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Educational Mobility of Second-Generation Turks

Cross-National Perspectives

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Educational Mobility of Second-Generation Turks

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1 The Educational Mobility of the European Second Generation

A Three-Country Comparison

1.1 Introduction

Children of post-war immigrants are leaving school and entering the labour market in increasing numbers in most of the countries of north-west Europe. Their achievements and the opportunities available to them in those countries are often regarded as the 'litmus test' not just for integration, but for the success or failure of policies in this field (Penninx 2003: 2). The experiences of these children may provide a clearer indication of the long-term prospects for integration into society than do the experiences of the first generation, their parents. Those who arrived in Europe during the post-war period were mainly recruited as cheap labour and may have had difficulties in adjusting because of the 'negative entry effect' (Reitz & Somerville 2004: 386) that arises from issues such as a lack of language proficiency, lack of academic qualifications, or structural barriers in the labour market. Therefore, the difficulties experienced by the second generation may be a truer reflection of whether or not there are real, long-term structural problems with the integration process. At the same time, the difficulties they face may also give a more accurate picture of the unequal opportunities than did the difficulties experienced by their immigrant parents.

The key arena in which to examine the integration of immigrant youth is educational achievement and attainment (Thomson & Crul 2007; Crul & Vermeulen 2006; Zhou 1999). The educational attainment of second-generation immigrant students in Europe's knowledge-based societies is an important determinant of their subsequent life chances – their occupational and economic attainment as well as their general well-being. School qualifications and university degrees are often regarded as entry tickets to specific positions in the labour market. And although the relationship between school certificates and labour market attainment is by no means straightforward, the likelihood of achieving certain positions is increased significantly by formal qualifications, especially in a European context (Allmendinger 1989a).

Investigating the educational disadvantages faced by the descendants of immigrants in Europe comes with a number of methodological problems.

There are no official estimates of the size of the second-generation population in most European countries (Crul & Vermeulen 2003; EFFNATIS 2003; Heath, Rothon & Kilpi 2008). As well as that, it is very difficult to identify members of the second generation in the available data sources. While some countries provide detailed information on the country of origin of the second generation's parents (Sweden, for example), other countries explicitly prohibit questions about race or ethnicity in official statistics (France, for example). A further problem occurs as a result of differing definitions of second generations in various national studies. Some studies include those born in the destination country, both of whose parents were born abroad. Others include those with one parent born abroad, while a third group even includes the children of immigrants who migrated before the start of compulsory education. But regardless of these methodological caveats, fairly stable patterns have been documented by various national studies. Children of immigrants whose parents originate in less-developed non-European countries are predominantly found to perform below their respective majority groups (see Kristen & Granato 2004; Phalet, Deboosere & Bastiaenssen 2007).

The most disadvantaged group are the children of Turkish immigrants, one of the largest immigrant groups in north-west Europe (Crul & Vermeulen 2003, 2006). There appears to be a relatively high level of disadvantage experienced by second-generation Turks during compulsory schooling, in parallel with a higher tendency to drop out or repeat grades, lower school attainment rates, and generally lower levels of access to higher education (Dustmann, Frattini & Lanzara 2012; Heath et al. 2008). Although these patterns are evident in most European countries, first comparative studies point towards remarkable differences in the size of these disadvantages for second-generation groups across the various countries.

Even though studies and reports on the educational disadvantage between second-generation Turks and the majority of students in their countries continue to be published, the discussion about why the educational success of second-generation Turks is greater in some countries than in others is still lagging substantially behind.

1.2 Ethnic educational inequalities: A theoretical framework

Individual-level determinants and mechanisms

In the sociology of education, three main groups have been identified as influencing the educational success of students: families, peers and

teachers. Beginning with families, parents have attracted the most attention. They are central to the socialisation process and have the strongest impact on their children's education outcomes. In other words, the family of origin of a student is one of the most important factors in explaining that student's attainment and success. Over the last four decades, the sociology of education has tended to focus primarily on social class inequalities in educational attainment and has brought forward two strands of explanation: structure and culture. Both perspectives are frequently examined using capital-investment or resource-investment models in an attempt to explain the educational inequalities among different groups in different countries.

Structural explanations 'tend to focus on the different costs and benefits facing families, in particular the inequalities in material resources' (Heath & Brinbaum 2007: 291). According to the social class perspective, the cost of continuing in higher education is greater for children from working class backgrounds than for children from non-working class backgrounds. This structural perspective focuses on the availability of the material resources associated with social class status, such as financial means, living conditions, access to extra-curricular training, the ability to pay for private tutoring and access to desegregated schools (Nauck 2011a, b). The structural perspective thus focuses on what the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1983, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron 1979) has labelled 'economic capital within families as mediating resource'.

Socio-cultural explanations tend to draw on a variety of indicators, such as schooling aspirations, familiarity with Western culture, and parents' ability to help their children with school homework (Ogbu 1997). These types of resource – often defined as 'social capital' or 'cultural capital' and transmitted from parents to children – underline the issue of social reproduction and the relationship between social classes and groups (Bourdieu & Passeron 1979).

Capital-investment or resource-investment models are frequently applied to explain educational inequalities. If resources and different forms of capital are unequally distributed, educational inequalities will appear. Given that educationally relevant resources and forms of capital are highly correlated with the parents' social class, both perspectives have attracted much attention in the sociology of education, specifically in terms of explaining educational inequalities.

Structural and cultural explanations have also been applied to explain ethnic educational inequalities (Brinbaum & Cebolla Boado 2007; Diefenbach 2004a, b; Marks 2005). Given the disadvantaged position of the first

generation of immigrants in European labour markets, and their position predominantly in the lower social strata, there has been particular emphasis on the structural approach as a means of explaining the educationally disadvantaged position of the second generation (Crul & Holdaway 2009; Heath & Brinbaum 2007; Heath et al. 2008; Phalet et al. 2007; Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen 2007). Because parental social class has a considerable influence on a child's educational attainment (through the transmission of resources), structural arguments primarily attribute differences in educational attainment and achievement between immigrant origin and non-minority children to parental socio-economic status. Therefore, parental education and family income are probably the best indicators for explaining different outcomes (Kao & Thompson 2003: 431). This line of argument also traces the structural position of immigrant groups in different countries, examining when they arrived, the skills first-generation immigrants brought with them, and the fit between those skills and their ability to fulfil certain needs in local economies.

What motivates current debates is the question of how to describe the remaining variation in education outcomes, net of the socio-economic differences in the families of origin. Additional mechanisms beyond socio-economic background are needed to account for the remaining disparities in the educational achievement of the Turkish second-generation. Some scholars blame – or credit – cognitive factors, such as lack of fluency in the majority language or parents' missing information about the education system (Esser 2006; Kristen 2005). Others look at other structural characteristics such as the quality of external family networks. In particular, previous studies on the children of immigrants in the United States have revealed that outside family networks provide additional resources which can sometimes help to overcome disadvantage (Gándara, O´Hara & Gutiérrez 2004; Gibson, Gándara & Koyama 2004; Kao 2001; Stanton-Salazar 2001, 2004). Specifically, close friends and teachers have been recognised as significant agents in promoting the upward mobility of immigrant descendants, often because they can provide access to educational resources that the second-generation lack in their own homes. At the same time, these networks, relations and characteristics are also correlated with parents' socio-economic backgrounds and vary according to origin groups in countries (Kao & Thompson 2003: 432). So potentially, the absence of these networks may serve as an additional determinant in explaining the disadvantaged position of minority-origin children in general, and second-generation Turks in particular.

Institutional-level determinants and mechanisms

Most studies investigating differences in educational attainment and overall achievement of groups of second-generation immigrants are conducted in individual countries. As stated previously, having considered structural explanations such as social class origin, the debate about different outcomes often starts to focus on questions of 'culture' and group attributes (such as work ethics, attitudes, habits and beliefs) that are more or less related to the socio-economic structure of the country of origin (Van Niekerk 2000: 4). In these single-country studies, immigrants and their children are confronted with broadly similar socio-economic conditions, while the opportunity structure of the host country is equitable. In these national studies, variations in important institutional elements, such as the local education system, are 'held constant' and are only studied in terms of their differing effects on children from a range of ethnic or social origins. Those studies automatically place the focus on the groups and consider structure and culture as the most logical explanation as to why different origin groups don't experience the same outcomes.

But do these explanations help us to understand variations in educational achievement by the children of immigrants across a range of countries? And more precisely, how can the disparity in the educational success of second-generation Turks across Europe be explained? Over the past two decades, some scholars have argued that differences in national and local contexts may contribute to the explanation of diverse outcomes by the children of immigrants, given the very different institutional and political arrangements across Europe. European countries are geographically close to each other but are often structured very differently and thus may provide different 'contexts of reception'.

Some international comparative studies of immigrants and their descendants look at the role of national integration policies as well as the role of citizenship regulations and their underlying nationhood concepts, and suggest how these affect integration (see Brubaker 1992; Joppke 1999). Much of that scholarly literature categorises national models of integration according to the threefold typology of citizenship regimes proposed by Castles and Miller (1993): differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism (see also Greenfield 1998; Kleger & D'Amato 1995; Weldon 2006). National integration policies based on national norms, citizenship regulations and values shape the interaction between the host society and immigrants and also affect the socio-economic position of immigrants and their children. However, this assumption has been criticised on several grounds: first,

nation states consist of complex societal and political structures, including considerable internal heterogeneity. Integration policies vary greatly from region to region – especially in federal states – and often cannot be fused into clear national models. From this point of view, the influence of governmental integration policies, which in some cases tends to be rhetorical anyway, should not be overrated (Muus 2003; Vermeulen & Penninx 2001). Second, ideal types over-emphasise both internal homogeneity and consistency over time. In reality, patterns, at least in some fields of politics, are highly unstable and change frequently. Finally, differences in countries' social and political contexts may be important when explaining social and cultural belonging or varying patterns of identity on the part of the children of immigrants, but they are less useful for explaining the socio-economic attainment of those children, or their educational achievement (see Alba 2005: 40-41).

Instead of concentrating on the impact that integration regime models have on the position of the second-generation across various countries, a number of scholars have emphasised the structures and workings of specific national institutions that affect the integration of immigrants and their children. Thomas Faist's study (1995) was among the first to highlight how important national institutional arrangements in the education system and local labour market structure were in explaining variations in outcomes between the children of Turkish immigrants in Germany and young people of Mexican origin in the United States. A second prominent example is the book, *Warmth of the Welcome*, by Jeffrey Reitz (1998; see also Reitz 2002) in which he points to the effects that different national institutional settings have on the socio-economic integration of immigrants and their children in Australia, Canada and the United States. Crul, along with various colleagues (Crul & Schneider 2010; Thomson & Crul 2007; Crul & Vermeulen 2003, 2006), have recently argued that this institutional approach might be of substantial value in explaining variations in the position of the second generation in different European countries. Instead of explaining why some origin groups underperform in comparison with the majority group in their respective countries, they concentrate instead on how the institutional arrangements in various countries shape and create opportunities for the children of immigrants. In other words, the emphasis is less on the 'structure and culture of immigrant communities', and more on how institutional arrangements across different European countries influence the social mobility of the children of immigrants.

Applying this 'institutional approach' to the field of education, and using it as a framework within which to understand variations in the perfor-

mance of children of Turkish origin across different European countries, the institutional arrangements of those countries' education systems become central (Crul & Vermeulen 2003, 2006). These differ greatly from one country to another. They vary in a number of respects: the nature of the education received by young adolescents, the paths they choose during their school careers and the circumstances that affect their subsequent chances of success in the labour market.

There has been a good deal of interest in classifying education systems in a comparative way according to measurements relevant to a student's achievement. The number of measurements varies according to the range of theoretical applications and their purposes (for detailed reviews, see Allmendinger 1989a, b; Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Hannan, Smyth & McCoy 1999a; b; Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010). Among all of those, two measurements have been emphasised as being of major importance: one, (external) *differentiation* in school types and tracks in secondary and tertiary education, and two, nationwide *standardisation* of the education system. Both differentiation and standardisation are related to selection and allocation processes in and between schools (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010: 408). *Standardisation* refers to the degree to which national governments define a standardised curriculum and nationwide rules (including what is taught in schools and what level should be achieved at each grade). Furthermore, it describes the standardisation of examinations as well as the regulation of financial and human resources for schools. *Differentiation* relates to institutional settings and arrangements in secondary and tertiary education (Shavit, Yaish & Bar-Haim 2007). A highly differentiated system has clearly stratified kinds of schools whose curricula are defined as high, middle and low. These differences vary according to the programmes and tracks offered to students and their various degrees of access to higher education. Recent research has identified three major institutional arrangements within the differentiation dimension in which European education systems differ (Breen & Buchmann 2002; Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Hannan et al. 1999b; Kerckhoff 2001; Shavit & Müller 1998):

a. *Quantity of education*: measured by a number of criteria, including entry age (for both pre-school and compulsory education), entitlement to pre-school places, the number of years of compulsory schooling, the maximum number of years of schooling, the number of years of education students typically obtain and the total number of hours students are educated in school (half-time or full-time training systems).
b. *Track differentiation* (or the tracking nature of the education system) refers to the extent to which students are streamed into separate cur-

ricular tracks and even into separate types of school. In the early stages of compulsory education, national education systems essentially act as sorting machines for the labour market (Kerckhoff 2001). They track children into different ability streams, classes or even schools that have different degrees of emphasis on either academic or practical knowledge. Two basic ideas guide the tracking process: first, preparing students for the appropriate section of the labour market; and second, ensuring the homogeneity of children's skills in each class. Most European education systems are comprehensive in lower-secondary school, while in upper-secondary school, the degree of differentiation into tracks increases (Shavit & Müller 1998). Exceptions are dual-system countries, in which lower-secondary levels are already differentiated.

c. In addition to track differentiation, the *degree of permeability* defines the potential for moving between tracks. If tracks and courses are based in different institutions (e.g. work-based versus school-based), stronger boundaries prevent movement between levels (Arum, Gamoran & Shavit 2007; Kerckhoff 2001). Track differentiation in some countries is dependent on final examinations (pupil achievement tests), which usually take place at the end of each track and determine the degree of permeability.

In the sociology of education and in ethnic studies (particularly in recent studies), the differentiation dimension has attracted considerable attention, specifically the discussion about whether, and to what extent, the institutional elements of education systems have an impact on the comparative equality of educational opportunities. In particular, track differentiation (early versus delayed tracking) has been brought forward as a major explanation for cross-national differences. Scholars in the sociology of education have hypothesised that early selection is associated with greater social class inequalities (Breen & Buchmann 2002; Breen & Jonsson 2005); and Crul and associates have found that early selection leads to greater disadvantages for the second generation, among them children of Turkish origin (Crul & Vermeulen 2003, 2006). Similarly, differences in the quantity of education, in particular the age of entering pre-school, have been highlighted as important institutional variations. Taken together, these studies tend to indicate that institutional arrangements in education are closely correlated with the level of education the second generation – including the children of Turkish immigrants – is able to reach (Crul & Schneider 2010).

1.3 Research questions and design

Puzzles and lacunae

Despite growing interest in whether some north-west European countries are better than others at providing institutional arrangements that are favourable to the educational success of children of immigrants, and second-generation Turks in particular, there seems to be no empirical or theoretical consensus on this question.

Some scholars at the intersection of sociology of education and ethnic studies have argued that the institutional arrangements of education systems explain, to a large extent, the outcomes for children of immigrants, and their findings tend to support this statement (Alba, Sloan & Sperling 2011; Crul & Holdaway 2009; Crul & Schneider 2009a, 2010; Herzog-Punzenberger 2006). Crul and colleagues, in particular, provided some comparative results that indicate that generic variations in institutional arrangements – such as early selection and both school and pre-school entry age – lead to greater disadvantages in education for second-generation Turks (Crul & Schneider 2009a; Crul & Vermeulen 2003). However, as noted by Heath and colleagues, how large the differences actually are in the educational success of the Turkish second generation in different European countries is, as yet, not at all clear (Heath et al. 2008: 228).

Not all studies are inclined to support the suggestion that 'differences in institutional arrangements matter', because this pattern is not evident in all comparative studies (De Heus & Dronkers 2010; Hanushek 2006; Levels & Dronkers 2008; Levels, Dronkers & Kraaykamp 2008; Rothon, Heath & Lessard-Phillips 2009). Using data from the large-scale assessment study, PISA (Programme for International Students' Achievement), and investigating differences in performance at school, Levels and Dronkers (2008) show that 'western Asians' – including many Turks – experience similar educational disadvantages right across Western Europe. Thus, they are inclined to deny the institutional arrangement argument (Levels & Dronkers 2008: 1422), showing instead that all European countries provide similarly unfavourable environments for the education of 'western Asians', irrespective of the structure of their education systems. However, it is possible that this broad definition of the region of origin may cause imprecise calculations.

Overall, systematic research that examines whether some north-west European countries provide more favourable institutional settings for educational success than others is 'at a rather early stage' (Heath et al. 2008:

217). Furthermore, the size of the actual differences between countries is not yet clear. More standardised analysis is needed in order to understand variations in the educational success of second-generation Turks across various countries. Available research focuses primarily on the achievement differences between second-generation Turks and the majority group in those countries. The remaining studies that concentrate on cross-national variations often pay less attention to the role played by (or variations in the institutional arrangements of) education systems. And if they do look at those systems, they often reach conflicting results and leave both empirical lacunae and unsolved puzzles.

Aims and central research questions

The aim of this book is to investigate differences in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks in three north-western European countries: Austria, France and Sweden. It also aims to analyse those differences by examining potential explanatory factors at the individual and institutional level, as well as the interactions between those factors. 'Interactions' are defined as the interplay between the institutional arrangements of education systems and various individual and group-related resources that are relevant for navigating successfully through those systems. On the basis of the comments and assumptions described in the previous section, the central research questions can be formulated as follows: How great are the actual differences between countries in terms of the educational mobility of second-generation Turks, and to what extent can those disparities be explained by variations in the institutional arrangements of those countries' education systems, or by the specific characteristics of pupils, their families and their non-family networks? What are the interactions between factors at the individual level and in terms of institutional arrangements, and how far do these interactions serve as an explanation for cross-national differences in educational mobility for second-generation Turks?

Research design

This study was developed and conducted within the framework of an international project called The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES). TIES is a collaborative and comparative research project that looks at the circumstances of children of immigrants from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and Morocco in fifteen cities in eight Western European countries. The participating countries are Austria, Belgium,

France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. The term 'second generation' refers to children of immigrants who were born in the country of immigration. The aim of the project is to provide empirically grounded research into integration processes in several different domains (for example, education, labour market position, the family structure and ethnic and religious identity). To achieve this goal, the TIES project carried out the first systematic survey of second-generation Turks, former Yugoslavs and Moroccans, based on a common questionnaire used across the eight participating countries. The TIES survey forms the empirical foundation of this study (see below under *Data* for more details about the survey).

Out of the eight participating countries, three countries – Austria, France and Sweden – have been selected as 'cases' for comparison. The selection procedure is justified as follows: in order to investigate whether the institutional arrangements of education systems matter in terms of explaining cross-national variations in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks, I applied a 'diverse case study design' (Gerring 2007, 2008; Seawright & Gerring 2008). A basic condition of such a framework for comparison is that a minimum of two countries are selected which are likely to represent diverse cases characterised by important variations in relevant aspects.

With respect to the structure of the education system, which is a major aspect of this study, Austria and Sweden have been selected from the pool of available countries in this first phase as suitable 'cases' for my comparison. Sweden has a comprehensive education system with late selection and full-day teaching. In contrast, Austria can be described as a country with a non-comprehensive system, early selection and half-day teaching. Thus, the two countries represent diverse and polar cases in this cross-national comparison, defined by large variations in the broad outlines of their education systems. The diverse case study design I have applied is particularly useful when examining the argument that institutional arrangements of education systems may 'make a difference.' Previous studies were rather limited in evaluating this hypothesis because they compared countries that exhibit less institutional variation in their education systems (see, for example, Rothon et al. 2009). Finally, France has been selected as a third case for this comparison. Although its education system is comprehensive and resembles the structure of the Swedish system, a number of national studies have revealed that France has high-stakes testing at the end of compulsory education, as well as selectivity across subjects in upper-secondary education, leading to what I call a 'selective comprehensive system', making France an interesting contrasting case.

Table 1.1 summarises the main characteristics of the education systems of the three countries, based on the theoretical classification outlined earlier. It shows the main institutional characteristics along the three sub-dimensions of differentiation for Sweden, Austria and France.

To begin with the quantity of education, all French and Swedish children are considered to be entitled to a pre-school place, which is not the case in Austria. In those two countries, childcare has long been an integral part of the welfare state and of most families' everyday lives. French children enter pre-school at the age of three, on average, while the entrance age is four in Austria and Sweden. All three countries provide a compulsory schooling phase aimed at securing the basic skills young students need in order to survive in society. Students in France and Austria start at the age of six, while Swedes enter primary school around age seven. Compulsory education lasts for nine to ten years in all three countries.

Table 1.1 The main structural characteristics of education systems in Sweden, France and Austria

Differentiation	**Sweden**	**France**	**Austria**
Quantity of education			
Age at entrance (pre-school)	four	three	four
Age at entrance (compulsory)	seven	six	six
Years of compulsory schooling	nine	ten	nine
Time of (first) selection	delayed	delayed	early
Track differentiation			
Lower-secondary level	low	low	high
Upper-secondary level	moderate	moderate	high
Tertiary level	diversified	diversified	binary
Permeability (mobility between tracks)	high	low	high

Source: Author's own compilation, based on Eurydice (2002, 2006a, b,c)

Differences in the institutional structures of the education systems are most evident when we look at tracking and the time of first selection. As shown in table 1.1, tracking and first selection have already appeared in lower-secondary education in Austria. Students are streamed into more and less academically orientated tracks at the age of ten (*AHS-Unterstufe* and *Hauptschule*, respectively). By contrast, students in France and Sweden fol-

low the same integrated track until the age of fifteen. Their first streaming into academic and vocational tracks appears in upper-secondary education at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The Austrian upper-secondary education level consists of one academically orientated and four separate vocational and training paths (VET), with varying content and credentials. Among them is the apprenticeship path, which trains young adolescents for various professions (four days in a business and one day in school). In France and Sweden, tracks become most diversified in post-secondary and tertiary education by offering a variety of university-level and specialised post-secondary tracks. In recent decades, both systems have moved to highly stratified systems of tertiary mass education in which specialisation for the labour market takes place. This contrasts with the Austrian education system in which students follow quite distinct school types in lower-secondary and upper-secondary education. Only the academically orientated schools (*AHS-Oberstufe* and *BHS*) provide access to tertiary education in Austria. The high degree of early stratification leads to a generally lower attendance rate in the tertiary education sector when compared with other European education systems, such as those of Sweden and France.

Overall, the research design applied in this study allows the outcomes for second-generation Turks in tracked education systems to be contrasted with those in comprehensive education systems (Austria versus Sweden and France). It also allows the findings from countries with similar institutional education arrangements (Sweden and France) to be compared. At the same time, all three countries share the fact that the majority of the Turkish community migrated for work or family reasons and that they represent a substantial proportion of each country's (former) labour migrants. Although this study is accompanied by the classic small-number (small-N) problem at the country level (Coppedge 1999; Lieberson 1991), it allows a systematically conducted, standardised, in-depth analysis of the role played by national institutional arrangements, as well as their interactions with individual-level factors. This will allow light to be shed on the uncertainty of various explanations that seek to clarify cross-national variations in the success of second-generation Turks at school.

Data

Data that can be used to investigate research questions about the educational position of the Turkish second generation in a cross-national comparison has been scarce in Europe up to now. Most of the studies conducted in the field use either national representative surveys or comparative data sets, such as

micro-census data, population register data or the European Social Survey. These data sources have different definitions of 'second generation', small sample sizes for children of immigrants in general, and further, provide limited information about education outcomes, relevant details on the family of origin or the experiences of second-generation Turks in school (Kalter 2008). Over the past decade, a second wave of publications appeared in the field of education and ethnic studies using international large-scale assessment surveys, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment Study (PISA), Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) or Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) (see De Heus & Dronkers 2010; Levels et al. 2008; Marks 2005; Schneeweis & Winter-Ebmer 2007). These surveys assess educational achievements in reading, mathematics and the sciences for students of different ages. Although these data sets contain an enormous amount of information on the respondents, their families and schools, they often lack information on the country of origin of the students' parents – information which is needed in order to classify origin groups.[1] Thus, the drawback of these studies is that they classify second-generation students of various origin groups in one 'category' across countries, which leads to imprecise analysis of the actual position of specific groups, such as second-generation Turks, across countries.

This study overcomes the previously described data limitations by making use of the international TIES survey, a collection of data about the children of immigrants from Turkey (as well as from former Yugoslavia and Morocco) in fifteen European cities in eight countries, which was carried out between 2007 and 2008 (Crul & Heering 2008; Crul & Schneider 2010; Crul, Zhou, Lee, Schnell & Keskiner 2012). The participating countries and cities were Austria (Vienna and Linz), Belgium (Brussels and Antwerp), France (Paris and Strasbourg), Germany (Frankfurt and Berlin), Spain (Madrid and Barcelona), Sweden (Stockholm), Switzerland (Zürich and Basel) and the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam). The full data set brings together almost 10,000 respondents. The term 'second generation' refers to children of immigrants who have at least one parent born outside the survey country (in this case, born in Turkey), but who were themselves born in the survey country and have had their entire education there. At the time of the interviews, the respondents were between 18 and 35 years old.[2]

1 It should be noted here, however, that some of the participating countries collect information on the country of origin of the students' parents, which makes analysis across origin groups possible.

2 For details on the survey implementation and related information, see Appendix A.

Table 1.2 Total numbers per group and per city in Austria, France and Sweden

		Second-generation Turks	Comparison group
Austria	Vienna	252	250
	Linz	206	234
France	Paris	248	174
	Strasbourg	252	177
Sweden	Stockholm	251	250
Total		1209	1085

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Because immigration is primarily an urban phenomenon, the survey was carried out in cities rather than in rural areas or small towns in the three countries this study concentrates on. The cities in question are Paris and Strasbourg in France, Vienna and Linz in Austria, and Stockholm in Sweden. In all three countries, only the Turkish sample of second-generation adolescents was used for comparison.

In each of the five cities surveyed, there was a comparison group[3] whose parents were both born in the survey country. In these three countries and five cities, the survey was carried out by research teams from the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Austria), the National Institute for Demographic Studies (France) and the Centre for Research into International Migration and Ethnic Relations (Sweden). Although all three national research teams aimed to achieve a common target of N = 250 per group and city for the TIES survey, not all the teams could achieve the targeted size for each group (see Appendix A for further details). Table 1.2 provides a detailed overview of the final sample sizes per city and per group. Taken together, the empirical analyses presented throughout this study are based on a total sample of 2,294 respondents.

3 Within this study, I use the term 'comparison group' instead of the frequently applied label 'natives' for two reasons: First, second-generation Turks are, by definition, native born and a great majority holds the nationality of the country of their birth (Crul & Heering 2008: 20). Secondly, although the comparison group is defined as having both parents born within the survey country, some of them might be of mixed ethnic background themselves. This group could theoretically include third-generation immigrants, which is why the term 'comparison group' does more justice.

Table 1.3 Age and gender distribution according to group and city

				Group			
				2nd generation Turks		Comparison group	
				Men	Women	Men	Women
Austria	Vienna	*Gender distribution*	in %	43.3	56.6	53.2	46.8
		Age (mean)	in years	23.4	23.4	26.9	24.6
			std dev.	4.7	4.2	5.0	5.1
		N.		143	109	133	117
	Linz	*Gender distribution*	in %	49.5	50.5	40.2	59.8
		Age (mean)	in years	24.6	24.5	25.2	25.3
			std dev.	5.0	5.2	5.1	5.1
		N.		102	104	94	140
France	Paris	*Gender distribution*	in %	48.8	51.2	47.1	52.9
		Age (mean)	in years	22.3	23.0	27.4	26.4
			std dev.	4.2	4.5	5.5	4.9
		N.		121	127	82	92
	Strasbourg	*Gender distribution*	in %	38.5	61.5	45.7	54.2
		Age (mean)	in years	24.3	24.6	25.5	26.8
			std dev.	4.6	4.9	5.3	5.3
		N.		97	155	81	96
Sweden	Stockholm	*Gender distribution*	in %	49.4	50.6	49.2	50.8
		Age (mean)	in years	25.7	25.7	27.9	28.1
			std dev.	4.7	4.4	5.2	5.1
		N.		124	127	123	127

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Notes: 2nd generation Turks=Second-generation Turks. std dev.=Standard deviation. N.=number.

Table 1.3 shows the gender and age distribution of second-generation Turks and the comparison group across the three countries and five cities based on the TIES survey. In Strasbourg and Vienna, slightly more male respondents of Turkish origin took part in the survey. In Linz, there were more male participants in the comparison group. Samples from the other cities showed an almost equal gender distribution. A second point that can be gleaned

from table 1.3 is that second-generation Turks are, on average, one or two years younger than the comparison group in each survey city. Moreover, the standard deviations in age distribution are on average smaller for second-generation Turks, indicating less variety in the age range. The age differences are particularly high in the French capital, Paris, where children of Turkish immigrants are the youngest in the whole sample (mean age between 22 and 23). That generally younger age of the second-generation Turks may have led to a situation where higher numbers of students were still enrolled in school at the time of the interviews.

The TIES data set is very useful for the purposes of this study because it is the first comparative survey across Europe that was designed to study a wide range of characteristics as well as the situation of Turkish second-generation youngsters from a comparative perspective by applying the same survey questionnaires across all participating countries. To be more precise, it contains standardised education outcomes, such as the highest obtained education level and the rate of early school leaving, which, among other factors, will serve as dependent variables in this study.

A second advantage of this data set is the richness of family-related information. The survey contains a wide range of questions related to the migration histories of Turkish fathers and mothers (for instance, the reasons why they migrated, the date when they migrated and the regions they came from), their situations in the receiving countries (their levels of education, employment situation, labour market participation and so on), along with information on the structural characteristics of their families, such as family size and type of household. Thirdly, several survey items have been included to capture family involvement during the education careers of the respondents. This information will allow the investigation of family involvement strategies and the different levels of social capital in Turkish families. The TIES survey even goes a step further than the information that's usually available on family support and involvement in other surveys by providing information on older and younger siblings and their perceived roles in supporting the respondents in school. Outside the family context, external agents such as peers and teachers are evaluated by the interviewees in terms of their role during the students' education. Taken together, the information listed above allows the investigation of a wide range of individual-level factors in the educational attainment process across the three countries.

The TIES survey is also particularly useful for a fourth reason: although it has a cross-sectional design, retrieving information at the specific time of the interview, an event-orientated observation design was used to prevent 'single point' or 'snapshot' data collection. Information was gained retrospectively

via self-reported autobiographical statements, and aspects of individuals' life courses were included in the survey. Evidence from life-course literature has shown that the past is an indispensable factor in understanding the present. Such a survey design provides an adequate opportunity for the study of influences at different levels and over time (Mayer & Brandon Tuma 1987; Mayer & Brückner 1989). This design allows the portrayal of education pathways from the first stage to the last stage in the system, and the examination of important transition points between education stages or processes of selection and differentiation. Thus, in this study, the limitations of previous studies can be overcome by both investigating education outcomes and by introducing processes and trajectories at different stages of the education career. Using the TIES data and implementing the 'pathways perspective', distinctions between success and failure will become more nuanced – which is crucial when evaluating the position of second-generation Turks from a comparative perspective (Crul & Schneider 2010; Schneider & Crul 2012). Thus, the TIES data allows the carrying out of a cross-national comparison by examining both the individual-level and the institutional-level factors that contribute to explaining the variations in outcome for second-generation Turks.

Levels of comparison

Two levels of comparison are included in this study, both of which contribute to the overall explanation of cross-national variations in education outcomes (table 1. 4). The outcomes of the Turkish second generation will be compared with the comparison group in the various cities and countries. The estimated differences between the two will then be compared across countries. This type of comparison can be referred to as the *relative comparison*. Comparing 'in-country achievement gaps' across countries and cities allows an examination of the degree of equal opportunity provided by different education systems.

Table 1.4 Levels of comparison conducted in this study

	Unit of comparison	In-city/ in-country comparison	Cross- city/ cross-country comparison
a)	Outcomes of second-generation Turks compared to the comparison group in each city/country	X	X
b)	Outcomes of second-generation Turks across cities/countries		X

Source: Author's own compilation

The second level of comparison, *absolute comparison*, is in line with the methodological approach suggested by Crul and Schneider (2010) in their 'integration context theory': comparing the education outcomes and pathways of second-generation Turks across countries and cities. Comparing the opportunities of the 'same origin group' across countries will shed light on how variations in national institutions, such as education systems, account for differences in outcome.

While the two levels of comparison just described are designed to investigate patterns of cross-national variation in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks, the data allows the inclusion of a third level of comparison. TIES conducted the survey in two cities per country, at least in France and Austria. The majority of the Turkish community in each of the three countries resides in the cities where the survey was carried out, and so they do indeed reflect the life chances and positions of the great majority of second-generation Turks in these countries. The study design is of great advantage for cross-national comparisons for the following reasons: where outcomes, patterns and mechanisms are shown to remain equal in both of the survey cities, evidence of country-specific trends has been found. On the other hand, where findings diverge between cities, it indicates that national education systems may work differently in local settings – an important dimension that is frequently ignored by cross-national studies.

1.4 Structure of the book

The final section of this introductory chapter describes the outline of the book. Chapter 2 sets the groundwork by describing the migration histories of Turkish families in the three destination countries under consideration. It also asks to what extent first-generation Turks faced similar conditions when they settled in the respective cities when starting out on their new lives. The aim of this chapter is to provide detailed portraits of the 'families of origin' of second-generation Turks across the countries and cities. The underlying question for this chapter is as follows: Do second-generation Turks have similar starting positions across different countries when first entering school?

Chapter 3 then moves on to the Turkish second generation themselves, providing a first glimpse of education outcomes at the aggregated level. It asks to what extent the outcomes of the Turkish second generation differ in and across countries, and to what extent these variations can be accounted for by the levels of education and the socio-economic position

of their parents. Three different perspectives of comparison are applied to scrutinise the first trends of educational mobility experienced by the Turkish second generation. The highest level attained by second-generation Turks will be compared with their comparison group in each country and city. At the same time, the strength of the association between education outcomes and the parents' levels of education will also be examined. The second comparison conducted in this chapter compares the education outcomes of second-generation Turks across countries and cities, and asks whether different outcomes can be explained by compositional variations in the Turkish first generation. Finally, by comparing outcomes across the generations, the last section of this chapter examines whether second-generation Turks have made inter-generational progress.

Chapter 4 examines the extent to which the educational attainment of second-generation Turks is associated with family involvement. It investigates systematically parental involvement strategies and patterns of support by parents and older siblings in Turkish families. After documenting carefully whether, and to what extent, family support in the school-related activities of children is associated with the composition of families across countries, significant influences on education outcomes are explored through multivariate analysis. This chapter concludes by comparing involvement and support patterns between Turkish and non-Turkish families in the three countries.

Chapter 5 sets out to explore networks outside the family, and relationships with peers and teachers. More precisely, it investigates whether peer group characteristics and teacher support differ from country to country, and whether second-generation Turks are more reliant on these 'outside-family' networks than are the comparison groups within and across countries. And it asks if agents outside the family, such as peers and teachers, play a significant role in the educational attainment of second-generation Turks in Austria, France and Sweden.

Taken together, chapters 3, 4 and 5 investigate individual-level factors and their associations with education outcomes, such as the highest educational attainment level or the proportion of early school leavers. These individual-level factors have been examined within given education systems, and without considering the formal characteristics of those education systems. Chapter 6 changes perspective by moving away from individual-level explanations and by addressing the extent to which the institutional arrangements of education systems shape education pathways, and may contribute to the explanation of unequal outcomes between second-generation Turks and the comparison group. I describe how groups make choices in favour

of certain education options, and how these decisions are pre-determined by given opportunities, which, in turn, are defined by structural configurations and institutional arrangements. In this chapter, not only do the explanatory variables change from individual to institutional ones, but the dependent variables also change from education outcomes to education pathways. In less abstract terms, this chapter describes in a comparative way the trajectories students take through education systems to their final diplomas, and how the structural settings of these education systems influence the academic attainment of second-generation Turks.

The two different perspectives (individual-level and institutional-level) are brought together in chapter 7. In this part of the study, interactions between individual-level and institutional-level factors are considered throughout the entire education career of second-generation Turks. I examine how the options that allow individuals and groups to achieve certain levels of education are affected by the institutional arrangements of education systems, and how these options interact with individual resources in the three settings. This chapter is organised in two main sections. The first part looks at the explanation of group differences within systems by looking into the three countries separately and exploring the differentiation process between the two compared groups in those countries. The second part of the chapter explores interactions between institutional and individual-level characteristics for second-generation Turks in Austria, France and Sweden, by exploring the role of internal and external family ties and the related resources that are needed for second-generation Turks to navigate successfully through those systems.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter. It revisits the central questions of this study and brings together the ideas outlined in the theoretical sections, as well as the empirical results. This final chapter also 'weights' the factors that have been found to be of importance for explaining variations in the educational success of the Turkish second generation across countries. The study concludes with final remarks on the divergent patterns of educational mobility displayed by children of Turkish immigrants in Austria, France and Sweden.

2 The Worlds of Turkish Fathers and Mothers

2.1 Introduction

The story of the Turkish second generation begins with their parents' journeys to Europe. Their mothers and fathers left Turkey for various reasons, from different provinces, through different channels, and over a wide time span. They arrived in various European countries where they faced a wide variety of circumstances as they settled in neighbourhoods, entered the labour market, started families, and started to put a shape to their lives. This chapter asks to what extent the opportunities available to first-generation Turks varied according to their 'sending state' and their receiving cities and countries, and to what extent this led to diverse starting positions for the second generation. It provides a comparative overview of the main immigration periods from Turkey into the three receiving countries: Austria, France and Sweden. The first part of this chapter assesses the causes of migration pressure in the sending state, Turkey, and briefly describes the main periods of migration to Austria, France and Sweden. The second part turns to the situation of Turkish fathers and mothers in the five cities in the three countries being compared. Under a number of selected headings, commonalities and differences are explored in the conditions the parents' generation faced upon arrival. This chapter lays the foundations for what follows by providing detailed insights into the families of origin of the Turkish second generation.

2.2 Periods of Turkish immigration to Austria, France and Sweden

The economic boom in Austria, France and Sweden: 1950-1964

From the late 1940s, all three countries experienced economic growth and development as their national economies recovered from the Second World War. As with elsewhere in Western Europe, Austria, France and Sweden soon faced labour shortages in specific industrial sectors, with demand for workers outstripping supply. In Austria and France, shortages of manpower were most acute in sectors such as construction, textiles and cleaning, while

Sweden was experiencing an export boom. As a result, unemployment rates fell in the mid-1950s, and the recruitment of unskilled labour became central to the economies of the three countries.

Similar to other European states, such as Germany and the Netherlands, all three countries started to attract foreign workers to support their national economies. The Swedish government co-operated with trade unions and employers to recruit foreign workers, primarily from Finland, as early as the 1950s. Soon afterwards, the first bilateral agreements were reached with non-Nordic countries, namely Italy and Greece (Kjeldstadli 2007). At the same time, France explicitly recognised immigration in order to secure and re-establish economic recovery (Ogden 1991, 1995). The French authorities started to organise the inflow of foreign workers mainly from Spain and Italy. However, immigration from these countries proceeded more slowly than expected, and France gave citizens of their ex-colonies, Tunisia and Algeria, unrestricted entry after their independence (Seifert 1997).[1] The first phase of foreign labour recruitment in Austria started later than in France and Sweden: in 1961, the Austrian authorities, trade unions and other social partners signed the first agreement to recruit a maximum of 47,000 foreign workers (Kraler & Sohler 2005; Volf & Bauböck 2001; Wimmer 1986b). That number was not reached, however, until bilateral agreements with the sending states were signed at the end of the 1960s (Bauböck & Perchinig 2006; Matuschek 1985; Parnreiter 1994).

During this period, labourers from Turkey were relatively few in number compared to the inflow from southern Europe. The small-sized inflow of Turkish migrants who entered Austria, France and Sweden between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s was organised directly by employers and industrialists whose contacts recruited workers on behalf of their companies, primarily in the west of Turkey (Abadan-Unat 1976, 1995; Karakasoglu 2007). For example, a construction company in Austria initiated the recruitment of Turkish workers via its own networks from the province of Adapazari in western Turkey. Out of a small town of just 3,000 inhabitants, around 1,000 workers were recruited for a factory near Vienna in 1964 (Muradoglu & Ongan 2004). Similar stories are reported from France and Sweden. Companies in the Paris region recruited workers from the Turkish textile industry through networks in the western parts of Turkey (Kastoryano 1990), while Swedish employers from the Stockholm area organised migrant labour via tourist passports, from Kulu, a small city in the Konya region in the early 1960s (Bayram, Nyquist, Thorburn & Bilgel 2009; Lundström 1991).

1 Entry for citizens of former French colonies was restricted again in 1969.

Recruitment agreements with Turkey: 1964-1974

Turkish immigration to Austria, France and Sweden gained importance in quantitative terms after 1964 when all three countries reached nearly full employment, which triggered large-scale recruitment of foreign workers from Turkey. The main period of Turkish immigration to the three countries started with the signing of the bilateral recruitment agreement. Austria and Turkey signed this agreement in 1964, three years after Germany signed the first such agreement in Europe. France signed one year later, in 1965 (Bloch 2007; Fassmann & Münz 1996). The Swedish national labour organisation founded recruitment agencies in Italy, Greece and Serbia in the mid-1960s before signing a bilateral agreement with Turkey in 1967 (Westin 2006). All three agreements were based on what was called the 'rotation principle', which defined the nature of labour migration as temporary. After a defined number of years, Turkish workers were supposed to return to their country of origin and be replaced by new manpower.[2] During this period, the Turkish state explicitly favoured a rotation system so that unskilled and/or rural Turkish migrants would return from Europe with newly acquired skills, self-confidence and some savings, and would contribute to the economic and social development of the country thereafter.

But why was Turkey becoming a major sending country? The causes of migration pressure in Turkey were numerous. At a time when western European countries were facing rapid economic growth, Turkey was confronted with a growing population and the Turkish authorities encouraged the emigration of workers to Europe in order to ease pressure on the national labour market (Hecker 2006). However, as shown extensively by Akgündüz (2008: 55ff), the disparities between population and economic growth, unemployment and poverty, were not great enough to explain the 'push factors' for migratory movements from Turkey. He lists two additional important factors that interacted with the above-mentioned demographic and socio-economic factors: 'First, the Republic of Turkey's own Westernisation policy, perception of and new type linkages with the West and the subsequent impact of these on urban-modernised youngsters, in particular. Second, the role of previous migrations; that is, the impact of German (-speaking) refugee academics to Turkey and the migration of high-level professionals and students from Turkey to the West' (Akgündüz 2008: 82-83).

2 The terminology used in these agreements – guest workers or foreign workers – also signalled the basic premise that they would only stay temporarily (Fassmann 2009: 28).

While Austria and France attracted only a few hundred Turkish workers in the first years after signing the bilateral agreements, the numbers of Turkish arrivals topped 10,000 per year at the peak of the recruitment phase at the beginning of the 1970s.[3] In Sweden, the inflow of Turkish workers was very modest compared to the number of other foreign labourers from Greece, Italy and Serbia. In fact, the recruitment agreement between Sweden and Turkey did not change the migration process (E.M. Sund 2004). While Austria and France received most Turkish workers through the regulated outward system organised by the Turkish employment service (IIBK), labour migration to Sweden continued as a self-organised process, as in the pre-agreement years (Lundberg & Svanberg 1991; Lundström 1991).

By the beginning of the 1970s, Turkish workers formed one of the largest groups of foreigners in Austria (Wimmer 1986a). They made up around 8 per cent of the total foreign population. By contrast, the majority of guest workers in France still came from North Africa and the south of Europe (Wihtol de Wenden 1994), while immigrants in Sweden originated primarily from Finland, Italy, Greece and Serbia (Westin 2006). The Turkish inflow to Europe during this period was predominantly male. Female migration from Turkey increased for the first time in the early 1970s, when many women started to register to leave the country with their husbands (Akgündüz 2008: 111).

Increasing outflows from rural areas in the late 1960s

The majority of the Turkish population coming to the West before 1965 originated from the most developed and modern urban areas of western Turkey, and did not come from the low ranks of the socio-economic hierarchy. They were comparatively highly skilled and rarely unemployed before leaving the country (Akgündüz 2008). That Turks from urbanised regions in the western parts were more open to migration and left the country for western Europe in higher numbers before 1965 may be explained by the fact that they were 'better off' before migrating, and this reduced the risks and costs associated with the migration process. In order to counterbalance the outflows of urbanites and skilled workers, and to improve rural development in Turkey,

3 Compared to Austria, the increase of Turkish inflows was slightly delayed in France. After signing the bilateral agreement in 1965, the inflow of Turkish workers to France did not grow substantially. Some Turkish workers found their way to France via Germany during this period. As a consequence of the low total inflow of Turkish workers to France, state authorities stopped demanding labour from Turkey until 1969 (Irtis-Dabbagh 2003; Kastoryano 1986). After resuming the contract, immigration from Turkey increased rapidly from 1970 onwards.

the authorities restricted the emigration of skilled workers and established a quota for rural areas from 1966 onwards. Around 30 per cent of the workers sent to the West after 1966 were recruited in rural regions of Turkey.

At the same time, the willingness of Turkish citizens to leave their home country increased. Turkey was facing rapid population growth, and jobs in the West became more attractive because of the wage and social security systems there. A second important factor in the increasing willingness to leave Turkey was that earlier emigrants reported back in positive terms and appeared to have fared well. They presented 'wealth' during home visits and became role models for family and kin members, friends and former neighbours. Finally, the financial and psychological costs of the migration process were reduced at the end of the 1960s. Most workers who left Turkey in the late 1960s already had social contacts and networks in the destination states. These social networks determined the selection, location and composition of Turkish workers in the three receiving countries (Akgündüz 2008; Karakasoglu 2007; Wilpert 1992). In this sense, social networks paved the way for chain migration, especially from rural areas after 1965.[4]

The recruitment stop and family reunification: 1974-1985

The recruitment period found its peak in 1973 when rising oil prices dampened the economic boom throughout Europe. A fight for jobs began, and trade unions responded in the first instance by protecting indigenous workers. As a consequence of the crisis and the ensuing economic depression, the demand for unskilled labour declined, which led to a halt in the recruitment of foreign workers (including those from Turkey) in many European countries. Austria banned the recruitment of new workers in 1973 and was followed by France and Sweden in 1974. This also implied that many Turkish workers already residing in France, Sweden and Austria had to return to Turkey since their work permits were not renewed. Official data on return migration to Turkey after 1974 is almost non-existent, but, as a rule of thumb, one in three Turkish labourers returned from the West to Turkey in the period after recruitment ended (Akgündüz 2008). In line with these figures, the foreign workforce in Austria, Sweden and France markedly

4 It further explains why some regions within Turkey had higher rates of out migration compared to others and serves as an explanation for the frequently observed clusters of Turkish villagers in specific areas and neighbourhoods in the receiving countries. Many studies on Turkish immigrants in Western European countries have documented common regional areas from the homeland among Turks in Western Europe (Wilpert 1992), such as for example the aforementioned 'Kulu community' based in the Stockholm area (Lundström 1991).

decreased after 1974. In Austria, the recruitment ban was accompanied by a re-entry barrier for foreign workers and restrictions on tourist visas, which made it more difficult for labour migrants to return once they had left the country (Volf & Bauböck 2001).[5]

The halt to the recruitment of Turkish workers and the restrictions in some European countries changed the character of Turkish immigration to the three countries. Although labour immigration stopped, family members could still join established Turkish immigrants who decided to stay in the receiving countries. This led to growing family reunification and a rapid increase in the number of Turkish family members in many western European countries in the years after 1974. Permanent settlement began. In Austria and France, the stocks of Turkish male immigrants declined rapidly between 1973 and 1981, while the number of Turkish women increased (Bauböck 1986; De Tapia 2009). The increase in family reunification was particularly pronounced in France, where the arrival of the first waves of guest workers coincided with the end of the labour recruitment programmes (De Tapia 2006).

While family reunification was of major importance for Turkish citizens in Austria and France in the second half of the 1970s, the equivalent numbers remained small for Sweden. But in the same period, Sweden received two waves of Turkish refugees. The first wave arrived in the mid-1970s. An orthodox Christian minority (also known as Syriani and Assyrians) in Turkey and Lebanon fled their homeland and sought asylum in Sweden on the grounds of religious persecution after the first military coup in 1971 (Westin 2003). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the 'Kurdish crisis' boosted Turkish immigration to Sweden. Turkish Kurds, fleeing from repression and persecution in the south-eastern parts of Turkey and the urban areas around Istanbul and Ankara, found their way to Sweden in large numbers as political refugees (Ahmad 2003; Turan 1984). Austria and France were not on the list of major destination countries for these Turkish refugees as a result of their restricted entry policies in the early years of the 1980s, which were a consequence of the ending of recruitment.

One fact emerges very clearly from this preview: while Austria and France attracted primarily Turkish workers and their families between the mid-1960s and mid-1980s, the number of Turkish 'guest workers' in Sweden remained comparably small. In addition, unlike France and Austria, Sweden received significant numbers of Turkish refugees at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s.

5 Consequently, the foreign-born workforce in Austria was reduced by approximately 40 per cent between 1973 and 1975 (Kraler & Sohler 2005).

Table 2.1 Numbers of Turkish citizens in Austria, France and Sweden in 1973, 1982, 1990 and 2006

Year		Austria	France	Sweden
			Absolute numbers	
1973	a	16,423	50,200	5,601
1982		62,367	121,212	20,342
1990		104,130	168,000	25,475
2006		113,068	223,637	35,853
			% of the total population*	
1973	a	0.2	0.1	0.1
1982		0.8	0.2	0.2
1990		1.4	0.3	0.3
2006		1.4	0.4	0.4
			% of the foreign-born population*	
1973	a	7.8	1.3	1.4
1982		20.2	3.0	5.0
1990		24.0	4.0	5.3
2006		14.1	6.4	7.5

Sources: Austria=Statistics Austria (1971-1990 based on census data, 2006 based on population register)
France=INSEE (1973-1990 based on census data, 2006=census annual survey)
Sweden: Statistics Sweden (register data)
Notes: a=Numbers for Austria from 1971, numbers for Sweden from 1975. *=Author's own calculations, based on total numbers from sources cited above.

Table 2.1 supplements these findings with a quantitative perspective. It shows stock statistics for Turks living in Austria, France and Sweden, as well as the share they represented of the total and foreign population at four selected points in time.[6] The first three reported years show the distribution within the time span of the main immigration periods outlined so far, while the last row shows the latest available statistics. In absolute terms, of the three countries compared, France attracted by far the largest number of Turks up to 1990. However, the ranking changes when we consider the share of Turks among immigrants in the three countries: in Austria, Turks represented the biggest immigrant community from the mid-1970s until the

6 The selection of the presented time points is based on the availability of comparable census data. France carried out the fewest census surveys and therefore served as a point of reference. As a result of methodological differences, such as the definition of the 'immigrant population' (e.g. by nationality or place of birth), census data are not strictly comparable across countries (see Fassmann 2009; Kraler & Reichel 2010 for detailed discussions). Nevertheless, they provide national trends in the growth and size of the Turkish population within each country.

late 1990s, while in France and Sweden, they constituted only around 4 per cent to 5 per cent of the total immigrant population over the same period.

In 2006, 35,800 and 113,000 Turkish citizens were registered as living in Sweden and Austria respectively, while the last French census counted 223,600 Turkish citizens residing in France. We have to bear in mind that these figures do not include those who hold the citizenship of their receiving country. Especially in Austria, the number of naturalised citizens among Turkish immigrants has risen constantly since the late 1980s. Moreover, children born in these countries are also excluded from these statistics (except if they hold Turkish citizenship).

For children of Turkish origin, there are no official, census-based statistics available in any of the three countries. According to estimates for 1998 presented by Goldscheider and colleagues, nearly 26,000 children of Turkish-born parents were growing up in Sweden that year (Goldscheider, Bernhardt & Goldscheider 2008: 227; see Westin 2003 for similar numbers). In France, results from the most recent nationwide survey (the Family History Survey, 1999) counted a total of 119,495 children of Turkish parents, of whom 86.6 per cent (103.483) were born there (Kirszbaum, Brinbaum & Simon 2009: 9). The first language of parents, former citizenship, or place of birth, is missing in the latest Austrian census data from 2001, making it difficult to estimate the size of the Turkish second generation who were born as Austrian citizens and are children of Turkish immigrants (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003b: 1126). In 2010, Statistics Austria published official population statistics differentiated by 'migration background' (both parents born abroad, child born in Austria). According to their estimates, 99,100 people have a Turkish migration background (Statistik Österreich 2010).

2.3 Policy responses by the three receiving countries

This section describes how the receiving countries responded to immigration waves by implementing policies designed to regulate immigration and control the living conditions of all migrants after the recruitment halt of 1973. These policies framed the conditions under which the Turkish parental generation lived in the three countries compared. In some cases, they imposed barriers, such as strict residence-permit regulations, while in other cases they opened up opportunities such as complete access to welfare benefits. These policies not only shaped the living situations of Turkish fathers and mothers, they also defined the context and political climate in which the second generation grew up and entered the education system.

2.3.1 Austria

As described at the beginning of this chapter, the Austrian authorities designed their foreign labour recruitment system using the principle of rotation and return. Following this principle, integration was not part of the design since permanent settlement of migrants was never envisaged. After ending the recruitment of foreign workers in 1973, a ban on foreign labourers came into effect, and new laws were implemented to restrict immigration. From 1975 onwards, migration to Austria and the employment of foreign workers was regulated (and restricted) by the foreign employment law and the law governing alien nationals. The framework design of these laws, regulating the entry, residence and employment of foreign nationals, remained in place until 1990. Up to this date, immigration policy was purely conceived as labour market policy and continued to rest on the assumption of the temporary nature of the presence of guest workers (Perchinig & König 2003). Unemployment, minor criminal offences or deviant behaviour could lead to the termination of a residence permit and expulsion (Kraler & Sohler 2005: 9). This resulted in a high degree of insecurity among foreign nationals, including Turkish workers and their families. The integration of foreign workers and their family members was barely on the agenda before the mid-1990s.

By 1990, a major shift had begun towards immigration control as part of migration policy. With the collapse of Yugoslavia, a new influx of refugees and immigrants reached Austria. Austrian politicians responded by implementing restrictive migration and immigration laws. Additional levels of control were added to the laws in order to restrict entry, while long-term migrants, such as former Turkish guest workers and their families, still often found themselves in precarious (legal) situations. Even if these reforms were designed to restrict new immigration, the new residence permit regulations also had an impact on long-term resident families who did not hold long-term residence permits. Additionally, the laws of 1992 and 1993 introduced annual immigration quotas, including a maximum number of people allowed to enter for family reunification, which was set at a low level and led to stagnation in the inflow of family members (Jawhari 2000; Münz, Zuser & Kytir 2003). By 1997, however, the integration of long-term foreign residents, such as Turkish families, had taken its place on the political agenda. The reform of the 'Aliens Act' addressed prior deficiencies by introducing for the first time a stepwise residence stabilisation process for long-term foreign residents. This included protection from expulsion for third-country nationals (including Turkish citizens) who had been living in

Austria for more than five years. The integration packet was complemented by easier retention of work permits for immigrants. Since 2002, a number of laws governing the legal framework for migration have been reformed and supplemented by further control instruments, such as the obligation to attend German language courses for those who arrived after 1998 (Kraler 2011; Kraler & Sohler 2005: 10-11; Nowotny 2007; Vogel 2007).

2.3.2 France

Similar to Austria, France recruited guest workers in Turkey on the basis of the rotation principle, which did not conceive of foreigners as future French citizens. Nor did the French authorities implement any programmes to improve the situation of foreign workers in France before 1974. With the oil crisis in 1973-1974, a new state secretariat for immigration was established to suspend further recruitment of foreign workers (Aden 2004). With the beginning of the family reunification trend, and the rapidly increasing influx of family members from Turkey and the south of Europe, new questions about immigration and integration appeared on the French political agenda. On the one hand, foreign workers themselves demanded equal treatment in the workplace and in society. As a result, the first foreign workers' representatives were appointed in firms, followed by union representatives for foreign workers in 1975. One year later, the links between immigrants and their home countries were officially recognised by transferring the responsibility for teaching the languages and cultures of those countries in French schools to teachers from the countries themselves (Wihtol de Wenden 1994: 70; 2011). However, the French state also tried to regulate increasing family reunification and placed further bans on new recruitment. Permanent residence was hampered by new policies that linked residence and employment: now, once foreign guest workers, such as Turks, lost their jobs, their residence permits would not be renewed.

In 1977, following the lead of West Germany, France offered a 'return home' payment for guest workers willing to leave. As in Germany, the overwhelming majority of former guest workers refused the offer (Lebon 1979, cited in Ogden 1995). The trend towards new restrictions continued with the Bonnet Law in 1980, which introduced further tightening of entry requirements and periods of residence for foreigners. Those restrictive state policies were suspended from 1981 up to 1986 when, under the Socialist Party, equal treatment of foreigners and French nationals was re-emphasised. New laws reaffirmed the right to family reunification and freedom of association for

foreigners.[7] In the mid-1980s, the link between employment and residence was abolished, and a ten-year residence card was established which fostered access to middle-class professions for some former guest workers (Wihtol de Wenden 1994: 73). Around 1990, a new High Council of Immigration and a Muslim representative structure were installed. And finally, in the same year, the French state started to promote local integration of immigrants living in neglected neighbourhoods. In the following years, much of the public debate shifted to the organisational structure of Islam in France and the legality of religious symbols (first and foremost Islamic headscarves) in public domains. In 2004, this debate resulted in new legislation banning all religious symbols from public schools as a manifestation of the separation of church and state (Silberman & Fournier 2007; Wihtol de Wenden 2011).

2.3.3 Sweden

In contrast to France and Austria, the Swedish authorities started to discuss the consequences of immigration – for Sweden but also for immigrants themselves – quite early. As a result, Sweden began to implement an immigration policy at the start of the 1970s. Since the Swedish government co-operated closely with trade unions, they agreed that wage differentials should be prohibited, and that guest workers should enjoy the same rights as Swedes. The Swedish state ensured social security entitlements to all foreign-born workers from the beginning. This was a major difference from most other western European countries that recruited foreign labour, including Austria and France. In fact, Sweden had already turned away from the classic guest worker, rotation system before stopping foreign labour recruitment in 1974. Swedish immigration policy was based on the idea that all inhabitants living in Sweden, and not only Swedish citizens, were covered by the welfare system. Moreover, the Swedish government treated guest workers as future citizens. By 1973, a right to Swedish language courses for immigrants had been established. Language courses could be taken during the working day and were offered and paid for by employers. Two years later (1975), and shortly after the end of recruitment, Sweden published its Immigration and Minority Policy. It consisted of three pillars (Hammar 2004): first, 'equality of social rights and equal opportunities' in line with the traditional idea of the Swedish welfare state. Second, 'freedom of choice' which translated into special treatment policies and programmes, such as language training for mothers, further education classes and courses for

7 In addition, the expulsion of illegal immigrants was stopped.

immigrant children in the mother language in pre-schools and primary schools. The last of the three pillars was named 'partnership' and previewed what was expected to become active participation by immigrants at all levels of governance in Swedish society (Harzig 2004; Westin 2003). In order to improve the 'partnership' pillar, voting rights for immigrants were introduced in 1976. This model of immigration and minority policy, with its three main pillars, constituted the basis of Swedish immigration policy for almost three decades. Over time, it was slightly modified by three reforms: after the influx of refugees at the beginning of the 1980s, the Swedish parliament decided that refugees should settle in different cities across Sweden ('the whole country strategy'). By 2001, dual citizenship for immigrants was allowed by the Swedish state (Bernitz & Bernitz Lokranz 2006). Then, in 2003, a new law was passed outlawing discrimination of any kind, including unfair treatment in terms of ethnicity or religion (Benito 2005).

Taken together, the implementation of state policies in the three receiving countries indicates some remarkable differences between Sweden on the one hand, and Austria and France on the other. Austria and France recruited immigrants on the basis of the rotation principle, treating them as non-permanent (or guest) workers who were certainly not seen as future citizens. Having ended the recruitment of labourers from Turkey in 1973, Austria followed a rather strict political approach to reducing immigration, while the legal situation for former guest workers such as Turkish immigrants remained precarious until the mid-1990s. Residence permits were linked to employment status for a long time, while specific programmes to improve the rights and living conditions of immigrants in Austria were virtually non-existent. In the French context, integration arrangements for foreign-born immigrants and their families were implemented from the early-1980s on, but re-assessed later (Wihtol de Wenden 2011). By contrast, Sweden granted immigrants political and social welfare rights from almost the start of organised recruitment. It treated foreign immigrants as future citizens and specific programmes were put in place from the start of the 1970s to improve the quality of their lives (see further Herzog-Punzenberger, Vera-Laruccea, Fibbi, DeSipio & Mollenkopf 2012).

2.4 Turkish immigrants in five urban destinations

So far, the focus of this chapter has been on Turkish immigration at the national level. But in all three countries, migrants from Turkey settled primarily in cities. In Sweden, more than 85 per cent currently reside in

the ten biggest industrial cities in the country, while more than half the entire Turkish population resides in the Greater Stockholm metropolitan area (Westin 2003: 993). In France, Turkish immigrants settled in the capital and in the Alsace-Lorraine and Rhone-Alpes regions and became highly concentrated in urban settings (Irtis-Dabbagh 2003), such as Paris and Strasbourg. In Austria, the majority of Turkish immigrants reside in the capital city, Vienna, followed by cities in the Vorarlberg and Upper Austria regions (Gümüsoglu, Batur, Kalayci & Baraz 2009). That is why the TIES study was conducted in the main receiving cities instead of in countries (Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012). This section briefly describes the main immigration trends in the five cities under consideration: Stockholm, Paris, Strasbourg, Linz and Vienna. Here I will draw on information from the TIES survey, since representative comparable data from secondary sources at a local level is not available for the five cities.[8]

As is to be expected, the general patterns of Turkish immigration to cities do not differ much from the overall trend outlined up to now. The majority of Turkish fathers migrated between 1965 and 1974, while from the mid-1970s onwards, Turkish female migration to the receiving cities increased in the period of family reunification (see table 2.2). The years of immigration to the five cities are in line with the periods when the main reasons to leave Turkey were most compelling: around eight out of ten Turkish fathers left their home country between 1965 and 1975 in order to work in Vienna, Linz, Strasbourg or Paris (see Appendix B for detailed tables). By contrast, in the case of Stockholm, only one father in three came for reasons of work. Thus, the number of fathers coming to Stockholm during the recruitment period (1965-1973) for work reasons was only half the number coming to the selected receiving cities in France and Austria. Around 20 per cent of the fathers residing in the Stockholm metropolitan area today came as asylum seekers, predominantly in the late-1970s and early-1980s. The overwhelming majority of Turkish mothers who migrated to the five receiving cities came for family reasons, mainly family reunification or marriage.

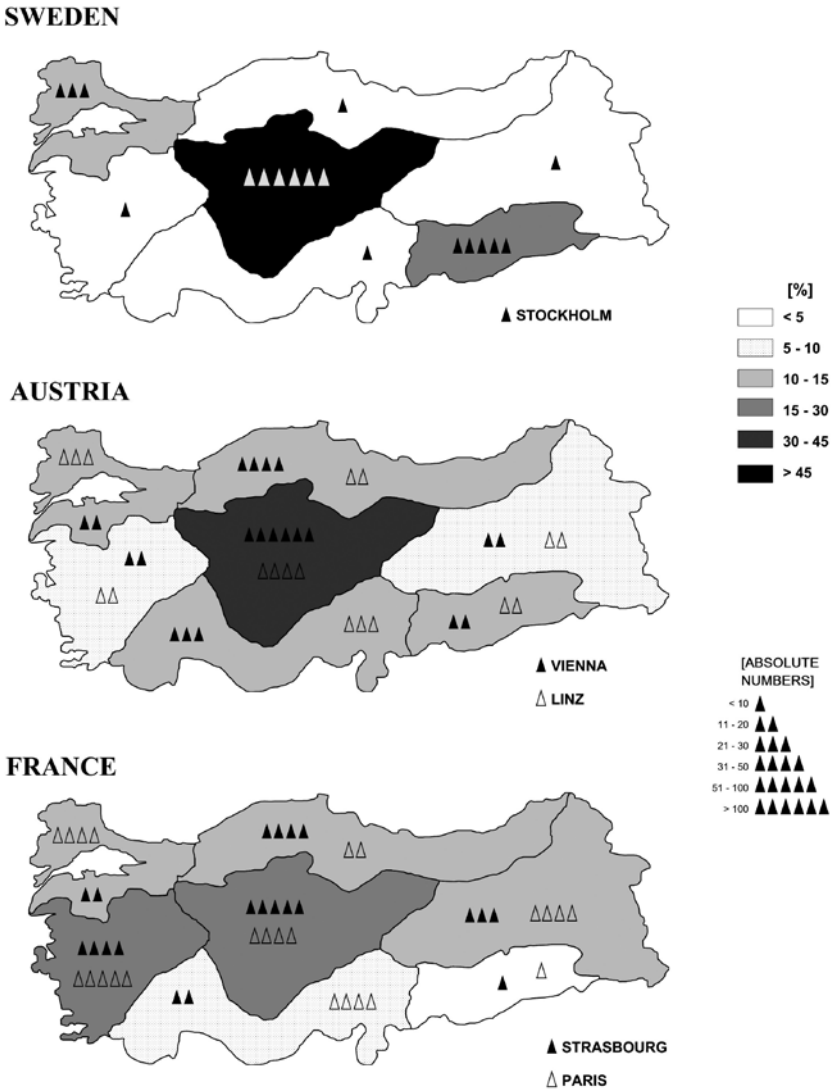
8 Using the TIES data for this purpose does not come without its limitations. The information on the parental generation presented here is based on the interviews conducted with their children and is not gathered directly from their parents. Some of the respondents did not know or refused to answer biographical questions about their parents. Thus, the analysis presented here is not always based on the whole sample.

Table 2.2 Years of immigration of the parental generation, by city (%)

	Austria				France				Sweden	
	Vienna		Linz		Paris		Strasbourg		Stockholm	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Before 1970	15.9	11.9	20.0	11.8	19.5	11.1	20.7	7.8	24.7	9.4
1970-1974	24.9	20.0	31.5	21.5	58.6	25.9	38.1	39.4	25.6	32.7
1975-1979	26.5	26.5	23.6	34.0	10.9	35.2	27.0	37.5	30.7	39.0
1980-1985	24.9	30.8	12.7	18.1	8.6	24.1	12.7	10.6	14.4	15.7
After 1985	7.9	10.8	12.1	14.6	2.3	3.7	1.6	4.8	4.7	3.1
N.	189	185	165	144	63	54	128	104	215	223

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Figure 2.1 Region of origin of the parental generation, by city



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008
Note: Regions of origin in Turkey (from left to right; top to bottom): Marmara, Black Sea; Aegean, Central Anatolia, East Anatolia; Mediterranean and Southeast Anatolia.

Figure 2.1 displays the regions of origin of Turkish parents living in the five cities under comparison. The shading in the maps indicates the main regions of origin for both cities taken together in the cases of France and

Austria,[9] while the triangles show the absolute numbers for each city in the country. For example, in the Austrian case, between 30 per cent and 45 per cent of all Turkish fathers and mothers originate from Central Anatolia. Turning to city differences between Linz and Vienna, we find that slightly more Turks from Central Anatolia found their way to Vienna than to Linz. More generally, the great majority of fathers and mothers in all three receiving countries originate from Central Anatolia. But the maps also show clear differences between the compared countries and cities: while Austria and France attracted Turkish immigrants from almost all over Turkey, three main sending areas can be found for Sweden – Marmara, Central Anatolia and South-East Anatolia. Once we turn to differences between cities within countries, significant variations can be seen between Paris and Strasbourg in France, while they remain small between the two Austrian cities. Turkish parents living in Strasbourg originate more often from Central Anatolia and the Black Sea region, while Turks living in the Paris region today came more often from the western regions, such as Marmara and the Aegean.

Parents originating from the western parts of Turkey (Marmara and the Aegean region) most often came from smaller cities or towns, while the overwhelming majority from the middle and eastern parts of Turkey grew up in small towns or villages (Lessard-Phillips & Ross 2012: 91). Within the broad classification of regions-of-origin, some provinces were already more developed and modernised than others. Table 2.3 shows the provinces of origin of the parental generation classified according to their degree of development during the years 1965 to 1973. The development index was calculated by the Turkish State Institute of Statistics for each province in Turkey, and considered a wide range of indicators, such as the proportion of the population that was urban, the literacy rate, the number of university and high school graduates, income tax paid per capita, average number of workers per workplace and the proportions of agrarian workers and industrial labourers in the total workforce. The distribution of the index ranges from 19 for the province of Adiyaman to a maximum of 288 for Istanbul (index scores taken from Akgündüz 2008: 219).

The results in table 2.3 indicate clear city differences: two-thirds of parents migrated to Vienna from minimally developed or moderately developed provinces. The proportion is different in Linz, with almost half of the fathers coming from more highly developed areas, such as Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara. In other words, while Figure 2.1 indicated no clear differences in terms of regions of origin among the Turkish first generation in Linz and Vienna, variations appear in these regions when it comes to the degree of development

9 In the Swedish case, the calculation is based on Stockholm only.

Table 2.3 Provinces of origin of the parental generation according to degree of development, by city (%)

	Vienna		Linz		Paris		Strasbourg		Stockholm	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Highly developed provinces	19.9	15.7	47.9	39.6	28.9	26.6	17.2	18.2	18.9	20.8
Moderately developed provinces	25.9	24.2	21.9	26.2	29.4	32.6	22.4	25.0	5.6	5.6
Minimally developed provinces	54.2	60.1	30.1	34.2	41.7	40.8	60.4	56.8	75.5	73.6
N.	236	223	169	149	235	218	232	222	233	231

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008
Note: For simplicity, the development index of the province of origin has been summarised as high (288-101), moderate (100-60) and minimal (59-19).

of the provinces. Similar dissimilarities exist in France between the two survey cities: the majority of the Turkish community in Strasbourg originates in minimally developed or moderately developed provinces in their home country, while in Paris at least one out of three had been living in a more highly developed province. The latter finding is in line with the results indicated in Figure 2.1, since a great number of Turkish parents came from the western regions of Turkey, which are considered to be more developed provinces. In the case of Turkish parents who migrated to Stockholm, there is a clear polarisation: around seven out of ten parents came from minimally developed provinces, which are mainly concentrated in Central Anatolia, and just 20 per cent or so originate from more highly developed areas. The majority of parents from highly developed provinces came from south-east Anatolia or Marmara and migrated to Stockholm at the end of the 1970s as asylum seekers.

Finally, the different regions of origin, migration reasons and migration periods are reflected in the ethnic and religious composition of Turkish fathers and mothers living in the five destinations today.[10] As shown in table 2.4, the great majority of the Turkish parents in the two French and two Austrian cities belong to the Islamic majority group Sunnites and do not classify themselves as a specific ethnic origin group. The slightly higher share of Kurds in Linz may be explained by the greater number of fathers and mothers who came from bigger metropolitan areas. Although the main region of origin for Kurds was (and is) South-east Anatolia, Kurdish communities are also found in cities such as Istanbul and Ankara.

Turning to the ethnic and religious composition of the Turkish community in Stockholm, a greater level of diversity is evident, shaped by the different migration periods and reasons. The high share of parents originating from South-east Anatolia, who immigrated around 1980 for asylum reasons, often belong to the Suryoye and Kurdish minority groups from Turkey. The higher share of Suryoye minority members is also reflected in the breakdown of religious denominations, with more than 20 per cent Christians. The second biggest group of Turkish immigrants in Stockholm are parents who came for reasons of work from the regions of Central Anatolia and who are predominantly Sunnites.[11]

The overall trends presented so far show two clear results: first, the periods of immigration and reasons for migrating are in line with the overall picture

10 The information was gathered by asking their children about the language and the religion in which they were raised by their parents.

11 A number of second-generation Turks reported that they were raised without any religion. Those numbers usually reflect processes of secularisation in the receiving countries and are therefore not discussed in this section.

that was painted in the first part of this chapter. The main push factors for the parental generation towards the cities of Austria and France were work reasons for men and family reasons for women. Second, the differences between the communities in the cities under discussion here may be explained by three factors: the recruitment channels, the demands of local industry, and the period in which the recruitment took place. The textile and clothing industries in Paris and the Ile-de France region directly recruited Turkish guest workers primarily from urban regions in the western provinces of Turkey (Kastoryano 1986), which resulted in a higher share of Turkish immigrants from more developed Turkish provinces moving to live in the Paris area. The main industrial sectors in the Alsace region around Strasbourg consisted of the construction industry and steel and wood manufacturers. These industries primarily recruited unskilled workers from the often less developed countryside through the official channels of the Turkish employment service in the early 1970s. A similar trend can be seen in Vienna at that time, where the construction and metal industries recruited Turkish workers from Central Anatolia and the Black Sea region (Wimmer 1986a). And the metal and steel industry in Linz had been booming since the beginning of the 1960s, which led to a growing demand for cheap foreign labour (Stadtler 1990), including Turkish workers.

Table 2.4 Ethnic and religious composition of the parental generation, by city (%)

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	**Linz**	**Paris**	**Strasbourg**	**Stockholm**
Ethnic Composition					
Turks (not differentiated)	94.7	86.0	94.7	97.1	63.4
Kurds	3.7	12.0	3.6	2.9	13.5
Suryoyes	1.2	1.5	0.4	0.0	14.3
Armenians	0.4	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.8
N.	246	200	230	226	231
Religious Composition					
Without religion	4.0	15.4	24.6	17.2	34.6
Christian	2.0	2.5	2.1	0.4	23.7
Sunnites	85.6	59.9	53.7	70.0	38.6
Alevi	4.4	16.7	5.7	4.8	2.9*
Other (Shia, etc.)	4.0	5.5	13.9	7.6	
N.	252	206	244	250	241

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008
Note: *=No further differentiation between subgroups was possible.

As mentioned above, over 20 per cent of the fathers arrived in Linz before 1970. During that time, the Turkish employment service was recruiting its workers in the western parts of Turkey, which explains the high share of Turkish parents originating from more developed provinces, such as the Marmara region. Finally, in Stockholm, the great majority of the Turkish community is composed of parents who migrated for work reasons from Central Anatolia, a region with primarily minimally developed provinces. But compared to the Austrian and French cities, Stockholm also received a sizeable proportion of Turkish asylum seekers who fled from the more developed areas in the west and south-east of Turkey. This is a distinctive feature of Turkish immigration that does not feature as strongly in the other four cities of comparison.

This section has described the migration histories of Turkish fathers and mothers. It has primarily examined why, when and from where these parents migrated to the West. The different migration periods, reasons and regions-of-origin are accompanied by varying sets of resources that might lead to dissimilar starting situations for the children within and across receiving countries and cities. But, as argued above, the starting positions of the Turkish second generation is shaped not only by the migration histories of their parents but also by the varying circumstances their parents faced upon arrival in the receiving countries and cities. The next section looks into these conditions in greater detail.

2.5 Comparing the relative positions of the parental generation across five cities

This final section compares the conditions encountered by the Turkish parental generation across the five cities under consideration. The aim is to describe the circumstances in which the second generation's parents found themselves in each city after migrating. The focus is on five main aspects: educational attainment, labour market participation, language ability, family structure and residential concentration. It looks at opportunities and barriers faced by the first generation after migrating to the cities. It asks whether those conditions were shaped by their migration history and/or the policies of the receiving countries and cities. And it also examines the first generation's variations in circumstances and resources from city to city.

Educational attainment

The most important factor in explaining the social mobility of the second generation is family background (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters & Holdaway 2008; Perlmann 1988; Vermeulen 2000), particularly the level of education of the parents. Beginning with the educational attainment of the parental generation, table 2.5 shows that many of the Turkish parents across the five cities have either no education at all or only primary-level education. As one might expect, most of the fathers and mothers with little or no education migrated at an early age to seek work – many had not completed lower-secondary school before they left Turkey. Table 2.5 also shows the highest education category at the end of the education spectrum, i.e., post-secondary and tertiary education. The proportion of high achievers in the parental generation varies clearly from city to city. Two out of ten Turkish fathers and mothers in Stockholm are highly educated. Although some fathers and mothers in Vienna, Linz and Paris have high levels of education, Turks in Stockholm clearly outperform their counterparts. The group with the lowest level of education is in Strasbourg.

Table 2.5 Lowest and highest levels of education among the Turkish parental generation, by city (%)

			No education	Primary education	Post-secondary education
Austria	Vienna	Father	2.8	28.3	11.7
		Mother	8.2	48.2	4.5
	Linz	Father	3.5	29.7	22.1
		Mother	12.2	35.5	10.7
France	Paris	Father	2.5	41.1	14.8
		Mother	7.6	43.2	9.8
	Strasbourg	Father	2.1	52.5	4.6
		Mother	18.3	48.8	2.4
Sweden	Stockholm	Father	5.6	38.5	20.4
		Mother	16.3	35.0	18.3

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

A number of factors explain why there is such a variation in the level of education from city to city. Two factors turn out to be of particular importance: first, parents who came from more developed (and often urban) areas in Turkey had good qualifications before migrating. This is especially the case

for Turkish fathers in Linz, the parental generation in Paris, and parents who came to Stockholm seeking asylum.

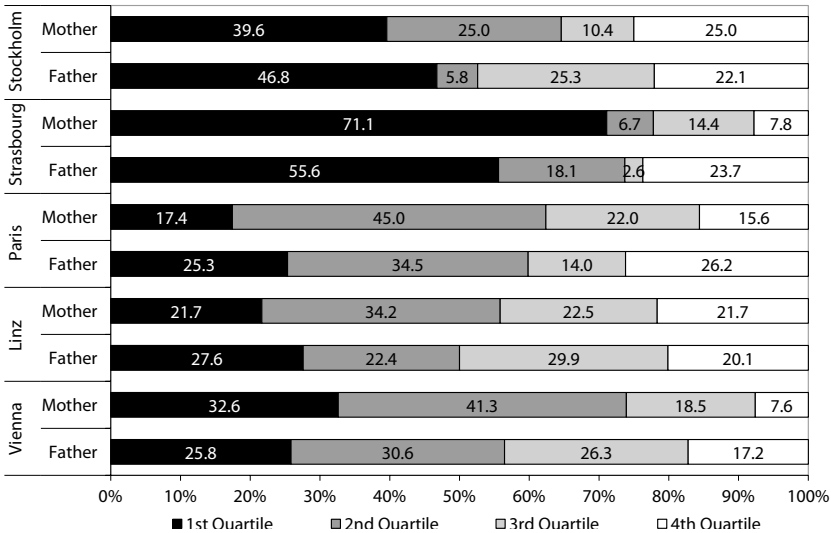
Second, some Turkish fathers and mothers attended further education programmes in the host cities. In Stockholm, around 30 per cent gained their highest education level in the host city. The share of parents who attended further education programmes in the Austrian cities is only half that of Stockholm, while it is below 5 per cent for parents in the French cities. Hence, a substantial part of the cross-city variation in the education levels of the Turkish parental generation can be accounted for by varying participation rates and additional training across cities and countries. Sweden has a long tradition of devoting large resources to adult education and labour market programmes, and the high proportion of Turkish fathers and mothers with Swedish diplomas reflects the efficiency of the 'freedom of choice' pillar of the integration policy programme implemented in the mid-1970s – which included special education programmes aimed at awarding additional qualifications.

Labour market participation

As described earlier in this chapter, most of the fathers migrated to one of the five cities for work reasons. As we might expect, the great majority of the fathers worked in the local labour market while their children were growing up. The rate of participation in the workforce for fathers was around 80 per cent to 90 per cent across all five cities. Most of the Turkish families were single-earner households where mothers frequently stayed at home. The overall labour market participation rate for mothers was around 35 per cent. One exception can be seen in Sweden, where over 60 per cent of mothers were employed when their children were aged fifteen. That comparably high participation rate among mothers is in line with the generally high employment rate among females in Sweden.

Previous studies have indicated that the Turkish first generation is often concentrated in certain occupations and industries. Especially in Austria and France, where Turks were recruited for specific industrial sectors, they are usually blue-collar workers.

Figure 2.2 Percentage distribution of job status in quartiles of the ISEI index, parental generation, by city (%)



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

To gain insight into where the parental generation stood in the labour market, the standardised International Socio-Economic Index on Occupational Status (ISEI) is used to describe the socio-economic status of occupations across countries (Ganzeboom & Treiman 1996). The ISEI scores for Turkish fathers and mothers in the five cities when their children were fifteen years old are displayed in Figure 2.2.

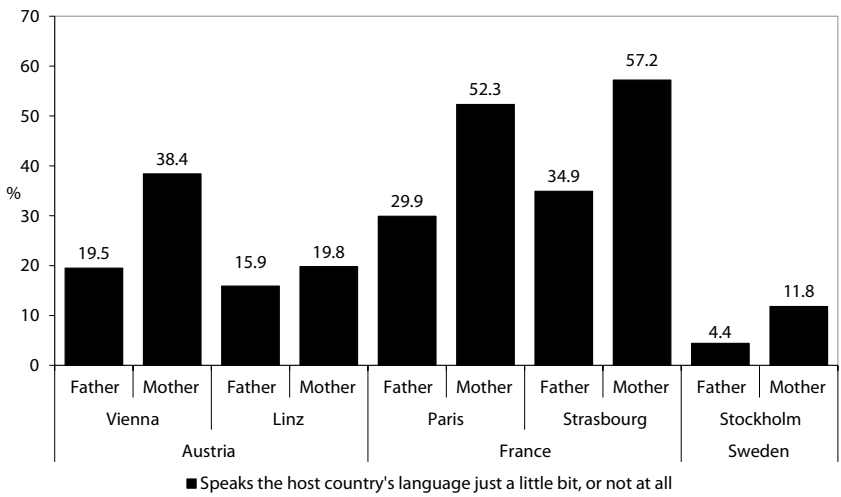
The first quartile (black bar) summarises the lowest quarter of the ISEI index, which consists primarily of unskilled labourers. At the other end of the scale, the white bar represents the highest quarter on the index. The percentage share of the parental generation within each quarter is also shown. The position of the Turkish parental generation in the occupational hierarchy shows three major trends: first, Turkish fathers and mothers in the Austrian cities and in Paris are primarily working in unskilled and blue-collar jobs (black and dark grey bar). Second, in Strasbourg, the percentage of parents working in jobs of very low prestige is the highest of all five cities. Almost half the fathers and around 70 per cent of the mothers who work are employed in low-prestige jobs. At the same time, around a quarter of the Turkish fathers are employed in jobs with very prestigious occupations. Third, the strongest polarisation can be found

in Stockholm, where almost half of the parents work in jobs that have a low or medium level of prestige, while a substantial proportion of fathers and mothers have entered the upper part of the labour market, third and fourth quartiles taken together.

Language ability

In addition to the levels of education and occupational backgrounds of the parents, a third important factor, and one regularly highlighted, is familiarity with the language of the host country. Turning to this issue, we have to be cautious in interpreting the results because they are reported by the parents' children. Nevertheless, one clear trend emerges when considering the outcomes for this issue: the ability of the Turkish parents' generation to speak the national language varies widely across cities.

Figure 2.3 The parental generation's host country language ability, by city (%)



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Turks in the French cities face the greatest disadvantages. One father in three, and more than every second mother, does not speak French well or even reasonably well. Interestingly, Turkish fathers and mothers in Stockholm seem to have a good knowledge of Swedish, since the rate of non-Swedish speakers is below 8 per cent (both parents taken together).

As stated earlier in this chapter, a substantial part of the Swedish integration policy of the early 1970s focused on improving the language skills of immigrants. The Turkish first generation in Stockholm seems to have benefited from these programmes, as they show remarkable Swedish language skills. By contrast, the Turkish first generation in the Austrian cities show mixed results in terms of German language skills. On average, one in five of the parents, both fathers and mothers, speaks little or no German.

Family structure

Family structure is a highly relevant factor here, since schooling decisions, strategies and problems are most often discussed in the family home. Growing up in a nuclear family, with both parents available at home, probably benefits a child in terms of school support, help with homework and other related activities, compared with children from one-parent households. Of equal importance is the total number of children the parents have to care for. The larger the family, the greater the responsibility for the parents and the greater the financial means needed for schooling. Table 2.6 shows that the Turkish parents in the five compared cities have formed quite similar types of households and families. Overall, clear commonalities are found within the parental generation across cities with respect to living in married-couple families. On average, 90 per cent of the Turkish fathers and mothers are married and live in two-parent households. A second similarity can be observed when considering the family size. The average Turkish family has three or four children. However, when zooming into the Turkish communities in the cities, internal variations in family size are found, as indicated by the standard deviations in the mean number of children. The internal variety is especially high among the Turkish first generation in Strasbourg and Stockholm, in which around 15 per cent have six or more children.

When considering family networks as an indication of the wider family structure, the great majority of the Turkish fathers and mothers have relatives living in the same city. As discussed earlier in this chapter, social networks determined the selection, location and composition of Turkish workers in the receiving countries, and the findings presented here denote patterns of chain migration through family ties among the Turkish parental generation in all five destination cities. The only significant exception is found in the Turkish community in Paris, where fewer than 50 per cent of Turkish families have relatives in the same city.

Table 2.6 Family structure of the parental generation, by city (%)

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
Two-parent household (%)	93.2	93.0	95.2	92.4	87.7
Mixed parentage (%)[1]	4.0	12.6	8.0	7.8	–
No. of children (%)					
1	4.0	1.5	6.5	4.9	0.0
2	16.0	28.4	28.2	7.1	11.0
3	30.1	40.2	37.5	32.5	22.1
4	24.9	18.6	19.0	25.4	35.7
5	17.3	6.9	6.0	15.5	15.1
6 or more	7.7	4.4	2.8	14.7	16.1
Mean no. of children (standard deviation)					
	3.6	3.1	3.0	4.0	4.2
	(1.4)	(1.1)	(1.3)	(1.8)	(1.6)
Have relatives living in the same city (%)					
	91.9	86.6	41.7	80.6	94.4

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008
Note: 1=Only one parent originated from Turkey.

Residential concentrations

A final dimension to portraying the conditions of fathers and mothers across the five cities is residential concentration. Where immigrants settle is influenced by a number of factors, such as their financial resources, their networks in the city and its neighbourhoods, and discrimination in housing markets, including in the form of specific housing policies. Residential concentration is of particular importance since it puts children at an immediate advantage or disadvantage, especially in terms of local schools.

In general, the residential segregation of immigrants is comparably low in the Austrian cities, moderate in Paris and Strasbourg, while Stockholm is often to be found in the upper quarter of reported segregation indices (compare Koopmans 2010; Musterd 2005). Turning to the geographical patterns of residence for the Turkish communities in the five cities, Turks in Stockholm are quite concentrated in larger housing estates along the main highways stretching south-west and north-west from the city centre. They are most numerous in Rinkeby and Fittja, followed by the districts of Tensta and Botkyrka (Murdie & Borgegard 1998). Compared to other immigrant groups in Stockholm, Turks are more likely to reside in own-group densities (Andersson 2007) although these are often dispersed over many estates.

The majority of the Turkish parents in the Viennese TIES survey settled in the working class districts of Favoriten, Brigittenau, Meidling and Simmering. In all four main districts, immigrants made up (and still do) a substantial part of the local population. On average over the last 25 years, Turkish citizens have accounted for 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the population in these districts.[12] The picture is more mixed if we turn to the residential patterns of the Turkish parents in Linz. The industrial areas of St. Peter, Franckviertel and Hafenviertel, as well as the area around Wankmüllerhofviertel, were the main districts of settlement. All four areas can be characterised as lower-income districts with higher rates of unemployment and higher proportions of blue-collar workers. However, a noticeable share of Turkish parents also settled in the more prosperous and less-segregated neighbourhoods of Altstadtviertel and Kaplanhofviertel.

Mixed results are also found for the Turkish first generation in the French cities. The majority of Turkish families in Strasbourg settled in the northern outskirts in districts such as Bischheim, Hoenheim and Schiltigheim. All three neighbourhoods are economically disadvantaged areas with rates of unemployment above average for the city and a substantial share of blue-collar workers. Moreover, all three areas host a substantial part of Strasbourg's immigrant population. At the same time, around a quarter settled in the better-off, inner city districts of Strasbourg. When finally turning to France's capital city, Paris, the Turkish parental generation settled primarily in four *départements*: the three outlying areas of Hauts-de-Seine, Val de Marne and Seine-Saint Denis, and in some neighbourhoods (*arrondissements*) of the inner city as well. Paris is the city with the strongest polarisation in terms of settlement of the Turkish first generation. The suburb Seine-Saint Denis in which a great majority of the Turkish families settled can be described as an area with a large share of immigrants, a relatively high unemployment rate and a population with a low socio-economic profile. At the same time, part of the Parisian Turkish community also started to settle in the inner city neighbourhood of L'Entrepôt, which, generally speaking, can be characterised as a better-off neighbourhood.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the main time periods in which Turkish immigrants arrived in Austria, France and Sweden. Turkish immigration into

12 The numbers reported here were made available by the city of Vienna.

these three countries, and the five cities of Vienna, Linz, Paris, Strasbourg and Stockholm, shows a number of important commonalities that legitimise a comparison of the children of Turkish immigrants across the cities and countries. The great majority of Turkish fathers and mothers in all five receiving cities migrated for work and family reasons – and many had little or no education when they arrived. First-generation Turks are also predominantly found in the lower strata of the local labour markets. Household composition, family size and residential concentration are very similar across the five cities.

In these general commonalities, a number of differences have been highlighted in this chapter which should be kept in mind for further analysis. Table 2.7 summarises these differences in terms of the relative position of the parents' generation in each city, along with the main factors that affect that position. This schematic presentation is based on the findings presented for the Turkish first generation in the second part of this chapter. The left column in table 2.7 lists the main factors, while the degree of advantage or disadvantage is indicated as advantaged (+), mixed (m) and disadvantaged (-).

Table 2.7 Schematic summary of the relative position of the first-generation Turks, by city

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
Parents' education	–	m	m	–	+
Parents' employment	m	m	m	–	m
Class heterogeneity	–	–	+	–	+
Parents' language ability	m	m	–	–	+
Family structure	m	m	m	m	m
Residential concentration	–	–	m	–	–

Notes: m=mixed, +=advantaged, – =disadvantaged.

The fathers and mothers who migrated from Turkey to the Austrian cities of Vienna and Linz show a rather mixed picture in terms of their relative position. While the majority came with few educational credentials and from minimally developed regions, some had attended further education and possessed above-average levels of education. Nevertheless, most of the fathers and mothers found themselves in the lower part of the labour market hierarchy, partially indicating processes of 'de-qualification' among the better-educated Turkish first generation. Results revealed that some lacked familiarity with the German language.

Turks in Strasbourg faced the most disadvantaged position of all the cities. Their education level was overwhelmingly low; they were in low-prestige jobs; they struggled with the French language; and they lived primarily in low-income neighbourhoods. By contrast, parents of the Turkish second generation in Paris originate, in equal share, from highly developed as well as relatively undeveloped provinces of Turkey. The overall standard of education is low, with half the parents having reached just primary school level. Despite this, their labour market participation is quite variable: around 25 per cent are employed as unskilled workers in very low-prestige jobs. At the same time, the same proportion (25 per cent) has made it to the top quarter of the Parisian labour market.

Turkish immigrants residing in Stockholm show a high degree of heterogeneity within their group. On the one hand, the largest group in the Turkish first generation has a low to average education level and faces barriers in the local labour market since they are primarily concentrated at the bottom end of the market hierarchy. On the other hand, there is a small group of fathers and mothers with relatively high levels of education and high employment rates at the upper end of the labour market hierarchy. Most of them have good Swedish language skills. In addition, having both the father and the mother participating in the labour force means more substantial financial resources for these families.

Although there are a number of differences within the general commonalities, table 2.7 indicates that the relative socio-economic position (the parents' levels of education and employment status) of the Turkish communities can be described as low to average in all five cities. One conclusion emerges from the results presented in this chapter: the children of Turkish immigrants have grown up with limited opportunities in all the countries and cities compared, and those opportunities are shaped by the position of their parents in the larger social and economic structure of each city. One of the most important questions arising from this chapter is the extent to which the chances, outcomes and (more generally) the degree of social mobility of the second generation are affected by these poor circumstances. What are the chances of the Turkish second generation from low-income families in the various cities being able to beat the odds against stagnation or even downward mobility? In the following chapters I will move from the world of the Turkish fathers and mothers to the heart of this book: the position and the degree of educational mobility of the second generation itself. The next chapter serves as a first step in this direction by providing a first glimpse of the education outcomes of the second generation.

3 An Initial Look at Education Outcomes

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an initial glance at the education outcomes at the aggregated level in and across Austria, France and Sweden. The aim is to draw an initial picture of how the Turkish second generation is positioned in terms of their education and how mobile they are based on the empirical material. Three perspectives are included:

Firstly, the levels of education attained by the Turkish second generation will be explored in relation to the respective comparison groups by asking whether equality of outcomes can be observed between the two groups in each individual country. Special attention will be given to parents' education backgrounds in explaining potential differences in education outcomes between the two compared groups.

Secondly, the levels of education attained by the Turkish second generation in each of the three countries will be compared. Variations in the outcomes of the second generation will be examined to see whether they are attributable to compositional differences in the Turkish parental generation (see chapter 2). The aim of this procedure is to explore whether children of Turkish immigrants who come from similar family homes achieve similar outcomes growing up in different countries and cities.

Finally, the extent to which the Turkish second generation demonstrates inter-generational progress is included as a third perspective on outcomes. This will be done by exploring the degree to which second-generation Turks move beyond the levels of education reached by their parents.

All three perspectives outline the position of second-generation Turks – in terms of their levels of education – in a comparative way. This first glimpse of education outcomes with these three comparison perspectives not only shows the education mobility processes of second-generation Turks, but also raises the question of whether the formation of patterns of ethnic inequality become evident across countries (D'Addio 2007; Rumbaut 2008).

3.2 Education levels reached by young adults in Austria, France and Sweden

This section explores the education levels reached by second-generation Turks in relation to the comparison group in each city and country by

focusing on whether there is equality of outcomes between the two groups. In the sociology of education, 'educational positioning' is usually assessed by using the highest diploma of the target population (the highest level of education attained) as the reference for comparisons across countries. However, as mentioned earlier in the introduction to this book, many of the Turkish second generation we interviewed were still enrolled in school.[1] This is especially true of second-generation Turks in France, where more than every second respondent was still enrolled in some sort of education at the time they were interviewed. So following the 'traditional' measurement of educational attainment by looking at their highest diploma would blur the picture and underestimate the current situation. The dependent variable for this chapter is therefore the *education level* of the respondents. This is defined as a combination of the highest obtained diploma for those who have already left school and the current level of education for those still in school. This allows a clearer comparison to be made between the second generation in Austria, France and Sweden.

How school outcomes differ between the groups

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of education levels for second-generation Turks and their comparison group in all five cities. Education levels are displayed using the 'Edu codes' classification scheme, which ranges from the lowest (primary education) to the highest (tertiary education) in each country (see Crul, Schnell, Herzog-Punzenberger, Wilmes, Slootman & Aparicio-Gomez 2012, and Appendix B table A9).

Turning to the results for Austria, the Turkish second generation more frequently leaves school with only a compulsory education certificate (primary and lower-secondary education together) compared to the comparison group. About one-third of the Turkish second generation in Austria obtains an apprenticeship certificate or similar as their highest education level. Moreover, they are significantly over-represented in the vocational track, with a difference of 10 per cent between them and the comparison group in Vienna and a 15 per cent difference in Linz.

1 An overview of the total number of respondents who are still enrolled in school is given in Appendix B, table A8.

Table 3.1 Education levels of second-generation Turks and the comparison group, by city (%)

		Austria				France				Sweden	
		Vienna		Linz		Paris		Strasbourg		Stockholm	
		2nd GT	CG	2nd GT	CG	2nd GT	CG	2nd GT	CG	2nd GT	CG
Primary education	Primary (and special) education	4.0	0.8	3.9	1.7	3.6	1.2	6.8	0.6	0.0	0.0
Lower-secondary education	Vocational track	21.0	7.6	13.1	3.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Integrated track	–	–	–	–	4.8	2.3	13.1	1.7	9.2	3.6
	Academic track	4.8	5.6	2.4	3.0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Post lower-secondary and upper-secondary education	Apprenticeship and similar	33.7	24.8	35.4	21.8	14.5	11.5	29.0	10.7	–	–
	Post lower-secondary orientation	1.6	2.0	1.5	2.1	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Higher vocational orientation	10.3	9.6	14.6	17.1	12.5	9.8	15.5	10.7	27.1	20.0
	Academic orientation	10.3	14.0	6.3	17.1	6.9	5.2	4.8	5.1	29.5	14.4
Post upper-secondary and tertiary education	Higher post-secondary and tertiary Vocational	4.0	7.6	6.8	6.8	18.2	11.5	13.9	10.7	16.3	15.2
	University and similar	10.3	28.0	16.0	26.5	39.5	58.6	17.1	60.5	17.9	46.8
	N.	252	250	206	234	248	174	252	177	251	250
Group differences within city:		***		***		**		***		***	
City differences: CG		**				n.s.				n.a.	
City differences: 2nd GT		n.s.				***				n.a.	

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Notes: Column percentages total 100% within cities. Levels of significance:* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. ns=Not significant. 2GT=Second generation Turks. CG=Comparison group. n.a.=Not applicable. -(dash)=track not available in the education system.

Turning to the upper end of the education spectrum, post-secondary and tertiary education, the figures indicate that the comparison group is clearly out-performing second-generation Turks in both Austrian cities. Students from the comparison group more frequently achieve an academic or higher vocational level in upper-secondary education, which allows them to continue in post-secondary education. The distribution of the education levels of second-generation Turks examined here is predominantly in line with previous studies on educational attainment conducted in Austria (Gümüsoglu et al. 2009; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003b, 2007; Herzog-Punzenberger & Unterwurzacher 2009; Unterwurzacher 2007; Weiss 2007a; Weiss & Unterwurzacher 2007).

In addition to these general national trends, city-to-city differences can be seen in Austria as well. Second-generation Turks in Linz are less represented in the academic track in upper-secondary education but more often found in the higher vocational track. Apart from these differences, the overall educational distribution of second-generation Turks between Linz and Vienna shows similar outcomes, while the chi-squared test (see bottom of table 3.1) indicates significant variations between the comparison groups in the two cities. The latter is most evident when considering the proportion of students leaving school at the end of their compulsory education. In Vienna, 14 per cent do not continue after lower-secondary education, compared with 8.6 per cent in Linz.

The results for the French cities are displayed in the middle columns of table 3.1. Overall, the descriptive outcomes highlight three major findings. Firstly, the overall education levels of each group, and therefore the general student population, is far higher in France than in Austria. This country-specific feature is in line with official statistics on the distribution of educational attainment (Eurostat 2010). In the mid-1980s, education reforms were introduced in France in order to increase the number of people holding the *baccalauréat*, or '*bacc*' (Duru-Bellat & Kieffer 2001; Kieffer 2008). In upper-secondary education, higher vocational and academically orientated schools (*lycées*) enable students to obtain the '*bacc*'. Recent studies have shown that these reforms made the '*bacc*' the education norm in France, and that the requirements of the labour market have shifted into the post-secondary and tertiary education sector (Brauns, Steinmann, Kieffer & Marry 1999; Duru-Bellat & Kieffer 2008; Duru-Bellat, Kieffer & Fournier-Maerelli 1997). Consequently, the French education system has moved to a mass system of post-secondary and tertiary education over the past three decades.

Secondly, figures for France indicate that Turkish second-generation students are more often at the lower end of the education spectrum than

their peers in the comparison group, and they fall behind in post-secondary and tertiary education. They leave school after compulsory education (primary and lower-secondary education) in higher numbers, while the difference in post-secondary and tertiary education amounts to around 26 per cent when both cities are taken together. This gap between the two groups in post-secondary and tertiary education mirrors previous findings for the educational attainment of second-generation Turks in France, which showed a gap of almost the same size (Kirszbaum et al. 2009: 26). In addition, the overall distribution of education levels presented in table 3.1 also resembles the results for the educational attainment of second-generation Turks from a recent survey of children of immigrants in France (Brinbaum, Moguérou & Primon 2010).

Finally, variations in the distribution of education levels can be seen between second-generation Turks in Strasbourg and Paris. In Strasbourg, children of Turkish immigrants are more likely to attend vocational schools (for apprenticeships and similar), and consequently advance less frequently beyond upper-secondary education. When considering post-secondary and tertiary education, the Turkish second generation in Paris achieves this level almost twice as often as their counterparts in Strasbourg.

The last two columns on the right side of table 3.1 show the results for Stockholm. At a first glance, the overall distribution of the education levels resembles that of France. The Swedish education system also consists of a comprehensive system and a post-secondary and tertiary sector in which job specialisation takes place. Consequently, the great majority of students are situated on the upper end of the education ladder. Nevertheless, significant group differences in education levels are recognizable. Second-generation Turks are twice as likely as comparison group students to leave Swedish schools after compulsory education. This finding is in line with the results for the educational attainment of children of Turkish immigrants in Sweden (Jonsson & Rudolphi 2008). Moving on to the top end of the education ladder, the gap between the two compared groups amounts to nearly 30 per cent in favour of the comparison group.

Associations with the parents' levels of education

How can the differences in education outcomes reported above between the Turkish second generation and their comparison group be explained? Of course, a detailed determination of multiple potential explanatory factors goes beyond the scope of this first overview and frames the tasks of the

forthcoming chapters. However, this section considers one of the most important factors that might explain quite a few of the differences: the parents' levels of education.

The link between social origin (including level of education) and the educational attainment of children has been identified as *the* major explanation for the disadvantaged position of the children of immigrants – including the Turkish second generation – in education in Europe (Alba, Handl & Müller 1994; Crul & Holdaway 2009; Heath & Brinbaum 2007; Heath et al. 2008; Kalter, Granato & Kristen 2007; Rothon et al. 2009; Vallet & Caille 1996). Previous studies demonstrate that the Turkish second generation in Europe often comes from less-advantaged social and education backgrounds (Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Crul et al. 2012; Dustmann et al. 2012, compare also chapter 2). It is therefore possible that many of the differences between the comparison group and second-generation Turks can be explained by differences in their parents' education backgrounds.[2]

The measurement of parental education is based on the parent with the highest qualifications and consists of five categories: primary or below, lower-secondary, upper-secondary, post-secondary, and tertiary education. The distribution of the parental education levels is displayed in table 3.2. The first point to note is that the education levels of the Turkish parents is significantly lower than that of the comparison group across countries. As indicated in chapter 2, the great majority of Turkish fathers and mothers migrated at an early age for work reasons, and were equipped with little or no experience of education. The proportion of less-educated parents (primary at best) is highest among Turkish fathers and mothers living in Strasbourg. Stockholm has the highest share of well-educated parents (compare chapter 2). This is partially the result of additional training programmes in Sweden and the substantial group of Turkish refugees who obtained higher education credentials when they arrived. Overall, second-generation Turks living in all three countries come from families with lower levels of education. It is also worth noting that the education levels of parents in the comparison group vary from country to country. Sweden and France show higher proportions of post-secondary (or higher) diploma-holders, while the majority of fathers and mothers in the Austrian comparison group mostly achieve upper-secondary level.

2 The levels of education attained by parents is used rather than social class since they were highly correlated and the former is perhaps more relevant to my concerns.

Table 3.2 Parents' levels of education, by group and city (%)

	Primary or below	Lower-secondary	Upper-secondary	Post-secondary	Tertiary	N.
Austria						
Vienna						
2nd Gen Turks	27.4	37.7	21.4	10.3	3.2	250
Comparison group	3.8	11.2	52.0	11.6	21.4	252
Linz						
2nd Gen Turks	29.1	25.7	22.3	12.2	10.7	206
Comparison group	2.9	5.6	60.3	10.7	20.5	234
France						
Paris						
2nd Gen Turks	34.3	25.8	23.4	4.0	12.5	248
Comparison group	2.3	6.9	44.3	21.8	24.7	174
Strasbourg						
2nd Gen Turks	46.4	28.6	20.2	1.6	3.2	252
Comparison group	1.0	6.2	43.5	32.2	17.1	177
Sweden						
Stockholm						
2nd Gen Turks	33.1	23.5	14.3	11.5	17.6	251
Comparison group	2.0	12.0	28.0	7.8	50.2	250

Source: TIES 2007-2008

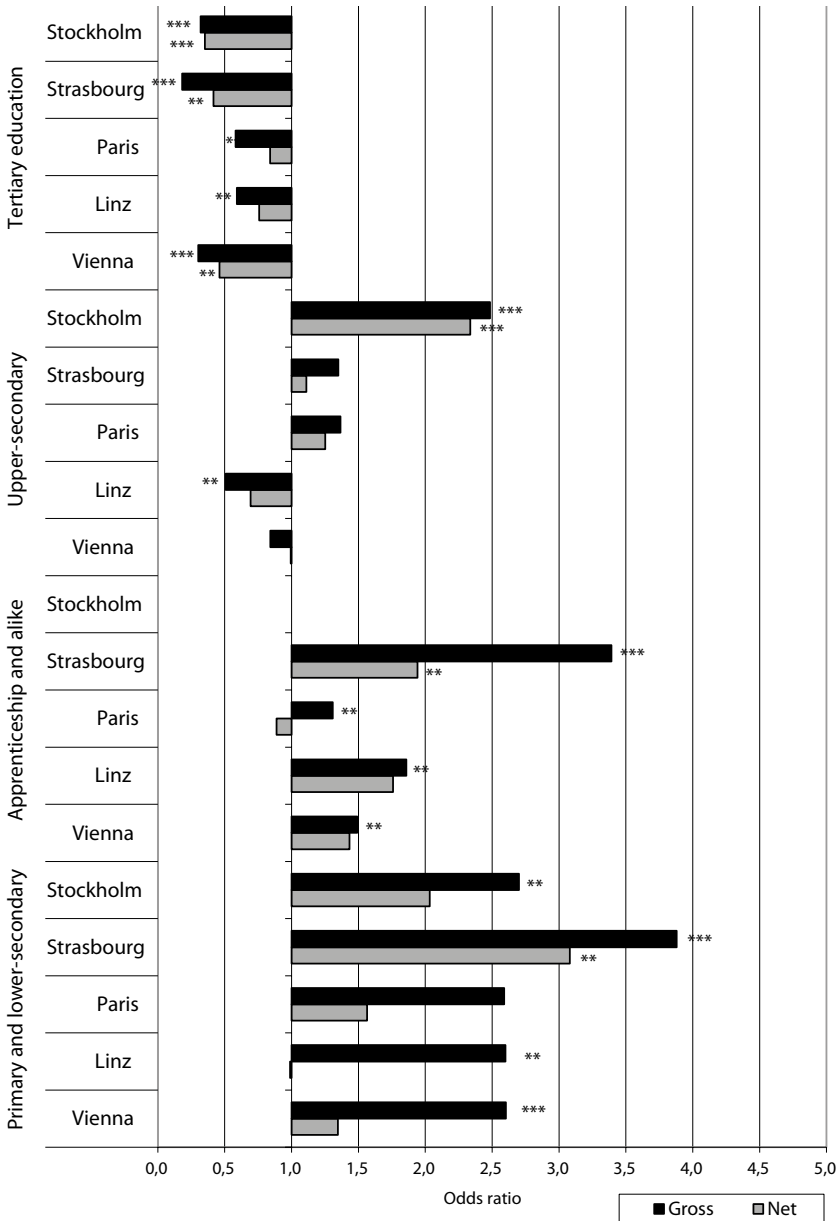
The next step in this book will be to check for statistical differences between groups, showing each individual respondent's education background. This will include an examination of how many of these differences can be accounted for by differences in levels of education. Given the diverse overall education profiles of the student population across the three countries, the education outcomes of the respondents (dependent variable) will be reduced further and standardised into four broad categories: (1) primary and lower-secondary (compulsory education), (2) apprenticeships and similar, (3) upper-secondary, and (4) tertiary education. Gaps in education will be presented in odds ratios, which are a useful measure for assessing relative performance since they are independent of the overall achievement (Rothon et al. 2009: 1422).

The advantage that's gained by using a relative measure such as odds ratios rather than a conventional measure (such as the percentage complet-

ing a certain level of education) is important since it is not the absolute level of education that matters but whether second-generation Turks have more or fewer opportunities than the comparison group with whom they compete in schools, and, later on, in the labour market of each city. Having highly educated parents might be an advantage in countries such as Austria where fewer pupils have more highly educated backgrounds, whereas in countries such as France the overall level of educational attainment is higher and more frequently distributed in the population.

To facilitate interpretation, any gaps in education between groups are illustrated in figure 3.1. Values above 1 indicate better chances of achieving the education level in question among second-generation Turks than the comparison group. Values below one indicate fewer chances. An exact value of one for both groups would be a sign of equal opportunity. In short, the higher any bar is from 1, the bigger the education gap will be between the two compared groups. Results are presented before ('gross': black bars) and after checking for parents' levels of education ('net': grey bars). The aim of this strategy is twofold: to examine the education gaps independent of the overall achievement, and to explore whether these gaps are biggest at the lowest and highest ends of the education spectrum in all three countries (black bars). In all three countries, second-generation Turks are, on average, more than two and a half times more likely to finish school with, at best, a certificate from compulsory school. And, at the top end of the education spectrum, the chances of completing their education with a post-secondary or tertiary qualification are (on average) only half as big for the Turkish second generation as for the comparison group. In line with the descriptive findings in table 3.1, the greatest variety between cities is found in upper-secondary education. In the two French cities and in Vienna, significant differences between the compared groups are absent, while the Turkish second generation in Stockholm significantly outperforms the comparison group.

Figure 3.1 Differences in education outcomes before ('gross') and after ('net') controlling for parents' education levels, by city (odds ratios)



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance:* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Net differences (grey bars) are controlled for parents' levels of education.

Do these differences in education levels persist once the parental education level is 'held constant'? The grey bars show the odds ratios for second-generation Turks relative to the comparison group after checking for parents' levels of education. One conclusion emerges clearly from the grey bars displayed in figure 3.1: the differences in levels of education between the two groups can, to a great extent, be explained by their parents' levels of education. Especially at the lower end of the spectrum, significant differences mostly vanish after checking for parents' levels of education. This pattern of explaining the education gap in the lower education categories appears to be common in all cities except Strasbourg, where the gap persists significantly.

It is also worth noting that in post-secondary and tertiary education, over-representation of the comparison group remains significant in Stockholm, Strasbourg and Vienna. The differences between the odds ratios before and after checking for parents' levels of education do not decrease substantially at the upper end of the education spectrum. Considering the 'ranking' of the five cities, the patterns do not change much between the gross and net differences. Overall, differences in education levels seem to be smallest in Paris and Stockholm on the one hand and biggest in the Austrian cities on the other hand, while Strasbourg is located in between. The results in figure 3.1 provide a first glimpse of the size and strength of the influence of parents' education in the three countries. Parents' education levels account for most of the differences observed in the Austrian and French cities (compare black and grey bars), while in Sweden they account for slightly less.

3.3 Accounting for compositional differences

Understanding and interpreting the differences in education outcomes for the Turkish second generation *across* countries is a complex matter. Why are children of Turkish immigrants predominantly achieving lower levels of education in Austria compared to their age-mates of Turkish origin in France and Sweden (compare table 3.1 and figure 3.1)?

'Origins shape destinies' writes Rumbaut (1999: 187) and hints at the contribution that compositional differences in the first generation can make in explaining education disparities among the second generation. These differences in education and occupational composition are often related to immigrant selectivity (Feliciano 2005a, 2005b), and this line of argument is frequently applied when comparing the outcomes of children of diverse ethnic origin groups in one single country (e.g. Haller, Portes & Lynch 2011; Heath et al. 2008; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). Although the methodological

approach applied in this study is different in that it compares children of the same origin group (Turks) across countries, compositional differences may play a role as well. The great majority of Turkish fathers in all three countries migrated for work reasons while mothers overwhelmingly followed to reunify families, and both parents frequently had few educational qualifications at their disposal. Nevertheless, some degree of heterogeneity within the Turkish communities has been observed as well in chapter 2 – especially across the three compared countries. Variations have been found in terms of the reasons for migration, time of arrival and regions of origin.

Compositional differences are related not only to the migration histories of Turkish fathers and mothers, but were shaped and reinforced by the conditions immigrants faced upon arrival in their receiving countries and cities. Reitz (1998, 2002; Reitz & Somerville 2004) has called the consequences of these varying conditions on children of immigrants 'indirect effects of host society institutions'. Host society institutions, such as national and local labour markets, may affect the Turkish second generation indirectly through their parents' experiences, and may serve as an explanation for some of the differences in their outcomes across countries. For example, Turkish fathers and mothers in Stockholm have been found to obtain, on average, higher-prestige jobs and more host-country education credentials than Turkish immigrants in France and Austria – which may later translate into better financial circumstances, more educationally relevant resources and a deeper knowledge of the workings of the national education system. In other words, the varying range of conditions Turkish families faced on arrival may have affected the socio-economic position of the first generation and therefore 'indirectly' the family lives and circumstances in which the Turkish second generation grew up.

This section explores whether the differences in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks across cities remain significant once those outcomes are adjusted for compositional differences in the Turkish first generation. Only if significant education disparities exist after controlling for these family-related characteristics is further analysis justified in order to assess the direct impact of other relevant factors which may explain cross-national differences.

Table 3.3 shows the results of a multivariate analysis (ordered logistic regression). The dependent variable is the education level of the Turkish second generation, coded as lower-secondary at the most (1), upper-secondary and apprenticeship (2), and post-secondary/tertiary education (3). Model 1 displays the differences in education outcomes among second-generation Turks across cities expressed in odds ratios. The estimates in Model 1 have

already been tested for the socio-demographic characteristics (age and gender) of the second generation and whether or not the respondents are still enrolled in school. The results of Model 1 resemble the descriptive patterns observed in table 3.1. The odds of achieving a higher level of education are around three and four times higher in Stockholm and Paris respectively than in Vienna. The odds of second-generation Turks in Strasbourg achieving a higher level of education are lower than in Paris or Stockholm, but still significantly higher than for second-generation Turks in Vienna. The non-significant coefficient for Linz indicates similar opportunities for second-generation Turks in both Austrian cities.

Table 3.3 Ordered logistic regression of education levels (odds ratios)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Controlled for:	**Socio-demographic characteristics**	**Family background characteristics**	**Migration-related factors**
Ref: Vienna			
Linz	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Paris	4.14 ***	4.17 ***	3.51 ***
Strasbourg	1.64 ***	1.67 ***	1.66 *
Stockholm	2.99 ***	2.49 ***	2.21 ***
Nagelkerke's R2	0.32	0.36	0.37
N.	1209	1184	1181

Source: TIES 2007, 2008
Notes: Ordered logistic regression on educational level of the second generation. Dependent variable: lower secondary at the most (1), upper-secondary and apprenticeship (2) and post-secondary/tertiary education (3). Model specifications and distribution of the independent variables are given in Appendix B. Levels of significance:* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant.

In a second step (Model 2), a number of independent variables has been introduced in order to explore whether differences in outcomes between the Turkish second generation across cities can be related to composition differences in the parents' generation. These independent variables are: the education levels of the parents, whether at least one parent attended school in the survey country, whether both parents were employed when the respondent was 15, family size and parents' language ability in German,

French or Swedish. The differences we have already observed between the reference group, second-generation Turks in Vienna, and second-generation Turks in Stockholm, are slightly reduced, while they remain identical in the French cities. In other words, even after testing for compositional differences in the first generation, variations in the outcomes for their children across countries and cities remain significant.

Finally, migration-related variables for the parents have been added to the model. These variables are also taken from chapter 2 and include the length of time parents have resided in the survey city, whether the parents originate from a highly developed area of Turkey, and whether or not fathers migrated primarily for reasons of work. The advantaged position of the Turkish second generation in Paris and Stockholm is slightly reduced when holding these variables constant, but the overall differences in attempts to achieve a higher level of education do not disappear.

The main conclusion to be drawn from table 3.3 is that second-generation Turks in France and Sweden are still significantly more likely to achieve a higher level of education than the second generation in Austria, even after testing statistically for compositional differences in the parental generation. Further, Reitz (1998, 2002) has argued that country institutions exert an indirect effect on the position of the second generation, and this may explain some of the cross-national variations. The analysis presented in this section indicates, however, that after applying controls, differences in the education outcomes of the Turkish second generation remain highly significant across cities and countries.

3.4 Inter-generational educational mobility

So far, the education outcomes of second-generation Turks have been examined in relation to the comparison group (Section 3.2) and across countries (Section 3.3). The last comparative perspective of this first glimpse at education outcomes investigates inter-generational mobility between the Turkish first and second generations. A large body of work has shown that opportunities for children of immigrants become most evident by examining their degree of inter-generational mobility (De Broucker & Underwood 1998; Loury 2005; Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Platt 2005; Rumbaut 2004, 2008). Greater levels of inter-generational mobility can be read as indicators of greater openness and a weaker link between the parents' levels of education and advantageous outcomes for their children. Further, the inter-generational mobility approach also indicates whether or not children of Turkish im-

migrants improve their educational distribution. This section builds on the work cited above by asking how patterns of educational attainment among young adults of Turkish origin compare to those of their parents. In order to assess whether the Turkish second generation made some progress in relation to the first generation, a mobility index has been created. Following the procedures applied by Rumbaut (2008) to measure inter-generational mobility, the education outcomes of the second generation have been coded into the same categories as the parents' education levels (see table 3.2). Second-generation offspring who obtained the same levels of education as their parents are labelled 'immobile', while those found to be either above or below their parents' levels are classified as 'upward movers' or 'downward movers' respectively.[3] From this perspective, the general trend of mobility between the generations is of interest, rather than looking only at actual achieved levels of education. Parents of mixed parentage and those who achieved their highest educational credentials in the schools of the host country have been excluded from the analysis in order to avoid distortions. The results of the mobility patterns are given in table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Inter-generational educational mobility of the Turkish second generation, by city (%)

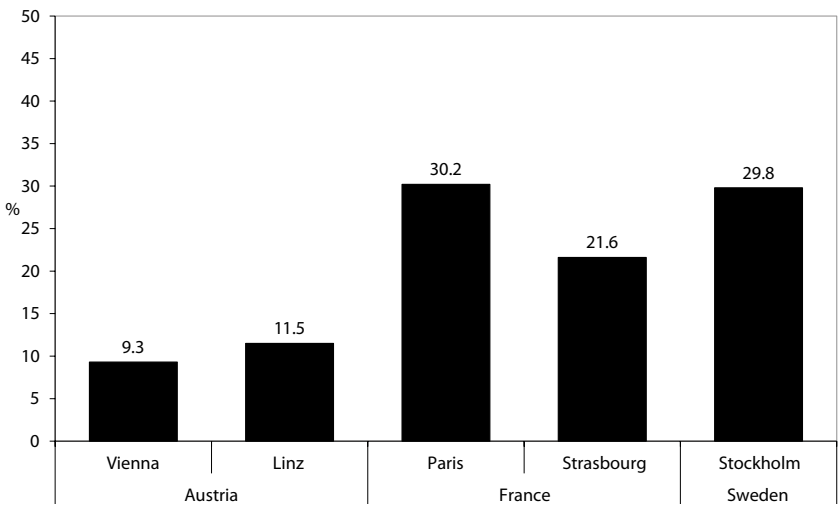
	Downward movers ↓	***Immobile*** ↔	***Upward movers*** ↑	**N.**
Austria				
Vienna	14.4	28.4	57.2	215
Linz	14.0	27.4	58.6	157
France				
Paris	7.1	18.9	74.0	227
Strasbourg	4.3	23.4	72.3	231
Sweden				
Stockholm	2.8	9.9	87.3	141

Source: TIES 2007-2008

3 In recent decades, scholars of social stratification research have developed a wide range of mobility measures for examining inter-generational mobility. These are mainly based on multivariate log linear models (for reviews and applications, see Breen 2004a, 2004b; Lucas 2001). These multivariate mobility tables have been developed for analysing large-scale surveys. The data demands make it unfeasible to apply them within this study, given the relatively small N. Within this section, results on the absolute rather than the relative degree of mobility are presented by using descriptive measures of inter-generational mobility.

At first glance, a predominantly upward trend in education mobility from the first generation to the second can be seen in all three countries. To begin with, in Sweden almost nine out of ten children of Turkish origin achieve a higher level of education than their parents, while only about 3 per cent perform below the level of their parents. In France, more than 70 per cent are upward movers. The picture in the Austrian cities is more diverse. There, only slightly more than one child in two moves beyond the level of his parents, and almost every third child achieves a level of education similar to that of his parents. The number of downward movers is also highest in Austria with around 14 per cent in each of the cities. It is worth noting that the results from the two French cities, Paris and Strasbourg, differ in terms of both downward movers and those who remained educationally immobile. In Strasbourg, more second-generation Turks move beyond or achieve the same level as their parents when compared to their counterparts in Paris. The lower levels of downward mobility are not surprising given the relatively low education level of the Turkish first generation in Strasbourg (see table 3.2 and compare with chapter 2).

Figure 3.2 Long-range upward mobility in second-generation Turks, by city (%)



Source: TIES 2007-2008

Taken as a whole, the findings of the inter-generational educational mobility index point in a similar direction to the results presented in the previous sections. In Austria, the educational opportunities for second-generation Turks seem to be blocked in comparison with either France or Sweden,

suggesting greater meritocracies in the latter. These results become even more pronounced when investigating 'long-range upward mobility'. These are upward movers who leap over at least one education category (Breen 2004b). For example, second-generation Turks whose parents had at least a lower-secondary level of education, and who achieved post-secondary education themselves, would be labelled as 'long-range upward movers'. Figure 3.2 displays the distribution of long-range upward mobility within the three countries and five cities. Not surprisingly, the overall mobility trend observed in table 3.4 remains in figure 3.2 as well: long-range upward mobility is two to three times more common in France and Sweden than in Austria. Around 30 per cent of students from the Turkish second generation in Paris and Stockholm move at least two levels beyond their parents. The average rate in the Austrian cities is around 10 per cent, while second-generation Turks in Strasbourg are in between, comprising around 20 per cent long-range upward movers. This latter finding underscores especially the dissimilar patterns between the French cities. The Turkish second generation in Strasbourg has had a predominantly upward journey because the educational attainment of the first generation was particularly low. At the same time, the number of children who climb far higher than the level of their parents is lower in Strasbourg than in Paris.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided a first glimpse of education outcomes at the aggregated level by applying three levels of comparison: the Turkish second generation with the comparison group within countries, with second-generation Turks across countries, and between generations.

To begin with the latter, there has been substantial inter-generational progress by the Turkish second generation as measured descriptively relative to the parental generation. In comparison with their parents, the overwhelming majority of the children showed some progress in the education sphere, but at very different rates. The Turkish second generation in Sweden, and to a lesser extent in France, displayed exceptional achievement. By comparison, the achievements of the second generation in Austria were moderate. So, the predominantly upward trend in mobility in relation to the parental generation across the countries is a success story, but it should also be regarded with caution because the majority of Turkish parents migrated to these various countries equipped with very little experience of education.

Turning to the relative comparison within countries and cities, the findings indicate significant differences in the distribution of education levels between the compared groups. On average, the differences between the comparison group and second-generation Turks are most pronounced at the lowest and the highest ends of the education ladder in all three countries. To a substantial degree, the disadvantaged position of second-generation Turks within countries can be related to parents' levels of education since children of Turkish origin are more likely to come from less-educated families. This makes it difficult to climb the education ladder. Nevertheless, significant disadvantages did not always vanish after testing statistically for parents' levels of education.

This first glance at the outcomes provided a third perspective by comparing the education levels of second-generation Turks across cities. The fact that second-generation Turks in France and Sweden outperform their counterparts in Austria could not be explained by the compositional differences in the first generation, which were detected in chapter 2. Even after testing for a wide range of composition-related and migration-related factors in the parental generation, the odds of the second generation achieving a similar education level in Vienna and Linz were still significantly lower than in either of the French cities or in Stockholm.[4]

These provisional results raise a number of questions that will pave the way for the forthcoming chapters. The first question concerns the poorer achievements of second-generation Turks in relation to the comparison groups in all three countries. Although parents' levels of education played a substantial role in explaining parts of the disadvantaged position of the Turkish second generation, the specific mechanisms through which parents' education correlates with children's learning and education outcomes still remain elusive. Other individual and group-related factors that affect the schooling outcomes of second-generation Turks should be considered. For example, more information is needed about the availability of educational resources in families, as well as outside the family home. In addition to these individual-level explanations, there appears to be a number of institutional factors at play as well. In order to investigate, education pathways have to be examined. Focusing on school careers will provide detailed insights into the mechanisms at work between the institutional arrangements of schools and individual characteristics at different stages. The following chapters

4 All three levels of comparison have been tested for gender differences as well, but no significant variations have been found between males and females.

will give, step by step, a more detailed examination of the explanatory factors by looking at the issues raised above.

The next chapter will look at the specific mechanisms through which parents' education levels correlate with children's learning and achievement. More precisely, it focuses on the availability of educational resources in Turkish families, as well as their aspirations for education and their involvement strategies.

4 Behind the Scenes: The Family Examined

4.1 Introduction

As seen in chapter 3, the educational success of the Turkish second generation depends not only on the cognitive ability, motivation and aspirations of the children, but also to a large extent on the educational, social and economic resources available in their families. The education level of the parents in particular is one of the most important characteristics in the family context. This finding is in line with most of the international research on immigrant youth and schooling outcomes (Crul & Holdaway 2009; Heath & Brinbaum 2007; Portes & Rumbaut 1996; Zhou 1997). However, there are a number of scholars who claim that parental socio-economic status is not all that counts. There is also a view that the most important factor in explaining the transmission of resources is the quality of ties between generations (Allmendinger, Ebner & Nikolai 2007; Horvat, Weininger & Lareau 2003). Young adolescents will not benefit from the help of their parents if the relationship between them is weak or if parents are not engaged in their school activities. This chapter explores the involvement strategies and patterns of support provided by Turkish families in Austria, France and Sweden. Central to this analysis is research that has shown that children of immigrants benefit from such involvement and that parents are crucial in determining their children's experiences and academic success (Kao 2004; Kim 2002; Turney & Kao 2009).

Most previous research, however, stems from national studies that provide some evidence that the effectiveness of involvement varies across different origin groups (Kao 1995; Mc Neal 1999), while studies looking systematically at parental involvement and possible variations within the same origin group across countries don't exist so far. Moreover, most of the studies are too narrowly framed, investigating only parental influences. Especially in immigrant families, it is often the older siblings who act as role models and provide their younger brothers and sisters with information and support, making them as effective as parents (Crul 2000a: 240). Older siblings can act as intermediaries between younger children and their schools. Their own schooling experiences can also be a major source of support. In this chapter, I aim to extend the discussion about family influences on education outcomes by investigating the role of parents and older siblings in a cross-national comparison.

This chapter asks to what extent the educational success and attainment of second-generation Turks is associated with family influence in the three compared countries. To answer this question, the next section starts by classifying the main aspects of parental support and involvement. It further provides a short overview of how these aspects are measured in the empirical part of this chapter. The subsequent sections then examine the impact of parental involvement and support on education outcomes for second-generation Turks in the three compared countries. Afterwards, the discussion moves to the issue of siblings' influence on education outcomes, before the family involvement of Turkish and non-Turkish families are compared. The main findings are summarised in the conclusion.

4.2 Parental involvement as social capital

Parents' involvement in their children's schooling is most often conceptualised as a form of social capital (Turney & Kao 2009: 258, see also McNeal 1999). Social capital is understood as a set of networks and connections in which actors secure benefits and resources by virtue of membership and contacts (Portes 1998). Parent-child relationships are networks in which children benefit from parental involvement in their education through a number of different mechanisms (Domina 2005; Nauck 2011b; Nauck & Kohlmann 1998; Turney & Kao 2009):

First, parents' involvement with schools can show children that education is valued and of importance for the family, which may ultimately translate into greater appreciation of education on the part of the children themselves. Parental involvement also provides parents with a means of social control through directly controlling the time their children spend on homework. Additionally, they get to know other parents and teachers with whom they discuss their children's performances. Lastly, involved parents are privy to substantially more information about their children.

Through these mechanisms, parental involvement has a lasting influence on the performance of their children at school, and most researchers have found that higher levels of parental influence leads to significant advantages (Faas, Benson & Kaestle 2013; Keith, Keith, Quirk, Sperduto, Santillo & Killings 1998; Melby, Conger, Fang, Wickrama & Conger 2008). Parent-school involvement and inter-generational closeness have been found to be positively related to the education outcomes of children of immigrants, benefitting measures such as average grades or tests scores (Kao & Rutherford 2007). Other studies suggest a more diverse variety of

effects. McNeal (1999) reports that good family relationships have positive effects on certain types of behaviour by the second generation, such as truancy. However, they have less of an effect in terms of educational attainment or the number of children who stay on at school. Yet others claim that parental support and involvement have beneficial results for some immigrant adolescents but don't translate into the same benefits for others (Kao & Rutherford 2007; Sun 1998).

Dimensions of parental involvement

Since parental involvement is a multidimensional construct (Domina 2005; Turney & Kao 2009), the various aspects of parental influence need to be classified into a number of broad dimensions. The three dimensions outlined here are partially derived from James Coleman's concept of social capital (Coleman 1988; Morgan & Sørensen 1999) and have been further developed and applied in studies of parental influence on the educational performance of immigrant youth (Kao 2004; Kao & Tienda 1995; Lauglo 2000; McNeal 1999; Sun 1998).

The first dimension is *parental control* and it comprises the constructive engagement of parents with the school-related activities of their children. It includes issues such as whether parents control the time children spend doing homework, whether they know their children's friends and whether they discuss school experiences with their children. Parental control is one important way in which parents can communicate their expectations to their children.

The second dimension describes the concrete and practical involvement of parents in school-related activities. Help with homework, frequent contact with teachers and voluntary participation in school activities can be labelled *parental participation* (Lauglo 2000).

In the TIES survey, two indicators are available per dimension (see table 4.1). To begin with, *parental control* is captured in two survey items asking (1) 'whether parents control the time their child spends on homework' and (2) 'whether they talked with them about school or studies'. In order to measure what Lauglo (2000) has labelled *participation*, survey information on (1) whether parents helped with homework and (2) how frequently they met their children's teachers is considered. Each of the four variables had five answer categories ranging from 'never' to 'often'.[1]

1 For a detailed measurement description of these items and their descriptive outcomes, see Appendix B.

As well as these indicators that are derived from social capital literature, a fifth variable on the perceived importance of parents in supporting their child with his or her studies (5) is included, in order to provide information on the quality of ties between generations in the educational attainment process. This variable serves as the third dimension of parental influence.

Table 4.1 Parental involvement measures in the TIES survey

Dimension	Measurement within the TIES survey
Perceived importance of parents	Parents were important in supporting the child with his or her studies
Parental control	Parents controlled the time the child spent on homework
	Parents talked with the child about school and studies
Parental participation	Frequency with which parents helped with homework
	Frequency with which parents met with or talked to teachers

The prevalence of those dimensions for second-generation Turks in the five cities under consideration is displayed in figure 4.1. The black bars show the percentage distribution of the highest categories 'regularly' and 'often', while the black diamond represents the mean value on the five-point scale for second-generation Turks. In order to facilitate interpretation, I generated an additional 'parental support index' which comprises the four items making up the behavioural dimension (participation and control). All the items presented below and used in this chapter are treated as continuous variables ranging from low (1) to high (5) involvement.

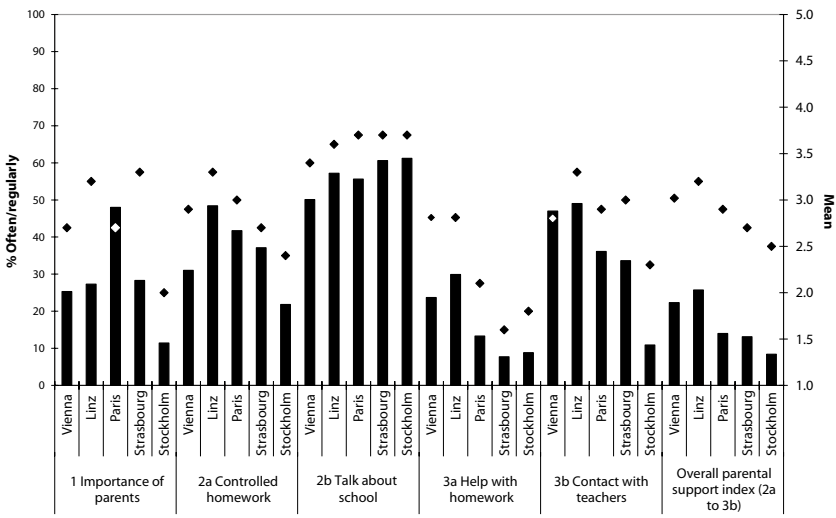
The findings in figure 4.1 show that the level of support provided by Turkish families for their children varies across the three countries and five cities. The great majority of second-generation Turks did not receive much support from their parents in school-related matters. The most frequent type of support is talking about school, while concrete help with homework remains rare among Turkish families in all countries. Considering the parental support index (right side of figure 4.1), which includes all four items to do with control and participation, a clear ranking can be seen across countries: Turkish parents living in Austria spent much more time supporting their children in school-related activities than did Turkish families in France or Sweden (means compared). On average, Turkish fathers and mothers in the Austrian cities supported their children frequently in their school activities. By contrast, the great majority of second-generation Turks in Sweden did not get, nor did they

need, any support from their parents. The results for France are in the centre, between Austria and Sweden.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that when considering each parental control and participation item separately, variations in the general ranking and across cities are sometimes apparent. These differences are most pronounced when it comes to controlling the time children spent on homework. This is most common among Turkish parents in Linz, followed by those in the two French cities, and then by Vienna and Stockholm.

The perceived importance of parents is highest by far in Paris. Almost every second child of Turkish immigrants reported that his or her parents were important to their studies. In the Austrian cities and in Strasbourg, the equivalent proportion was around one out of four. In Stockholm, parents seemed to have little importance in supporting their children's studies. This finding is also reflected in almost all other aspects of parental support, indicating that Turkish parents in Sweden are least involved in their children's education.

Figure 4.1 Mean and percentage distribution of the main indicators of parental support, by city



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Bars indicate the percentage distributions of the combined answer categories 'regularly' and 'often'. Diamonds show the mean value of each group on the total scale (ranging from 1 to 5) of each indicator.

Associations between parental involvement and family characteristics

In order to understand the varying levels of parental support and engagement among Turkish families in the education-related activities of their children, correlations with the families' composition will be examined. Several studies in the sociology of education, and in the area of child development, have underlined the strong association between parental involvement and family composition and structure (Dornbusch 1989; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts & Fraleigh 1987; Keefe, Padilla & Carlos 1979). To begin with, parents' involvement in their children's schooling is shaped by the resources and opportunities that parents have. Among these resources, parents' own educational attainment and their socio-economic status have been shown to be positively associated with parents' involvement in schools. Parents who have attained more in their own education are often found to be more frequently involved in their children's schooling than parents with fewer educational qualifications (Crosnoe 2001). In addition, family structure seems to matter. The basic assumption is derived from the resource dilution theory (Downey 1995, 2001) that suggests that the presence of siblings may have a negative impact on parental involvement. Both aspects outlined here are highly relevant to immigrant families. There are also two immigrant-specific aspects that have been found to be positively associated with the involvement of immigrant parents: the length of time parents have spent in the receiving country and their ability to speak the language of the receiving country (Turney & Kao 2009).

In chapter 2, I explored compositional differences in Turkish families across the five compared cities and found systematic variations in a number of selected aspects. In this section I will scrutinise whether, and to what extent, the degree of parental support provided by Turkish parents is associated with their levels of education, their host-country language abilities, the length of time they have resided in the host country, and family size. These indicators reflect differences in barriers to parental involvement across the three countries and five cities. Table 4.2 shows the correlation matrix for parental involvement and support indicators along with these family characteristics.

Parental support and the education levels of the parents

In general, the first results to note from table 4.2 are the highly significant and positive correlations between the parental support index and par-

ents' levels of education. The higher the education levels of the parents, the more often they are able to support their children in school-related activities. This is the overall case in the three countries and in all five cities. In addition to this general trend, differences in the strength of association can be seen when exploring the associations for each indicator separately. To begin with, in Austria, all measures of parental support provided by Turkish parents are highly associated with the fathers' and mothers' levels of education. This is not the case in France and Sweden, where concrete patterns of support seem to be related to the education levels of mothers rather than those of fathers. The estimated correlations between the parental support items are strongest in the Austrian cities, Linz and Vienna (ranging between 0.20 and 0.40), medium in the French cities (on average between 0.20 and 0.30) and lowest in Stockholm (below 0.20).

Two additional points are worth highlighting: first, the perceived importance of the parents is significantly associated with the parents' levels of education only in the Austrian cities. Second, in Stockholm, the frequency of meetings with the children's teachers is not dependent on the education levels of the parents. Fathers and mothers with few educational credentials spend the same amount of time meeting with and talking to teachers as highly educated parents do.

Parental support and parents' ability to speak the host country's language

Previous studies revealed that parental support in school-related activities is highly dependent on the national language aptitude of the parents. Without obtaining language skills, Turkish fathers and mothers may face difficulties interacting with teachers and, as a result, may not be able to provide help with their children's homework. The estimated correlations in table 4.2 underline these previous findings for Austria, but do so to a lesser extent for France and Sweden. The better the language skills of the parents, the more often they are able to support their children (see correlations with the parental support index). The association between the parental support index and the national language ability of the parents is not, however, significant in the French cities. This finding is remarkable given that the lowest rate of 'reasonable' national language skills amongst Turkish fathers and mothers has been observed in France (see chapter 2).

Parental support and length of time parents have spent in the receiving country

Parents who have lived longer in their receiving countries do not necessarily provide more support for their children than those who arrived more recently. The initial argument that over the course of time parents were likely to gain information that could be beneficial in supporting their children in school-related activities turns out not to be tenable.

Table 4.2 Correlations between the dimensions of parental support and family characteristics

	Father's education background		Mother's education background		Parents' host-language ability		Length of residence in host country	Family size	
Austria									
Vienna									
Importance of parents	0.18	*	0.16	*	0.32	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Homework control	0.30	***	0.20	*	0.31	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Talk about school	0.29	***	0.19	*	0.29	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Help with homework	0.32	***	0.25	***	0.34	***	n.s.	-0.14	*
Contact with teachers	0.27	***	ns		0.20	*	n.s.	n.s.	
Parental support index	0.35	***	0.21	***	0.33	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Linz									
Importance of parents	0.30	***	0.30	***	0.37	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Homework control	0.29	***	0.27	***	0.37	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Talk about school	0.35	***	0.33	***	0.38	***	n.s.	n.s.	
Help with homework	0.32	***	0.38	***	0.41	***	n.s.	-0.13	*
Contact with teachers	0.37	***	0.40	***	0.35	***	n.s.	-0.15	*
Parental support index	0.39	***	0.40	***	0.45	***	n.s.	-0.17	*
France									
Paris									
Importance of parents	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	n.s.	
Homework control	0.16	*	0.25	*	0.21	*	n.s.	n.s.	
Talk about school	ns		0.16	*	0.22	*	n.s.	n.s.	
Help with homework	0.28	***	0.31	***	n.s.		n.s.	n.s.	
Contact with teachers	ns		0.16	*	n.s.		n.s.	-0.20	*
Parental support index	0.20	*	0.30	***	n.s.		n.s.	-0.16	*

	Father's education back-ground		Mother's education back-ground		Parents' host-language ability		Length of residence in host country	Family size	
Strasbourg									
Importance of parents	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	n.s.	
Homework control	0.16	*	0.20	*	0.18	*	n.s.	n.s.	
Talk about school	0.21	*	0.24	*	0.21	*	n.s.	-0.22	*
Help with homework	0.24	***	0.29	***	n.s.		n.s.	-0.17	*
Contact with teachers	0.16	*	0.26	***	n.s.		n.s.	-0.12	*
Parental support index	0.24	***	0.32	***	n.s.		n.s.	-0.19	*
Sweden									
Stockholm									
Importance of parents	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	n.s.	
Homework control	n.s.		n.s.		0.13	*	n.s.	n.s.	
Talk about school	0.17	*	0.24	***	n.s.		n.s.	n.s.	
Help with homework	0.25	***	0.18	*	0.30	***	n.s.	-0.16	*
Contact with teachers	n.s.		n.s.		0.14	*	n.s.	-0.15	*
Parental support index	0.19	*	0.18	*	0.27	***	n.s.	-0.18	*

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Significance level: * p<0.05; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=Correlation not significant.

Parental support and family size

In line with findings from previous studies, negative correlations can be found between family size and the level of support provided by parents, especially in terms of practical support such as help with homework. When pro-scholastic resources have to be distributed among a large number of children in large families, the level of support per child seems to decline. Outliers in this respect are Turkish families in Vienna, where only help with homework was negatively correlated with family size. Furthermore, family size has a negative impact on contact with teachers in all cities except Vienna. Compared to the importance of parents' education level, however, the strength of the correlations is lower.

Overall, the level of parental support provided by Turkish fathers and mothers is shaped by family composition and family characteristics in all three countries. This holds especially true for the associations between the dimension of support and the parents' own levels of education. Clearly, the higher the education level of the parents, the more often they help their children in school activities. When comparing the strength of the estimated correlations for each dimension per explanatory variable, it appears that

parental involvement and engagement is more strongly affected by family characteristics in Austria than in the French and Swedish cities. The next section looks at the concrete impact of parental support on the education outcomes of the Turkish second generation.

Parental influences on the education outcomes of second-generation Turks

How are parental influences and types of support associated with the performance of the Turkish second generation at school in the three countries? In this section, multivariate regression analysis is used to explore those associations. As a result of institutional differences in the education systems in Austria, France and Sweden, education credentials vary and are hard to compare (for a discussion, see chapter 3). For this reason, a slightly different strategy has been employed here to overcome difficulties in comparing education outcomes. This has been done by concentrating on early school leavers on the one hand, and on high achievers on the other, as the main dependent variables. The high achievers category comprises students who have already achieved or are currently studying at post-secondary or tertiary level, and the early school-leavers category is made up of students who stopped their education after lower-secondary school (OECD 2005: 36). From this point on, 'leaving school early' and 'achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level' will serve as the dependent variables for education outcomes in this section. Both variables have been proven to be highly comparable across countries and cities (Crul et al. 2012; OECD 2005). There is a potential advantage to using these two education outcomes as dependent variables. All questions about family influences and support were asked in relation to the period of compulsory education when the Turkish second generation was aged between twelve and fifteen. Estimating the impact that family influences have on leaving school early (directly after compulsory education), we can explore the effects on an event occurring immediately after the time period in which parental support had taken place. Examining the role of family influences on high achievers – the second dependent variable – allowed the exploration of their effects on long-term education outcome. Entering any type of post-secondary education happens, on average, two to three years after compulsory education ends, and is therefore after the time when the survey asked about parental support. Looking at entering post-secondary education (high achievers) helps to determine whether parental involvement in children's education in the most crucial time

period is linked to academic or behavioural success at a later stage in their education careers.

Table 4.3 reports the descriptive distributions of early school leavers and high achievers in the five cities. In line with the findings discussed in chapter 3, the proportion of high-achievers is highest in Paris and Stockholm, followed by Strasbourg and then the Austrian cities. However, in Paris and Stockholm, only around 9 per cent leave school early, while the group of early school leavers in Vienna is almost three times as high. Linz and Strasbourg share the same number of early school leavers, at around 19 per cent.

Table 4.3 Early school leaving and achieving post-secondary/tertiary education, by group and city (%)

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
Early school leaver	29.7	19.4	9.0	19.0	9.2
High achiever	14.3	22.8	57.7	31.0	47.4

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Binomial logistic regression[2] is used in order to explore the impact that parental support has on whether second-generation Turks leave school early or become high-achievers. Both dependent variables are dummy variables set to 1, where the final outcome was early school leaving or achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level of education. In total, up to three models of increasing complexity have been employed. The first model (M1) included all parental involvement indicators as separate measures. The second step (M2) tested for the parents' levels of education, and their host-country language ability was added to the analysis in order to explore whether patterns of parental support remained statistically significant, even after checking for family background characteristics. The final model (M3) drops all separate indicators of parental involvement and instead includes the combined parents support index. The aim is to provide a general picture of whether parental support, measured as a combination of all separate items, exerts any influence on education outcomes. All models are further controlled for age, gender and city (e.g. Vienna versus Linz).

2 Please refer to Appendix B for details on model specifications and robustness checks.

Early school leaving and parental involvement

Table 4.4 displays the results for early school leaving by second-generation Turks in the three countries. The first point to take away from these estimates is that more frequent discussions between parents and their children about their schooling reduces the odds of being an early school leaver in Austria and France. Further, this type of parental control remains significant once we also test for parents' levels of education and their language ability (M2). In other words, children who had more frequent exchanges about their school activities with their parents were less likely to drop out of school after compulsory education, irrespective of the parents' levels of education or language skills. On the other hand, parental involvement by Turkish fathers and mothers seems not to affect this education outcome significantly. With respect to parents' education levels, the estimates presented in table 4.4 verify the patterns already observed in chapter 3: the level of education of the parents remains an important determinant of schooling success. At the same time, its magnitude and significance vary across countries. Second-generation Turks are most dependent on their parents' education backgrounds in Austria, followed by France and then Sweden. Controlling for parents' education levels further explains the city differences in early school-leaving among second-generation Turks in Vienna and Linz.

In chapters 2 and 3, we saw that Turkish parents in Linz had higher education profiles than Turkish parents in Vienna, which seems to explain the lower rate of early school leavers among the second generation in Linz. In France, city differences remain significant even after adjusting the estimates for differences in parents' education levels and schooling involvement, with the Turkish second generation in Paris still being half as likely to leave school early as their age-mates in Strasbourg.[3]

The last model (M3) provides a more general picture of the role played by parental support in early school leaving by summing up all four separate support items in one index. The results reveal that in Austria, parental support reduces the odds of being an early school leaver significantly – but this is not the case in France or Sweden. Thus, it is not only the education levels of the parents and the available resources that matter in Austria, but also the amount of time and the level of support that is provided by the

3 Additionally, interaction terms between all indicators of parental support and the capital city (Vienna/Paris) have been included in a separate model (not shown). None of the interaction terms was statistically significant, indicating that the results presented in table 4.4 (and in table 4.5) are similar for second-generation Turks in each survey city.

Table 4.4 Binomial logistic regression of leaving school early for second-generation Turks (odds ratios)

	Austria			France			Sweden		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
Importance of parents	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Homework control	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Talk about school	0.70* (0.11)	0.73* (0.11)	–	0.63** (0.10)	0.64** (0.10)	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Help with homework	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Contact with teachers	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Parental support index		–	0.67** (0.09)		–	n.s.		–	n.s.
Parents' education level		0.64*** (0.08)	0.63*** (0.08)		0.66** (0.11)	0.66** (0.11)		0.71* (0.18)	0.71* (0.19)
Parents' host-country language ability		n.s.	n.s.		n.s.	n.s.		n.s.	n.s.
Capital city	1.72* (0.41)	n.s.	n.s.	0.38** (0.11)	0.42** (0.13)	0.50* (0.14)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
R2	0.11	0.17	0.15	0.11	0.14	0.11	0.07	0.09	0.08
N.	458	458	458	498	498	499	251	251	251

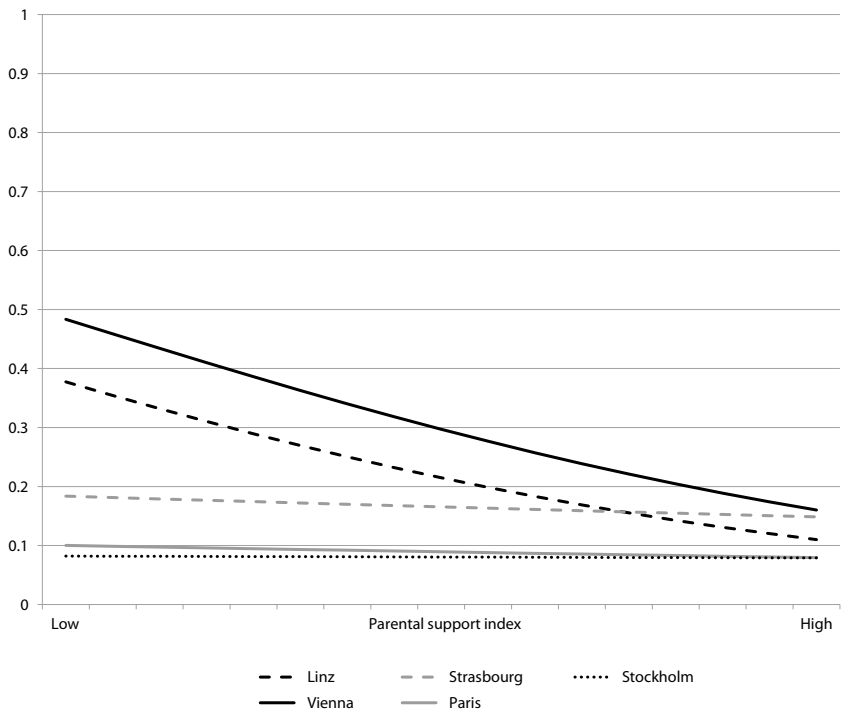
Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=variable included in regression, but results are not significant. n.a.=Not applicable. All models are controlled for age and gender.

parents to prevent their children from leaving school early. When turning to the results for France and Sweden, the parental support index cannot be found to have had any significant impact. In other words, whether Turkish families support their children frequently or not does not significantly affect the odds of them leaving school early in Sweden and France, once all the measures are taken as a whole. The varying importance of parental involvement in the school-related activities of second-generation Turks

becomes even more pronounced once the chances of leaving school early are displayed in relation to levels of parental support.

Figure 4.2 shows, per city, the predicted probability of leaving school early along the parental support index for parents with the same levels of education (lower-secondary). In Austria, as support from their parents increases, the chances that students will leave school early declines sharply. The predicted probability of being an early school leaver in France and Sweden is relatively small, independent of the support provided by parents, and almost detached from parental involvement.

Figure 4.2 Predicted probability of leaving school early for second-generation Turks, by city and parental support index



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Parents' education level is set to 'lower-secondary education' while all other independent variables are set to mean.

High achievers and parental involvement

When turning to the highest end of the education spectrum, becoming a high achiever, the results from binomial logistic regression for children of Turkish origin show similar trends. To begin with, entering a level beyond upper-secondary education seems to be unrelated to any type of parental involvement in Sweden. The only significant driver for being a high achiever is clearly the education level of parents. In Austria, children with parents who talked frequently with them about school showed increased odds of being high achievers. More precisely, with an increase of one unit on the 'talking about school' scale (for example, from 'frequently' to 'often') children's odds of entering post-secondary level double. So, as with the findings for leaving school early, talking about school remains important for second-generation Turks in Austria, even after controlling for parents' education levels.

How frequently school is talked about is also an important aspect when becoming a high-achiever in France, although it's less important in France than in Austria. Also, the more second-generation Turks considered their parents as important in their schooling activities, the higher became the odds of their reaching the top of the education ladder. Both indicators remain significant, even after considering parents' levels of education. Surprisingly, after testing for parents' education levels and the aptitude of parents in the French language, helping with homework becomes significant. The more parents had to help their children, the smaller their odds of becoming high achievers. Finally, city differences remain highly significant in favour of Paris. The odds of being a high achiever are one-and-a-half times higher here than in Strasbourg. Model 3 in table 4.5 shows the results for the combined index of parental support. Taking all types of involvement together reveals a strong and positive association for second-generation Turks in Austria but not in France or Sweden.

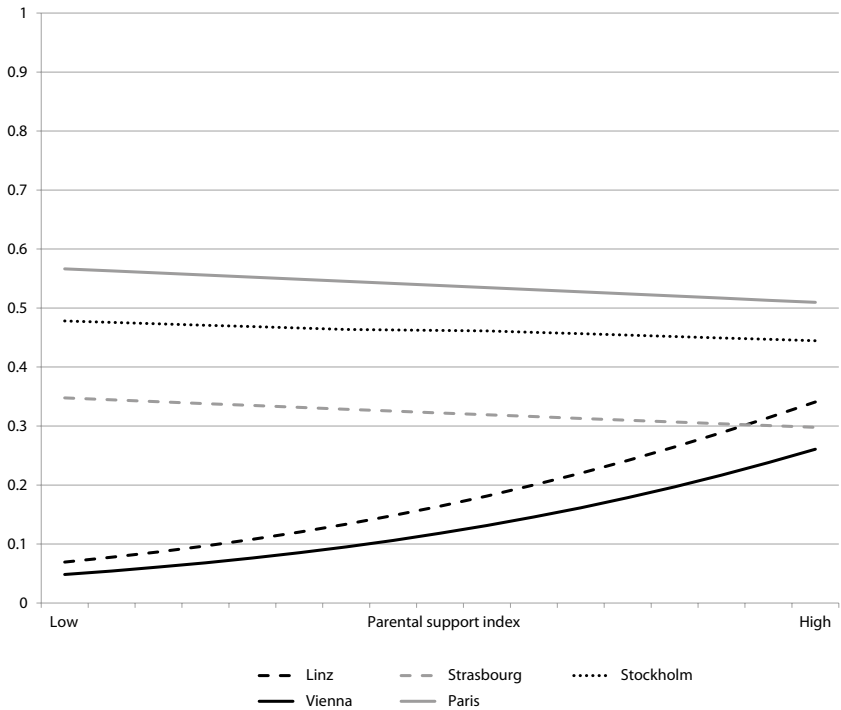
Table 4.5 Binomial logistic regression of achieving post-secondary/tertiary education for second-generation Turks (odds ratios)

	Austria			France			Sweden		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
Importance of parents	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	1.29** (0.10)	1.27** (0.11)	1.26** (0.10)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Homework control	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Talk about school	2.19*** (0.42)	2.19*** (0.42)	–	1.32* (0.15)	1.32* (0.15)	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Help with homework	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	0.74** (0.08)	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Contact with teachers	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–	n.s.	n.s.	–
Parental support index		–	1.62** (0.27)		–	n.s.		–	n.s.
Parents' education levels		1.40** (0.18)	1.37* (0.17)		1.37** (0.13)	1.32** (0.12)		1.18* (0.11)	1.16* (0.10)
Parents' host-country language ability		n.s.	n.s.		n.s.	n.s.		n.s.	n.s.
City (Capital)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	3.07*** (0.63)	2.91*** (0.61)	2.45*** (0.49)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
R2	0.16	0.19	0.12	0.15	0.20	0.16	0.11	0.14	0.11
N.	458	458	458	498	498	498	251	251	251

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=Variable included in regression, but results are not significant. n.a.=Not applicable. All models are controlled for age and gender.

As displayed in figure 4.3, the predicted probability of second-generation Turks in Austria climbing the education ladder to the highest level without *any* parental support was below 10 per cent. The more support these children got at home, the sharper the increase in their chances of reaching the upper rungs of the ladder. In contrast to the trends in Austria, but similar to findings in figure 4.2, parental support does not play an extraordinary role in Paris, Strasbourg, or Stockholm.

Figure 4.3 Predicted probability of achieving a post-secondary/tertiary education for second-generation Turks, by city and parental support index



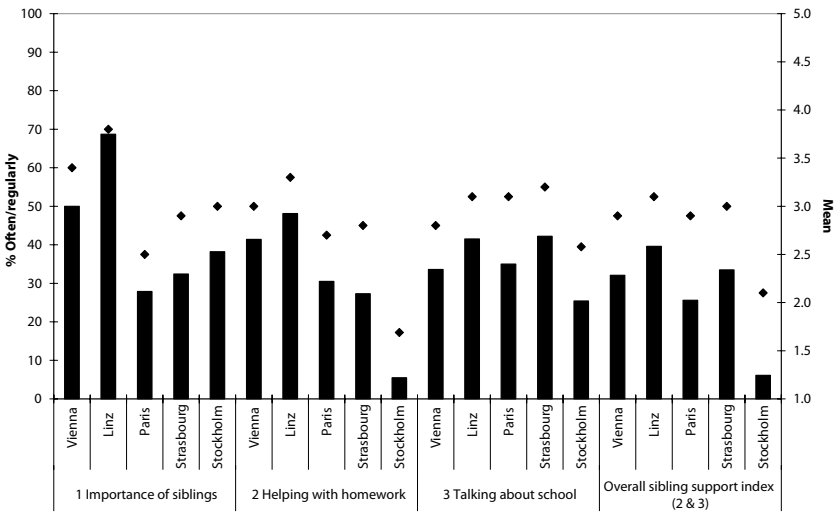
Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Parents' education level is set to 'lower-secondary education' while all other independent variables are set to mean.

Although not statistically significant, by displaying the predicted probability of achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level of education, a slight 'reverse effect' in terms of the effect of parental support can be seen in France and Sweden. Second-generation Turks in the French cities and in Stockholm have a reduced probability of achieving the highest levels of education when there are increased levels of parental support. The results displayed in figure 4.3 indicate that in the French and Swedish education systems, Turkish parents provide support when their child is *not* performing well at school.

4.3 Older siblings' involvement as social capital

While family involvement has been a substantial focus in social capital theory and in the sociology of education, literature on the role played by particularly older siblings, in supporting younger family members is scarce. In this section, I aim to overcome this limitation by arguing that siblings' involvement in the schooling of their younger brothers and sisters can be conceptualised as an important form of social capital as well because the mechanisms are similar to those of parental involvement. Older siblings can play a crucial role in the socialisation process by acting as a positive or negative role model by promoting forms of control within the family, or by providing additional concrete support through participation.

Figure 4.4 Mean and percentage distribution of the main indicators of sibling support, by city



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Bars indicate the percentage distributions of the combined answer categories 'regularly' and 'often'. Diamonds show the mean value of each group on the total scale (ranging from 1 to 5) of each indicator.

The empirical dimensions of 'sibling involvement' used in this section, including measures of sibling *control* and *participation,* are similar to those used for parental involvement. In addition, a third measure is added, the *perceived importance* of siblings. All three measures are five-point

scales ranging from low (1) to high (5). The descriptive outcomes of these three dimensions are displayed in figure 4.4.[4] The degree to which siblings are perceived as being of importance in supporting the Turkish second generation with their studies reveals that they have been evaluated as important persons for second-generation Turks in the Austrian cities, followed by Stockholm and the French cities (left side of figure 4.4). It is important to note that significant variations exist between Vienna and Linz.

Turning to participation, measured as the frequency with which siblings helped with homework, we again find this pattern in the two Austrian cities more often than in France or Sweden. It is worth noting that second-generation Turks in Stockholm were only very infrequently supported in their homework by their older siblings. Similar to the outcomes for parental involvement, talking about schooling as a form of family control is the most common type of support. But on average, the ranking of cities and countries according to the frequency with which parents and children talk about school remains, as does the ranking that measures the frequency of help with homework. Interestingly, the results for older siblings' control and participation resemble the findings and rankings for the same parental indicators. The last measure (right side of figure 4.4) shows the sum of the siblings' control and participation as a mean index in order to provide a general picture of sibling support.

In his qualitative investigations into the importance of older siblings in terms of the school results achieved by children of immigrants in the Netherlands, Crul (2000a, b) has shown that it is often the older siblings who provide their younger brothers and sisters with relevant information on and support in school activities, especially when parents do not possess the means to support their children in their studies. The findings of the correlation matrix in table 4.6 partially support this argument for second-generation Turks in France and Sweden. Here, the more parents are involved in their children's school activities, the less important are their older siblings (right column of table 4.6, negative correlations). At the same time, the concrete involvement of older siblings is not related to parental support. The strongest polarisation between countries can be seen when we consider the strength and direction of the correlation between parents' and older siblings' involvement in Austria, where the results are the diametric opposite. They show that the more parents are involved, the higher the engagement and support provided by the older siblings as well.

4 The descriptive analysis is limited to respondents with older siblings.

Table 4.6 Correlations between the dimensions of sibling support and family characteristics

	Family size		Parental support index	
Austria				
Vienna				
Importance of siblings	0.31	***	0.13	*
Help with homework	0.25	***	0.18	***
Talk about school	0.28	***	0.24	***
Sibling support index	0.27	***	0.21	***
Linz				
Importance of siblings	0.21	*	0.20	***
Help with homework	0.24	*	0.24	***
Talk about school	0.16	*	0.26	***
Sibling support index	0.21	*	0.26	***
France				
Paris				
Importance of siblings	0.15	*	-0.23	***
Help with homework	0.21	*	n.s.	
Talk about school	0.25	***	n.s.	
Sibling support index	0.25	*	n.s.	
Strasbourg				
Importance of siblings	0.12	*	-0.28	***
Help with homework	0.13	*	n.s.	
Talk about school	0.18	*	n.s.	
Sibling support index	0.17	*	n.s.	
Sweden				
Stockholm				
Importance of siblings	n.s.		-0.13	*
Help with homework	0.21	*	n.s.	
Talk about school	n.s.		n.s.	
Sibling support index	0.18	*	n.s.	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: * p<0.05; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=Correlation not significant.

The results we saw in table 4.2 make clear that involvement by Turkish parents in their children's schooling in Austria is highly dependent on the education level and the ability of those parents to speak the host country's language. Taking these together, it seems there is a stronger link between the family characteristics and school involvement of second-generation Turks in Austria.

Table 4.6 shows that in all countries, the amount of support provided by older siblings increases with family size. Downey (1995) stated that the presence of siblings may be negatively related to parental involvement, and this has been proven in table 4.2 as well. But the results presented here indicate that there seems to be a shift of responsibility towards older siblings when there is an increase in family size (table 4.6). At the same time, the larger the family size, the higher the likelihood of having older siblings who can provide school support.

Older siblings' involvement and education outcomes

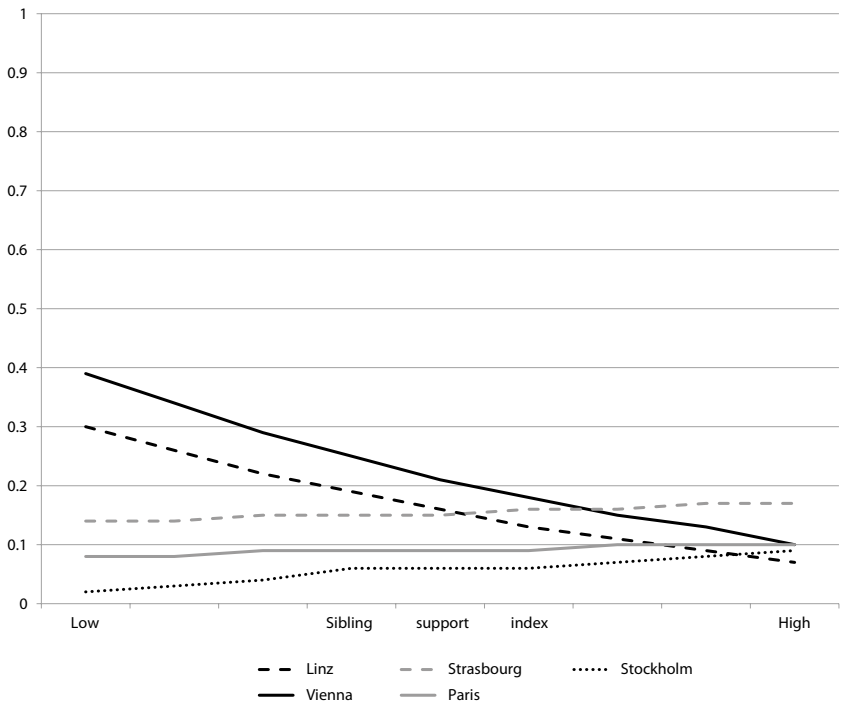
How is the support of older siblings related to early school-leaving and high achievement? Does older siblings' involvement in school-related activities exert any influence beyond that of parental involvement on the education outcomes of the Turkish second generation? In order to answer these questions, I will proceed with a similar methodological approach to the one I used for parental involvement. Applying binomial logistic regression on both early school leaving and the likelihood of achieving post-secondary level, the siblings' support items are included stepwise. Model 2 sets out the total number of older siblings and shows whether those older siblings left school without a diploma. This is done in order explore whether there are significant effects from sibling involvement, and whether those effects are related to the number of siblings and/or to their levels of education. In a last step, parents' education level, parental support and language ability are added as control variables.[5]

Overall, the results of the regression estimates indicate similar patterns to those of parental involvement. In Austria, increased support from older siblings significantly reduces the odds of being an early school leaver beyond the effects of parental support or parents' education levels. However, it increases the chance of becoming a high achiever (results are presented in

5 Respondents without older siblings were now set to 'no support'. I re-estimated all regression models for those having older siblings only obtaining very similar results. In order to avoid small case numbers, those without older siblings were included in the analysis as described before.

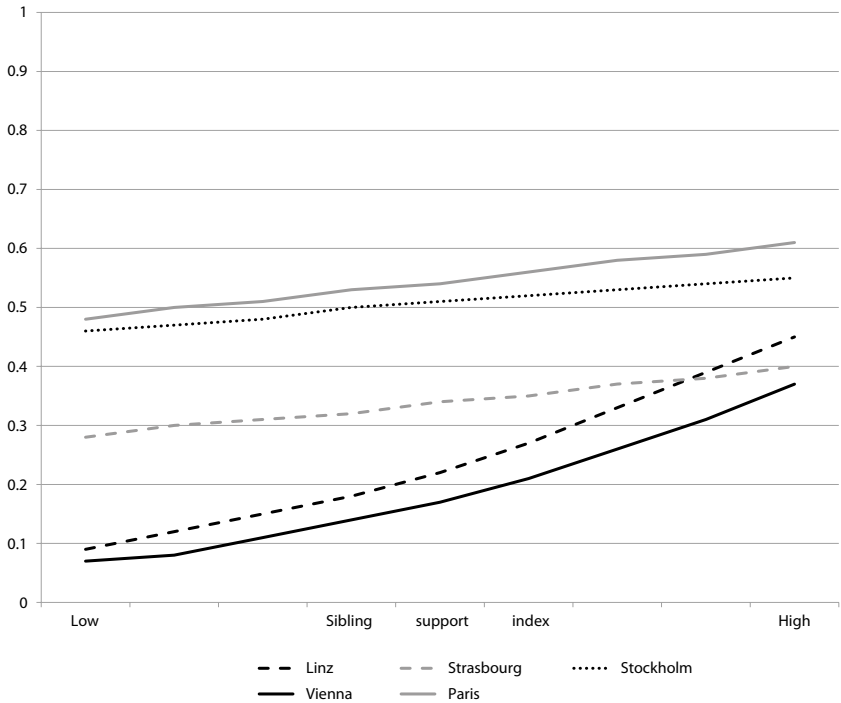
Appendix B). In other words, the success in education of second-generation Turks in the Austrian education system is highly dependent on the education levels of their parents, and the degree of involvement and support by parents and older siblings. By contrast, and in line with the findings on parental involvement, older siblings' support is not significantly associated with the two dependent variables in France and Sweden. The effects of sibling support on early school-leaving and on achieving a post-secondary/tertiary education level are displayed as predicted probabilities in figure 4.5 and figure 4.6.

Figure 4.5 Predicted probability of leaving school early for second-generation Turks, by city and sibling support index



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Parents' education level is set to 'lower-secondary education' while all other independent variables are set to mean. Full models are presented in Appendix B.

Figure 4.6 Predicted probability of achieving post-secondary/tertiary education for second-generation Turks, by city and sibling support index



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Parents' education level is set to 'lower-secondary education' while all other independent variables are set to mean. Full models are presented in Appendix B.

4.4 Do Turkish families muster more family support for education?

The discussion now moves on to the question of whether Turkish parents engage more or less in the school-related activities of their children than parents of the comparison group. Many studies have shown that because of their need to build new lives in their receiving countries, immigrant families frequently see education as an investment in their children as individuals, as well as in the entire family (Lauglo 2000; Nauck 1997; Suárez Orozco 1991). Immigrant parents often possess high levels of educational aspiration and have high expectations of their children. These, in turn, may translate into higher levels of parental support, which effectively transmit their ambitions to their children (Brinbaum & Cebolla Boado 2007; Kao 2004; Zhou & Bankston 1998). At the same time, immigrant parents may

want to be engaged in their children's school activities but may be limited in their ability to do so because of challenges such as lack of information. This section asks whether more involvement and more frequent parental support lead to greater chances of educational success for second-generation Turks compared to the comparison group.

Table 4.7 Importance of parental and sibling support during compulsory school, by group and city

	Austria						France						Sweden		
	Vienna			Linz			Paris			Strasbourg			Stockholm		
	2 GT	CG		2 GT	CG		2 GT	CG		2 GT	CG		2 GT	CG	
Full sample															
PSI	3.0	2.9	n.s.	3.2	2.9	**	2.9	3.3	***	2.8	3.4	***	2.5	2.5	n.s.
SSI	2.1	1.5	***	2.4	1.7	***	1.9	1.7	n.s.	2.3	1.6	***	2.1	1.7	***
Only parents with lower-secondary education or below															
PSI	2.8	2.9	n.s.	2.8	2.5	n.s.	2.8	3.0	n.s.	2.6	3.2	*	2.4	2.3	n.s.
SSI	2.1	1.9	n.s.	2.3	2.0	n.s.	1.9	1.8	n.s.	2.4	2.0	n.s.	2.4	2.2	n.s.

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: PSI=Parental support index. SSI=Sibling support index. Levels of significance (t-test, two-sided): group means are statistically significant on * p<0.05 level; **p< 0.01 level; *** p< 0.001 level. n.s.=Results are not significant. 2GT=Second-generation Turks. CG=Comparison group.

Table 4.7 takes a first look at this question by summarising the descriptive outcomes among second-generation Turks and the comparison group. For the sake of brevity, the two additional support indices (parents and older siblings) are considered. The first two columns show the mean results for each group, per city, for the full sample of the TIES survey. The lower part of table 4.7 tests whether differences in the involvement of parents and older siblings can be attributed to differences in parents' education levels, by displaying the results for respondents of similar education backgrounds.

Overall, the mean level of parental support is relatively equal among families in all three countries. Means, in terms of the parental support scale, range between 2.5 (sometimes) and 3 (regularly). Significant variations between parents can be observed in the French cities, with parents of the comparison group showing on average slightly higher levels of support. Significant group differences also appear in Linz. But contrary to the French

cities, in Linz Turkish parents are more involved in the school activities of their children than non-Turkish parents.

Parental support is less common in families with lower levels of education (presented at the bottom of table 4.7). The average support drops for parents of the comparison group as well as for Turkish parents once we hold the parents' education levels constant in all cities. Most importantly, once the results are adjusted for differences in the education backgrounds of parents, the significant variations in parental support in Linz and Paris disappear. The only significant difference remains among parents in Strasbourg, with Turkish parents providing significantly less support than parents of the comparison group. In all other cities, parental support does not vary among less-educated parents.

Once we turn to the involvement of siblings, clear group differences emerge. On average, second-generation Turks receive more support from their older siblings than the comparison group (with the exception of families in Paris). The lower incidence of support patterns in the families of the comparison group seem to be related to the education levels of the parents. Once we compare older siblings' involvement and support in the school activities of second-generation Turks whose parents have low levels of education, significant differences disappear in all five survey cities. Moreover, the average frequency of the support provided increases in families with less-educated parents. Older brothers and sisters become important for younger students, irrespective of their migrant background, when their parents do not possess high levels of education and when they lack the resources or the information to support their children.

Table 4.8 shows the results of a binomial logistic regression of achieving a post-secondary/tertiary education level.[6] It includes parental support and older sibling support indices, looks at the perceived importance of the family members in question, and has the parents' education levels as a control variable.[7] Results for Austria indicate that more frequent parental involvement and support significantly increases the odds of becoming a high achiever. The more parents are able to participate in and control the school activities of their children, the higher the children's chances of being successful in the Austrian education system. This finding holds constant regardless of the results of testing for the education levels of the parents. In

6 The number of early school leavers among the comparison group in France and Sweden (compare with Chapter 3) is too small to conduct a meaningful analysis.

7 Parents' ability in the national language (for example, German in Austria) had to be removed from the models since it was not asked of the comparison group.

other words, parental involvement is an important factor for educational success in Austria regardless of parents' education backgrounds. Moreover, parents seem to be crucial to the educational attainment process since the older siblings' involvement index is not significant.

Table 4.8 Binomial logistic regression of achieving post-secondary/tertiary education (odds ratios)

	Austria	France	Sweden
Second-generation Turks	0.68*	n.s.	n.s.
	(0.13)		
Importance of parents	n.s.	1.26**	n.s.
		(0.09)	
Parental support index	1.70*	n.s.	n.s.
	(0.21)		
Importance of siblings	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Older sibling support index	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Parent's education level	1.80***	1.62***	1.23*
	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.09)
Capital city	n.s.	1.67***	n.a.
		(0.26)	
R2	0.17	0.22	0.16
N.	929	847	475

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=Variable included in regression, but results are not significant. n.a.=not applicable. All models are controlled for age and gender. Capital city refers to Vienna in Austria and Paris in France.

The findings also reveal that second-generation Turks in Austria remain significantly less likely to achieve a post-secondary/tertiary level of education, even after statistically controlling for family involvement and parents' levels of education. This is not the case in France, where group differences are not significant once we test for the parents' education backgrounds and for family involvement. In line with previous findings for second-generation Turks, the chances of achieving a post-secondary/tertiary education level increase in line with greater frequency of perceived importance of the role of parents in school activities. Turning finally to the findings for Stockholm, none of the measures for family involvement have a significant effect on being a high achiever. The only significant influence is parents' levels of education. The higher the parents' levels of education, the greater the chances of their children climbing to the top of the education ladder. Comparing

the size of this indicator across countries, however, shows that students are least dependent on the education backgrounds of their parents in Sweden and most dependent in Austria.

But do these identified patterns differ between second-generation Turks and their comparison groups? The regression models in table 4.8 were used to test for differential effects through interaction between the parental and older siblings' support index and second-generation Turks. Table 4.9 shows the results of these interaction terms. A significant and positive result indicates that the variable under consideration is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group. Table 4.9 shows that no significant differential effects for second-generation Turks in France or Sweden can be observed. Thus, the insignificant role played by parental and older sibling involvement in children becoming high achievers that was observed in table 4.8 applies equally to both groups and therefore to the whole student population in France and Sweden.

Table 4.9 Interaction effects of family support and the second generation (odds ratios)

	Austria	France	Sweden
Parental support X second-generation Turks	1.41* (0.22)	n.s.	n.s.
Sibling support X second-generation Turks	1.26* (0.17)	n.s.	n.s.

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Models in this table are the same as those in previous models (see table 22) and estimates are based on the same sample. Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001.

Contrary to what holds true for France and Sweden, the effects of the involvement of the Turkish second generation's parents and older siblings are significant and positive in Austria, indicating that both types of involvement are of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group. For example, parental support and involvement seems to be positively related to educational success for students in the Austrian education system (table 4.8). But second-generation Turks seem even more dependent on the frequency of support and involvement provided by their parents. Interestingly, while the overall model presented in table 4.8 did not indicate that older siblings' involvement had a significant impact, the terms of the interaction made it clear that support provided by older brothers

and sisters is a major driver of educational success for second-generation Turks in Austria.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has looked behind the scenes by exploring patterns of involvement and support in the school-related activities of Turkish families in Austria, Sweden and France. It has further examined how these involvement patterns are related to family composition, and how different types of support are linked to the education outcomes of second-generation Turks across different countries. Additionally, this chapter has focused not only on the role played by parents but has broadened that perspective by including the involvement of older siblings as a form of family social capital.

A number of key findings have emerged. Firstly, the frequency of parental involvement by Turkish parents varies from country to country. On average, it is most frequent in Austria, followed by France, and is least frequent in Sweden. At the same time, parental involvement is most dependent on certain compositional family factors in Austria. For example, the higher the levels of education of the parents, or the better their language skills in German, the more frequently they support their children in their schooling. Although some of these factors significantly influence parental involvement in Sweden and France as well, the magnitudes were greatest in the Austrian cities.

When turning to the relationship between education outcomes and parental involvement, a similar ranking can be observed across countries. The educational success of second-generation Turks in Austria is much more dependent on various forms of support provided by their parents when compared to their counterparts in France and Sweden. More precisely, the more time parents spend with their children discussing their studies, the higher the chances are that their children will continue with their schooling to the top of the education system. This finding remains significant even after controlling for parents' education backgrounds. In other words, parental involvement does increase the odds of not leaving school early and of becoming a high achiever, irrespective of the parents' levels of education. Talking about school has been found to be of importance in both education outcomes in France as well. In sharp contrast to these findings, parental support does not play a significant role in the educational attainment of second-generation Turks in Sweden, either in terms of not leaving school early or in terms of becoming a high achiever.

Talking to their children about their studies is the most common type of parental involvement. It's one way in which parents can communicate their expectations to their children, which also seems to translate into better school results. *Parental participation*, the second aspect of parental involvement, was found overwhelmingly to be not significantly related to school results.

Examining the role of older siblings' involvement in the school activities of their younger brothers and sisters, it emerged that in Sweden and France the importance of older siblings for second-generation Turks increased when parental support was scarce. These results are in line with the findings of Crul (2000a, b) for immigrant families in the Netherlands. Older siblings seem to become a source of support when their parents are less involved in schooling. In contrast with France and Sweden, findings for Austria indicate high and positive correlations between parental and sibling involvement. Most importantly, the educational success of second-generation Turks in Austria is dependent on the extra support they receive from older siblings – beyond parental involvement and education background. No such significant effects were observed for sibling support in either France or Sweden.

Taken together, the results show that the educational success of second-generation Turks in Austria is highly dependent on the support provided by the family. At the same time, only those Turkish fathers and mothers who are equipped with higher educational credentials and advanced skills in the German language are able to support their children – and that is still a minority in the Turkish community (see chapter 2).

But the results of the last section revealed that the 'pressure on the family' to support their children is not per se a characteristic of Turkish families but rather a specific aspect of the Austrian education system. When looked at in relation to the comparison group, it was revealed that family involvement and support is an important aspect of the Austrian education system for all groups, while it is almost absent in France and Sweden. At the same time, results show that second-generation Turks are still more reliant on educational support from their parents than are the children of the comparison group.

A few features of my measurements should be kept in mind when interpreting these findings. Firstly, the information about family support was drawn directly from the respondents, and so it is possible that their reports of parents' and older siblings' involvement were subject to a social desirability effect in that they may have over-reported their involvement. However, there is no evidence that second-generation Turks would be more likely to over-report their families' involvement than would the comparison

group. Secondly, the available survey items on involvement do not capture all of the potential ways in which parents or older siblings may be involved in school-related activities. However, regardless of these limitations, cross-country variations remain very strong and point towards country-specific trends.

Even without considering the institutional arrangements of the three education systems at this stage of the analysis, the findings of this chapter already point towards one major structural variation in those systems: as explained in the introduction to this book, one major distinction between the three education systems is the half-day school system in Austria, and full-time education in France and Sweden. Keeping this institutional difference in mind helps us to understand the extraordinary importance of family support for the school careers of young adolescents in Austria, as well as its relative non-significance in France and Sweden. The family becomes the main focal point of an education system which delegates learning and homework to the family home. In this context, the success of students is highly dependent on the actual help provided and the time families spend with their children or brothers and sisters. By contrast, in the case of systems like those in France and Sweden, which offer full-time education and supervised homework tutorials in schools, the role of additional help provided by parents at home becomes important once their children face difficulties and need extra help in addition to the support on offer in schools. Again, even without taking the structural characteristics of the education systems per se into account, the results of this chapter already provide a first glance at interactions between institutional arrangements and individual-level factors.

Chapter 3 and chapter 4 have focused solely on individual-level characteristics related to the family of origin and the resources they have available. But previous studies found that children of immigrants who do not possess high levels of support at home develop strategies and establish networks outside the family in order to access resources that are not available within their families. Specifically, close friends and teachers have been recognised as significant agents in strengthening the upward mobility of immigrant children at school. Chapter 5 examines the role of networks outside the family in the educational attainment of second-generation Turks in various settings.

5 Beyond the Family: Peers and Teachers

5.1 Introduction

When explaining the educational success of the children of immigrants, the greatest attention has been paid to the characteristics of their families of origin. Previous studies of the second generation in the United States have revealed, however, that outside-family networks can provide additional resources which can help to overcome their often disadvantaged position at school (Gándara et al. 2004; Gibson et al. 2004; Kao 2001; Stanton-Salazar 2001, 2004, 2011). Specifically, close friends and teachers have been recognised as significant agents in strengthening the upward mobility of immigrant children. Up to now, no systematic research has been conducted in Europe on the role of networks outside the family for second-generation Turks. This chapter aims to fill that gap. It analyses two types of social relationship: (1) the role of peer groups and (2) the role of teachers, by describing the strength of these relationships and the impact they have on education outcomes.

This chapter raises the question of whether relationships with peers and teachers provide, in addition to the family of origin, support for the educational success of the Turkish second generation in Austria, France and Sweden. It further asks whether second-generation Turks are more reliant in some countries than in others on non-family resources to negotiate their way effectively through the education system with the aim of successfully completing their schooling. To answer these questions, the next section summarises the theoretical conclusions of previous studies of peers and teachers as mediating actors in the process of educational attainment. Subsequent sections then examine the role that outside-family networks play in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks empirically and from a comparative perspective.

5.2 Social relationships with peers and teachers

The role of peer groups

Research into the role of peers has long demonstrated that age-mates and close friends play a crucial role in influencing adolescents' behaviour and cognitive processes, such as academic engagement and achievement (Campbell 1980; Duncan, Boisjoly & Harris 2001). Young adolescents spend much more time with age-mates and peers than they do with anyone else.

They meet their closest friends at school or during leisure time to exchange information about common experiences in daily life. The relative influence of peer groups and the mechanisms through which they operate to affect education outcomes are threefold (Kao 2001):

1 *The relative importance of peers versus parents in determining education outcomes*

Adolescence is marked by increasing social interaction with friends at the expense of family, and peers are commonly seen as being almost as important to adolescents as their families (Raley 2004). This is particularly the case for school experiences because learning does not happen in a vacuum but rather in the context of interaction with friends, classmates and age-mates. The significant impact of social interaction with peers in the educational attainment process for immigrant youth has been intensively shown in qualitative studies into Mexican descendants in the United States (Gibson et al. 2004; Raley 2004; Stanton-Salazar 2004). The major finding of these studies is that close friends are important for children of immigrants because they give them access to alternative resources and information that foster educational attainment. Compared to native-born students, the immigrant second generation has to rely more on peer contact in the educational achievement process because of a lack of pro-scholastic networks and embedded resources in their own families.

2 *Specific mechanisms of peer influence*

Since students often rely on the ascribed and achieved characteristics of their peers, their schooling decisions and educational attainment are to a large extent shaped by the educational behaviour and values of their peers. These can promote educational achievement by providing information about successful strategies or reinforcing study norms. Previous empirical studies have shown that friends' behaviour and orientation in issues to do with education often persists after testing for additional socio-economic characteristics of peer groups, and therefore it has a substantial effect on school achievements (for a review, see Kao 2001). Best friends are usually perceived as trustworthy, and young adolescents are therefore likely to believe their advice about the advantages or disadvantages of attending school (Hallinan & Williams 1990). Peer influence on education behaviour varies in terms of intensity and direction. Peers can be a support or they can be a major source of distraction (Gándara et al. 2004). A prime example of the negative effects of friends is the share of peers who drop out or leave school without any diploma at all. A large body of studies has demonstrated that growing up in a peer group with a large number of school dropouts has a

strongly negative impact on a young person's view of the value of education, as well as on the motivation of the person in question.

3 Peer group influences that stem from friends' similarities

Students choose peers who have similar outlooks, and that is why there has been a vigorous debate among education researchers about the relative importance of selection versus socialisation in accounting for peer effects on education outcomes. Several scholars claim that peer effects found empirically in many studies result from school and early family socialisation rather than from peer socialisation itself (Brown 1990; Hallinan & Williams 1990). Additionally, it has been claimed that peer groups tend to be homogeneous in background characteristics and education behaviour (Brown 1990), and that peer effects stem primarily from peer selection from within similar socio-economic backgrounds. Although there is a disagreement about the degree of influence, there is little doubt that selection and actual influence contribute to what are often referred to as 'peer effects'. Or, as Kao (2001: 439) puts it: 'Even the most pro-selection researchers will admit that some peer socialisation must occur'.

Beyond the selection concerns of education studies, ethnicity researchers have been concerned to establish how the content of peer group norms is affected by minority status. Previous studies have shown that the positive peer effect varies for immigrant youth according to the ethnic composition of their closest friends. This is a result of their varying access to different networks (Stanton-Salazar 2001, 2004). Most research demonstrates that peer contact with adolescents that belong to the majority ethnic group is primarily what is needed to overcome disadvantaged positions because they give access to resources and information that are embedded in networks that are often associated with a higher socio-economic class (Esser 1990, 2001). One example might be the accumulation of knowledge about the workings of the education system in general, and about the diverse opportunities it provides. Since most of the immigrant parents did not have experience of the host countries' school systems, they are likely to be limited in the advice they can give to their own children (Kristen 2005). Therefore, it is often their closest friends and peers that children of immigrants rely on.

The ethnic composition of peer groups depends on what opportunities exist to build relationships with peers. The relative size of ethnic origin groups in schools shapes opportunities for inter-ethnic contact. This idea goes back to Blau's opportunity theory (Blau 1977a, b), which says that individuals prefer to associate with their own group, and that the relative group size in certain settings determines the likelihood of making contact

with other group members. According to Blau, an increase in the number of group members will also increase the number of opportunities for individual members to satisfy their preferences for same-group contacts (Blau 1977a). The majority of previous studies on immigrant adolescents confirmed Blau's theory by demonstrating that the relative size of ethnic origin groups in school environments provides opportunities for inter-racial contacts (Cebolla Boado 2007; Kao & Joyner 2004).

Student-teacher relationships

Student-teacher relationships play a crucial role in daily interpersonal social relations and can be seen as the second key dimension of outside-family ties (Crosnoe, Johnson-Krikpatrick & Elder 2004). In addition to being at home or 'hanging out' with peers, young adolescents attend classes and spend most of their time in schools where they are in regular contact with their teachers. It has been proved, however, that student-teacher relationships vary across populations and origin groups (Bronfenbrenner & Morris 1998). Often based on deep-rooted experiences of discrimination, minority families frequently keep their distance from the education system and its agents. This social distance and scepticism on the part of parents is often transmitted to their descendants, and affects the network orientation of their children towards teachers (Lareau & Horvat 1999). However, even if relationships between students and teachers are characterised more often than not by distance, the significant impact of student-teacher relationships on the educational success of the second generation has been demonstrated in a number of studies. The significant role of student-teacher relationships can be described on two levels:

Firstly, teachers generally serve as mentors, role models, advocates and feedback and advice givers. They can provide moral support for almost all students in the classroom. Previous studies have shown that strong student-teacher relationships are especially important for migrant youth: based on a study of second-generation Mexicans in the United States, Stanton Salazar (2001) has provided evidence of second-generation Mexican students overcoming alienation or feelings of disconnection through intense relationships with their teachers, which in turn had a positive effect on their education careers.

Secondly, apart from motivation dynamics and direct pay-offs, teachers play a central role as a result of their ability to place young people in resource-rich social networks (Stanton-Salazar 1997). They have the capacity to negotiate (directly or indirectly) institutional resources and opportunities such as information about school programmes, academic tutoring, admissions and career decision-making. Similar to studies of peer group networks,

previous research shows that social ties with teachers are more important for children of immigrants than for their indigenous counterparts. Because of their often structurally disadvantaged position, they are more dependent on institutional agents from outside the family for various forms of support.

Up to now, this section has discussed the theoretical conclusions for educational success drawn by mainly US researchers examining two significant types of outside-family ties: peer groups and student-teacher relationships. Their findings set out the starting point of this chapter. In the following sections, the role of both types of relationship in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks will be explored from a comparative perspective. In what follows, the patterns of relationship between second-generation Turks and their peers and teachers will first be explored descriptively in the five cities and three countries. In a second step, the impact that these non-family agents have on the education outcomes will be examined empirically by looking at descendants of immigrants. Finally, by focusing on differences between groups, this chapter investigates whether the role played by peers and teachers in the educational attainment process works in a similar way for the comparison group as for second-generation Turks.

5.3 Peer group characteristics of the Turkish second generation

Perceived importance of peers

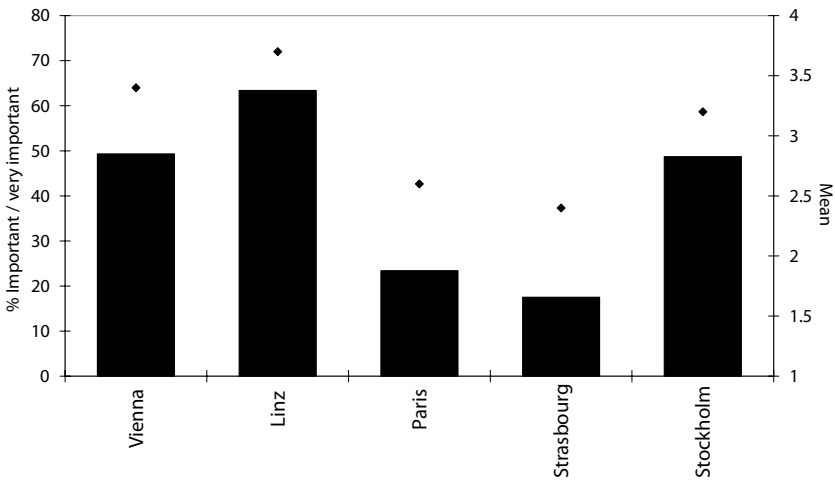
As stated above, Kao (2001) described three mechanisms through which peer groups might operate to affect education outcomes. The first one is the perceived importance of peers in determining education outcomes. In the TIES survey, which the present study uses, the following indicator is available: 'Peers were of importance in supporting me with my studies or school work when I was in secondary school'. This item had five answer categories ranging from (1) 'not important at all' to (5) 'very important'.[1] Figure 5.1 displays the outcomes of this indicator for second-generation Turks in the five cities under consideration. The black bars show the percentage distribution of the highest categories 'important' and 'very important', while the black diamond represent the mean value on the five-point scale. In the Austrian cities, second-generation Turks evaluate their peers as 'rather important' (mean values of 3.5 to 4), while their counterparts in Sweden assess their peers on average as 'somewhat important' (mean value close to 3)

1 For details on how all variables are used in this chapter, see Appendix B.

in supporting them with their studies or school work. The least importance is in the French cities, where the majority of second-generation Turks rate their peers as 'somewhat unimportant' in schooling.

The descriptive results for the perceived importance of peers in supporting the schooling of second-generation Turks confirm previous findings for the second generation in that peers are regarded as being just as important as their families. The mean values in figure 5.1 resemble those for the perceived importance of fathers and mothers in supporting their studies or school work in France, while peers are perceived as even more important than parents in Austria and Sweden (compare the findings of figure 5.1 with outcomes presented in figure 4.1 in chapter 4).

Figure 5.1 Perceived importance of peers in supporting studies



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Bars indicate the percentage distributions of the combined answer categories 'important' and 'very important'. Diamonds show the mean value of each group on the total scale (ranging from 1 to 5).

Ethnic composition of peer groups

A second aspect when exploring the characteristics of peer groups in relation to children of immigrants is the ethnic composition of those peer groups. Ream and Rumberger (2008) claim that students can participate in separate 'street' and 'school' peer networks. The former describes best friends with whom they meet during leisure time after school, while the latter describes peers composed of mates at school. Both types of peer (as well

as their ethnic composition) have been found to be of importance for the education outcomes of children of immigrants (Ream & Rumberger 2008), although some empirical studies show that best friends outside school are more influential than the overall school peer group (Vaquera & Kao 2008).

The ethnic composition of the closest circle of three best friends at the age of fifteen is shown in the upper part of table 5.1. The three best friends of the largest proportion of the Turkish second generation in all three countries were all of Turkish origin; and the number of second generation Turks whose three best friends were all of non-Turkish origin was comparatively small, looked at across all countries and cities. Nevertheless, in addition to these general trends, differences can be seen from city to city. Second-generation Turks in Vienna and Stockholm show the highest degree of homogeneity (number of co-ethnic friends) in their closest peer group. Here, slightly more than every second student of Turkish origin reports a homogeneous peer group. By contrast, second-generation Turks growing up in Linz and in the French cities show rather more heterogeneous compositions in their peer groups. The proportion of fifteen-year-olds who have two-thirds of non-Turkish origin friends in their group of three best friends is almost as big (around 20 per cent to 30 per cent). The overall differences between cities in the ethnic composition of best friends are only statistically significant between the Austrian cities. It is worth noting, however, that the 'all non-Turkish' peer group of best friends among second-generation Turks in Paris is almost twice as big as that in Strasbourg.

Table 5.1 Ethnic composition of 'street' and 'school' peer groups, by city (%)

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	**Linz**	**Paris**	**Strasbourg**	**Stockholm**
Ethnic composition of best friends					
All three best friends of Turkish origin	50.4	34	35.3	37.8	50.6
1 native-born friend	35.2	31.5	28.3	32.1	19.7
2 native-born friends	11.9	26.2	19.8	20.9	20.8
All three best friends of native origin	2.5	8.3	16.6	9.2	8.9
Ethnic composition: friends in school					
None of native origin	7.8	3.4	3.3	3.2	9.8
Very few of native origin	15.9	25.9	27.4	17.3	21.3
Some of native origin	27.4	34.2	35.9	30.9	22.5
Many of native origin	28.6	23.4	22.8	28.9	22.1
Most of native origin	20.4	13.2	10.6	19.7	24.3

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Turning to the ethnic composition of social networks in schools (lower part of table 5.1) a rather diverse picture can be found. In all cities, more than 70 per cent state that they have at least 'some' native-born friends in school. Comparing the outcomes of the two types of peer group circles, it turns out that there is a stronger in-group orientation among second-generation Turks in the closest circle of best friends across all cities, while contacts in school peer groups are rather heterogeneous in their composition. As shown in table 5.2, a significant correlation between the ethnic make-up of both peer group circles exists in all cities, indicating some overlap between the two peer groups. In other words, the more second-generation Turks join non-co-ethnic peer groups in schools, the higher the share of non-co-ethnics among their three best friends. This correlation is particularly high in Paris.

Table 5.2 Correlations between the ethnic composition of peer groups and perceived school segregation

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	**Linz**	**Paris**	**Strasbourg**	**Stockholm**
Correlations between… [a] Number of native-origin friends in school and ethnic composition of best friends	0.42***	0.42***	0.62***	0.47***	0.47***
Number of native-origin friends in school and perceived ethnic segregation in secondary school	-0.26**	-0.41***	-0.34***	-0.22**	-0.36***

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: a=Pearson's correlation. Levels of significance: **=p<0.01***=p<0.001.

The opportunity to enter non-co-ethnic peer networks in schools and to establish ties to non-immigrant school mates may be determined by the relative size of the number of ethnic minority students in schools and classrooms. The lower the ethnic segregation in secondary schools, the higher the chances of establishing friendships with non-minority students. The last row of table 5.2 shows the correlation between the self-evaluation of ethnic segregation[2] in secondary school by the Turkish second-generation themselves, and the actual number of non-immigrant friends in the school peer network. All the correlations examined here run in the expected

2 The TIES survey asked on a five-point Likert scale about how many children of immigrant origin were there at the secondary school. Answer categories were 'hardly any', 'around 25 per cent', 'around half', 'around 75 per cent' and 'almost all'.

manner, with high numbers of immigrant children in a secondary school reducing the likelihood of having high numbers of non-immigrant friends in the school peer group. Nevertheless, the associations are rather moderate across all cities, indicating that the ethnic make-up of the 'school' peer groups is only slightly affected by ethnic segregation in school.

Education behaviour and orientation of peers

The third mechanism through which peers may operate to affect education outcomes is their education behaviour and orientation. The share of peers who drop out or leave school without a diploma at all is frequently used as a measure for the possible negative impact of friends' education behaviour. Growing up in a peer group with a high number of school dropouts might have a strong negative impact on the value placed on education or on the motivational dynamics of the person (Gándara et al. 2004). Having friends who dropped out of school is particularly common in France (see table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Peers without a diploma, by city (%)

	Austria		France		Sweden
	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
Having peers without a diploma	34.5	38.8	50.4	61.9	34.6
Having peers without a diploma					
All or at least 2 out of 3 best friends are of Turkish origin	39.5	44.4	51.8	62.6	42.5
1 or no best friends are of Turkish origin	33.4	28.2	49.7	60.3	15.7

Source: TIES 2007-2008

More than 60 per cent of the Turkish second generation in Strasbourg had peers in their close circle of friends who dropped out while at secondary school. The percentage in Paris was lower, with every second child of Turkish parents having had low-achieving peers in their circle of friends at the age of fifteen. There was a slightly lower percentage for second-generation Turks in Stockholm (42.5 per cent). By contrast, second-generation Turks in the Austrian cities grow up with peer networks that have a substantially lower share of school dropouts: 38.8 per cent in Linz had close friends who did not finish secondary school with a diploma, and 34.5 per cent in Vienna had friends who quit school early.

Although there may be differences in how 'peers without a diploma' are defined and perceived across countries, the assumed negative effect of their education behaviour (dropping out of school) is expected to work in similar ways in all three countries, irrespective of those definitions and perceptions. Moreover, I expect the results of the following analysis to be unbiased because they were conducted for each country separately, which prevents problems with comparison.

The lower part of table 5.3 provides additional analysis of how dropping out is related to the ethnic composition of the three best friends. The results for the Austrian capital, Vienna, and the French cities reveal that the number of dropout peers is not substantially higher if the circle of close friends is predominantly made up of co-ethnics. A slightly different picture appears in Linz and Stockholm, where second-generation Turks who have a high number of friends of Turkish origin also have a high number of dropout friends.

5.4 Student-teacher relationships among the Turkish second generation

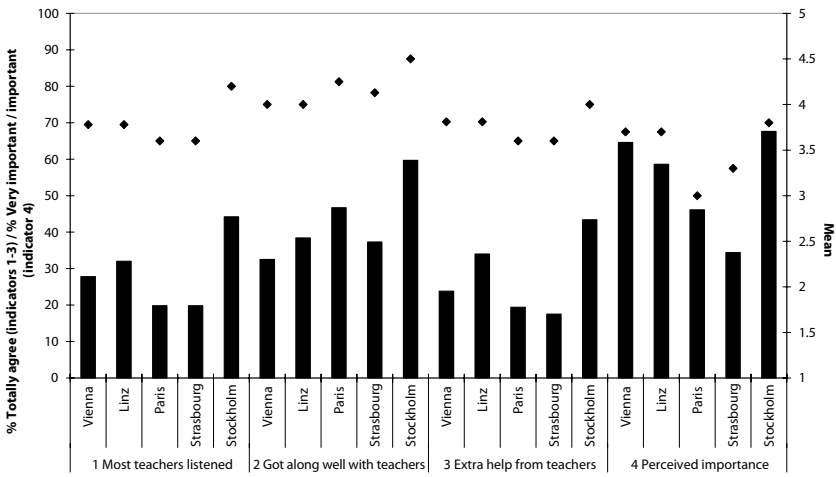
Teachers have been recognised as significant agents in the educational attainment of children of immigrants. In the empirical investigation for this book, student-teacher relationships are captured through the answers to three survey questions. Firstly, in order to explore perceived relationships, the focus is on whether second-generation Turks generally got along well with most of their teachers. Secondly, information has been included on whether they received extra help from their teachers when they needed it. Finally, there is an examination of whether they think their teachers really listened to them. All three questions measure slightly different aspects of their relationships with their teachers: while the first item describes the student-teacher relationship in more general terms, the other two questions provide additional information on the actual openness of teachers and the support they provide. Additionally, there is an investigation of whether teachers were perceived as important in helping with school activities.

Satisfaction, openness, additional support and perceived importance

Figure 5.2 displays the descriptive outcomes of the four indicators for student-teacher relationships. The black bars show the percentage distribution of the category 'totally agree', while the black diamonds show the mean value on a five-point scale ranging from (1) 'totally disagree' to (5) 'totally

agree'. At first glance, the overall subjective appraisal of student-teacher relationships by the Turkish second generation in all five cities is marked by a relatively high degree of satisfaction. The average values on the 'teachers' support items' (Items 1 to 3 in figure 5.2) are not below 3.5 for any of the groups in the countries and cities compared. The highest agreement on all three student-teacher relationship questions is found in Sweden, followed by Austria and then France, while results between cities in France and Austria are not significant. Statistical tests further indicate that the three items were positively correlated in all five cities (correlates between r >0.40 and r <0.60 not shown). For example, increased frequency of extra help received from teachers in school increases the satisfaction with teachers. In Sweden and Austria, teachers are on average considered as 'important' in supporting studies and homework during secondary school (mean values around 4.0), while the Turkish second generation in the French cities, Paris and Strasbourg, rate them as 'somewhat important' (average values around 3). In addition to these general commonalities, some differences are worth highlighting. Second-generation Turks in Sweden report the highest level of satisfaction as well as the highest levels of practical support and openness on the part of their teachers across all five cities.

Figure 5.2 Mean and percentage distribution of the main indicators of student-teacher relationships, by city



Source: TIES 2007-2008

Gender differences in student-teacher relationships

Some studies stress gender differences in student-teacher relationships, with girls showing greater social distance from, and weaker relationships with, their teachers. In terms of second-generation Turks in the Netherlands, Pásztor (2010) shows that females are frequently under-advised by teachers about the transition to higher education, and that girls are often aware of that difference in treatment by teachers – so this may be reflected in the subjective evaluation of student-teacher relationships as well. However, across all four student-teacher measures used in this chapter, no gender differences could be found. Boys and girls assessed their relationships with teachers almost equally.

5.5 Peers and teachers as mediating actors in processes of educational attainment

While previous studies on the second generation in the United States revealed that 'significant others' – such as peers and teachers – are mediating actors in the processes of educational attainment, there is little systematic research into their significance for second-generation Turks in Europe. This section aims to go some way to redress this shortfall by examining empirically the significance of peers and teachers for educational attainment.

As a measure of educational attainment, I will look at whether second-generation Turks attend, or complete, the highest schooling track (post-secondary/tertiary education) in each country. This dichotomous variable has served already as a dependent variable in chapter 4, and has been found to be highly comparable across the three countries (see table 4.3 in chapter 4 for descriptive outcomes)[3]. I examine the strength of peer group characteristics and student-teacher relationships on achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level of education by using binomial logistic regression in each country. Estimates are made using three models, each of increasing complexity. As 'peer group' measures, the first model

3 Because of some missing values on the independent variables of interest in Sweden, I could not conduct empirical analysis on leaving school early as a second indicator. Recall from the previous chapter that the total number of early school leavers in Sweden was already small before the loss of cases due to missing values. Therefore I concentrate on 'high achievers' in this chapter.

(M1) includes the perceived importance of peers in schooling issues, the number of native peers in school, the ethnic composition of the three best friends[4] and whether second-generation Turks had peers who left school without a diploma during secondary school. In a second step (M2), the perceived importance of teachers has been added as an indicator measuring teachers' support. Given the high correlation between the student-teacher indicators ('teacher listened', 'extra help' and 'get along'), I combined these three items as an index labelled 'teachers' support' and introduced this variable as a continuous measure into the analysis (see Appendix B for further methodological information). Table 5.4 presents the figures and outcomes of these two steps. A last model (M3), which includes further tests for parents' levels of education and the support they provide for their children in school activities, is presented and discussed afterwards in an effort to discover whether peers and teachers are important mediating actors *beyond* the family of origin (see chapter 4 for measurement details of these variables). Findings of this analysis are displayed separately in table 5.5. All three statistical models are further controlled for age, gender and city of residence in Austria and France (with the capital cities being the reference category). Given that the majority of the relevant variables are continuous ones, and their effects are compared to the influence of dummy variables (such as having peers without a diploma), the percentage change in the odds (%) is presented in addition to the odds ratios (Exp [B]).

In Austria, the ethnic composition of 'school' and 'street' peer groups seems to matter most (M1), while the perceived importance of peers does not significantly increase the odds of becoming a high achiever. In other words, second-generation Turks who are embedded in peer networks that consist overwhelmingly of non-co-ethnic friends have a higher chance of climbing to the top of the education ladder. Interestingly, the magnitude of the ethnic composition of the three best friends (peer diversity variable in M1) is larger than for the number of native friends in school. With an increase of one unit on the best friends' peer diversity scale, the odds of achieving a post-secondary/tertiary education rise by around 90 per cent, compared to 53 per cent for the 'school peer group'. When inserting the perceived importance of teachers and the teachers' support index in a second step (M2), the strength of the significant peer group characteristics is slightly reduced but still remains significant. Similar to the findings for

4 Coded as a continuous variable ranging from 0 (all three best friends are of Turkish origin) up to 1 (all three best friends are non-co-ethnics). See Appendix B for further details.

peers, the perceived importance of teachers is found not to be a significant driver of educational success. Instead, the actual teachers' support increases the odds of entering or achieving post-secondary/tertiary education, and is of greater importance than the peer group characteristics.

When turning to the findings for second-generation Turks in France, only the number of native friends in school increases the odds of becoming a high achiever (M1). The size and positive effect of this variable is almost unaffected when teacher information is inserted into the second model (M2). Teacher support increases second-generation Turks' chances of entering post-secondary/tertiary education, while the perceived importance remains insignificant. The number of native peers in schools and teacher-student relationships seem to be of equal importance for achieving the highest education level in the French education system.

Finally, the numbers displayed for Sweden indicate that only the perceived importance of teachers is significantly correlated with high achievement, while all other peer-group and teacher-student relationship items are non-significant. This is in contrast with the findings for Austria and France, where the effect of the perceived importance of teachers is significant but negatively associated with becoming a high achiever. With an increase of one unit in the perception of teachers' importance, the odds of entering or achieving post-secondary/tertiary education decrease by around 27 per cent (see M2, right column).

In additional analysis (not shown), it was tested whether the results of the second model (M2) in all three countries remained significant once the findings are controlled for (perceived) school segregation. As shown earlier, the peer group compositions are correlated with the ethnic school segregation. In all three countries, the direction and strength of the significant indicators were unaltered when controlling for school segregation, while the control variable itself was not significant. Thus, the importance of the ethnic composition of peer circles in schools seems to matter in Austria and France irrespective of the size of the immigrant student population in schools. It is further worth noting that there was also testing for interaction effects between the city of residence and the peer and teacher variables. This was done because the descriptive findings hinted at some variation in the independent variables that might cause different outcomes for second-generation Turks in different cities in Austria and France (for example, for second-generation Turks in Linz but not in Vienna). None of these interaction terms was significant, indicating that the outcomes presented in table 5.14 describe country-specific patterns for the Turkish second generation.

Table 5.4 Binomial logistic regression of achieving post-secondary/tertiary education for second-generation Turks controlled for peer characteristics and student-teacher relationships (odds ratios and % change in odds)

	Austria				France				Sweden			
	M1		M2		M1		M2		M1		M2	
	Exp(B)	% change	Exp(B)	% change	Exp(B)	% change	Exp(B)	% change	Exp(B)	% change	Exp(B)	% change
Perceived importance of peers	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	
No. of native peers in school	1.52** (0.27)	53.0	1.44* (0.26)	44.8	1.43** (0.18)	43.8	1.42** (0.18)	42.1	n.s.		n.s.	
Peer group diversity (best friends)	1.85** (0.38)	90.8	1.72** (0.37)	73.7	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	
Peers without a diploma	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	
Perceived importance of teachers			n.s.				n.s.				0.73* (0.11)	-26.8
Teacher support			1.76** (0.32)	76.5			1.41** (0.16)	41.5			n.s.	
N.	413		411		480		479		233		233	
R2	0.17		0.20		0.16		0.20		0.11		0.14	

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. All continuous variables have been standardised before entering the regression analysis. Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=Variable included in regression, but results are not significant. All models are controlled for age, gender and city of residence (Austria and France).

Beyond the family: Peer group influences

The main aim of this chapter is to explore the significance of peers and teachers as mediating actors in the educational attainment process beyond the influence of the family of origin. Thus, in a last empirical model (M3), the strength, direction and significance of the findings of Model 2 was estimated, but controlled for parents' education levels and for parental support in schooling. The results of these estimates are presented in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Binomial logistic regression of achieving post-secondary/tertiary education for second-generation Turks, controlled for peer characteristics, student-teacher relationships *and* parents' education and support (odds ratios and % change in odds)

	Austria		France		Sweden	
	M3		M3		M3	
	Exp(B)	%	Exp(B)	%	Exp(B)	%
Importance of peers	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	
No. of native peers in school	n.s.		1.40* (0.19)	40.7	n.s.	
Peer group diversity (best friends)	1.62* (0.35)	61.1	n.s.		n.s.	
Peers without a diploma	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	
Importance of teachers	n.s.		n.s.		0.73* (0.11)	-26.6
Teacher support index	1.72** (0.32)	72.1	1.37** (0.15)	37.1	n.s.	
N.	410		479		233	
R2	0.23		0.22		0.14	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. All continuous variables have been standardised before entering the regression analysis. Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001. n.s.=Variable included in regression, but results are not significant. All models are controlled for age, gender, city of residence (Austria and France), parents' education levels and level of support.

The first point to take away from table 5.5 is that in Austria, the significant effect of the number of native peers in schools disappears once parents' education levels and education support from parents are held constant (compare to Model 2 in table 5.4), while the ethnic composition of the three best friends (peer group diversity) is still significantly related to

achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level of education. For each additional best friend of Austrian origin, the odds of being a 'high achiever' increase by around 61 per cent. In France, significant effects can be seen for the number of native peers in the school peer network but not for the peer circle outside school. Or, to describe the outcomes in the words of Ream and Rumberger (2008), in Austria, the ethnic composition of 'street' peer networks matter while in France 'school' peer groups play a significant role in the process of educational attainment beyond the parental home. The results in Sweden are very much to the contrary, none of the peer group characteristics affect the odds of entering tertiary education for the Turkish second generation, beyond parents' levels of education and schooling support.

Beyond the family: Student-teacher relationships

The results of the two teacher-related 'indicators' are shown in the lower part of table 5.5. While increasing the perceived importance of teachers does not affect the odds for second-generation Turks in France and Austria to achieve an education level above upper-secondary, the estimates reveal a negative outcome for second-generation Turks in Sweden even after testing for parents' education levels and schooling support. With increased levels of perceived importance, the odds of reaching the top of the education spectrum decrease by almost 27 per cent, holding all other variables constant. At the same time, the teacher support index does not exert a significant effect when parents' education and parental support are held constant. By contrast, the odds of making it to the top of the education ladder in Austria and France increase with rising support provided by teachers. Teachers seem to be important mediating actors in the processes of educational attainment in the French and Austrian cities for second-generation Turks beyond the family home. Comparing the size of the teacher support measure between the two countries and its impact on the odds of being a high achiever shows that second-generation Turks in Austria are more affected than counterparts in France. With an increase of one unit in the teacher support scale, the odds of entering or achieving post-secondary/tertiary level rise by around 72 per cent in Austria. The percentage changes in the odds are almost twice as high as for second-generation Turks in Austria as for France, and remain equally strong in both countries even after controlling for parents' education and parental support.

5.6 Differences between the comparison group and second-generation Turks

The previous section examined the impact that the main variables of interest had on the Turkish second generation in the compared countries. This section now turns to the question of whether these findings are specific to second-generation Turks or whether they apply equally to all students within given education systems. This will be examined in a two-step process: first, by exploring the descriptive differences in the main variables of interest between the compared groups in each city. Then, using multivariate analysis, their roles in the educational attainment process will be examined for both the comparison group and for the Turkish second generation.

Table 5.6 displays the descriptive results of the key independent variables broken down by group and by city. Beginning with peers who left school without a diploma, significant group differences can be observed in all cities. The number of friends with uncompleted school careers is much larger for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group. The group variations are particularly high in France and Sweden.

The next two rows in table 5.6 provide information on the ethnic composition of the two circles of friends. Since both variables are measured according to a scale, the means of measurement are displayed. The ethnic composition scale for friends in schools ranges from zero (no native-born friends) to four (most friends are native-born). Across all cities, second-generation Turks indicate a rather mixed composition of peer groups in schools. Most of them stated in our interviews that they had 'some' native-born friends in secondary school (represented by a mean of around 2 on this scale).

By contrast with the Turkish second generation, the comparison group describes their friendships at school as rather homogeneous in all five cities. This is especially the case for the comparison group in Stockholm and Linz, who are on average close to having almost all of their school friends of native origin.

The homogeneity of peer groups among the comparison group becomes even more pronounced when focusing on the ethnic composition of the three best friends. Across all cities except Paris, the mean for the comparison group is higher than 0.8 (remember that a score of 1 indicates that all three best friends are of native-born origin). The most homogeneous composition of peer groups can be found for comparison group members in Linz, while the most heterogeneous peer network

Table 5.6 Peer group and teacher characteristics for the comparison group and second-generation Turks, by city (means; %)

		Austria				France				Sweden	
	Metric of variable	**Vienna**		**Linz**		**Paris**		**Strasbourg**		**Stockholm**	
	(Min; Max)	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**
Having peers without a diploma (%)	1=Yes, 0=No	22.4	34.5***	14.5	38.8***	35.6	50.4***	37.2	61.9***	29.2	51.7***
Friends of national origin in school	0=None 4=All	3.56	2.38***	3.81	2.17***	3.05	2.10***	3.47	2.45***	3.80	2.30***
Peer group diversity scale (best friends)	0=All Turkish 1=All native	0.86	0.22***	0.94	0.26***	0.73	0.39***	0.85	0.36***	0.84	0.28***
Perceived importance of peers	1=Not important 5=Very important	3.18	3.37	3.03	3.74***	2.26	2.61**	2.36	2.36	3.18	3.22
Teacher support scale	0=None 5=Very high	3.72	3.85	3.82	3.85	3.71	3.86	3.81	3.79	4.34	4.24
Perceived importance of teachers	1=Not important; 5=Very important	2.65	3.72***	2.65	3.67***	3.05	3.16	2.98	2.99	3.65	3.77

Source: TIES Survey 2007-2008

Notes: CG=Comparison group. 2GT=Second-generation Turks. Levels of significance for group differences: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<0.05 (two-tailed t-test for continuous variables; chi2 for binary variable).

appears among the comparison group in Paris. We have to bear in mind, however, that the total size of the immigrant population in the city shapes the opportunities to establish inter-ethnic friendships among different groups. While Paris is a multicultural metropolis with a highly diversified population, Linz is the smallest city in this comparison group, with the lowest percentage of immigrants in relation to the total population (see also chapter 2).

Peers are generally perceived as more important in school activities in Austria and Sweden compared to France, which reflects the patterns seen in figure 5.1. Significant group variations appear only in Linz and Paris, with children of Turkish parents evaluating their peers to be of greater importance than is the case within the comparison group.

The greatest commonalities between groups within as well as across cities are found when turning to the issue of support from teachers. On average, both groups in all cities experience great levels of support (all mean values are close to four on a five-point scale), although the average approval is slightly higher in Sweden than in the two other countries. The general level of satisfaction with teachers is also reflected in the overall high levels of the perceived importance of teachers – which only varies in the Austrian cities, where second-generation Turks attributed greater importance to teachers in their schooling than did their comparison group.

The second aim of this section is to explore whether peer-group characteristics and student-teacher relationships work in similar ways for both groups in given education systems. From a methodological point of view, this was estimated using similar regression analyses to those used in the previous section, but this time a 'dummy' variable was included for second-generation Turks in the binomial logistic regression. The findings are summarised in table 5.7.

The analyses revealed that, when pooling the survey groups within one model, only one indicator per country significantly increases the odds of achieving or entering the post-secondary/tertiary level beyond the significant drivers of parents' education levels and support (compare chapter 4). In Austria and France, support from teachers has been found to increase the odds of students entering the highest end of the education system. In Austria, for each additional level of support provided by teachers, the odds of becoming a high achiever increase by around 74 per cent, when all other variables are held constant. The percentage change in the odds is considerably lower, though still significant, in France (45.8 per cent), while it has not been found to cause any significant increase in Sweden. The non-significant interaction terms between second-generation Turks and teacher support indicates that

the patterns explored in Austria and France apply equally strongly to both groups.

Table 5.7 Significant findings on achieving post-secondary/tertiary education for both groups (odds ratios and % change in odds)

	Austria	France	Sweden
Variable	Teacher support index	Teacher support index	Perceived importance of teachers
Odds ratio	1.73***	1.45**	0.77*
	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.09)
% change	73.7	45.8	- 39.0
Interaction with second-generation Turks	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
R2 (full model)	0.22	0.27	0.26
N.	871	817	471

Source: TIES Survey 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. All continuous variables have been standardised before entering the regression analysis. Levels of significance: * p<0.05; **p< 0.01; *** p< 0.001. All models are controlled for group, age, gender, city of residence (Austria and France), parental educational levels and parental schooling support.

In the previous analysis of second-generation Turks in Sweden, a negative correlation was found between the perceived importance of teachers in students' schooling and achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level of education (See table 5.5). The analysis in this section reveals that this negative trend applies to all students in the Swedish education system. With a change in perceived importance – for example, from 'somewhat important' to 'important' – the odds decrease by 39 per cent for each group.[5]

Given that only the teacher variables exert a significant impact on becoming a high achiever, this further indicates that the findings for the ethnic composition of peers observed in the previous section are specific mechanisms and mediating actors in the educational attainment process of second-generation Turks in Austria and France, but not for the comparison group.

5 Recall from chapter 4 that significant group differences in entering post-secondary/tertiary education in France and Sweden were fully explained by family-related factors (parents' education levels and parental support). The persisting differences observed for Austria (see table 4.8) did not change substantially by controlling for peer-group characteristics and teacher support.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined peers and teachers as mediating actors in the process of educational attainment. It has asked whether peers and teachers contribute significantly, beyond the significant role of the family, to the success of second-generation Turks in given education systems.

The results of this chapter show that closest friends and peers are perceived as relatively important in second-generation Turks' schooling in all three countries. On a descriptive level, they are evaluated as being just as important as family members. When examining the significant influence of the perceived importance of peers on educational attainment, the expected positive link was not found, once parents' education levels and parental support were held constant. In other words, even if peers and best friends are perceived as important to second-generation Turks in terms of studying and helping with homework, they are less central than parents to the process of educational attainment. Instead, what seems to matter in Austria and France, though not in Sweden, is the ethnic composition of their peers.

Having a high share of Austrian friends in the closest circle of best friends improves the chance of navigating successfully through the education system right to its highest level. This is more effective than either parents' education levels or parental support. This finding is in line with results provided by Baysu and Phalet (2012), who used the Belgian TIES survey in the city of Antwerp and found that second-generation Turks with higher numbers of 'inter-group contacts' were significantly more likely to stay on in academic tracks and less likely to drop out of secondary education.

In France, a similar finding emerges for the 'school' peer group of second-generation Turks. The more they are surrounded by native-born French students in their secondary schools, the greater their likelihood of moving beyond upper-secondary education. These findings seem to be in line with previous findings for second-generation Mexican immigrants in the United States. As documented by Stanton-Salazar (2004, 2011) and Gibson et al. (2004), peers and closest friends often serve as important agents through whom children of immigrants can access resources and information that are not available in their own families. Acquiring such information – for instance, knowledge of the diverse opportunities provided by education – becomes more likely when there is a greater degree of interchange with non-immigrant students whose parents, older siblings and friends have already taken part in the education system.

Although these findings have been observed in education systems, they already point towards major institutional differences between these

systems. Because Austrian schools are operating on a half-day basis at the lower-secondary level, major decisions about schooling are delegated to the family home and to the time after school (as seen in chapter 4). Therefore, it is not surprising that best friends with whom students spend time during the afternoons seem to matter in Austria, while the impact of peers in school is minor. In the French full-day education system, the ethnic composition of peers in schools seems to matter for the success of second-generation Turks, while in the Swedish case it's not significant. Being surrounded by non-immigrant peers in school might be of greater importance at the end of compulsory education in France, at the point where students are selected for the next stage of the education system. The 'orientation process' is the link between compulsory and non-compulsory education, and it is at this point that students and their parents express their preferences for their future education. They are required to make decisions that presuppose a substantial knowledge of the French education system's upper-secondary level. If parents do not possess this knowledge, peers whose parents or older siblings have already gained this experience become crucial sources of information. This type of selective moment does not exist in the Swedish system, which may explain the non-significant findings for peers. These findings and their possible interconnections with structural features of the various education systems need further investigation and will be examined in the forthcoming chapters.

In the theoretical section presented at the start of this chapter, the argument was framed that friends' education behaviour and orientation could be a specific mechanism of peer influence since young adolescents often rely on the ascribed characteristics of their peers. Here, I followed previous studies, using available data on students surrounded by peers who'd dropped out of school as a measure of possible distraction from schooling. The results revealed no significant relationship between having dropout peers in one's closest circle of friends and becoming a high achiever, holding family characteristics constant.

Apart from the significant role of peer groups, many studies have suggested that teachers play a crucial role in daily interpersonal social relations, and that they become key actors when it comes to the issue of the success of children of immigrants in education. My analysis confirmed the importance of the teachers' roles in both Austria and France: Teacher support is positively correlated with higher achievement by second-generation Turks, which makes teachers important mediating actors in the process of educational attainment. But, as shown in the second part of this chapter, this applies to all students. With increasing levels of teacher support, students

in both groups showed improved chances of reaching the highest rungs of the education ladder. This finding is in line with evidence from other studies that showed the generally positive relationship between having supportive teachers and students' engagement at school.

Surprisingly, the results for Sweden are the opposite. Support from teachers did not significantly increase the chances of students in the Swedish education system achieving the post-secondary/tertiary level of education. Instead, students in both survey groups who perceived their teachers as of great importance for schooling and help with homework were actually low achievers and were consequently less likely to become high-achievers.

Comparing the size of my outcomes for second-generation Turks across the three countries, I can see a ranking similar to that which already appeared in the context of family factors in the previous chapters. The peer group and teacher effects were strongest in Austria, and lowest in Sweden, with France falling in between the two. In other words, the educational attainment of children of Turkish origin in Austria is more reliant on information and support from outside family actors than for their age-mates in Sweden.

We have to bear in mind that the role of outside-family agents in the educational attainment process of second-generation Turks was explored without considering structural differences in the education systems. There may be variations in the importance of peers and teachers for students in different tracks. For example, students following the academic track might have fewer peers who left school without a diploma because the overall dropout rate in academic tracks is lower than in vocational tracks. In a system in which much educational success is influenced by the knowledge and general educational experience of peers, students in academic tracks may be less at risk. A similar line of argument may apply to the significance of student-teacher relationships. Teachers become of importance in specific contexts and at different points in time in education pathways.

These questions bring us to the starting point for the next chapters. Chapter 6 looks at structural differences in the education systems. It moves away from individual-level explanations by describing how groups make choices for certain education-related reasons and how those choices are predetermined by the opportunities that are available, which in turn are defined by structural configuration of the education systems.

6 Navigating the System

6.1 Introduction

Previous chapters explored the relevance of individual characteristics in the schooling achievements of second-generation Turks both within and across countries. Cross-national differences in the importance of resources inside and outside the family home have been examined. All of these analytical steps have been conducted 'within given education systems' and without considering variations in the formal characteristics of education systems. These institutional variables had not yet been considered at the point where the attainment differences of the Turkish second generation and the comparison group were explained.

This chapter addresses the extent to which the institutional arrangements of national education systems shape education pathways, help or hinder equal opportunities in education and therefore go a long way towards explaining unequal outcomes between the groups in each system – especially country-to-country differences.

To answer this question, the next section examines how institutional arrangements shape the education pathways and opportunities of students in Austria, France and Sweden. It looks at each of the three countries separately. Each 'country portrait' starts by describing the flow through the education system. The purpose of this is to provide an overall picture of the outflow rates from one education level to the other and to highlight the most important transition points in each system, giving a vertical perspective. Significant variations between cities, if they are observed, are reported in these sections. The aim of this empirical analysis is to carry out a descriptive examination of whether types of differentiation have an impact on the education pathways of second-generation Turks and the comparison group, possibly resulting in unequal outcomes.

The final section evaluates the favourable and unfavourable institutional arrangements for educational mobility derived from the analysis. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the mechanisms and relevant structural characteristics that help to explain group differences in education pathways across the three countries.

6.2 Education pathways compared – the perspective on institutional arrangements

6.2.1 France

The flow through the system

Pre-school is the most common start for children's education in France. The pre-school level (*école maternelle*) is optional and free for all children between the ages of two and six. *École maternelle* can be seen as an integral part of the French education system and admits children from the age of two, depending on the number of places available and the decisions taken by their parents. Most children in France enter pre-school at the age of three (European Commission 2006b). The findings for attending *école maternelle* in our survey confirm this pattern: almost all children went to the public *école maternelle,* and over 95 per cent of our respondents in each group were enrolled in pre-school by the time they turned four years old. Although the majority of pupils enter *école maternelle* at the age of three, the number of early starters (two-year-olds) is twice as high among the comparison group as among the Turkish second generation (see table 6.1).

Children are expected to start primary education (*école élémentaire*) at the age of six. This elementary school marks the beginning of the compulsory system in France. The average length of stay in *école élémentaire* is five years. After leaving primary school, pupils move on to the second stage of compulsory education, called *collège*. Those who are not following the integrated mainstream track often attend special streams, such as general and vocational sections (SEGPA) for pupils with learning difficulties. These streams are integrated into the *collèges*. As shown in figure 6.1, the percentage of young students who enter *SEGPA* is below 4 per cent and does not significantly differ between the two compared groups.

The most important decision point takes place at the end of compulsory schooling at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The last stage of *collège* becomes the crucial phase for students. It links compulsory and non-compulsory education, and is called the 'orientation process.' Firstly, parents express their preferences for their child's education. Based on this information and the grades of the final education certificate (*brevet des collèges*), teachers and officials from the school division (class council) evaluate each student's chances of success if the parents' preferences are followed. Finally, the schools recommend which students are assigned to academic or vocational *lycées* for the next education level.

Table 6.1 Pre-school attendance in Paris and Strasbourg, by group (% and age)

		Paris		Strasbourg		
		Comparison group	Second-generation Turks	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks	
Pre-school						
Attended		100.0	97.9	100.0	98.8	
	Attended for more than one year	94.3	98.4	96.6	98.4	
Mean age at entry		3	3	3	3	
	< age 3	13.8	4.5	9.0	2.4	
	= age 3	77.6	83.1	81.9	92.0	
	> age 3	8.6	12.4	9.1	5.6	**

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: *<0.05; **<0.01; ***<0.001.

After receiving advice during the course guidance or 'orientation' process, pupils move on to *lycées* with either an academic or vocational orientation. As displayed by the outflow chart, the most common route for students in the comparison group is entry to the academic *lycée*. Around 80 per cent of the comparison group went on to an academic *lycée*, while only 50 per cent of second-generation Turks did. Students who enrol in an academic *lycée* have to decide after the first year whether they will attend *lycée général* or *lycée technologique*. The former is perceived as higher in terms of status, while the latter is generally less valued (Brinbaum & Cebolla Boado 2007: 449). The decision on which track to take is based on the information previously considered by the class council. Both tracks lead to the *baccalauréat* diploma ('*bacc*'), which provides the entrance ticket to higher education. Significant group differences appear at this decision-point, with second-generation Turks showing higher numbers streaming to the technical type of *lycée.*[1]

Students who do not enter the academic track in upper-secondary education move on to vocational *lycées*. These schools combine general education with specific technical knowledge to prepare pupils for entry into the labour market (for industry or the services sector, for example). Students are trained over two years to obtain the *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle* (CAP) or the *Brevet d'Études Professionnelles* (BEP).

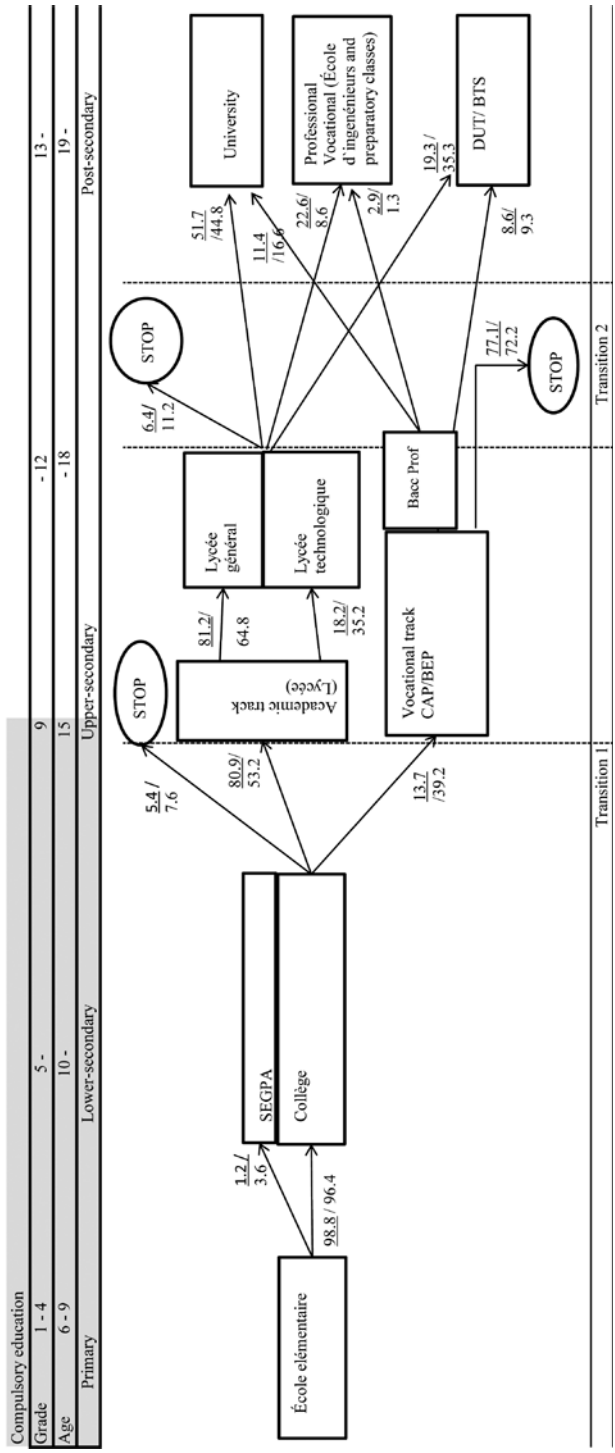
1 Male and female students do not differ at this decision point.

BEP-holders can attend an additional two-year course to obtain the *brevet professionnel* (the professional *baccalauréat*), which provides them with more general skills and hence a greater capacity to adapt to the labour market. This vocational *baccalauréat* (*baccalauréat professionnel* or *'bacc prof'*) was established during the education reforms of 1985 in order to increase the number of people in France who hold a *baccalauréat* (Kieffer 2008: 108). The increase in the number of *baccalauréat* holders in the mid-1980s was primarily due to this type of *baccalauréat* (MEN 2005, cited in Kieffer 2008: 108). The *bacc prof* certificate allows students on the vocational path to enter higher education as well. As displayed in figure 6.1, a substantial number of pupils in both groups choose this special vocational track primarily to enter university rather than post-secondary technical or higher vocational schools.

The main route into post-secondary/tertiary education in France is through the *lycée*. Among those who successfully obtained the *baccalauréat* from the general or technical *lycée*, only around 6 per cent of the comparison group did not continue any further with education. The percentage of school leavers at this second transition point is almost twice as high among the Turkish second generation (around 11 per cent). The most common destinations for both groups are universities. The most common destination for the Turkish second generation are the tertiary vocational schools, DUT/BTS. Comparison groups in Paris and Strasbourg continue more frequently on to the professional vocational tracks.

Dissimilarities between the two French cities appear at the end of compulsory education (see table A16 in Appendix B). In Paris, around 70 per cent continue in the academically orientated track (*lycée*), while the continuation rate is around fifteen percentage points lower in Strasbourg (55 per cent). The comparison group does not differ significantly between Paris and Strasbourg. Among them, 85 per cent who leave *collège* enter the academically orientated *lycée*. Of the second-generation Turks who enter the academic track, the majority stay in the more prestigious *bacc general* track. Nevertheless, significant city differences appear at this point between Paris and Strasbourg: Around three-quarters decide to continue in the general track in Paris, and in Strasbourg, slightly more than 47 per cent enter the less prestigious *lycée technologique*. The entrance ticket to tertiary education is the *baccalauréat* diploma obtained through the *lycée* or in the vocational BEP-professional school. In Paris, around 80 per cent of the comparison group continue in some type of tertiary education after completing upper-secondary education, compared with 76 per cent of Turkish second-generation students. In Strasbourg, only one in every two

Figure 6.1 Outflow rates for France (Paris and Strasbourg), by group (%)



Source: TIES 2007-2008

Notes: Underlined percentages refer to the comparison group; figures not underlined indicate outflow rates for second-generation Turks. Outflow rates are calculated as a ratio of students who entered point 2 to all the students who successfully left point 1, and so on.

Turkish second-generation students moves beyond the upper-secondary level. The lower continuation rate into any type of tertiary education in Strasbourg also translates into a significant gap of around 35 per cent when compared with the comparison group.

A typology of education pathways in France

The focus on the flow through the French education system, as well the exploration of related educational elements, allows us to construct a typology of education pathways. School careers in France start early, at age three on average, and usually involve primary education and the integrated track in lower-secondary education (*collège*). Afterwards, pathways start to divide into tracks with differing final destinations. The most crucial moment in the French education system is therefore the first transition point after compulsory education. At this stage, students are sorted into different tracks that shape their subsequent education paths and lead to a variety of education routes. Table 6.2 summarises the education pathways in the French system and shows their percentage distribution between the two compared groups across Paris and Strasbourg.

Up to seven distinct education routes can be distinguished. The first route represents a 'straight path' from *collège* via *lycée* to the more prestigious tertiary institutions such as universities and professional vocational schools. This is the route most commonly taken by the comparison group in both Strasbourg and Paris (over 50 per cent in both cities; No. 1 and No. 2 in table 6.2 taken together). Probably as a result of their place on the lower academic track at the transition into upper-secondary education, only around 16 per cent of the Turkish second generation in Strasbourg followed the 'straight academic' route, compared to 34 per cent of their counterparts in Paris (the total of first two pathways in table 6.2). The second most common pathway is similar to the straight academic route but differs in the final destination. This 'academic-vocational' route (No. 3 in table 6.2) ends in non-university vocational tracks, such as DUT and BTS. In Paris, 20.6 per cent of second-generation Turks take this route, compared to 12.3 per cent in Strasbourg.

Access to the post-secondary/tertiary level via the additional two-year vocational class to obtain the *bacc professionel* is significantly more often used by the Turkish second generation (No. 4 in table 6.2). This 'entrance through the back door' was used by around 8 per cent of the Turkish second generation in Strasbourg and Paris (all post-secondary/tertiary level destinations taken together). Among the comparison group, entrance to

the post-secondary level via the vocational tracks is less common (below 3 per cent).

The remaining three education routes describe education careers that end either immediately after compulsory education at the age of fifteen or after upper-secondary education. The higher number of second-generation Turks in Paris, and especially in Strasbourg, who choose the CAP/BEP vocational track after lower-secondary education leads to a higher representation of the Turkish second generation in the short vocational route.

6.2.2 Sweden

The flow through the system

Similar to the education system in France, Sweden provides public pre-school (*förskola*) for all pupils. It was introduced in the 1970s. Since the start of the 1990s, when responsibility was shifted from social services to the school system, municipalities have been obliged to provide pre-school places for all children (Halldén 2008). Pre-school services comprise open pre-schools (*lekskola*), registered child-minding (*dagmamma*) and after-school recreation centres (*fritidsheim*). Taken as a whole, the Swedish pre-school system offers full-day care for children whose parents work or study. Pupils in Sweden can enter pre-school from the age of one, while the average starting age is around three. As displayed in table 6.3, the numbers using pre-school services and sending their children to *förskola* before they turned age three do not differ significantly between Turkish and non-Turkish parents.

At the age of six, all pupils enter compulsory education (*grundskolan*) which takes nine years. Students make their first choice about the next stage of their education at the end of *grundskolan* when they are usually around sixteen (see figure 6.2). The next level covers three years of upper-secondary education. Since the beginning of the 1970s, upper-secondary education (*gymnasium*) has contained three tracks, consisting of a three-year academic programme, two-year continuation programmes and two-year vocational programmes.[2] The vocational streams allow students to enter tertiary education as well (Ekström 2002, cited from Halldén 2008).

2 Because of the small numbers, the two vocationally orientated tracks had to be combined into one in the following analyses.

Table 6.2 Typology of education pathways in Paris and Strasbourg, by group and city (%)

	Label	Tracks			% Distribution			
					Paris		Strasbourg	
		start	→	end	CG	2GT	CG	2GT
1	Straight academic route – 1	Collège	Lycée (Bacc Général)	University or Prof. Voc.	36.2	24.6	36.1	9.9
2	Straight academic route – 2	Collège	Lycée (Bacc Technol.)	University or Prof. Voc.	23.6	9.7	17.0	6.4
	Straight academic route – 1+2	Collège	Lycée (Bacc Général or Technol.)	University or Prof. Voc.	59.8	34.3	53.1	16.3
3	Academic-tertiary (lower) vocational	Collège	Lycée (Bacc Général or Technol.)	Vocational Post-Sec (BTS/DUT)	13.2	20.6	15.8	12.3
4	Upward vocational route	Collège	CAP/ BEP Prof.	Any Tertiary	1.2	7.7	2.8	8.3
5	Short academic route	Collège	Lycée (Bacc Général or Technol.)	stop	9.8	10.1	10.7	11.9
6	Short vocational route	Collège	BEP/CAP	stop	12.5	19.8	10.2	41.7
7	Minimum education route (early school leavers)	Collège	stop		3.5	5.5	7.2	9.5

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: CG=Comparison group. 2GT=Second-generation Turks.

Table 6.3 Pre-school attendance in Stockholm, by group (% and years)

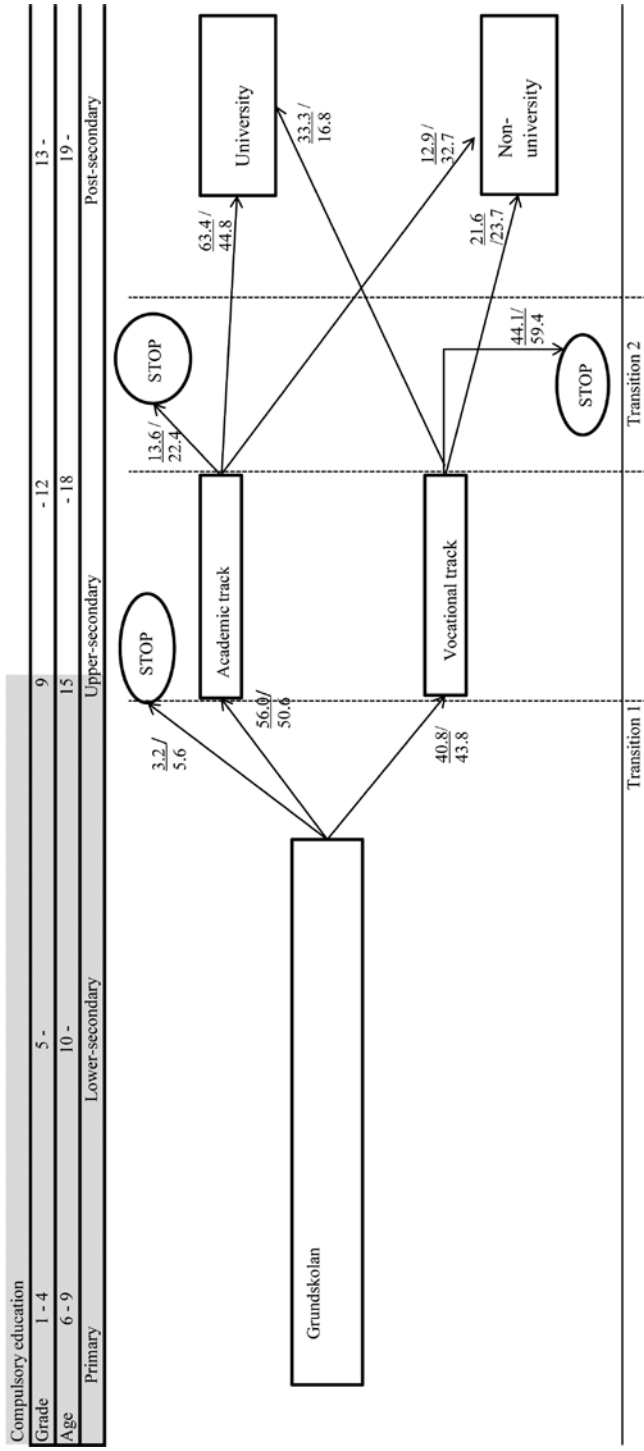
		Stockholm		
		Comparison Group	Second Generation Turks	
Pre-school				
Attended		88.2	92.8	
	Attended more than one year	74.2	86.8	**
Mean age at entry		4	3	**
	< age 3	30.1	43.7	
	= age 3	19.1	14.7	
	> age 3	50.8	41.6	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: *<0.05; **<0.01; ***<0.001.

At the start of the 1990s, the vocational tracks were reformed and turned into three years of education. This reform was intended to reduce the number of discrepancies between academic and vocational upper-secondary school programmes, and to increase the continuation rates from vocational schools to tertiary education (Halldén 2008: 256). Almost all students in Sweden continue with some sort of upper-secondary education (K. Sund 2007). Figure 6.2 shows the outflow rates for second-generation Turks and their comparison group in Stockholm. At the first transition point, between *grundskolan* and upper-secondary education, only 3.6 per cent of the comparison group and just over 5 per cent of the Turkish second generation drop out of school. Overall, slightly more than 50 per cent of students move on to the academic track at age fifteen or sixteen, while around 40 per cent opt for the vocational streams. The Turkish second generation does not differ significantly from the comparison group in terms of continuation rates at this stage.

The Swedish tertiary education system consists of two broad groups of institutions: universities and post-secondary vocational schools (summarised as 'non-university' in figure 6.2). The latter provide training courses in work-related areas. At the second transition point between upper-secondary and tertiary education, significant group differences emerge. First, the Turkish second generation is much more likely to leave education after *gymnasium*, irrespective of the track they followed before. Second, they enter university less often than the comparison group when they originate from the academic track in upper-secondary education. Third, Turkish second-generation students who go to vocational *gymnasium* are only half as likely to enter university (33 per cent versus around 17 per cent).

Figure 6.2 Outflow rates for Sweden (Stockholm), by group (%)



Source: TIES 2007-2008

Notes: Underlined percentages refer to the comparison group; figures not underlined indicate outflow rates for second-generation Turks. Outflow rates are calculated as a ratio of students who entered point 2 to all the students who successfully left point 1, and so on.

A typology of education pathways in Sweden

Based on the detailed descriptions of education careers presented above, a typology of pathways has been created. Seven distinct education routes can be distinguished, based on the outflow chart presented at the start of this section. Similar to the French education system, school careers in Sweden start early with pre-school and are followed as one integrated track. First decisions between tracks are taken after leaving *grundskola* and before starting upper-secondary education. The second most important point in the Swedish education system is the transition that links upper-secondary and tertiary education.

Table 6.4 Typology of education pathways in Stockholm, by group (%)

	Label	Tracks			% Distribution	
		start	→	end	CG	2 GT
1	Straight academic route	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	Academic upper- sec	University	33.6	20.7
2	Academic–vocational	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	Academic upper sec	Voc post-sec	16.0	18.3
3	Vocational upward route 1	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	Voc upper-sec	Voc post-sec	4.4	6.3
4	Vocational upward route 2	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	Voc upper-sec	University	16.0	10.5
5	Short academic route	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	Academic-upper sec	stop	7.2	10.4
6	Short vocational route	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	Voc. upper-sec	stop	19.6	28.3
7	Minimum education route (Early school leavers)	Lower-secondary (Grundskola)	stop		3.2	5.5

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: CG=Comparison group. 2GT=Second-generation Turks. Voc.=Vocational. upper-sec=Upper-secondary education.

The most common route among the comparison group is the straight academic route (No. 1, table 6.4). Around one-third of the comparison group leaves *grundskola* for the academic *gymnasium* and continues at university,

while only one-fifth of the Turkish second generation accompanies the comparison group on this path.

Attending vocational school in upper-secondary education does allow students to enter tertiary education as well. But as Halldén points out, universities and post-secondary institutions tend to set higher demands for admission than just a general qualification obtained from vocational school (Halldén 2008: 256). This, in practice, reduces the possibility of continuing into higher education. Entering any type of post-secondary/tertiary education via the vocational *gymnasium* route is overall slightly more common among the comparison group in Stockholm (20.4 per cent) than among the Turkish second generation (16.8 per cent) (vocational upward routes 1 and 2 taken together, see table 6.4).

The next two education pathways classify careers that stop after *gymnasium*. Second-generation Turks are more likely to stop their education after completing either the vocational or the academic track in *gymnasium* (see also figure 6.2).

The least common route in Sweden is to leave school at the end of compulsory education. Slightly more than 5 per cent of second-generation Turks end their education after *grundskolan,* compared to around 3 per cent for the comparison group. As outlined earlier, most students in Sweden move on to upper-secondary education in its various forms (K. Sund 2007).

6.2.3 Austria

The flow through the system

Pre-primary education in Austria usually takes place in kindergarten, which is not considered part of the education system (European Commission 2006a). It therefore has the character of early childcare rather than of early education. Kindergartens are run by local authorities or private organisations. In principle, children can go to kindergarten from the age of three, while the average starting age is four. Pre-school attendance varies considerably between second-generation Turks and the comparison group in Vienna and Linz. In both cities, Turkish parents made less frequent use of kindergarten facilities. Just fewer than 60 per cent of Turkish second-generation students in Vienna and 75 per cent in Linz had their first experiences of education in kindergarten. The majority of those started later than age four, which consequently led to a shorter overall stay in kindergarten (see table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Pre-school attendance in Vienna and Linz, by group (% and age)

	Vienna			Linz		
	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks		Comparison group	Second-generation Turks	
Pre-school						
Attended	80.8	57.5	***	87.2	75.2	**
Attended for more than one year	82.8	63.5	***	86.7	80.5	
Mean age at entry	4	4.5	***	4	4	
< age 4	42.1	11.0		43.1	34.8	
= age 4	33.2	38.6		26.0	35.5	
> age 4	24.7	50.4	***	29.1	29.7	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: *<0.05; **<0.01; ***<0.001.

Compulsory education in Austria starts at the age of six in primary school and lasts four years. Most primary schools (*Volksschulen*) operate on a half-day basis. *Volksschule* are the only common track in Austria where pupils from different social and ethnic backgrounds learn together and are prepared for their subsequent education. Primary schools have specific catchment areas, which means that a high proportion of pupils live in the same neighbourhoods.

At the age of ten, pupils in Austria are streamed into two separate types of school in lower-secondary education: the *Hauptschule* (vocationally orientated) and the *Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule-Unterstufe* (academically orientated). *Hauptschule* is the lower tier of lower-secondary education and is open to everybody after primary school. By contrast, the academic track prepares students to continue to the next academic level, which in turn leads to the *Matura*, the highest certificate of general education in Austria. Admission to one of those tracks depends on marks at the end of primary school as well as on recommendations from teachers. The head of a lower-secondary school decides whether a child is enrolled at the school. Almost 70 per cent of the descendants of Turkish immigrants are streamed into the *Hauptschule* track compared with 40 per cent of the comparison

group (see figure 6.3 and figure 6.4).[3] This pattern holds for both survey cities. Lower-secondary education lasts for four years. Since compulsory school in Austria is up to age fifteen, students from *Hauptschule* have to attend a one-year preparatory class (*Polytechnikum*) before leaving to join the apprenticeship system. This path is travelled by almost every second student in each group who were streamed into *Hauptschule*. Some students do not enter the apprenticeship system but rather continue in the vocational school *BMS* (*Berufsbildende Mittlere Schule*). This type of school offers full-time vocational training without work experience, and seems to be less selective for students from Turkish families (11.2 per cent compared to 5.5 per cent for the comparison group).

Intra-secondary permeability at the end of lower-secondary education offers students of the *Hauptschule* the opportunity to continue in academically orientated upper-secondary tracks (depending, of course, on getting the required marks). Comparing the percentage of students in each group who use this option reveals that the Turkish second generation uses this upward mobility route less frequently than the comparison group. More precisely, the comparison group in both cities is twice as likely to use the upward path from *Hauptschule* to the academic tracks in upper-secondary education (around 35 per cent in Vienna and 45 per cent in Linz for the comparison group). The majority of upward movers enter the academically orientated *BHS* (*Berufsbildende Höhere Schule*).

Young adults who were streamed into the academic track in lower-secondary education predominantly move on to the second academic level (*AHS-Oberstufe*). Over 80 per cent of *AHS-Unterstufe* students in both cities and in both groups continue on the academic path in the second academic cycle (*AHS-Oberstufe* or *BHS*). Among the remaining 20 per cent who decide in favour of a vocational school, students of the comparison group are more likely to opt for the apprenticeship system, while second-generation Turks more frequently choose the vocational school, BMS. Nevertheless, Turkish second-generation students are significantly less likely to attend the more prestigious academic tracks in upper-secondary education. Even if some of them move up from *Hauptschule* towards more academic tracks in the next level, group differences remain high as a result of the downward streaming into the lower-ability track at the first transition point after primary education.

The entrance ticket to tertiary education is the *Matura* diploma in the upper-secondary academic tracks (*AHS/BHS*). Tertiary education can

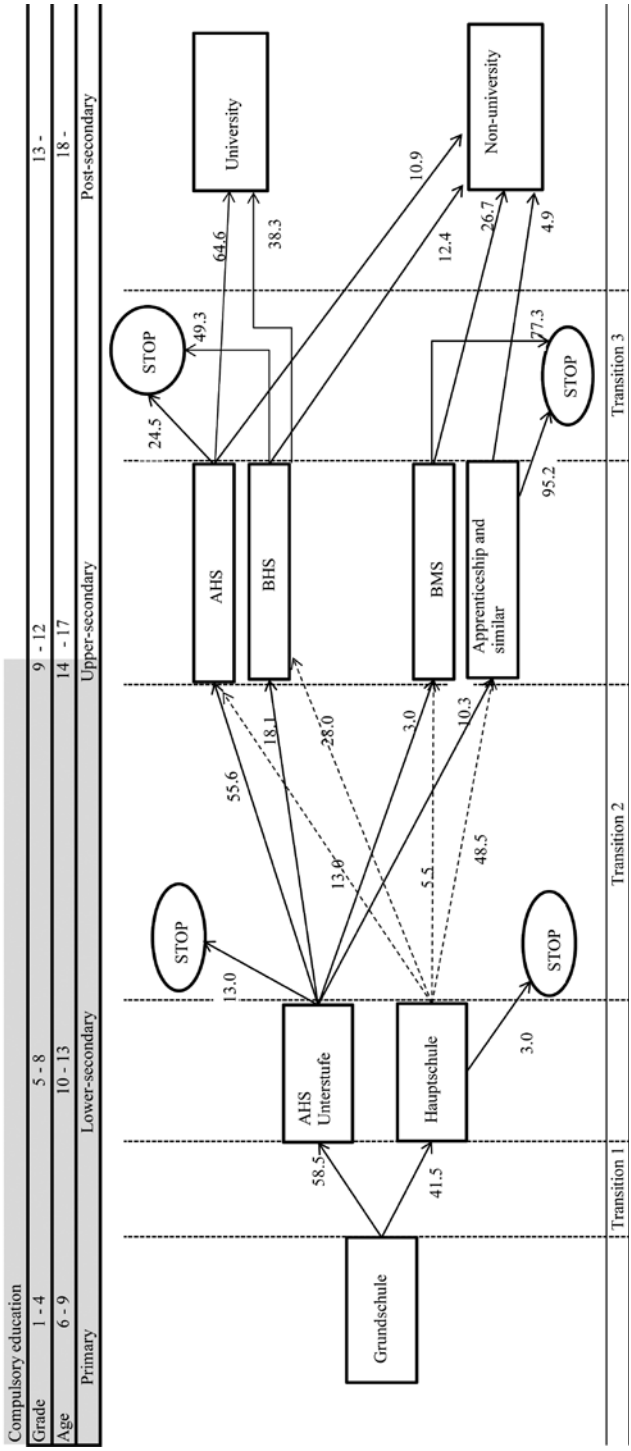
3 Because of the complexity of the Austrian education system, two separate figures are shown.

broadly be divided into two streams: vocational and academic tertiary education. But, as the provision of vocational education is predominant in upper-secondary education in Austria, vocational education is not very prominent in tertiary education when compared to France and Sweden (The first universities of applied sciences were established in 1994/1995). This partially explains the lower continuation rates into post-secondary education as well as the lower proportions of higher-education graduates in Austria. Most students, especially from the upper-secondary vocational streams, stop their education at this stage and do not move on to tertiary education. Only pupils from the academically orientated track, *AHS/BHS*, regularly continue on to tertiary education.

Tertiary vocational training is offered in technical colleges and vocational academies. Both schools provide qualifications that are considered the highest in the vocational sector. Technical colleges are also open to those who have completed an apprenticeship and hold a vocational *Matura* from upper-secondary education (*Berufsreifeprüfung*). Academic tertiary education is two-tiered, consisting of classical universities and *Fachhochschulen.* The former offer university programmes, while the latter are full-time schools with a strong labour market orientation where students can extend and refine their skills. As displayed in figure 6.3 and figure 6.4, the majority of students in either group who enter tertiary education enrol in universities and originate primarily in the *AHS-Oberstufe* track. Moving from vocational schools in upper-secondary education towards vocational tertiary education is rare in both survey cities.

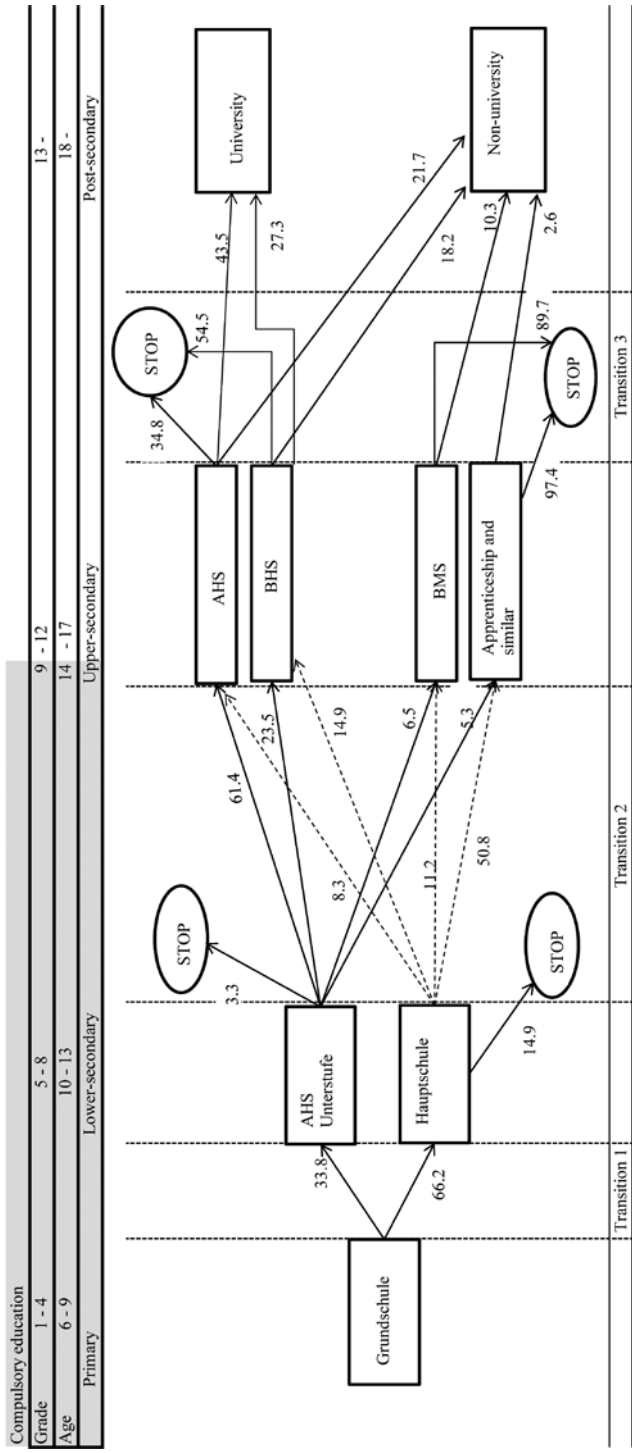
When it comes to tertiary education, fewer second-generation Turks are found to enrol in university and they tend to be more likely to opt for vocational schools. The Austrian education system offers limited access to vocational tertiary training after a student has completed a vocational school at upper-secondary level. Overall, the comparison group in Austria is twice as likely to follow this path into tertiary education as the Turkish second generation. At this transition point, significant city variations can be seen. The continuation rates for the Turkish second generation are 10 per cent in Vienna and 20 per cent in Linz (see table A15, Appendix B).

Figure 6.3 Outflow rates for the comparison group in Austria (Vienna and Linz) (%)



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Outflow rates are calculated as a ratio of students who entered point 2 to all the students who successfully left point 1, and so on.

Figure 6.4 Outflow rates for the Turkish second generation in Austria (Vienna and Linz) (%)



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Outflow rates are a calculated as a ratio of students who entered point 2 on all the students who successfully left point 1, and so on.

A typology of education pathways in Austria

The Austrian education system is highly stratified and has three major transition points: after leaving primary school, before entering upper-secondary education, and finally the decision before tertiary education. Early tracking, as well as the second chance of an upward transfer after lower-secondary education, leads to a number of complex education pathways. Overall, up to nine routes can be distinguished (see table 6.6).

To begin with the shortest pathways, on average one-tenth of the Austrian student population decide to drop out of school as early as after lower-secondary education (see early school leavers (9) in table 6.6).

The majority of the Turkish second generation surveyed took the straight vocational route (No. 4, table 6.6). Around 40 per cent were streamed into *Hauptschule* after primary school, and continued in the apprenticeship system or BMS vocational schools until they left school and entered the labour market. Only half as many students in the comparison group were streamed in the same way.

By contrast with second-generation Turks, most of the students from the comparison group followed the straight academic route via the two academically orientated tracks of lower- and upper-secondary education towards entry to tertiary education (No. 1, table 6.6). Equally common is the short academic route, which is almost equally popular with both study groups (on average around 18 per cent in both groups) which stops after the *Matura* diploma in upper-secondary education (No. 2, table 6.6).

Some of the education pathways differ between the Turkish second generation and the comparison groups not only within cities, but also across cities. For example, almost 13 per cent of the Turkish second generation in Vienna starts with *Hauptschule* in lower-secondary education and enters the academic track in the next level of compulsory education before ending their education (No. 6, table 6.6). This group is twice as big as the comparison group in the same city – but the same size as the comparison group in Linz.

Finally, comparatively few students start in the lower-ability track (*Hauptschule*) and move up to the academic track in upper-secondary education, and even continue on to some sort of tertiary education (No. 7, table 6.6). While the percentages are not significantly different between the comparison groups in the two cities and the Turkish second generation in Linz (7 per cent to 8 per cent), the Turkish second generation in Vienna is almost non-existent in the group of upward movers.

Table 6.6 Typology of education pathways in Vienna and Linz, by group and city (%)

	Label	Tracks			% Distribution			
					Vienna		Linz	
		start	→	end	CG	2GT	CG	2GT
1	Straight-academic route	AHS-Unterstufe	AHS-Oberstufe or BHS	Any type of tertiary education	24.8	7.9	19.6	12.6
2	Short-academic route	AHS-Unterstufe	AHS-Oberstufe or BHS	stop	17.2	19.8	20.5	16.5
3	Academic-vocational route	AHS-Unterstufe	Apprenticeship and similar	stop	10.4	4.3	3.8	3.4
4	Straight-vocational route	Hauptschule	Apprenticeship and similar	stop	21.6	40.4	21.3	40.7
5	Vocational-tertiary route	Hauptschule	Apprenticeship and similar	Any type of tertiary education	0.4	0.4	1.2	0.4
6	Vocational-academic route	Hauptschule	AHS-Oberstufe or BHS	stop	5.6	12.7	13.2	8.7
7	Vocational-upward route	Hauptschule	AHS-Oberstufe or BHS	Any type of tertiary education	8.0	2.3	7.6	6.8
8	Minimum education route (Early school leaver) 1	AHS-Unterstufe	stop		2.4	9.9	1.7	9.7
9	Minimum education route (Early school leaver) 2	Hauptschule	stop		9.6	1.9	10.6	0.9
	Early school leaver (1+2)	AHS-Unterstufe /Hauptschule	stop		12.0	11.8	12.3	10.6

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Notes: CG=Comparison group. 2GT=Second-generation Turks. AHS=Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule. BHS=Berufsbildende höhere Schule.

6.3 Conclusion

When exploring the extent to which the institutional arrangements of national education systems shape the education trajectories of the comparison group and the Turkish second generation in different ways in France, Sweden and Austria, the following conclusions can be drawn.

The perspective on education pathways adopted in this chapter has uncovered the fact that second-generation Turks in Austria experience three major roadblocks on their education paths before the age of ten. Firstly, they enter pre-school facilities much later, if at all. Secondly, they are more frequently streamed into the lower-ability track at the first transition point. At the descriptive level, early selection seems to be one of the major explanations for the education position of the Turkish second generation in Austria. But the effects of tracking and early selection, as argued in the introduction to this chapter, have to be discussed by taking other relevant aspects of differentiation into account as well. Early selection might not be a problematical institutional feature if the degree of permeability was higher at a later stage, and if opportunities for upward movement remained available to students who had been streamed earlier into lower-ability tracks. The results for Austria show, however, that the chances of upward transfers are low at the end of lower-secondary education. Indeed, a 'second chance' exists for graduates from the lower-ability track to move up into one of the two academic tracks. But the stakes are high against obtaining the marks necessary for that upward move. Early selection and differentiation into different ability tracks at this point also influence the chances of students moving into more prestigious tracks at the second and third transition points. On the other hand, the descriptive results for the Swedish and French education systems indicate that the chances of continuing in the more academic tracks are higher for second-generation Turks.

So far, the findings of this chapter point to striking differences between the tracked education system in Austria on the one hand, and the comprehensive systems in France and Sweden on the other, with the latter providing greater opportunities in both relative and absolute terms for the Turkish second generation. But this investigation of different education paths has also raised a number of country-specific mechanisms of differentiation in the two relevant comprehensive education systems, those of France and Sweden.

The formal mechanism of differentiation in the French education system is the orientation process at the end of compulsory education. The findings

of this chapter show yet again that the French system has found ways to differentiate the student population further within its comprehensive system through an informal hierarchy of disciplines and tracks in upper-secondary education. In formal terms, there is no hierarchy between the *lycées* in upper-secondary education, but in practice, the vocationally orientated *lycée* is considered less prestigious (Alba & Silberman 2009; Brinbaum & Cebolla Boado 2007). Although the *baccalauréat* became the educational norm, it seems that the French education system created means of fostering distinctions between students, using schools and certificates ranked in terms of prestige. This informal hierarchy functions as additional vertical differentiation within the academic stream. Most importantly, on a descriptive level, it seems that second-generation Turks are most affected by this differentiation through their higher participation rates in the less prestigious tracks.

This practice of differentiation seems to be a distinct marker between the comprehensive education systems of France and Sweden. While the institutional arrangements and the degree of formal differentiation remain similar, the actual practice of differentiation varies between the two systems, with Sweden showing less differentiation. The focus on institutional arrangements and on the practice of differentiation provides initial insight into how education pathways and subsequent outcomes are shaped by the structure of education systems. Table 6.7 summarises the relevant institutional arrangements in each country and classifies them into favourable and unfavourable conditions for the educational mobility of second-generation Turks based on the outcomes of this chapter.

The predominantly favourable institutional arrangements in Sweden – such as starting school early, low differentiation and high levels of permeability – appear to produce a cumulative effect that increases upward mobility in education. Some of these favourable conditions and arrangements are also present in the structure of the French education system (table 6.7). At the same time, formal and informal differentiation takes place, leading to mixed results in the French case. The case of Austria shows that early selection is a major blockage on the road to upward mobility in education. Even though there appears to be a second chance to move from the lower tracks onto the more academically orientated tracks at the end of lower-secondary education, the great majority remain in the stream in which they were placed at the beginning of lower-secondary education. Finally, it is worth noting that low participation in pre-school acts as an additional chokehold for mobility and is probably an important factor in explaining the high rates of downward streaming at the first transition point.

Whether the argument that institutional arrangements really make a difference can be sustained has to wait until variations in individual-level characteristics, such as social origin, background and the availability of relevant resources within and outside the family home, are held constant. Thus, chapter 7 explores how many of the differences in transition rates still persist after adjusting the analysis using individual-level controls. This analytical strategy will not only provide us with insight into the interaction mechanisms between institutional arrangements and various sets of individual-level factors, but it will also contribute to the debate about which education system provides the highest level of equality.

Table 6.7 Favourable and unfavourable conditions and practices for upward mobility in education

Country	*Unfavourable* institutional conditions and practices	*Favourable* institutional conditions and practices	Degree of upward mobility in education
Austria	– Pre-school not obligatory – Early selection/tracked lower-secondary education – High finality of selection	– Intra-secondary permeability – Second chance for students of the vocational track through BHS	*Low*
France	– (Almost) dead-end vocational track – Selectivity along prestigious tracks in upper-secondary education – Selectivity in tertiary education	– Early start in educational institutions – Entitlement to pre-school facilities – Late selection/integrated track in lower-secondary education – Second chance for students on vocational track (*bacc prof*)	*Mixed*
Sweden	– Selectivity in tertiary education	– Early start in educational institutions – Entitlement to pre-school facilities – Late selection/integrated track in lower-secondary education – All tracks in upper-secondary education lead to credentials allowing for entering tertiary education	*High*

7 Interactions between Individual-level and Institutional-level Factors

7.1 Introduction

The discussion about whether education systems and their various degrees of differentiation produce inequalities is an ongoing debate in the sociology of education. Most emphasis so far has been on the interaction between tracking and the socio-economic family background of students. Earlier studies pointed to more significant effects for social background in systems where students are selected at an earlier age (Comber & Keeves 1973 and Husen 1967, 1973, both cited in Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010: 417). Those findings have been confirmed in recent studies (Breen & Jonsson 2005, for example). If early selection has a negative effect on equality, then inequality is assumed to increase more across transitions in education systems that have a large degree of differentiation.

This interaction may also account for a large part of the difference in achievement between children of immigrants and the majority school population in Europe (Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Heath et al. 2008). Because the effect of family background has been shown to be high in stratified systems, children of Turkish immigrants might be expected to be more disadvantaged since the majority of them come from low socio-economic family backgrounds (see chapter 2). This interaction might therefore serve as an explanation for group differences in education outcomes, and as a factor explaining variations in inequality of education between differentiated and less differentiated education systems.

Selection is, however, not the only institutional feature that might account for differences in outcomes between the Turkish second generation and the comparison group within and across countries. As shown in chapter 6, the availability of pre-school places, age when education begins, and the grade retention system differ between all three compared systems and should be considered important institutional features as well.

This chapter focuses on types of differentiation (such as pre-school attendance, age when entering the education system, and early versus delayed selection) and the related interaction with various types of individual-level characteristics as a potential explanation for group differences in education pathways. It is organised into three main sections. In the first section, I turn to the explanation of group differences within

systems. This is done by looking into the three compared countries separately and exploring differences between second-generation Turks and the comparison group. The second part of this chapter explores interactions between institutional-level and individual-level characteristics for second-generation Turks in Austria, France and Sweden. I will expand on the previous chapters by exploring the role of internal and external family ties and the related resources that help second-generation Turks to navigate successfully through the education systems. Finally, the concluding section summarises the main findings of the chapter by discussing the interactions observed between institutional and individual-related characteristics.

7.2 What causes inequalities in education careers within systems?

This section begins by exploring empirically the factors that account for inequalities in the education careers of the Turkish second generation and the comparison group in each country's school system. One finding of the previous chapters was that differences in outcomes can primarily be explained by parents' differing education levels. This finding is in line with sociological literature on ethnic educational inequalities and has also been found to explain variations in transition rates between children of immigrants and majority-group pupils in France (Brinbaum & Kieffer 2005; Vallet & Caille 1996), Austria (Bacher 2003; Unterwurzacher 2007) and Sweden (Jonsson & Rudolphi 2008; Jonsson & Rudolphi 2011). This chapter addresses the issue of whether the strength of parents' education levels in explaining group differences in transition rates varies according to when tracking takes place (early versus delayed). In addition, it tests whether children of Turkish immigrants benefit from their parents' education in a similar way to children of the comparison group. The knowledge about education that's available in Turkish families may be less useful for the schooling success of their children because the parents were educated predominantly in Turkey (see chapter 2). For these parents, it may have been more difficult, in relative terms, to acquire the kind of knowledge necessary to successfully navigate the host countries' education systems. A second explanatory factor might be the previous performance of the child at school, and how it influences choice at the point of transition to the next education level. School performance affects not only the individual (and his or her parents) in making the final choice for one track rather

than another, it is also an important criterion in the recommendations given by class councils or teachers when they evaluate students' prospects and recommend whether they should be assigned to academic or general education. Since information on what grades were obtained is not available in the data used here, information on grade retention is used to account for problems in school performance. Finally, previous studies have indicated that variations in pre-school attendance rates might contribute to the explanation of different rates of continuing at school.

The dependent variables used throughout this first section are transition points between education tracks (see Tolsma, Coenders & Lubbers 2007 for a similar approach). Children pass through a series of transitions (including transition points) in the course of their education careers. These determine the routes and the sets of alternatives available at later branching points. Looking at transition points allows the exploration of interactions between system-related features and individual-level characteristics throughout the entire education career.

Table 7.1 Analytical strategy for analysing education pathways

Transition point		Age of student	Metric of dependent variable and type of track		% distribution		Type of regression analysis applied
				(national titles)	CG	2GT	
Austria	1	9/10	1=academically orientated	(*AHS-Unterstufe*)	58.5	33.8	Binomial logistic regression
			0=vocationally orientated	(*Hauptschule*)	41.5	66.2	
	2	14/15	1=leaving school		9.6	11.0	Conditional logistic regression
			2= vocationally orientated	(*Lehre, Polytechnikum, BMS*)	30.6	45.1	
			3=academically orientated	(*AHS, BHS*)	59.8	43.9	
	3	18/19	1=entering university	(*Universität, Akademien*)	51.6	33.0	Binomial logistic regression
			0=leaving school		48.4	67.0	

Transition point		Age of student	Metric of dependent variable and type of track		% distribution		Type of regression analysis applied
				(national titles)	CG	2GT	
France	1	15/16	1=leaving school		5.4	7.6	Multinomial regression
			2=vocationally orientated	(*CAP/BEP*)	13.7	39.2	
			3=academically orientated	(*Lycée*)	80.9	53.2	
	2	18/19	1=entering university	(*Université, DUT, BTS*, etc.)	83.3	63.5	Binomial logistic regression
			0=leaving school		16.7	36.5	
Sweden	1	15/16	1=academically orientated	(*Teoretisk/ Studieförb. Gymnasieskolan*)	57.9	53.6	Binomial logistic regression
			0=vocationally orientated	(*Yrkesinriktad Gymnasieskolan*)	42.1	46.4	
	2	18/19	1=entering university	(*Universitet, Högskola, Yrkeshögskoleutbildning*)	73.9	60.5	Binomial logistic regression
			0=leaving school		26.1	39.5	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: CG=Comparison group. 2GT=Second-generation Turks.

In France and Sweden, two main transition points characterise education pathways; in Austria, as a result of early tracking, education pathways have three main transition points. The probability of passing on to the next level of education has been estimated conditionally on having reached the previous level. Those students who dropped out of school are no longer included in the analysis at later stages.

Table 7.1 summarises the analytical strategies and the type of regression analysis applied. It further provides the percentage distributions for the dependent variables at each transition point (per study group) for students who have reached the preceding education level. For example, out of the total number of students from the comparison group who successfully finished upper-secondary education in Austria, 51.6 per cent continued in some sort of tertiary education.

Each dependent variable represents possible choices for continuing to the next track. Depending on the education choices available, either binomial or multinomial logistic regression was used. One exception was the second transition point in Austria. Choices by the student population either to continue on one of the two tracks or to leave the education system are dependent on prior tracking. As explained in chapter 6, students in Austria follow different tracks in lower-secondary education before they choose their next education level at the second transition point. Here, I follow the methodological approach applied by Stocké (2007), who examined such decisions and their effects on families' social class position in the German education system by using conditional logic models. This type of analysis has been used in empirical applications of rational choice studies, and the models are often referred to as 'discrete choice models' (see also Ben-Akiva & Lerman 1994; Breen & Jonsson 2000; Long & Freese 2006: 293ff).

Given that education systems in the three countries differ from each other, this section reports the findings for each country separately. The results are compared and discussed in the conclusion of this chapter.

7.2.1 France

The descriptive exploration of outflow rates and education pathways in chapter 6 highlighted two major transition points in the French education system: The first, after completing *collège*, and the second, before entering post-secondary/tertiary education. Significant group differences have been observed at the first transition point, with second-generation Turks entering the academic track less often than the comparison group. These differences persist descriptively when turning to the second transition (see chapter 6).

The strength of the variables listed above and their effect on the explanation of group differences at the first transition point in the French system is tested through multinomial logistic regression. The findings are presented in table 7.2. The dependent variable is track selection and indicates three possibilities: The track followed is the academic option (1), the vocational track (2), or the early school leaver (3). The left side of table 7.2 shows the comparison between making it into the academic versus the vocational track, while the right side displays the empirical findings for the comparison between leaving school early versus entering the vocational track.

Table 7.2 Multinomial logistic regression of track chosen in upper-secondary education in France (odds ratios)

	Academic				Leaving school			
	M1	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**
Second-generation Turks	0.20*** (0.04)	0.39*** (0.09)	0.48** (0.11)		*n.s.*	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Parents' education level		1.51*** (0.13)	1.46*** (0.13)			*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Father employed		*n.s.*	*n.s.*			*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Attended pre-school			*excluded*				*excluded*	
Grade retention (primary)			0.24*** (0.05)				2.26* (0.74)	
Grade retention (secondary)			*n.s.*				1.97* (0.63)	
City: Paris	2.19*** (0.37)	2.03*** (0.35)	1.89*** (0.33)		*n.s.*	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Interactions:								
Parents' education levels *Second-generation Turks				0.60* (0.13)				*n.s.*
R2	0.17	0.21	0.31	0.31	0.17	0.21	0.31	0.31
N.	851	851	846	846	851	851	846	846

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Reference category: Vocational track. Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age and gender. Model 4 in this table is the same as in the previous model (but complemented with the interaction term).

For each comparison, three models of increasing complexity are applied. The first model (M1) shows the size of the differences between second-generation Turks and the comparison group tested for age, gender and city of residence. Model 2 (M2) includes parents' education levels and fathers' employment status as indicators of social origin, while the last model (M3) controls for prior grade retention. Pre-school attendance had to be excluded from the analysis because almost all children in France went to *maternelle* before entering primary school (see chapter 6). The final model (M4) examines the interaction between the education levels of second-generation Turks and their parents in order to investigate whether second-generation

Turks benefit in a similar manner to the comparison group from their parents' education.

The results on the left side of table 7.2 show that the odds of the Turkish second generation entering the academic rather than the vocational track were only one-fifth those of the comparison group. The gap in continuation rates between the two groups reduces once parents' education levels are introduced, while the father's employment status does not contribute significantly to the explanation of different continuation rates. Parents' education levels were revealed to be the strongest positive determinant of a student's likelihood of proceeding towards the academic track. Put differently, part of the group differences are related to the fact that second-generation Turks in France originate more frequently from families with lower levels of education. Finally, when introducing grade retention in primary and lower-secondary school, the significant group differences in terms of entering the academic track are further reduced but still remain significant.

Overall, even after considering the set of explanatory variables, Turkish second-generation students are still twice as likely to enter the vocational track as their non-immigrant age-mates. It is worth noting that there are substantial differences between the two survey cities. This means that students in Strasbourg are still less likely to proceed into *seconde générale* or *lycée technologique* compared to students in Paris, even if they had equal experiences of grade retention and have similar social origins. This finding needs further exploration and I will return to this with some possible explanations below.

Finally, Model 4 shows a negative interaction effect (odds ratio below 1), indicating that a higher level of education in the parents does not improve the chances of their children entering the academic *lycée* as much for the Turkish second generation as it does for their French age-mates.

What makes students in the French education system leave school after compulsory education instead of entering the vocational track? The answer is presented in the right-hand part of table 7.2. Clearly, grade retention in primary and lower-secondary education mediates early school leaving. Students in both groups who do not meet the demands of schooling during compulsory education are at risk of dropping out before entering upper-secondary education.

By now we have seen that both the influences we had anticipated, parental socio-economic background and prior problems with achievement, turned out to be major explanations for inequalities in continuation rates between the compared groups in the French cities at the first transition point. In particular, the differences in continuation rates between academic and vocational tracks were substantially reduced by these characteristics. Nevertheless, a significant variation persists between the compared groups.

Let's now turn to the second important transition point for students in French schools at the end of upper-secondary education. That is when students have to decide whether they will leave school and enter the labour market or continue in some type of post-secondary/tertiary education. Since the French education reforms of the mid-1980s, which aimed to make the *bacc* the education norm, preparations for joining the labour market have shifted mainly to the post-secondary level. Over the last 30 years, the number of students who entered the tertiary level has increased rapidly (Duru-Bellat & Kieffer 2001), and so obtaining any tertiary-level professional diploma became of major importance for a successful entrance into the labour market. In other words, continuing beyond the *lycée* is of major importance for students' future chances of employment. Continuation into any type of post-secondary/tertiary education is the next dependent variable. The analytical strategy is similar to the model of the first transition, but the outcome for tertiary education is a dummy variable set to 1 if the final choice was any type of post-secondary/tertiary education, and to 0 if the student did not continue and dropped out of the French education system.[1]

One of the aims of this chapter is to further explore the impact of prior tracking on continuation rates. In the French case, only *bacc* holders can enter tertiary education. As discussed in chapter 6, three types of education track offer the *baccalauréat* and are therefore the entrance tickets into the tertiary sector: students who enter a *lycée* can either attend the general or the technical track, while students who have been sorted into the vocational stream (BEP/CAP) can proceed with additional schooling to obtain the vocational *baccalauréat*. This differentiation makes the French system highly selective (Brinbaum & Cebolla Boado 2007). The general *baccalauréat* keeps its pre-eminence in terms of status and opens the clearest way to tertiary education, while the technological and the vocational *baccalauréats* are less valued. As Brinbaum and Cebolla Boada (2007: 465) state, 'the orientation towards a vocational or a technical track does occur in France in a negative way: "good" pupils are invited to attend the general track, while pupils with lower performance are orientated towards vocational training'. Differences in the continuation into tertiary education among the comparison group and second-generation Turks may be related to the higher track placement of the comparison group in the general *lycée*. The results for the second transition point in the French education system are shown in table 7.3.

1 In chapter 6, inequalities among groups for type of programmes in tertiary education had been observed. But in order to achieve comparability across the three educational systems at this stage of the education spectrum, the binary distinction (entering or not) is used for France.

The first model (M1) explores the gap in continuation rates among the comparison group and second-generation Turks (via the dummy variable second-gen. Turks), already tested for age, gender and city of residence. The odds of the Turkish second generation in France continuing with any type of tertiary education are only around one-third of those of the comparison group. Moreover, in line with the previous findings, significant city differences are found, with students in Paris showing higher continuation rates than those living in Strasbourg. In a next step (M2), I will control for prior track placement. As shown in table 7.3, students who obtain the technical or vocational *bacc* are less likely to continue in any type of post-secondary or tertiary education.

Table 7.3 Binomial logistic models of continuing in post-secondary/tertiary education in France (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Second-gen. Turks	0.29***	0.61*	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
	(0.06)	(0.15)			
Track followed before: academic		20.21***	17.00***	14.17***	
		(5.81)	(4.97)	(4.21)	
Parental educational level			1.58***	1.55***	
			(0.19)	(0.19)	
Father employed			*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Attended pre-school				excluded	
Grade retention (primary)				*n.s.*	
Grade retention (secondary)				0.39***	
				(0.10)	
City: Paris	1.97***	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
	(0.35)				
Interactions:					
Parental educational level* Second-generation Turks					0.56*
					(0.16)
R2	0.12	0.41	0.44	0.47	0.47
N.	705	683	683	681	681

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age and gender. Model 5 in this table is the same as in the previous model (but complemented with the interaction term).

Furthermore, the gap between the comparison group and the Turkish second generation is reduced by half but still remains significant. As we found in chapter 6, second-generation Turks are over-represented in these

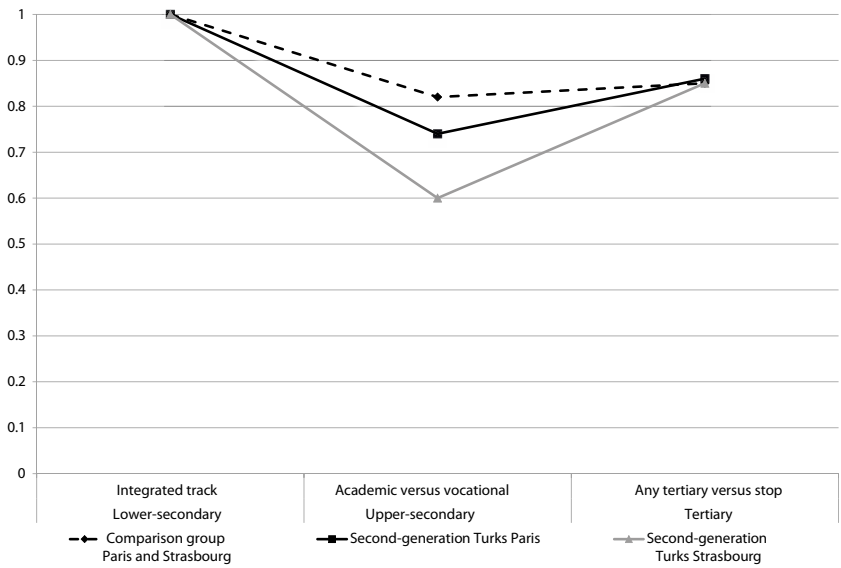
less prestigious tracks, which seems to explain a substantial part of the group differences at this transition point. Vocational and technical diploma-holders are also more frequently found in Strasbourg, especially among the Turkish second generation, which is why the differences between the two French cities disappear at this stage of the analysis.

The significant differences between the two compared groups disappear completely once parents' education background is taken into account. As before, this variable behaves as predicted, with children of more highly educated parents having a greater chance of making the move into tertiary education. It is worth noting that the significance of the education level of the parents at this point is almost the same as at the first transition point. Finally, grade retention in compulsory education (primary and lower-secondary) is considered (M4). Those students who have repeated a grade in *collège* are found to make their way into the final stage of education less often, while schooling problems in primary school do not exert an influence anymore. After testing for all these explanatory variables (Model 4), the strongest predictor of moving beyond upper-secondary education is still the type of *baccalauréat* obtained in upper-secondary education. But the strength of this variable was substantially reduced by testing for parents' education levels (M3) and for prior grade retention in secondary education (M4). This means that students from less educated families, who have repeated a grade at *collège* level, are less often found in the *lycée general*. They travel through the French education system via the technological *lycée* or even along the professional vocational track, and often obtain less prestigious *bacc* diplomas, which make them less likely to continue on to post-secondary/tertiary education.

The negative interaction effect in Model 5 shows a similar pattern to the transition to the academically orientated *lycées*. A more advanced level of education on the part of the parents does not increase the likelihood of children entering post-secondary/tertiary education as much in the case of the Turkish second generation as in the case of their French peers.

Figure 7.1 summarises the findings of table 7.2 and table 7.3 by showing the predicted probabilities of making the two transition points (academic versus vocational and post-sec./tertiary versus leaving school) for the comparison group and the Turkish second generation, tested for family background differences, prior grade retention, and tracking in upper-secondary education. As a result, the figures display pathways through the French education system for students from both groups who have equivalent family backgrounds, track placements, and grade retention experiences. The results are presented separately for the two compared groups in Paris and Strasbourg.

Figure 7.1 Predicted probability of continuing in the academically orientated tracks at different transition points for the Turkish second generation and the comparison group in France



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated from final models presented in table 7.2 and table 7.3; all other variables held at their mean. Estimates for comparison groups in Paris and Strasbourg are identical and therefore overlap in the figure (broken black line). Since all students attend the integrated track in lower-secondary education, their predicted probability was set to 1.

The education pathways of the Turkish second generation are not the same for the comparison group. The gap still persists between second-generation Turks and the comparison group at the first transition point, even after testing for differences in the parents' levels of education, father's employment status and prior grade retention. Displaying the results for both cities separately provides further insight into the significant city differences at the first transition point. While the continuation rate of the comparison group is identical in each city, substantial variation occurs between the Turkish second generation in Paris and Strasbourg. As displayed in figure 7.1, the relative gap between the comparison group and the Turkish second generation at this stage is around 10 percentage points in Paris, while it's twice that in Strasbourg. What might explain these remaining city differences? Many studies have reported that family preferences can amplify the negative effects of familial constraints, leading to stronger class differentials in access

to upper-secondary education in France (Beaud & Pialoux 1999; Duru-Bellat & Kieffer 2001; Merle 2002). Those studies revealed that better-off families often preferred the academically orientated *lycées* for their children, while this was usually not the case among less well-off families (Brinbaum & Cebolla Boado 2007). In chapter 2, we saw that the majority of the Turkish first generation in Paris has already moved towards becoming middle class, compared to the Turkish community in Strasbourg. Those social class differences in the first generation across cities may contribute to diverse perceptions and to preferences for certain school tracks for their children. Given that second-generation Turks in Strasbourg more often come from less well-off families compared to their counterparts in Paris, the vocational alternative might be more valued by Turkish parents in Strasbourg as a stable and safe trajectory towards the labour market for their children. This line of argument would also explain the preference among second-generation Turks for attending the vocationally orientated track within the *lycées*.

A completely different picture appears at the highest end of the education spectrum where no differences exist among *bacc* holders about continuing on to tertiary education, once tracking in *lycées*, parents' education, and prior grade retention are held constant (see figure 7.1). As discussed above, the type of *bacc* that students hold as well as the level of education of their parents can completely explain the educational inequalities at this important point in the French education system.

7.2.2 Sweden

The first important decision point in Swedish schools appears at the end of lower-secondary education, at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Similar to the French education system, pupils have to decide between vocational or academic tracks in upper-secondary education. But differently from France, second-generation Turks and their comparison group do not differ significantly in their continuation rate at this first transition point (see figure 6.2). This descriptive finding was also confirmed through multivariate analyses[2]

2 Binomial logistic regression analysis is used for this transition point. Ideally, and similar to the French case, one would have studied three possibilities at this stage: entering the academic track, the vocational track or leaving school early, but the numbers of school leavers were too small to include them as a separate category in the analysis. That's why the dependent variable was set to one if the track followed was the academic track and set to zero for the vocational track. Early school leavers have been dropped from this analysis, which yielded a total number of 479 out of 501. The analysis for Sweden has a second methodological limitation. Again, because of small case numbers, grade retention in primary school had to be excluded from the analysis.

(table 7.4, M1, left side), even after adjusting for gender and age differences among the two compared groups. The next two steps controlled additionally for differences in the parents' education background, the employment status of the father (M2), pre-school attendance and grade retention in *gymnasium* (M3).

Table 7.4 Binomial logistic regression predicting track placement at the transition to upper-secondary and tertiary education in Sweden (odds ratios)

	Academic versus Vocational (Upper-secondary)				***Tertiary education versus leaving school***				
	M1	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**
Second-generation Turks	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	*n.s.*		0.60* (0.13)	0.61* (0.14)	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Track followed before: academic		-	-			5.21*** (1.18)	5.06*** (1.16)	5.11*** (1.18)	
Parents' educational level		1.26** (0.09)	1.26** (0.09)				1.19* (0.10)	1.21* (0.10)	
Father employed		*n.s.*	*n.s.*				*n.s.*	*n.s.*	
Attended pre-school			*n.s.*					*n.s.*	
Grade retention – primary			*excluded*					*excluded*	
Grade retention – secondary			*n.s.*					*n.s.*	
Interactions									
Parental educational levels *2GT				*n.s.*					0.63* (0.11)
R2	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.17	0.24	0.25	0.27
N.	479	479	477	477	444	442	442	440	440

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age and gender. Grade retention in primary school has been excluded because of the small number of cases. Model 4 (left side) and Model 5 (right side) are the same as in the previous model (but complemented with the interaction term).

The likelihood of attending an academically orientated track increased along with a higher education level on the part of the parents, while pre-school attendance and grade retention did not play a significant role.

The interaction between second-generation Turks and parents' education background did not show significant outcomes, underlining the fact that having more highly educated parents increases the odds of continuing in the academic track in an equal way for all pupils in the Swedish school system.

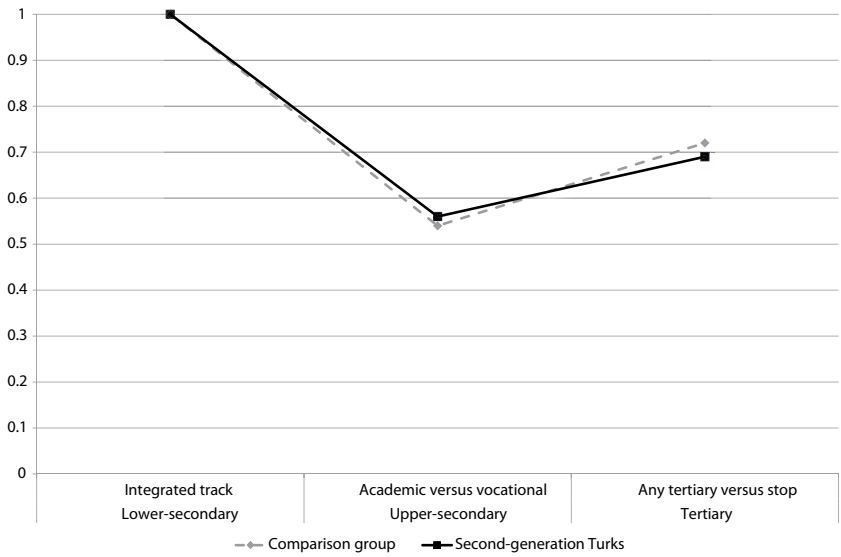
Turning to the second main transition point (see table 7.4, right part of table), second-generation Turks are found leaving school significantly more often than continuing on to any type of post-secondary or tertiary education (M1). In the next step (M2), I ask whether it makes a difference, when entering post-sec/tertiary level, which track a student was placed in for upper-secondary education. Both school types in upper-secondary education, academically orientated and vocationally orientated, provide students with diplomas that allow them to enter the tertiary sector. As show in table 7.4 (right side), the odds of continuing in post-secondary/tertiary education are 5.2 times higher for students who entered the academic track in upper-secondary education. Vocational schools in Sweden mainly give students the skills they need to compete in the labour market – which explains why their students leave the Swedish education system in higher numbers at this stage. But the track followed before the second transition point does not affect the significant group differences found in Model 1, since the comparison group and the Turkish second generation attended these tracks in almost equal numbers (compare also chapter 6).

But the disadvantaged position of the Turkish second generation disappears and can be fully explained by differences in parents' education levels (M3). Since more children of highly educated parents make the transition, the fact that the Turkish second generation is over-represented in lower-educated families makes the difference at this stage in the Swedish education system. But young adults of Turkish origin, and from similar education backgrounds, have the same chance of entering tertiary education as their age-mates from the comparison group. Table 7.4 also indicates that grade retention in compulsory education does not affect this transition any more (M4). Model 5 shows a negative interaction effect (odds ratio less than one) at the highest transition point for group and parents' education background, indicating that better education on the part of the parents does not improve the chances of Turkish immigrants' children reaching tertiary education as much as it improves the chances of their Swedish peers.

Figure 7.2 displays these results in graph form, and the findings are presented following the protocol established in the previous section. All students leave the integrated track at the age of fifteen to sixteen and decide either to continue on to the vocational track or the academic track in upper-secondary education. The relative chances of continuing on to the academically orien-

tated *gymnasium* are around 55 per cent for both groups. Three years later, students in the Swedish education system move on to various types of tertiary education or they leave the education system for the labour market. As in the French system, over the past 20 years, having a professional third-level diploma has become of increasing importance for getting a job. As explained above, disparities in continuation rates between the two compared groups can be fully explained by differences in parents' education backgrounds. As displayed in figure 7.2, children from both groups have a relative chance of 70 per cent of continuing in any type of tertiary education.

Figure 7.2 Predicted probability of continuing in the academically orientated tracks at different transition points for the Turkish second generation and the comparison group in Sweden



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Estimates are calculated from Model 3 (left side) and Model 4 (right side) in table 7.4; all other variables held at their mean. Since all students attend the integrated track in lower secondary education, their predicted probability was set to 1.

7.2.3 Austria

Having described the education pathways in the two comprehensive education systems in France and Sweden, I will now turn to the results for Austria. As examined in the previous chapter, the Austrian education system can be characterised as highly stratified. It sorts students into different types

of ability tracks for the first time at the age of ten, after primary school. The descriptive exploration in chapter 6 has further indicated that in both Austrian survey cities, only one in every three second-generation Turkish pupil enters the academic track at this stage, while the continuation rate is twice as high for the comparison group.

Results of the multivariate analyses at this first transition point are presented in table 7.5. The dependent variable is track selection and is set to 1 if the track followed is the academic option, and 0 if it is the vocational track.

Table 7.5 Binomial logistic regression predicting track placement at the first transition to lower-secondary education in Austria (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Second-generation Turks	0.30***	0.64**	*ns*	
	(0.04)	(0.11)		
Parents' education levels		2.21***	2.11***	
		(0.17)	(0.17)	
Father employed		n.s.	n.s.	
Attended pre-school			1.51*	
			(0.28)	
Grade retention -primary			0.51*	
			(0.13)	
City: Vienna	n.s.	1.41*	1.46*	
		(0.21)	(0.22)	
Interactions:				
Parents' education levels* second-generation Turks				n.s.
R2	0.13	0.29	0.30	0.30
N	942	942	936	936

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age and gender. Model 4 in this table is the same as in the previous model (but complemented with the interaction term).

The first model (M1) shows the size of the differences between second-generation Turks and the comparison group controlled for age, gender and city of residence. In line with the descriptive results, in both Austrian cities second-generation Turks are found to be less likely to follow the academic track. The odds of being on the academic track in lower-secondary education were only one-third of those of the comparison group. Next (M2), parents' education levels and fathers' employment status were included. Parents' education levels were revealed to be the strongest positive determinant

of a student's likelihood of going for the academic track, and reduced the group differences by more than half. Interestingly, after testing for 'social origin', city differences become significant, with pupils in Vienna (from both compared groups) entering the academic track more often.

Next, pre-school attendance and grade retention in primary school are taken into account (M3). Both variables behave in the expected fashion, with pre-school attendance increasing the chances, and prior grade retention decreasing the chances of continuing on the academic track. Group differences in both measures contributed to the overall explanation of group differences at the first decision point. Finally, it was found that when the parents' level of education is higher, all children's chances of entering the academic *AHS-Unterstufe* improved, since the interaction term of Model 4 is not significant.

The second important decision point for all students in Austria appears after compulsory education, when students decide to continue on the academic tracks (1, *AHS-Oberstufe* or *BHS*), the vocational tracks (2, *BMS*, the preparatory class *Polytechnikum* and apprenticeship) or to leave the education system (3). Although the academically orientated track in lower-secondary education is the most stable route to the next academic track, students from the lower-ability track (*Hauptschule*) can still leave the vocational path and enter the academic stream in the next stage.

Table 7.6 shows the results of the decisions taken by students in Austria at the second stage in their education careers. It also shows the degree to which they are affected by institutional and individual factors. The set of independent variables remains almost the same as at the first transition point. But this time I further examine whether it makes a difference if students were placed in the academic or vocational tracks earlier.

To begin with the difference between the options, academic versus vocational, we find the Turkish second generation continuing less often on the academic tracks (table 7.6, right side). The discrepancies between the compared groups decrease once earlier track placement is taken into consideration. In other words, Turkish second-generation students enter the academic path at upper-secondary education less often because they have already been streamed into the lower-ability track in higher numbers before. Students who went to the *AHS-Unterstufe* are almost 11 times more likely to continue on the academic path (M2). Nevertheless, the high rate of early selection into the vocational track during lower-secondary education does not completely account for the significant gap at the second transition point. Interestingly, in Model 2, city differences appear between Vienna and Linz. Students in Linz are less likely to move on to the academic track than their age-mates in Vienna.

Table 7.6 Conditional multinomial logistic regression predicting track placement at the transition to upper-secondary education in Austria (odds ratios)

	Early school leaving					Academic				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Second-generation Turks	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.		0.41***	0.66*	n.s.	n.s.	
						(0.06)	(0.11)			
Track followed before: academic		3.78***	4.23***	4.55***			10.79***	8.72***	8.44***	
		(0.68)	(0.52)	(0.51)			(1.98)	(1.67)	(1.62)	
Parents' education levels			n.s.	n.s.				1.33***	1.31**	
								(0.11)	(0.12)	
Father employed			n.s.	n.s.				n.s.	n.s.	
Attended pre-school				*ns*					n.s.	
Grade retention – primary				3.85***					n.s.	
				(1.19)						
Grade retention – secondary				3.28***					n.s.	
				(1.04)						
City: Vienna	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.		n.s.	0.67*	0.71*	0.71*	
							(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	
Interactions:										
Parents' education levels*second-generation Turks					n.s.					0.40***
										(0.08)
R2	0.36	0.51	0.53	0.57		0.36	0.51	0.53	0.57	

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Notes: Reference category is Vocational track. Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age and gender. Model 5 in this table is the same as in the previous model (but complemented with the interaction term).

But what explains the remaining gap between the two groups at this transition point? As indicated in Model 3, significant group differences disappear completely once parents' education is taken into account, while pre-school attendance and prior grade retention in compulsory education (M4) do not exert a significant impact on making it to the academically orientated track. The 'lower-than-1' value of the interaction term (M5) indicates that at this transition point, higher levels of education in the parental generation *do* improve the chances of the comparison group more than those of the children of Turkish immigrants. As discussed above, the knowledge that Turkish families have of education and education systems may be less useful because it tends, for the most part, not to have been obtained in Austria. For these parents, it may have been more difficult to acquire the knowledge needed for success in the Austrian school system.

When turning to group differences and the factors related to early school-leaving (left side of table 7.6), one clear takeaway point should be noted: students who faced achievement problems early in their education careers and had to repeat grades in primary school or lower-secondary are most likely to leave school early (table 7.6, M4, left side).

Students who make it into the academic tracks, *AHS-Oberstufe* or *BHS*, have the choice of continuing with tertiary education after graduating successfully with a diploma. It is worth noting that these two academic tracks, which provide an entrance to tertiary education, differ in their curriculums. *AHS-Oberstufe* prepares students for university-based education programmes, while *BHS* schools provide higher vocationally orientated qualifications in different areas and a well-rounded general education. But unlike France, where the technical *lycée* is generally less valued, both Austrian academic tracks are equally prestigious. As shown in the previous chapter, around six out of ten students follow the general academic track, *AHS-Oberstufe*, and this does not differ significantly between the Turkish second generation and the comparison group.

But as explored in chapter 6, there are substantial differences between the two groups in the rates at which they continue beyond upper-secondary education in the Austrian system. In order to examine the factors influencing this last transition point, multivariate regression analysis was used to predict the transition to any type of tertiary education. The results are presented in table 7.7. As indicated by the first model (M1), second-generation Turks are only half as likely as the comparison group to enter any type of post-secondary education. This disadvantaged position for second-generation Turks does not change once the previous academic track is taken into consideration (M2). This is not surprising given that the participation rates in these academic

tracks did not differ between the two groups before. Students from the *BHS* schools are twice as likely to leave the education system as their counterparts in the more general academic track, since these schools prepare students for specific jobs rather than for university education. But what accounts for the differences in the continuation rates at this last transition?

Table 7.7 Binomial logistic regression predicting the transition into tertiary education in Austria (odds ratios)

	Tertiary education versus Leaving education				
	M1	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**
Second-generation Turks	0.49***	0.49***	0.63*	0.70*	
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.16)	
Track followed before: general academic		2.04***	1.84**	1.99**	
		(0.41)	(0.38)	(0.42)	
Parents' education level			1.32**	1.25*	
			(0.12)	(0.11)	
Father employed				n.s.	
Attended pre-school				n.s.	
Grade retention -primary				n.s.	
Grade retention -secondary				n.s.	
City: Vienna	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
Interactions:					
Parents' education level*second-generation Turks					0.59**
					(0.11)
R2	0.06	0.10	0.12	0.14	0.17
N.	481	481	481	478	478

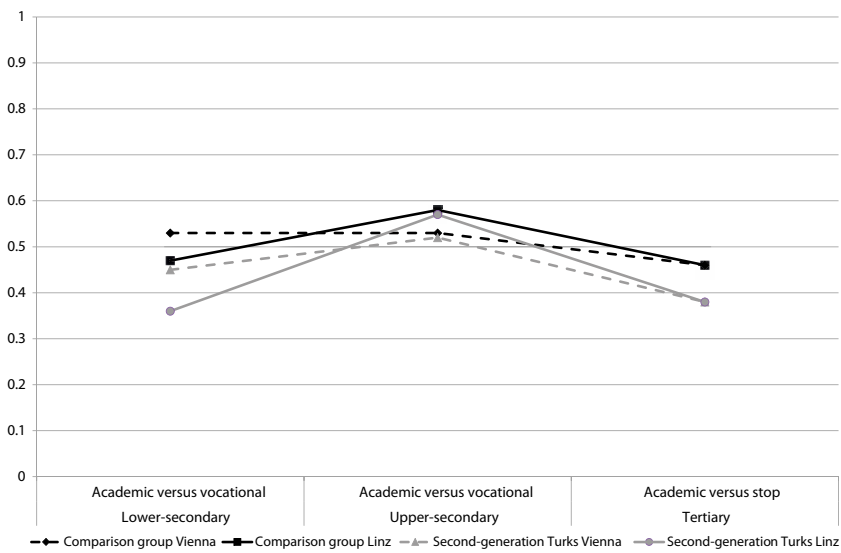
Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. Standard errors in parentheses. All models are controlled for age and gender. Model 5 in this table is the same as in the previous model (but complemented with the interaction term).

Model 3 (M3) indicates that, in Austria, entering tertiary education is still dependent on parents' education levels. In line with the analysis of the previous two transitions, the gap decreases once there is a control for parents' education. Overall, even after taking differences in pre-school attendance and grade retention into account (M4), the Turkish second generation in Austria is still found to enter tertiary education significantly

less often. And it is finally worth noting that this finding applies to both survey cities. Similar to the patterns observed at the previous transition point (academic versus vocational), the interaction term between second-generation Turks and parental education level is negative, indicating that the comparison group benefits more if their parents are highly educated than do the children of Turkish immigrants.

After the separate discussions of each transition point, figure 7.3 is a graph summarizing the results based on the findings above. It shows the predicted probability of continuing along the academic tracks for both groups, tested for the lists of indicators described above. In short, it shows the chances of continuing along the more prestigious tracks for students of the Turkish second generation and the comparison group, in both cases coming from similar parental backgrounds and with similar experiences in grade retention and prior tracking throughout their school careers. Similar to figure 7.1 for the French education system, the findings are presented separately for both Austrian cities.

Figure 7.3 Predicted probability of continuing in the academically orientated tracks at different transition points for the Turkish second generation and the comparison group in Austria



Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Estimates are calculated from Model 3 in table 7.5 (lower-secondary education), Model 4 on the right side of table 7.6 (upper-secondary education) and Model 4; all other variables held at their mean.

Two results emerge very clearly from the graph presented in figure 7.3. Firstly, second-generation Turks are facing disadvantaged positions both at the beginning and at the end of the Austrian education system. The gap in the relative chances between the two compared groups in both survey cities is around 10 percentage points at the first and third transition points. A second finding appears with respect to city differences. In Vienna, students (of both compared groups) are found more often to enter the academic track at the first transition point. This finding is in line with previous studies that generally reported higher enrolment rates for the academically orientated *AHS-Unterstufe* in Vienna, compared to the remaining Austrian federal states for the whole student population (Bacher 2008; Fassmann 2002; Schlögl & Lachmayr 2004), as well as for children of immigrants (Unterwurzacher 2007; Unterwurzacher & Weiss 2008). Those regional differences may be explained by the availability of more academically orientated schools in Vienna, as well as easier accessibility. A second reason might be that *Hauptschulen* in the inner city area of Vienna have a more negative image than the ones in the less urbanised regions, and that Viennese parents develop 'avoiding strategies' by enrolling their children in academic schools even if they might not meet their demands (Unterwurzacher 2007: 82). But students in Linz catch up at the second transition point in which they are more frequently found to enter the academic tracks. They go through the *Hauptschule* track in the normal way, but then are more likely to exercise the option of leaving the vocational path and taking the academic route after lower-secondary education.

7.3 The relevance of educational resources for mobility in education

Each of the sections above on Austria, France and Sweden explored differences in the education pathways followed by second-generation Turks and their comparison groups. Education pathways in the first part of this chapter were defined according to Tolsma and colleagues (2007) as a set of different transition points in the school career. This is the first examination of the interactions between countries' institutional arrangements and individual-level characteristics. The findings will be compared in the concluding part of this chapter.

This section widens the perspective on education pathways and interaction mechanisms by asking to what extent the educational resources analysed in chapter 4 and chapter 5 are relevant in explaining the educational

mobility of the Turkish second generation in the three education systems. The perspective on education pathways outlined in the first section of this chapter will be complemented by an examination of the interactions between educational resources and the sequences of tracks a student attended during his or her education career. As shown in chapter 6 and in the first section of this chapter, the degree of stratification in education systems and the choices made at the most important transition points lead to a variety of *education routes* students may take on their journeys through the system. For instance, students in Austria who started in primary education, took the academic track in lower- and upper-secondary education and continued in post-secondary/tertiary education have been classified as following the 'straight academic route' (see table 6.6 in chapter 6). Other students have been categorised as following the 'straight vocational route' because they started on the vocational track after primary school and continued on the apprenticeship track afterwards. Similar country-specific sequences of tracks have been observed in France and Sweden as well, and were classified in typologies in chapter 6 (see table 6.2 and table 6.4). Based on these detailed, country-specific typologies, I reduced the number of sequences into the main education pathways for each country, to serve as the dependent variable throughout this section.[3]

Table 7.8 Main education routes for second-generation Turks in Austria, France and Sweden

	Austria	France	Sweden
1	Straight academic route	Straight academic route	Straight academic route
2	Short academic route	Short academic route	Short academic route
3	Upward vocational route	Upward vocational route	Upward vocational route
4	Vocational route	Vocational route/Early school leaver	Vocational route/Early school leaver
5	Early school leaver		

3 I had to combine some of the very detailed sequences presented in chapter 6 in order to achieve an adequate number of cases per pathway to conduct the following statistical analysis. For example, up to seven distinct paths have been detected in France in the previous analysis. Three out of seven routes started with *collège*, followed by some type of *lycée* and ended in tertiary education. These tracks have been combined into one pathway labelled as 'straight academic route' in the following analysis because they differ only slightly. Please refer to Appendix B of this chapter for details on the combination of sequences for each country.

Table 7.8 shows the main education routes through which second-generation Turks travel. In each system, five major routes are available.

1 The *straight academic route* describes second-generation Turks who always followed the academic tracks. In Austria, students who started on the academic track in lower-secondary education, continued there through upper-secondary education until post-secondary/tertiary education are classified as belonging to this group. In the French and Swedish systems, this category includes students who followed the integrated track before entering the academic track in upper-secondary education and post-secondary/tertiary education.
2 Second-generation Turks who followed the academic track but stopped after upper-secondary education are classified as students who took the *short academic route*.
3 The *upward vocational route* describes second-generation Turks who started on the vocational tracks but made use of the 'second chance' to move up to the academic tracks and continue until post-secondary/tertiary education. In the French and Swedish systems, these are students who followed the vocational tracks in upper-secondary education and had moved into the academic path by the end of this stage (at an average age of eighteen or nineteen). In Austria, the 'second chance', which provides an opportunity to move out of the vocational track, appears after lower-secondary education and therefore earlier than in either Sweden or France. Thus, vocational upward-movers in Austria are students who were streamed into the vocational track after primary school but moved upwards at the end of lower-secondary education (at an average age of fifteen) and continued on the academic path beyond upper-secondary education.
4 The *vocational route* describes students who followed exclusively vocational tracks.
5 *Early school leavers* describes students who left the education system after compulsory education. Since this section concentrates on second-generation Turks only, routes 4 and 5 had to be combined for France and Sweden because the case numbers were insufficient to conduct multivariate analysis.

This section examines how relevant individual-level factors are for second-generation Turks in terms of the decisions they make about which path to follow in each education system. As measures for individual-level factors, I come back to the most relevant predictors of school success explored in chapters 3 and 4: parents' education levels, parental and older sibling sup-

port in school-related activities, and the perceived importance of parental and sibling support. Next, I turn to the characteristics of, and the support provided by, the two main agents outside the family: peers and teachers (see chapter 5). Table 7.9 provides an overview of the main independent variables from these chapters, which will be used to explore interaction mechanisms with education pathways (and therefore with system-related factors) in this section as well.[4]

Table 7.9 Overview of individual-level factors (independent variables)

Variable	Metric of variable
Parents' education levels	1(Min)=primary or below; 5 (Max)=Tertiary
Perceived importance of parents*	1(Min)=not at all important; 5 (Max)=very important
Parental support*	1(Min)=never; 5 (Max)=very often
Perceived importance of older siblings*	1(Min)=not at all important; 5 (Max)=very important
Older sibling support*	1(Min)=never; 5 (Max)=very often
Perceived importance of peers*	1(Min)=not at all important; 5 (Max)=very important
Ethnic composition of best friends (peer group diversity)*	0 (Min)=all close friends are co-ethnics; 1 (Max)=all three friends of national origin
Proportion of native peers in school*	0 (Min)= none; 4(Max)=most
Had peers without a diploma*	1(Yes)1); 0 (No)
Perceived importance of teachers*	1(Min)=not at all important; 5 (Max)=very important
Teacher support*	1(Min)=never; 5 (Max)=very often

Note: *=during lower-secondary/compulsory education.

The greatest level of interaction between education pathways and individual-level factors is likely to be observed in Austria. This is because in the previous chapter, I have already observed greater relevance for individual-level factors in terms of their impact on education attainment. Moreover, I anticipate that family resources will also be of greater relevance for the upward mobility of second-generation Turks in Austria compared to France and Sweden, because the most important decision point that determines education pathways appears when students are around age ten, a moment at which family members are of greater importance for school decisions and support. Based on the results of the previous chapters, I further expect to observe a moderate number of interactions in France. Family resources will be relevant at the point at which the transition into

4 For detailed information and descriptive outcomes of these variables, please refer to chapters 4 and 5 and the respective appendices.

upper-secondary education is about to take place (the orientation process). At a later stage, teachers and peers in school will emerge as important agents in providing the resources necessary for upward mobility – as signified by the high number of correlations with becoming a 'high achiever' observed in chapter 5. Finally, it is my hypothesis that I will find the lowest number of interactions between institutional arrangements and education resources for second-generation Turks in Sweden because of the late selection for tracking, the high degree of permeability between tracks, and the fact that all tracks (vocational as well as academic) lead to educational credentials that allow students to access post-secondary/tertiary education.

I will apply multinomial logistic regression to explore the relevance of educational resources for second-generation Turks following each one of the four (in the cases of France and Sweden) or five (in the case of Austria) specific education pathways displayed in table 7.8. I run one model for each country separately, which includes all independent variables of interest as well as the control variables, age and gender, simultaneously. The significant results are displayed schematically in table 7.10 (the full models including coefficients, model fits and so on are displayed in Appendix B).

The results for second-generation Turks in Austria (left column of table 7.10) indicate the relevance of four significant individual-level factors for following the straight academic route rather than the vocational route (which served as the reference category in the analysis): Parents' education levels, parental support for education, teacher support, and the number of native peers in the closest peer group (peer group diversity). The chances of second-generation Turks following the straight academic route instead of the vocational path are increased where there are more education resources. The significant correlation of these four factors is not surprising given that I found strong associations between these variables and becoming a 'high-achiever' according to the previous analysis of educational attainment.

Parents' education levels, parental support and the ethnic composition of the closest peer group are also significantly related to the odds of following the short academic route (versus the vocational route). Second-generation Turks with primarily non-immigrant peers and with more highly educated parents who provide greater support are more likely to take the academic path after primary school. What seems to make the difference on the academic route between continuing into post-secondary/tertiary education (straight academic route) or not (short academic route) is the support provided by teachers. The more often second-generation Turks are encouraged by their teachers, the higher their likelihood of continuing beyond upper-secondary education.

Table 7.10 Schematic overview of significant correlations between individual-level factors and education pathways for second-generation Turks in Austria, France and Sweden

	Austria	France	Sweden
Straight academic route			
	+ Parents' education levels	+ Parents' education levels	+ Importance of peers
	+ Parental support	+ No. of native peers in school	+ Parents' education levels
	+ Peer group diversity	+ Teacher support	
	+ Teacher support		
Short academic route			
	+ Parents' education levels	+ Teacher support	– Teacher support
	+ Parental support		
	+ Peer group diversity		
Upward vocational route			
	+ No. of native peers in school	+ No. of native peers in school	
		+ Importance of teachers	
Vocational route	Reference category		
		Reference category	Reference category
Early school leaver			
	– Teacher support		

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Results are derived from multinomial logistic regression analysis on following education routes per country for second-generation Turks (full models are displayed in Appendix B – tables A18 to A20). Only significant results (at least $p<0.05$) are displayed in table 7.10. All models include the list of variables shown in table 7.9. In addition, all models are controlled for age and gender as well as for city of residence in France and Austria (capital city versus second survey city).

Second-generation Turks who have been streamed into the vocational track (*Hauptschule*) after primary education have a chance to move upwards at the end of this track (the upward vocational route). What increases the likelihood of moving up instead of staying on the vocational path is the number of native peers in the school peer group. Family-related factors, such as parents' education levels or their support, do not significantly increase the chance of moving upwards. Students travelling this upward vocational route come predominantly from low socio-economic backgrounds where

parents often do not have the means to support their children in their school activities (see chapter 4). This is why family factors do not play a major role for students travelling this path. But in order to gain information about the workings of the education system and to learn about the availability of the 'second chance' for upward mobility, second-generation Turks seem to use non-immigrant peers in school as a source of information that might not be available in their own families.

What makes second-generation Turks stay on the vocational route instead of dropping out of school after compulsory education? The last row of table 7.10 provides the answer: with increasing support from teachers, second-generation Turks follow the straight vocational route instead of leaving school early (since the observed effect on leaving school early is negative). In other words, the support of teachers is particularly important to second-generation Turks at both the lowest and highest tipping points of the Austrian education system. That support influences them to follow the straight academic route instead of the short academic route, and to not drop out of school but to continue on the vocational path.

The significant association between education routes and individual-level resources for second-generation Turks in the French education system are displayed in the middle column of table 7.10. Having parents with high levels of education, more perceived support from teachers, and increasing numbers of non-immigrant peers in school all increase the odds of second-generation Turks in France following the straight academic route. These findings are in line with the results in previous chapters and in the first section of this chapter. An important branching point for students in the French system appears at the end of *collège* during the orientation process that determines whether students enter the straight academic path or not. In order to manage this selection process successfully and to stay on the straight academic route afterwards, the three factors we've seen are of great relevance for second-generation Turks. In particular, the education levels of the parents and the number of non-immigrant friends in the school peer group are significantly associated with continuing on this route until post-secondary/tertiary education. This becomes clear once the significant factors linked to these two routes are compared: support from teachers seems to be a relevant factor for students following the short academic route. By contrast, the likelihood of following the straight academic route to the top of the education ladder is related to parents' education levels and the number of non-immigrant peers in schools as well as the support of teachers.

The support provided by teachers and the information accessed through contacts with non-immigrant peers in schools are also of great relevance

for second-generation Turks who followed the vocational path but made use of the 'second chance' to move up towards post-secondary/tertiary education (upward vocational route). By the age of eighteen or nineteen, family resources are of little relevance, while outside-family agents seem to provide significant resources for becoming an upward mover.

Turning finally to the results for Sweden (right side of table 7.10), I find the education backgrounds of the parents and the perceived importance of peers significantly increase the chances of second-generation Turks following the straight academic route rather than the vocational/early-school-leaver path in the Swedish education system. The positive effect of parents' education levels for second-generation Turks who followed the straight academic route until tertiary education is in line with the findings presented in the first section of this chapter.

The second relationship I observed shows that the greater the perception of the importance of peers is for second-generation Turks in Sweden, the higher the likelihood of following the straight academic route. This finding is surprising given that, in chapter 5, I could not find any significant link with educational attainment for second-generation Turks. At the same time, this significant outcome highlights the advantage of a detailed investigation examining education pathways, insofar as it enhances previous findings on educational attainment.

One surprising result seen in chapter 5 was the negative relationship between increased teacher support and the highest educational attainment of second-generation Turks in the Swedish education system. The investigation of education pathways conducted in this section reveals that this applies especially to second-generation Turks in upper-secondary education. Those second-generation Turks for whom teacher support becomes relevant are more likely to follow the vocational path instead of the short academic route (see negative effect in the short academic route).

Finally, I could not find any significant relationship between individual-level factors and following the upward-mobility path, as compared to the straight vocational/early-school-leaving route for second-generation Turks in Sweden.

The investigation of education pathways and the relevance of education resources provided by internal and external family members for second-generation Turks has revealed a more nuanced perspective on the interplay between institutional arrangements and individual-level factors. Although the findings resemble to some extent the patterns that have been observed in the previous chapters on educational attainment, the results of this section indicate precisely which educational resources are relevant for

second-generation Turks for each education pathway in each of the three compared education systems.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the effects of interaction between education systems and individual-related factors. 'Interactions' were defined as the interplay between the institutional arrangements of education systems and the various individual and group-related resources that are needed to navigate successfully through these systems. This has been examined using two related perspectives: I looked at the extent to which school system factors interact with the individual-level factors of the students, and whether and how in each of the three countries they contribute to the explanation of inequalities between the school careers of second-generation Turks and their comparison groups. This section summarises the findings of this chapter and relates them to the findings of the previous chapters of this book.

Early selection and parents' education backgrounds

In all three education systems, I found strong associations between parents' education levels and the success of their children at school. Children of better-educated parents more often take the academic or more prestigious education tracks in all three education systems. This is not surprising given the well-known sociological findings about social reproduction in the field of education – and it would have been more surprising if I had not found such an association. But the strength of these associations varied across the education systems, which points to interactions with the structure of the education system. A typical finding in the sociology of education is that the later the key transition points occur in a child's schooling, the lower the social class inequalities (e.g. Breen & Jonsson 2005). This can broadly be confirmed through my findings. The earlier a student is selected and tracked into different ability schools or streams, the more important parents' education background becomes. In Austria, more inequality in parents' educational attainment led to more accentuated differences in their children's chances in school, since the education system is highly selective at an early stage of schooling. The opposite is the case in France and Sweden, where the disadvantaged children of less-educated parents are less dependent on their family backgrounds when tracked at a later age.

But throughout my analysis, I found that parents' education levels mattered for making the transitions throughout the whole education system. Even at the transition to tertiary education, I still observe a significant association between parents' education and their children's educational success.

This finding has profound consequences for second-generation Turks when competing with the comparison group. In chapters 2 and 3, we saw that the great majority of the Turkish second generation has its roots in families whose parents came to Austria, France and Sweden primarily to work. Those parents frequently had few educational qualifications and often lacked the means to support their children in school-related activities. Bearing this in mind led me to hypothesise in the introduction that a substantial number of the differences between second-generation Turks and the comparison groups in the various countries could be attributed to that starting position, particularly the education backgrounds of the family of origin. Put differently, I expected to find that educational inequalities between second-generation Turks and the majority population were in fact 'old inequalities', that is, educational inequalities that were related to historic differences in social class origins.

In line with established findings in the sociology of education, I further expected that parental backgrounds would be more relevant in systems with early selection, while comprehensive systems with late selection would have a positive effect on equal outcomes, and so the Turkish second generation would profit from the latter. The findings in this chapter largely support these assumptions. In Austria, discrepancies between the comparison group and the Turkish second generation in terms of making the first transition into the academic track were found to be high, and a substantial part of this disadvantaged position could indeed be explained by the parents' education levels. By contrast, students of Turkish origin did not face any disadvantage at the first decision point in the Swedish system, which streams students at a later stage in their education. We have to keep in mind, however, that the Turkish parental generation in Sweden is a highly selective group, and that around 25 per cent of them attended further education in Sweden (see chapter 2). This specific characteristic of Turkish parents in Sweden may also contribute positively to the non-existence of a gap between the Turkish second generation and the comparison group.

Following the argument that delayed selection may reduce the number of discrepancies between the comparison group and second-generation Turks in Sweden, one might expect to find similar results in the French system. Indeed, on average, quite a substantial number of second-generation Turks enter the academic tracks in *lycées*, and their chances of entering the aca-

demic path are higher than in a highly stratified system, such as the Austrian one. But since the *baccalauréat* diploma certificate became the education norm in France, the continuation rates for the comparison group have also increased over recent decades, and the odds of entering the academic track for second-generation Turks in the French comprehensive system are almost the same as for their counterparts in Austria at the first (and early) selection point. But unlike in the Austrian education system, these differences are not as frequently explained by differences in the parents' levels of education. Instead, they are generally related to earlier problems in meeting the academic demands of compulsory schooling (grade retention, for example).

This chapter has further tested whether children of Turkish immigrants benefitted from their parents' education in a similar way to children in the comparison group. For this purpose, I have compared the two groups according to parents' education levels and the outcome variables (transition points). I found weaker effects for parents' education levels for second-generation Turks in Austria at the second and third transition points; in France at the first and second points, and in Sweden at just the second. These results indicate that having better-educated parents does not improve the chances of children making the transition to higher tracks for second-generation Turks as much as it does for the comparison group. As argued before, for immigrant parents it may have been relatively more difficult to acquire the kind of knowledge necessary to successfully navigate the host country's education system. These findings underline an important distinction between the Austrian and French education systems on one side, and the Swedish system on the other: the same level of parental education does not improve their children's opportunities in the same way for both groups already in secondary education, while this pattern appears only at the transition to higher education in Sweden.

Tracking

As shown in the last two chapters, Turkish second-generation students in Austria are streamed in high numbers into the less ambitious track at the age of ten compared to their Austrian comparison group. This early selection and the tracking into different paths have consequences for their school careers. In my investigations, I found that early track placement determines almost all subsequent group differences at the later transition points. The higher rate of placement in the lower-ability track in the early stages of education explains a large part of the group differences in the more prestigious academic tracks after compulsory education, while Sweden

and France provide a comprehensive school system in which selection into ability tracks is delayed until the age of fifteen. The findings discussed so far indicate a clear distinction in terms of educational success and relative opportunities for the Turkish second generation in Austria on the one side, and in Sweden and France on the other. Interactions between system-related and individual-related factors are high in stratified systems, while most of the interactions are moderate or even low in the comprehensive systems. It is true that in Sweden and France, the educational opportunities of second-generation Turks are less dependent on their parents' levels of education, and that the chances of climbing the education ladder are greater. Delayed selection increases the chance of children of less educated parents entering academic paths, compared to the early sorting system in Austria.

The empirical evidence presented in this chapter does allow, however, the further indication of differences between the comprehensive education systems in France and Sweden. So far, little attention has been paid to this in the field of education and ethnic educational inequalities, since most of the time comprehensive systems are contrasted with tracked systems. However, in the French system, 'indirect' tracking appears. The differentiation into two types of *baccalauréat* diploma within the academic stream in upper-secondary education makes the French system selective. As shown in chapter 6 and complemented by the findings of this chapter, second-generation Turks are more affected than the comparison group by this selective mechanism because they are over-represented in the vocational track. Being in the vocational stream in the Swedish system also reduces the chance of continuing in post-secondary/tertiary education, but this applies to all students in the Swedish system.

The relevance of educational resources

The last section of this chapter examined the relevance of educational resources and how they are related to the types of education pathways chosen by second-generation Turks in the three education systems. 'Interactions' became most evident when looking at how far extra support provided by family members, teachers and peers correlated with specific education paths in the different countries. Institutional arrangements are reflected in the structure of education pathways. For example, in each country I observed a 'straight academic route'. This route consists of sequences of attending academic tracks until entering post-secondary/tertiary education. But in the Austrian education system, this path starts at the age of ten, and students subsequently have to pass three major transition points

before they reach the highest point in the system. By contrast, the straight academic routes in France and Sweden start at the age of fifteen or sixteen and comprise two transition points up to post-secondary/tertiary education.

Overall, the greatest number of interactions between relevant individual-level factors and education pathways could be seen in Austria. As hypothesised, parents' education levels and their support in education matters are found to be relevant factors for second-generation Turks who follow academic routes. Students are already on the academic track by the age of ten, which explains the importance of family characteristics and resources if they are to successfully follow the academic path in Austria. Teachers and the degree of contact with non-co-ethnic peers outside school become relevant too in terms of accessing the additional support and information that seems vital if second-generation Turks are to stay on the academic path.

Some of the Turkish second-generation students streamed into the vocational path after primary school make use of the chance to move upwards when they finish lower-secondary education. On this path, non-immigrant peers are important because the second-generation youngsters come predominantly from families whose parents do not have the means to support their children educationally, or to provide them with information about the workings of the Austrian education system (see chapter 4). Thus, hanging out and exchanging information about their school careers with native friends in school seems to be of relevance for second-generation Turks who wish to move off the vocational and onto the academic tracks.

The overall number of significant correlations between education pathways and individual-level factors are fewer in France than in Austria, but still more than in Sweden. Parents' education, the number of French peers in school, and teacher support are pertinent factors for second-generation Turks in terms of successfully managing the orientation process at the end of compulsory education and so entering the straight academic path. Outside-family networks and resources provided in the school are significantly related to being an upward mover away from the vocational path and towards post-secondary/tertiary education.

The lowest number of significant interactions was seen in the Swedish education system. Although parents' education and peers were also significant for students on the Swedish 'straight academic path', the greater permeability between tracks and the possibility of accessing post-secondary/tertiary education from all upper-secondary tracks makes education resources provided by family members, peers and teachers generally less relevant to the success of the Turkish second generation in Sweden.

8 Explaining Cross-national Differences in Educational Mobility

8.1 Introduction

There is substantial literature on educational inequalities based on ethnicity and varying levels of educational mobility for children of immigrants in north-west European countries. Fairly stable patterns have been documented in various national studies indicating that children of immigrants in Europe whose parents originate from less-developed non-European countries perform below their respective majority student groups. In north-west Europe, ample attention is devoted to the children of Turkish immigrants, one of the largest groups in these countries and among the most disadvantaged groups in terms of education. Although these patterns are evident in most of these countries, first comparative studies point towards remarkable differences in the size of these disadvantages for second-generation Turks from one country to another. But as stated in the introductory chapter of this book, neither the extent of the differences nor the reason for those cross-border variations are at all clear. There is very little systematic research that compares institutional settings for educational mobility in north-west European countries and their effects on second-generation Turks. Accordingly, this study asked what explains the variations in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks across three north-west European countries and five cities, namely Sweden (Stockholm), France (Paris and Strasbourg) and Austria (Vienna and Linz).

I studied educational mobility in the first place by analysing education outcomes at the aggregated level. I looked at the detailed range of *educational attainment* as well as, in greater detail, at two extremes of the education spectrum: leaving school early and achieving a post-secondary/tertiary education. The dichotomy of 'failure and success' in schooling provides valid and comparable measures across countries to establish cross-national differences.

Secondly, this study investigated *education pathways* as a dependent variable in order to shed light on the processes of mobility. Using retrospective data on education careers, I was able to apply a longitudinal approach in order to examine how groups navigate the education systems by passing through a set of transitions from beginning to end.

As I have argued throughout this study, both perspectives – outcomes and pathways – are crucial to gaining a detailed picture of educational

mobility across countries. This two-fold approach extends previous studies that tended to look primarily at current or final educational attainment.

In addition to the two-fold approach to systematically examining the degree of educational mobility across countries, the analysis took a multitude of explanatory factors into consideration to explain differences in the degree of educational mobility for second-generation Turks. In more concrete terms, two analytical foci have guided this study: First, *individual-level factors* were considered to explain different outcomes in attainment and education pathways. Second, by drawing on social capital literature in the sociology of education and its links to immigration studies, I explored the role played by *family members* and *outside-family agents* and their resources that might be relevant to educational mobility.

Particular attention has been paid to *parents' education levels* as a factor explaining educational mobility. As demonstrated here, the Turkish second generation often comes from a less advantaged background in terms of levels of education. Given the well-established link between socio-economic family background and educational attainment in the sociology of education, a substantial part of the differences in education between the comparison group and second-generation Turks was expected to be explained by differences in the education levels of their parents.

Moreover, this study moved beyond the classic explanation of parents' education by investigating the transmission of resources between generations. Therefore, different *involvement strategies and patterns of support* provided by family members were examined. This analytical step extended previous studies in three ways. First, most research provides some evidence that the effectiveness of family involvement varies across different ethnic origin groups, but few studies look systematically at parental involvement, including its possible variations across countries and cities and variations within the same origin group. Moreover, most of the studies are limited to parental influences only. But, especially within immigrant families, it is often the older siblings who act as role models and provide their younger brother and sisters with relevant information on and support in schooling activities. Thus, sibling as well as parental involvement and support have been analysed.

Previous studies further indicate that external family networks may provide additional resources that help to overcome a disadvantaged position at school. The most important agents in the educational mobility process outside the family home are *peers* and *teachers*. This is why this study examined the significance of the perceived importance of peers, the ethnic composition of peer groups, and the number of dropout friends. Extra

support provided by teachers and the perceived importance of teachers have also been studied. These factors were considered in given education systems.

The second focus of this study changed the perspective of the role played by the *institutional arrangements of education systems* in shaping education pathways and outcomes. Attention was given to the generic characteristics of the education systems (in Austria, France and Sweden) and their *degree of differentiation* in the following areas: the quantity of education received (the number of years of schooling received and the length of the school day), the point in children's schooling when they are selected for different tracks, tracking, and the degree of permeability between education tracks. I analysed how decisions about which education options to choose are made, and how these decisions may be pre-determined by the opportunities available to students – which are, in turn, defined by structural configurations and institutional arrangements.

Thirdly, to establish explanatory factors and to understand the divergent patterns of educational mobility by the Turkish second generation across countries, much attention was given to *interaction mechanisms* between individual-level and institutional-level factors. Interactions were defined as the interplay between institutional arrangements of education systems on the one hand, and individual and group-related characteristics and resources on the other hand – and the ways in which these are used to navigate successfully through these education systems. Although chapter 7 has already provided an overview of these interaction mechanisms, they will be a major topic of this concluding chapter.

All these elements formed part of the analytical framework that was used to explain cross-national differences in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks. Drawing on the unique data set of the TIES survey, and by applying a variety of quantitative methods, these elements have been studied on the basis of two levels of comparison, both of which contribute to the systematic investigation of cross-national variations in educational mobility. In the *relative comparison,* outcomes for the Turkish second generation have been compared with a native comparison group in each of the cities studied, and the differences in education levels found between these groups were then compared across countries. With this approach, the comparison group served as a reference group to describe the educational mobility process. The *absolute comparison* evaluated the opportunities of the Turkish second generation across countries, with the aim of shedding light on how variations in national institutions, such as education systems, account for differences in outcomes. Within this level

of comparison, educational mobility is characterised in relation to the best performing second-generation Turkish group in one of the countries and cities. Both levels of comparison are important perspectives to describe educational mobility processes of second-generation Turks.

In this concluding chapter, I will try to deepen the scope of the comparative analysis by looking in greater detail into the interaction mechanisms between individual-level and institutional-level explanatory factors, which aim to understand and explain cross-national differences in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks. Different pieces of this puzzle have been highlighted throughout this study and will be brought together in this chapter. They need to be considered in relation to each other in order to understand the variations found.

The structure of this concluding chapter is as follows: In line with the first research question, the next section establishes the actual size of the absolute and relative differences in educational mobility, both from one country to another and from one city to another within those countries. Afterwards, I turn to the main question of this study: 'What explains cross-national differences in educational mobility?' I present outcomes for each set of explanatory factors separately (individual-level and institutional-level factors) before interaction mechanisms between these two sets of explanatory factors are described in greater detail. I conclude this chapter with some general remarks on the relevance of the applied approach for future comparative studies of the educational mobility of children of immigrants.

8.2 Cross-national and cross-city differences in educational mobility

A number of national studies have shown that second-generation Turks are one of the most educationally disadvantaged groups in north-west Europe. First comparative studies pointed to remarkable differences in the size of these disadvantages but came with a number of methodological limitations: They had to rely on secondary data with varying definitions of 'the second-generation' and often on outcomes for educational attainment across countries which were not comparable. This study aimed to redress these shortcomings by providing a systematic inquiry into cross-national differences in the educational mobility of children of Turkish immigrants in Austria, France and Sweden. It also used the first comparable data set available, the TIES survey, which allowed for a systematic comparison.

Accordingly, this study started to examine variations in education outcomes at the aggregated level by investigating three levels of comparison: Among second-generation Turks, in the three survey countries and five survey cities between generations, and in relation to local comparison groups in the cities, concerned. The investigation of *absolute differences* between second-generation Turks across countries revealed that the size of the group of high achievers (post-secondary or more) is twice as high in France and Sweden as it is in Austria. At the same time, the highest percentage of early school leavers (primary and lower-secondary education at the most) among the Turkish second generation was seen in the Austrian cities.

Although there has been substantial *inter-generational progress* made by the Turkish second generation relative to their parents in all three countries, this progress in the levels of education attained appeared at very different rates. The Turkish second generation in Sweden and France displayed exceptional inter-generational achievement, while it was moderate in Austria. The proportion of second-generation Turks that experienced long-range upward mobility (leaping over at least one of their parents' education categories), for example, is almost three times as high in Paris and Stockholm, and twice as high in Strasbourg, as in the Austrian cities, Vienna and Linz.

The *relative comparison* between second-generation Turks and the comparison group showed that educational attainment differences were most pronounced at the bottom and the top of the education ladder in Austria and France. In both countries, such comparative attainment differences were higher overall than in Sweden. These attainment differences were also mirrored in the analysis of education pathways. In general, second-generation Turks are academically more disadvantaged than the comparison group because they attend more frequently the less academic tracks and are less likely to follow the academic tracks that lead to tertiary education. These relative differences in education pathways are most evident in the Austrian education system, can be seen clearly in France, and are least pronounced in Sweden.

Overall, the absolute and relative comparisons of attainment and education pathways revealed similar rankings across the three compared countries and five cities. Second-generation Turks show the weakest performance in Austria, a medium to high level in France and the best performance in Sweden. So the educational mobility of second-generation Turks shows significant differences between Austria, France and Sweden. The next section looks at how these differences can be explained.

8.3 Explaining differences in educational mobility

This section summarises the findings of investigations into two sets of explanatory factors for differences in the educational mobility and education outcomes of second-generation Turks – (1) individual-level factors and (2) the role played by the generic institutional arrangements of education systems. The former set of explanatory factors concentrates on family members, such as *parents* and *older siblings* and their resources, as well as on *peers* and *teachers* as the most important agents outside the family. The latter perspective on the institutional arrangements of education systems focuses on the three most important dimensions for describing the degree of differentiation in education systems and their relevance for explaining cross-national variations. These are: *pre-school age and age at entering education* (quantity of education), *timing of selection and tracking*, and the degree of *permeability and opportunities for upward transfers.*

Individual-level factors

Parents

One of the most important factors explaining the extent of the differences between the compared groups is the *education background of the parents*. I found that a substantial part of the disadvantage observed in second-generation Turks can be explained by differences in the parents' education levels. This finding applies to all three countries and all five cities. For example, the over-representation of early school leavers could be completely explained in four out of the five cities when holding the education level of the parents constant (the gap only remained statistically significant in Strasbourg). Also, the significant under-representation of second-generation Turks among high achievers was substantially reduced in all three countries when controlled for parents' education levels.

In other words, in each of the three countries, a substantial part of the disadvantaged position of second-generation Turks can be linked to their parents' levels of education. Children of Turkish immigrants come in higher numbers from less educated families, which accounts for a large part of the educational disadvantage. Nevertheless, significant disadvantages did not always vanish after statistically testing for parents' levels of education.

Several scholars have claimed that the quality of ties between generations is important in explaining the transmission of resources. Therefore, I explored the involvement strategies and patterns of support provided by Turkish families in Austria, France and Sweden. Research has shown that

children of immigrants benefit from such involvement and that parents are crucial in determining their children's experiences and academic success.

Results based on the perception of the Turkish second generation revealed that the frequency of parental involvement varies across countries. On average, it is most frequent in Austria, followed by France, with least involvement in Sweden. At the same time, parental involvement is most dependent on certain family characteristics in Austria, such as parents' education levels or language abilities in German. Although some of these factors significantly influence parental involvement in Sweden and France as well, the magnitude of these findings was greatest in the Austrian cities. The upward educational mobility of second-generation Turks in Austria has been found to correlate much more closely with various forms of additional support provided by their parents, when compared to their counterparts in France and Sweden. This finding remains significant even after controlling for parents' education levels, indicating that parental involvement *does* increase educational mobility irrespective of the parents' levels of education. Talking about their children's studies, the most common type of parental involvement is probably a form of parental control and a way for parents to communicate effectively their expectations to their children, which translates into better education outcomes in the Austrian context.

Taken together, the results show that the support provided by parents is a relevant factor in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks in Austria. At the same time, only those Turkish fathers and mothers who are equipped with higher educational credentials and a sophisticated ability in the German language are able to support their children educationally. This is still the minority of the Turkish community in Austria. The importance of parental support in school-related activities is, however, not per se a characteristic of Turkish families, but rather an aspect common to all students in the Austrian education system – albeit to a lesser extent for the comparison group than for second-generation Turks.

Older siblings

In addition to the role played by parents, I extended the discussion about family influences by investigating simultaneously the supportive behaviour of older siblings. Older siblings can act as intermediaries between younger children and their schools, and their own experiences of school can be a major source of support. Examining the role of older siblings' involvement in the school activities of their younger brothers and sisters, I observed similar patterns to those found for parental support: educational upward mobility by second-generation Turks in Austria correlates with the extra

support they receive from older siblings, beyond parental involvement and parents' own education levels. However, I did not find significant benefits beyond parental involvement as a result of older sibling support in France or Sweden. Thus, school support provided by older siblings is of great importance for second-generation Turks in Austria beyond parental involvement, while siblings are less relevant to educational mobility by second-generation Turks in France and Sweden.

Peers

While previous studies of the educational success of second-generation immigrants in general revealed that 'significant others', such as peers and teachers, are important mediating actors in processes of educational attainment, systematic research into their significance specifically for second-generation Turks in Europe is scarce. In this study I partially redressed this shortcoming. I examined the relative influence of peers and the mechanisms through which they operate to affect education outcomes.

The results show that closest friends and peers are perceived as relatively important in second-generation Turks' schooling in all three countries and all five cities. On a descriptive level, they are evaluated as being as important as their family members. When examining the influence of the perceived importance of peers on educational attainment, I did not find, however, the expected positive link to educational attainment once parents' education levels and support were held constant. In other words, even if peers and best friends are perceived as important in helping with second-generation Turks' study and homework, they are less central in the process of educational mobility than parents.

Instead, what seems to matter in Austria and France but not in Sweden is the ethnic composition of peers. Having a high proportion of non-co-ethnics among their best friends increases the likelihood of a second-generation Turk becoming a high achiever in Austria – beyond the parents' education levels and parental support. In France, a similar finding could be seen for the 'school' peer group of second-generation Turks. The more they are surrounded in their secondary schools by students with native parents, the greater the likelihood of moving beyond upper-secondary education. These findings seem to be in line with previous US studies into the schooling of children of immigrants that indicated that non-immigrant peers and closest friends often served as important agents enabling them to access resources and information that were not available in their families, but which were relevant for upward educational mobility.

Teachers

As well as the significant role played by peer groups, teachers have been highlighted as important agents in strengthening the upward educational mobility of the second generation. My analysis revealed that support from teachers is positively correlated with higher achievement among second-generation Turks in Austria and France, which suggests that teachers are important mediating actors in educational mobility. But this applies to all students in these two countries. With increasing levels of teacher support, students in either group show a greater likelihood of making it to the top of the education ladder. Surprisingly, the results for Sweden work in the opposite direction. Students of both groups in Stockholm who perceived their teachers to be of great importance for schooling and help with homework were less likely to become high achievers.

Comparing the magnitude of the correlation between individual-level explanatory factors (inside and outside the family home) and education outcomes for second-generation Turks across the three countries and five cities, I observed a 'ranking' similar to the findings of my previous chapters: individual-level factors were of greatest relevance in Austria, of some relevance in France, and of least importance and often absent in Sweden. These findings raise the question as to why some individual-level factors are of greater relevance for second-generation Turks in some countries and cities but not in others, and point to interactions with institutional-level factors.

Institutional-level factors

Pre-school attendance and age at entering education

Among the most important generic institutional factors that might explain the differences across countries are *pre-school attendance* and the *age at entering education.* Entry into pre-school is the most common start for children's education careers. In France and Sweden, pre-school is optional and free for all children between the ages of two and six. It is also seen as an integral part of the education system. Municipalities are obliged to provide pre-school places for all children and pre-school services offer a full-day care system. Results for the French cities and for Stockholm indicate that almost all children in both groups had attended some sort of pre-school facility by the age of three – which is also the average age of entering pre-school in these countries. Although not statistically significant, second-generation Turks in Stockholm are found to be even more likely to attend pre-school, and start on average earlier than children in the comparison group.

By contrast with France and Sweden, pre-school education in Austria usually takes place in the kindergarten, which is not considered part of the education system and thus has the ethos of early childcare rather than early education. Kindergartens can be run by either local authorities or private organisations. In principle, children can go to kindergarten from age three, while the average starting age is four. As shown in this study, pre-school attendance for pupils from both groups in Austria is lower than in France or Sweden. Moreover, the attendance rate varies considerably between the groups. In both Austrian cities, second-generation Turks were less likely to attend kindergarten, and the majority of those who did go started later than age four, which meant that they had shorter pre-school careers.

The different institutional arrangements for pre-school attendance and start age result in remarkable differences in the time children have to prepare for compulsory education across the three countries. While second-generation Turks have already experienced, on average, three years of pre-schooling in France and Sweden before entering primary school, their counterparts in Austria predominantly start primary school with only one year of pre-school under their belts.

Timing of selection and tracking

A second important institutional arrangement that contributes to the explanation of cross-national variations in outcomes for the Turkish second generation is the *timing of selection* (or tracking). The first selection in Austria appears after primary school at the age of ten. Students are streamed into two separate types of school: vocational (*Hauptschule*) schools and academically orientated (*AHS-Unterstufe*) lower-secondary schools. *Hauptschule* represents the lower tier and is open to everybody after primary school. But the academically orientated track (*Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule* [AHS]) prepares students to continue on to upper-secondary schools leading to the *Matura*, the university entrance certificate. Admission to the academically orientated track depends on marks received at the end of primary school. Teachers can also give recommendations, but these do not have a binding character. Almost seven out of ten second-generation Turks are streamed onto the vocational track (*Hauptschule*), while the continuation rate among the comparison group is only four out of ten. This pattern is the same in each survey city. Moreover, as examined in this study, the early selection at age ten has profound consequences for the education careers of second-generation Turks in Austria. Young adults who are streamed into the academic track in lower-secondary education predominantly move on to the second academic level (*AHS-Oberstufe*), while the majority of the

students who were streamed into the vocational path in lower-secondary education continue on the vocational path.

Students in France and Sweden follow the same integrated track up to the age of fifteen or sixteen – five, or even six, years later than their Austrian counterparts. The first time they are allocated the academic or the vocational track is just before upper-secondary education. In the French education system, the selection process that links compulsory and non-compulsory education is called *orientation*, and it is then that parents first express their preferences for their child's education. Based on this information and on the grades achieved in the final certificate, the class council advises whether a student should attend academic or vocational *lycées*. The most common route for students in the comparison group is entry to the academic *lycée*. Around 80 per cent of the comparison group go on to the academic *lycée*, while only about 50 per cent of students of Turkish origin follow that track. Dissimilarities between the two French cities, Paris and Strasbourg, appear at the first selection point, with Turkish second-generation students in Paris continuing more often on the academic track than their age-mates in Strasbourg. The comparison group does not differ significantly between the two cities. Students who do not choose the academic track in upper-secondary education move on to vocational *lycées*.

Similar to the French education system, students in Sweden are first selected when they are fifteen or sixteen. At the first transition point between lower- and upper-secondary education, slightly more than 50 per cent of each group moves on to the academic track. The Turkish second generation does not differ significantly from the comparison group in their continuation rates at this first selection point in Sweden.

Overall, the far greater numbers of immigrant-origin children who are streamed into the vocational route at an early age in Austria explains some of the differences between Austria and the other two countries in terms of the under-representation of second-generation Turks in the academic schools and in tertiary education. Differences between the comprehensive systems in Sweden and France seem to be related to the selective character of the orientation process in the French education system, which differentiates the student population more than in the Swedish education system, in which a comparable process is absent.

The investigation of education pathways has brought up a number of *additional mechanisms of differentiation* that are relevant beyond formal mechanisms of differentiation such as early selection and the orientation process. These mechanisms of differentiation are most evident in the French education system. What seems to be of greater relevance in the French

education system is the informal hierarchy of disciplines and tracks in upper-secondary education. Second-generation Turks are more affected by this differentiation because they participate in higher numbers in these less prestigious *lycées*. The practice of differentiation seems to be a distinct marker between the comprehensive education systems in France and Sweden. While the institutional arrangements and the degree of formal differentiation remain almost similar, the actual practice of differentiation varies between the two comprehensive systems, with Sweden showing fewer means of differentiation.

Permeability and opportunities for upward transfers

Early selection and tracking might not be problematical institutional features of education systems if the *degree of permeability* were high at later stages and if *opportunities for upward transfers* were available to the students who were streamed downwards earlier in their education careers. Both the Austrian and the French education systems do provide such second chances for students in the lower and vocationally orientated tracks.

In Austria, students who have been streamed onto the vocational track (*Hauptschule*) at the age of ten have an opportunity to move up to the academically orientated tracks at the end of lower-secondary education (at the age of fifteen). But the empirical results for Austria show that the proportion of upward movers at the end of *Hauptschule* is relatively small. The stakes seem to be high against obtaining the marks required for entering one of the two academic tracks. This applies in particular to the Turkish second generation, since they are found to be upwardly mobile less often at this transition point, compared to the comparison group (23.2 per cent and 41 per cent, respectively).

In the French system, the possibility of moving from the vocational track to the academic track appears much later than the Austrian education system. Students who do not enter the academic track in upper-secondary education move on to vocational *lycées*. Students who obtain the *Brevet d'Études Professionnelles* (*BEP*) diploma at the end of this track (on average around age seventeen or eighteen) can attend an additional two-year course to obtain the professional *baccalauréat*. This *bacc prof* certificate allows students who followed the vocational path to enter tertiary education as well, and this route is used significantly more often by the Turkish second generation than by the comparison group (27.8 per cent and 22.1 per cent respectively) in both French cities. Thus, the possibility of entering post-secondary/tertiary education through the 'back door' is an important institutional arrangement that explains parts of the relatively

high participation rates of second-generation Turks in this academic level in France. But it takes those students on average two years longer than the comparison group, who overwhelmingly follow the straight academic route, to attain a similar level.

The Swedish education system does not really provide 'second chances' because the permeability between tracks at the end of each stage is always a given. Students in lower and upper-secondary education can choose tracks without restrictions, while all upper-secondary tracks provide certificates that permit students to continue on to post-secondary/tertiary education.

8.4 Interactions between individual-level and institutional-level factors

While the previous two sections reviewed explanatory factors at the individual level and institutional level separately, I now turn to the *interactions* between both sets of factors to explain variations in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks in five cities in Austria, France and Sweden. Interactions were defined as the interplay between the institutional arrangements of education systems and the various individual and group-related resources that are relevant for second-generation Turks if they are to navigate successfully through the systems. The perspective on interactions provides a framework that helps us to understand why the relevance of individual-level factors and their related resources varies for second-generation Turks across education systems and at different points in time, and therefore contributes to the explanation of cross-national differences in educational mobility.

Some studies have emphasised the importance of interactions between single institutional arrangements and particular individual-level factors in understanding cross-national differences in educational mobility. One interaction that is often emphasised is the relationship between early selection and parents' education levels or 'social class origin'. Investigation of this interaction has shown that the earlier students are placed in different ability tracks, the greater the relevance of details such as parents' education levels. This finding is often contrasted with processes in comprehensive education systems that have late selection points, which show weaker interactions with parents' education. This interaction has also been stressed as an explanation for differences in the education outcomes of second-generation Turks across north-west European countries.

Although highly relevant, these studies do not investigate the importance of other institutional arrangements, and most often do not move beyond other important individual-level factors, such as the family of origin. In this study, I aimed to redress this research gap. As I have shown, it is important to consider the combination of a number of the institutional arrangements of different education systems which together form country-specific *institutional constellations*.

The main components of the *Austrian institutional constellation* are the late start age at pre-school, early selection into different ability tracks (at the age of ten) and a low degree of permeability between tracks after the early tracking and half-day training system in compulsory education.

An early start age at pre-school, full days of pre-school activities, assured pre-school places and a full-day comprehensive compulsory schooling system are among the most important components that constitute the *French institutional constellation*. The orientation process in which the selection into upper-secondary education is prepared is the most crucial institutional arrangement in the education careers of students in France. Moreover, the differentiation in upper-secondary academic tracks and the 'second chance' to enter post-secondary/tertiary education through the vocational upward-route are additional important features of this French institutional constellation.

The *Swedish institutional constellation* is composed of full-day pre-school activities that children can attend from age two and an integrated track from primary school up to the end of lower-secondary education with full-day teaching. The first allocation into different tracks appears at the transition into upper-secondary education at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Further important components are the high degree of permeability between tracks in upper-secondary education, and the possibility of entering post-secondary/tertiary education from all available tracks in upper-secondary education.

Interaction mechanisms in Austria

The combination of institutional arrangements in Austria makes the beginning of the school career an important period that sets the course for subsequent stages. Pupils spend an average of two years at pre-school before starting in primary school – the only common, integrated track in which children from different backgrounds attend the same school. After four years in primary education, pupils are streamed into different ability tracks in lower-secondary education at the age of ten.

The emphasis in this institutional constellation on making selection decisions early on leads to greater interaction with family resources. Parents

are important agents in this early period in supporting their children in the learning process and determining school choices. The results of this study confirm the great relevance of the parents' levels of education in the early selection process. Children whose parents have less education are frequently streamed into the less academic track (*Hauptschule*) at age ten. This is particularly true for second-generation Turks who are more often tracked into the lower stream because many of them come from less educated families. The Turkish first generation overwhelmingly migrated for work reasons and had relatively few education credentials and little experience of education. Thus, in this institutional constellation, larger inequalities in parents' educational attainment lead to larger differences in their children's opportunities at school.

This process is reinforced by the low participation rates in pre-schooling for second-generation Turks in the Austrian cities. Since children are not automatically entitled to a pre-school place, and Turkish parents may lack information about the workings of the Austrian pre-school system, second-generation Turks attend pre-school for, on average, one year less than the comparison group. This, too, goes some way towards explaining the greater downward streaming of second-generation Turks at the first transition point after primary school. To a large extent, the early selection determines the subsequent education pathway. The majority of second-generation Turks in both the academic and vocational streams continue to travel the path onto which they were tracked at the age of ten.

Second-generation Turks who were placed on the academic path after primary school are predominantly children of better-educated parents. They also benefit from greater support at home because parents' education levels and parental support are positively correlated. This support, along with the support of older siblings, enables these children to stay on the straight academic path in the Austrian education system.

Internal family resources become even more relevant in the light of the half-day school system in compulsory education. The responsibility for learning is shifted to the family home and to students' leisure time, which makes family involvement and support significantly more important for students, especially in terms of homework. Although the relevance of family support can be seen for all students in the Austrian education system, it is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group.

In order to navigate successfully to the top of the education ladder, access to resources provided by non-immigrant peer networks, as well as support from teachers, become crucial aspects for children of Turkish immigrants in Austria. In particular, the support of teachers in upper-secondary education

is of great relevance for second-generation Turks in ensuring they don't stop their academic careers before entering post-secondary/tertiary education. In other words, while family resources are especially important in the early phase of the academic career, outside-family agents and related resources gain importance at a later stage.

The Austrian education system offers students who were streamed into the vocational path after primary school the option of moving upwards at the end of lower-secondary education. Having non-immigrant peers at school becomes important at this stage because second-generation Turks on the vocational path come predominantly from less educated families that are barely equipped with the relevant knowledge and resources to support their children in the upward process. If the family of origin doesn't have enough knowledge of the Austrian education system and cannot provide the support children need to earn the marks that would permit them to move up, best friends outside the family home become the major source of information and support. But the percentage of second-generation Turks who finally move up at this stage is still low, indicating that not enough information and support are provided by the peer group in many cases. Moreover, as this study has shown, non-immigrant peer networks are rare among second-generation Turks in Austria who attend the vocational track in lower-secondary education.

While a small proportion of the Turkish second generation moves up from the vocational to the academic track, others do not meet the demands of their schools at all and drop out after compulsory education. More second-generation Turks drop out of vocational schools than out of academic schools. Parents and older siblings are important in providing the resources and support to prevent this. But since most of the potential early school leavers on the vocational path come from socio-economically disadvantaged families with limited resources to support their children, teachers become the most important agents for these students at this stage of the process. Solid student-teacher relationships and high levels of support are important factors in preventing early school leaving. The Austrian school system is, however, a half-day training system in which second-generation Turks who are at risk of dropping out may not get enough time with teachers to obtain the support they need. That is why the numbers of early school leavers are comparably high in the Austrian education system.

Interaction mechanisms in France

The French institutional constellation offers day-long education with students from different backgrounds attending the same tracks in compulsory

education. It starts early with a comprehensive full-day pre-school system and continues with primary education along an integrated track until the end of lower-secondary school. The system offers afternoon classes with homework tutorials, which leads to few interactions with family resources. In particular, additional help from family members is perceived as less important because this type of support is institutionalised within the comprehensive full-time education system.

The most crucial moment in the French education system is the orientation process at the end of lower-secondary education in which students are prepared for selection into the next stage. In this process, parents express their preferences for their child's education. Based on this information, and on the grades of the final certificate (*brevet des collèges*), teachers and officials evaluate each pupil's chances of success and advises whether a student should be assigned to an academic or a vocational *lycée*.

Although this first selection appears late, the orientation process in this transition period is highly interactive with a number of individual-level factors. Firstly, parents with more advanced education backgrounds improve their children's chances of being streamed into the academic tracks. The correlation between tracking and parents' education further explains a large part of the unequal continuation rates into the academic track between the comparison group and second-generation Turks. Similar to the selection moment in Austria, a large proportion of the inequalities observed between the two groups at this stage can be attributed to differences in parents' own levels of education.

Secondly, teachers and the support they provide are crucial in upward streaming at this stage. Teacher support is important to all students if they are to achieve excellent grades in the final exams at the end of compulsory education. These exams constitute a substantial part of the evaluation process leading to the academic tracks.

Finally, the ethnic composition of peers in schools matters for second-generation Turks at this stage. In the orientation process, students and their parents express their preferences for their future education pathways, a process that requires substantial knowledge of the French education system. If parents do not possess this knowledge, peers in the comparison group whose parents or older siblings have experience and knowledge of the workings of the system become crucial sources of information for second-generation Turks.

The selection into different types of upper-secondary tracks through the orientation process determines, to a large extent, the education pathways of students. Those entering the academic path continue in high numbers

beyond upper-secondary education into some form of post-secondary/tertiary education. Since the *bacc* certificate at the end of upper-secondary education became the education norm in France, specifications for the labour market have been shifted to the post-secondary and tertiary education sector. To manage the transition from the academic tracks into post-secondary/tertiary education, parents' education is an important mediating factor, although to a much lesser extent, as with the orientation process at the previous transition.

The majority of students streamed into the vocational track after lower-secondary education leave at the end of second-level education to take up jobs. But the French system offers a 'second chance' at the end of upper-secondary education to leave the vocational track in favour of post-secondary/tertiary education. This late opportunity for an upward transfer interacts less strongly with parents' education and family support. Instead, the number of native peers in the vocational school, and the support provided by teachers, are the most crucial factors for second-generation Turks if they are to acquire the *bacc prof* certificate and enter post-secondary/tertiary education by this route.

Overall, the most crucial period in the French institutional constellation that determines the process of educational mobility for second-generation Turks is the orientation process at the end of compulsory education. Although this differentiation process is delayed, family background characteristics such as their parents' education levels, as well as outside-family agents, such as non-immigrant peers and teachers, are still of great relevance in setting the course for upward educational mobility.

Interaction mechanisms in Sweden

Similarly to the comprehensive system in France, the Swedish institutional constellation provides full-day schooling from early pre-school through primary education until the end of the integrated track in compulsory education. The long and integrated full-day schooling phase makes family resources less relevant in the educational mobility process of both study groups. Even at the first transition point before entering different academic and vocational tracks in upper-secondary education, family characteristics such as parents' education or additional educational resources are unimportant factors in managing this transition period successfully, because the transition is not linked to a specific differentiation process. Consequently, second-generation Turks enter academically orientated tracks in similar proportions to the comparison group, irrespective of their family backgrounds.

Interactions with individual-level factors only appear at the highest end of the Swedish education system. Children whose parents have less education are more likely to leave the education system. This is particularly true of second-generation Turks because they originate in greater numbers from less educated families. In addition to parents' levels of education, peers are perceived as important agents by second-generation Turks in this schooling phase. The more support they receive from peers, the better their chances of managing the transition to post-secondary/tertiary education.

Students who follow the vocational track in upper-secondary education are less likely to enter any type of post-secondary/tertiary education afterwards. But this finding applies to all students in the Swedish education system, not just second-generation Turks. Most significantly, those who do want to continue to post-secondary/tertiary level do not perceive information or resources provided by agents outside the family as having any importance.

In short, the long, integrated schooling period in which pupils from different backgrounds learn together in a full-day system from early pre-school until the end of compulsory education leads to less interaction with individual-level factors. Moreover, the high degree of permeability between tracks and the fluid links between upper-secondary tracks and post-secondary/tertiary education make individual-level factors of minor relevance in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks in Sweden.

Cross-national differences

The empirical evidence available in this study highlighted the fact that cross-national differences in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks cannot be limited to a single set of explanatory factors. Two parties are involved in the process of educational mobility: children of Turkish immigrants, with their own characteristics, efforts, family backgrounds, and relationships with important agents such as peers and teachers; and the national education systems, with their differing institutional arrangements. It is, however, the interaction between the two that determines the direction and the ultimate outcome of the educational mobility process. But these two are unequal partners. Education systems, in terms of their institutional arrangements and the way they determine the relevance of individual-level factors, *matter more*. In all the interaction mechanisms I have observed, the power relationship between individual-level and institutional-level factors has always been in favour of the education systems' institutional arrangements. In particular, with increasing degrees of differentiation between education systems, the relevance of individual-level

characteristics for second-generation Turks increases as well. This unequal power relationship becomes most evident when comparing the outcomes of second-generation Turks across different education systems, as I have done in this study. Education systems that provide more favourable institutional arrangements make the educational mobility of second-generation Turks less dependent on individual-level factors and resources, leading to higher educational attainment.

The theoretical and empirical contribution of this study is therefore its focus on *interactions* between *individual-level characteristics* and the generic *institutional arrangements* of education systems in order to explain differences in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks across countries. The examination of these interactions throughout the entire education career highlighted favourable and unfavourable institutional settings that are relevant if one is to grasp the variations in educational mobility in a cross-national comparison. Whether and how the institutional arrangements of education systems really matter can only be answered once these *interactions* with individual-level characteristics are considered. Future research that aims to understand why children of immigrants show different levels of educational mobility across countries should adopt and elaborate this systematic *interaction approach* further.

Appendix

Introduction

The purpose of this appendix is to provide enough information to enable the reader to understand how the samples were gathered, how variables in the analytical chapters were generated, and which types of regression analysis was used. This appendix is divided into two parts: Part A comprises information on relevant aspects of the TIES survey, such as (1) sampling frames and data collection, (2) response rates and (3) the issue of weighting and representativeness. Part B of the appendix records the measurement of variables, applied strategies of analysis (including regression analysis) and additional outcomes related to the main findings presented in each chapter.

PART A Survey samples, response rates and weights

1 The TIES survey in Austria, France and Sweden[1]

Sampling frames

The methodological objective of the TIES survey was to obtain statistically representative information on integration-related topics from second-generation Turks, Moroccans and former Yugoslavians in fifteen European cities (Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips 2012). In order to achieve this aim, an adequate sampling strategy had to be developed. This sampling strategy, similar to the sampling of minority populations in other surveys, was confronted with the following constraints: First, the lack of readily available sampling frames to sample members of minority groups such as the second generation. Second, the tendency of minority groups to concentrate in particular regions and parts of cities. Finally, the rarity of members of minority groups in the general population (Groenewold & Bilsborrow 2008; Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips 2012). These three major constraints influenced the way respondents were identified, sampled and afterwards included in the TIES survey in the three countries covered in this book, which as a result yielded slightly varied sampling frames. This section describes briefly the country-specific sampling frames of the TIES survey in Sweden, Austria and France (and the respective cities), supplemented by additional information on implementation in the field.

The ideal way to identify second-generation respondents is through up-to-date municipal population registers that consist of personal records, including the following relevant information: name, current address, date of birth, place of birth, sex, father's place of birth and mother's place of birth. Of the three countries compared in this book, only Sweden has such an ideal situation. The Total Population Register provides a complete list of every person residing in Sweden, recorded in a comprehensive database that contains names, addresses, dates of birth and countries of birth, as well as

1 Some of these issues have been discussed and documented in other contexts (see for example, Crul & Heering 2008; Crul & Schneider 2009b; Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips 2012; Hamel 2007; Milewski & Hamel 2010). Consequently, the discussion here is not meant to be exhaustive but provides a basic overview of relevant aspects related to the survey samples.

immigration and emigration information. As a result, in the Swedish TIES sample, the Turkish second generation and the comparison group were both randomly drawn from the Total Population Register (updated version, 31 January 2007), and they were subsequently visited and interviewed. In Sweden, the target group comprised second-generation Turks (aged between 18 and 35), both of whose parents were born in Turkey.

Austria and France both lack comparable databases with the type of information on the parents of each inhabitant that's needed to identify the second generation. This led to the development of alternative strategies for identifying the target population. In the Austrian case, an onomastic sampling approach was used. First, the names of all inhabitants in Linz and Vienna for the relevant age cohorts were drawn from the register data. Second, a sample of names of Turkish origin was pulled. Finally, a gross sample was produced from which respondents were randomly selected and interviewed. Given that the Turkish community is smaller in Linz (see chapter 2), the total number of relevant names in the gross sample was only about one-third that of Vienna. The comparison group was selected by random route walking. Taking the house or apartment of the second-generation respondent as the starting point, the comparison group was interviewed in every fifth household from the starting point. Thus, respondents of the comparison group and the second generation lived in the same neighbourhood at the time of the interview.

Turning to the sampling frame in France, information important to identifying our target population was missing as a result of the absence of relevant information in the population register. The French research team at the Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) developed an alternative strategy by applying onomastic identification procedures to the public phone books for Paris and Strasbourg (Hamel 2007; Milewski & Hamel 2010). In total, 10,568 'Turkish' names were identified using this approach. The database of names was sorted by city and postcode. Afterwards, postcode areas were selected with probabilities proportional to the number of Turkish names listed as residents. In a three-month screening period, questionnaires were used to select eligible respondents from this gross sample. As well as seeking demographic information such as date of birth to identify the relevant birth cohorts, the parents' countries of birth were established in the screening survey, thus allowing the identification of second-generation Turks. Based on the results of this screening survey, a gross sample was created from which a random selection took place to choose the interviewees. The comparison group was randomly selected by the same procedure (phonebooks and a screening survey) and sampled

from the same postcode areas, although without applying an onomastic approach.

In all three countries, face-to-face interviews were conducted. The majority of the interviewers had a Turkish migration background themselves. This made it more likely that people contacted would take part, and reduced the language barrier. The fieldwork itself lasted much longer than initially intended in all three countries. In Austria, the fieldwork took around seven months in Vienna, and almost twice as long in Linz (thirteen months). This was because the target population in Linz is much smaller, so the minimum effective sample size took longer to compile. In the French cities, the fieldwork took place between May and July 2007 and between September and October 2007. In total, the actual fieldwork lasted for around five-and-a-half months. The Swedish TIES survey (conducted in two phases) took nine months and was completed in February 2008.

Taken together, the brief description of the sampling frames shows how complex it was to identify our target group and to achieve a minimum effective sample. Some disadvantages related to the sampling frames have to be mentioned. The method of the 'Turkish-sounding-name' that was applied in Austria and France may have left out children of mixed couples whose Turkish mothers and fathers have acquired their husbands' and wives' last names. This hypothetical bias may have been even stronger in France where the onomastic approach to names of Turkish origin is based only on last (family) names, since phone books do not provide information on first names. In this case, second-generation Turks who married partners of non-Turkish origin and acquired their last names do not appear in the sample either. A second problem with the French survey may be the fact that the gross sample from which interviews were drawn is based on fixed phone numbers from public telephone books. Potential interviewees in our relevant age cohort (18 to 35 years) are likely to have only a mobile phone, in which case they too would have been excluded from the survey.

Several arguments lead me to believe that these biases have little influence on the outcomes of this study. To begin with, the mixed marriage rate among the Turkish first generation in Austria and France is below 5 per cent (Gümüsoglu et al. 2009; Lhommeau & Simon 2010; Milewski & Hamel 2010). Most of the fathers and mothers who migrated to the two destination countries were already married before migrating or came for family/marriage reasons. The low inter-marriage rate among the first generation has also been proved empirically in the TIES survey (see chapter 2). Second, in order to reduce the bias caused by mixed marriages among the second generation, the French research team applied the following strategy: 'The

respondents living in the household of each Turkish-sounding-named person were asked if there was a Turkish immigrant in the household who had a daughter who had left home and married a man whose name was not Turkish, that is, who had a husband whose father was not born in Turkey. If the answer was "Yes", the young woman was added to the sample' (Milewski & Hamel 2010: 632). This procedure has reduced the potential bias. The last bias, which results from the use of fixed phone numbers in the French case, was reduced by noting the mobile number of the potential respondent if the parents answered the screening questionnaire. Then, a second call was made to contact the eligible person directly. Table A1 provides a summary of the main characteristics of the TIES samples and its sampling strategies in Austria, France and Sweden.

Table A1 Main characteristics of the TIES samples in Austria, France and Sweden

	Austria	France	Sweden
	Vienna and Linz	**Paris and Strasbourg**	**Stockholm**
Definition: Target group	Born in country of residence At least one parent born abroad Between 18 and 35 years old	Born in country of residence At least one parent born abroad Between 18 and 35 years old	Born in country of residence Both parents born abroad Between 18 and 35 years old
Sampling frame	Onomastic approach	Onomastic approach	Probability sampling
based on …	Register data	Phonebook	Population register
Fieldwork duration	Vienna: 8 months Linz: 13 months	4.5 months	9 months

Survey evaluation: Response rates

While the previous section documented the sampling frames of the TIES study and the identification of respondents in the three countries being compared, this section turns to the question of how many of the eligible persons from the gross samples were willing to answer our survey. To begin with the Austrian cities, around 25 per cent of the gross sample was neutrally lost for reasons such as having parents who were born in a country other than their name would suggest, or that the target person had moved out or died. The final response rate among the Turkish second generation

was around 49 per cent in Vienna and 70 per cent in Linz. The comparison group responded almost equally in both cities at a rate of around 42 per cent. In Sweden, the overall response rate was 42.6 per cent. Finally, in France the overall response rate for second-generation Turks was 42.5 per cent (40.6 per cent in Paris and 44.7 per cent in Strasbourg) and around 50 per cent for the comparison group (46.8 per cent in Paris and 52.5 per cent in Strasbourg) (all figures taken from Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips 2012).

Weights

As shown in the technical description above, the sampling frames vary to some extent from country to country. As a result of these variations, inequalities in the likelihood of individuals participating in the TIES survey may have arisen. Survey researchers refer to these hypothetical biases as 'stratification' and 'non-response'. Stratification relates to different response rates among all types of sub-groups, such as gender, age or education (see, for example, Pike 2008). In order to adjust for these unequal factors, 'post-stratification' weights can be calculated to bring the sample proportion in sub-groups into alignment with the population proportion in the sub-groups (Lee, Forthofer & Lorimor 1989: 14). A non-response bias adds to the stratification bias and leads in a similar direction. It occurs when response rates in general differ across the population groups being studied. (Groves & Couper 1998; Kalton 1983). Both types of bias are commonly seen as a threat to the validity of surveys, and researchers need to adjust their samples with weights. Nevertheless, the empirical results presented throughout this book are unweighted estimations. This decision is based on the following arguments:

First, calculating post-stratification and non-response weights for the samples in three countries is problematic because of the lack of reliable secondary data on the Turkish second generation that can be used to generate appropriate adjustments for sub-group differences, such as age, gender or the group size of the Turkish second generation. The condition essential to calculating weights is a basic knowledge of the population being studied and their distributions in relevant sub-groups, including demographic subgroups (Fuller 1974; Lee et al. 1989). As explained earlier in the context of the sampling frames, up to now, no relevant data existed on second-generation Turks at the city level in all five cities being studied. The French and Austrian teams used an onomastic approach to sample the target groups at the city level *because* the group size was unknown and no existing data sources were available.

Second, apart from the problems of calculating sampling weights for the TIES survey, there is a general debate in the field of sociological research about whether sampling weights should be used at all when estimating regression equations. The degree of uncertainty increases when weighted analysis goes beyond estimating simple means or ratios, especially when adjustment procedures are complex and combine several types of weights (Gelman 2007a, b; Korn & Graubard 1995; Pfeffermann 1993; Pike 2008; Winship & Radbill 1994). The overall claim is that there are pitfalls to the common practice of estimating regression models with weighted data, especially in a cross-comparative analysis. If weights are generated on different criteria, as is the case for the TIES sub-samples used in this book, one can wonder what a weighted odds ratio from logistic regression, for example, is supposed to represent in the model. Moreover, statistical programmes perform weighted analysis, but it is not always clear which weighting procedures are appropriate (Gelman 2007b: 153). A third reason to consider the issue of weights in the context of analysis of the TIES survey is the focus on education pathways in the second part of this book. These pathways are based on retrospective information about our respondents. Even if post-stratification weights had been available for the year of the survey (2007/2008), what would the weighted probability of continuing in an Austrian *Hauptschule* rather than an *AHS-Unterstufe* at the age of fifteen, for example, tell us when the analysis is adjusted with a weight for the year 2007? Given the high degree of uncertainty in relation to generating weights in the three countries under comparison, unweighted estimations are used.

2 Comparing the TIES survey with reference data

Although the TIES survey samples probably reflect the best data one can expect to retrieve from the field in light of the problems encountered, the major drawbacks in terms of the sampling frames and implementation lead to the question of whether the TIES data is representative for the Turkish second generation in the selected countries and cities. This is especially the case for the Turkish second generation in the Austrian and French cities as a result of the absence of suitable sampling frames. To investigate this question, the next section presents comparisons between TIES survey results and available reference data for the same target population. More precisely, the educational attainment of second-generation Turks and their parents will be used to draw comparisons between the TIES survey and available reference data. The aim of this comparison is to test whether the

different sampling frames and strategies resulted in an over-representation or an under-representation of certain sub-groups in the TIES survey which might affect the main variables of interest and the results presented in this book. The comparison is limited to Austria and France only. In the case of Sweden, the target group in Stockholm was drawn from a probability sample based on register data and is therefore not included in the comparison. In addition, publicly available reference data on the second generation is only provided by aggregated groups of origin countries in Sweden (Fleischmann 2011: 216).

Austria

The TIES survey results for the Turkish first generation were compared with observations in the 2001 Austrian Census with regard to educational attainment and selected labour market outcomes. More precisely, the examination of the Austrian census was restricted to the two TIES survey cities of Vienna and Linz. The first generation in both surveys was defined as 'born in Turkey', and the Austrian census data was further restricted to the same birth cohorts as those available in the TIES survey (1930 to 1972). Since information on educational attainment in the Austrian census is only available in three broad categories (compulsory, upper-secondary and post-secondary education), a comparable classification was taken on board for the TIES survey samples. Results of the evaluation are displayed in table A2. The comparison of the educational attainment and selected labour market positions reveals some differences for the Turkish first generation in Linz, while the variations between the two sources for Vienna are modest. Turkish fathers and mothers in the Linz TIES survey sample seem to be slightly positively selected with regard to educational attainment. They obtain their educational credentials from compulsory education less often, and have post-secondary diplomas more often. Higher educational attainment also translates into slightly higher participation rates in the service sector of the local labour market, especially among Turkish women in the Linz TIES survey sample. There is, however, a major difference between the two compared sources: the time of the data collection (2007/2008 versus 2001), which could explain some of the deviations.

The census data from 2001 has its limitations when it comes to children of Turkish immigrants since they can only be identified by country of birth and language spoken at home (for applications of this strategy, see Herzog-Punzenberger 2003a). Although this might be the most appropriate strategy when working with the Austrian census data, it is not equivalent

to the definition of second-generation Turks in the TIES survey. Therefore, I compare education outcomes with the findings of the 'Leben in Zwei Welten (Living in two worlds)' (LiZW) study conducted two years before the TIES study (Weiss 2007b). LiZW is a representative survey for Austria comprising a very similar definition of the second generation to that used in the TIES survey. Since participants in the reference table in LiZW were aged between 20 and 26 and it was limited to those who had completed their education, the TIES outcomes were restricted to the same birth cohort and that cohort's final academic attainment.[2]

Table A2 Educational attainment and selected occupations of the Turkish first generation compared: Austrian Census and TIES samples in Vienna and Linz (%)

	Austrian Census (2001)				TIES survey (2007-2008)			
	Vienna		Linz		Vienna		Linz	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Educational attainment								
Compulsory education	67.0	81.1	73.7	87.4	67. 2	83.1	60.1	72.6
Upper-secondary education	26.7	14.5	23.3	11.0	27.9	15.4	29.5	22.6
Post-secondary education	6.3	4.4	3.0	1.6	4.9	3.5	10.4	4.8
Occupation								
Unskilled worker	25.8	36.4	34.1	48.7	29.4	37.4	32.8	37.4
Manual worker	36.5	16.9	33.8	15.7	41.3	19.8	32.8	27.1
Service worker	10.4	14.2	8.1	9.2	8.7	13.9	10.9	20.0
N.	12,467	8,228	1,075	682	247	208	193	146

Sources: Austrian Census 2001; TIES 2007-2008.
Note: In the Austrian census, only first-generation Turks born between 1930 and 1972 were included.

2 Unfortunately, the LiZW publications do not provide descriptive information on the parental generation, such as educational attainment or labour market position.

Regarding the educational attainment of the Turkish second generation in Austria, the differences between the estimates from both surveys are marginal and suggest that the TIES data is not strongly biased with respect to educational attainment, at least when comparing both TIES survey cities to the nationwide reference data (see table A3). Some minor variations can be seen when comparing the city estimates in the TIES survey to the reference data. Second-generation Turks in Vienna and Linz more often obtain a certificate from the academic tracks *AHS-Oberstufe* and *BHS*, but this appears to be realistic given the well-known differences in educational attainment between Austria's urban and rural regions (Fassmann 2002; Schlögl & Lachmayr 2004).

Summing up, the comparison with reference sources suggests that the Turkish first generation in Linz seems to be more positively selected than the Turkish population from 2001 in terms of educational attainment and labour market participation. This applies especially to Turkish mothers. When turning to the core dependent variable 'educational attainment', the comparison suggests that there is no substantial bias in the Austrian TIES survey in terms of the educational attainment of the Turkish second generation.

Table A3 Educational attainment of the Turkish second generation (aged 20-26 years) compared: LiZW and TIES samples in Vienna and Linz (%)

	LiZW survey	TIES survey (both cities)	TIES Vienna	TIES Linz
Year (of survey)	**2005-2006**	**2007-2008**	**2007-2008**	**2007-2008**
Primary and lower-secondary education	30	29.4	32.8	18.7
Vocational education	26	23.7	22.0	26.4
Upper-secondary/ academic orientation	24	27.6	27.7	31.0
Technical college	17	16.2	14.5	20.7
Post-secondary/tertiary	3	3.1	3.0	3.3
total	100	100	100	100
N.	414	228	137	91

Sources: Leben in Zwei Welten study (2005-2006), taken from (Weiss 2007a); TIES 2007-2008.
Note: Only respondents aged between 20 and 26 are included.

France

In France, there are few statistical resources that supply relevant data on children of immigrants, and even fewer use definitions of an 'immigrant generation' similar to that used in the French TIES survey. Official statistics, such as census data, mostly cover information on variables related to the nationality and countries of birth of individuals. The French census category 'immigrant' is defined by the National Institute of Statistics (INSEE) as 'all persons who have been born abroad and who are foreign nationals' (Simon 2007; Thierry 2009). In other words, the definition of immigrant used in the census covers all first-generation immigrants, but it excludes citizens of France and children of immigrants born in France. The latter constitute the second generation as it was defined in the TIES survey samples. For the purpose of comparison, I use two recent national representative surveys conducted in France. First, the educational attainment of the parents' generation is compared to outcomes presented in Kirszbaum et al. (2009). Their study is based on the family history survey (*Étude de l'histoire familiale*) carried out by the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies and the National Institute for Demographic Studies. It involved interviews with 380,000 respondents aged eighteen or older. Most importantly, the survey was bridged with the 1999 census and sought to integrate the census data and questions in relation to the countries of birth of the respondents and their parents (Kirszbaum et al. 2009:14-15). The Turkish first generation is defined as Turkish nationals born in Turkey or whose partners are Turkish immigrants. The comparison with the educational attainment of the Turkish first generation reveals strong differences (see table A4). Turkish fathers and mothers in the TIES survey are more frequently found to obtain higher levels of education than in the reference data. This applies especially to first-generation Turks in Paris. However, it appears realistic given that the majority of the Parisian Turkish community came from the more developed areas of Turkey and often immigrated with higher educational credentials and specialised occupational skills (see chapter 2).[3]

3 Note that the categories of the educational attainment in table A4 and table A5 are different from the Austrian categories as a result of different information provided in the source data and publications.

Table A4 Educational attainment of the Turkish first generation compared: Family History Survey and TIES samples in Paris and Strasbourg (%)

	Family History Survey France		TIES survey (both cities)		TIES Paris		TIES Strasbourg	
	1999		2007-2008		2007-2008		2007-2008	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
No school/ primary	76.0	81.0	47.0	60.6	41.5	53.2	52.4	67.9
Lower secondary	14.8	12.0	28.0	18.6	27.8	17.3	28.4	19.8
Upper secondary	5.8	4.0	15.8	15.0	16.5	20.2	15.8	9.9
Post-secondary/ tertiary	3.4	3.0	9.2	5.8	14.2	9.3	3.4	2.4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N.	n.a.	n.a.	500	500	248	248	252	252

Sources: Family History Survey 1999, taken from Kirszbaum et al. (2009); TIES 2007-2008.
Note: n.a.=Not reported.

We have to bear in mind that there are three major differences between the French TIES survey samples and the reference survey that might cause deviations and therefore make it difficult to examine the amount of potential bias in the French TIES survey. These are: the coverage (nationwide versus Strasbourg and Paris), the time of data collection (1999 versus 2007-2008) and the missing information on similar birth cohorts. The family history survey has a number of methodological caveats when studying outcomes for children of immigrants, including Turkish immigrants (Kirszbaum et al. 2009: 15-16). To overcome these limitations I turn to a recent publication based on a second representative survey of descendants of immigrants in France called the 'Trajectories and Origins Survey' (TeO) (Beauchemin, Hamel & Simon 2010). This survey was conducted one year after the TIES survey and includes 21,000 respondents. Most importantly, the second generation was defined in the same way as in the TIES survey samples: born in France, aged 18 to 35 and with at least one parent who immigrated to France.[4] Comparing the educational attainment of the Turkish second generation with the TeO survey reveals almost identical results once the

4 Unfortunately, the 'TeO' survey could not be used to compare the first generation since the recent publications do not contain descriptive breakdowns of educational attainment or labour market position for the Turkish first generation in similar birth cohorts. That's why the family history survey from 1999 was used for comparison.

nationwide survey is compared to Paris and Strasbourg taken as a whole. Slightly more than two-thirds had moved beyond compulsory education in each survey. However, once the estimates from the TeO survey are compared with each TIES city separately, differences appear. The Turkish second generation in Paris is somewhat over-represented in upper-secondary and post-secondary education in Paris, while their counterparts in Strasbourg are slightly under-represented compared to the nationally representative data.

Table A5 Educational attainment of the Turkish second generation compared: TeO Survey and TIES samples in Paris and Strasbourg (%)

Source	**Brinbaum et al. (2010)**	**Author's analysis**	**Author's analysis**	**Author's analysis**
Based on	**TeO survey France**	**TIES survey (both cities)**	**Paris**	**Strasbourg**
Year (of survey)	**2008-2009**	**2007-2008**	**2007-2008**	**2007-2008**
Lower-secondary at the most	36.7	36.0	22.9	48.7
Upper-secondary and higher	63.3	64.0	77.1	51.3
N.	314	500	248	252

Sources: TeO survey results are taken from Brinbaum et al. (2010:48) and have been re-estimated for men and women together; TIES 2007-2008.

Summing up, we can see that there are differences in terms of the educational attainment of the parental generation, in that there are slightly more highly educated Turkish first-generation immigrants in the two French TIES survey cities. But the results of the comparison between the Turkish second generation and the most recent comparable data source deviate less strongly from the results found in the TIES survey, suggesting that the bias in the TIES survey is modest.

PART B Measurement, analysis strategies and additional outcomes

2 The Worlds of Turkish Fathers and Mothers

Table A6 Three main reasons for migration from Turkey, fathers (%) (Chapter 2, Section 2.4)

	Austria		France		Sweden
%	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
…					
85				work	
80			work		
75	work				
70		work			
65					
…					
40					
35					work
30					
25					
20					asylum
15	family	family			family/partner
10				family	
5	study	study	family/study	study	

Source: TIES 2007-2008

Table A7 Three main reasons for migration from Turkey, mothers (%) (Chapter 2, Section 2.4)

	Austria		France		Sweden
%	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
…					
55			partner	partner	
50					
45					
40	family				Marriage
35	partner	marriage			
30		family	family	family	

	Austria		France		Sweden
%	Vienna	Linz	Paris	Strasbourg	Stockholm
25					family
20		partner			
15	marriage				
10			marriage	marriage	asylum
5					

Source: TIES 2007-2008

3 An Initial Look at Education Outcomes

Table A8 Respondents still in school, by city and group (%) (Chapter 3, Section 3.1)

			Group			
			Turkish Descent	(N.)	Comparison Group	(N.)
Austria	Vienna	%	21.4	54	29.6	74
	Linz	%	34.0	70	31.2	73
France	Paris	%	56.1	139	31.0	54
	Strasbourg	%	30.6	77	37.9	67
Sweden	Stockholm	%	19.9	50	18.8	47

Source: 2007-2008

Table A9 EDU Codes classification for Austria, Sweden and France (Chapter 3, Section 3.1)

	Edu. Code No.	Description	Austria	France	Sweden
Primary education	11	Primary education	*Volksschule*	*école élémentaire*	
	12	Special education	*Sonderschule*	SEGPA	–
Lower-secondary education	21	Vocational track	*Hauptschule, Polytechnikum*	–	–
	22	Integrated track	–	*Collège*	*Grundskolan*
	23	Mixed track	–	–	–
	24	Academic track	*AHS-Unterstufe*	–	–

	Edu. Code No.	Description	Austria	France	Sweden
Apprenticeship and upper-secondary education	31	Apprenticeships and similar	*Lehre*	*CAP/BEP*	–
	32	Post-lower secondary orientation	*BMS*		–
	33	Higher vocational orientation*	*BHS*	*Lycée technologique*	*Gymnasie Utbildning*
	34	Academic orientation*	*AHS-Oberstufe*	*Lycée général*	*Gymnasie*
Post-secondary/ tertiary education	41	Tertiary vocational + Higher post-secondary	*Akademien, Kolleg*	*BTS/DUT*	
	42	University and similar	*Universiät, Fachhochschule*	*universitaire*	*Universitet, Högskola, Rkeshögskole-utbildning*
	50	PhD	*Doktorat*	*doctorate*	*doctorate*

Notes: *=Provides access to university; Edu. Code No. 11-124=Compulsory education.

Measurement of independent variables included in Section 3.3

Parents' education level covers the highest diploma achieved by one of the parents. The variable ranges from (1) no diploma or a primary school diploma to (4) a post-secondary/tertiary education credential. This variable is entered as a continuous variable.

I further controlled through a dummy variable whether *at least one of the fathers and mothers achieved their highest level of education in the host country* – (1) if they did, (0) if they did not.

The labour market participation of the parents' generation is measured with a dummy variable indicating whether (1) or not (0) *both parents were employed* when the child was aged fifteen.

Parents' host country language ability is measured with the same index as presented in chapter 2. Recall that we asked our respondents to evaluate whether their mothers and fathers speak or spoke the host country's language on a scale from 'not at all' to 'very well'. Separate information for fathers and mothers has been combined into a 'language ability index'. This scale had a reliability of >0.8 for all groups in all cities. The variable has been entered as a continuous variable in the empirical model (from low to high).

Family size is a numerical variable representing the total number of children in the family as a measurement of the family size. This variable ranges from 0 to 10.

Both parents present is a dummy variable indicating whether our respondents grew up in a two-parent household (1) or not (0).

Years since migration captures the length of time, in years, the parents have lived in one of the five receiving cities. This variable is the average length of residence of both parents. In cases where this information was missing (for either father or mother), only one parent was considered in order to reduce the number of missings.

*Parents originate from less-developed regions in Turk*ey. I used the development index presented in chapter 2 and classified 'less-developed regions' (1) as regions with values between 19 and 59 on the scale. The (0) in the dummy variable represents averagely developed to highly developed regions of origin for the parents.

Fathers and mothers did not come for work and family reunification reasons is a dummy variable coded (0) if fathers and mothers came for work and family (marriage, reunification, etc.) reasons, while it is coded (1) if the parents came for asylum and/or to study.

I further included *gender* and *age* as control variables for the demographic characteristics of the respondents and whether the respondent was still in school during the time of the interview.

Table A10 Descriptive outcomes of main independent variables (mean, standard deviation) – second-generation Turks by city (Chapter 3, Section 3.3)

						Austria				France				Sweden	
						Vienna		Linz		Paris		Strasbourg		Stockholm	
	Variable	Range (label)				mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.
1	Male	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.43	0.5	0.49	0.5	0.48	0.5	0.38	0.5	0.49	0.5
2	Student	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.21	0.4	0.33	0.5	0.56	0.5	0.30	0.5	0.19	0.4
3	Parents' education levels	1	(No school/ primary)	4	(Post-secondary/ tertiary)	2.21	1.0	2.38	1.1	2.22	1.1	1.83	0.9	2.39	1.2
4	At least one parent with host country diploma	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.14	0.4	0.23	0.4	0.08	0.3	0.08	0.3	0.43	0.5
5	Both parents employed	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.34	0.5	0.58	0.5	0.37	0.5	0.28	0.5	0.53	0.5
6	Parents' host country language ability	1	(Not at all)	6	(Very well)	4.01	1.0	4.55	1.0	3.82	1.0	3.62	1.1	4.89	0.8
7	Family size	0	(Siblings)	10	(Siblings)	2.62	1.4	2.14	1.1	2.02	1.3	3.02	1.8	2.52	1.9
8	Both parents present	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.93	0.3	0.92	0.3	0.92	0.3	0.95	0.2	0.87	0.3
9	Years since migration (Parents)	14	(Years)	63	(Years)	31.74	6.8	33.35	6.7	33.16	4.1	34.03	4.0	33.97	5.2
10	Parents originate from less developed regions in Turkey	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.50	0.5	0.24	0.4	0.50	0.5	0.44	0.5	0.69	0.5
11	Father and mother that came for reasons other than work or family	0	(No)	1	(Yes)	0.05	0.2	0.11	0.3	0.22	0.4	0.28	0.5	0.35	0.5
	N.					252		206		248		252		251	
	N. (total)									1209					

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: s.d.=Standard deviation.

Table A11 Ordered logistic regression on education level (Chapter 3, Section 3.3)

	Model1			Model2			Model3			Model4		
	B	Exp(B)		B	Exp(B)		B	Exp(B)		B	Exp(B)	
Ref: Vienna												
Linz	0.54	1.71	**	n.s.			n.s.			n.s.	n.s.	
	(0.18)											
Paris	1.96	7.08	***	1.42	4.14	***	1.47	4.37	***	1.26	3.51	***
	(0.18)			(0.19)			(0.20)			(0.23)		
Strasbourg	0.78	2.17	***	0.50	1.64	***	0.68	1.97	***	0.51	1.66	*
	(0.17)			(0.18)			(0.18)			(0.21)		
Stockholm	1.15	3.14	***	1.10	2.99	***	0.91	2.49	***	0.80	2.21	***
	(0.17)			(0.18)			(0.20)			(0.21)		
Age				0.11	1.11	***	0.13	1.13	***	0.15	1.16	***
				(0.01)			(0.02)			(0.02)		
Male				n.s.			n.s.			n.s.		
Student				2.46	11.66	***	2.47	11.86	***	2.47	11.80	***
				(0.16)			(0.17)			(0.17)		
Parents' education levels							0.24	1.26	***	0.22	1.25	***
							(0.07)			(0.07)		
At least one parent with host country diploma							n.s.			n.s.		
Both parents employed							n.s.			n.s.		
Parents' (host country) language ability							0.27	1.31	***	0.28	1.31	***
							(0.07)			(0.07)		
Family size							-0.09	0.91	*	-0.10	0.90	*
							(0.04)			(0.04)		
Both parents present							ns			ns		
Years since migration (Parents)										ns		
Parents originate from developed regions in Turkey										ns		
Father and mother did not come for work and family reasons										0.40	1.49	*
										(0.16)		

	Model1		Model2		Model3		Model4	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Nagel-kerke's R2	0.12		0.32		0.36		0.37	
N.	1209		1209		1184		1181	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Dependent Variable, *Education level*: lower-secondary at the most (1), upper-secondary and apprenticeship (2) and post-secondary/ tertiary education (3).

4 Behind the Scenes: The Family Examined

This section provides more details of the analysis presented in chapter 4. It starts by presenting measurement information for the main independent variables, and then includes a brief overview of their descriptive outcomes. Next, model specifications are given, while the final part of this section shows the results of the multivariate analysis that were not presented in chapter 4.

Measurement of the main independent variables

In order to explore patterns of family influence and support in school activities for children and siblings, I used the following items from the TIES survey:

To begin with, the importance of fathers and mothers in supporting their child with his or her studies when they were in secondary school (aged eleven to fifteen) ranged on an answer scale from (1) 'not important at all' to (5) 'very important'. This question was asked separately about mothers and fathers. The information from both variables was combined as one scale (alpha reliability >0.7 for all groups in all cities), which I labelled *perceived importance of parents*. The same survey item was also available for older siblings and was used to describe the *perceived importance of siblings* in the second half of chapter 4.

In order to measure parental control, I used the following two questions: 'When you were in secondary school, how often did your parents ... *control the time you spent on homework?* ... and ... *talk with you about school or studies*? Both Likert-type survey items ranged from (1) 'never' to (5) 'often'.

The questions, 'How often did your parents *meet with or talk to your teachers? ...* and how often did your parents *help you with your homework?'* were used as variables for the parents' participation aspect. Similar to the variables described before, both questions had five ordered answer possibilities: 'never', 'rarely', 'sometimes', 'regularly' and 'often'.

Finally, the *parental support index* is a combined indicator measured via the four items described above. I combined the following variables into one summarising index: parents, (1) *controlled the time they spent on homework*; (2) *helped them with their homework*; (3) *talked with them about school or studies*; (4) *met with or talked to their teachers* when they were in secondary school. As explained above, each of the four items had five answer categories varying from 'never' to 'often' and were combined in the index as a continuous scale capturing parental support while at secondary school. This scale had a reliability of >0.7 for all groups in all cities.

Talking about school and *helping with homework* were also asked for older siblings. Similar to the survey questions on parents, both Likert-type survey items for siblings ranged from (1) 'never' to (5) 'often' as well.

The *sibling support index* is a combined indicator for the two items described above. I combined the variables (1) *helping with homework* and (2) *talking about school or studies* into one mean index. This continuous scale capturing sibling support while at secondary school ranged from 1 to 5. This scale had a reliability of >0.7 for all groups in all cities.

I further used two additional control variables related to siblings: First, I used a dummy variable on whether older siblings had *left school without a diploma. S*econd, I introduced the total *number of older siblings* as a continuous variable.

It should be noted here that respondents without older siblings were set to 'never' in all variables for sibling support. I re-estimated all analytical models without those who had no older siblings, yielding very similar results. Given the small sample size of the TIES survey, I therefore decided to include those without older siblings, setting them to 'no support' (never). Note also that I additionally tested for the total number of older siblings, which did not explain away the significant results for sibling support.

Finally, as explained in chapter 4, the following control variables were also used, either directly in the statistical models or in the correlation matrixes (for distributions, see previous chapters and related appendices): gender, age, parents' education levels, parents' host country language ability and the length of time they had resided in the country.

Table A12 shows means and standard deviations (in brackets) for each of the main independent variables by group and city.

Table A12 Descriptive outcomes of independent variables, by group and city (Chapter 4, Section 4.2)

		Austria				France				Sweden	
		Vienna		Linz		Paris		Strasbourg		Stockholm	
Variable	**Metric**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**
Importance of parents	1= not important 5= very important	2.76 (1.1)	3.10 (1.2)	3.16 (1.2)	3.18 (1.2)	3.26 (1.3)	3.54 (1.1)	2.65 (1.4)	3.47 (0.9)	2.07 (1.1)	2.65 (1.1)
Homework control	1= never 5= often	2.86 (1.2)	2.91 (1.2)	3.26 (1.2)	2.71 (1.2)	3.02 (1.3)	3.23 (1.4)	2.72 (1.5)	3.53 (1.3)	2.41 (1.2)	1.93 (1.1)
Talking about school	1= never 5= often	3.38 (1.2)	3.27 (1.2)	3.61 (1.2)	3.52 (1.1)	3.65 (1.1)	3.93 (1.0)	3.73 (1.2)	4.05 (1.0)	3.65 (1.0)	3.54 (0.9)
Helping with homework	1= never 5= often	2.53 (1.2)	2.81 (1.1)	2.84 (1.3)	2.81 (1.1)	2.07 (1.2)	2.98 (1.3)	1.68 (1.1)	3.06 (1.1)	1.89 (1.0)	2.48 (1.0)
Contact with teachers	1= never 5= often	3.30 (1.2)	2.93 (1.1)	3.33 (1.3)	2.71 (1.1)	3.00 (1.1)	3.31 (1.0)	2.96 (1.3)	3.28 (1.0)	2.38 (1.0)	2.13 (0.8)
Parental support index	1= never 5= often	3.02 (1.0)	2.98 (0.9)	2.93 (0.8)	3.25 (1.1)	2.94 (0.9)	3.36 (0.8)	2.78 (1.0)	3.48 (0.8)	2.58 (0.8)	2.52 (0.7)
Importance of siblings	1= not important 5= very important	2.32 (1.5)	1.64 (1.1)	2.83 (1.7)	1.88 (1.3)	1.80 (1.2)	2.24 (1.4)	2.38 (1.4)	2.16 (1.5)	3.01 (1.4)	3.90 (1.1)
Help with homework	1= never 5= often	2.11 (1.4)	1.56 (1.0)	2.49 (1.5)	1.70 (1.1)	1.80 (1.3)	1.58 (0.9)	2.17 (1.4)	1.53 (1.0)	1.69 (1.0)	1.34 (0.8)
Talking about school	1= never 5= often	2.02 (1.3)	1.48 (0.9)	2.30 (1.4)	1.78 (1.1)	1.99 (1.3)	1.93 (1.2)	2.48 (1.6)	1.75 (1.1)	2.58 (1.2)	2.14 (1.1)
Sibling support index	1= never 5= often	2.07 (1.3)	1.52 (0.9)	2.39 (1.4)	1.74 (1.0)	1.89 (1.2)	1.75 (1.0)	2.32 (1.4)	1.64 (1.0)	2.13 (0.9)	1.74 (0.8)

		Austria				France				Sweden	
		Vienna		Linz		Paris		Strasbourg		Stockholm	
Variable	**Metric**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**	**2GT**	**CG**
Has older siblings without diploma	1= Yes	0.11 (0.3)	0.03 (0.2)	0.10 (0.3)	0.03 (0.2)	0.03 (0.2)	0.08 (0.3)	0.50 (0.4)	0.07 (0.3)	0.09 (0.3)	0.07 (0.3)
	0= No										
Number of older siblings	0 -10	2.62 (1.4)	1.10 (1.2)	2.14 (1.1)	1.45 (1.2)	2.01 (1.2)	1.79 (1.4)	2.99 (1.7)	1.74 (1.4)	3.19 (1.6)	2.13 (1.4)
N.		252	250	206	234	248	174	252	177	251	250

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Mean values are presented, standard deviations in brackets. 2GT=Second-generation Turks. CG=Comparison group.

Model specifications: Binomial logistic regressions

The main dependent variables used in chapter 4 are *early school leavers* and *high-achievers* – both of which are binary outcomes with two values, (1) for high achievers and (0) for not. Binomial logistic regression was therefore used. I estimated a set of models of increasing complexity for each outcome variable shown in chapter 4 and afterwards. I further introduced the interaction terms for the parental support index and the sibling support index for second-generation Turks as presented in chapter 4.

In addition to the final models, interactions between city, parental support and sibling support were estimated in order to explore whether parental support was more relevant for second-generation Turks in Vienna (versus Linz) and for Paris (versus Strasbourg). I already mentioned in chapter 4 that none of these interaction terms with cities was significant. This validates the modelling strategy of combining both cities in Austria and France into one model. I also estimated a model that comprised a squared term of the variable 'parental support index'. Previous research found that parents who exerted too much control over their children and participated in their schooling too much tended to have children with lower levels of achievement (Kao 2004). Note that this squared term was not statistically significant in any of my analysis. Thus, the effect of the parental support index was linear and not curvilinear. To phrase it in non-technical terms: more support from Turkish parents for their children is clearly better than too little when looking at education outcomes.

It is also important to note that I tested corrections to the binomial logistic model estimates, since my outcome variables were not balanced in all five cities on both dependent variables. For example, both the total number of high achievers in Vienna and Linz and the total number of early school leavers in Stockholm and Paris were rather small. In other words, in some cities I had a much higher number of observations for which Y = 0 rather than Y = 1. As noted by King and Zeng (2001a, b), having a low rate of Y = 1, along with a small sample size, can skew the coefficients estimated using the binomial logistic regression, as well as the predicted probabilities arising from it. Therefore, I tested corrections of potential biases using a version of the logistic regression model recently developed by Gary King and Langche Zeng (2001a, b) – labelled 'Rare Events Logistic Regression (ReLogit)' – to compute unbiased estimates in a situation such as this. However, it turned out that running the models with 'ReLogit' in Stata 11 changed only slightly the coefficients that were obtained (only at the 3rd decimal). Thus, I decided to not use ReLogit given the rather small differences in the outcomes and the constraints imposed by this procedure on calculating predicted probabilities.

A final note on comparing odds ratios across countries and regression models: Throughout this book, there are several estimates in which I fit logistic regressions on a country or city level (always with the same independent variables across countries) and compare the estimates expressed in odds ratios. This approach is quite routine in social sciences. Very recently, critical voices from quantitative methodology scholars appeared in a number of articles and recent working papers questioning this procedure (see for example Karlson, Holm & Breen 2012; Mood 2010). They underline problems of comparability across models that stem from 'unobservables'. The estimates of logistic regression models are affected by omitted variables that can vary across samples, even when estimating models with the same independent variables, and lead to problems in comparing and interpreting odds ratios across countries and models. Mood (2010) presents a number of solutions for this problem. According to her, average marginal and average partial effects should be used as measures for comparison instead of odds ratios since they are not affected by unobserved heterogeneity that is unrelated to the independent variables in the models. But these estimates are population averages and are not sufficient for my analysis because I am rather interested in the change in a probability that occurs for individuals on foot of a change in the independent variable (for example, the chance to be a high achiever changing with a one unit increase in the parental support index). According to

Mood, this can only be done by using marginal effects. But, as she notes herself, 'these measures are affected by unobserved heterogeneity, and cannot be straightforwardly compared' (Mood 2010:78). In other words, the problem of comparability across countries remains unsolved as with the measures of odds ratios. As long as the jury is still out on how best to provide meaningful solutions to the problems of comparability in logistic regression, I acknowledge the potential bias of 'unobservables' but follow the commonly used approach in social sciences by comparing odds ratios across countries.

Table A13 Binomial logistic regression of leaving school early for second-generation Turks (odds ratios) – sibling support, by country (Chapter 4, Section 4.3)

Austria	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Importance of siblings	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Help with homework		0.74*	ns	–	–	–
		(0.11)				
Talking about school			0.65*	–	–	–
			(0.12)			
Sibling support index				0.64**	0.63**	0.66*
				(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Has older siblings without a diploma					2.13*	n.s.
					(0.72)	
Number of older siblings					n.s.	n.s.
Parents' education levels						0.63***
						(0.08)
Parents' host country language ability						n.s.
Parental support index						0.76*
						(0.10)
City (Vienna)	1.77*	1.78*	1.82**	1.79*	1.67*	n.s.
	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.40)	
R2	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.17
N.	458	458	458	458	453	453

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

France	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Importance of siblings	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Helping with homework		n.s.	n.s.	–	–	–
Talking about school			n.s.	–	–	–
Sibling support index				n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Has older siblings without a diploma					2.55** (0.87)	2.41* (0.83)
Number of older siblings					ns	ns
Parents' education levels						0.69* (0.11)
Parents' host country language ability						n.s.
Parental support index						n.s.
City (Paris)	0.43** (0.12)	0.47** (0.14)	0.46** (0.13)	0.46** (0.13)	0.52* (0.16)	n.s.
R2	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.12	0.15
N.	500	500	500	500	492	491

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Sweden	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Importance of siblings	ns	2.10* (0.66)	2.18* (0.73)	2.06* (0.70)	2.05* (0.63)	2.07* (0.70)
Helping with homework		2.14* (0.74)	2.04* (0.76)	–	–	–
Talking about school			n.s.	–	–	–
Sibling support index				2.26* (0.96)	2.02* (0.71)	n.s.
Has older siblings without a diploma					n.s.	n.s.
Number of older siblings					n.s.	n.s.
Parents' education levels						0.77* (0.22)
Parents' host country language ability						n.s.
Parents' support index						n.s.
R2	0.14	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21
N.	241	241	241	241	241	241

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A14 Binomial logistic regression of achieving post-secondary/tertiary education for second-generation Turks (odds ratios) – sibling support, by country (Section 4.3)

Austria	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Importance of siblings	n.s.	n.s.	0.71*	0.68**	0.69*	0.69*
			(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Helping with homework		1.38*	n.s.	–	–	–
		(0.21)				
Talking about school			1.98***	–	–	–
			(0.39)			
Sibling support index				1.75***	1.81***	1.68**
				(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.30)
Has older siblings without a diploma					n.s.	n.s.
Number of older siblings					n.s.	n.s.
Parents' education levels						1.36*
						(0.17)
Parents' host country language ability						n.s.
Parents' support index						1.37*
						(0.21)
City (Vienna)	0.59*	0.58*	0.56*	0.57*	n.s.	n.s.
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.20)
R2	0.03	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.09	0.14
N.	458	458	458	458	453	453

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

France	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Importance of siblings	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Helping with homework		n.s.	n.s.	–	–	–
Talking about school			n.s.	–	–	–
Sibling support index				n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Has older siblings without a diploma					0.31***	0.32**
					(0.11)	(0.11)
Number of older siblings					0.78**	0.82*
					(0.06)	(0.07)

France	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Parents' education levels						1.24*
						(0.12)
Parents' host country language ability						n.s.
Parents' support index						n.s.
City (Paris)	2.80***	2.78***	2.82***	2.81***	2.36***	2.33***
	(0.54)	(0.54)	(0.55)	(0.55)	(0.49)	(0.49)
R2	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.18	0.21
N.	500	500	500	500	492	491

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Sweden	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**M5**	**M6**
Importance of siblings	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Helping with homework		n.s.	n.s.	–	–	–
Talking about school			n.s.	–	–	–
Sibling support index				n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Has older siblings without a diploma					n.s.	n.s.
Number of older siblings					n.s.	n.s.
Parents' education levels						1.14*
Parents' host country language ability						n.s.
Parents' support index						n.s.
R2	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12
N.	241	241	241	241	241	241

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Note: Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

5 Beyond the Family: Peers and Teachers

The following section presents the measurements of the main variables of interest used in chapter 5: characteristics of peer group networks and relationships with teachers.

Peer group characteristics

To examine peer group characteristics, I made use of four indicators: The first variable covers information on the education levels of the closest friends, while the remaining three focus on the ethnic composition of peer groups and their perceived importance.

a *Having low-achieving friends* (*dropout peers*)
Interviewees were asked to state if they had close friends in secondary school who left school without either a diploma or a school certificate. Having *friends without a school diploma* is a dummy variable in the analysis, while having no dropout friends serves as the reference category.

b *Ethnic composition of the three best friends*
One of the main explanatory variables is the peer group composition of the interviewees' *three best friends* during their secondary schooling. Interviewees were asked to give this information for each of their three best friends separately. While this information was shown separately in the descriptive section of chapter 5 (table 5.3), I combined the information on a scale for the multivariate analysis as follows: Three dummy variables were generated (one for each best friend) indicating whether the friend was a host country native or not. Afterwards, all three answer categories were added and divided through the total number of valid answers. The final variable '*peer composition*' is a scale, ranging from (0) *all three best friends are co-ethnics* to (1) *all three best friends are host country natives*. For example, if a respondent answered all three peer items by saying that all of his closest friends during secondary school were host country natives, this person scored three points. This number was divided by three because three valid answers were given. The respondent in this example would get the value 1 on the peer group composition scale. On the other hand, if a person said that his/her first best friend was a host country native, but the second and the third best friends were of Turkish origin, the score on the scale would be 0.3 (1 + 0 + 0 = 1 / 3 valid answers = 0.333), and so forth. The composition scale of the close circle of friends is introduced as a continuous variable in the analysis.

c *Number of non-immigrant friends in school*
Another important independent variable is the total number of host country native friends in school. Respondents were asked to indicate how many of their friends in secondary school were host country natives. Possible responses were 'none', 'very few', 'some', 'many' and 'most'. This indicator

captures the ethnic composition of social networks in school, and is used as a continuous variable. Although there might be some overlapping with the previous question on the ethnic origin of the three best friends, I follow Ream and Rumberger (2008), arguing that both indicators cover different types of peer groups.

d Perceived importance of peers

The respondents were asked whether peers were of importance in supporting them in their studies or school work while they were in secondary school. This item had five answer categories ranging from (1) 'not important at all' to (5) 'very important' and is treated as a continuous variable in the analysis.

Relationships with teachers in secondary school

a Teacher support

Relationships with teachers in secondary school are captured through answers to three separate survey questions. Respondents were asked to think about the teachers in their most important secondary school, and to indicate to what extent they agreed on the following statements: (1) 'I got along well with most of my teachers', (2) 'most teachers really listened to me' and (3) 'I received extra help from my teachers when I needed it'. Answer categories included 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'agree' and 'totally agree'. Given the high correlation between these items (see chapter 5), they have been combined into one measure labelled, 'teacher support'. This scale had a reliability of >0.7 for all groups in all cities.

b Perceived importance of teachers during secondary school

Similar to the statements about the perceived importance of peers and family members (see chapter 4), the respondents were also asked whether teachers were of importance in supporting them in their studies or school work while they were at secondary school. This item had five answer categories ranging from (1) 'not important at all' to (5) 'very important' and is treated as a continuous variable in the analysis.

6 Navigating the System

Table A15 Characteristics of education pathways in Vienna and Linz, by group (%)

	Vienna			Linz			City differences
	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks		Comparison group	Second-generation Turks		Second-generation Turks
Lower-secondary education							
Attended	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		
Academic	62.4	34.1		54.3	33.5		
Vocational	37.6	65.9	***	45.7	66.5	***	
Upper-secondary education							
Vocational	14.8	29.5		14	44.3		***
Apprenticeship and similar	89	82.5		83.9	73.9		
BMS	11	17.5		16.1	26.1		
Academic	85.2	70.5	**	86.0	55.7	***	***
AHS-O.	68.1	63.0		57.3	55.4		
BHS	31.8	37.0		42.7	44.6		
Post-secondary/tertiary education							
Attended	33.6	10.7	***	28.6	19.9		**
University	90.5	88.9		89.5	80.5		
Vocational	9.5	11.1		10.5	19.5		

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: *<0.05; **<0.01; ***<0.001. City differences compare the outcomes of the Turkish second generation between Vienna and Linz.

Table A16 Characteristics of education pathways in Paris and Strasbourg, by group (%)

	Paris			Strasbourg			City differences
	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks		Comparison group	Second-generation Turks		Second-generation Turks
Upper-secondary education							
Vocational	14.8	29.5		14.0	44.3		
Academic	85.2	70.5	**	86.0	55.7	***	***
Lycée général	81.6	72.2		82.0	52.1		
Lycée technologique	18.4	27.8	**	18.0	47.9	***	***
Post-secondary/tertiary education							
All tracks	81.8	76.0		84.7	50.3	***	
University	53.1	51.6		56.3	54.1		
Prof. Voc. (*Ec. D'ingénieur* and preparatory classes	27.7	10.3		19.5	6.3		
DUT/BTS	19.2	38.1	***	24.2	39.6	*	

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Levels of significance: *<0.05; **<0.01; ***<0.001. City differences compare the outcomes of the Turkish second generation between Paris and Strasbourg.

7 Interactions between Individual-level and Institutional-level Factors

This section provides additional information on the analytical steps taken in section 7.3 of chapter 7. The dependent variable used in this section is *education routes*. As explained in greater detail in chapter 7, the classification of these education routes is based on the country-specific typologies of the education pathways presented in chapter 6 (see table 6.2, table 6.4 and table 6.6). Education routes are defined as sequences of education tracks followed by students up to their final level of education.

In France and Sweden, seven education routes were noted in chapter 6, while Austria provides up to nine routes that students can follow. Since the analysis presented in section 7.3 is based on the sample of second-generation Turks only, I had to combine some of the routes presented in chapter 6 into broader types of pathway in order to achieve sufficient numbers per category (route), which allowed statistical analysis to be performed. Table A17

provides detailed information on the combination of education routes per country. Since the dependent variable is categorical, I used multinomial logistic regression to predict the route placement of second-generation Turks in each country. The vocational route served as a reference category. Table A 18, table A19 and table A20 provide the detailed outcomes of each estimation.

Table A17 Classification of education routes as a dependent variable for Section 7.3

	Austria	France	Sweden
1	**Straight academic route** (*AHS-Unterstufe-AHS-Oberstufe/BHS* – any type of post-secondary/tertiary education)	**Straight academic route** (*Collège-Lycée* (*bacc*) *general or technologique* – any type of post-secondary/tertiary education)	**Straight academic route** (*Grundskola-Academic Gymnasieskolan* – any type of post-sec/tertiary education)
2	**Short academic route** (*AHS-Unterstufe* and *Oberstufe*)	**Short academic route** (*Collège-Lycée* (*bacc*) *general or technologique*)	**Short academic route** (*Grundskola-Academic Gymnasieskolan*)
3	**Upward vocational route** (*Hauptschule-AHS-Oberst./BHS* – any type of post-sec/tertiary education)	**Upward vocational route** (*Collège-CAP/BEP* – any type of post-secondary/tertiary education)	**Upward vocational route** (*Grundskola-Vocational Gymnasieskolan* – any type of post-secondary/tertiary education)
4	**Vocational route** (*Hauptschule*-apprenticeship)	**Vocational route/Early school leaver** (*Collège-CAP/BEP*-stop/or *Collège*-stop)	**Vocational route/Early school leaver** (*Grundskola*-Vocational *Gymnasieskolan* /Grundskola-stop)
5	**Early school leaver** (*AHS-Unterstufe* or *Hauptschule*-stop)		

Table A18 Multinomial logistic regression predicting education pathways, second-generation Turks in Austria (odds ratios)

		Austria			
		Straight academic route	**Short academic route**	**Upward voca-tional route**	**Early school leaver**
		10%	**23%**	**11%**	**15%**
		Ref.: Vocational route			
Parents' education levels	No/primary(1); Tertiary(5)	1.74** (0.31)	1.87*** (0.26)	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of father and mother	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Parental support index	Min (1); Max (5)	3.16** (1.06)	1.56* (0.34)	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of siblings	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Sibling support index	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of peers	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Peer group diversity (best friends)	All Turkish origin (0); All native origin(1)	3.35* (1.41)	3.67* (1.31)	n.s.	n.s.
No. of native peers in school	None (1); Most (5)	n.s.	n.s.	1.88*** (0.32)	n.s.
Peers without a diploma	Yes (1); No(0)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of teachers	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Teacher support index	Min (1); Max (5)	2.91** (0.93)	n.s.	n.s.	0.54** (0.12)
N.		449			
R2		0.46			

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age, gender and city of residence (Vienna versus Linz).

Table A19 Multinomial logistic regression predicting education pathways, second-generation Turks in France (odds ratios)

		France		
		Straight academic route	**Short academic route**	**Upward vocational route**
		42%	**12%**	**8%**
		Ref.: Vocational route/Early school leaver		
Parents' education levels	No/primary(1); Tertiary(5)	1.30* (0.14)	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of father and mother	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Parental support index	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of siblings	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Sibling support index	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of peers	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Peer group diversity (best friends)	All Turkish origin (0); All native origin(1)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
No. of native peers in school	None (1); Most (5)	1.41** (0.18)	n.s.	1.73** (0.36)
Peers without a diploma	Yes (1); No(0)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of teachers	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	1.60* (0.12)
Teacher support index	Min (1); Max (5)	1.72** (0.28)	1.85** (0.43)	ns
N.		492		
R2		0.32		

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age, gender and city of residence (Paris versus Strasbourg).

Table A20 Multinomial logistic regression predicting education pathways, second-generation Turks in Sweden (odds ratios)

		Sweden		
		Straight academic route	**Short academic route**	**Upward vocational route**
		39%	**10%**	**16%**
		Ref.: Vocational route/Early school leaver		
Parental educational levels	No/primary(1); Tertiary(5)	1.10*	n.s.	n.s.
		(0.12)		
Importance of father and mother	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Parental support index	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of siblings	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Sibling support index	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of peers	Min (1); Max (5)	1.68**	n.s.	n.s.
		(0.32)		
Peer group diversity (best friends)	All Turkish origin (0); All native origin(1)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
No. of native peers in school	None (1); Most (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Peers without a diploma	Yes (1); No(0)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of teachers	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	0.56*	n.s.
			(0.16)	
Teacher support index	Min (1); Max (5)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
N.		251		
R2		0.24		

Source: TIES 2007-2008
Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Levels of significance: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. n.s.=Not significant. All models are controlled for age and gender.

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