in Model 1, but the difference evaporates at the lowest and highest levels of ESCS in Models 2 and 3. Among natives, participation rates tend to decline as ESCS rises, whereas there no systematic tendency emerges among immigrants. In Italy, the initial, significant difference among immigrants (with a comparatively high level of participation) and natives loses its significance in Models 2 and 3 except in the 2nd ESCS quartile. Even in the more complete models the gap continues to indicate stronger engagement among immigrants. As in France, participation grows weaker as ESCS increases among natives.

Figure 3. Predicted probabilities (with 95% confidence intervals) of engaging in teacher-initiated discussions of children's progress in France and Italy, by immigrant/native status and ESCS quartile (other variables at their mean values)



Finally, the predicted probabilities in Figure 4 show that immigrant parents' initially lower propensity to attend scheduled conferences is eroded away in Models 2 and 3. Participation tends to increase along with ESCS both for natives and immigrants. The lower initial propensity recorded among immigrants is reasonably due to compositional effects: immigrants are concentrated at lower levels of ESCS. In Italy, on the other hand, the initial situation, in which immigrants display a lower attendance propensity, gets more complicated in Models 2 and 3. At the lowest ESCS level, immigrant parents are much less likely to participate, whereas at the highest level immigrants (admittedly few) are much more likely to do so. Unlike what occurs in France, natives' propensity to attend does not vary across ESCS levels.

Figure 4. Predicted probabilities (with 95% confidence intervals) of engaging in scheduled parent conferences in France and Italy, by immigrant/native status and ESCS quartile (other variables at their mean values)



Discussion

In this article our goal was to use the 2015 edition of PISA in order to explore differences in PI in a set of school-related activities and ascertain the effect of native/immigrant status on such engagement. More specifically, we focused on two batteries administered via the PISA parent questionnaire, in Italy and France. The first battery, comprising 10 items, addresses barriers to PI; the second battery, comprising 7 items, concerns parental participation in specific types of school-related activities.

As far as barriers are concerned, our results are consistent with previous literature: immigrant parents are more likely to face additional, immigrant-specific obstacles than natives are (García Coll et al., 2002; Turney & Kao, 2009; Yakhnich, 2015; OECD, 2017c; Hornby & Blackwell, 2018). Nonetheless, the most commonly cited barriers to school-related PI have to do with working parents' inability to get time off from their jobs and inconvenient meeting times, and they do not display a specifically immigrant connotation. By and large, these barriers afflict a sizeable proportion of parents, regardless of their immigrant status, both in France and Italy. These results suggest that schools should pay greater attention when scheduling meetings in order to accommodate parents' work constraints. Furthermore, multivariate analyses (results not shown) show that lower social class parents are more plagued by work constraints, and hence PI of the most socially disadvantaged families might be further penalized by external factors.

Another common barrier to PI is the low level of familiarity with participation modes. Especially in Italy, immigrant parents report, with respect to natives, greater levels of difficulty in engaging with schools. Although rates are lower, belief in irrelevance of participation is an additional "cultural" barrier penalising immigrant parents. From a policy perspective, this finding suggests that greater efforts should be undertaken by school authorities in order to facilitate parental interaction with education professionals, and more precisely to inform parents about the relevance of their involvement. Schools should express more clearly their expectations about PI and also explain *how* they expect parents to participate. In fact, it is wise to bear in mind that some immigrant parents might consider PI a "Western idea", an attitudinal model of behaviour that is unknown in their countries of origin (Guo, 2011). In itself, this finding also justifies an expectation of lower PI among immigrant parents.

Other immigrant-suited barriers refer to linguistic problems and family constraints, such as caring of other children. In the first case, school investment in linguistic mediators could effectively help in overcoming such an obstacle. In the second case, although empirical studies point to convergence in fertility patterns between native and immigrant-descendant women, the

fertility rate is still higher among immigrant women, especially among some origin groups (Di Comite et al., 2006; Toulemon, 2006; Pailhé, 2017; Istat, 2018). As a consequence, immigrant parents might still face greater family-based constraints due to the greater number of children to be managed. Furthermore, immigrant parents face an additional family-related barrier due to the weaker social networks on which they rely and the inability to entrust offspring to relatives, since their migratory experiences may have given rise to transnational families (Barberis & Boccagni, 2017).

Moreover, as even PISA data confirm, immigrant parents tend to enjoy a more limited wealth of economic, social, and cultural resources with respect to native parents. Since lower socio-economic origins are usually associated with weaker academic performance among students, this circumstance also seems to justify an expectation of weaker school-related participation among immigrant parents.

Are there any good reasons legitimating the prospect of *greater* PI among immigrant parents? Even though the following argument cannot be substantiated with PISA data, immigrant-origin families often place a premium on children's educational attainment, which is frequently a central pillar of migratory projects; this could well lead to comparatively high levels of PI, though not necessarily to a degree sufficient to counteract the previously cited drawbacks afflicting immigrants.

Simple bivariate analyses, as well as the base-line Models 1, show that in France and Italy immigrant and native parents express basically similar participation levels in parent-initiated discussions with teachers; immigrant parents report greater levels of participation, with respect to natives, as concerns teacher-initiated discussions; immigrant parents display lower levels of engagement when scheduled parent conferences at school are the examined activity type. Models 2 and 3, which include familial economic-social-cultural status and a host of other variables among their regressors, change the initial picture, shed light on the varying role of status, and highlight some differences between France and Italy.

As regards parent-initiated discussions, PI is positively associated with economic-social-cultural status, but only among native parents, both in France and Italy. This result was predictable: literature has stressed that immigrant parents are less familiar with schools' requests in terms of PI than native parents, and such unfamiliarity may be cultural in nature regardless of their level of education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Barge & Loges, 2003; Ramirez, 2003; Turney & Kao, 2009; Andrews, 2013). Unfortunately, available data do not supply information required (parents' country of origin) to investigate if a "cultural" effect might be in play. The only appreciable significant native versus immigrant difference relates to lower class immigrants in Italy, who have a higher propensity to participate than similarly

disadvantaged natives. This finding is consistent with literature stressing the extra efforts undertaken by immigrant families in order to guarantee a better life for their children (Vallet & Caille, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Kristen et al., 2008).

Teacher-initiated discussions feature higher levels of participation among immigrants, which may be attributable to the higher probability among immigrant-origin students of encountering difficulties at school (misbehaviour and/or low academic performance). However these differences tend to weaken or even disappear in the more complete models. Economic-social-cultural-status is negatively associated with participation, but only among natives, and expresses a more ambiguous pattern among immigrant parents.

Immigrant parents have a lower propensity to attend scheduled conferences, but the difference with natives vanishes in the more complete models, probably due to the positive association between economic-social-cultural status and PI. An interesting exception is observed in the Italian sample: the probability of attending scheduled meetings is significantly lower among socio-economically and culturally disadvantaged immigrant parents than among natives in the same condition. This result might be due to the additional barriers that immigrant parents face in order to attend school-related activities. Moreover, barriers to PI might play a stronger effect in more formalised settings (such as scheduled conference meetings).

Some conclusions can be drawn, and some ensuing questions formulated. Firstly, PI appears to be stronger, across all activity types, in Italy than in France, regardless of native or immigrant status and despite a broad resemblance of the findings emerging in the two countries. One might be tempted to say that these differences could be determined by the self-reported nature of the data (perhaps Italians are more vulnerable to social desirability bias?), but this culturalist interpretation is belied by the fact that the differences persist even when only immigrant parents are taken into account. We must also keep in mind that, if one looks at other European countries, differences across systems are even more marked. Identifying specific features of schooling systems that justify these differences in PI is a promising research issue.

Secondly, if one considers only native parents, one finds that economic-social-cultural status is positively associated with PI when the latter is "spontaneous", negatively so when it is sought out by teachers. Roughly speaking, this could mean that teachers tend to activate parents only when problems arise, whereas well-endowed parents "self-activate" (by requesting encounters with teachers and taking advantage of routine conferences) more often than their more disadvantaged peers. In other words, families' resources play a different role according to the type of school-related activity taken into consideration.

Thirdly, among immigrant parents the above-mentioned association between economic-social-cultural status and PI does *not* hold, especially in Italy. This might depend on teachers' propensity to seek out discussions with immigrant parents to a greater degree and/or the fact that the disadvantages disproportionately associated with immigrants interact in complex ways with the importance they assign to children's educational attainment within their migratory projects.

Unfortunately, the PISA data-base features crucial limits that encumber a more detailed exploration of these issues. Some limits have already been mentioned in the preceding sections. Chief among them is the fact that PI in school-related activities is recorded by simple yes/no answers, with no additional information concerning frequency, intensity, or motivations. Other limits concern the lack of detail about immigrant-origin students, their areas of origin, their parents' migratory experiences, length of permanence in the host country, etc. This means that, as we ourselves have admittedly done here, researchers may end up (erroneously) treating immigrants as a homogeneous group, rather than as a group that is more internally differentiated than natives. In the light of the findings discussed in this article, another major limit emerges: no information has ever been collected in PISA surveys about what *parental involvement* means for parents.

We also admit that, in order to highlight the interactions between economic-social-cultural status and immigrant status, we have willingly ignored the role of school track (the PISA operationalisation of which is rather broad in both France and Italy) and therefore the mechanisms governing the decision-making processes that channel students into more or less demanding, prestigious streams, as well as the various ways in which PI may be expressed in different tracks.

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Appendix

Table A1. Frequency distributions (percentage or mean values) of dependent variables, covariates used in binomial logistic regression analyses, and school track (France)

	Native/immigrant status		Significance of difference
	Native Parents	Immigrant Parents	
<i>Dependent variables</i>			
a. Discuss child's behaviour / parent initiative	37.7	34.4	°
b. Discuss child's progress / parent initiative	37.6	37.5	°
c. Discuss child's behaviour / teacher initiative	21.7	26.7	*
d. Discuss child's progress / teacher initiative	24.0	33.1	***
e. Attend a scheduled meeting	71.5	64.8	+
f. Talk about home learning	34.5	31.1	°
g. Exchange ideas about parenting	16.8	20.0	°
<i>Covariates</i>			
Student gender: female	52.6	59.2	*
Economic-socio-cultural status – 1st quartile	22.6	47.6	***
Economic-socio-cultural status – 2nd quartile	24.9	25.3	°
Economic-socio-cultural status – 3rd quartile	26.1	14.6	***
Economic-socio-cultural status – 4th quartile	26.3	12.5	***
Emotional support (std. index)	+0.19	+0.05	**
Familiarity child's school friends: many	43.2	33.1	***
Familiarity with other parents: many	46.8	37.2	**
Repeat (yes)	0.8	2.5	*
Truancy (yes)	51.1	65.5	***
Perceived school quality (std. index)	+0.22	+0.25	°
Perceived school policies (std. index)	-0.37	-0.24	*
Trusted teachers: many	36.6	20.4	***
<i>School track</i>			
Lycée général / technologique	88.0	91.7	°
Lycée professionnel / agricole	12.0	8.3	

Note: Minimum / maximum N = 3,851 / 4,194.

° Not significant; * $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table A2. Frequency distributions (percentage or mean values) of dependent variables, covariates used in binomial logistic regression analyses, and school track (Italy)

	Native/immigrant status		Significance of difference
	Native Parents	Immigrant Parents	
<i>Dependent variables</i>			
a. Discuss child's behaviour / parent initiative	57.6	63.1	°
b. Discuss child's progress / parent initiative	64.5	67.2	°
c. Discuss child's behaviour / teacher initiative	35.5	47.8	***
d. Discuss child's progress / teacher initiative	39.4	51.1	***
e. Attend a scheduled meeting	63.9	52.4	***
f. Talk about learning at home	44.1	40.2	°
g. Exchange ideas about parenting	35.7	35.0	°
<i>Covariates</i>			
Student gender: female	51.7	57.3	+
Economic-socio-cultural status – 1st quartile	23.6	42.2	***
Economic-socio-cultural status – 2nd quartile	24.8	28.4	°
Economic-socio-cultural status – 3rd quartile	25.6	16.2	***
Economic-socio-cultural status – 4th quartile	25.9	13.2	***
Emotional support (std. index)	-0.27	-0.55	***
Familiarity child's school friends: many	54.4	32.0	***
Familiarity with other parents: many	65.0	36.2	***
Repeat (yes)	11.0	21.4	***
Truancy (yes)	73.4	74.6	°
Perceived school quality (std. index)	+0.29	+0.25	°
Perceived school policies (std. index)	-0.25	-0.15	°
Trusted teachers: many	73.2	53.4	***
<i>School track</i>			
Liceo	55.0	35.4	***
Tecnico	30.1	44.0	***
Professionale	14.9	20.6	°

Note: Minimum / maximum N = 6,159 / 7,998.

° Not significant; * $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table A3. Results of binomial logistic regression models pertaining to three types of parental involvement in school-related activities among parents in France (logit coefficients)

	b. Progress / Parent init.			d. Progress / Teacher init.			e. Scheduled meeting		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigrant status (Native)	-0.12	+0.05	+0.09	+0.38**	-0.02	-0.10	-0.37*	-0.14	-0.05
Female child (Male)		-0.11	-0.12		-0.21**	-0.18*		-0.10	-0.16*
ESCS (1st quartile)									
- 2nd quartile		+0.41**	+0.38**		-0.13	-0.10		+0.50***	+0.45***
- 3rd quartile		+0.58***	+0.55***		-0.36**	-0.28*		+0.87***	+0.75***
- 4th quartile		+0.72***	+0.63***		-0.57***	-0.48***		+1.14***	+0.89***
Inability to get off work (No): Yes			-0.07			+0.11			-0.54***
Emotional support			+0.16***			-0.03			+0.22***
Fam. child's friends (Few): Many			-0.06			+0.01			+0.18
Fam. other parents (Few): Many			+0.11			-0.17			+0.25**
Repeat (No): Yes			+0.24			+0.52			+0.49
Truancy (No): Yes			+0.14			+0.42***			-0.13
Perception school policies			+0.16**			+0.23***			-0.14
Perception school quality			+0.02			+0.04			+0.20***
Trust teachers (Few): Many			+0.38***			+0.07			+0.46***
Interactions:									
- Immigrant × ESCS 2nd quartile		+0.09	+0.05		+0.61	+0.61		-0.06	-0.08
- Immigrant × ESCS 3rd quartile		-0.10	-0.09		+0.82*	+0.85*		+0.36	+0.45
- Immigrant × ESCS 4th quartile		-0.12	-0.08		-0.02	-0.01		-0.10	+0.05
Constant	-0.49***	-0.89***	-1.05***	-1.15***	-0.74***	-0.99***	+0.96***	+0.39***	+0.40***
(N)		(3,779)			(3,754)			(3,746)	

Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table A4. Results of binomial logistic regression models pertaining to three types of parental involvement in school-related activities among parents in Italy (logit coefficients)

	b. Progress / Parent init.			d. Progress / Teacher init.			e. Scheduled meeting		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigrant status (Native)	+0.15	+0.63 [*]	+0.67 [*]	+0.46 ^{**}	+0.19	+0.10	-0.52 ^{***}	-0.86 ^{**}	-0.63 [*]
Female child (Male)		-0.17 ^{**}	-0.17 [*]		-0.42 ^{***}	-0.32 ^{***}		+0.03	-0.03
ESCS (1st quartile)									
- 2nd quartile		+0.29 ^{**}	+0.27 ^{**}		-0.30 ^{***}	-0.23 [*]		+0.24 [*]	+0.15
- 3rd quartile		+0.52 ^{***}	+0.50 ^{***}		-0.35 ^{***}	-0.23 [*]		+0.21 [*]	+0.12
- 4th quartile		+0.83 ^{***}	+0.79 ^{***}		-0.47 ^{***}	-0.28 ^{**}		+0.31 ^{***}	+0.19 [*]
Inability to get off work (No): Yes			+0.14			+0.13			-0.17 [*]
Emotional support			+0.14 ^{***}			-0.06			+0.12 ^{***}
Fam. child's friends (Few): Many			+0.04			-0.12			+0.13
Fam. other parents (Few): Many			+0.15			-0.01			+0.44 ^{***}
Repeat (No): Yes			+0.48 ^{**}			+0.82 ^{***}			-0.02
Truancy (No): Yes			-0.04			+0.31 ^{***}			-0.08
Perception school policies			+0.11			+0.42 ^{***}			+0.26 ^{***}
Perception school quality			-0.08			-0.05			-0.09 [*]
Trust teachers (Few): Many			+0.13			+0.20			+0.14
Interactions:									
- Immigrant × ESCS 2nd quartile		-0.31	-0.36		+0.39	+0.41		+0.43	+0.41
- Immigrant × ESCS 3rd quartile		-0.59	-0.60		+0.23	+0.24		+0.26	+0.32
- Immigrant × ESCS 4th quartile		-1.11 [*]	-1.14 [*]		+0.54	+0.45		+1.86 ^{**}	+1.71 [*]
Constant	+0.60 ^{***}	+0.28 ^{***}	+0.12	-0.44 ^{***}	+0.06	-0.44 ^{**}	+0.59 ^{***}	+0.38 ^{***}	+0.24
(N)		(6,996)			(6,905)			(6,830)	

Significance levels: ^{*} $p < 0.05$; ^{**} $p < 0.01$; ^{***} $p < 0.001$