This is a definitive volume on educational inequalities among children of Turkish immigrants in Austria, France and Sweden. Turks are one of the largest immigrant groups in these countries. Nonetheless, they face discrimination and limited opportunities, and this study shows how those problems play out in education. One of its key findings is that systems that provide more favourable institutional arrangements lead to greater economic mobility in the second generation.

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“This methodologically sophisticated dissection of the roots of educational disadvantage among the children of Turkish immigrants in Austria, France, and Sweden subtly probes the interplay of family background, school experience, and educational systems. It gives us the clearest picture yet of what counts, when, and why.”
— John Mollenkopf, [Distinguished Professor, City University of New York Graduate Center]

“The range of quantitative methods utilized in order to adopt different analytical angles is impressive ... A clear contribution to the field.”
— Can M. Aybek, Bremen University of Applied Sciences

“Of great interest not only to migration scholars and specialists in the education of children of migrant origin, but also to researchers in the sociology of education and others concerned with education in general.”
— Rosa Aparicio Gómez, Instituto Universitario de Investigación José Ortega y Gasset
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Vienna, February 2014
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: 228).
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

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

*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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Second-generation Turks</th>
<th>Comparison group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Linz</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strasbourg</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>2nd generation Turks</th>
<th>Comparison group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender distribution in %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria Vienna</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linz</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France Paris</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strasbourg</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden Stockholm</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age (mean) in years

- Austria Vienna: 23.4
- Linz: 24.6
- France Paris: 22.3
- Strasbourg: 24.3
- Sweden Stockholm: 25.7

Age (mean) std dev.

- Austria Vienna: 4.7
- Linz: 5.0
- France Paris: 4.2
- Strasbourg: 4.6
- Sweden Stockholm: 4.7

N.

- Austria Vienna: 143
- Linz: 102
- France Paris: 121
- Strasbourg: 97
- Sweden Stockholm: 124

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1.4  Levels of comparison conducted in this study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit of comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Outcomes of second-generation Turks compared to the comparison group in each city/country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Outcomes of second-generation Turks across cities/countries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.