Parental Investment in Children's Educational Pathways: A Comparative View on Swiss and Migrant Families

Chantal Kamm*, Andrés Gomensoro**, Marieke Heers***, and Sandra Hupka-Brunner**

Abstract: What strategies do parents adopt when it comes to realizing the aspirations they have for their children's educational career? Drawing on a longitudinal and intergenerational mixed-method study, we explore the complex interplay between children's educational pathways and parental educational aspirations and strategies. We focus on parents of modest social status (with and without migration background) whose children's educational trajectories have developed successfully.

Keywords: Parental strategies, parental investment, parental aspiration, second generation immigrant, mixed methods

Elterliche Investitionen in den Bildungsweg der Kinder: eine vergleichende Betrachtung von schweizerischen Familien und Migrationsfamilien

Zusammenfassung: Auf welche Strategien greifen Eltern zurück, wenn es um die Verwirklichung der Aspirationen geht, die sie für die Bildungslaufbahn ihrer Kinder haben? Anhand einer längsschnittlichen und intergenerationellen Mixed-Methods-Studie untersuchen wir das komplexe Zusammenspiel von Bildungsverläufen der Kinder und elterlicher Bildungsaspirationen und -strategien. Der Fokus liegt auf Eltern mit bescheidenem sozialem Status (mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund), deren Kinder eine erfolgreiche Bildungskarriere durchlaufen haben.

Schlüsselwörter: Elterliche Strategien, elterliche Bildungsinvestitionen, elterliche Bildungsaspirationen, zweite Generation von Einwanderern, mixed methods

Investissement parental dans le parcours scolaire des enfants : une approche comparative des familles suisses et migrantes

Résumé : Quelles stratégies adoptent les parents afin de réaliser les aspirations qu'ils ont pour le parcours scolaire de leurs enfants ? En s'appuyant sur une étude longitudinale et intergénérationnelle à méthode mixte, nous explorons l'interaction complexe entre les parcours éducatifs des enfants et les aspirations et stratégies éducatives des parents. Nous nous concentrons sur les parents de statut social modeste (avec ou sans origine migratoire) dont les enfants ont connu un parcours scolaire réussi.

Mots-clés : Stratégies parentales, investissement parental, aspiration parentale, deuxième génération d'immigré·e·s, méthodes mixtes

---

* Bern University of Teacher Education, chantal.kamm@phbern.ch.
** University of Bern, CH-3012 Bern, andres.gomensoro@unibe.ch, sandra.hupka@unibe.ch.
*** FORS, CH-1015 Lausanne, marieke.heers@unil.ch.

1   Introduction

The work of Bourdieu and others has established that social origin is a crucial predictor of educational careers and labour market integration and that educational systems play a key role in (re)producing social inequalities (Bourdieu and Passeron 1987; Kramer and Helsper 2011; Esser 2016; Becker and Hadjar 2017). This holds for the general population, but it is particularly pronounced for students with a migrant background.

Theories of structure and agency are useful for explaining educational pathways because family action (agency) takes place under certain institutional constraints and opportunities (structure). These conditions tend to differ for families with and without a migration background because parents with a migration background have experienced their own educational pathway in a different educational system. This creates additional challenges for families with an immigrant background, especially in an early tracking and complex educational system like Switzerland. Contrary to most other countries, vocational education and training (VET) is widely used and recognized in Switzerland. Consequently, families with an immigrant background tend to have less experience with VET and therefore tend to perceive vocational education as a less suitable educational option (Wolter and Zumbuehl 2017). In addition, fear of discrimination in the apprenticeship market can lead to the exclusion of VET as an educational option (Imdorf 2017). Families with a migration background often have fewer resources that they can activate to support their children on their educational journey: For example, parents with a migration background may lack the language skills to actively engage in their children's educational career. Taken together, this implies that, compared to native parents, migrant parents might (need to) develop different strategies to support their children in their pathway through the educational system. The latter has not yet been fully understood and will be analysed in this article. In addition, we attempt to fill the knowledge gap on the effect of high (academic) aspirations in a dual VET-dominated system, focussing on parents with few financial resources.

In this study, we analyse parental strategies and pay particular attention to potential differences between "second-generation" (2G)[1] groups and offspring from families without a migration background. Having a migration background is frequently considered a risk per se in education. In Switzerland, it often correlates with modest social origin and low educational attainment; both characteristics hamper

---

[1]   2G individuals were born in Switzerland or immigrated before the age of 5 (before the start of compulsory schooling), and their parents were born abroad; first generation (1G) individuals were born abroad and arrived after the age of 4; native Swiss were born in Switzerland and have at least one parent born in Switzerland. These definitions do not consider citizenship in order to include all descendants of a given migratory flow (and not only those who are not naturalized). We focus on the 2G because we are interested in young adults who make their educational experiences in Switzerland but whose parents have grown up in different systems. Consequently, the young adults and their parents might be exposed to varying educational reference systems.

access to academically more demanding educational tracks at lower secondary and post-compulsory education levels (Sacchi et al. 2011). In addition, allocation to less demanding tracks at the lower secondary level has a highly irreversible effect on educational pathways due to the strong segregation and segmentation of tracks in Switzerland (Meyer and Hupka-Brunner 2019). At the same time, immigrant descendants outperform their native peers when controlling for socioeconomic status SES and other relevant characteristics (Glick and White 2004; Crul et al. 2012) with respect to upward educational mobility (Schnell and Fibbi 2016) and vocational pathways to tertiary education (Murdoch et al. 2016). This surprising result might be explained by the high educational aspirations observed within migrant families (Portes et al. 2010; Anderson and Maassen 2014). A possible explanation for the high aspirations is that upward mobility can be understood as a strong motivation for migration, which is often transferred to the children ("immigrant optimism"; see, e. g., Kao and Tienda 1995; Fernández-Reino 2016). However, little is known about parental behaviour when it comes to putting these aspirations into practice.

To analyse parental behaviour, the concept of parental investment (PI) is useful. Based on the *sequential model of action phases* by Heckhausen and Buchmann (2019), in this study, we decompose PI in their children's education into three interrelated components: (1) parental aspirations - educational objectives, (2) available resources within the family - means of action and (3) parental strategies - mobilization of resources to achieve the objectives. We focus on families with young adults who, to date, have been educationally successful despite a modest socio-economic background. We analyse their parents' aspirations and further educational pathways. Families from various countries of origin are compared to Swiss parents, accounting for the heterogeneity of social origin among young adults of the second-generation in Switzerland (see Fibbi et al. 2007).

To analyse the role of parental investment in children's education, we use two data sources: First, the second cohort of the TREE (Transitions from Education to Employment) panel survey (TREE2; Hupka-Brunner et al. 2021) to study the entry into upper secondary education and its relationship with parental resources and aspirations. Second, we analyse qualitative interviews conducted amongst Swiss and migrant parents of TREE2 respondents in the context of PICE[2]. The qualitative analysis allows us to establish different types of inductive parental strategies and how they are related to parental aspirations and resources, and whether there are differences according to parents' country of origin (including Swiss native parents).

---

2   PICE is an SNF-funded study (184906), designed as an add-on survey of the TREE panel study. See part 3 for more information.

2   Educational Pathways and the Role of Parental Investment

2.1   Different Views on Successful Educational Pathways in the Swiss Context

Educational success is a multifaceted construct, including both objective and subjective indicators. In the next sections, we describe how educational success is defined in the Swiss context.

In the vast majority of Swiss cantons, lower secondary level education is tracked into several programmes with varying academic requirements.[3] Track allocation at lower secondary level strongly predetermines access to the various programmes at upper secondary level. Young adults who attend a track with extended or high requirements at the lower secondary level have more options for post-compulsory education than young people who attend a lower secondary school with basic requirements[4]. Given the better access to subsequent educational programmes, attending a lower secondary track with extended or high requirements can be considered a success.

In the transition to upper secondary education, the Swiss school system allows for general and vocational education and training programmes, with slightly less than 60 % of a cohort attending VET (either directly or after a transitional solution) and slightly more than 30 % attending general education (Federal Statistical Office 2021).

Obtaining a VET diploma is highly valued in Switzerland. In this regard, Switzerland differs from many other countries, where only general education certificates grant access to the tertiary level. Within certain limitations, upper secondary level VET diplomas, also entitle one to participate in tertiary-level education. This implies that many Swiss parents consider completion of an upper secondary level VET diploma a success, while many migrant parents tend to attach a higher value to general education (Cattaneo and Wolter 2013; Tjaden and Scharenberg 2017). However, other studies (e. g., Abrassart et al. 2018) show differences in parental aspirations between migrant groups. Overall and compared to natives, migrant parents and their descendants more often aspire to university education, for which the Swiss educational system usually requires a general baccalaureate. These differences between Swiss and migrant parents must be interpreted against the background of different educational experiences and different values attached to educational credentials in the countries of origin. Therefore, when analysing educational success in Switzerland, not only general education tracks, but also VET programmes are crucial (Schafer and Baeriswyl 2015). In addition to considering the nuances of the

---

3   For a more detailed illustration of the Swiss education and training system, see https://www.edk.
ch/en/education-system/diagram.

4   In vocational education, apprentices are selected and trained by the training company. Thus, access to vocational education is also designed for young people from school tracks with low requirements. In reality, young people who have attended school types with basic requirements are more likely to encounter access difficulties. Young adults who have attended school types with extended/high requirements have better chances of access.

Figure 1   Factors Explaining Educational Success, Inspired by Heckhausen &
                  Buchmann 2019
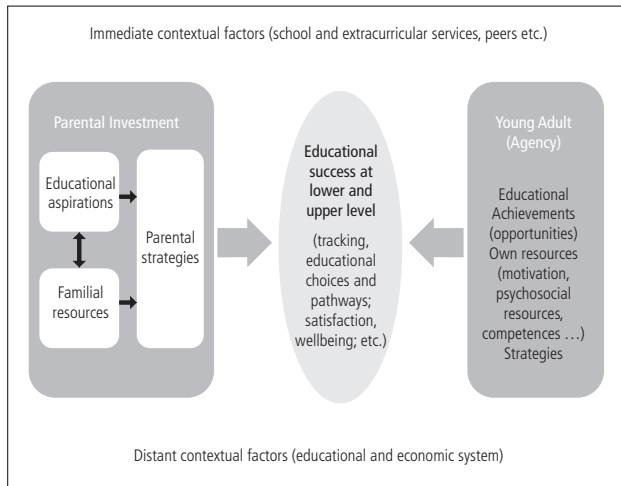
Swiss educational system, we take a longitudinal perspective based on life-course
theories, which allows us to look at educational *pathways,* thus providing a holistic
picture of educational success.

2.2   The Model of Parental Investment

To investigate the role of parental resources, strategies and aspirations in pathways
towards post-compulsory education of young adults in Switzerland, we develop a model
that takes into account the interplay between structure and agency (see Figure 1).

   Taking a life course perspective, we assume that individual decision-making
processes and parental behaviour are influenced by immediate and distant contextual
factors (Evans 2007; Tucci 2017). An individual's range of action is strongly influ-
enced by the opportunities in the respective educational system and institutional
context. Furthermore, young adults and parents are embedded in a broader social
context that further influences decision-making. Parental investment (PI) is seen as
an important element influencing children's educational success (Desforges et al.
2003; Perna and Titus 2005). The latter is the focus of this article: the role of PI
in children's education, which we further operationalize into three components.

   First, parental educational aspiration can be defined as a goal-directed motiva-
tion that influences educational choices and investment in education. As it is opera-
tionalized here, parental aspirations are realizable anticipations and conditional on
children's academic performance and educational opportunities (Portes et al. 2010).

Second, to realize one's educational aspirations, resources need to be available or potentially accessible. These include economic, cultural (including proficiency in one of the national languages and knowledge of the school system) and social capital, time, relationships within the family and between family and school. Gofen (2009) shows that non-material resources such as spending time, setting priorities and families' belief systems and values are important and can be activated to overcome a lack of (material or cultural) resources, particularly in migrant families.

The third component of PI are parental strategies, that is, how parents mobilize and use the resources in order to realize their aspirations. Parental strategies include a goal and the activation of means and may or may not include "action phases" (Heckhausen and Buchmann 2019). This implies that parental strategies may include active involvement, but also the decision to remain passive in order to encourage the child's agency or freedom of choice. In this sense, our definition of parental strategies goes beyond other definitions of parental involvement.

The three PI components affect each other and are shaped by immediate and distant contextual factors. Our empirical analysis focuses on the different aspects of PI and their interplay.

Applying the model to different groups (of migrant background in this article) contributes to sociological theory: Considering different past experiences (which are reflected in varying experiences in educational and value systems) allows to evaluate the importance of structure in which agency occurs (Evans 2007). Varying reference systems (e. g., local/national and social contexts, family histories and values) shape individual strategies and aspirations, leading to varying definitions of what "successful" educational pathways are. In addition, it is useful to reflect on the specific aspect of parental investment against the background of these different contexts.

3   Measurement Methods and Analyses

3.1   Research Questions and Data

To understand the role that migrant and Swiss parents' investment play in the educational success of their children, we apply a sequential mixed-method design (Creswell and Creswell 2018) to answer the following three questions: (1) What is the effect of parental aspirations on post-compulsory educational attendance? (2) What configurations of strategies do we find among parents of educationally successful young adults? (3) How do these strategy patterns interrelate with educational aspirations and resources? Throughout the analysis, we compare Swiss families and families of different countries of origin.

The first question is addressed by analysing data from the second cohort of TREE that covers a nationally representative sample (initial n = 8 429) of compulsory school leavers in 2016 (after 11th grade, age 15–16). TREE2 (Hupka-Brunner

et al. 2021) is a panel study at yearly intervals (across several post-compulsory years) that emphasizes on observing educational and employment trajectories. It includes comprehensive data on respondents' school situation (e. g., lower secondary track attendance, mathematics test scores), family resources (parents' level of education and occupation, economic resources, etc.) and educational aspirations of parents at the end of compulsory school. Additionally, we make use of TREE2's detailed information on respondents' educational situation when entering upper secondary education in 2017.

To answer the second and third questions, we use qualitative data from the TREE add-on study PICE. Within PICE, we interviewed TREE2 respondents and – if possible – one of their parents (n = 48). As we focus on the parental perspective in this paper, details of parents' interviews included in this paper are displayed in Appendix 3.

The qualitative sample includes parents 1) who are of modest social origin (below average socio-economic status and primary or secondary education) and 2) whose child has attended an advanced or high requirement track at the end of lower secondary education. We interviewed the parent who, according to the child, was more actively involved in the child's education (73 % mothers). We compare Swiss native and immigrant parents from the main low-skilled labour migration flows, namely those from Spain, Italy, Portugal, the Balkan countries, Turkey and Sri Lanka.

The qualitative interviews have been conducted online.[5] We conducted problem-centred interviews (Witzel 2000). The parental interview focused on their definition of educational success for their child, the evaluation of PI at all stages of the child's educational career and the (in)coherence of strategies over time both in a retrospective and present view. This article takes an intergenerational perspective: We consider parental aspirations as reported by the young adults (research question 1) and parents' own reports on their strategies and aspirations (research questions 2 and 3).

3.2 Data Analysis

In the quantitative analysis of TREE2, first, we observe the differences between the majority group and the 2G groups in terms of parental aspiration levels[6] (reported by the TREE2 respondents at the end of compulsory school) and of the educational status in the first post-compulsory year (n = 7 971, as we account exclusively for those who participated in 2017). For parental aspiration, we distinguish three categories: "My parents want me to complete a VET programme", "My parents want me to study"[7] and "I don't know/My parents have no opinion about it". "To study" implies

---

5   This was due to the situation of the COVID-19 pandemic.
6   Parental aspirations, as operationalized here, should be considered realistic (Haller 1968) as they are affected by young adults' previous educational pathways.
7   The original wording in German and French («Meine Eltern wünschen, dass ich studiere»"; « Mes parents souhaitent que je fasse des longues études ») differ a bit from the Italian wording

future attendance of Universities, Universities of Applied Sciences and Universities of Teacher Education. With regard to educational status at the beginning of upper secondary education (observed in 2017), we distinguish four categories: "Not in certifying education"; "VET (2–4 years)"; "Vocational baccalaureate"; "General education". Second, we assess the effect of parental aspirations on the transition into upper secondary education. We develop two multinomial logistic regression models to compare average marginal effects (AME) between Swiss families and different 2G groups (n = 7 889 as we account exclusively for those who participated in 2017 with no missing values). The dependent variable of both models is the educational status in 2017. The independent variables include individual characteristics (sex and migration background), resources within the family (parental socio-economic status and educational attainment), educational outcomes (lower secondary track, math score measured at the end of compulsory school) and the regional context (language region). In the second model, we add parental aspiration levels (the variable of interest) to compare the differences between the models in terms of AME. By comparing the two models, we quantify the potential effect of parental aspiration on upper secondary track attendance in percentage points (PPs). The model statistics strongly support adding parental aspiration as a predictor. All statistical results are representative for the compulsory school leavers in the 2016 population, as we account for the longitudinal weights in order to compensate for panel attrition and initial sample bias.

In the qualitative analysis, a structured content analysis (Kuckartz 2016) with a deductively defined basic structure and a subsequent inductive and collaborative coding process was carried out (Mayring 2015). The comparative analysis led to a qualitative typology following the structure of Kelle and Kluge (2010). Starting with a large variety of 38 inductively defined parental strategies adopted at different moments in children's educational pathways, these are then reduced based on relevant comparative dimensions (Kelle and Kluge 2010, 91 ff.). Defining the two to three most important strategies per parent, we analysed cross-case empirical regularities that led to a definition of four types of parental strategies. We describe the typology process in more detail in section 4.2.

4　Results

4.1　The Relationship Between Parental Aspirations and Post-Compulsory Educational Attendance

Our descriptive results confirm that, as in many other countries, parents with a migration background express higher educational aspiration levels for their children

_____

(«I miei genitori desiderano che faccia l'università») and leaves more room for the inclusion of other types of tertiary/further education.

compared to Swiss parents (see Table 1). Table 1 shows the anticipated parental aspiration as reported by the young adults and refers to the highest educational aspiration of the parent.

Table 1   Parents' Educational Aspirations Reported by the Young Adult at the End of Compulsory Education (2016) by Migration Background (row %)

Question: What is the highest level of education that your parents would like you to achieve? My parents …	I don't know; … Have no opinion about it	…Want me to complete a VET programme	…Want me to go to university	n (non-weighted)
Swiss native	29 %	47 %	24 %	5847
2G Italy/Spain	16 %	37 %	48 %	140
2G Portugal	22 %	36 %	42 %	221
2G Turkey	7 %	39 %	55 %	112
2G Balkans (Albanian-speaking countries)	14 %	38 %	48 %	286
2G Balkans (other countries)	18 %	43 %	39 %	229
2G Sri Lanka	15 %	31 %	54 %	129
2G Other countries	25 %	22 %	53 %	536
1G all countries	20 %	34 %	45 %	471

Note: (2G = Second-generation; 1G = First-generation; weighted). Source: own calculation based on TREE2 data.

24 % of Swiss young adults perceive their parents as wanting them to study, compared to a range between 39 % and 55 % for parents with a migrant background. This shows the higher aspirations of migrant parents who, on average, are from more modest social backgrounds compared to Swiss parents (except for the group "2G other countries", who are not the focus of this study). Swiss parents more often want their child to complete a VET programme, or they "do not know/have no opinion about it". This last category includes different situations. Previous analyses (Kamm et al. 2021) show that Swiss parents often promote autonomy and want the child to decide for her/himself, that they sometimes do not communicate their aspirations or, less often, that they do not have any aspirations. The preference for general education among migrant parents and the preference for VET among Swiss parents may be linked to migrant parents' "immigrant optimism" (Kao and Tienda 1995; Fernández-Reino 2016), but also to the different educational systems of reference. Indeed, a vast majority of Swiss parents have completed VET themselves and are familiar with it.

    In a next step, we investigate the relationship between parental aspirations and children's educational pathways, comparing migrant with native families. To shed more light on this question, we first describe young adults' educational situation one year after the end of compulsory school (see Table 2). There are considerable differences between Swiss natives and the different 2G groups. Particularly, 2G from

Turkey, the Albanian and other (non-Albanian) Balkan countries and Sri Lanka have a higher risk of not being in a certifying education and less often attend general education. However, part of those differences could be due not only to familial resources and parental aspirations that vary between 2G groups, but also to previous educational outcomes (lower secondary track attendance and academic achievement), contextual differences (language region) and other individual characteristics.

Table 2   Educational Status One Year after the End of Compulsory Education (2017) by Migration Background (row %)

|	Not in certifying education	VET (2–4 years)	Vocational baccalau- reate	General education	n (non- weighted)
Swiss native	18 %	41 %	9 %	33 %	5847
2G Italy/Spain	21 %	37 %	11 %	31 %	140
2G Portugal	33 %	32 %	6 %	30 %	221
2G Turkey	39 %	37 %	6 %	18 %	112
2G Balkans (Albanian-speaking countries)	28 %	50 %	4 %	18 %	286
2G Balkans (other countries)	25 %	53 %	8 %	14 %	229
2G Sri Lanka	37 %	32 %	8 %	23 %	129
2G Other countries	28 %	23 %	5 %	44 %	536
1G All countries	43 %	25 %	5 %	27 %	471

Note: (2G = Second-generation; 1G = First-generation; weighted). Source: own calculation based on TREE2 data.

To account for these factors, we estimate two multinomial logistic regression models and focus on the AMEs and confidence intervals (see Figure 2). In the first model, we show the difference in the type of education undertaken at upper secondary level between Swiss native students (reference category) and 2G students while controlling for various factors.[8] Model 2 adds parental aspirations.

When focusing on VET attendance, we observe that 2G migrants from Portugal, Turkey and Sri Lanka attend VET less often than Swiss natives; the difference is between 16 to 18 percentage points (PPs). By adding parental aspirations, the differences in VET attendance for some groups (when compared to natives) are reduced, but still statistically significant. There are no statistically significant differences for the other groups (when compared to natives), even though the differences between natives and the various 2G groups decrease when taking parental aspirations into account in Model 2. However, 2G youths from Portugal and Albanian countries more often attend general education programmes when controlling for all covariates (Model 1). Again, when adding parental aspirations in Model 2, the differences with

---

[8]   Sex, migration background, parental highest socio-economic index, highest parental education, lower secondary track attended, math score measured at the end of compulsory school and language region.

Figure 2   Average Marginal Effects (and Confidence Intervals [95 %])
                  of Upper Secondary Educational Status (2017) by Students'
                  Migration Background (Reference Category: Swiss Native)
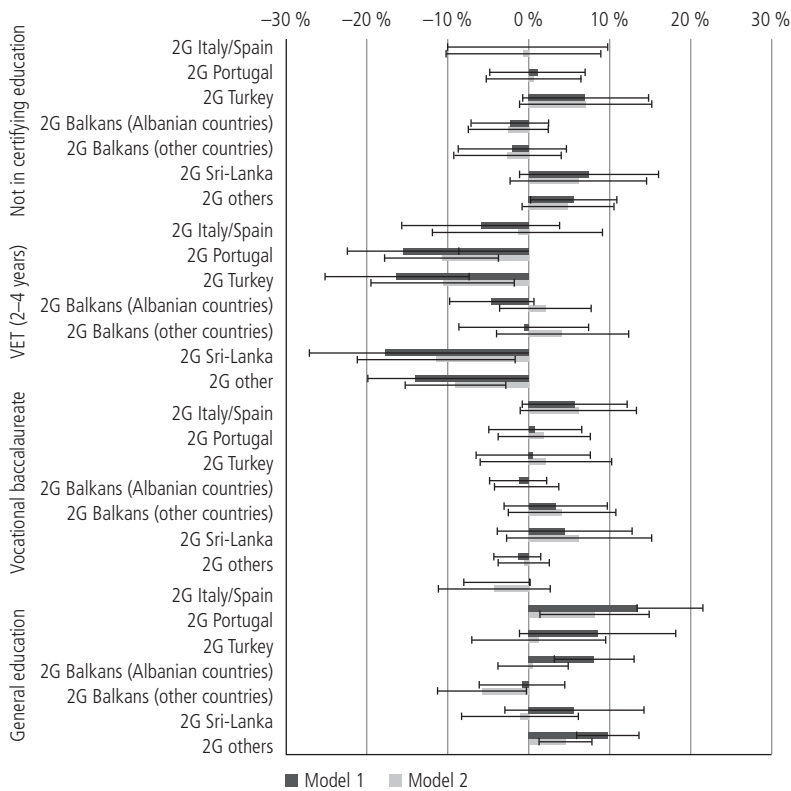
Model 1: controlled variables: Sex, migration background, parental highest socio-economic index, highest parental education, lower secondary track attended, math score measured at the end of compulsory school and language region. Model 2: controlled variables: same as Model 1; parental aspiration. Example of how to read the figure: Compared to Swiss native students and all else being equal, 2G Sri Lankan students are 18 percentage points (PPS, Model 1) less likely to attend VET. This difference is statistically significant (< 5 %) as the confidence intervals do not cross the reference line (0 %). Source: own calculation based TREE2 data.

Swiss natives decrease. This implies that parental aspirations are crucial in the process of attending VET or general education. Migrant parents' aspirations contribute to young adults' higher attendance of post-compulsory general education.

There are no statistically significant differences between Swiss natives and the various 2G groups in not attending a certifying education or training or in attending a vocational baccalaureate programme. The AMEs are similar in both models.

This implies that migration background does not constitute a risk in itself in those two situations.

Other factors taken into account in the models also contribute to the prediction of educational pathways. Therefore, we now consider potential moderating effects (see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2). Gender is significant in both models, while there are no large changes in AMEs between Model 1 and 2. The same holds for achievement (math test) and lower secondary education. There are differences between the two models with respect to parental socio-economic status and educational attainment. When moving from model 1 to model 2, the differences between the second and fourth quartile decrease, implying that the effect is partly due to parental aspirations. Similarly, the differences between parents with tertiary and secondary education are reduced in the second model, implying that the effect of parental education is partly due to parental aspirations.

To sum up, parental aspirations can be considered a driving factor when it comes to attending the various programmes of upper secondary education. To test our hypotheses, we analyse the differences of regression coefficients for the 2G groups in more detail: for some groups, parental aspirations serve as a pushing factor for attending higher educational tracks at the upper secondary level. This is especially true for the 2G from Portugal, Turkey, the Balkans (both groups) and Sri Lanka, while the coefficient for the 2G from Italy/Spain is not significant.

We now shed more light on the underlying mechanisms that might explain these results. We hold that aspirations are important, but do not fully explain differences in the 2G's educational success. A better understanding of how aspirations translate into educational pathways through the mobilization and development of resources as a parental strategy is crucial. After having analysed young adults' reports of parental aspirations, we shift the perspective to parents' point of view to examine PI as reported in the qualitative interviews.

4.2 Parental Strategies Towards Education and Their Interrelation With Aspirations and Resources

The starting point of the qualitative analysis of research question 2 is a deductive-inductive coding process. We started with the following *"sensitizing concept"*[9] (Kelle and Kluge 2010, 28–30) that needs to be specified in the empirical material: "Strategies include the development, mobilisation and use of existing resources to achieve the (educational) goals" (Heckhausen and Buchmann 2019). Based on our sample of interest, we define "existing resources" as available and potentially accessible resources, including school and extracurricular support services. We inductively identified 38 strategies that are employed at different time points and with different levels of active engagement. Based on the inductively coded interview

---

9   Kelle and Kluge (2010) define sensitizing concepts as disciplinary and scientifically shaped world views. They must be substantiated by empirical data.

segments, we identified empirically relevant constellations that represent the starting point for further structuring and analysing regularities of parental strategies. In line with Epstein (2005), we found strategies that reflect a broad definition of parental involvement: the most important ones are learning support and advocating for the child's interest in school. We also identified strategies characterized by controlling activities (on schoolwork, marks and exerting pressure) and compensating strategies (for example, organizing tutoring or financing courses). In addition to these rather *action-oriented* strategies, two sets of strategies resembled rather *reactive* parental strategies. A characteristic feature of these strategies is that parents endeavoured to give their children room to make their own decisions and were prepared to hold themselves back to some degree. They reported that they supported their children emotionally, encouraged and motivated them. However, they also emphasized that they wanted to promote the children's autonomy by letting them take their own decisions and promoting their desires. Overall, the parents described their actions as very conscious and highly reflective when it comes to the promotion of their children's educational pathway.[10] While the *action-oriented* strategies correspond to what Heckhausen and Buchmann (2019) define as "action phases" in order to reach a goal by investing effort and other resources, the *reactive* strategies refer to a conscious decision to step back and/or encourage the child's decision-making.

Based on the recoded aspects, the document map[11] reveals clusters of the most important strategies, taking into account the two to three most important strategies of each parent. Based on empirical and theoretical considerations, we opted for a 4-cluster solution for our typology to which all parental interviews are allocated (see Table A4).

The first type (n = 14) involves parents who mostly report *action-oriented* strategies such as controlling, involvement and compensating. This group does not mention reactive strategies (such as being there or letting the child choose). In the second type (n = 11), parents are involved in the educational processes of their child. Partly they also act controlling, and as a second important strategy, they report to be there, especially emotionally. Parents in the third type (n = 13) highlight the importance of the children's advocacy and are occasionally active-oriented (controlling n = 2, involvement n = 4, compensating n = 4). In type 4 (n = 10), letting the child decide is an important aspect, as well as being there, especially emotionally or financially, while active-oriented strategies are not mentioned by this group.

In the next part, we characterize the four types in more depth and, in order to answer research question 3, we assess the interrelation with aspiration (empirically characterized as aspiring for universities, best/highest education, baccalaureate, VET/ higher VET, no aspiration), resources (inductively, the data revealed emotionally, cul-

---

10   These parental strategies are reported at a time when the children have already grown up and have been – at least partially – successful in school.

11   The MAXQDA clusters are built on similarity measures based on Russel & Rao (1940), taking into account the appearance of a code as a match, while the absence of a code reduces the similarity.

Table 3   Typology of Parental Strategies and their Interrelation with
                 Aspirations, Resources and Different Groups

Inductive Definition	Aspiration	Resources	High importance for these Groups
Type 1			
Active-oriented (Controlling, Involvement, Compensating) in the education of the child	High aspiration towards tertiary	Emotional, cultural resources Mostly lack of competences	Non-EU Southern EU
Type 2			
Involved in Education, partly controlling. As a second strategy be there (emotionally)	High but open "best/ highest education"	Emotional, cultural and material resources Lack of different resources (mostly competences, financial and social)	Southern EU
Type 3			
Children's advocacy, punctual active oriented	Mostly no aspiration (or not even mentioned)	Mostly emotional and material resources Fewer but diverse lack of resources	Swiss natives
Type 4			
Let the child decide about his/her future, be there if needed (emotionally, financially)	Diverse aspirations	Lack of diverse resources Fewer resources	Swiss natives Non-EU

turally and materially weak ties) and lack of resources (lack of competences, financial resources, system knowledge, social resources, time). Furthermore, we are interested in the differences between parents with and without a migration background. Based on empirical proximity and in order to make group-specific statements, we regrouped the parents with a migration background into three categories: Southern EU (Italy, Spain, Portugal), Non-EU (Balkan-Albanian, Balkan-others, Sri Lanka, Turkey). Table 3 summarizes the main characteristics of each type.

The table reveals a type with mostly active-oriented strategies (type 1); one with mostly reactive strategies (type 4). The other two types are characterized by a combination of action-oriented and reactive strategies (types 2 and 3). The types do not just differ regarding their strategies, but also regarding aspirations and resources. Furthermore, some of the types of strategy seem to be of higher importance for some parental groups than for others. We now have a closer look at the four types by looking at anchor examples and possible explanations of these differences.

Type 1: active-oriented

In the first type, migrant parents from various countries of origin develop and make use of action-oriented strategies to support their children. This is not the case for Swiss parents. Parents of this type are active-oriented, with controlling (as rewarding achievements, expressing authority and moral education) as the most important strategy. Besides controlling behaviour, involvement in the child's education (at home and in school) and compensating strategies (improving their own information/ education and help-seeking) also play an important role for those migrant parents. These parents aspire high and mostly towards tertiary level education, more precisely towards universities and baccalaureate schools. The following transcript excerpt from Kushtrim[12], a father who immigrated from Kosovo, illustrates how these controlling strategies go hand in hand with high aspirations: Kushtrim (Kosovar father):

> *Now he's in the third year of [upper-secondary general education school], it's gone well so far. I used to go three-four times there [at school] too. […] He shows his grades here at home. He has good grades. I can see that he's quite on the ball. He studies quite a bit. And now it's for him. It's for him. So I also talk to him quite often. I say "Listen, this is very important". Because it's five years in the cycle [baccalaureate school]. You really have to pass.*

Kushtrim refers to different controlling aspects that are put in place in order to reach the expressed aim, that is, pass the cycle. The father communicates the importance of education to the son on a regular basis. Attaching a high value especially to general education is a common narrative in this type, and in line with previous studies, seems to be a phenomenon that is more often observed among immigrant than Swiss parents (Hadjar and Scharf 2019). Here, the strategy of the father is to put his aspirations into practice through close supervision and active involvement in school.

With regard to parental resources, we observe frequent mention of lack of competencies, particularly proficiency in the locally spoken national language. A minority of type 1 parents report a lack of financial resources or system knowledge. The following citation reveals the interrelation between a lack of resources (here system knowledge) and strategies. Ajda, a Turkish mother, advocates in school for her daughter despite (or even more so because of) lacking knowledge of academic support options. Ajda (Turkish mother):

> *I did everything […] For example, my daughter went to school. [She told me] "Mother, there is a place, the studio.[13]" I even asked my eldest daughter "What is that?" she replied "A friend of mine goes. Her grades are ALWAYS above five and a half." After that I asked at a parent-teacher meeting what it was. Unfortunately, they didn't send her. […] I even spoke to the teacher*

---

12   All names of parents and young adults are anonymized using names of the same gender and cultural origin.

13   This is a support programme for gifted students.

in charge. "We don't know the grades. For certain things you have to inform us. We are foreigners." After I said so, they then said "Okay we will give it." After that [she] went there for a year. Before that we didn't know anything about it.

The citation starts with the general perception of "doing everything" to support her child in educational affairs, which is very much in line with the action orientation of type 1. Ajda had to advocate for her child in school in order to have her admitted to the programme for gifted students. Her lack of system knowledge is not experienced as an obstacle. On the contrary, she uses the term "being foreigners" to ask her older daughter for help and to hold the teacher responsible for providing group-specific information. This strategy is representative for type 1-parents, as they report compensating strategies more often than those in the other types.

To sum up, the first type describes the interrelation of high parental aspirations and active-oriented strategies that are typical for those migrant parents. This type describes vividly how educational capital is perceived as a "catalyst for upward social mobility" (Basit 2013, 727). As those (migrant) parents perceive general educational attainment as the most valuable goal, they are willing to activate their own and other available resources within active-oriented strategies in order to realiz e their aspirations.

Type 2: selectively involved

Parents of the second type are – to a somewhat lower degree, but still very often – active-oriented. Most of them describe themselves as being involved in the child's education in school or at home, and some of them exhibit controlling behaviour. In contrast to the first type, being there (emotionally and/or financially) is a second important strategy. Parents are there for their children whenever they need it and become active in key situations. As the parents in the first type, they aspire high, but with a broader definition: they want the best/highest education for their child. The following story exemplifies the combination of open, but high aspiration and punctual parental involvement. Felicidade narrates how she intervened when she heard that her son did not want to pursue general education. Felicidade (Portuguese mother):

When he was at the end of [lower] secondary school, he wanted to do an apprenticeship because it's good to get to the end of the month and have a small salary. Well, all young people like that, but we [the parents] didn't think it was good, because if the child gets good grades, you have to continue further, do you agree? And then it's up to the parents to adapt and to make efforts so that the children can go to school so that nothing is missing for them […] we convinced him by saying that he never lacked anything in life, so if he needs something, we always give it to him.

In Felicidade's narrative, an important life event occurs concerning the educational career of her son, which was largely co-designed by the parents. Contrary to the young adults' goal, both parents aspire towards a continued educational path, but the final degree remains vague. Despite the fact that neither the mother nor the father has a tertiary level degree (the mother left school after compulsory school), they are willing to encourage and financially support the further studies of their child – contrary to reproduction theory (Bourdieu and Passeron 1987). The strategy to overcome lacking financial resources consists of prioritizing education over other goods. The citation reflects a hierarchical logic of preference for general education over VET. Compared with previous studies, this reference system may be considered typical for immigrant parents (Cattaneo and Wolter 2013). The reference system may be different for the first and second generations, as we see in the excerpt. As exemplified above, parents in this type are active during certain crucial transitions in the educational career of their children. Apart from that, they describe their support strategy as being there, listening and motivating. These parents – a majority from Southern EU countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal – lack different resources, which does not stop them from standing up for their children.

Type 3: letting the child decide, punctually involved

In this type, parents do not express specific educational aspirations. They refuse to express educational aspirations towards their children as well as towards the inter-viewer. Not having or at least not communicating aspirations is an active decision to promote young people's decisions. Nevertheless, if the child has chosen a (de-manding) path, the parents of this type try to support that choice, as the citation of Ruth illustrates. Ruth (Swiss mother)

> *Yes, to a certain extent, we knew what she wanted and that she needed the grades, that we also supported her with her learning, especially in primary school. Later I couldn't always do it either (laughs). […] When she needed help, she came and got it. We never said: "You have to sit down and study now", but: "It would be smarter to sit down and study". So, it's her decision. But it's also her decision what she wants to do in life then.*

As we can see in the transcript, for parents of type 3 the decision-making and help-seeking process needs to be initiated by the child. Punctually, the parents intervene actively if the child asks for it. The parental role is considered to be a learning coach and to empower the child to become an agent of the own learning and decision-making process. In contrast to the first two types, the parenting style is encouraging rather than controlling. In this type, there are more Swiss than mi-grant parents. Resources or lacking resources are less important compared to the other types. Nevertheless, as we see in the narrative of Ruth, some individuals lack competencies and financial or social resources.

Type 4: the reactive parent

Similarly to type 3, in type 4 we identify a strong intention to let the child decide for his/her educational career. In contrast, the parental decision to step back is even more pronounced. Looking at the wording used, it is obvious that the child is at the centre of the narrative, while in types 1 and 2 the school career is more of a joint project. This strong commitment towards children's choices and actions is revealed in the excerpt of Claudia. Claudia (Swiss mother):

> *So, for us, it is important, very important, that they are independent. And become… and that they really learn a profession and then also earn their living. (laughs) And afterwards, yes [we wish] simply the best for them in any case. Yes. […] He never had any big problems at school, and afterwards he went to baccalaureate school. […] And now after baccalaureate school he went to Lausanne to the EPFL.*[14] *He had a difficult time afterwards and he dropped out because he had exams after half a year. And that scared him. And of course we motivated him to just keep on looking. And to look for another way. And to simply help him. And now I think he has already found his way. Yes. […] He's now doing an internship for six months, in a factory, in micro technology. And then he will go to a school in Biel.*

Claudia paraphrases the decision-making as a developmental task of her son, where the extension of this phase can be scary. Part of being an adult and independent is – according to Claudia – to make one's own decisions. She perceives the parental role as promoting and instructing the capability of decision-making. Even though the young adult finally decides against the prestigious studies at the EPFL, the parents put no pressure on his continuing or studying something else. On the contrary, they try to reduce the pressure by considering other solutions. This perspective points to a non-objective definition of educational success, where satisfaction and the educational fit matter more than ambitious studies or educational outcomes (for more detail see Kamm et al. 2021). Concerning aspirations, we find different manifestations in this type. Claudia's example shows an openness towards different educational pathways. Her reference system focuses on the aim to "learn a profession". In contrast, the non-EU (particularly Sri Lankan) parents in this type mostly strive for university studies. Compared to the other types, fewer parents of this type refer to available resources, while lacking resources is more important in their narratives.

5   Conclusion

In Switzerland, social origin is a major determinant of educational pathways (OECD 2021). Against this background, this contribution analysed the specific situation of

---

14   EPFL is a prestigious, high-ranking polytechnical university in Lausanne.

some migrants, as they are often confronted with unfavourable starting conditions due to fewer resources and different educational reference systems (Kamm et al. 2022). In particular, we have argued that lower familiarity with the Swiss VET system due to parents' own educational system of reference often leads to educational aspirations that are oriented toward general education.

We have shown that, when controlling for social origin and previous educational outcomes, 2G young adults from Portugal and Balkan-Albanian countries enrol more frequently in general education programmes at upper secondary level than the (native) majority group. Furthermore, we observe higher levels of aspirations (i. e., towards academic education) among their parents. Parental aspirations of some 2G groups towards higher education add to our understanding of why they are overrepresented in general education programmes when comparing them to their native counterparts. This shows that – even though immediate and distant contextual factors are crucial for the individual educational pathway – parents, their educational aspirations and educational reference systems are important when it comes to educational success. Our findings support results from other countries' contexts and school systems, showing that parental aspirations matter for educational pathways (Portes et al. 2010; Hadjar and Scharf 2019).

Despite limited resources, parents can realize their academically-oriented aspirations even if the dominant Swiss VET context might suggest alternative pathways. In order to understand what parents actually do and what strategies they adopt, the sequential mixed method design offers a valuable contribution using the qualitative approach to shed light on the underlying mechanisms of high parental aspirations. We revealed a multiplicity of parental strategies that go beyond parental involvement (Epstein 2005). Our typology of parental strategies towards their children's education has identified active-oriented and reactive strategies. Parents' involvement in their child's educational pathway may include certain actions or consciously withholding them and letting the child determine his or her own educational career. Our typology disentangles the interplay between strategies that are shaped by aspirations and available or accessible resources. Furthermore, we observe that native parents tend to adopt reactive strategies (being there if needed and letting the child do/ decide) to support their children's education, while migrant parents tend to favour active-oriented strategies (controlling, involvement and compensating strategies).

The results from both our quantitative and qualitative analyses support this assumption and are in line with previous studies (e. g., Cattaneo and Wolter 2013). They show that immigrant parents – especially from non-EU countries – tend to attach a higher value to general education at upper secondary and tertiary level, while the Swiss parents of our sample refer to a non-hierarchic perception of VET and general education pathways.

Our results also reveal the importance of (opportunity) structures in which individual agency can unfold. Depending on parents' own experiences in specific

educational contexts, this leads to varying implementations of aspirations and strategies to foster their children's education. The (external and internal) reference to a certain group (having a migration background, low SES or some kind of educational distance) per se can be understood as a social categorization and, consequently, as a contextual factor that shapes parental investment.

Despite its contributions, our study has some limitations. 1) As we take an intergenerational perspective, it would be valuable to contrast both perspectives to better understand the dynamics of individual and parental co-agency (Schoon et al. 2021). 2) The young adults report realistic parental aspirations at the end of compulsory school, and it is likely that they are shaped by the context (school tracks and the career opportunities they open up) and future plans. For future research, it would be interesting to compare parental aspirations at different time points and to add a more inductive definition of aspiration. 3) The definition of success in the qualitative sample is rather narrow (focus on track attendance). It remains an open desideratum to take into account subjective aspects of success (satisfaction, job-skills (mis)match, self-efficacy and commitment to job/education).

To sum up, this study adds to our understanding of the importance of (migrant) parents' aspirations for young adults on educational pathways in a highly segregated education system. Furthermore, it reveals how parental aspirations are put into practice by activating available and potentially accessible resources within different strategies. More research taking a multigenerational perspective is needed, and a longitudinal view on the interrelation of different components of parental investment and educational success should be taken. Finally, the focus of this study was on young adults who were educationally successful. The extent to which parents of individuals who are less successful in earlier phases of their educational careers have similar strategies cannot be determined based on our data and remains an important topic for future research.

6   References

Abrassart, Aurélien, Marius R Busemeyer, and Maria A Cattaneo. 2018. Do Adult Foreign Residents Prefer Academic to Vocational Education? Evidence from a Survey of Public. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46(15): 3314–3334.

Anderson, Holly, and Thomas Maassen. 2014. *Educational Aspirations. The Effects of Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Background*. Oxford: OxPolicy.

Basit, Tehmina N. 2013. Educational Capital as a Catalyst for Upward Social Mobility amongst British Asians: A Three-Generational Analysis. *British Educational Research Journal* 39(4): 714–732. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411926.2012.677414.

Becker, Rolf, and Andreas Hadjar. 2017. Meritokratie – Zur gesellschaftlichen Legitimation ungleicher Bildungs-, Erwerbs- und Einkommenschancen in modernen Gesellschaften. Pp. 33–62 in *Lehrbuch der Bildungssoziologie*, edited by Rolf Becker. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-15272-7_2.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1987. *La Reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Cattaneo, Maria A., and Wolter, Stefan C. 2013. Nationale Eigenheiten von Bildungssystemen in Zeiten der Globalisierung, Aarau: SKBF. https://doi.org/10.25656/01:8696.

Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell. 2018. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Crul, Maurice, Jens Schneider, and Frans Lelie. 2012. *The European Second Generation Compared. Does the Integration Context Matter?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Desforges, Charles, and Alberto Abouchaar. 2003. The Impact of Parental Involvement, Parental Support and Family Education on Pupil Achievement and Adjustment: A Literature Review. *Research Report RR433*. Nottingham: DfES Publications.

Epstein, Joyce L. 2005. Attainable Goals? The Spirit and Letter of the No Child Left Behind Act on Parental Involvement. *Sociology of Education* 78(2): 179–182. https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070507800207.

Esser, Hartmut. 2016. Bildungssysteme und ethnische Bildungsungleichheiten. Pp. 331–396 in *Ethnische Ungleichheiten im Bildungsverlauf*, edited by Claudia Diehl, Christian Hunkler, and Cornelia Kristen. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-04322-3_8.

Evans, Karen. 2007. Concepts of Bounded Agency in Education, Work, and the Personal Lives of Young Adults. *International Journal of Psychology* 42(2): 85–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590600991237.

Federal Statistical Office. 2021. Maturitätsquote, Entwicklung – 2000–2019 | Diagramm.Neuchâtel: FSO. https://www.bfs.admin.ch/asset/de/19305651.

Fernández-Reino, Mariña. 2016. Immigrant Optimism or Anticipated Discrimination? Explaining the First Educational Transition of Ethnic Minorities in England. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 46(Part 2): 141–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2016.08.007.

Fibbi, Rosita, Mathias Lerch, and Philippe Wanner. 2007. Naturalisation and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Youth of Immigrant Descent in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(7): 1121–1144. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701541655.

Glick, Jennifer E., and Michael J. White. 2004. Post-Secondary School Participation of Immigrant and Native Youth: The Role of Familial Resources and Educational Expectations. *Social Science Research* 33(2): 272–299. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2003.06.001.

Gofen, Anat. 2009. Family Capital: How First-Generation Higher Education Students Break the Intergenerational Cycle. *Family Relations* 58(1): 104–120. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2008.00538.x.

Hadjar, Andreas, and Jan Scharf. 2019. The Value of Education among Immigrants and Non-Immigrants and How This Translates into Educational Aspirations: A Comparison of Four European Countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45(5): 711–734. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1433025.

Haller, Archibald O. 1968. On the Concept of Aspiration. *Rural Sociology* 33(4): 484–487.

Heckhausen, Jutta, and Marlis Buchmann. 2019. A Multi-Disciplinary Model of Life-Course Canalization and Agency. *Advances in Life Course Research* 41(September): 100246. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2018.09.002.

Hupka-Brunner, Sandra, Ben Jann, Maarten Koomen, Dominique Fabienne Krebs-Oesch, Thomas Meyer, Barbara Müller, Christina von Rotz, Stefan Sacchi, and Barbara Wilhelmi. 2021. TREE2 Study Design. Bern. TREE. https://doi.org/10.48350/152018.

Imdorf, Christian. 2017. Understanding Discrimination in Hiring Apprentices: How Training Companies Use Ethnicity to Avoid Organisational Trouble. *Journal of Vocational Education & Training* 69(3): 405–423. https://doi.org/10.1080/13636820.2016.1278397.

Kamm, Chantal, Andrés Gomensoro, Marieke Heers, and Sandra Hupka-Brunner. 2021. Educational Aspirations of Migrant Parents and the Relationship With Educational Success. Pp. 119–129 in *Trends in vocational education and training research, Vol. IV. Proceedings of the European Conference on Educational Research (ECER), Vocational Education and Training Network (VETNET)*, edited by C. Nägele, N. Kersh, and B. E. Stalder. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5180591.

Kamm, Chantal, Andrés Gomensoro, Marieke Heers, and Sandra Hupka-Brunner. 2022. Aspiring High in the Swiss VET-Dominated Education System: Second Generation Young Adults and Their Immigrant Parents. *Journal of Vocational Education & Training*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13636 820.2022.2139746.

Kao, Grace, and Marta Tienda. 1995. Optimism and Achievement: The Educational Performance of Immigrant Youth. *Social Science Quarterly* 76(1): 1–19.

Kelle, Udo, and Susann Kluge. 2010. *Vom Einzelfall zum Typus: Fallvergleich und Fallkontrastierung in der qualitativen Sozialforschung*. 2., Überarbeitete Auflage. Qualitative Sozialforschung, Band 15. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Kramer, Rolf-Torsten, and Werner Helsper. 2011. Kulturelle Passung und Bildungsungleichheit – Potenziale einer an Bourdieu orientierten Analyse der Bildungsungleichheit. Pp. 103–125 in *Bildungsungleichheit revisited*, edited by Heinz-Hermann Krüger, Ursula Rabe-Kleberg, Rolf-Torsten Kramer, and Jürgen Budde. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi. org/10.1007/978-3-531-93403-7_6.

Kuckartz, Udo. 2016. *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Methoden, Praxis, Computerunterstützung*. Grundlagentexte Methoden. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Mayring, Philipp. 2015. *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*. Beltz Verlag.

Meyer, Thomas, and Sandra Hupka-Brunner. 2019. Inklusions- Und Exklusions-Mechanismen im Schweizerischen (Berufs-)Bildungs- und Erwerbssystem. Erkenntnisse aus der TREE-Studie. Pp. 369–374 in *Inklusive Berufsorientierung und berufliche Bildung – aktuelle Entwicklungen im deutschsprachigen Raum. Sonderpädagogische Förderung heute. Beiheft: Vol. 2*, edited by Christian Lindmeier, Helga Fasching, Bettina Lindmeier, and Dirk Sponholz. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Murdoch, Jake, Christine Guégnard, Dorit Griga, Maarten Koomen, and Christian Imdorf. 2016. How Do Second-Generation Immigrant Students Access Higher Education? The Importance of Vocational Routes to Higher Education in Switzerland, France and Germany. *Swiss Journal of Sociology* 42(2): 245–263. https://doi.org/10.1515/sjs-2016-0011.

OECD. 2021. *Education at a Glance 2021: OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi. org/10.1787/b35a14e5-en.

Perna, Laura W, and Marvin A Titus. 2005. The Relationship Between Parental Involvement as Social Capital and College Enrollment: An Examination of Racial/Ethnic Group Differences. University of Pennsylvania, https://repository.upenn.edu/gse_pubs/14.

Portes, Alejandro, Rosa Aparicio, William Haller, and Erik Vickstrom. 2010. Moving Ahead in Madrid: Aspirations and Expectations in the Spanish Second Generation. *The International Migration Review* 44(4): 767–801. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2010.00825.x.

Sacchi, Stefan, Sandra Hupka-Brunner, Barbara Stalder, and Markus Gangl. 2011. The Impact of Social Origin and Migration Background on Transition into Post Compulsory Education and Training. Pp. 120–156, in *Youth Transitions in Switzerland: Results from the TREE Panel Study*, edited by Manfred Max Bergman, Sandra Hupka-Brunner, Anita Keller, Thomas Meyer, and Barbara E. Stalder. Zurich: Seismo.

Schafer, Yves, and Franz Baeriswyl. 2015. Erfolg in der Berufsbildung. Pp. 127–160 in *Berufliche Passagen im Lebenslauf: Berufsbildungs- und Transitionsforschung in der Schweiz*, edited by Kurt Häfeli, P. Markus Neuenschwander, and Stephan Schumann. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Schnell, Philipp, and Rosita Fibbi. 2016. Getting Ahead: Educational and Occupational Trajectories of the "New" Second-Generation in Switzerland. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17(4): 1085–1107. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0452-y.

Schoon, Ingrid, Kaspar Burger, and Rose Cook. 2021. Making It against the Odds: How Individual and Parental Co-Agency Predict Educational Mobility. *Journal of Adolescence* 89(June): 74–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2021.04.004.

Tjaden, Jasper Dag, and Katja Scharenberg. 2017. Ethnic Choice Effects at the Transition into Upper-Secondary Education in Switzerland. *Acta Sociologica* 60(4): 309–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699316679491.

Tucci, Ingrid. 2017. Analyzing Second-Generation Trajectories from a Life Course Approach: What Mixed Methods Can Offer. Pp. 99–113, in *Situating Children of Migrants across Borders and Origins*, edited by Claudio Bolzman, Laura Bernardi, and Jean-Marie Le Goff. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-94-024-1141-6_5.

Witzel, Andreas. 2000. The Problem-Centered Interview. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1(1), Art. 22. https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-1.1.1132.

Wolter, Stefan C, and Maria Zumbuehl. 2017. The Native-Migrant Gap in the Progression into and through Upper-Secondary Education. CESifo Working Paper Series No. 6810. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3126037.

Appendix

Table A1 Model 1: Multinomial Logistic Regression on Upper Secondary Educational Status (2017)

	Not in certifying education			VET (2–4 years)			Vocational baccalaureate			General educations		
	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB
Sex (ref. Female)												
Male	−0.065***	−0.09	−0.04	0.133***	0.106	0.16	0.014+	−0.002	0.029	−0.082***	−0.101	−0.063
Migration background (ref. Swiss native)												
2G Italy/Spain	−0.001	−0.1	0.097	−0.059	−0.157	0.039	0.058+	−0.007	0.123	0.003	−0.079	0.085
2G Portugal	0.011	−0.048	0.071	−0.155***	−0.225	−0.086	0.008	−0.05	0.066	0.136***	0.056	0.216
2G Turkey	0.071+	−0.007	0.149	−0.163***	−0.252	−0.074	0.006	−0.065	0.077	0.086+	−0.011	0.183
2G Balkans (Albanian countries)	−0.023	−0.071	0.025	−0.046+	−0.098	0.007	−0.012	−0.048	0.023	0.081***	0.032	0.13
2G Balkans (others)	−0.020	−0.087	0.047	−0.006	−0.086	0.074	0.034	−0.03	0.098	−0.008	−0.061	0.045
2G Sri-Lanka	0.075+	−0.011	0.161	−0.177***	−0.272	−0.082	0.045	−0.039	0.129	0.057	−0.029	0.143
2G others	0.056*	0.003	0.110	−0.141***	−0.199	−0.084	−0.014	−0.043	0.016	0.099***	0.06	0.137
1G all countries	0.112***	0.063	0.161	−0.188***	−0.241	−0.135	−0.01	−0.045	0.025	0.086***	0.04	0.131
Language region (ref. German)												
French	0.093***	0.062	0.124	−0.137***	−0.169	−0.104	−0.003	−0.021	0.015	0.046***	0.02	0.073
Italian	−0.061**	−0.104	−0.019	−0.026	−0.097	0.045	0.122***	0.072	0.172	0.034+	−0.072	0.003
AES math score	−0.05***	−0.063	−0.038	−0.016*	−0.029	−0.003	0.03***	0.023	0.038	0.036***	0.025	0.046
Lower secondary tracking (ref. Extended requirements)												
No differentiation based on skill level	0.037	−0.079	0.154	−0.178*	−0.328	−0.028	−0.1***	−0.134	−0.065	0.24**	0.083	0.397
High requirements	−0.098***	−0.132	−0.064	−0.348***	−0.39	−0.305	−0.053***	−0.08	−0.026	0.499***	0.448	0.55
Basic requirements	0.166***	0.124	0.208	0.068**	0.022	0.114	−0.091***	−0.11	−0.071	−0.143***	−0.167	−0.119
Highest socioeconomic index – HISEI (ref. Middle low quartile)												
Missing	0.049	−0.041	0.14	−0.06	−0.152	0.033	−0.013	−0.066	0.04	0.024	−0.047	0.095
Low quartile	−0.028+	−0.061	0.004	0.045*	0.01	0.08	−0.01	−0.034	0.013	−0.006	−0.04	0.028
Medium high quartile	−0.026	−0.063	0.011	−0.012	−0.052	0.027	0.013	−0.012	0.039	0.025+	−0.002	0.052
High quartile	0.015	−0.029	0.059	−0.068**	−0.111	−0.025	−0.028*	−0.049	−0.007	0.08***	0.049	0.111
Highest parental education level (ref. Upper secondary education)												
Compulsory schooling or less	0.026	−0.009	0.061	−0.023	−0.065	0.02	−0.021	−0.047	0.004	0.019	−0.02	0.058
Tertiary education	−0.001	−0.031	0.029	−0.052**	−0.085	−0.018	0.001	−0.017	0.018	0.053***	0.028	0.077
Missing/Other	0.089*	0.017	0.162	−0.035	−0.119	0.049	−0.044*	−0.088	−0.001	−0.01	−0.077	0.058

Note: AME = Average Marginal Effect; Levels of significance: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, + p < .1; LB = Lower Bound of 95% confidence interval; UB = Upper Bound of 95% confidence interval. Observations = 7889; Wald chi²(66) = 1930.99; Pro > chi² = 0.0000; Pseudo R² = 0.3229; Log pseudolikelihood = −67749.242; Prob > F = 0.0000. Source: own calculation based on TREE2 data.

Table A2   Model 2: Multinomial Logistic Regression on Upper Secondary Educational Status (2017) including Parental Aspiration

	Not in certifying education			VET (2–4 years)			Vocational baccalaureate			General education		
	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB
Sex (ref. Female)												
Male	-0.067***	-0.091	-0.042	0.129***	0.103	0.156	0.013	-0.003	0.028	-0.075***	-0.094	-0.057
Migration background (ref. Swiss native)												
2G Italy/Spain	-0.006	-0.102	0.09	-0.013	-0.119	0.092	0.062+	-0.01	0.134	-0.042	-0.111	0.027
2G Portugal	0.006	-0.052	0.065	-0.108	-0.178	-0.037	0.019	-0.038	0.077	0.082*	0.014	0.149
2G Turkey	0.071**	-0.011	0.153	-0.106*	-0.195	-0.017	0.022	-0.059	0.104	0.013	-0.07	0.096
2G Balkans (Albanian countries)	-0.025	-0.074	0.024	0.021	-0.035	0.078	-0.002	-0.042	0.038	0.006	-0.037	0.049
2G Balkans (others)	-0.026	-0.093	0.041	0.042	-0.04	0.124	0.042	-0.025	0.109	-0.058*	-0.113	-0.002
2G Sri–Lanka	0.062	-0.023	0.147	-0.114*	-0.212	-0.016	0.063	-0.027	0.153	-0.01	-0.083	0.062
2G others	0.049+	-0.008	0.106	-0.09**	-0.153	-0.028	-0.005	-0.037	0.026	0.046**	0.014	0.079
1G all countries	0.109***	0.058	0.159	-0.146***	-0.199	-0.092	0	-0.038	0.038	0.037+	-0.003	0.077
Language region (ref. German)												
French	0.09***	0.059	0.121	-0.12***	-0.153	-0.088	-0.004	-0.022	0.014	0.034**	0.012	0.057
Italian	-0.063**	-0.105	-0.022	-0.026	-0.094	0.041	0.12***	0.071	0.17	-0.031+	-0.066	0.004
AES math score	-0.049***	-0.061	-0.036	-0.011+	-0.023	0.002	0.031***	0.023	0.039	0.028***	0.018	0.039
Lower secondary tracking (ref. Extended requirements)												
No differentiation based on skill level	0.041	-0.072	0.153	-0.156*	-0.29	-0.022	-0.096***	-0.131	-0.061	0.211***	0.085	0.338
High requirements	-0.08**	-0.116	-0.045	-0.282***	-0.329	-0.236	-0.037*	-0.068	-0.007	0.4***	0.351	0.449
Basic requirements	0.183***	0.139	0.226	0.05*	0.004	0.096	-0.087***	-0.106	-0.067	-0.146***	-0.174	-0.119
Highest socioeconomic index – HISEI (ref. Middle low quartile)												
Missing	0.045	-0.043	0.133	-0.027	-0.12	0.066	-0.002	-0.059	0.055	-0.016	-0.08	0.048
Low quartile	-0.028+	-0.06	0.004	0.039*	0.004	0.074	-0.012	-0.034	0.011	0.001	-0.031	0.032
Middle high quartile	-0.024	-0.06	0.013	-0.003	-0.041	0.035	0.016	-0.008	0.041	0.01	-0.016	0.037
High quartile	0.015	-0.029	0.058	-0.047*	-0.089	-0.004	-0.022*	-0.043	-0.001	0.054***	0.027	0.082
Highest parental education level (ref. Upper secondary education)												
Compulsory schooling or less	0.026	-0.009	0.061	-0.012	-0.054	0.031	-0.019	-0.045	0.006	0.005	-0.03	0.04
Tertiary education	-0.004	-0.033	0.025	-0.031+	-0.064	0.001	0.002	-0.015	0.02	0.033**	0.011	0.055
Missing/Other	0.087*	0.015	0.159	-0.027	-0.105	0.052	-0.043+	-0.087	0.001	-0.017	-0.078	0.043

Table A2 continues on the next page.

Continuation of Table A2.

	Not in certifying education			VET (2–4 years)			Vocational baccalaureate			General education		
	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB	AME	LB	UB
Parental aspiration (ref. Want me to go to University)												
Don't know; have no opinion about it	−0.004	−0.045	0.036	0.071***	0.029	0.113	0.017	−0.004	0.037	−0.083***	−0.11	−0.057
Want me to complete a VET programme	−0.026	−0.06	0.007	0.211***	0.171	0.251	0.044***	0.019	0.069	−0.229***	−0.258	−0.2
Missing	−0.003	−0.068	0.062	0.039	−0.044	0.122	−0.029	−0.073	0.015	−0.007	−0.088	0.075

Note: AME = Average Marginal Effect; Levels of significance: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, + p < .1; LB = Lower Bound of 95 % confidence interval; UB = Upper Bound of 95 % confidence interval. Observations = 7889; Wald chi²(75) = 1878.46; Prob > chi² = 0.0000; Pseudo R² = 0.3547; Log pseudolikelihood = −64567.051; Prob > F = 0.0000. Source: own calculation based on TREE2 data

Table A3   Qualitative Interview Sample of Parents of TREE2 Respondents
                  by Countries of Birth of Parents and Language Region

	Swiss language region		
	German-speaking	French speaking	Total
Country of birth of parents			
Switzerland	9	8	17
Southern EU countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal)	7	8	15
Non-EU countries (Balkans, Turkey, Sri Lanka)	13	3	16
Total	29	19	48

Table A4   Typology Table of Parental Strategies

	Type 1 (N = 14)	Type 2 (N = 11)	Type 3 (N = 13)	Type 4 (N = 10)
Active-oriented controlling	12	5	2	0
Active-oriented involvement	9	8	4	1
Active-oriented compensating	7	1	4	0
Reactive be there	0	10	1	10
Reactive let child do/choose	0	1	10	9

Elisa Banfi and
Matteo Gianni (ed.)

Islamic Organisations in Western Switzerland
Actors, Networks, and
Socio-Cultural Activities

This book shows how, over the past forty years, Islamic organisations in Western Switzerland have established themselves and organised at both the cantonal and national levels. Based on empirical observations, the chapters demonstrate that, contrary to what is often believed, Islamic organisations do not focus their activities only on religious activities. Instead, by improving their deliberative practices, they have facilitated cultural, social, and religious activities while promoting social justice, political recognition, and equality of opportunity, often with programs aiming at reaching beyond the Muslim audience. In particular, the book shows how these organisations have attempted to translate their religious worldview into practices that align also with secular values, allowing them to negotiate and build consensus with public institutions to provide welfare services to both Muslim and non-Muslim populations, as well as programs to prevent radicalisation within a secular and democratic framework. Through deliberative practices, including youth organisations and umbrella Islamic organisations, these groups have found ways to overcome their lack of representation and power in the political sphere. This book goes beyond specific cantonal cases to address broader issues related to the social and cultural engagement of Islamic organisations in Switzerland, bridging the gap between Islamic studies and organisational network studies.plaçant au cœur de l'analyse les récits de ces actrices.

Elisa Banfi is a senior researcher of the University of Geneva. She has coordinated several research projects funded by the European Commission and by the Swiss National Science Foundation on the social commitment of religious actors.

Matteo Gianni is Professor at the Department of Political science and international relations and at the Institute for Citizenship studies of the University of Geneva. He also participates to the activities of the NCCR On the move, University of Neuchâtel.

With contributions by Çağla Aykaç, Elisa Banfi, Baptiste Brodard, Miryam Eser Davolio, Matteo Gianni, Jérôme Grand, Akbar Nour, Victor Sanchez-Mazas.