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**Title of thesis:** Educational mobility of second-generation Turks in cross-national perspective

***Summary***

There is a substantial body of literature which looks at educational inequalities among different ethnic origin groups in north-west Europe, and at the varying degrees of educational mobility among the children of immigrants. Considerable attention has been devoted to the children of Turkish immigrants because Turks are one of the largest immigrant groups and among the most disadvantaged groups in terms of education. Although the patterns of disadvantage are evident in most countries, first comparative studies point to remarkable variations from one country to another in the extent of the disadvantages faced by second-generation Turks. However, neither the precise scale of the differences in educational mobility, nor the reason for the cross-border variations, is at all clear. Current research tends to focus primarily on differences in levels of achievement between second-generation Turks and the majority groups in their various countries. Other studies that do examine cross-national variations often pay little attention to the role played by variations in the institutional arrangements of the different countries' education systems. If they address this issue at all, they often reach conflicting results that leave both empirical lacunae and unanswered questions. This dissertation asks *what causes variations in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks* across three European countries and five cities, namely Sweden (Stockholm), France (Paris and Strasbourg) and Austria (Vienna and Linz)?

Educational mobility is studied initially by analysing educational attainment at the aggregated level. This study then goes on to investigate educational pathways in order to shed light on the processes of educational mobility. In addition to this twofold approach, the analysis takes a multitude of other factors into consideration in seeking to explain differences in the degree of educational mobility of second-generation Turks across the three countries and five cities being compared. The analysis presented in this study is based on the TIES survey, a collection of data about the children of immigrants from Turkey (as well as from former Yugoslavia and Morocco) in 15 European cities in eight countries, which was carried out between 2007 and 2008. From the pool of available countries participating in TIES, Austria, France and Sweden have been selected as suitable 'cases' for comparison based on a so called 'diverse case study design'. Sweden has an education system with late selection and full-day teaching. By contrast, the Austrian education system has early selection and half-day teaching. Finally, France has been selected as a third case for this comparison. Although its

education system is similar to the Swedish one, a number of national studies have revealed that the French education system may also have ‘selective moments’, making it an interesting contrasting case. In all three countries (and their five cities), the samples of second-generation Turks and a comparison group (age mates whose parents were both born in the survey country) are used for comparison. Taken together, the empirical analyses of this study are based on a total sample of 2,294 respondents.

Beginning with a first glance on educational outcomes, my investigation of absolute differences between second-generation Turks across the three countries revealed that the size of the group of high achievers (those with post-secondary education or higher) is twice as high in France and Sweden as it is in Austria. At the same time, the highest percentage of early school leavers (those with primary and lower-secondary education at most) among the Turkish second generation was found in the Austrian cities. The relative comparison between second-generation Turks and the comparison group across the three countries and five cities showed that differences in educational attainment were most pronounced at the lowest and the highest ends of the education ladders in Austria and France. In both countries, such comparative attainment differences were higher overall than in Sweden. These attainment differences are mirrored in the analysis of educational pathways. In general, second-generation Turks are academically more disadvantaged than the comparison group because they are more likely to attend less-academic tracks at school, and so are less often found in the academically orientated tracks that lead to tertiary education. These relative differences in educational pathways are most pronounced in the Austrian education system. They can be seen clearly in France, and they are least pronounced in the Swedish education system.

In order to explain these differences, I argue throughout this dissertation that on the one hand it is important to consider a number of specific institutional arrangements within each education system, which together form country-specific institutional constellations. On the other hand, such institutional arrangements shape to a great extent the interactions with individual level factors and resources, such as family resources, peers and teachers. These varying interactions and thus the influence of the latter factors on educational attainment are shown by the material of the three country cases, as follows:

In the Austrian case, the main components of the Austrian institutional constellation are the late starting age of pre-schooling, the early segregation into different ability tracks (at the age of ten), a low degree of permeability between education tracks after the early tracking, and a half-day teaching system in compulsory education.

The impact of this institutional constellation on the early stages of a student's education leads to greater interaction with family resources. Parents are (and have to be) important agents in this early period in supporting their children's learning and making school choices. The outcomes of the Austrian case confirm the specific relevance of the parents' educational backgrounds in such an early selection process. Children of less-educated parents are frequently streamed into less-academic tracks in lower-secondary education. This is particularly true for second-generation Turks who are more often tracked into the lower stream because they originate in higher numbers from less-educated families and this early selection determines to a large extent their subsequent educational pathways.

The significance of within-family resources is also related to the half-day schooling system that persists throughout the compulsory education years. The responsibility to learn is transferred to the parental home and to the students' leisure time, which makes parental involvement and support significantly more important for students in terms of learning and homework. Although the relevance of family support can be seen for all students in the Austrian system, family support is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group.

While family resources are especially important in the early phase of schooling, outside-family agents and related resources become more important later. In order to climb to the top of the educational ladder, access to the resources provided by non-immigrant peer networks, as well as to the support offered by teachers, become crucial for the children of Turkish immigrants in Austria. In particular, the support of teachers in upper-secondary education is of great importance for second-generation Turks if they are not to abandon their academic careers before entering post-secondary or tertiary education.

The Austrian education system offers the option of moving upwards at the end of lower-secondary education to students who have been placed in the vocational stream after primary school. In this context, non-immigrant peers are important if a student is to move upwards at this stage, because second-generation Turks on the vocational path usually come from less-educated families who are rarely equipped with the knowledge or resources to support them in the upward process. Best friends outside the family become the major source of information and support. But the low percentage of second-generation Turks who finally move upwards indicates that the support provided by the peer group is not adequate in very many cases.

In France, important components of the institutional constellation in the early phases are an early pre-school starting age, full-day pre-school services, guaranteed pre-school places,

and a full-day comprehensive compulsory schooling system – characteristics that altogether lead to relatively few interactions with family resources, as compared to Austria. Also, supplementary help from family members is regarded as less important because this type of support is institutionalized in the education system. The orientation process that determines selection into upper-secondary education is the single most crucial institutional arrangement for French students. Although this first selection happens relatively late, the orientation process involves a moderate degree of interaction with a number of individual-level factors. Firstly, having higher educated parents still increases the chances of students being streamed into academic tracks. This correlation between tracking decisions and parents' educational backgrounds explains to a large extent why there are unequal continuation rates into the academic track for second-generation Turks and their comparison group. Secondly, teachers, and the support and advice they provide, are crucial at this stage in streaming students upwards towards the academic tracks. Finally, the ethnic composition of peers in school matters a great deal for second-generation Turks at this point. Selection into different types of upper-secondary tracks through this orientation process determines to a large extent the educational pathways students will follow.

Another important feature of the French institutional constellation is the chance for an upward transfer from the vocational route towards post-secondary and tertiary education. The late opportunity for an upward transfer interacts less strongly, however, with family resources. Instead, the number of native peers in the vocational school and the support provided by teachers are the most important factors for second-generation Turks being able to acquire the relevant certificate and enter post-secondary and tertiary education by this route.

In Sweden, the institutional constellation is composed of full-day pre-school services which children can attend from two years upwards, and an integrated track from primary school until the end of lower-secondary education, with full-day teaching. The first allocation into different tracks comes at the transition into upper-secondary education (at the age of fifteen or sixteen). Other important elements are the high degree of permeability between tracks in upper-secondary education, and the possibility of entering post-secondary/tertiary education from all upper-secondary tracks (both academic and vocational). Routine full-day schooling leads to fewer interactions with individual-level factors and makes family resources less relevant in the educational mobility of the study groups. Even at the first transition point, before entering academic or vocational tracks in upper-secondary education, family characteristics (such as parents' education or the availability of additional educational resources) are unimportant because the transition is not linked to a specific differentiation

process. As a result, second-generation Turks enter academically orientated tracks in numbers similar to the comparison group, irrespective of family background.

Moreover, the high degree of permeability between tracks, and the fluid links between the upper-secondary tracks and post-secondary and tertiary education, means individual-level factors are of minor relevance to the educational mobility of second-generation Turks. Interactions with individual-level factors appear only at the highest end of the Swedish education system. Students with less-educated parents leave the education system more often than they continue. This is particularly true of second-generation Turks because they come in higher numbers from less-educated families. Apart from parents' education levels, peers are perceived as the most important influences on second-generation Turks in this schooling phase.

The findings of my study highlight the fact that explaining cross-national differences in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks cannot be limited to a single set of factors. Two elements are involved in the mobility process: children of Turkish immigrants, with their own individual characteristics, family backgrounds, and relationships with important agents such as peers and teachers; and the countries' education systems, each with their particular institutional arrangements. It is the interaction between the two that determines the direction, and the ultimate outcome, of the educational mobility process. But education systems, in terms of their institutional arrangements and the way they determine the relevance of individual-level factors, matter more for the outcome of this process. Those systems that provide more-favourable institutional arrangements make the educational mobility of second-generation Turks less dependent on individual-level factors and resources, thus leading to greater educational achievement. The examination of these interactions throughout a student's entire education highlights the favourable and unfavourable institutional settings that are relevant in terms of grasping variations in educational mobility in a cross-national comparison.