

The European Second Generation Compared

Does the Integration Context Matter?

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5 School careers of second-generation youth in Europe

Which education systems provide the best chances for success?

Maurice Crul, Philipp Schnell, Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, Maren Wilmes, Marieke Sloomman and Rosa Aparicio Gómez

5.1 Introduction

We begin this chapter with some profiles of respondents to the TIES survey, namely, three young women of Turkish descent living in Paris, Frankfurt and Amsterdam. The women's parents all came from small villages in the countryside of Yozgat, a province in central Turkey, which is a major sending area for Turkish emigrants. The mothers had all gone only to primary school, while the fathers each had attended an additional few years of secondary school. These stories exemplify differences in school careers for young second-generation Turkish women in the different European cities we studied.

First there is Kaya, an unmarried Turkish-French woman who was 22 years old at the time of the TIES survey in France. Living in Paris, at age three, she went to *école maternelle*,¹ followed by the local primary school where, according to her estimation, half the children came from immigrant families.² She never had to repeat a year and, at age eleven, continued on to a *collège*, a lower secondary school, in her neighbourhood. In this school, three quarters of the children were of immigrant descent. Again, she did not have to repeat years and obtained her BEPC diploma, after which she continued in the first year of a *lycée technologique*, an upper secondary school. At age seventeen, she received her baccalaureate degree and then moved on to a higher vocational education institution where, at age 21, she got her Bachelor's degree. At that point, Kaya stopped her studies because, as she put it, she was satisfied with her results. Upon leaving school, she was first unemployed, though after eight months she found a professional job as a social worker. Kaya represents a large group of female respondents of Turkish descent in our Paris survey.

Turning to Frankfurt, we meet Aysa, a Turkish-German twenty year old at the time of the TIES survey in Germany. Aysa did not go to *Kindergarten* and so only began school at age six. She went to a neighbourhood primary school in which about three quarters of the children were from immigrant families. She repeated a year once and thus finished primary school at age eleven. She received no recommendation for a specific track and went to *Hauptschule* for lower vocational education, which she completed, getting her diploma at age sixteen. At that point, she did get a recommendation for *Fachoberschule*, an upper secondary vocational track. Instead, she chose to leave school altogether. Marriage was the reason Aysa gave for not continuing her studies. An actual marriage, to her cousin, took place two years after she left school. Before starting her own family, she did household work at her parents' home. At the time of the survey, she had no job and was taking care of her first child. Aysa represents a considerable group of Turkish second-generation women in the Frankfurt sample.

Fatma, a Turkish-Dutch young woman from Amsterdam, was also twenty at the time of the TIES survey in the Netherlands. She did not go to preschool and began school at age four. Fatma went to her neighbourhood primary school in which half of the children were of immigrant descent. She did not repeat any years and left primary school at age twelve. Her school's recommendation was to attend *MAVO*, the middle-level track of lower secondary school. She followed this advice, obtaining her *MAVO* diploma at age sixteen without any delay. Fatma then got a recommendation to continue on to *MBO*, middle vocational education, during which she completed a three-year course and, by age nineteen, graduated. Although she was advised to continue on to *HBO*, higher vocational education, she instead left school. Like Aysa, Fatma's reason for not continuing was marriage. Fatma found a job immediately after leaving school and subsequently got married. At the time of the survey she was working part-time.

Education is one of the most crucial indicators for assessing the overall position of the second generation. This chapter thus presents an overview of the survey's main educational findings for the Turkish, Moroccan and former Yugoslavian second generation and for the children of native parentage (the comparison group) in each of the fifteen cities we researched. We compare school results for each ethnic group across countries and cities and investigate educational gaps with the comparison group. We find large variation *across* the different second-generation groups, *within* the second-generation groups in different cities and between the second generation and the youth of native parentage. The differences among the Turkish groups across countries and cities are especially interesting and surprisingly large.

The second part of the chapter focuses on comparing second-generation Turkish respondents across thirteen European cities whose parents have similar low educational backgrounds (having completed, at most, lower secondary school). We use the theoretical framework and methodology of the internationally comparative *integration context theory* introduced in chapter 2 in order to explain differences in school level outcomes in and among countries and cities (see also Crul & Schneider 2010). Our point of departure, based on distinctions made by Kerckhoff (2001; see also Crul & Vermeulen 2006; Werfhorst & Mijs 2010), was to assume that more open educational systems in countries like Sweden and France (Alba & Silberman 2011; Alba & Fournier 2007; Bayram 2009; Brinbaum & Ceballobada 2007; Kirszbaum 2009; Meurs 2008; Penn & Lambert 2009; Simon 2003; Westin 2003) are better suited to include the children of Turkish immigrants in higher education than the more stratified school systems of Germany and Austria (Bacher 2003, 2005; Faist 1995; Heckmann, Penn & Schnapper 2001; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 2005, 2007; Unterwurzacher 2007; Weiss 2007; Worbs 2003). Belgium and the Netherlands, with their more mixed systems, would fall somewhere in between (Crul & Doornik 2003; Crul & Vermeulen 2006; Crul & Schneider 2009; Dagevos et al. 2007; Phalet & Heath 2010; Neels 2000; Timmerman, Vanderwaeren & Crul 2003). We also assumed that more vocationally oriented systems would probably do a better job retaining this more vulnerable group in the educational system (Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Kerckhoff 2001). Our empirical data do indeed show a strong effect of the integration context. The outcomes, however, show a much more complex reality than we predicted based on these general school system characteristics.

The main differences in school level outcomes between countries and cities are found at both ends of the educational ladder. For this reason, we made a typology based on the percentages of early school leavers and the percentages of higher education students. We roughly distinguish four types of outcomes: *fast upward mobility* (second-generation Turks in Stockholm and Paris); *polarisation* (second-generation Turks in the two Dutch cities, Brussels and Strasbourg, comprising a large group that experiences fast upward mobility yet simultaneously quits education too soon to qualify for a professional diploma); *slow mobility* (second-generation Turks in the two Swiss cities, where the main trend is to pursue apprenticeships without a strong upward trend towards mobility); and *low mobility* (second-generation Turks in the two German cities, the two Austrian cities and Antwerp, where three quarters of students are either in the apprenticeship system or leave school early). We show that the four different outcomes are the result of interaction between varying school system characteristics and attributes typical of Turkish parents with low levels of education. On the negative side, this includes the challenge of providing children practical help with their homework; positively, we see how some parents

have a strong drive to push their children ahead through education (see also Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova 2008; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters & Holdaway 2008). To unravel the complex puzzle of different school outcomes at the two extremes – early school leaving and higher education attendance – we analyse what opportunities schools offer to second-generation Turkish students as well as what they demand in terms of parental involvement in school. We evaluate this at the three most important selection and transition points in education: the transition from primary to secondary education and, more specifically, selection between academic and vocational tracks in secondary school; the transition to apprenticeships; and the transition to tertiary education. How the transition to apprenticeships is organised is important when studying outcomes of the early school leaving indicator. Across the countries, we also find that differences in tertiary education attendance are brought to light by opportunities and problems that students encounter when entering tertiary education, be it via an academic or a vocational track.

5.2 Educational systems

National educational systems are, apart from educating, thought to serve two purposes in modern nation-states. One is cultural and political homogenisation; the other is social stratification. In the first instance, differences in the population stemming from a person's family background and individual personality should be diminished in order to create a national culture, a common understanding of citizenship and civil society (see Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastoryano & Vertovec 2004). In the second instance, educational institutions serve as a 'sorting machine' to stratify a society's population (see Kerckhoff 2001). Western European societies, such as those covered in our research, have highly comparable distributions of occupations. The entrance ticket into the labour market is usually an individual's educational credentials. Interestingly enough, educational credentials are often more difficult to compare across countries than occupations. Differences in the type of credentials are expressive of institutional structures' national variation, something which shapes the educational process.³

This section concentrates on three elements that all the analysed school systems share and on three that quite differ. Starting with the commonalities, we discuss: 1) compulsory education, 2) the three sequential steps of primary, secondary and tertiary education and 3) a differentiation between vocational and academic tracks.⁴

Every school system has a compulsory phase aimed at securing the basic skills individuals need to survive in society and, quoting from the World Declaration on Education for All, to supposedly '... develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to

improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning' (Eurydice 2002a: 13). While all countries have compulsory schooling,⁵ their starting age ranges from five to seven, and the number of requisite years ranges from nine to twelve. To illustrate, this means that compulsory education ends at age fifteen in Austria, at age fifteen or sixteen in Switzerland and Germany, at age sixteen in Spain, France and Sweden and at age eighteen in the Netherlands and Belgium (Eurydice 2010a).

Another structural characteristic all national educational systems share is the division into primary, secondary and tertiary education. While primary education is compulsory in all systems, secondary education is obligatory only up to a certain age. Primary education consists of four to eight years of schooling. Consequently, secondary education starts and also ends at different ages. In most countries, secondary school is divided into a lower and an upper secondary part. Whereas lower secondary education is often referred to as the second stage of basic education,⁶ the degree of specialisation in upper secondary education increases. The last of the three main divisions is tertiary or higher education, usually starting at age eighteen or nineteen.

A third dimension found in all national educational systems is a division into programmes or tracks that are either more practically or more theoretically oriented. As we will see later, how the vocational track is incorporated into the school system logic differs a lot across countries. To cite the two extremes: on one end, there is no differentiation in the upper secondary education degree, as is the case in Sweden where everyone gets a *gymnasie* diploma, no matter which courses he or she has taken. On the other end, there are the German-speaking countries, which differentiate students at age ten according to tracks, thus resulting in highly differing final degrees. Such a system is mostly geared to effectively place students into the labour market. A student's credentials in this system closely predict his or her future position in the labour market.

We now turn to *differences between educational systems*. Though we acknowledge their importance, we do not discuss at length the number of contact hours in school (preschool and half-day versus whole-day schooling); the degree of curriculum standardisation, if there are obligatory financial contributions for the parents; or the topic of private versus public schools. The following paragraphs do, however, discuss three topics that emerged as being most important in our comparison: 1) the age at which children first become involved in educational institutions, 2) the pathways through the system and 3) the nature and effects of the tracking systems.

Starting age of compulsory schooling and preschool attendance

The age at which compulsory school begins varies by country, as does the extent of most children's previous experience with public education. Most countries in the TIES survey begin primary school at age six, with the exceptions of the Netherlands, being at age five, and Sweden, at age seven. The decisive difference, however, lies in early childhood education and care. While Sweden *requires* schooling only at age seven, in 2006, 78 per cent of all Swedish children aged 1-3 were in fact in some sort of preschool institution (Eurydice 2010b: 3). In France, the compulsory schooling starting age is six, but in 2007-2008, all children aged 3-6 (and 23 per cent of children aged two) attended nursery school (Eurydice France 2009a: 2). Even in the Netherlands where the compulsory starting age is five, in 2008, 99 per cent of all four year olds attended primary school (Eurydice Netherlands 2009b: 2). In Germany and Austria, the percentage of children aged 3-6 in institutions of education and preschool was reported to be 91 per cent for 2009 and 94 per cent for 2010 (Eurydice 2011: 76; Statistik Austria 2011: 23). Interestingly, in 2005-2006, only 66 per cent of all three year olds in Austria were in a care facility (Statistik Austria 2011: 23), thus being much less than the share of even younger children in Sweden. While there is now increasing convergence in the TIES countries towards more – and earlier – inclusion of young children in institutions of education and care, we see much greater diversity in the past, including those years in which our respondents were at the corresponding ages. As a reminder, our data is collected from young adults between eighteen and 35 years old who would have attended early childhood education and care facilities from 1970 to 1990.

Preschool facilities across countries have different purposes and missions, which are reflected in the very terms used to name them. In Austria and Germany, they are *Kindergärten*. Spain refers to them as 'children's education'. France calls them 'maternal schools'. The Netherlands sends young children to 'basic education'. In Sweden, they are known as 'preschools'. In countries like France, their *educational* role is explicit and enforced. In others, including Austria and Germany, day care was not understood as falling within the educational realm until recently, and it is not the Ministry of Education that oversees this. These differences also reflect national cultures and perceptions regarding the better environment for young children – either the family or an institutional education – and this view is also reflected in whether or not parents tend to place their children in a public institution before compulsory schooling. Based on the TIES data, we see that immigrant families completely adjust to the institutional structure and behaviour prevalent in their immigration country.

The way through the system

It is clear from the countries presented in this chapter that the transition from one year to another, or from one level to another, also varies considerably. In the German-speaking countries, the transition from one year to another is not automatic, but actually tied to subject-specific grades. If proficiency in one or more subjects is deemed insufficient at the end of the year, the student can be held back from advancing to the next year. The student then has little choice but to repeat the year (or leave that school for another, where the student may try to advance to the next year or enter into another, usually lower, level of education). If he or she has already completed the requisite years of schooling, the student can exit the educational system altogether. In some countries, the likelihood of repeating a year for students with a migration background is significantly higher than for students without one.⁷ Some will consequently fulfil the obligatory number of years of attending compulsory schooling before having even reached the final year in lower secondary school. On leaving, they have no valid school certificate beyond that of primary school. While in Belgium repeating a year is a regular phenomenon, in the Netherlands it is less so, especially in primary school. In France, a student's performance evaluation only takes place at the end of a completed stage (for instance, lower secondary school), and the teacher's decision for a student to repeat a year can be appealed by parents (Eurydice 2009a: 4). In Sweden, on the other hand, repeating a year of compulsory schooling does not exist.

Another difference in the way through the system is the transfer from one phase to the next: primary to lower secondary; lower secondary to upper secondary or vocational training; and upper secondary to vocational training, the labour market or tertiary education. There are four main models for these transfers (see Eurydice 2002a: 13). The first can be described as 'no requirements', i.e. transfer is more or less automatic, such as in Sweden where primary and lower secondary educations together form one structure called the *grundskola*. In the second model, a phase must be completed before the student can advance to the next, as is the case with the transfer from primary to lower secondary in France and Spain. The third model holds that a phase must be completed and educational recommendation must be issued by a teacher or another school official who designates the specific kind of school the student should attend next, as is the case in the Netherlands, Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The fourth model requires a specific certificate for students to proceed, as is the case in Belgium's transition from primary to lower secondary school. We will return to the element of selectivity connected to this transfer in some systems, i.e. the so-called tracking method.

The way the transfer from lower secondary to upper secondary or vocational training is organised also differs a lot across countries. In Sweden,

the transition from lower to upper secondary schooling happens more or less automatically. In other countries, one needs information and personal contacts to navigate the transition successfully. Placement in academic upper secondary schools is sometimes competitive and, for placement in the vocational education and training sector (VET), an apprenticeship is sometimes necessary. Each year sees many more applications for apprenticeships than actual places are available. This puts children of immigrants, especially, in a disadvantaged position.

Tracking

As described in the beginning of this section, educational systems have two main functions in the modern nation-state: homogenisation and stratification. While primary school mostly performs the task of cultural homogenisation, the secondary and tertiary phases essentially act as sorting machines for the labour market. One of the most important mechanisms in this is tracking. Though we emphasise the role of formal tracking throughout the chapter, we are aware of the fact that there is also informal tracking in educational systems, be it in the way courses are combined, or simply by virtue of the prestige of an individual school.⁸

Tracking formally or informally groups children into separate classes or schools through its various emphases on academic or more vocationally oriented knowledge. The allocation process is based on test results or the recommendations of teachers. Tracks usually determine opportunities to access subsequent educational or training institutions and to specific segments of the labour market. The idea behind tracks is twofold: first, for optimal teaching results the learning abilities of children in a single class should be as equal as possible; second, separate tracks are believed to appropriately prepare students for more or less determined sections of the labour market. In the German-speaking countries, the vocational specificity of the opportunities afforded by the school system is most pronounced. At the other end of the spectrum, Sweden has no tracking until the end of compulsory schooling. In between is a continuum, with the Netherlands closer to the German-speaking countries and Belgium closer to France and Sweden.

In half the survey countries, the first selection happens at the lower secondary level. Especially in the German-speaking countries, the allocation to different routes happens very early, at age ten. The exception is in Berlin, where the first selection happens at age twelve, as is the case in the Netherlands. The detrimental effect of early selection on the full development of students' potentials and subsequent prospects has been repeatedly proven (e.g. OECD 2005: 50-62), though it must be noted that there is also variation across countries with early selection. Among the countries in our survey with differentiated lower secondary education in different schools,

the least differentiation is found in Austria, having only two tracks using the same curriculum. All the others have had three or even more. The number and designation of tracks have an impact on the pathways later on. In Austria, the permeability between the two tracks in lower secondary is not particularly large; after completion of the non-academic track, however, many students choose to continue in education streams that do give access to university. In countries where the least demanding track is one out of three or four possibilities, streaming into tertiary education is usually low.

In the German-speaking countries there are four separate paths of vocational education and training (VET), with varying contents and credentials. In Austria, 80 per cent of young people in tenth grade attend a vocational education or training path, which proves how attractive it is to students (Tritscher-Archan 2009: 26). In 2005, 61 per cent of young people in Germany were reported as enrolled in VET (OECD 2005). One of the VET paths is the apprenticeship system,⁹ which comprises 40 per cent of sixteen- to eighteen-year-old Austrians (Tritscher-Archan 2009: 30) and two thirds of the youngsters at the post-compulsory level in Switzerland (Moret & Fibbi 2006: 11). The high proportion of young adults here conveys how central these tracks are for the German-speaking countries. In the non-German-speaking countries it is mainly children with learning and/or behavioural problems who are recommended for these tracks. In bigger cities, these tracks are highly segregated, often catering to a majority of immigrant students. These tracks usually carry little prestige and students sometimes only stay in them to comply with compulsory schooling regulations (Moldenhawer, Miera, Kallstenius, Messing & Schiff 2009: 8). It is a challenge to compare the various kinds of vocational training across European countries, since their schooling experiences differ highly and lead to different positions in the labour market.

5.3 Educational positions of the TIES respondents

Overview of school level outcomes

We first describe the last or – should the respondent still have been in school at the time of the survey – current educational status of the TIES respondents.¹⁰ Because our survey group is between eighteen and 35 years old, a substantial number of the young adults is still in some sort of education. In many countries this is particularly the case for our second-generation respondents. The number of students still in school, however, varies not only among groups, but also for the same ethnic groups across cities. To give an example: while more than half the Turkish respondents in Paris were still enrolled in education, this only applied to 10 per cent of their counterparts in Berlin. This disparity can be attributed in part to the varying age distribution across the countries and in part to the differing average

Table 5.1 TIES respondents still in school (in %, N), by city and group

Country	City	Turkish second generation	N	Moroccan second generation	N	Former Yugoslavian second generation	N	Comparison group	N
Austria	Vienna	19.0	54			13.8	36	25.1	74
	Linz	29.6	70			17.0	71	27.4	73
Belgium	Brussels	23.2	59	34.8	81			39.0	104
	Antwerp	20.7	74	16.1	49			16.7	40
Switzerland	Zurich	37.2	79			29.7	77	44.9	82
	Basel	45.0	104			42.6	84	38.0	102
Germany	Berlin	10.6	26			11.6	34	14.7	36
	Frankfurt	14.7	41			11.7	29	9.5	27
Spain	Madrid			33.2	83			42.4	106
	Barcelona			26.8	67			31.6	79
France	Paris	60.0	139					28.0	54
	Strasbourg	31.1	77					40.0	67
Netherlands	Amsterdam	47.1	98	54.8	120			34.8	93
	Rotterdam	39.5	98	53.3	135			31.0	79
Sweden	Stockholm	22.7	50					20.9	47

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

length of educational careers across cities. In France, more second-generation Turks continue into post-secondary education; in Germany, many stop after completing lower vocational education (*Hauptschule* or *Realschule*). This, of course, has an effect on the percentages of students who are still in school. As we see in table 5.1, this effect is also notable in the comparison group, i.e. the children of native parentage.

With about a third of respondents still in school, it is not easy to assess the educational position of the second generation. If we simply exclude those still in school, we arrive at a serious underestimation of school outcomes because many are still enrolled, particularly those pursuing higher education. It is those students who had already left school at the time of the survey who more often have short educational careers. For instance, if we consider only the results of those who had already left school in France, we find that almost a quarter has achieved a diploma from *collège* (lower secondary school) or less. But if we look at those respondents still in education, we find that only one person was still in *collège*. At 68 per cent, the overwhelming majority was in post-secondary or tertiary education. To do justice to both trends, we include the highest-level diploma for those who had already left school and the present educational level for those who were still in school.¹¹

As such, the results presented in tables 5.2 a through c differ to certain degrees from national survey results that are solely based on acquired school diplomas (e.g. Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boada 2007; Alba et al. 2007).

Table 5.2a Educational level (in %) of second-generation Turks, by city

Educational level	Austria		Belgium		Switzerland		Germany		France		The Netherlands		Sweden	
	Vienna	Linz	Brussels	Antwerp	Zurich	Basel	Berlin	Frankfurt	Paris	Strasbourg	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Stockholm	Stockholm
Primary and similar	4.8	2.9	6.6	6.6	1.0	1.0	3.3	1.1	3.7	6.7	2.7	10.8	n.a.	n.a.
Special secondary education	0.0	0.5	7.4	7.7	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.2	n.a.	n.a.
Lower secondary	19.9	14.6	11.6	14.6	11.5	17.3	22.7	17.5	n.a.	n.a.	11.2	8.4	n.a.	n.a.
Vocational track	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	2.0	0.4	0.3	6.1	12.2	1.4	2.0	9.8	n.a.
Integrated track	0.0	0.0	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	0.0	6.3	8.9	n.a.	n.a.	10.0	8.6	n.a.	n.a.
Middle track	4.8	2.4	13.8	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	0.0	n.a.	n.a.
Highest level track	36.3	36.2	11.8	14.9	9.6	11.2	50.2	59.5	23.1	31.1	8.0	13.3	n.a.	n.a.
Short middle vocational education or apprenticeship														
Upper secondary vocational track or apprenticeship (3 or 4 years)			8.5	12.3	51.1	47.8			10.8	17.2	33.6	27.1	27.7	
Upper secondary academic track	19.9	19.0	11.6	5.2	11.0	9.9	9.0	5.5	4.7	3.9	1.5	1.0	29.1	
Post-upper secondary and tertiary	4.4	7.3	17.2	24.4	6.6	4.3	n.a.	n.a.	18.5	17.4	19.2	20.8	17.8	
Higher vocational education or academia														
University	10.0	16.1	11.5	6.9	9.2	6.6	6.7	6.7	33.0	11.7	10.8	6.8	15.6	
N	252	206	236	349	206	248	253	250	248	252	237	263	251	

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Table 5.2b Educational level (in %) of second-generation Moroccans, by city

Educational level	Belgium		Spain		The Netherlands	
	Brussels	Antwerp	Madrid	Barcelona	Amsterdam	Rotterdam
Primary and similar	6.9	5.2	7.2	18.2	6.0	8.6
	1.4	2.3			1.3	0.4
Lower secondary	6.1	10.3			8.6	7.6
	n.a.	n.a.	37.4	29.0	0.0	1.2
	n.a.	n.a.			8.1	7.6
	9.6	5.5			0.0	0.0
Post-lower secondary and upper secondary	11.8	26.5	14.0	15.6	12.3	9.5
	9.7	19.2	10.6	11.2	28.7	37.0
	15.2	4.7	24.4	13.0	1.5	0.8
Post-upper secondary and tertiary	30.2	20.3	2.6	5.2	24.6	19.8
	9.0	6.1	3.8	7.8	7.3	7.4
	309	240	235	231	242	251

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Table 5.2c Educational level (in %) of second-generation former Yugoslavians, by city

Educational level	Austria		Switzerland		Germany	
	Vienna	Linz	Zurich	Basel	Berlin	Frankfurt
Primary and similar	3.6	2.0	0.4	0.9	2.9	0.9
	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0
Lower secondary	12.6	3.6	6.9	7.2	10.8	8.1
	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.4
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4	3.2	4.7
	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Post-lower secondary and upper secondary	39.5	61.1	8.9	5.0	65.5	66.9
			62.7	57.6		
Post-upper secondary and tertiary	16.6	16.7	10.2	10.6	8.6	6.7
	14.2	4.8	2.4	5.0	0.0	0.0
	11.1	11.1	8.5	12.3	8.3	12.4
N	253	242	234	190	202	204

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Table 5.2d Educational level (in %) of comparison group, by city

Educational level	Austria		Belgium		Switzerland		Germany		Spain		France		The Netherlands		Sweden
	Vienna	Linz	Brussels	Antwerp	Zurich	Basel	Berlin	Frankfurt	Madrid	Barcelona	Paris	Strasbourg	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Stockholm
Primary and similar	0.8	1.7	0.9	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.1	4.0	9.0	1.2	0.2	1.5	1.5	
Special secondary education	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	
Lower secondary	7.2	4.7	6.5	5.2	4.3	4.8	6.7	5.7			n.a.	n.a.	1.9	8.4	n.a.
Vocational track	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.5	16.6	22.7	3.4	1.0	0.4	0.4	3.9
Integrated track	0.4	2.1	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	0.7	7.6	1.7			n.a.	n.a.	2	4.3	n.a.
Middle track	5.2	0.9	7.1	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			n.a.	n.a.	0	0.0	n.a.
Highest level track															
Post-lower secondary and upper secondary	28.3	26	1.5	6.4	3.7	2.6	42	67.5	7.7	11.6	15.7	13.1	5.7	5.5	n.a.
Short middle vocational education or apprenticeship															
Upper secondary vocational track or apprenticeship (3 or 4 years)			7.9	13.9	37.2	34.0			13.0	9.4	8.2	11.1	14.7	20.6	21.2
Upper secondary academic track	23.5	31.6	16.3	6.5	20.7	17.3	9.7	4.9	38.9	23.6	6.0	4.7	5.0	2.3	15.5
Post-upper secondary and tertiary	8.0	9.0	28.5	44.6	8.1	6.1	0.5	0.5	2.8	5.2	11.3	11.0	27.5	28.7	15.3
Higher vocational education or academia															
University	26.7	23.5	30.9	15.1	26.0	34.1	21.4	17.0	17.0	18.5	54.2	58.9	40.6	28.1	44.1
N	250	234	252	301	202	262	250	253	247	233	174	177	259	253	250

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

To continue with our French example, more than half of Paris' second-generation Turks, as shown in table 5.2 a, are in the post-secondary education category (because we include those who were at the time still studying in post-secondary education), though less than a quarter already possessed a post-secondary diploma. Using the highest diploma as the only indicator results would thus overlook an important aspect of this age cohort's reality.

The four tables detail the educational levels our respondents have attained. To enable a comparison across the fifteen cities, we devised a coding system specifically for this dataset.¹² The codes are constructed to do justice to both the variation across school systems and the comparability across the countries in this study. The results shown are weighted according to group characteristics (age and gender) at the city level. For Germany and Austria – though not for Switzerland – we had to combine students from both short and longer apprenticeship tracks because they could not be separated out.

The tables uncover some of the differences in school systems across European cities as described in the first part of the chapter. In the lowest part of the tables, the figures show that many students go into special education, thus suggesting that this is particularly well developed in Belgium. The concentration of integrated tracks in France and Sweden is the result of postponing selection into different tracks until after lower secondary school. After compulsory schooling (usually by the end of lower secondary school), students either secure an apprenticeship or continue into upper secondary school. In Germany, Austria and Switzerland, the apprenticeship system receives the bulk of second-generation youth. At the highest level, we distinguished between higher vocational education and university. Most of the second-generation youth is found in the first category, which is more practically oriented and probably offers better job opportunities, though also has less prestige.

Tables 5.3 a through d show the five school level categories we created. Reducing the international variation to five levels enables us to better compare outcomes across the European cities and allows us to test school level outcomes for significant differences across cities and by gender.

A first general observation from the school level tables is that only a small proportion of the second generation in our survey occupies a rung at the very bottom of the educational ladder. Respondents who did not finish lower secondary education and therefore hold only a primary school diploma are few. The exception is Belgium, due to the relatively large share of pupils in special education. The group that attained a lower secondary diploma but stopped at that is larger and varies in size from city to city and group to group. But most second-generation youngsters in our survey actually continued studying beyond the end of compulsory schooling, which is usually upon completion of lower secondary school. They either continue into an apprenticeship track, a short middle vocational track or a

Table 5.3a Educational level (in %) of second-generation Turks in five levels, by city

Educational level	Austria		Belgium		Switzerland		Germany		France		The Netherlands		Sweden	
	Vienna	Linz	Brussels	Antwerp	Zurich	Basel	Berlin	Frankfurt	Paris	Strasbourg	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Stockholm	Stockholm
Primary school and special education	4.8	3.4	14.0	14.3	1.0	1.0	4.7	1.5	3.7	6.7	4.3	12.0	n.a.	n.a.
Lower secondary	24.7	17.0	25.4	22.1	11.5	19.2	29.4	26.7	6.1	12.2	22.6	19.0	9.8	9.8
Apprenticeship or vocational track	36.3	36.2	20.3	27.2	60.7	59.0	50.2	59.5	33.9	48.3	41.6	40.4	27.7	27.7
(upper secondary or post-lower secondary)														
Upper secondary academic track	19.9	19.0	11.6	5.2	11.0	9.9	9.0	5.5	4.7	3.9	1.5	1.0	29.1	29.1
Post-upper secondary and tertiary	14.3	23.4	28.7	31.2	15.8	10.9	6.7	6.7	51.5	29.0	30.0	27.6	33.4	33.4
N	252	206	236	349	206	248	253	250	248	252	237	263	251	251
Significance	0.061		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0	0.004	0.004	n.a.	n.a.

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Table 5.3b *Educational level (in %) of second-generation Moroccans in five levels, by city*

<i>Educational level</i>	<i>Belgium</i>		<i>Spain</i>		<i>The Netherlands</i>	
	<i>Brussels</i>	<i>Antwerp</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Barcelona</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	<i>Rotterdam</i>
Primary school and special education	8.3	7.5	7.2	18.2	7.2	9.1
Lower secondary	15.7	15.8	37.4	29.0	16.7	16.4
Apprenticeship or vocational track (upper secondary or post-lower secondary)	21.5	45.7	24.6	26.8	41.0	46.5
Upper secondary academic track	15.2	4.7	24.4	13.0	1.5	0.8
Post-upper secondary or tertiary	39.3	26.4	6.4	13.0	31.9	27.1
N	239	309	235	231	242	251
Significance	0.000		0.001		n.s.	

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Table 5.3c *Educational level (in %) of second-generation former Yugoslavians in five levels, by city*

<i>Educational level</i>	<i>Austria</i>		<i>Switzerland</i>		<i>Germany</i>	
	<i>Vienna</i>	<i>Linz</i>	<i>Zurich</i>	<i>Basel</i>	<i>Berlin</i>	<i>Frankfurt</i>
Primary school and special education	4.4	2.4	0.4	0.9	3.7	0.9
Lower secondary	14.2	4.0	6.9	8.6	14.0	13.2
Apprenticeship or vocational track (upper secondary or post-lower secondary)	39.5	61.1	71.6	62.6	65.4	66.9
Upper secondary academic track	16.6	16.7	10.2	10.6	8.6	6.7
Post-upper secondary or tertiary	25.3	15.9	10.8	17.3	8.3	12.4
N	253	242	234	190	202	204
Significance	0.000		0.002		n.s.	

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Table 5-3d Educational level (in %) of comparison group in five levels, by city

Educational level	Austria		Belgium		Switzerland		Germany		Spain		France		The Netherlands		Sweden
	Vienna	Linz	Brussels	Antwerp	Zurich	Basel	Berlin	Frankfurt	Madrid	Barcelona	Paris	Strasbourg	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Stockholm
Primary school and special education	0.8	2.1	1.5	3.7	n.a.	n.a.	2.0	2.1	4.0	9.0	1.2	0.2	2.3	1.5	n.a.
Lower secondary	12.8	7.7	13.5	9.8	4.3	5.9	14.3	7.9	16.6	22.7	3.4	1.0	4.2	13.1	3.9
Apprenticeship or vocational track	28.3	26.0	9.4	20.3	40.9	36.6	52.0	67.5	20.7	21.0	23.9	24.2	20.4	26.1	21.2
(upper secondary or post-lower secondary)	23.5	31.6	16.3	6.5	20.7	17.3	9.7	4.9	38.9	23.6	6.0	4.7	5.0	2.3	15.5
Upper secondary academic track	34.7	32.5	59.3	59.7	34.1	40.2	21.9	17.5	19.8	23.6	65.4	69.8	68.1	56.9	59.4
Post-upper secondary or tertiary	250	234	250	294	202	262	250	253	247	233	174	177	259	253	250
N	0.077		0.013		n.s.		0.001		0.000		n.s.		0.004		n.a.
Significance															

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

vocational upper secondary school. The most successful students enter the academic track in upper secondary school, which we find in all survey countries' school systems.

There are big differences between countries and cities at the highest level. In the countries with the best results, between one quarter and one third of the second generation can be found in post-secondary or tertiary education. On average, about one in five of all second-generation respondents in the eight TIES survey countries is in higher education or had already obtained a post-secondary or higher education diploma. This in itself is an interesting finding because many of these second-generation youngsters have parents with little schooling. They have thus taken a huge step in terms of intergenerational mobility.¹³

We also analysed the role of country-versus-city effects, i.e. whether school level outcomes significantly differ between two cities within one country. Significant variation between cities alerts us to possible differences between each city's groups or the school context. For second-generation Turks, we found significant differences between cities in three countries: France, the Netherlands and Austria. These are mostly the result of Turkish parents being somewhat better educated in Paris, Amsterdam and Linz. In France, however, there are also different school policies regarding selection and tracking. For second-generation Moroccans, we found a significant difference in school level outcomes in Brussels and Antwerp. This, again, is partly the result of parental characteristics and partly the result of differences in school policies regarding selection and tracking. In the case of the former Yugoslavian second generation, significant differences between the two cities are found in Austria and Switzerland, but not in Germany.

Over the last decade, the trend in many countries has been for girls to demonstrate better school outcomes than boys. Does this trend also apply to the second generation? We looked at differences between males and females for all three second-generation groups in all cities. We found no significant difference in school outcome levels between second-generation Turkish males and females in any of the thirteen cities. Nor did we find any gender differences for the second-generation former Yugoslavians in the six cities where they were interviewed. Only in Antwerp did we see that second-generation Moroccan females are doing significantly better than men ($p < 0.01$), the former being especially better represented in post-secondary education. Looking back to the situation in the 1980s, females of the in-between generation were more likely to lag behind their male peers (Crul 2009; Crul & Schneider 2009). Today, females have reached equal educational positions.

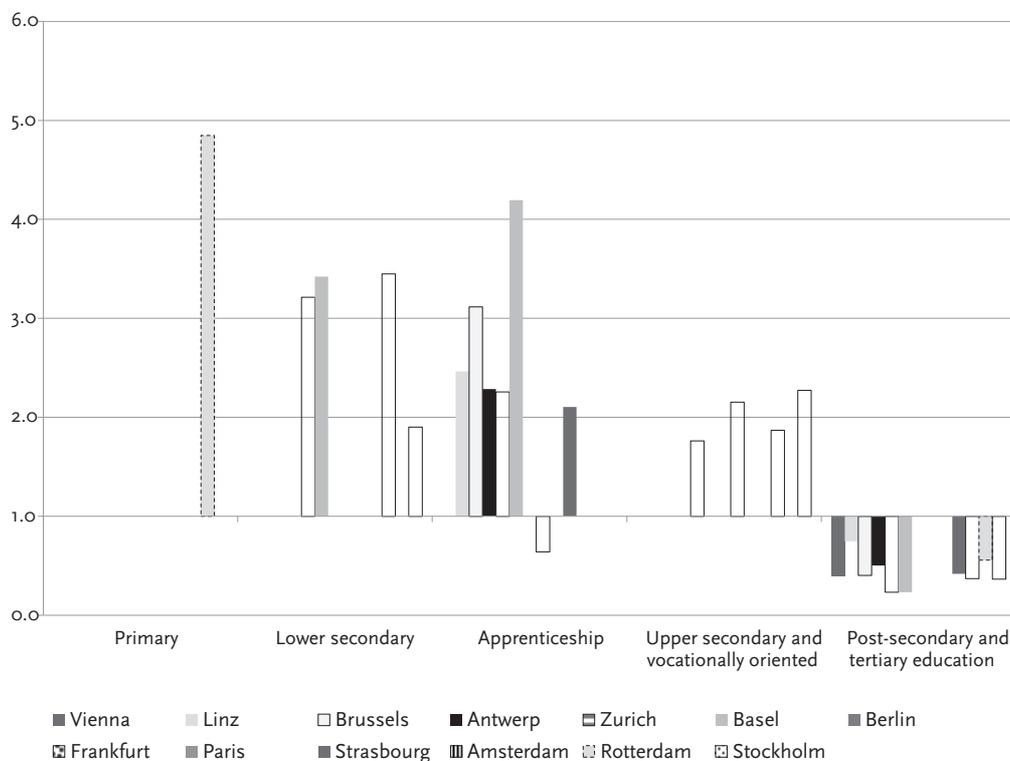
The tables on educational outcomes indicate that differences between the comparison group and second-generation groups are considerable and can be found in all thirteen cities.¹⁴ Since the parents of the second generation mostly attended school at the lowest level while parents of the comparison

group generally attended school at much higher levels, it is difficult to compare the two groups' parental educational background in a meaningful way. To get some indication of the possible differences, figure 5.1 compares children of parents who attended school at the middle level. In all groups, this group sufficiently represents to make a proper comparison.

Figures 5.1 a through c show school level differences for respondents with parents who only had secondary schooling. In the following three figures, we compare second-generation Turks, Moroccans and former Yugoslavians with the comparison group. A bar above the line indicates an overrepresentation of the second generation and a bar under the line indicates underrepresentation.

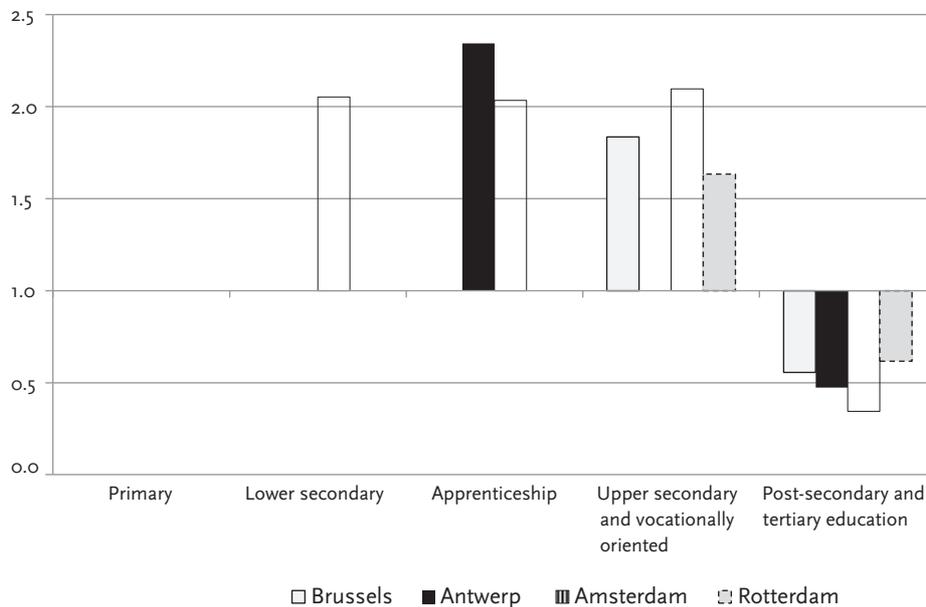
With only one exception, we do not see any significant overrepresentation of second-generation youth at the very lowest level of the educational range (primary school). The largest significant overrepresentation is at the middle level (apprenticeship and upper secondary and vocational oriented). This is especially true for second-generation Turks. The most widespread underrepresentation for all three groups is at the level of higher education, where we find many more students of the comparison group in post-

Figure 5.1a *School level differences between second-generation Turks and comparison group with parents who attended secondary school only (only significant outcomes presented)*



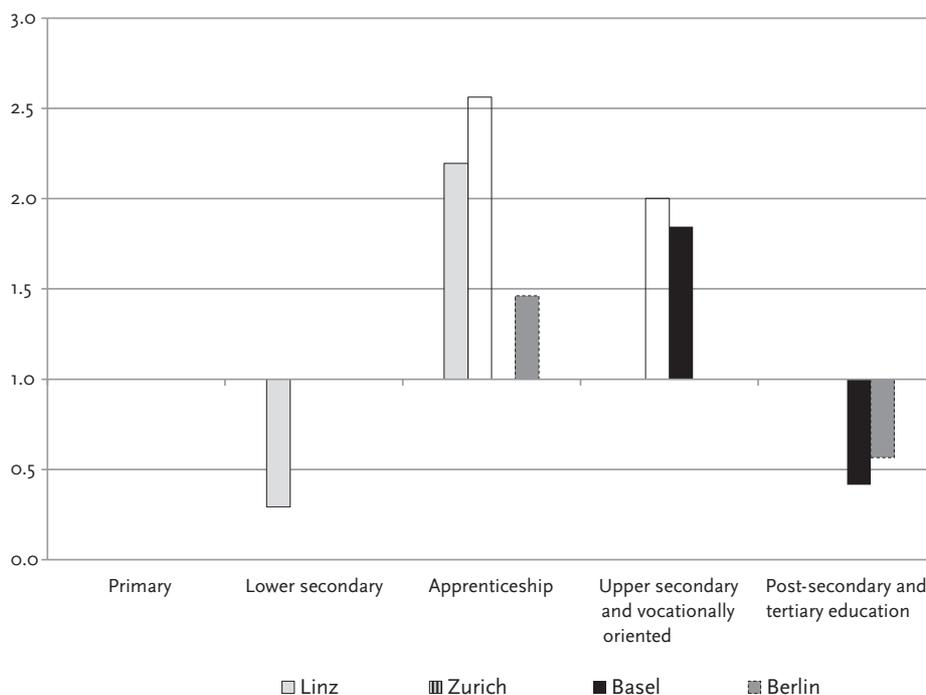
Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Figure 5.1b *School level differences between second-generation Moroccans and comparison group with parents who attended secondary school only (only significant outcomes presented)*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Figure 5.1c *School level differences between second-generation former Yugoslavians and comparison group with parents who attended secondary school only (only significant outcomes presented)*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

secondary or tertiary education than the children of immigrants. Gaps in post-secondary and higher education are very similar across cities. Second-generation youth are performing at lower levels than children of native parentage, even when their parents have similar educational background characteristics. Their parents' immigrant background puts them at an extra disadvantage in almost all school systems.

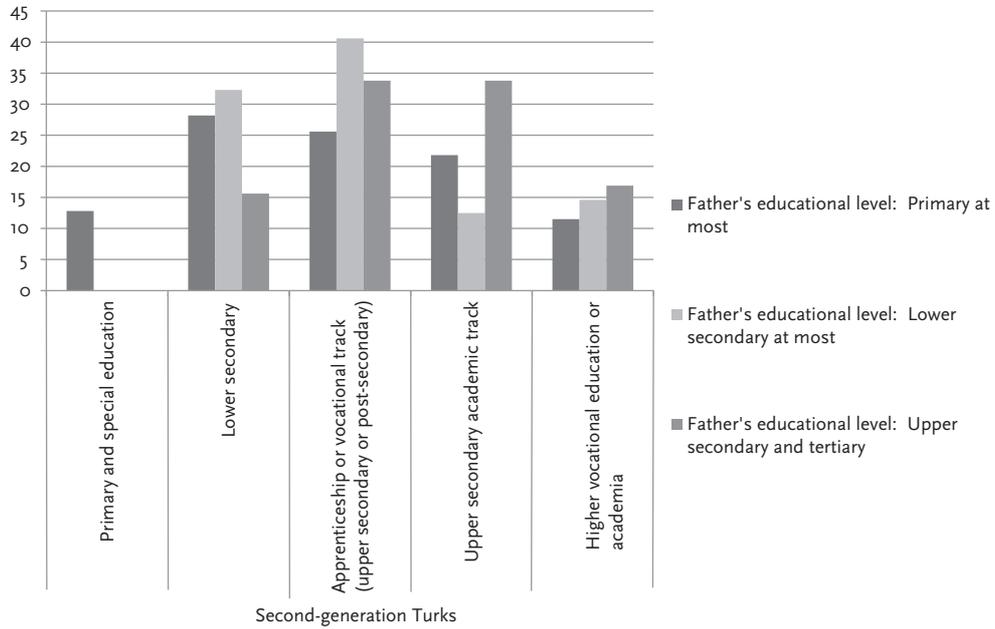
The effect of parental educational levels on school outcomes

Parental educational level can usually explain a large part of school outcomes. In the case of Turkish and Moroccan parents, educational level is overall very low. About half the parents went no further than primary school. The second-largest group (about 40 per cent) went to lower secondary education for a few extra years. We grouped parents' educational level into three categories: 1) primary school only, 2) some lower secondary education and 3) some upper secondary education or more beyond that. We also analysed parental education effects separately for fathers and mothers. Looking across all countries, we see that both cities in Germany and both in Austria displayed the strongest educational level effects of Turkish fathers' education (Berlin $p < 0.01$; Frankfurt $p < 0.01$; Vienna $p < 0.01$; Linz $p < 0.01$) and Turkish mothers' education (Berlin $p < 0.01$; Frankfurt $p < 0.01$; Vienna $p < 0.05$; Linz $p < 0.01$). We found similar effects for the second-generation former Yugoslavians in these four cities. This supports general knowledge derived from other studies that German and Austrian school systems are more stratified and have a strong class- and origin-based selection of students (e.g. OECD 2006).

Figures 5.2 a through c present the effect of the fathers' education on the attained educational levels of Turkish second-generation respondents in Austria and Germany. Children of fathers with, at most, primary school are represented by the blue line; children of fathers with lower secondary school, the red line; and children of fathers with upper secondary or tertiary education, the green line. The five educational outcome levels for the second-generation Turks are represented in the horizontal bar: primary and special education; lower secondary education; apprenticeship or something similar; academic upper secondary; post-secondary and tertiary. The graph clearly demonstrates that children of parents with very low levels of education also have the worst school outcomes. This group is particularly large in Germany.¹⁵

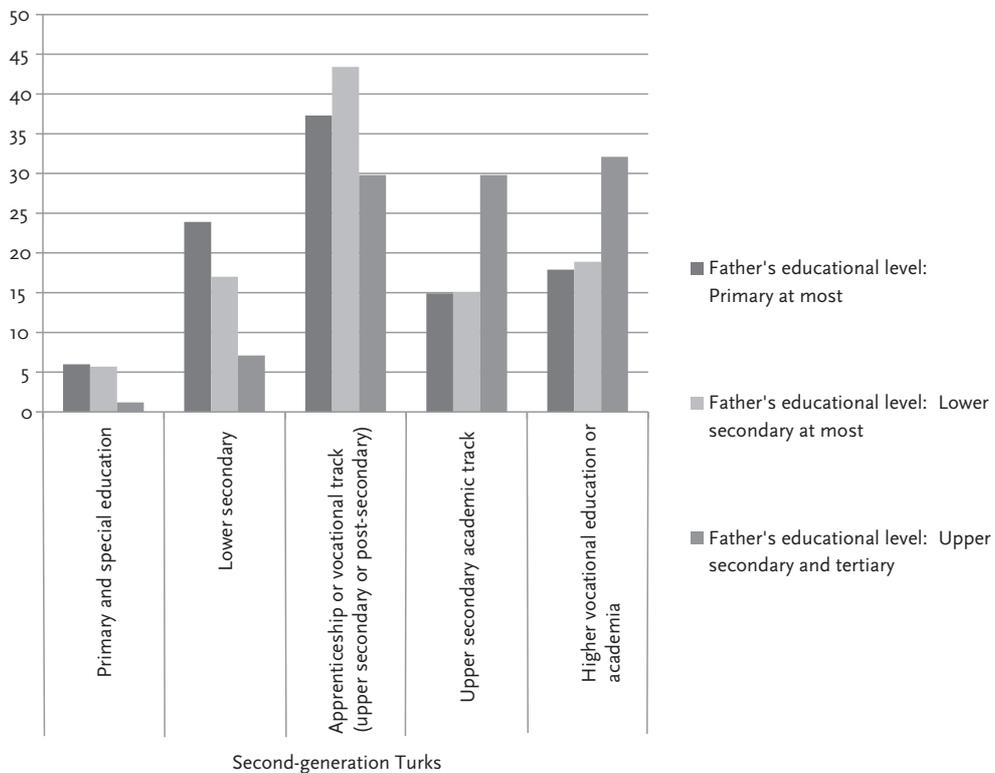
In most of the fifteen cities, we found no significant differences in outcomes between children of parents who have had, at most, primary school and children of parents with lower secondary schooling, be it just some or completion of the level. This is an important finding because a large majority of the second-generation respondents come from families in these two categories. Thus, differences are often not significant when analysing the

Figure 5.2a *School level of second-generation Turks in Vienna (according to five possible school level categories) and their fathers' educational level*



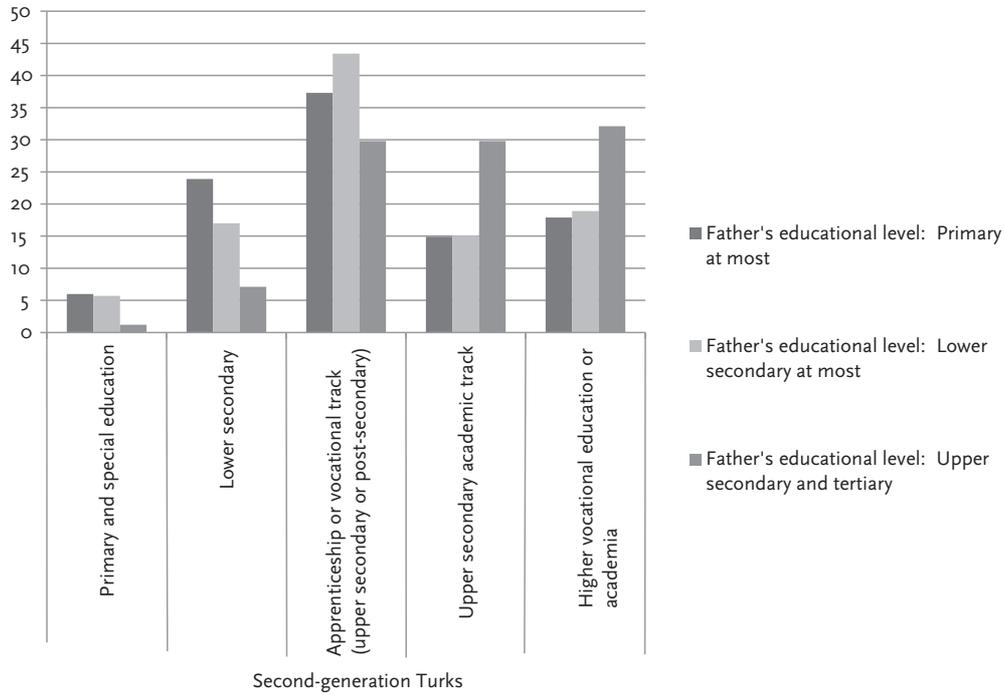
Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Figure 5.2b *School level of second-generation Turks in Linz (according to five possible school level categories) and their fathers' educational level*



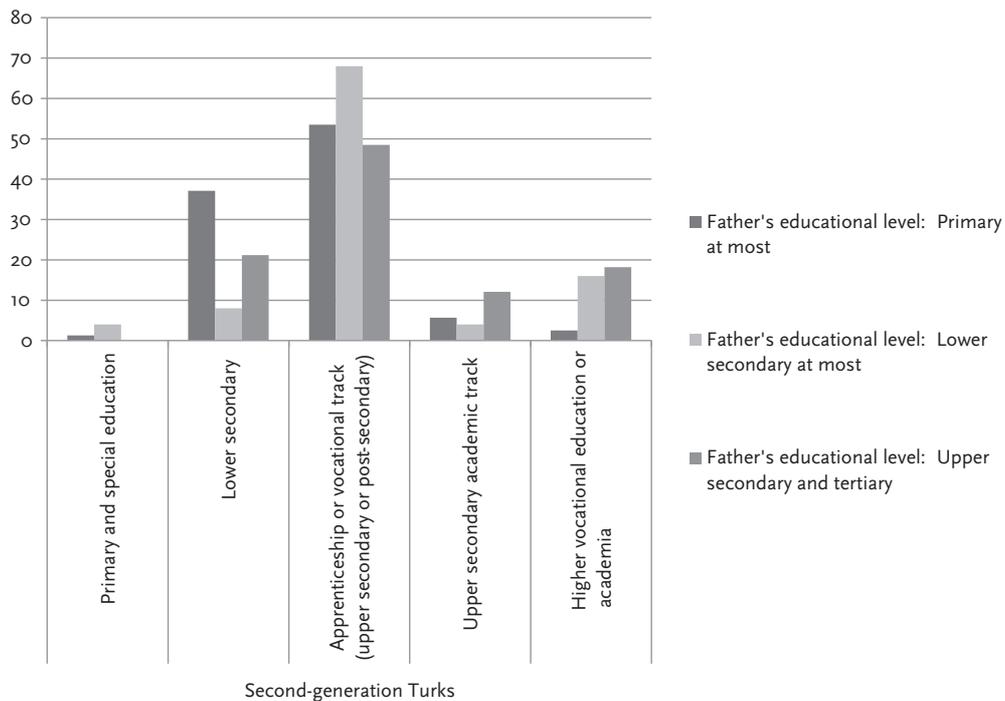
Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Figure 5.2c *School level of second-generation Turks in Berlin (according to five possible school level categories) and their fathers' educational level*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Figure 5.2d *School level of second-generation Turks in Frankfurt (according to five possible school level categories) and their fathers' educational level*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

effect of parental educational level. At the same time, this finding obscures the fact that in many cases children of more highly educated parents do much better than the rest. However, the group with more highly educated parents is very small in the Turkish samples of the TIES survey.

Parents' low educational levels prove a serious obstacle for the educational career of their second-generation children especially in post-secondary and tertiary education. The second-generation children of more highly educated parents follow a very distinct pattern, their school outcomes in fact being more similar to the comparison group.

5.4 School level outcomes and integration school contexts: A typology

This second part of the chapter concentrates on comparing second-generation Turks across seven countries. In the previous section, we saw that the children of more highly educated Turkish parents have a very distinct school outcome pattern, resembling that of the comparison group. To make the Turkish groups more comparable across the cities, we excluded respondents with more highly educated parents from the following analyses. The cut-off point for parental education is upper secondary school or higher. However, this is overall quite a small group. We thus only compared Turkish respondents whose parents went to secondary school for a few years at most (i.e. lower secondary school). Between half and two thirds of our Turkish second-generation respondents do come from families with low or very low educational credentials.¹⁶

Since differences between second-generation Turks across European cities mostly occur at the extreme ends, we constructed a typology to primarily capture a sense of the proportions of early school leavers and of higher education students.

According to an EU definition, early school leavers are students who exit school with only a lower secondary school diploma or even less (OECD 2005: 25-36). As a percentage of the total sample, table 5.4 shows how many of our respondents fit this category.¹⁷

The percentages of early school leavers among second-generation Turks in the Dutch, Belgian, German and Austrian cities are high to very high.¹⁸ We find the lowest percentages in Stockholm, Paris, Zurich and Basel. The comparison group follows a similar ranking pattern across the cities. In Stockholm, only very few second-generation Turks leave school early; this is also true for the comparison group, though even fewer Swedes of native parentage leave school early. In the two Dutch cities, early school leaving is a huge problem not only among second-generation youth, but also for the comparison group. This seems to be a general rule, also applicable to other school indicators: if the comparison group experiences difficulties in certain

Table 5.4 *Early school leavers among second-generation Turks with low-educated parents (in %, N), by city*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Cities</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Sign</i>
Austria	Vienna	36.9	58	
	Linz	25.5	27	n.s.
Belgium	Brussels	34.9	38	n.s.
	Antwerp	29.9	63	
Switzerland	Zurich	11.5	10	n.s.
	Basel	14.3	17	
Germany	Berlin	35.7	61	n.s.
	Frankfurt	30.3	46	
France	Paris	10.3	14	0.012
	Strasbourg	20.9	37	
The Netherlands	Amsterdam	23.2	36	n.s.
	Rotterdam	28.6	46	
Sweden	Stockholm	9.0	8	n.a.

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

educational phases, we see a sort of *multiplier effect* for the second generation, who experience the same difficulties albeit at exponentially higher rates.

Figures given at the beginning of the chapter, in figures 5.2 a through d, conflated respondents in post-secondary education with those in tertiary education. For this typology, we restrict ourselves to those in tertiary education.¹⁹

Table 5.5 *Second-generation Turks in higher education who have low-educated parents (in %, N), by city*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Cities</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Sign</i>
Austria	Vienna	13.4	21	
	Linz	17.9	19	n.s.
Belgium	Brussels	24.8	27	0.014
	Antwerp	13.7	29	
Switzerland	Zurich	19.5	17	n.s.
	Basel	11.7	14	
Germany	Berlin	5.3	9	n.s.
	Frankfurt	4.6	7	
France	Paris	52.2	71	0.000
	Strasbourg	28.8	51	
The Netherlands	Amsterdam	27.7	43	n.s.
	Rotterdam	26.1	42	
Sweden	Stockholm	32.0	29	n.a.

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Analysing the relationship between early school leavers and tertiary education indicators, we can roughly distinguish four typical integration pathways in the field of education.

Table 5.6a *Four possible outcomes based on percentages of early school leavers and higher education students*

	<i>High % early school leavers</i>	<i>Low % early school leavers</i>
High % higher education	Polarised mobility	Fast upward mobility
Low % higher education	Low mobility	Slow mobility

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

1 *Low mobility*

Second-generation Turks in the two German and Austrian cities and Antwerp: the largest part (over three quarters) is in the vocational track or in the apprenticeship system and a very large group leaves school early.

2 *Slow mobility*

Second-generation Turks in the two Swiss cities: the majority of the Turkish second generation successfully enters the apprenticeship system. There are relatively few early school leavers.

3 *Polarisation*

Second-generation Turks in the two Dutch cities and Brussels and Strasbourg: the trend is a significant share of respondents experiencing strong upward mobility and an almost equally big share leaving school early.

4 *Fast upward mobility*

Second-generation Turks in Stockholm and Paris: since access to higher education is less dependent on parental or other background characteristics and few students leave school early, the second generation experiences a generalised strong upward social mobility in relation to their parents' generation.

Table 5.6b *A school outcome typology for second-generation Turks with low-educated parents*

<i>Countries and cities</i>	<i>Early school leavers</i>	<i>Apprenticeship and non-tertiary</i>	<i>Higher education students</i>	<i>Typology</i>
Germany	33.1	61.9	5.0	Low mobility
Austria	32.3	52.5	15.2	Low mobility
Belgium Antwerp	29.9	56.4	13.7	Low mobility
Switzerland	13.0	72.0	15.0	Slow mobility
Belgium Brussels	34.9	40.3	24.8	Polarisation
Netherlands	25.9	47.2	26.9	Polarisation
France Strasbourg	20.5	50.7	28.8	Polarisation
Sweden	9.0	59.0	32.0	Fast upward
France Paris	10.3	37.5	52.2	mobility

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

5.5 Explaining differences across Europe: How school system characteristics interact with family resources and support

This section analyses the school careers of early school leavers and tertiary education students in more detail. We endeavour here to identify relevant factors influencing the sizeable differences across countries and cities. The TIES survey identified not only final educational outcomes, but also all the steps in between, starting with preschool. We use this uniquely gathered information to show in greater detail where the school careers of second-generation Turkish youth start to differ across countries and groups. In particular, we look at three crucial selection points in the educational systems.

Only by viewing the entire school career are we able to link educational results directly with differences in school institutional arrangements. For instance, the final educational results for second-generation Turks in the two Austrian cities and Antwerp are almost the same. However, we see that how school careers developed in the two national contexts could not be any more different. In the Austrian case, the relatively low performance of the Turkish second generation is the result of their low participation in preschool and early selection after primary school. In Antwerp, it is the result of high dropout rates and being downstreamed in upper secondary school. Yet this crucial systemic difference only becomes visible when we reconstruct the entire school careers in detail.

The same is true for the importance of family resources. School systems differ in terms of both the intensity and the type of role parents are expected to play during the various school phases. In some systems, parents are expected to play a large role in primary school, whereas in others, their role is more important in the second part of the school career. Explanatory models testing the effect of parental characteristics as the dependent variable on their children's final educational level do show a culminating effect of parental support over a period of fifteen to twenty years. This can potentially include positive and negative effects during different time periods. Statistically, they may have the effect of levelling each other out. In the Netherlands, for instance, we see that some second-generation Turkish children are able to reach higher education because their parents provide them practical support, namely, help with their homework during primary school. Others reach higher education even though their parents could not help them at this level; they become successful on a longer alternative route because they have persisted at school. The influence of parents' practical support on their children's final educational outcome will look less strong as a result because both children with and without support have ultimately reached higher education. Looking at their school careers not only as a whole, but at each individual phase, enables us to identify the importance of family resources at the respective school phases. This brings to

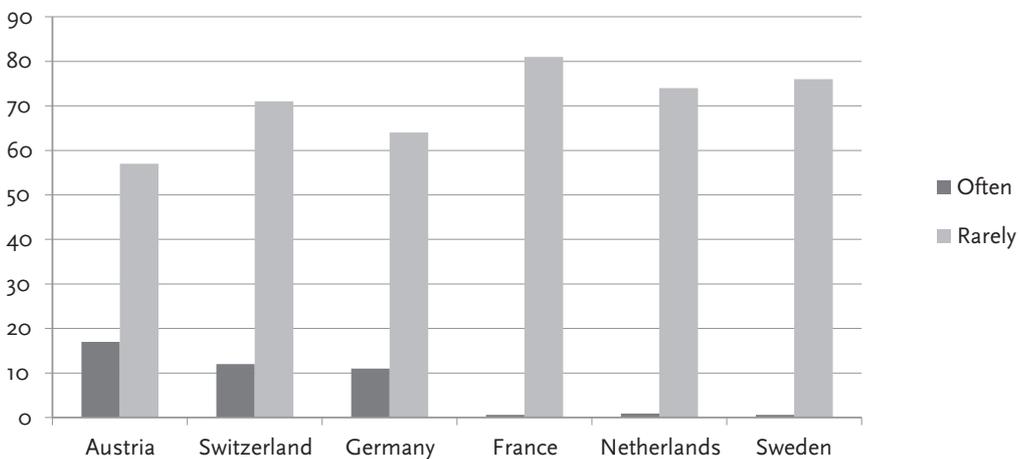
the fore how differences in school systems affect school careers and how the systems interact with family resources.

Parental involvement in school

The TIES survey addressed a number of questions about both parental and sibling involvement in school. We asked about parents helping with their homework and controlling the time spent on it, talking about school and meeting with their teachers. We also asked two questions about help from elder siblings. Since the educational levels of parents in the reduced sample are very similar (because we excluded more highly educated parents), we expect differences in parental and sibling involvement in school to explain some of the remaining differences in school outcome levels.

We introduce the most important school involvement indicators briefly by presenting outcomes across countries. We only present the two extreme ends. Figure 5.3a shows that about two thirds of the parents rarely or never helped their children with homework; this is a very large group. In general, it is not so much that parents are not interested in school – because most do talk about it with their children – but that parents are not *able* to help due to either a language barrier or not understanding the homework's content.

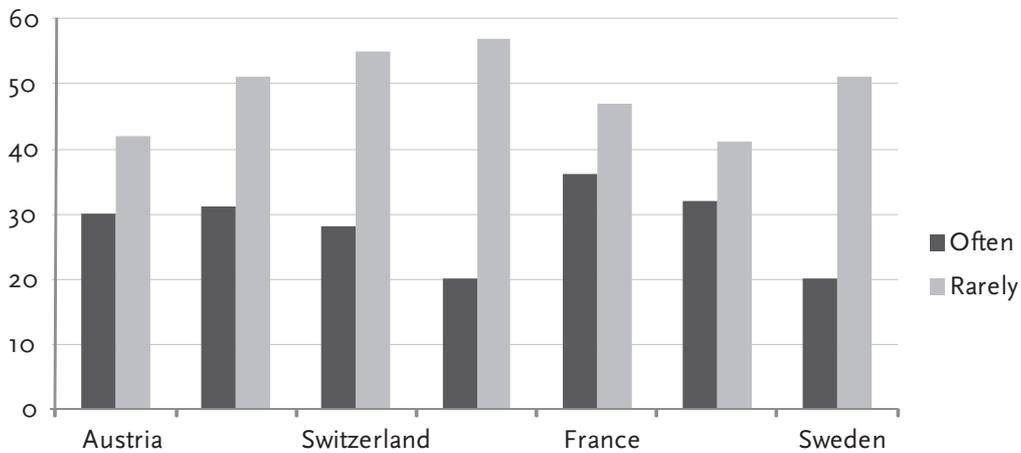
Figure 5.3a *How often low-educated parents of second-generation Turks helped with homework*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Alternatively, parents may control the time children spend on homework. For this, they do not necessarily need to understand its content. They can, for instance, prevent children from watching television before finishing their homework. About a quarter of the parents often controlled the time spent on homework. Later in this chapter, we will see that these two different types of parental involvement have different effects on school outcomes.

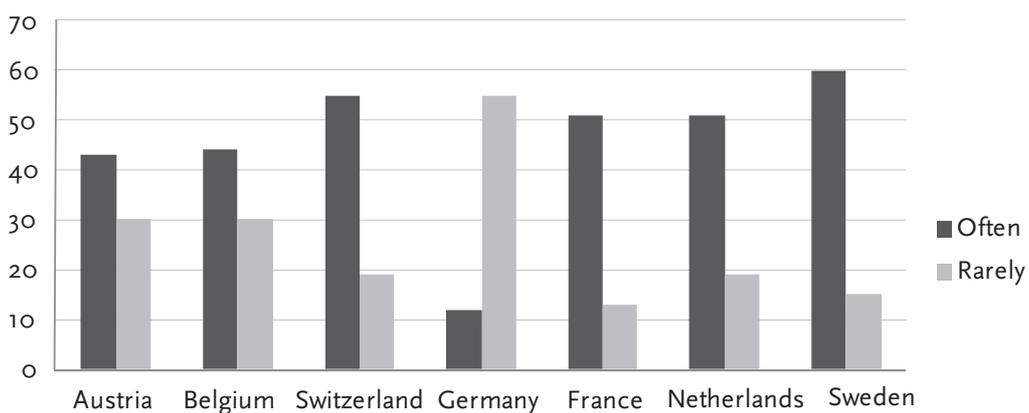
Figure 5.3b *How often low-educated parents of second-generation Turks controlled time spent on homework*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

A third possible level of parental involvement is talking about school. For this, parents need even less knowledge of schoolwork content. As a result, the number of parents who talk with their children about school is much larger; fewer parents rarely or never talk about school. The only exceptions here are parents in Germany, which was particularly the case when a mother had little knowledge of the German language.

Figure 5.3c *How often low-educated parents of second-generation Turks talked to them about school*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Tracking within secondary school: Institutional arrangements in preschool and primary school and how their role interacts with family resources

In all countries, the most important selection point arose when it was time for tracking into academic tracks that are distinct from middle and vocational tracks in secondary education. As described in section 5.1, in most countries the timing of the selection is at the beginning of secondary education. Exceptions are France and Belgium, which select only after lower secondary school. In Sweden, selection takes place at the end of *grundskola* (primary school), which includes the lower part of secondary school.

We first look at the group of respondents best positioned and prepared to continue into higher education: those following academic tracks. There are large differences between the countries and cities with regard to the share of second-generation Turkish pupils found here. Half of second-generation Turkish children in Paris were entering an academic track, compared to only a bit more than one in ten in Frankfurt or Berlin. In Switzerland, we could not make a meaningful distinction in our data because in most cases the respondents went on to follow a combined middle and academic track.

Table 5.7 *Second-generation Turks (with low-educated parents) in academic tracks in secondary school (in %, N), by city*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Cities</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Sign</i>
Austria	Vienna	19.7	31	
	Linz	15.1	16	n.s.
Belgium	Brussels	50.5	99	0.018
	Antwerp	65.3	62	0.018
Switzerland	Zurich	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	Basel	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	Berlin	10.5	18	n.s.
	Frankfurt	12.5	19	n.s.
France	Paris	62.9	83	0.000
	Strasbourg	39.4	65	0.000
The Netherlands	Amsterdam	23.2	36	n.s.
	Rotterdam	23.6	38	n.s.
Sweden	Stockholm	52.9	45	n.a.

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Access to the academic tracks is significantly different between cities in two countries, France and Belgium. In Strasbourg, significantly more pupils get a recommendation to follow a vocational track than in Paris. About 90 per cent in both cities follow this advice. We checked the background of these *collège* students to see if such characteristics could account for the difference. But even when taking only those students who did obtain a *collège* diploma and never repeated a year in primary school, we still saw

significantly more students in Strasbourg than Paris being advised to follow a vocational track.

We also analysed whether teachers in Strasbourg were targeting Turkish students, in particular. This hunch was supported by the fact that we saw no similar trend for the comparison group. It appears that teachers in Strasbourg did more often have a vocational route in mind when advising students who are of Turkish descent and a lower-class background. The Turkish communities in Paris and Strasbourg differ in terms of their relative size within the two cities. In Paris, Turks represent a rather small group among many other immigrant groups, but in Strasbourg they are the largest immigrant group. In the Alsace region, of which Strasbourg is both capital and principal city, the Turkish community is the most visible minority, known for its presence in construction and manual labour. This recognised working-class image of the Turkish community may well have affected teachers' views on the Turkish second generation. It seems, however, that this is slowly changing. Among our respondents, the younger cohorts (eighteen to 25 year olds) were less often advised to follow a vocational track than the older cohorts (25 year olds and up). As a result, the gap between Paris and Strasbourg is gradually closing.

The varied outcomes in Brussels and Antwerp are also due to different advising policies. In Antwerp, significantly more children were recommended for lower vocational education (*BSO*). But also within the academic track, significantly more Turkish pupils in Brussels (48.8 per cent) than Antwerp (18.9 per cent) were recommended to continue into the general academic track (*ASO*) and not the technical academic track (*TSO*). As is generally the case, *TSO* pupils more often do not continue into higher education after upper secondary school. In the long term, the different advising policy leads to significantly fewer students of Turkish descent being in higher education in Antwerp. In contrast to France, this difference in advising policy between the two cities is also visible in the comparison group. But, as in Strasbourg, the younger cohorts in Antwerp were less often advised to follow vocational tracks than the older cohorts. As such, the gap between Antwerp and Brussels is slowly closing.

Vocational tracks can be identified in each country, but some distinguish between levels. The following tables present outcomes for only the lowest vocational tracks in secondary school. For this reason, we exclude France and Sweden, where such lower vocational secondary tracks do not exist.

More than three quarters of second-generation Turks in Austria are tracked into *Hauptschule* (while the other 18 per cent in Vienna and 24 per cent in Linz follow the academic track). This is partly because there are only two tracks available in Austria, whereas in most countries there is an additional middle track between the lower vocational track and the academic track. In the two Swiss cities as well, more than half of second-

generation Turks are found in lower vocational tracks. In Antwerp, significantly more children are sent on to the vocational *BSO* track than in Brussels.

Table 5.8 *Second-generation Turks (with low-educated parents) in lowest vocational tracks in secondary school (in %, N), by city*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Cities</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Sign</i>
Austria	Vienna	75.8	119	n.s.
	Linz	82.1	87	0.008
Belgium	Brussels	29.4	32	0.008
	Antwerp	44.5	94	n.s.
Switzerland	Zurich	55.2	48	n.s.
	Basel	54.2	65	n.s.
Germany	Berlin	40.8	69	n.s.
	Frankfurt	35.5	54	n.s.
The Netherlands	Amsterdam	23.9	37	n.s.
	Rotterdam	32.3	52	n.s.

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

A number of general school system differences described in the beginning of the chapter explain the large differences in tracking outcomes across Europe. We highlight the two most important for our respondents: age on entrance into early education and care facilities and age at which first selection takes place.

As shown above, the age at which children are expected to enter education and care facilities is very different across Europe. The systems in the German-speaking countries are characterised by a relatively late entrance into educational institutions, while our Turkish second-generation respondents in the two French cities were the youngest to enter education: almost 90 per cent went to *école maternelle* at age two or three. In Belgium and France almost all children of all groups go to preschool. In the German-speaking countries sample the average starting age is much later, while in the Dutch sample the average is four years old. The mean age for entering school among second-generation Turks in Stockholm is three. However, Sweden is the country with the widest range: some children began *barne*, a combination of preschool followed by kindergarten, at a very early age, while others stayed home until the beginning of compulsory schooling at age seven.²⁰

Looking at the comparison group, we see the same trend across countries and cities (see appendix 5). The starting age in each country is mostly dependent on national policies based on beliefs and norms about what is considered a ‘good age’ to enter preschool. However, we find that second-generation Turkish respondents in all countries except Sweden tend to start preschool later than the comparison group, and they are also more likely not to attend preschool whatsoever. The differences with the comparison group are most pronounced in the Austrian cities. There is also a

remarkable difference between the two Austrian cities themselves: second-generation Turks in Linz went to *Kindergarten* 1.5 times more often than their peers in Vienna.

Table 5.9 *Age of entrance into an educational institution among second-generation Turks with low-educated parents*

City	< 3	3	4	5	6	7	8	Unknown
Vienna	1.9	1.3	21.0	12.1	47.1	15.9	0.6	0.0
Linz	3.8	14.2	24.5	20.8	31.1	2.8	0.0	2.8
Brussels	18.4	63.1	3.9	5.8	8.7	0.0	0.0	n.a.
Antwerp	23.1	69.7	5.3	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	n.a.
Zurich	0.0	0.0	4.6	67.8	18.4	8.0	1.1	n.a.
Basel	0.0	0.0	14.7	62.9	16.4	4.3	1.7	n.a.
Paris	4.4	78.7	11.0	4.4	1.5	0.0	0.0	n.a.
Strasbourg	2.8	90.4	5.1	1.1	0.6	0.0	0.0	n.a.
Berlin	0.0	33.3	29.8	12.9	9.4	12.9	0.0	1.8
Frankfurt	0.0	43.4	28.3	7.9	6.6	12.5	0.0	1.3
Amsterdam	1.9	11.0	73.4	9.7	3.9	0.0	0.0	n.a.
Rotterdam	1.9	5.0	83.2	7.5	1.9	0.6	0.0	n.a.
Stockholm	37.5	12.5	12.5	15.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	12.6

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

In Belgium and France, preschool attendance is common among all groups. In the other countries, preschool attendance varies between and within groups. In Germany and Austria, this results in many second-generation youngsters not going to preschool. These variations in starting age mean that the second-generation Turkish respondents began their educational careers in very different ways. In France, they began to learn French in an educational environment at the age of two or three, during the phase in development that is most open to learning a new language. In Switzerland and Austria, they entered education, on average, two years later and accordingly had more difficulty learning German as a second language.

In countries where there is considerable variation in preschool attendance (Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden), we can analyse the effect this has on streaming into academic tracks. In both Germany and Austria, we find a significantly positive effect ($p < 0.05$) of preschool attendance on academic track selection in secondary school.

Another relevant aspect of the first selection is how many years have passed between entering educational facilities and the streaming into different school tracks. This is significant not only for the sake of exposure to the majority language, but also for increased opportunities to acquire skills necessary for higher academic levels. If we take the mean age our respondents entered school and the formal selection age in each country, the situation proves most favourable in France, Sweden and Belgium, with eleven

to twelve years of common education under a student's belt before any selection is made.

At the other extreme, the situation is least favourable in Austria, Germany and Switzerland, with a period of only five to seven years of common education prior to selection. This is not only rather short but, combined with the fact that the majority of schools in the German-speaking countries were only half-day, it thus further limits the amount of contact hours between teachers and children. Kindergarten and preschool attendance were not particularly encouraged when our respondents were young, one reason being that considerable costs were involved. Compulsory schooling in these countries begins only at age six. This means that considerable shares of respondents were in an educational institution, learning the German language and other academic skills, for only four years before, at age ten, the most important decision on their future school careers was made.

Table 5.10 *Years between start of education and tracking among second-generation Turks with low-educated parents*

	<i>Mean age at entering (early childhood) education institution</i>	<i>Age at track selection</i>	<i>Years of education before selection</i>
Austria	4.9	10	5.1
Belgium	3.0	14	11.0
France	3.1	15	11.9
Germany	4.2	10 to 12	5.8/7.8
The Netherlands	4.0	12	8.0
Sweden	3.1	15	11.9
Switzerland	5.2	12	6.8

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

A combination of late start and early selection diminishes the opportunity second-generation Turkish children in Germany have to enter *Gymnasium*. At the other end of the spectrum, in countries with an early start *and* a late selection (France, Sweden and Belgium), about half the second-generation Turkish respondents followed the academic track. Their counterparts in the Netherlands, located precisely in the middle range of years in education before selection, also rank in the middle with regard to the percentage having pursued the academic track.

The school system mechanisms behind tracking differ greatly across Europe. As a result, we also expect family characteristics to have different effects. Because many children in Germany and Austria did not go to preschool, they did not learn the second language in an institutional environment before starting primary school, as is the practice for many children in Belgium and France. As such, the parents have more responsibility for helping their children learn German as a second language. Many second-

generation Turkish children thus came into primary school with low proficiency in German. The short time span between starting and selection ages, forced them to try to overcome the language gap quickly. In addition, Turkish parents in Germany and Austria are expected to play a very active role during the primary school years. Children only attend school for half-days and are thus mostly expected to do homework in the afternoon under the guidance of their parents. Independently from each other, we tested six different aspects of parent and sibling school involvement to see how they influenced academic track access as the dependent variable. We tested whether outcomes were significant based on a three-answer scale: 1) very often/often, 2) sometimes or 3) rarely/never.

As shown in figure 5.4, only a very small group of parents was actually able to help with homework in a practical way, and what parents were able to do in terms of homework support was not very effective in most cases. Therefore, only in Austria do we see practical homework help's small significant positive effect ($p < 0.1$) on tracking; in all other countries, the effect is not significant. Because of their own low level of education and second language difficulties, most parents were unable to give support that really made a difference. The result of this is, however, quite different across the countries. In Germany, only one in ten of the pupils whose parents were unable to help with homework nevertheless went to *Gymnasium*. In countries like Belgium and France, still more than half of those similarly lacking parental support made it into an academic track.

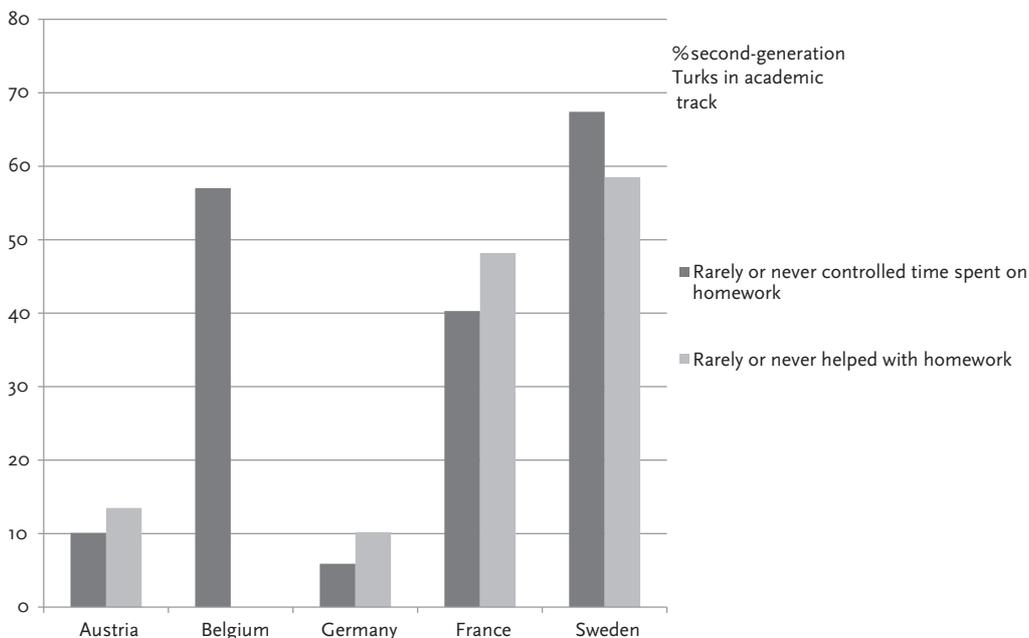
Controlling the time children spent on homework – something parents could do even without much content comprehension – seems to have been a more effective strategy. This is a highly significant factor in Austria ($p < 0.01$), Germany ($p < 0.01$) and France ($p < 0.01$). In Germany, chances for second-generation Turkish children to enter an academic track dropped to almost zero (only 6 per cent) when parents did not control time spent on homework. By contrast, about a quarter of the children of parents who did exercise control made it into *Gymnasium*. In Austria, the same applies to almost a third, even though this percentage is still much lower than in most other countries. As expected, the respondents in Germany and Austria were most dependent on practical help and control by parents. We see a similar pattern when it came to talking about school and meeting with teachers. Again, we find significant effects only in Austria (talking about school $p < 0.01$; meeting the teacher $p < 0.01$) and Germany (talking about school $p < 0.1$; meeting the teacher $p < 0.05$). Pupils whose parents were less active concerning school matters experienced seriously reduced opportunities in these two countries. The same applies to the effect of an elder sibling talking with respondents about school or helping with homework, being again only significant in Austria (talking about school $p < 0.05$) and Germany (helping with homework $p < 0.05$; talking about school $p < 0.01$). In Austria, slightly more than a quarter of children with a sibling who often

talked with them about school entered an academic track. The number is less than 10 per cent for those children whose siblings rarely or never talked about school with them.

Sweden is an interesting case for contrast because here parental involvement items negatively correlate with performance in school. It seems that Turkish parents more often controlled homework ($p < 0.05$) and talked about school ($p < 0.05$) – or felt the need to do so – when children did *not* perform well. The average or above-average student apparently did not need the exercise of such control to be prompted to follow an academic track.

In Stockholm, the tracking process is much more determined by actual learning abilities. This allows not only pupils with the most supportive and best-educated families to pursue an academic track, but also bright and average-level children from disadvantaged families. In other words, parental involvement manifests very differently across the seven countries. To show this graphically, we singled out children whose parents did not help with nor control homework. In Sweden, Belgium and France, this did not have an effect on the share of those going into academic tracks. In Germany, on the other hand, without this kind of family support it was almost impossible to enter an academic track. The Austrian and Dutch cases fall somewhere in between.

Figure 5.4 *Second-generation Turks in an academic track with low-educated parents who rarely or never controlled time spent on, or helped with, homework*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

To a considerable extent, the tracking mechanisms across countries determine the school level outcomes in our typology. The place occupied by German and Austrian Turks at its low end is largely determined by the late start in school and the early selection – a situation that requires a lot of practical support from parents, though which many are not able to give. In contrast, the fast upward educational mobility typical for most Turks in Paris and Stockholm is, in large measure, determined by the much more open school systems that do not rely on practical support from parents.

Early school leavers: Institutional arrangements in the transition to the apprenticeship system and family resources

The tracking that takes place in secondary school has a huge effect on future school career. We see this most clearly when looking at early school leavers. The chance of becoming an early school leaver is much greater when a pupil is tracked into a lower vocational track compared to a middle track or an academic track. The most extreme case is Germany, where lower vocational pupils are *25 times more likely* to become early school leavers than pupils following an academic track.

The relationship between lower vocational education and leaving school early is different across countries, but is significant in all cases. Table 5.11 shows only lower vocational pupils and the percentage among them who became early school leavers. The fourth column gives the percentage for the comparison group. These two groups, which in theory are both selected according to the same learning abilities (lower vocational track), have very different chances of becoming early school leavers. The chances for second-generation Turks to become early school leavers are,

Table 5.11 *Early school leavers who attended lower vocational education in secondary school among second-generation Turks with low-educated parents and comparison group (in %, N), by city*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Cities</i>	<i>Turkish second generation</i>	<i>Comparison group</i>
Austria	Vienna	41.2	17.0
	Linz	28.7	11.2
Belgium	Brussels	43.8	50.0
	Antwerp	36.2	29.4
Switzerland	Zurich	7.5	3.1
	Basel	14.0	7.1
Germany	Berlin	52.9	28.6
	Frankfurt	50.0	35.4
The Netherlands	Amsterdam	36.2	31.3
	Rotterdam	40.0	33.3

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

in almost all cases, much greater. In Austria, Switzerland and Germany, countries that rely most on the apprenticeship system, twice as many second-generation Turks become early school leavers than the comparison group. In the Netherlands and Belgium, the likelihood for pupils in lower vocational education to become early school leavers is high in both groups.

In most cases, early school leavers stop after compulsory school. However, a smaller group even drops out during lower secondary school.²¹ Dropout in lower secondary school is most prominent in the Netherlands, Belgium and France.²² An important effect of early tracking in the Netherlands and Belgium is the marginalisation of the lowest vocational track as compared to other lower secondary school tracks. This is underlined by the similarly high percentage of early school leavers in the comparison group following this track. Children with learning and behavioural problems tend to be concentrated here. Children in lower vocational education are usually placed in separate schools or school buildings. In these schools in the big cities, children of immigrants are highly overrepresented, thus yielding the label 'ghetto schools'. Half the second-generation Turkish respondents following these tracks in the two Dutch cities and about a third in the two Belgian cities went to schools with 75 per cent or more pupils of immigrant origin. Dropout rates in these schools are very high. Parents of native descent try to avoid sending their children to these schools. Children of native parentage who do end up in these schools are often from very disadvantaged backgrounds. Three quarters of parents in the Dutch and Belgian groups went to, at most, lower secondary school – a very low level of education compared to other native-born parents in our survey.

Students who do finish a lower vocational track are usually streamed into another middle or upper vocational track, with or without hands-on experience via an apprenticeship in a company. The transition from lower secondary school to an apprenticeship track marks the end of compulsory school. For this reason, the step taken after compulsory school is crucial. Some students do not continue into further education for various reasons; others are unable to get an apprenticeship or drop out of middle vocational education. In all three cases the result is early school leaving.

The numbers of early school leavers differs immensely between countries and cities. The following paragraphs briefly discuss the most relevant differences in the school systems. Sweden, being the country with the lowest percentage of early school leavers, merges primary and lower secondary educations into one school, *grundskola*. This eliminates the so frequently problematic transition from primary to lower secondary school. Every extra transition to be made, as we will see in other countries, results in more pupils leaving school early. This seems to be a first explanation for lower percentages of early school leavers in the Swedish sample. Moreover, in the

lower part of Swedish secondary school, pupils with different learning abilities are grouped together in the same classes. After *grundskola*, all children are expected to continue onto *gymnasie* (from age fifteen to eighteen), where children of all levels still remain together. Pupils may be tracked along different programmes within *gymnasie*, but they study at the same school in the same building. This means there are no separate (or, as is often the case, marginal) lower vocational schools, as there are in the Netherlands or Belgium.

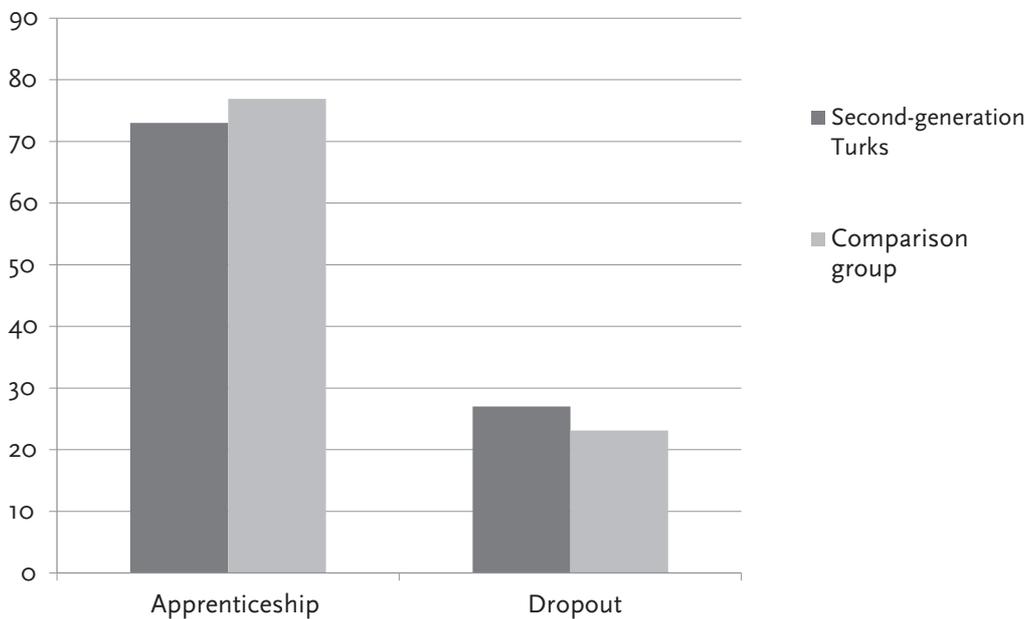
Switzerland is the other country with quite low percentages of early school leavers. Here, early school leaving is not nearly as high as in Germany or Austria, despite a similar school system and similarly high shares of pupils in lower vocational education. Analysing school careers here shows how in Switzerland the transition into an apprenticeship is eased by the so-called *Brückenangebot*, which coaches them for entrance into such a position.

We see that the transition from *Hauptschule* to an apprenticeship is highly problematic for second-generation Turks in Germany and Austria. One out of three students does not make it into such a position directly after school. These are vulnerable students who left lower secondary education, supposedly lacking the capacities and skills to enter an apprenticeship – a big problem when there is tight competition for securing such a position. This is handled differently in Switzerland. Here, students do not completely drop out of the system at this point, but are placed in the *Brückenangebot*, where they receive coaching to prepare them for an apprenticeship. In three quarters of the cases this works well, especially considering that it concerns the most vulnerable group. The *Brückenangebot* works almost equally well for second-generation Turks as for the comparison group, notably also because it enjoys a good reputation among the employing companies. Prospects look different in Germany, where supposedly comparable programmes serve as little more than a ‘parking spot’ for youngsters who are still of compulsory schooling age.

Interestingly, those countries with the best-developed vocational trajectories produce the highest percentages of early school leavers. This is somewhat paradoxical. Early tracking (beginning as young as age ten) is designed to put children, as soon as possible, into tracks that match their skills and abilities. For second-generation Turks, this does not seem to work accordingly.

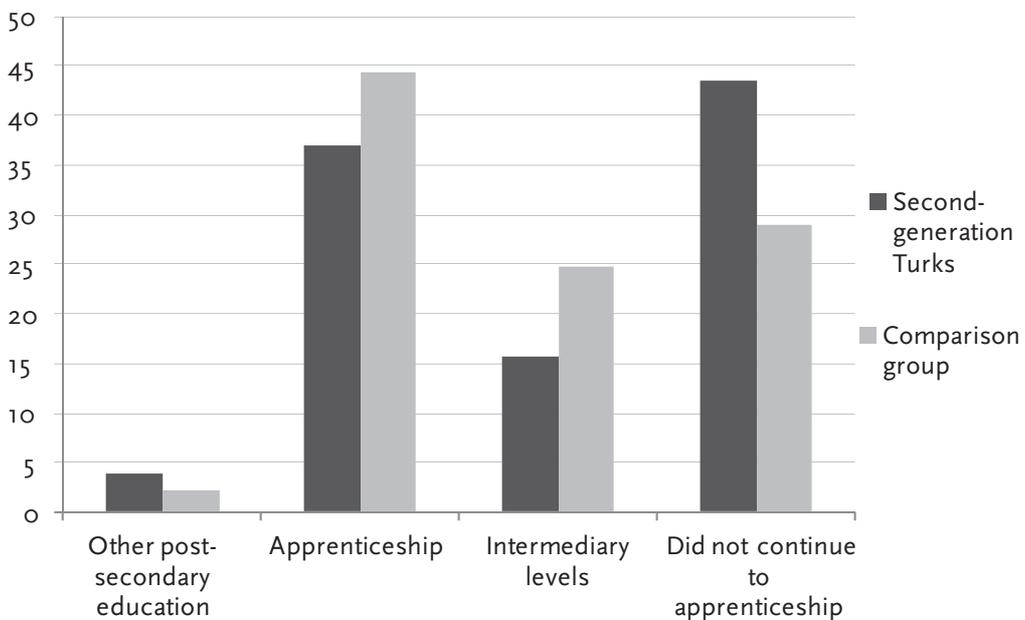
In Germany, the transition from *Hauptschule* to an apprenticeship track seems to be the most problematic. Here, only a bit more than one third of second-generation Turks makes it directly into an apprenticeship, while at the same time an even larger share does not continue with any formal education after *Hauptschule*.

Figure 5.5 *Brückenangebot to apprenticeship tracks among second-generation Turks and comparison group (%)*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Figure 5.6 *Hauptschule to apprenticeship tracks among second-generation Turks and comparison group (%)*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

With almost 40 per cent of second-generation Turks going through *Hauptschule* in Germany, there is a large group of early school leavers. Also, the continuation rates for second-generation Turks are much lower than for the comparison group, wherein about a quarter does not continue after *Hauptschule*. This is also a sizable group, but still only half as many as among the second-generation Turks.

The picture totally changes if the pupils spent their lower secondary education in a *Realschule* (Germany's middle level in secondary school). As many as three quarters of the second-generation Turks in this track went directly into an apprenticeship. Here, the group that is unsuccessful in making this transition is much smaller (10.5 per cent), and the disparity with peers in the comparison group almost vanishes. Among other things, this demonstrates the very difficult position *Hauptschule* students face compared to *Realschule* students in competing for apprenticeships. Having a much larger share in *Hauptschule* than their comparison group peers, second-generation Turks are thus at a greater disadvantage.

Early school leaving is either the result of dropping out or *not* continuing with one's studies beyond the lower secondary education diploma. We expect the parents to play an important role in the decision of whether or not to continue further studies at this young age. Again, we tested the seven parental and sibling involvement strategies for children who started in the lower vocational track (*Hauptschule*, *VMBO* in the Netherlands or a comparable level in other countries) and continued studying. We then compared them to those who became early school leavers in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium – the four countries most plagued by early school leaving. We included the mothers' ability to speak the majority language because it, too, appeared to be an important factor.

Yet, only Germany and Austria showed strong significant effects. Parental help with homework is – highly – significant only in Germany ($p < 0.01$). Parental control over the time spent on homework is significant in both Germany ($p < 0.01$) and Austria ($p < 0.05$). Parents talking about school with their children is significant in both Germany ($p < 0.01$) and Austria ($p < 0.05$). Regularly meeting with teachers is not significant in Germany, though it is in Austria ($p < 0.05$) and the Netherlands ($p < 0.05$). An elder sibling talking about school with a younger sibling is highly significant in Germany ($p < 0.01$) and only weakly significant in the Netherlands ($p < 0.1$). In Germany, only 12 per cent of *Hauptschule* students whose parents often controlled time spent on homework became early school leavers; when parents never exercised such control, it climbed up to 62 per cent. We see similar large discrepancies for help with homework and talking about school. Having or lacking parental support is thus extremely important for explaining early school leaving among pupils who went through *Hauptschule* in Germany and Austria. Since many parents actually did not give this kind of support to their children, the effect on

early school leaving is considerable compared to other countries. The mother's ability to speak the majority language also makes a significant difference in Germany ($p < 0.01$) and Austria ($p < 0.1$). Children whose mothers speak German well are five times more likely to continue studying after *Hauptschule* than children whose mothers do not.

It is remarkable that parental involvement has no significant effect on early school leaving in Belgium or the Netherlands. We thus see how the effects of parental support are very different across countries.

For all countries but Belgium, the TIES survey also inquired into *reasons* for respondents not to continue their studies. Table 5.12 shows that both pull factors (wanting to earn money and to get married) and push factors (not wanting to go to school anymore) affect early school leavers. The pull factors are most prominent in the Netherlands and the push factors, in Germany.²³ An aversion to school is expressed quite strongly in the early school leaving group, especially in Germany and Austria. A substantial group of second-generation Turkish girls also gave marriage as their reason to stop studying. The percentages, however, differ between countries. The fact that Austrian compulsory school stops by age fifteen explains why in both cities early school leavers are still very young (four out of the five left school at age sixteen). This probably also explains why Austria has a lower percentage of females who cite marriage as the main reason to stop school than does the Netherlands.

Table 5.12 *Second-generation Turks' reasons for early school leaving after acquiring a lower secondary school diploma (in %), by country*

	<i>Austria*</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>The Netherlands</i>
Satisfied	13.5	11.3	17.2
Don't want to go to school anymore	42.3	56.3	20.3
Work	19.2	28.8	26.6
Work (males only)	14.3	45.0	37.0
Marriage (females only)	4.2	17.5	29.7

*A number of early school leavers go to the *Polytechnikum* after *Hauptschule* to finish compulsory education.

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

We also have information on what early school leavers did directly after leaving school. The patterns are strongly gendered. In Germany, 60 per cent of the females lived at home doing housekeeping for their own or their parents' households. Males were much more geared towards the labour market, though only 3 per cent immediately found a job. In Austria, half the females did household work directly after leaving school; only 12 per cent immediately found a job, and another 18 per cent were actively looking for a job at the time of the survey. Among the males, 40 per cent immediately found a job and another third was actively looking for a job.

In the Netherlands, the pattern also proved gendered, though much less so than in Germany and Austria. Only a quarter of the women did household work immediately after they stopped school. More than a third started working immediately; another 20 per cent was looking for work. Of the males, two thirds started working immediately after leaving school, and another quarter was actively looking for a job. In Belgium, half of the females and three quarters of the males started to work immediately after leaving school. Less than 10 per cent of the females did household work right after school.

If we combine reasons for leaving school early with information on what these respondents did after leaving school, we begin to get a fuller picture. In Germany and Austria, many young women helped out in their own family household and then got married afterwards, setting up their own households. The fact that their parents were not talking much about school with them probably had to do with the lack of expectation for daughters to continue studying and to earn an income. In Germany, of the 33 married females who left school early, 24 married someone to whom they were introduced by their parents or through their parents' network. Seven females married a relative. In Austria, nineteen of the 34 married females who left school early were first introduced to their spouses through their parent's network. Thirteen females married a relative. It seems that in Austria and Germany many females who left school early are pretty much following the traditional gendered pathways of their mothers.

In the Netherlands and Belgium, females are, on average, older when leaving school, as compulsory school ends, respectively, at the ages of seventeen and eighteen. This seems to give females more room to escape traditional gender role expectations, as we find that many more enter the labour market. The fact that in Germany and Austria pupils can stop school so early also has an effect on their decision *not* to enter the labour market.

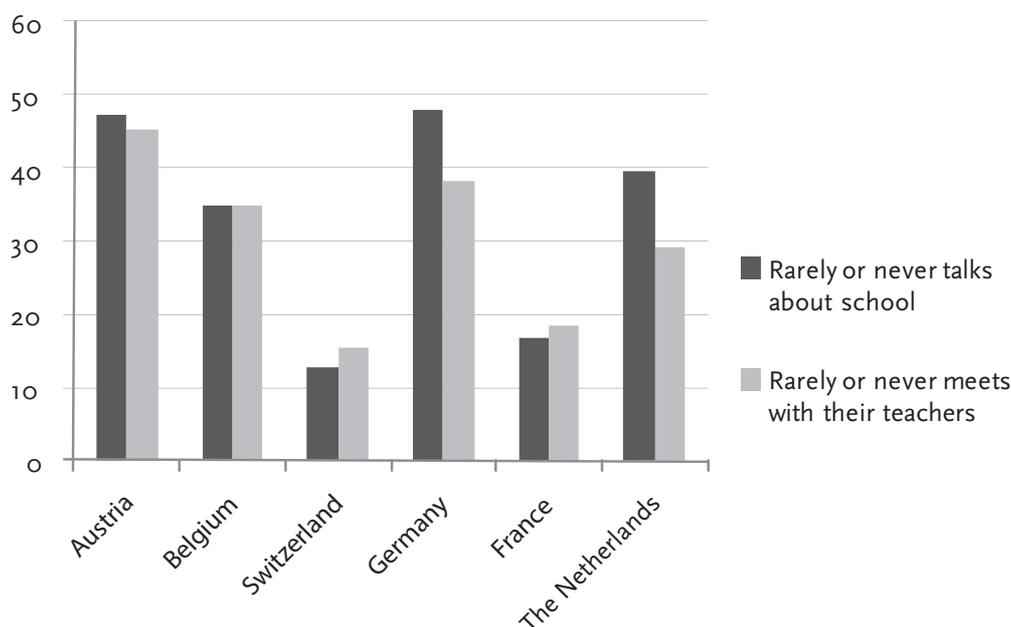
For males, the picture is far more difficult to read. In the Netherlands and Belgium, they enter the labour market in big numbers. Starting to work is also given as the main reason for not continuing studying. To a lesser extent, this is also true for Austria. But in Germany, only a few immediately enter the labour market. Perhaps this is unsurprising, considering their young age, but it raises a serious question: why, without any real alternative, did the young men not continue their education? One possible answer is that they were unable to find an apprenticeship. This is probable, as about two thirds of second-generation Turkish males in the two German cities expressed having experienced discrimination while looking for a job, as did three quarters in the two Austrian cities.

In Germany and Austria, second-generation Turks must choose to either continue their schooling or to actively seek an apprenticeship – largely on their own – at the young age of fifteen or sixteen (the end of compulsory

school). At this point, in the middle of puberty, a large part is no longer motivated to go to school. In families where there is no clearly expressed positive attitude towards education, the risk of early school leaving dramatically increases. The Swiss system of *Brückenangebot* shows how this risk can be compensated for by a proactive approach on the part of schools and labour market institutions.

In France and Sweden, most pupils do not need to make any decision about school continuation before the end of upper secondary school, at age eighteen or above. Not having to make the choice earlier means that there is also less risk of early school leaving. Across the countries, children from families with similar background characteristics encounter very different risks of becoming early school leavers. In Germany and Austria, about half the children whose parents rarely or never talk about school or meet with their teachers become early school leavers. In France this is the case for only one out of five children. In Switzerland it is only one out of eight.

Figure 5.7 *Early school leavers among second-generation Turks with low-educated parents who rarely or never talk about school or meet with their teachers (in %), by country*



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

Early school leaving is one of the two indicators in our typology. As a result of the high level of early school leaving in the two German and two Austrian cities and Antwerp, we have placed second-generation Turks in these cities together in the low-mobility typology. This outcome is a

combination of two factors: first, a result of many children being tracked into *Hauptschule* or *BSO*; second, a result of the problematic transition to an apprenticeship or upper secondary school at a very young age. The high degree of institutional risk factors in Germany and Austria makes for an unfortunate match with family risk factors in the Turkish communities.

Institutional arrangements in the transition to tertiary education and family and individual resources

Differences in percentages of students on academic tracks in secondary education between the countries and cities are significant. As already discussed, this can mostly be explained by differences in terms of *access* to academic tracks. In most cases in the German-speaking countries, chances for higher education are already considerably reduced by the early selection that occurs at age ten or twelve. The school systems in Sweden, Belgium and France offer considerably more opportunities for children of very low-educated parents to access an academic track. Despite the fact that academic tracks generally aim to lead pupils directly into tertiary education, two relevant phenomena are to be observed here: on the one side, pursuing an academic track is no guarantee for actually entering tertiary education afterwards. Conversely, we find quite a lot of students in tertiary education who did not come from an academic track. This is particularly true for our second-generation Turkish respondents, but it also differs quite strongly across countries and cities.

Table 5.13 shows how many of the students who were streamed into an academic track in secondary education actually ended up in tertiary education.²⁴ The percentage of students entering into higher education from an academic track differs a lot across countries and cities.

Table 5.13 *Second-generation Turks (with low-educated parents) who reached tertiary education via an academic track in secondary school (in %)*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Respondents</i>
Austria	44.2
Belgium	40.4
Germany	52.2
France	77.6
The Netherlands	74.2
Sweden	56.7

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

The reasons students do not make it into tertiary education differ from country to country. In some cases, downstreaming in secondary school is considerable; in other countries, it is because students do not continue into tertiary education after finishing academic upper secondary school. Below

we concentrate on Belgium and Sweden, two countries with relatively large groups of second-generation Turks in academic tracks in secondary school and much smaller numbers in tertiary education.

Downstreaming from an academic track to a vocational track occurs most often in Belgium. After the initial selection between *ASO*, *TSO* and *BSO*, a further selection takes place in transitioning from the second to the third cycle in secondary school. Some of the *ASO* and *TSO* pupils end up in *BSO*, and others drop out of school altogether. We compared *ASO* and *TSO* pupils who reached higher education with those who did not. Repeating a year in secondary school turns out to be the strongest predictor for not continuing into tertiary education. Children who repeated a year were three times more likely to not continue into tertiary education. When pupils must repeat in Belgium they are simultaneously advised to drop to a lower school track. This so-called 'waterfall' system is largely responsible for the downward trend. Parental support is very important for children's survival along the academic track. Children whose parents talk about school and meet with their teachers are twice as likely to continue into tertiary education. We saw in the previous section how, for the first selection, family characteristics made little difference in Belgium. In the second half of secondary school, however, these family resources begin to play a much more prominent role, similarly to other countries.

The way the transition from upper secondary school to tertiary education is organised also has an important impact on how many students reach tertiary education. In France and the Netherlands, almost all students who receive an academic diploma from secondary school continue into tertiary education. Belgium and Sweden are outliers because of the large groups of students with an academic secondary school diploma who do not automatically transfer into tertiary education. While in France and the Netherlands, the transition does not really involve a deliberate choice, in Belgium and Sweden, it seems to. In Stockholm, more than a quarter of second-generation Turks do not continue into tertiary education after *gymnasie*. Another 20 per cent continue into a sort of non-tertiary adult education. This is true for pupils in all *gymnasie* programmes, though especially for those in vocational ones, and it applies much more to males than females. Also, about half the students with a *TSO* diploma (the vocational track in upper secondary school) in Belgium do not continue into tertiary education. Many more second-generation Turkish youth than children of native parents in Sweden and Belgium stop after upper secondary school. The fact that in these two systems a continuation to tertiary education involves a real choice works out negatively for the children of Turkish immigrants. In middle- and upper class-families, there are expectations for children to attend university from the very beginning. This differs in immigrant families in which a *gymnasie* or *TSO* diploma is already a major step forward, compared to what their parents' have achieved. In these families, pursuing

tertiary education competes with the opportunity to work and earn one's own income. It seems that the decision of whether or not to continue school is largely made by the eighteen year olds themselves.

In the Netherlands and Austria, the percentage of second-generation Turks in tertiary education is actually higher than for academic tracks in secondary school. This means that a considerable group enters tertiary education through upstreaming and continuing their studies after middle vocational education. Table 5.14 presents the percentage of tertiary students who started out in a vocational track in secondary school.

Table 5.14 *Second-generation Turks (with low-educated parents) in higher education who followed a non-academic track in secondary school (in %), by country*

<i>Non-academic track in secondary or lower secondary school</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>Belgium</i>	<i>The Netherlands</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Sweden</i>
Respondents	52.5	30.7	45.9	10.5	25.0	19.2

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

The Dutch system is very selective at the beginning of secondary school, creating a division of pupils into different tracks as early as at age twelve. But this early selection is somewhat mitigated by the many opportunities to stream up into pre-academic tracks and tertiary education. Almost half the second-generation Turks have taken this alternative route to tertiary education. In the group of native parentage, this applies to only half as many students (20 per cent). Once on the alternative route, mechanisms for second-generation Turks and the comparison group are no longer that different. For both groups, about three quarters take a route through middle vocational education (*MBO*), which is three years longer than the direct route; about one quarter enters through upstreaming during upper secondary school (*HAVO*), which takes only one year longer than the direct route.

Compared to children on the direct route, these students generally have parents with very low levels of education (often only primary school or no education at all). They also live in more cramped houses and have less space to do their homework. They also less often reported having elder siblings already in tertiary education who could help them out with school. The indirect route seems to be an alternative for students from families with very low cultural capital.

The Austrian case is interesting to contrast with the Dutch one because pupils who move up from the non-academic track in Austria do not experience a similar delay in getting a degree that gives them access to university. In Austria, at the end of lower secondary education, the students coming from *Hauptschule* can switch directly to *AHS Oberstufe*, the upper

secondary academic track lasting four years (comparable to *HAVO/VWO* in the Netherlands), or they continue on to *BHS*, the upper secondary vocational track lasting five years. Both provide a diploma to enter university.

The pathways of successful students are very different. In Sweden and France, the group that makes it into tertiary education is much larger and much more diverse. An early exposure to institutional learning and late selection make it possible for many ‘above-average students’ from disadvantaged backgrounds to reach higher education on a direct route without major delays. In the Netherlands, above-average students who are persistent enough also get a chance to enter higher education through a longer or alternative route. But in the two German cities, we find that even the brightest children can barely achieve entry into the higher education system if their parents are poorly educated. The German school system is so selective at all important transition points that virtually all children of lower-educated Turkish parents are driven away from the academic track.

5.7 Concluding remarks

The position of the second generation at school highly differs from country to country. In all cases, however, the second generation still lags behind their peers of native-born parents. The main differences with the comparison group occur at extreme ends of the educational spectrum. More second-generation youngsters are early school leavers and fewer are able to access higher education. The vocational track receives the majority of the second-generation youth in our survey, between half to three quarters being found there. Some only get as far as the first step and become early school leavers, while others climb the ladder higher and finish an apprenticeship that gives access to middle-level positions in the labour market. There is, however, also a considerable group of second-generation youth found in post-secondary or tertiary education. About one in five of our second-generation respondents was still studying in tertiary education or had already obtained a higher education diploma. Second-generation females in most cases closed the gender gap up to the highest level. Access to tertiary education is one of the areas where country and city variation is largest. This means that in some cities the second generation is already quite visible in higher education institutions, while in others this group is still very small. A substantial part of second-generation students in tertiary education has taken an indirect route through the vocational track into higher education. The indirect route provides a ‘second chance’ especially for those school systems that select children early. We see that the second generation is using these indirect routes much more often than the comparison group.

Based on *comparative integration context theory*, we predicted that second-generation groups of the same ethnic origin would perform very

differently across countries and cities. The detailed information on school outcomes and school careers does indeed show that the challenges faced by second-generation Turks are very different across countries and sometimes even between cities within the same country. Educational institutional arrangements are a main driving force behind school level differences. An obvious example is the starting age for school and preschool. In France, learning the second language is a much smaller challenge than in Austria, where the average age on entering an educational institution is three to four years later. Most second-generation children in France begin learning French by age three, when their peers of native-born parents are also still in the beginnings of language learning. In Austria, only entering an educational institution at age six or seven means that children of Turkish immigrants already lag considerably behind in their German language skills, compared to the children of native parentage.

Our results also show large differences across countries concerning the importance of the vocational track and how transitions to an apprenticeship and from upper secondary school to post-secondary education are organised. All these variations combined lead to substantial difference in attained educational levels across countries and cities. Comparing the school level outcomes for second-generation Turks across the seven countries in the TIES survey, we distinguished four typical outcomes: fast upward mobility, polarisation, slow mobility and low mobility. Based on our analysis of the three primary selection and transition points in the school careers of second-generation Turks in the seven countries, we can summarise the most significant institutional arrangements to determine the four outcomes, as seen in figure 5.8.

Influential institutional factors can roughly be brought together under the heading of ‘preparing practices’. In early childhood education and care facilities, second-generation youth have the opportunity to learn the language of instruction (assuming that it is not spoken at home), to the extent that they will be comfortable and capable enough to learn using that language in primary school. Late selection gives second-generation youth extra time to prepare for high-stakes testing. Upstreaming in upper secondary school affords an extra opportunity to move up the educational ladder after the first selection point. All these institutional arrangements influence tracking in secondary school.

For early school leaving, the main focus is on students who fall in the vocational column. The original idea behind tracking in secondary school (and the main objection to a more comprehensive approach in school otherwise) is that different tracks would create a learning environment best adapted to students’ varying abilities and skill levels from an early age. However, this is not the case. Early tracking often leads to marginalised, highly segregated school streams, with many social problems concentrated in one school type. As a result, children on vocational tracks have a much

Figure 5.8 *Important institutional arrangements in school according to the school outcome typology for second-generation Turks in seven European countries*

Countries and cities		School outcome typology	Institutional arrangements explaining tracking in secondary school	Institutional arrangements explaining % of early school leavers	Institutional arrangements explaining % of higher education students	Resulting school integration context
Germany		Low mobility	Vocationally oriented	Difficult transition to apprenticeship	Further selection	Highly unfavourable
Austria			Preschool optional		Upstreaming downstreaming	
Belgium	Antwerp			Marginal vocational track	Downstreaming	
Switzerland		Slow mobility	Early selection	Smooth transition to apprenticeship	Upstreaming and downstreaming	Neutral
The Netherlands		Polarisation	Comprehensive Preschool almost compulsory	Marginal vocational track	Upstreaming and long route	Mixed
Belgium	Brussels				Somedownstreaming	
France	Strasbourg				Some stop after upper secondary	
Sweden	Stockholm	Fast upward	Late selection	Automatic transition to upper	Most enter higher education directly	Highly favourable
France	Paris			Secondary school		

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008

higher chance of leaving school early than pupils in other tracks. While the transition within the academic tracks from lower to upper secondary school is almost automatic, many second-generation pupils in the vocational tracks do not make the transition to an apprenticeship, in which case most become early school leavers. Only the *Brückenangebot* in Switzerland provides a positive example of how to ease this transition.

School systems are also organised differently in the transition to tertiary education. In most countries, students are expected to continue to higher education after *Gymnasium* or *lyceum*, but in some countries this is not automatic. Another main difference is the availability of an alternative route through the vocational column. Upstreaming through the non-academic column provides, at least in some countries like in the Netherlands, a second chance to pass high-stakes testing at a later stage, when the students are better prepared to succeed.

In general, we see that specific characteristics of the school systems are magnified for the second generation by contrast to the comparison group. If school systems produce a lot of early school leavers, children of immigrants are among the groups most affected. Or, if downstreaming is an important feature of the school system, this proves to be an even stronger mechanism for the second generation. The same is true for school system features like upstreaming or the long route. They work equally well, if not even better, for the second generation as for the comparison group. We coin this the *multiplier effect*.

Different school systems demand different levels of parental involvement. Some types of support are easier than others for parents with low levels of education. In primary school in Germany and Austria, parents are expected to provide practical support and to control the time children spend on homework. Should they not attend preschool, the parents are also responsible for their children's German language proficiency. This results in an unhappy marriage of lacking family resources and demands of the school system. Yet, more 'egalitarian' systems exist that require the parents to intervene only when children show more severe learning and behavioural problems. The Swedish system, especially, shows how the average pupil can succeed without much parental involvement.

Based on our findings, we can create a *school integration context typology* for children of low-educated immigrants that can be used for international comparative research. We identified four types of school integration contexts that range from very favourable to very unfavourable. The most favourable school integration context is an *inclusive* context in which immigrant children's learning abilities are the primary factor in placement into academic tracks and where immigrant parents' lower educational level is not a hindrance, per se. At the opposite end of the spectrum in the most unfavourable *exclusionary* integration school context, whereby the lower-class background of the immigrant parents prevents most children from entering tertiary education, but also makes the transition to an apprenticeship problematic for lower-class immigrant children. Among children whose parents offer little or no school support, many become early school leavers. An *inclusive vocational* school integration context, in contrast, provides a smooth transition to apprenticeships. The route to higher education, however, is still blocked for most children of lower-educated immigrant parents. Finally, in the *permeable* integration school context, there exist many opportunities to stream up, but also to be streamed down. This leads to highly polarised outcomes. Parents' support or lack thereof can thus be crucial; so is persistence among the students themselves.

Boudon (1974) introduced a useful distinction when determining differences in children's school career courses that stem from different class background. Primary effects describe differences in academic performance;

secondary effects describe different choices in educational career when performance levels are the same. If we compare the four types, the primary effects (driven by the parents' own education) are largest in an exclusionary integration school context. Here, Turkish parents with very low levels of education are usually unable to offer the help needed in this school system. Secondary effects loom large in integration school contexts that involve crucial choices. The points at which decisions must be made prove important here, too. Decisions at an early age are much more influenced by parents, while later in life decisions are much more frequently made by the student. In an exclusionary integration context, choices must be made early, for instance, with regard to preschool attendance and continuation after compulsory school at age fifteen or sixteen. In an inclusive and permeable school integration context, these decisions need only be made by age eighteen or older. In this last case, the students' own motivations and goals gain more currency.

The national school systems offer various windows of opportunity at different stages for parents and elder siblings to support children in school. Immigrant parents are better equipped for some challenges than others. As a result of both the integration context and the agency of parents, we see the second generation performing more successfully in education in some countries than in others.

Notes

- 1 An explanation of the different schools and levels per country is given in table 5.15 in the appendix.
- 2 The respondents were asked to estimate the share of immigrant children in the schools they attended.
- 3 The great variation in national educational structures across the European Union could well diminish during the next decades.
- 4 The educational systems in many countries have undergone structural changes, either since our respondents attended school or during their school careers. Older respondents may have thus experienced somewhat different institutional settings than the younger ones.
- 5 The option to home-school children is regulated differently across the countries. The share and nature of private and public schools also differ greatly in the countries covered.
- 6 As explained in the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 1997 (UNESCO 1997: 9).
- 7 In Austria, the share of students of a Turkish migration background at the end of compulsory schooling (aged fifteen) who have repeated one or more years is 30 per cent, while the share among students of a former Yugoslavian background is 18 per cent. This figure drops to 13 per cent among students with no migration background (see Breit 2009: 142-144).
- 8 As Kerckhoff (2001: 14) has pointed out, a student's individual choice is not only affected by formal structures, but also the normative influences of functional

communities. Together the three elements – structures, functional communities, individual choices – affect the trajectories through the educational system and on the labour market in all societies, even though ‘... nature, extent, and timing of their effects vary’.

- 9 Over the course of three years, apprentices have two places of learning: four days a week at the enterprise itself and one day at school. Successfully attaining an apprenticeship certificate at the end of this period means the student possesses a full professional qualification, which, depending on the profession, can translate into higher earnings than credentials gained on an academic track in upper secondary schooling would yield. However, the academic track is still seen as more prestigious, leading to university access and more promising careers in the long run.
- 10 Results presented in the tables are weighted against characteristics of the different ethnic groups in the city population (for a detailed explanation of the weights, see chapter 3).
- 11 By effect, this leads to a certain degree of overestimation of educational attainments because some of these students would have dropped out of their present level. On the other hand, some of those who were still in education would have continued on to an even higher level. In the French survey, for instance, about a third of these respondents were still in secondary education and many were bound to move up to some form of post-secondary education. We suppose that, on average, conflation of the highest diploma with current level of schooling produces the most realistic representation of our respondents’ educational attainment.
- 12 The details of this coding system are described in appendix 5.1.
- 13 Looking at results, we need to be cautious because early school leavers are usually slightly underrepresented in surveys. Our survey in France was able to identify the educational level of respondents who refused to participate; here we did see that early school leavers were somewhat underrepresented and higher education students were a bit overrepresented.
- 14 The comparison group in our survey is purposely sampled in neighbourhoods where the second generation is settled. While for the second generation, we aimed to interview a representative sample at the city level, this was not the aim for the comparison group. In some cities, neighbourhoods where the second generation lives have high percentages of students, whereas in others, the predominant non-immigrant population is working-class. As a result, the socio-economic background characteristics of the comparison group differ considerably across cities.
- 15 Outcomes for the other two second-generation groups show similarly large impacts of parental educational level in Germany and Austria.
- 16 Mostly recruited for unskilled labour in the 1960s and 1970s, the parents frequently entered the host countries as guest workers coming from rural areas. Overwhelmingly, the parents were educated in their home countries, namely, in villages with limited schooling opportunities.
- 17 It is difficult to fit the Belgian case into the international comparison because, unlike in any other country, secondary education is divided in three parts, rather than two. We can either base our Belgian figures on the first cycle (years 1 and 2) as this is the official threshold for early school leaving, or we could include the second cycle (years 3 and 4), which comes closer to the duration of lower secondary education in most other countries. Using the latter basis, the percentage of early school leavers is much larger and matches that of the Dutch case. We selected this broader definition of early school leaving, including the second cycle, even though it means having to overestimate early school leaving in Belgium vis-à-vis other countries.

- 18 We see similarly high outcomes for second-generation Moroccans in the Dutch and Belgian cities. The outcomes for the second-generation former Yugoslavians in Germany and Austria look a bit more promising than those of their Turkish peers.
- 19 This excludes, in particular, a group of post-secondary (non-tertiary) respondents in Belgium, who were doing an extra sixth year after upper secondary school.
- 20 The reader should take into account that the starting school age of our sample of eighteen to 35 year olds reflects the situation in kindergarten and primary school in the 1970s and 1980s.
- 21 In the Dutch case, a quarter of the second-generation Turkish students who dropped out of lower secondary school had interrupted their school attendance in the Netherlands during primary school to go to Turkey for a period lasting more than three months. This decision, one made by their parents, has had a huge negative effect on their school careers in the Netherlands.
- 22 This is less clear-cut in France, where those who have no lower secondary diploma usually did finish *collège*, albeit without a diploma. It is questionable if they should actually be categorised as drop-outs.
- 23 Unfortunately, for the German-speaking countries we did not include the answer category 'Not able to find an apprenticeship'. In hindsight, we realise this was probably a major reason for many students not to continue.
- 24 Excluded from the analysis are respondents who are still in school and previously followed an academic track in secondary school but are not yet in tertiary education.

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Appendix

For the purposes of sound cross-country comparison, we designed a coding system. Though based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) system, we included more detailed categories of the TIES survey countries' education systems. We refer to this toolkit as the EDU codes. Especially challenging was the fact that some countries have separate vocational tracks after lower secondary school, while others keep the vocational track within upper secondary education. Our criteria for coding students within an internationally comparable scheme are similar to that of the ISCED: we thus look to the next potential step in education to which a current track provides access. The steps in the coding table follow the logic of a hierarchy from lower to higher. Distances between the steps, however, are not equal.

Table 5.15 Explanation of international coding system: EDU codes

	The Netherlands	Germany	Austria	Belgium	France	Sweden	Zurich (canton)	Switzerland Basel (city)	Basel
1	Preschool	Kindergarten	Kindergarten		École maternelle		Zurich (canton)	Basel (city)	Basel
11	Primary school	Grundschule	Volksschule	Basisschool	École primaire			Kindergarten	
12	Special secondary education	Sonderschule	Sonderschulen	Bijzonder onderwijs				Primarschule	
21	Vocational track	Hauptschule	Hauptschule	Orientatie B			Oberschule, Realschule, AVO (Stammklasse Abteilung C)	Gesamtklasse	Realschule inklusive Berufswahl-klasse (now Sekundar- schule Niveau A)
		Berufs vorbereitungsjahr (BVJ); Berufs qualifizierender Lehrgang (BQL)	Polytechnikum				(now 3-teilige Sekundarschule Abteilung B, C, Stammklasse G)	A-Zug	
									Brückenangebot (Berufswahljahr, Werkjahr, 10. Schuljahr, Vorlehre, Vorkurs, Vorbereitungsschule)

31	Short middle vocational education or apprenticeship	KMO (old) MBO-1 (new) MBO-2 (new)	Berufsgrundschuljahr (BGJ) Lehre mit Berufsschule (duale Ausbildung)	Lehre, einjähriger, BSO zweijähriger und mehijähriger Lehrgang Berufsbildende mittlere Schule (BMS);	CAP/MC/BEP - Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle - CAP or BEP - Brevet d'études professionnelles; Brevet professionnel ou de technicien	Berufslehre (Anlehre) 1-2 Jahre mit Berufsattest	
33	Upper secondary vocational track or apprenticeship (3 or 4 years)	MBO or MBO-4 or HAVO	Berufssoberschule; Fachoberschule (FOS)	TSO	Baccalauréat professionnel; Baccalauréat technologique	Gymnasie Utbildning (Vocational programme)	Berufslehre 2-4 years with Fähigkeitsausweis, Weiterführende Schule, Diplommittelschule

34	Upper secondary academic track	VWO or gymnasium	Gymnasium (allgemeinbildend, beruflich u.ä.) Oberstufe der Gesamtschule	AHS Oberstufe; Aufbaulehrgang mit Matura-Abschluss; Berufsbildende höhere Schule (BHS)	ASO	Baccalauréat général or Brevet supérieur or DAEU	Gymnasie Utbildning (academic programme) Vuxenutbildning Folkhögskola	Berufslehre with Berufsmaturität; LehrerInnenseminar; Gymnasium (gymnasiale Maturität); Berufsmaturitätsschule after Lehre	
41	Higher vocational education or academia	HBO	Verwaltungsfachschule Fachhochschule	Akademien, Kolleg Schule mit Diploma, Medizin Speziallehrgang	Specialisation after the sixth year Lower tertiary education (non-university)	Diplôme des professions sociales et de la santé de niveau Bac+2 BTS DUT	Höhere Fachschule		

42	University	Universität	Fachhochschule Kunst- oder Musik Pädagogische Hochschule Universität	Fachhochschule Universität	Higher tertiary education (university; new system) Higher tertiary education (university; old system) Complemen- tary lower tertiary education (non- university) Complemen- tary higher tertiary education (university)	Diplôme de 1 ^{er} cycle universitaire Diplôme de 2 ^{ème} cycle universitaire Diplômes d'ingénieur, d'une grande école	University 4 years	Fachhochschule Universität, ETH
50		Doctor (PhD)	Post-graduale Ausbildung Promotions-studium	Doktorats- studium	Doctorate	Diplôme de 3 ^{ème} cycle universitaire Doctorat et médecine, pharmacie	PhD	PhD

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008