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Educational trajectories of children of migrants in Switzerland

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1. Introduction

In the literature on educational inequalities, most studies report of the strong impact of parents' socio-economic status (SES) on their children's education (Coleman, 1966; Hutmacher, 1987; Meyer, 2003; Sirin, 2005; Kristen & Granato, 2007; Krause et al., 2014). Following this tradition, in a recent paper of the European Sociological Review, Laganà et al. (2014) analyze to which extent the parents' SES explains the educational trajectories of children of immigrants and of Swiss children living in Switzerland. The study finds out that on average "most of the disadvantages of second-generation immigrants are mediated by the position of their parents in the Swiss social stratification". Yet it also points out that parents' SES plays a minor role in explaining the transitions into NEET trajectories (not in education, employment, or training) for specific ethnic groups. SES fails to explain NEET trajectories precisely for those groups who exhibit the lowest SES in Switzerland (children of migrants from former-Yugoslavia, Portugal, and Turkey).

It is a fact that most quantitative studies on educational inequalities miss to identify the mechanisms by which parents' SES shape educational trajectories. And such observation holds true for the ways in which family background and institutional educational and labor market system interact with SES. Two ways to overcome such limitation are, on the one hand enlarging the theoretical perspective with which we model factors influencing inequalities in educational outcomes and, on the other hand, extending empirical observations beyond the final step of the processes represented by the educational outcome. In other words, in addition to resources related to parents' SES one shall include the consistency of educational aspirations between parents and children and the institutional characteristics of the educational system to which pupils are confronted with. In order to understand how pupils get to their final educational outcome, one could explore the origin of educational inequalities during the construction of the educational pathways. While pupils are in education, they may get encouraged, supported, and offered opportunities both by families and institutions; or they may not. As a result their educational outcomes get shaped during the long years of schooling. Focusing only on the final results, educational achievement at the end of education, means cutting short on the mechanisms at play in the creation of such outcomes.

This paper addresses some of the mentioned limitations. In section 2, we outline the theoretical background, where we account for three dimensions, individual, family, and institutional dimensions, through which educational trajectories get shaped. The individual socio-economic status, his or her family social and cultural capital, and institutional characteristics typical of the school and job market systems, constitute elements of the context in which pupil's construct their educational trajectory. In the following section 3 we describe the data and the methods used to unveil systematic differences in educational pathways and the mechanisms that lead to them. With a mixed methods design, we propose a typology of educational trajectories of young people in Switzerland that focuses on the sequence and durations in various educational states. Drawing on the TREE data, we apply sequence and cluster analyses to more than 6000 educational trajectories to distinguish them by ethnic group (Section 4). We then focus on the ethnic groups that face higher risks of exclusion and low achievements in the Swiss educational system, the youth from former-Yugoslavian countries and Albanian-speaking background. Through the thematic analysis of 50 semi-structured interviews we investigate what mechanisms shape their educational trajectories in the French speaking part of Switzerland (Section 5). Young people accounts of their educational trajectory center on the

importance of their school performance, their own aspirations for the professional future, and their own ability to mobilize resources strategically. They perceive and present themselves as primary agents in the process. Yet, the role of family and institutional support (or lack of support) and their degree of consistency with each other and we the individual's' own aspirations appear to be crucial to explain educational choices and vagaries also. Eventually, in Section 6 we propose a three-level model that that includes the interaction between individual, family, and institutional dimensions.

2. Theoretical background

The growth of the proportion and diversification of origins of children of immigrant in Western societies brought a great deal of attention to the observed educational gap between natives and individuals of different ethnic groups. Pivotal studies of Gans (1992) and Portes and Zhou (1993) in America or Tribalat (1995) and Vallet (1996) in France show the existence of "segmented assimilation" processes, according to which the characteristics associated to each ethnic origin play an important role in defining the educational achievements of the children of immigrants. In Switzerland, Bolzman et al. (2003) observed that children of Italian and Spaniards close the educational gap with natives and even obtain better educational outcomes when compared to Swiss with a similar socio-economic status. Yet, more recent studies on the descendants of immigrants from Portugal, former-Yugoslavia and Turkey show that these groups have a vulnerable situation in the Swiss educational system, which translates for them into having lower social position. In fact, they are overrepresented in vocational education, underrepresented in tertiary education, and they undertake discontinuous educational pathways marked by transitional solutions more often than natives (Meyer, 2003; Bolzman and Gomensoro, 2011). Many reasons contribute to the explanation of educational differences between ethnic groups. In the following, we introduce explanations related to the individual characteristics (such as the educational aspirations and school performance), to the family characteristics (such as linguistic, cultural, and social capitals as well as parents educational strategies) and to institutional characteristics (such as the structure and organization of the educational system, teachers' practices, counsellors' guidance, etc.).

The individual dimension

At the end of compulsory education, the children of immigrants obtain on average lower school performances when compared to natives. This is a fact in all OECD countries (OECD, 2006; Levels and Dronkers, 2008), including Switzerland (Meyer, 2003). Such differences have consequences for the post-compulsory educational gap between natives and population with a migration background. Yet differentials in school performances can be attributed more to familial background and partly to the structure of the educational system than to individuals. On the contrary, many studies (of which Vallet, 1996; Bolzman et al., 2003; Jonsson and Rudolphi, 2011; Brinbaum and Guégnard, 2012) pointed out that there are a few characteristics of the children of immigrants, which represent an advantage for their school performance. First, children of immigrants often hold higher educational aspirations compared to natives of similar socio-economic background or with similar school performances. Educational aspirations in migrant families can be linked to the fact that migration is a selective process, that individual who migrate are mainly those who have a social mobility project and that social mobility projects of parents have a positive impact on their children's educational aspirations (Ichou, 2014; Feliciano, 2005), despite with differences by ethnic groups and gender (Brinbaum and Guégnard, 2012). Second, children of immigrants may develop psychosocial resources, as resilience, "proactive motivation", "immigrant optimism", high self-esteem, etc. that are the key to understand upward intergenerational mobility against the odds (as Kao and Tienda, 1995; Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Bader and Fibbi, 2012).

Family dimension

Family characteristics impact on children's education by many ways. First, parental high education and/or high occupational level have a positive impact on educational outcomes of their children. Since the family SES is one of the major explanatory factor of educational outcomes and educational inequalities (Sirin, 2005), many researchers explain the poor educational outcomes of ethnic groups with their poorer SES (Coleman, 1966; Hutmacher, 1987; Meyer, 2003; Sirin, 2005; Kristen & Granato, 2007; Krause et al., 2014). Yet, SES doesn't entirely explain educational differences by ethnic groups (Laganà et al. 2014). Støren and Helland (2010) demonstrated that SES impacts educational outcomes differently the children of immigrants depending on ethnic origin and gender. Rather than SES, Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) proposed the concept of the cultural capital that takes into account the educational or occupational levels of parents but not only. The cultural capital of a given individual and his or her family provides a world view that legitimates (or, sometimes, illegitimates) living conditions and social position. It provides a certain relationship to culture (a cultural attitude), knowledge and education (including educational institutions, teachers and counsellors). The parents' cultural capital would define the level of the individual's educational aspirations (Bourdieu, 1984). While this explanation is suggestive, Coleman (1988) questions the idea that human capital is automatically reproduced from parents to children. He proposes to consider social capital, defined as the set of relationships of a person which facilitate or hinder his or her agency ability, as a central element in the transmission of human capital (that includes cultural capital) from parents to children. According to Coleman "social capital within the family that gives the child access to the adult's human capital depends both on the physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by adults to the child" (Coleman, 1988, p. 111). Thus, the transmission of human capital from parents to children, far from being inevitably fixed, depends on parents' available time and resources (as, for instance, the social network members that can be mobilized to obtain help or information), on the nature of the relation between them, on the willingness of parents and children, etc. Parents' knowledge of the language of the host country represents an important linguistic capital which affects their children's educational outcomes. On the one hand, it has been shown that parents' language fluency have a positive impact on children's proficiency, preschool attendance, a negative impact on school drop-out or school's failures. (Bleakley and Chin, 2008), it facilitates skills transfer from immigrants to their children and "that the returns to parental education on the educational attainment of the child are lower when the parents face difficulties in speaking the host language (Dos Santos and Wolff, 2011). On the other hand, parents' lack of fluency in the host language can compromise communication and the relationship between parents and educational institutions, parental knowledge of the educational system, and the possibilities to directly support their children's homework (Coradi Vellacott and Wolter 2005). Besides parents, siblings influence school performance of children, particularly elder siblings on the younger ones. While the eldest child has on average a lower educational attainment than his or her younger siblings because of lower levels of social and linguistic capital of his or her parents, the younger siblings beneficiate of the experience and educational support of the elder sibling (Crul, 2000; Bader and Fibbi, 2012). Thus elder sibling involvement can be considered a form of social capital for the younger ones (Schnell, 2014).

Institutional dimension

Institutional characteristics, as the structure of the educational system or education practices of teachers and counsellors impact on children's education. First, the structure of the educational system, and more specifically the type of tracking and permeability between educational tracks, is considered as capital in defining educational opportunities (Meyer, 2003; Crul, 2013; Griga & Hadjar, 2014;

Pfeffer, 2008; Schnell, 2014). Early and strong[1] tracking systems tend to lower the probability that people with a migration background/low social origin attain a higher education degree and thus tend to reproduce social inequalities in education. Lüdemann and Schwerdt (2010) mention the fact that people with a migration background who are of low social origin in this type of educational system cumulate a double disadvantage: first their school performance is weaker so they are less oriented into the highest track and, second, they are less likely to be oriented into the highest track because of their low SES (after controlling for school performance). On the contrary, late tracking educational systems tend to reduce the gap between ethnic groups because migrant families have more time to adapt to the new educational system (Vallet, 1996) and because the systems are more permeable (Crul, 2013; Schnell 2014). Thus, Boudieu and Passeron (1970) representation of the reproduction of inequalities seems particularly relevant for early and strong tracking systems as it's the case in Switzerland, where children of immigrants are severely penalized (Borgna and Contini, 2014). They argue that the reproduction of educational attainment and social position from one generation to the next is stimulated by the educational system and its agents through the definition and reproduction of a positively valued cultural arbitrariness, a given type of cultural and linguistic capital. Children who share with their teachers the same cultural and linguistic capital (in general, children with higher educated parents) are judged favorably and obtain more educational opportunities that are clearly institutionally defined in early tracking systems. In this context, the influence of educational agents (as teacher and guidance counsellors but also owners and human resources departments of companies that hire apprentices) on educational outcomes and on tracking is often ambivalent. On the one hand, teachers and guidance counsellors are supposed to act as sources of social capital, of information on educational opportunities, and of support for the upward mobility of children of immigrants (Schnell 2014, Bader & Fibbi, 2012). On the other hand, they more often act as gatekeepers selecting children of immigrants of low social origin into basic requirement tracks (Hüpka and Stalder, 2004; Coradi Vellacott and Wolter, 2005). Such discrimination within education may continue later on, when gatekeepers in small–medium companies consider ethnic origin as an excluding factor for hiring (Imdorf, 2006).

The Swiss educational system

The Swiss educational system is considered to be one of the most unequal of OECD countries, with the highest rate of intergenerational transmission of educational levels and reproduction of educational inequalities (Pfeffer, 2008; OECD, 2009). In fact, the Swiss educational system is highly stratified (Pfeffer, 2008). It selects pupils into three different performance-based tracks early, at the end of primary school, and strictly, the tracking is irrevocable in the vast majority of cases. However, many studies demonstrated that tracking is not only based on school performances or school potential but it also depends on gender, cultural, and familial backgrounds, including ethnic origin (Hupka & Stalder, 2004; Meyer, 2011; Stalder & Nägele, 2011). This first selection is considered as one of the most important bifurcation points in educational trajectories, given that the track strongly determines upper secondary educational opportunities, and thus possible access to tertiary education (Meyer, 2011). At the end of compulsory school, students in the baccalaureate requirements track can access general baccalaureate schools,[2] professional baccalaureates schools, or vocational apprenticeships in companies; those in the intermediate requirements track have no direct access to general baccalaureate schools[3]; finally, those in the basic requirements track can only access directly to apprenticeships in companies (CSRE 2010) and therefore compete with students of higher requirement tracks who would take this option. The apprenticeship market has less places to offer than the demand

[1] We mean by strong tracking that there is a low level of horizontal permeability between tracks.
[2] The general baccalaureate certificate leads straight to tertiary education (universities and federal institutes of technology).
[3] Unless they reach a high level of school marks.

would require. As a result, students in basic requirement tracks have higher odds of discontinuous educational and professional trajectories, made of non-linear transitions between compulsory and post-compulsory education, filled in with extra-years of schooling or bridge-year courses, probabilities of dropping-out and non-certification, and repeated episodes of unemployment (Hupka-Brunner et al., 2011).

Tertiary education is subdivided into two main types: vocational tertiary (VT) and general tertiary (GT) composed of universities, universities of applied sciences, and pedagogical universities. Students who obtained a professional certificate and who accumulated experience on the labor market can access VT. Students who completed a general or vocational baccalaureate can access universities of applied sciences and pedagogical universities and only students with a general baccalaureate can access universities (including federal institutes of technology) directly.

3. Data and methodological design

In this paper we create first a typology of educational pathways in Switzerland based on a sequence analysis of longitudinal data representative of young people living in Switzerland in which we compare educational pathways by ethnic origin of controlling for SES. Second, drawing on biographical semi-structured interviews and thematic content analyses, we propose a comprehensive model to better understand the mechanisms through which individual, familial and institutional dimensions act on educational pathways and the way in which they are interrelated.

In our first step, we rely on the longitudinal TREE database (www.tree-ch.ch) that focuses on post-compulsory educational and work trajectories. TREE is an annual follow-up of about 6400 young people who participated in the PISA survey 2000 and which is representative of the Swiss population. In this database, we first recoded variables related to the educational and occupational status of every participant in order to obtain individual educational trajectories up to seven years after the end of compulsory school, from 2001 to 2007. Individual trajectories are composed of seven annual educational and occupational states. *Transitional Solution* (TS) regroups every institutional and non-institutional solution as bridge-year courses, pre-apprenticeship programs, au pair, language travel, etc. At the upper-secondary level we distinguish between *Vocational Education and Trainings* (VE) and *General Education* (GE). At the tertiary level, we consider *Vocational Tertiary* (VT) and *General Tertiary* (GT). Finally, we take into account two other states: *Employment* (EM) and *Not in Employment, Education or Training* (NEET). Once we reconstructed the individual trajectories, we ran an optimal matching and a cluster analysis[4] to produce a typology of post-compulsory educational pathways (Gabadinho et al., 2011). Then, we observed the distribution within the typology by ethnic origin and compared multivariate coefficients by ethnic origin compared to natives. To measure SES, we use two variables: the parents' highest educational attainment (ISCED) and highest International Socioeconomic Index (HISEI). Due to limited sample sizes, we had to regroup some ethnic groups. That is why we don't compare identical populations in quantitative (second generations from former-Yugoslavia/Albania) and qualitative parts (second generations from Albanian-speaking immigrants). Nevertheless, 2/3 of the second generation from former-Yugoslavia/Albania has Albanian speaking parents and the non-Albanian part has a similar socioeconomic background and close educational trajectories.

The second step of the research is based on the analysis of 50 biographical interviews on the transition from youth to adulthood collected through semi-structured interviews and detailed life calendars (Gomensoro & Burgos, forthcoming) with children of Albanian-speaking migrants aged

[4] This method regroups close individual trajectories into the same type and separates distant trajectories into different types. The number of seven different types has been considered as optimal after observing the Silhouette Index (Gabadinho et al., 2011) and after the qualitative interpretation of different types by authors. All results based on TREE are weighted to balance out longitudinal attrition (Sacchi, 2011).

from 18 to 28 years old, resident in the French speaking part of Switzerland and equally distributed by gender. To find interviewees, we used different accesses to the community and used a snowball sampling strategy. Thematic analysis that takes into account different moments of school career was used to analyze interviews. Thus, results on qualitative data are only based on what youths told us (including parts on the influence of familial and institutional characteristics on their educational pathways), on what they remember, on what they consider as important. Of 50 interviewees, 20 have parents with a compulsory education level or less, 14 have at least one parent with a vocational education degree and 16 have at least one parent with tertiary education or baccalaureate certification. Nevertheless, occupational statuses of parents tend to be low compared to their educational level. 13 interviewees have parents who experienced professional downgrading (7 of them achieved a tertiary degree in the country of origin yet are unskilled workers in Switzerland) while, on the contrary, only 3 have parents who experienced professional upgrading. In this qualitative part, we focused specifically on this particular ethnic group, because they represent an important part of the new second-generation in Switzerland and because, in comparison with other ethnic groups and with natives, they appear to be more vulnerable in the Swiss educational system. Earlier studies suggest that they are mainly oriented into basic requirement tracks that limits post-compulsory educational opportunities (Meyer, 2011), that they have a low socioeconomic background (Meyer, 2003), that many families experienced living with precarious residence status (Fibbi et al., 2007), and their youths face ethnic discrimination on the apprenticeship and labour markets (Imdorf, 2006; Fibbi et al., 2006), etc. In addition, in quantitative surveys they are often regrouped with Portuguese and Turkish respondents, as "recently arrived" or "new" migrant groups; little is known on this specific community and very few qualitative studies exist to explore the specificities that may shape their educational trajectories.

4. Findings: educational pathways

The distribution plots in Figure 1 represent the seven types of post-compulsory educational pathways. On every distribution plot we observe the evolution of the rate of the annual distribution of educational states. The first four pathways regroups mainly individuals who went through VE in the upper secondary level (represented in purple) and the last three pathways are composed mainly of individuals who went through GE (represented in yellow).

The first pathway, "*Vocational Education then Employment*" (VE-EM) regroups mainly individuals that begin by a VE (about 87% of them) and then work (about 70% of them were employed after seven years). Seven years after the end of compulsory education, 13% didn't obtain any post-compulsory certificate, 81% of them obtained a VE certification and 4% reached a tertiary certification.

The second pathway, "*Transitional solutions then Vocational Education and then Employment*" (TS-VE-EM) regroups mainly individuals who didn't continue directly by VE and so went through transitional solutions. This type of educational pathway can be considered as discontinuous, but also as problematic because many students are lagging behind in education. One third of them didn't obtain any post-compulsory certification seven years after the end of compulsory school, about 58% obtained a VE certification.

"*Vocational Education then Employment or NEET*" (VE-EM/NEET) regroups mainly individuals that began post-compulsory education by a VE and then had a discontinuous insertion on the labor market. In fact, about 90% of them spent at least one year NEET. In addition, one third of them didn't obtain any post-compulsory certification seven years after the end of compulsory school (67% obtain a VE certification). This pathway can thus also be considered as problematic.

"*Vocational Education then General Tertiary education*" (VE-GT) is mainly composed of individual who obtained a professional baccalaureate certificate (83% of them) and continued to GT.

Seven years after the end of compulsory school, almost all were involved in GT. Thus we can consider this type as an upward educational mobility pathway.

"*General Education then General Tertiary education*" (GE-GT) regroups individuals that took the more direct and valorized path to classical universities. Most of them obtained a general baccalaureate certification and they continued directly their education in the GT. Seven years after the end of compulsory school, 93 % of them obtained at least a GE certification, 15% obtained already a GT certification.

"*General Education then Employment then General Tertiary education*" (GE-EM-GT) regroups mainly individuals that undertook a GE after the end of compulsory education (100% of them) then spent at least one year working or NEET (95% of them) and undertook a general or professional tertiary education. Seven years after the end of compulsory school, almost every one obtained a post-compulsory certificate, 61% obtained a baccalaureate certificate and 21% already obtained a tertiary certificate.

The last educational pathway, "*General Education then Transitional Solution and General Tertiary*" (GE-TS-GT) regroups mainly individuals who needed TS between 4 and 7 years after the end of compulsory education in order to reach tertiary education or another type of secondary education. Seven years after the end of compulsory education, 8% of individuals of this pathway didn't obtain any post-compulsory certification, 24% obtained a VE certification, 56 % acquired a baccalaureate and 10% reached a tertiary certification.

Figure 1: Post-compulsory educational pathways in Switzerland, frequency of annual activities. Our elaboration on TREE data (2001-2007)

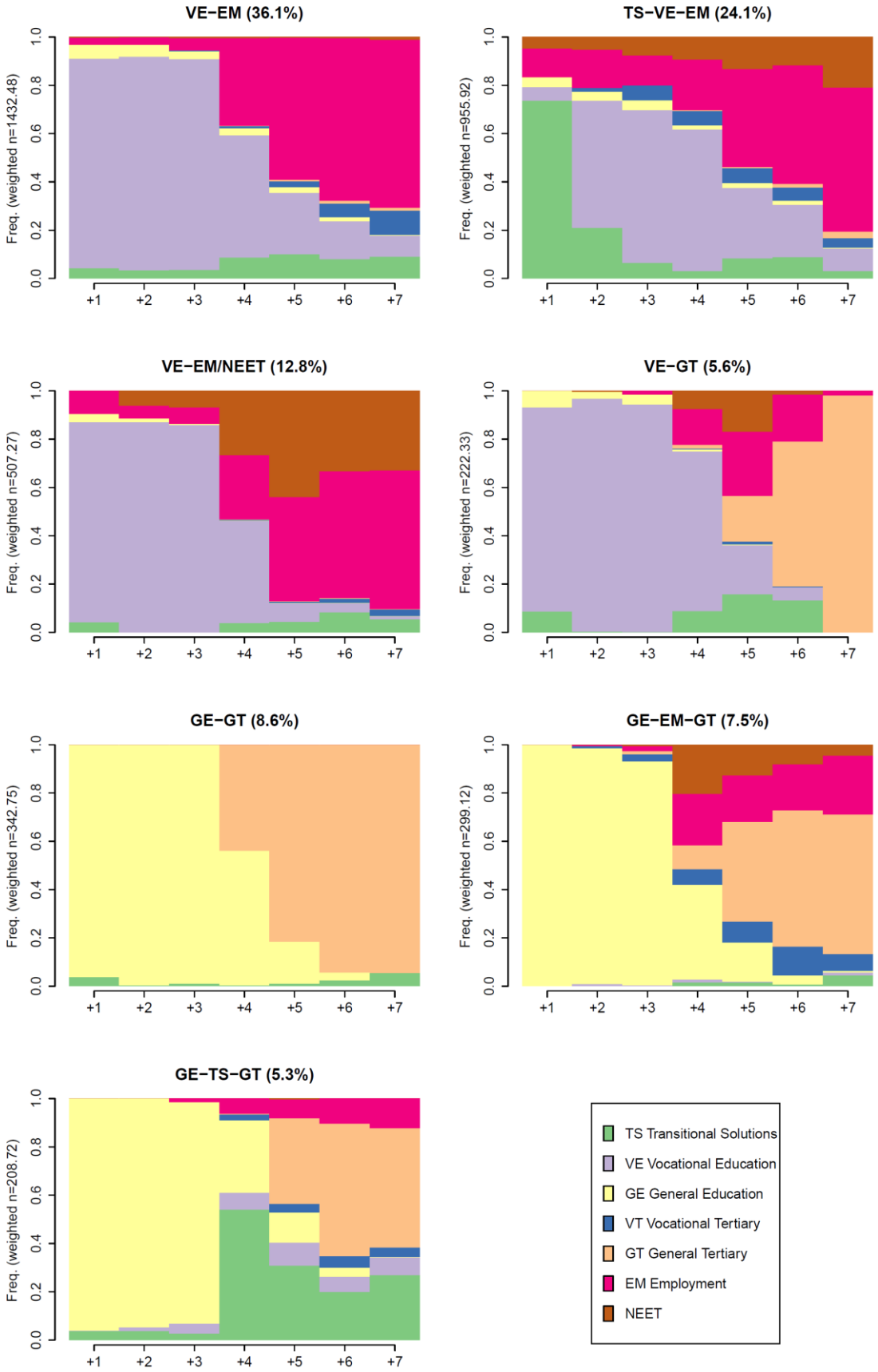

Table 1 displays the distribution of educational pathways by ethnic origin. Natives are less represented in the "problematic" pathways (TS-VE-EM and VE-EM/NEET) while the second generation with low SES, that is mostly from former-Yugoslavia/Albania and from Portugal/Turkey, is more represented there. In addition, they are also clearly underrepresented in the four pathways leading to tertiary education (respectively 8 and 10 % of them). The case of the second generation from Italy/Spain is located in between with 35% of them situated in the two problematic pathways and 19% of them in pathways that lead to tertiary education. It is relevant to link educational attainment and pathways with SES and with attended tracks by ethnic groups. The second generation from former-Yugoslavia/Albania and Turkey/Portugal have, on average, a low SES and are underrepresented in baccalaureate and extended tracks, compared to natives or other ethnic groups (excepted immigrants).

Table 1. Distribution by ethnic origin into educational pathways

	VE-EM	TS-VE-EM	VE-EM/NEET	VE-GT	GE-GT	GE-EM-GT	GE-TS-GT	Total	N
Natives	39%	20%	11%	7%	8%	9%	6%	59%	2334
2nd G. Italy/Spain	46%	26%	9%	2%	12%	3%	2%	4%	165
2nd G. F.-Yugoslavia/Albania	36%	27%	28%	1%	4%	2%	1%	7%	277
2nd G. Portugal/Turkey	31%	40%	20%	4%	3%	2%	1%	4%	173
2nd G. Other	33%	25%	13%	7%	9%	8%	4%	4%	150
1st Generation	15%	57%	18%	2%	5%	2%	2%	3%	134
2.5 Generation	31%	27%	10%	5%	12%	9%	6%	18%	700
Total	36%	24%	13%	6%	9%	8%	5%	100%	3933

Our elaboration on TREE data

If we compare coefficients of different ethnic groups compared to natives (see *Table 2*), we see that the second generation from Italy/Spain is overrepresented in "VE-EM" and "TS-VE-EM" pathways compared to natives and are underrepresented in the upward mobility pathway (VE-GT) and in both discontinuous pathways to higher education (GE-EM-GT and GE-TS-GT). The second generation from former-Yugoslavia/Albania is overrepresented in both VE problematic pathways and underrepresented in all pathways to higher education. The second generation from Portugal/Turkey is in a close situation. Thus, descendants of recent migration flows characterized by a low SES level are clearly disadvantaged compared to natives in the Swiss educational system.

Table 2. Coefficients by ethnic origin compared to natives

Ref. = Natives	VE-EM	TS-VE-EM	VE-EM/NEET	VE-GT	GE-GT	GE-EM-GT	GE-TS-GT
2nd G. Italy/Spain	0.369**	0.367*	-0.424	-1.008**	0.199	-0.998**	-1.036*
	(0.166)	(0.196)	(0.293)	(0.507)	(0.258)	(0.448)	(0.554)
2nd G. F.-Yugoslavia/Albania	-0.189	0.586***	0.921***	-1.731***	-0.895***	-1.505***	-0.931*
	(0.135)	(0.149)	(0.155)	(0.496)	(0.325)	(0.442)	(0.491)
2nd G. Portugal/Turkey	-0.375**	1.216***	0.452**	-0.900**	-1.391***	-1.292***	-1.291*
	(0.173)	(0.170)	(0.207)	(0.438)	(0.458)	(0.499)	(0.679)
2nd G. Other	-0.208	0.360*	0.171	0.142	-0.138	-0.114	-0.432

	(0.180)	(0.197)	(0.256)	(0.342)	(0.298)	(0.318)	(0.420)
1st Generation	-1.230***	1.745***	0.510**	-0.943	-0.968**	-1.714**	-1.230*
	(0.248)	(0.187)	(0.249)	(0.593)	(0.446)	(0.679)	(0.629)
2.5 Generation	-0.302***	0.483***	-0.15	-0.139	0.157	-0.032	-0.161
	(0.095)	(0.104)	(0.147)	(0.198)	(0.144)	(0.160)	(0.192)

Control variables: gender, linguistic region and number of siblings; Sig levels : ••• P<0.001; •• P<0.01; • P<0.05; Standard error between brackets; N= 3927

Our elaboration on TREE data

When we compare ethnic groups with a similar SES (*see Table 3*), we can observe that, compared to natives, the second generation from Italy/Spain encounters less inactivity after a VE and they are less present in the upward mobility pathway. In contrast, they are clearly overrepresented in the most valued pathways leading directly to higher education, as it was already known from previous studies (Bolzman et al. 2003). We see also that all other ethnic groups have no more differences compared with natives in the access to the three GE pathways that lead to higher education (GE-GT, GE-EM-GT and GE-TS-GT). That means that differences in the access of those pathways are explained by the socioeconomic background of ethnic groups. Nevertheless, underrepresentation in direct professional pathway (VE-EM) and overrepresentation in problematic professional pathways (TS-VE-EM and VE-EM/NEET) persists for second generations from former-Yugoslavia/Albania and Portugal/Turkey compared to natives. So differences in the access to professional pathways are not entirely explained by the families SES.

Table 3. Coefficients by ethnic origin compared to native with similar Socioeconomic background

Ref. = Natives	VE-EM	TS-VE-EM	VE-EM/NEET	VE-GT	GE-GT	GE-EM-GT	GE-TS-GT
2nd G. Italy Spain	0.187	0.128	-0.549*	-0.946*	0.874***	-0.672	-0.817
	(0.178)	(0.204)	(0.310)	(0.561)	(0.278)	(0.484)	(0.610)
2nd G. F.-Yugoslavia Albania	-0.548***	0.086	0.702***	-1.393***	0.085	-0.751	-0.32
	(0.151)	(0.169)	(0.175)	(0.537)	(0.386)	(0.492)	(0.555)
2nd G. Portugal Turkey	-0.500***	0.770***	0.126	-0.557	-0.413	-0.515	-1.049
	(0.185)	(0.185)	(0.234)	(0.454)	(0.475)	(0.522)	(0.947)
2nd G. Other	0.016	0.500**	-1.103**	0.348	-0.321	-0.369	-0.369
	(0.199)	(0.211)	(0.471)	(0.364)	(0.342)	(0.388)	(0.452)
1st Generation	-1.304***	0.916***	0.574**	-0.324	-0.082	-0.628	-1.975
	(0.274)	(0.227)	(0.272)	(0.606)	(0.534)	(0.693)	(1.637)
2.5 Generation	-0.277***	0.438***	-0.166	-0.213	0.119	0.03	-0.01

Control variables: gender, linguistic region and number of siblings; Controlled for highest educational level of parents and highest international socio-economic index of parents; Sig levels : ••• P<0.001; •• P<0.01; • P<0.05; Standard error between brackets; N= 3927

Our elaboration on TREE data

5. Findings on mechanisms

In this part, based on the analysis of qualitative interviews of children of Albanian speaking immigrants, on what youths report on their educational trajectories, we first look at the individual dimension focusing on a) school performances (self-reported and school track attended), b) the educational or occupational aspirations of the individual at different moments of educational trajectories and c) what are his or her opinions and attitudes towards schooling and education in

general. We then look at three aspects of the familial dimension (reported by youths during interviews), by taking into account a) the parental and familial aspirations for the young person education, b) the support with education she or he could receive within the family, and c) the family living conditions and parents' SES. Finally, we consider different elements related to the institutional dimension, mainly a) the tracking system, b) the influence of teachers and school counselors, and c) the experience of discrimination inside the educational system (based on juridical status or on ethnic/social origin). The distinction in three dimensions is more analytical than real since all three are interrelated and interdependent. For instance, individual educational aspirations are most of the time related to parental aspirations for their children's education or adapted to post-compulsory available opportunities in the educational system. We introduced them first as separate elements to then illustrate, through examples of individual biographies, the interaction between them. Not always mechanisms are consistently working in the same direction, like in the case in which parents encourage their child to higher education and the elder brother explain how it's easy and desirable to find a good job after a three year apprenticeship in a business school. The cases studies illustrate also such inconsistencies and as well as crucial contingencies that may lead to educational turning points.

The individual dimension

At the individual level, we identified three types of combinations of educational aspirations and professional aspiration. One type is composed of individuals who score high in both education and professional aspirations. Those youths strongly want to obtain a general baccalaureate certificate excluding any alternative track and they want to continue education through a socially valued academic degree (as for instance in medicine, law, or economics). Most of them say having known what they wanted to do later in life since many years and how to get there that is by taking and succeeding in a "GE-GT" pathway. Most of them attended the baccalaureate track and had good marks during compulsory school. Their parents are mostly highly educated (baccalaureate degree or higher education) and most of them experienced professional downgrading at the moment of migration. Because of that, their children are highly motivated to succeed in higher education, to make sense of their parents' migration effort and compensate their under occupation. Thus education is considered by those youths as the best way to succeed and to achieve intergenerational upward mobility.

The second type regroups individuals who felt not to be suited for long educational trajectories (baccalaureate and academic education), nor wanted they to take socially depreciated apprenticeships (as for instance manual apprenticeships). They aim at obtaining an "intermediate" certificate that would allow them to improve their educational, occupational, and social position compared to that of their parents. Some of them were oriented in the baccalaureate track and could have accessed baccalaureate school, preferred to undertake a shorter educational trajectory; most of them were in the extended requirement track. So at the moment of choice, they have many post-compulsory educational opportunities and most of them hesitate between different types of vocational education and professional baccalaureate (in specialized school, school apprenticeships or dual apprenticeships). The choice is often done under the influence of parental aspirations, of siblings', cousins' or peers educational pathways, and of teachers' and counselors' guidance and advices. So, in most of the cases, choices aren't done based on a specific vocation or planned achievement, but more under the influence of other dimensions and/or based on the idea that they must reach the highest educational level conditional to their school competences, potential, and opportunities.

The last type groups individuals who have low school performances, have been oriented mainly into the lowest requirement track, with limited and little valued educational opportunities, or towards a manual apprenticeship. Most of them have poor school outcomes and attachment. They aren't really interested in what is taught in schools, their school performances are low, they have sometimes behavioral problems and they tend to valorize manual work, the importance to quickly earn

money, and early financial independence. Thus, for them, success is less linked to education then to work, to the ability to earn a good living, to support one's family, etc. We observed this kind of low investment in education logic more in men with low educated parents then in other cases.

The familial dimension

In this part, first we introduce some general familial characteristics that influenced children education. Then, we present three main parental investment levels that we identified always based on youths interviews.

Parents, generally more mothers then fathers, do not master the language of the host country nor they understand the educational system in which their children are enrolled. Children often take over the role of a translator for parents in the relationship with schools, administrations, doctors, etc. So, in most of the cases parents have no opportunity to concretely support their children during education, to help them for homework, or to provide advices on educational choices given the limited knowledge of the rule of the educational system.[5] Second, many families experienced difficult life conditions in Switzerland that don't offer an optimal environment for children's education (Gomensoro & Bolzman, 2015).[6] Third, we notice the importance given by interviewees of what the ethnic community will think or say about their life choices and outcomes, including their educational and occupational success or failure. Thus, the idea of success is essential for them. Finally, parents and family members mostly have high educational aspirations for their youths (see the first and the second type of parental investment described lower). Given that many parents migrated to improve their living conditions, they often report this willingness to their children and they encourage educational and occupational intergenerational upward mobility. In addition to that, we remarked that the pressure to succeed in school is higher for women then for men. In fact, women are more supervised and controlled by parents and brothers, they must behave well to have a good reputation in the ethnic community, and so they shouldn't fail at any time, including in education.

The first level of parental investment is to strongly push children to the baccalaureate school and to achieve a highly valued university degree. In this case, the youth must succeed and success is only related to the achievement of an academic degree, preferably in law, medicine or natural sciences. This kind of parental investment is more present in families with a high educational and cultural capital. In addition, parents are highly and concretely invested in their children education and they often develop alternative strategies when they cannot concretely support their children. For instance, they ask for educational support to neighbors, teachers and family friends, they look for pieces of information on the educational system, they maintain good relationship with teachers, they intervene in orientation decisions, they look for scholarships, etc. So in this type of educational logic, parents consider upward mobility through highly valued educational pathways (GE-GT) as the only way to go and undertake all possible actions to help their children in this direction.

The second parental investment level is to encourage children to reach the highest level possible, according children's school performances, potential and educational opportunities. This type of investment appears in families when the youth doesn't want or can't reach a university degree. It can be thus considered as an adjustment of the high educational aspirations of the family. In this case, parents are ready to bear extra costs related to education and they encourage children to continue for as long as possible. Nevertheless, they often can't concretely support their children and don't develop

[5] We noticed that the elder child suffers more from the lack of parental guidance and support. She/he must often rely on oneself while following children beneficiate of the acquired experience of parents. Nevertheless, children that have those kinds of responsibilities develop specific knowledge and can beneficiate of it.

[6] We observed for instance large families living in small apartments with no quite place to study, families with limited incomes and resources, families with unstable legal permits forced to move out many times from one apartment to another, families marked by the asylum migration path in the country of origin and in the host country, etc.

many alternative strategies to compensate lack of resources as in the first type. In addition, parents tend to influence decisions at the moments of bifurcations based on their limited and biased knowledge of the post-compulsory educational system. Elder siblings and cousins educational pathways also influence educational choices of youths and parental guidance. If an elder sibling succeeds in a given education, his pathway will be considered as a reference, she/he can explain what kind of education it is and what kind of professional opportunities she/he had.

The last parental investment is to push children to a short and easily achievable post-compulsory education (mainly manual apprenticeships) and to encourage them to work as soon as possible[7], to have a good job, to earn their own money, to be financially independent and in many cases to contribute to familial budget and projects.[8] In those families, value is attached to manual skills and manual work ("real work"). Parents with that investment level tend to have low linguistic, social, educational and cultural capital and in many cases the relationship with teachers and school is almost non-existent. So the conception of success is more related to professional occupation, to incomes, to the possession of material goods that are valorized by family members and by the ethnic community.[9] Such parental investment is more rarely reported by our interviewees compared to the other two levels.

The institutional dimension[10]

At the institutional level, we noticed that different educational directions are highly related to the track attended at the lower secondary level. Different tracks have in fact "direct effects" on educational pathways by the limitation of post-compulsory educational opportunities in lowest tracks, but also "indirect effects" through other more or less "hidden" mechanisms. For instance, teachers and counsellors tend to guide students to "natural" or "logic" post-compulsory educational opportunities related to each track. In addition, peer groups are created by attributing students in different classrooms. The criteria with which classes are created are mainly socially and educationally homogeneity. In some ways, school tracking is in part if not the production of school segregation system; in a given school, there is an artificially created segregation between different classrooms each of which constitutes a "homogeneous social context" in which students have close performance levels and educational aspirations and where, in each track level, different norms and values are produced and reproduced by educational agents and by students themselves (Duru-Bellat, 2002). Furthermore, some interviewees perceive having been discriminated or treated differently by educational agents.[11] In those cases, mainly at the moment of the transition between compulsory and post-compulsory education or at the moment of repetition or of reorientation in post-compulsory education, teachers and guidance counsellors tend to encourage youths to undertake a lower and "easier" post-compulsory trajectory instead of the highest reachable one. For instance, in some cases, when a student finishes compulsory school in the intermediate track, he is advised to look for a low skilled apprenticeship instead of a highly skilled one, or when a student repeats the first year at the baccalaureate school, he is encouraged to change to professional baccalaureate schools (business or specialized schools).

The first educational direction prompted by the institutional dimension is directed to youths that are mainly in the highest requirement track. We observed that even if those students have theoretically all doors open, they are strongly incited by teachers and guidance counsellors to directly

[7] Families that have this kind of investment level pushes youths to take ideally "VE-EM" pathway or as a second option discontinuous professional pathways (TS-VE-EM or VE-EM/NEET).

[8] Many youth give to their parents a part or the entire amount of their earning to contribute to the familial current expenditures (because of difficult life conditions) or to participate to familial projects as for instance to buy or to build a familial home in the country of origin.

[9] As for instance to be able to afford proper house in the country of origin, to support financially other family members, to have a good car, etc.

[10] Note that those results are also based on the analysis of interviewees.

[11] Unfortunately, it isn't possible neither to observe the scale of this phenomenon and generalize to the entire population nor to compare with other ethnic origins.

begin post-compulsory education by a baccalaureate school and then to continue by a university degree (GE-GT). In addition, we saw that the large majority of peers in those classrooms aspire to continue by a baccalaureate school and sometimes influence each other to continue in the same baccalaureate school. Because of that, our interviewees (and probably the majority of youths in those classrooms) have a biased representation of available educational opportunities. They consider only the possibility to continue in baccalaureate school and devalue specialized schools and business school professional baccalaureates.[12]

The second educational direction promoted by the institutional dimension is directed to youths that are in the intermediate track. Baccalaureate schools are reachable only by high performance students in this track, thus teachers and guidance counsellors tend to orient students to more valorized apprenticeships (technic, business, social worker, etc.; VE-EM) or to school professional baccalaureates (that provide access to some general tertiary certifications; VE-GT). In addition, according to our interviewees, they are not encouraged (nor even informed on the possibility) to undertake a transitional solution to reach baccalaureate schools. And as in the previous type, in many cases educational choices (mainly valorized vocational education) of close classmates influence interviewees educational choices.

The last type of institutional guidance is mainly directed to youths oriented into the lowest requirement track. Those youths have a limited access to school apprenticeships and trainings, mainly because of the structural limitation by tracking. So teachers and counsellors encourage young people to look for low skilled apprenticeships within companies, for instance apprenticeships in the fields of building trades and mechanic for men and in the field of aesthetics, care or sales for women Interviewees report having encountered difficulties to find a training place because places are limited, they are in direct competition with young people from higher tracks and with higher school performances and, in some cases, they face discrimination based on the ethnic origin or on legal permits during the selection process for training places.[13]

6. Accordance or dissonance of the individual, familial and institutional dimensions.

On *Figure 2*, we represented the three main individual, familial and institutional directions. Based on the analysis of qualitative interviews, we observed that when all dimensions are coordinated and push or foster to the same educational direction, choices of types of education are seen as given and educational aims are early defined.[14] For instance, when the young person wants to reach the university and have good school competences, when parents want their child to reach the university (they mobilize resources and concretely support him in education) and when the institutional dimension pushes him to continue to the baccalaureate school because he is in the highest requirement track, so he will undertake "GE-GT" pathway (see the highest level in yellow on *Figure 2*). On the contrary, when there is a dissonance between the three dimensions, post-compulsory educational choices are not so obvious and educational trajectories are more complex. We illustrate the effects of the inconsistency between dimensions on educational trajectories through two cases: first Lazrim (individual dimension = high; familial dimension = intermediate; Institutional dimension = low; GE-GT) and second Flamur (individual dimension = low; familial dimension = intermediate; Institutional dimension = low; VE-EM).

[12] In most of the cases, they don't mention professional apprenticeships or they consider that it's not « good » enough for them.

[13] Imdorf (2006) demonstrated that hiring criteria of apprentice and trainees in small and medium-size enterprises are not only based on school performances (or on criteria required for a specific occupational activity) but also on the ethnic origin. 17 firms on 65 exclude former-Yugoslavian from the selection process.

[14] That doesn't necessarily mean that they will undertake a continuous educational trajectory given that many events can interrupt an educational trajectory. For instance some youths fail and have to reconsider their plans.

Lazrim[15]

Lazrim's family arrived from Kosovo at the end of 1990s and quickly obtained a refugee status. His father had completed a baccalaureate school and was a salesman in Kosovo in a State shop until, with the beginning of the ethnic conflict, he got fired because of his Albanian origin. Suffering from persecution, the Lazrim's family decided to migrate. His father suffers from depression since then, and his illness prevents him to work. His mother didn't complete primary school and was a housewife. She's now a seamstress.

Lazrim education is marked by the fact that his arrival rather aged (9 years) in Switzerland, had to adapt to many changes, had no educational support from his parents, and scares structural limitations inside the educational system (he was oriented into the lowest track and he had a refugee status). Just after they arrived in Switzerland, Lazrim, aged of nine, and his elder brother, aged of ten, integrated primary school, just three years before tracking. At that moment, they were placed in a classroom for students with special needs which was composed of immigrants and pupils with learning and behavior problems. They received French training. Teachers were understanding and empathic with Lazrim. They supported him at many occasions and they adapted their assessments to his skills.

"At fifth grade, I didn't understand for instance a math exercise because it was in French. And the teacher saw that it was not because I didn't want to study so he adapted his assessment to me. Thus in all the branches of natural sciences, when I answer with many French mistakes but the right idea was there the assessment was good." (*Larzim, man, 23 years old, business university degree).*

Nevertheless, he encountered difficulties to fit in with the classmate group because of the language deficit. He felt that this was that reason why he was put aside by his classmates and he was always with his brother. The following year (sixth grade), he joined the normal school cursus and changed once again classroom and teacher. He felt he was discriminated by other children because he just arrived and he was a foreigner. In the three first years of education in Switzerland he changed three times class and teacher, and these three years were those which preceded the tracking evaluation.

Despite his personal high educational aspirations (attending university had always been his goal, he explains), he suffered from the lack of educational support from parents. In his view, there was a mismatch between his parents and his own view and aspiration concerning education, and this led to even more obstacles on the way.

"Of course they told me that it's good to study, but they didn't support me in the appropriate way. Because for me to motivate a child or to support him to succeed in education it's not only to tell him that he has to study at school because latter he will earn a good salary. (…) To support a child to succeed you have to seat next to him and tell him what he has to do, to help him for homework, to take the time to tell him that when you're at school you have to participate, your teacher is here to help you, etc. So encourage him but also concretely help him. But my parent couldn't encourage me that way because they didn't had the capacity and I knew that. So it was much more difficult for me." (*Larzim, man, 23 years old, business university degree).*

During the sixth grade, Lazrim realized that the end of primary school is paramount to his future educational opportunities. This first orientation can compromise his high educational aspirations. Here we observe a huge difference between individual aspirations and the educational direction "imposed" to him by the selection into the lowest requirement track.

"I arrived in Switzerland, everything was new, you have to adapt and it was a critical moment because at the end there is the orientation to the next step. I didn't had the time needed to adapt and to do the right things. That made that they oriented me into the lowest track. But I couldn't do anything (…) And my parents didn't react, they accepted the decision. At that moment I was young and did not

[15] Larzim, man, 23 years old, arrived at nine years old from Kosovo.

dare to say to the teacher: no I have to go to intermediate or to baccalaureate tracks". (*Larzim, man, 23 years old, business university degree).*

Some months before the end of compulsory school, after three years in the lowest track in which he was grouped with students that where not really interested in what is taught in school, he had to look for an apprenticeship place in enterprises (the only education certificate he could aspire to from that school track), but he faced yet another institutional barrier, this time related to the migration history of his family.

"I told myself that I wanted to do a commercial apprenticeship. It was the best I could reach after the lowest track. But I saw that it was difficult to find a place, so I thought that I was going to be a mechanic or an electrician. (…) I called a bank to find a banking apprenticeship place. (…) They told me that they hire students of the highest track and that they don't accept students with refugee permits. So I was penalized twice." (*Larzim, man, 23 years old, business university degree).*

After that, Lazrim choose to undertake a transitional solution to obtain the equivalent of the intermediate track certificate and in order to obtain a better apprenticeship place later. A school teacher informed him about such possibility, a bridge accessible thank to his good marks. During this first bridge year, he received important support from his teacher and he obtained information on the possibility to do another bridge year to reach the equivalent of the highest requirement track that open the doors to baccalaureate school and to tertiary education.

"When I reached the second bridge year, I was surprised. By the way, I came home from school and I said: mom the teacher told us today that we can do medicine, that we will be economist latter, etc. I was shocked! There (in the lowest track) they tell me to do something in the construction industry and today the teacher told latter you will be bank managers. Thus it was really a huge difference in the orientation and the way teacher talk to us. Right away they considered us as talented youths that represent the future." (*Larzim, man, 23 years old, business university degree).*

Eventually, Lazrim managed to enroll at the university after having completed all the transition years he needed to obtain the equivalent of a baccalaureate degree. His trajectory is made on the one hand of lack of parental support, scarce family social and cultural capital, crucial institutional barriers related to the refugee permit and the early tracking of the education system, contingencies related to the timing of his migration and his own family structure; on the other hand, he made the best out of existing opportunities within the system (bridge-tracks and grants), occasional but well-timed support from teachers, and his personal hard work.

Flamur[16]

Flamur, aged of three years old, arrived in Switzerland with his parents and his elder sister in 1991. They migrated in search of better living conditions (and in order to save money to later buy a house in Kosovo) until they decided to stay in Switzerland because of the political instability in Kosovo in the 1990s. They obtained a temporary admission asylum status in 1996 and were naturalized in 2004. His father studied technical drawing in Kosovo and is now a taxi driver. His mother did training as a commercial clerk and is currently on social benefits. His elder sister did business training and his younger brother didn't obtain any post-compulsory certification. Flamur educational pathway has been marked by his own low educational aspirations (which were coherent with the fact that he was oriented into the lowest track, so that individual and institutional dimensions were consistent) in contrast with the higher educational expectations of his father, who would push him to reach the higher educational level possible.

[16] Flamur, man, 25 years old, arrived at three years old from Kosovo.

Since when he has been at school, Flamur developed closer relationships with children from former Yugoslavia more than with children from other origins. The fact that they experienced similar life course circumstances is probably one of the reasons.

"(At primary school) one of them was Albanian and another was from Bosnia. And we stay together (…) And we were a little in the same situation. When we go to the gym, all the little Swiss had their small school bags. And us we, the three Yugoslavians, we had a plastic bag from the shop. (…) We were poor, but we had enough food, but for example to go to Walt Disney, to have a bike or stuff like that it was not possible." (Flamur, man, 25 years old, polymecanist).

In addition, Flamur parents couldn't concretely support him for homework mainly because of poor local language skills. For Flamur, never really interested in what was taught at school, this was not an issue. *"My parents (…) finished school but the problem is French. They understand nothing you see. How we did for homework? We arrive before the class, we take the exercise schoolbook of a friend and we copy and that's it. I can tell you that I didn't do a lot of homework, I preferred to play football (…). And there are also courses to provide support and things like that. But I didn't have the time for that. In fact I didn't have the time because I didn't take that time. I didn't want to… I wanted to play football and that's it." (Flamur, man, 25 years old, polymecanist).*

At the end of compulsory school, he decided to study more, mainly because teachers told students that the first selection is important for the future. He was oriented into the intermediate requirement track, but bad habits are hard to break and he was reoriented in the lowest requirement track one year later. His aim being an apprenticeship rather than further schooling, he lived through this down-tracking easily. His father was not worried neither because Flamur's elder sister found easily a business training place even after having attended a basic requirement track. At the moment of choice, school counsellors encouraged Flamur to find an easy apprenticeship as construction worker. Yet, given that he was good in math and because he wanted to earn more money after his apprenticeship, he oriented himself towards a more technical apprenticeship. His father networks helped him with this:

"I applied for every profession in the world excepted for mason and things like that (manual work). And I didn't find anything. So I had two choices, to do a bridge-year course to reach VSG (intermediate track) and to study at school or to find an apprenticeship. But that pissed me off to do another year at school. And just one week before the end of school, they called me as polymechanist, and the guy knew my father because they play football together (…). My father knew one of the teachers." (Flamur, man, 25 years old, polymecanist).

Three years later, when Flamur obtained his certificate, his father encouraged him to undertake a professional tertiary certification as poly-mechanist. That is clearly a dissonance between the low individual aspiration concerning education and his parent's aspirations. Flamur starts but interrupts his tertiary vocational education and continue on a rather discontinuous pathway.

"I told me that I wanted him to be proud of me. He told me 'do it, continue, don't worry for money, I give you'. He wanted us to reach a higher educational level. But the problem was that I did this year and it's the period when you begin to date girls and I needed money (…). And I did six months and I was no more motivated. All I wanted is work and earn money, to have a car, etc." (Flamur, man, 25 years old, polymecanist).

Eventually, Flamur found a job in the watch production thanks to a close friend. Flamur's low educational aspirations and low school performances are coherent with the main educational direction he received throughout by the institutional system. Only his father's aspirations for his education were higher. Divided between his father and his own goals, his education trajectory becomes discontinuous and atypical transitions (down-tracking, interruptions).

Figure 2: Different educational levels of the individual, familial, and institutional dimensions

Level	Individual dimension	Familial dimension	Institutional dimension	Educational pathways
High	General baccalaureate / university •High school performance •Valorization of university degree •Development of strategies to compensate lack of support or information	General baccalaureate / university •Valorization of baccalaureate and university degrees •High cultural capital •Development of strategies to compensate lack or parental social and linguistic capital	General baccalaureate / university •Students in baccalaureate requirement track •Guidance to general baccalaureate	Mainly GE-GT, GE-EM-GT or GE-TS-GT
Intermediate	Professional baccalaureate or valorized VET •High/intermediate school performance •Limited representation of opportunities	Highest reachable education level according to youth potential •Valorization of baccalaureate and university degrees •Lack of concreate educational support •Adaptation of educational aspirations	Professional baccalaureate or valorized VET •Students in intermediate requirement track •Guidance to professional baccalaureate or to valorized school VET	Mainly VE-EM or VE-GT
Low	Low skilled / manual apprenticeship •Low school performance •Disinvestment in education •Valorization of work and of the fact to earn money	Apprenticeship in companies •Valorization of manual and low skilled jobs •Youth's contribution to family income expected •Difficult life conditions	Low skilled / manual apprenticeship •Students in low requirement track •Guidance to low skilled VET or to transitional solutions	Mainly VE-EM, TS-VE-EM or VE-EM/NEET

7. Concluding remarks and discussion

This paper aimed at contributing to the literature on educational outcomes in second generation migrants by analyzing the educational trajectories of youngsters with a migration background in comparison with those of native Swiss in Switzerland. We also explore the way in which individual, family, and institutional characteristics contribute to educational choices and therefore to the construction of educational trajectories. Our findings show first of all that, among all second generations, the children of immigrants from former-Yugoslavia are particularly disadvantaged: they are overrepresented in vocational pathways (and more specifically in discontinuous vocational pathways) while relatively fewer of them take those generic pathways which lead to tertiary education.

Classic controls for the parents' SES highlight that this subpopulation is divided into two groups: on the one hand, net of parents' SES, the difference in the frequentation of general pathways between young natives and youngsters from former-Yugoslavia and Albanian origin disappears. On the other hand, they are also underrepresented in continuous vocational pathway (VE-EM) and in the pathway that leads to general tertiary education in an indirect manner (VE-GT) and overrepresented in vocational pathway marked by NEET periods. The first group, those who undertake one of the general educational pathways do not undergo any specific disadvantage in the Swiss educational system. The second group, those who undertake vocational or indirect educational pathways suffer from either being in a track that leads to unqualified or lower qualified jobs and spend much more time in education before being able to enter the labor market with a spendable diploma. Such a heterogeneous composition is the reason why the SES of parents is insufficient to explain the worse educational and professional outcomes of this specific population with a migration background.

But, if it is not the parents' SES, what are the mechanisms that makes these young people fall in one or the other group, take one or the other trajectory and create such a dichotomy or "educational segmentation"? We argued that it is crucial to examine the interaction between individual aspirations, individual school performances, family educational investment/aspirations, and the institutional tracking and educational orientations by teachers and counselors. When they converge educational choices are straightforward and trajectories are continuous. They may lead to tertiary or to vocational diplomas, but they proceed uninterrupted. When there exist divergent directions across these three dimensions more complex decision processes follow and consequently more discontinuous educational trajectories.

The two case studies illustrate this point rather clearly. In the first study case, the high educational aspirations of Lazrim matched with his teacher will to promote him (social capital gathered through the institution's agents) and Lazrim could reach the university again all odd. In this case the direction taken through individual agency found a solid support within the opportunities offered by the educational structure. In the second case study, Flamur's father high educational expectations were in dissonance Flamur's ones and with the structural opportunities offered to him. Attempting to conciliate all dimensions, Flamur staggered a few years and got caught into a pathway characterized by discontinuity, in fact he finally interrupted his tertiary education for a low qualified paid job.

Our research has some important limitations. First, we consider two close but not identical populations in quantitative and qualitative samples. In the quantitative sample, we look at the second generation from former-Yugoslavia and Albania aged of around 22 years old in 2007 in Switzerland while the qualitative sample is composed of children from Albanian speaking parents from former-Yugoslavia aged from 18 to 28 years old in 2014 living in Geneva and Vaud cantons. In fact, in the quantitative sample we had to regroup Children of Albanian and Slavic speaking parents mainly because of limited sample of children of immigrants in the TREE database. Nevertheless, those populations have close parents' SES characteristics, they arrived during the same period in

Switzerland and their children have close educational outcomes in Switzerland. Second, we investigate the influence of family and institutional dimensions only through what children of immigrants told us during interviews. Thus we only have what they share with us, their side of the story, their opinions on the influence of family members and of institutional agent, what they remember of the opportunities they had and constraints they faced, etc. Ideally, the qualitative sample should be a sub-sample of the quantitative sample and we should also interview family members, teachers and counsellors to achieve more conclusive results.

Despite these limitations, the issue that we raise about the divergence and convergence of aspirations and of mobilized resources is crucial to understand educational inequalities. Unrealistic expectations for the future while in school are proved to exist for relatively high shares of students (Agnew & Jones, 1988), while other ones, who have lower level of expectations congruent with their previous results, are not able to fulfill them (Hanson, 1994). Shanahan concludes that such "findings call for more detailed studies of how young people formulate their plans and expectations regarding future school, work, and family roles."(Shanahan, 2000, p. 682-683)

Our findings contribute to a stream of emerging studies which investigate where young's people expectations about their education (and profession) come from. Such studies insist first of all on the importance of family-school dynamics and, second, they challenge the use of parents' SES in the country of arrival as a valid shortcut to infer the social and cultural capital mobilizable for their children and their children education.

The importance of family and school dynamics that we find in our cases, is defended in Fernández-Kelly's work (2008). She argues that parents can develop all sort of strategies to protect their children from the influences of negative social environments (they isolate their children from peers). Migrant parents with low SES may also have high educational aspirations for their children and work hard in order to provide them with a chance, the chance they did not have. Yet, they cannot easily support their children in their educational pathway. There is when teachers and counselors play a decisive role in children's life. Finally the importance of "college preparatory programs that make the experience of higher education real for children whose environments contain few if any people with advanced degree" (Fernández-Kelly, 2008, p. 7).

Besides relations, intangible assets are transferred from the countries of origin to be used in the areas of destination in order to promote the children's upward mobility. Immigrant parents, who may have lived through an impoverishment of their SES in the country of arrival, may have conserved their social and cultural capital. "Cognitive and behavioral elements attached to class position are transposed across borders as invisible but precious assets" (Fernández-Kelly, 2008, p. 11). Mechanisms may pass through embodied sets of knowledge or the mobilization of bonds of reciprocity with affluent persons for instance; as such contacts may change the educational destiny of their children. A second one is the capacity to recognize meaning and value in objects or behaviors that social agents can use to mobilize resources. A third intangible asset is the capacity to use memories, whether these are referring to real events or imagined ones, in the process of identity formation. For instance the ability to interpret and read poverty as a transitory step in a migration process which remains worthwhile in the long run. According to us, all those elements, and interactions between them, have to be taken into account in further studies to better explain educational inequalities between different ethnic groups.

In conclusion, if we are to advance our understanding of educational inequalities we need to collect and integrate information on material but also intangible resources available to migrants parents and children and how these are directed to fulfill educational aspirations (by individuals and family). We also need to better apprehend the interactions between youngsters, their families, and institutions in directing educational patterns. This paper presents an heuristic model to detect educational directions at these three dimensions and to focus on coherence across them. We suggest

that discontinuities in education can come from incoherent combinations of directions at the three levels and that discontinuities may partially explain disadvantages in outcomes for children of migrants.

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