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The social well-being of second-generation Turks in two Austrian cities

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Abstract
The most recent *Austrian Integration Report* indicates that a substantial proportion of Turkish immigrants do not feel at home in Austria. Whether these lower levels of social well-being also apply to the Turkish first, second or follow-up generations in Austria is uncertain. This article aims to fill this gap by asking how the Turkish second generation perceives their social inclusion into Austrian society. Results based on the TIES survey reveal that social well-being is largely determined by immigrants' socio-economic achievements as well as by experiences of discrimination in their educational and occupational trajectories and daily life. Intergenerational progress is also found to be positively related with social well-being but at a much lower level.
Keywords: Austria; Turks; second-generation; well-being; discrimination; education.

Introduction

The achievements of Turkish immigrants and their descendants in Austria, and the opportunities available to them, are often regarded as the "litmus test" for integration and for the success or failure of Austrian integration policies in this field. While previous research on the situation of the Turkish first and second generation in Austria started to focus on the actual size and the determinants of ethnic inequalities that migrants may face in education or on the labour market (Bacher, 2010; Herzog-Punzenberger and Gapp, 2009; Kogan, 2007), empirical research examining the consequences of these inequalities on their social well-being is scarce. Nevertheless, exploring patterns of social well-being and perceptions of belonging within the Turkish community seems to be of significant relevance, given that a substantial proportion of this group does not feel at home within Austria (BMI, 2013: 90–91). Moreover, slightly more than every second person of Turkish origin feels more strongly attached to their country of origin than to their receiving country of Austria. Explanations for these striking findings are largely missing and whether these lower

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levels of social well-being also apply to Turkish second and follow-up generations is uncertain. The social inclusion of second-generation Turks is of particular importance, since they were born and raised in Austria and their perceptions may provide a clearer indication of the long-term prospects for their integration into society than do the experiences of the first generation, their parents (Esser, 2004; Gordon, 1964).

Within this paper I ask how the Turkish second generation perceives their social inclusion in Austrian society. I argue that their opportunities and socio-economic success, as well as their experiences of unfair treatment and exclusion, are intimately tied up with their social well-being. Looking at the social well-being of second-generation Turks and examining its interconnection with their socio-economic achievements and experiences of discrimination provides a detailed picture on their objective and subjective processes of "integration" in Austria.

In line with previous studies, I focus on three separate indicators constituting social well-being among the descendants of immigrants: feelings of belonging, out-group trust and individual self-esteem (Dion *et al.*, 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Reitz, 2009). These three aspects of social well-being are "important in determining social cohesion since they are known to be strongly related to pro-social behaviour and social ties at all levels" (Dion *et al.*, 2009: 70). They have not yet been investigated for Austria nor for other European countries. As stated above, I assume that the social well-being of second-generation Turks is related to their socio-economic well-being, defined as a low or ideally absent degree of socio-economic inequality. Evidence supporting this link is primarily derived from US and Canadian studies on the second-generation indicating that, if ethno-racial communities experience inequality, there are effects on the sense of fairness, openness and overall life satisfaction of the children of immigrants (Dion *et al.*, 2009; Greenman and Xie, 2008). Two theoretical approaches might additionally help to highlight the potential correlation with socio-economic well-being. To begin with, according to "resource theory" (Ormel *et al.*, 1999), social well-being depends on material, social and cognitive resources such as education or income. This strand of theory assumes that social well-being is determined by individual resources which affect social well-being in absolute and relative terms (Diener, 2009). Achieving a higher socio-economic status will help second-generation Turks to better cope with negative life events. In relative terms, achieving a higher socio-economic status may increase individual self-efficacy and therefore social well-being. Second, "social comparison theory" (Festinger, 1954) states that individual achievement improves social well-being under certain conditions only (Kriesi *et al.*, 2012: 248). The degree of social well-being depends on the comparison between an individual's own achievement and a standard benchmark. As previous research has largely shown, the family-of-origin is often one such a standard used for judgement by second generations (e.g. Rumbaut, 2008). In other words, the degree of intergenerational progress is likely to serve as the

benchmark for social comparison and is assumed to affect the social well-being of second-generation Turks.

Social comparison theory additionally highlights the importance of contextual conditions which might affect the improvement of social well-being (Kruglanski and Mayseless, 1990: 198–199). Portes and Rumbaut (2001: 63) state that one of the strongest contextual factors influencing the degree and concrete path of integration by the descendants of immigrants is perceived discrimination. Unfair treatment and experiences of hostility have been found to be related to ethnic group identification and a stronger in-group orientation (Dion and Phan, 2009). Moreover, considerable evidence exists that experienced discrimination can be conceptualized as a psychological stressor leading to reduced self-esteem among the descendants of immigrants (Dion 2003). Following this line of argumentation, I assume that perceived discrimination in different life domains will be related to lower degrees of social well-being by second-generation Turks in Austria.

In what follows, I first provide a brief overview on the data I am using. I then set out my evaluation of the degree to which the socio-economic well-being of second-generation Turks in Austria takes place. I pay particular attention to intergenerational mobility and the degree of equality in socio-economic outcomes through a relative comparison with young adults without a migration background. Next, I examine second-generation Turks' perceptions of unfair treatment and hostility before turning to patterns of social well-being and their inter-relatedness with socio-economic well-being and perceptions of discrimination. Finally, I reflect on my findings in the conclusion.

Data

To empirically investigate the social well-being of second generation Turks in Austria I use data from the Austrian sample of the "The Integration of the European Second Generation" survey (TIES). TIES is a collection of data about the children of immigrants from Turkey, the Western Balkans and Morocco in fifteen European cities in eight Western European countries (Crul *et al.*, 2012). The Austrian sample was conducted in the two cities – Linz and Vienna – among both respondents of Turkish origin and interviewees without a migration background (comparison group) in 2007–2008. The term "second generation" refers to the children of Turkish immigrants who have at least one parent born in Turkey but who were, themselves, born in Austria and have followed their entire education there. At the time of the interviews, the respondents were between 18 and 35 years old. An onomastic sampling approach was used to survey second-generation Turks, while the comparison group was selected by random route walking. The final response rate among the Turkish second generation was around 49% in Vienna and 70% in Linz. The comparison group responded almost equally in both cities at a rate of around 42% (Schnell, 2014). Since socio-economic well-being includes occu-

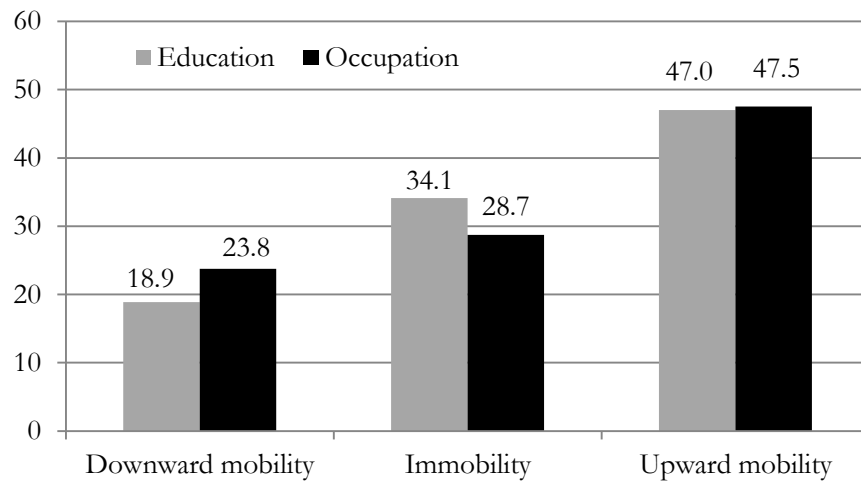
pational attainment, this paper excludes respondents who were still in school at the time of the interviews, leading to a total sample size of N=334 Turkish descendants.

Socio-economic well-being

Intergenerational mobility

A large body of work has shown that opportunities for the children of immigrants become the most evident by examining their degree of intergenerational mobility (Borjas, 1992; Loury, 2005; Platt, 2005). Greater levels of intergenerational mobility can be read as indicators of greater openness and a weaker link between parental socio-economic background and advantageous outcomes for their children. Further, the intergenerational mobility approach also indicates whether or not the children of Turkish immigrants improve their educational and occupational distribution. In order to assess whether the Turkish second generation has made progress in comparison to the first generation, a mobility index has been created following the procedures applied by Rumbaut (2008). Children who obtained the same educational or occupational levels as their parents are labeled as immobile, while those found to be either above or below are classified as upward or downward movers respectively.

Figure 1. Intergenerational mobility in education and occupation (%)



Source: TIES Austria (2007–2008).

Notes: Intergenerational educational mobility is based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), while intergenerational mobility in occupation draws on the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI).

From this perspective, the general trend of mobility between the generations is of interest, rather than the actual achievement. The results of the mobility patterns are given in Figure 1. To begin with a positive note, almost every second child of Turkish origin moves beyond the educational and occupational

level of his or her parents. But, at the same time, nearly one in three children match the level achieved by his or her parents and one in five experiences intergenerational downward mobility in education or on the labour market. The mobility trends presented here hardly differ between education and occupation, and do not vary at all between the two survey cities of Vienna and Linz (not shown in Figure 1). Taken as a whole, the findings for intergenerational mobility indicate quite moderate progress for the Turkish second-generation in Austria. Given that their Turkish parents migrated to Austria equipped with very little educational experience and were predominately working in the lower segments of the Austrian labour market (Schnell 2014), the results indicate that opportunities for second-generation Turks seem to be somewhat blocked, suggesting a low level of meritocracy in Austria.[1]

Educational and occupational attainment

I now turn to the question of whether the socio-economic outcomes of the Turkish second generation and the respective comparison group are comparable. The comparison group are young adults whose parents were both born in Austria. I descriptively explore their educational attainment and occupational positions and highlight the percentage-point differences between the two study groups along the two outcome measures. The results displayed in Table 1 indicate two dominant trends. The first is that second-generation Turks are over-represented in the lower educational strata while significantly lagging behind the comparison group at the highest end of the educational ladder. These patterns are stable across gender and in the two survey cities (not shown in Table 1) and are predominantly in line with earlier studies on educational attainment conducted in Austria (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003, 2007; Unterwurzacher, 2007; Weiss and Unterwurzacher, 2007). In order to explain these differences, it is important to consider interactions between individual-level factors and resources and the institutional constellations of the Austrian education system. The main components of the Austrian institutional constellation are the late starting age of pre-schooling, the early segregation into different ability tracks (at the age of ten), the low degree of permeability between education streams after the early tracking, and a half-day teaching system in compulsory education. The impact of this on the early stages of a student's education leads to greater interaction with family resources. Parents are important agents in this early period in supporting their children's learning and making school choices. The significance of within-family resources is also related to the half-day schooling system that persists throughout the compulsory education years. The responsibility to learn is transferred to the parental home and to the students' leisure time, which makes parental involvement

[1] Although these results are largely in line with previous findings (e.g. Weiss and Unterwurzacher, 2007), we nevertheless have to keep in mind that the number of young adults who are upward mobile might be particularly low because those still in school have been excluded from the analysis. However, those in post-secondary or tertiary education are the most upwardly mobile descendants of Turkish immigrants (Schnell, 2014).

and support significantly more important for students in terms of learning and homework. Although the relevance of family support can be seen for all students in the Austrian system, family support is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group (Schnell, 2014; Schnell and Crul, 2014). In Austria, the start of the school career is an important period in which the level of interaction with family resources is particularly high, and the institutional settings of the education system provide only a few opportunities to correct earlier decisions, thus leading to greater differences between second-generation Turkish children and the children of non-immigrant parents.

Table 1. The educational attainment and occupational position of second-generation Turks and the comparison group (%)

	Second-generation Turks	Comparison group	%-point difference
Educational attainment			
Lower-secondary	28.4	11.0	17.4
Upper-secondary: academically orientated	12.3	16.7	-4.4
Upper-secondary: vocationally orientated	48.2	51.3	-3.1
Post-secondary/tertiary	11.1	20.9	-9.8
Occupational position (EGP- social class)			
Economically inactive	37.7	27.0	10.7
Unskilled blue-collar worker	12.0	8.9	3.1
Skilled blue-collar worker	15.9	9.8	6.1
White-collar worker	20.4	29.7	-9.3
Executives, Professionals	14.1	24.6	-10.6
N	334	337	

Source: TIES Austria (2007–2008).

The second major finding from Table 1 is that the unequal distribution in education is mirrored on the labour market, where second-generation Turks are in particular under-represented in higher occupations such as white-collar workers or professionals. Using the same data from the TIES survey, Lessard-Phillips *et al.* (2012) show that a substantial proportion of the differences in low- and high-level occupations between the two groups in Austria are substantially reduced when controlling for the human capital of the Turkish second generation. The level of education is the most important factor. Higher levels of education significantly reduce the likelihood of low-level occupations

and, *vice versa*, decrease the chances of achieving a high-level position on the labour market (Lessard-Phillips et al., 2012: 190-195). Taken together, second-generation Turks in Austria face substantial disadvantages in education which often persist even after controlling for parental socio-economic background characteristics. The educational background of the Turkish second generation is mainly the reason for their more difficult access to high-level occupations and therefore largely explains the disadvantages in their occupational status.

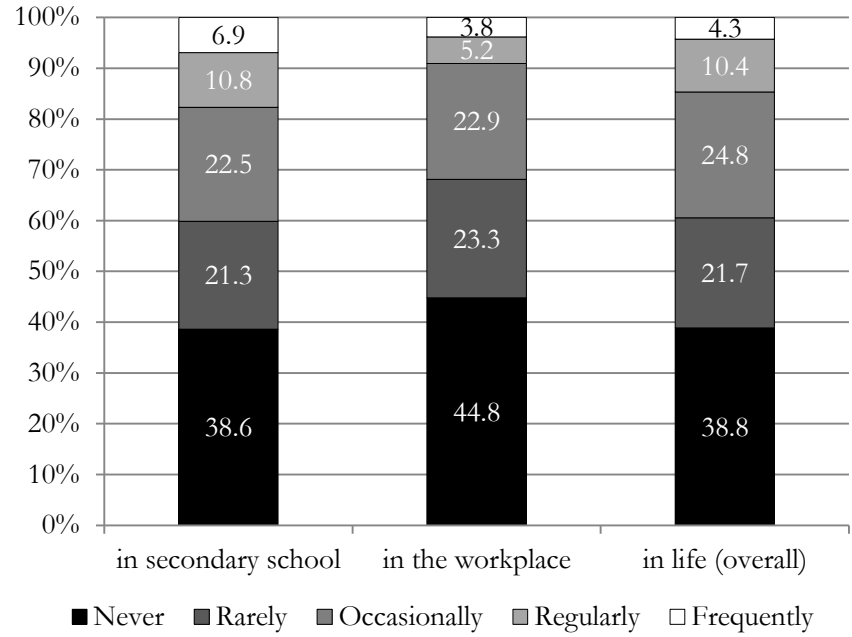
Perceived discrimination

As stated at the outset of this study, experiences of discrimination might influence the lack of of social well-being of second-generation Turks. I therefore now turn to the question of whether members of the Turkish second generation experience unfair treatment and hostility in everyday encounters. My examination of their perceptions of discrimination is built on respondents' answers to survey questions asking whether they experience hostility or unfair treatment because of their origin in (1) secondary school, (2) their current workplace and (3) ever in life. Discrimination, here, is taken to include experiences of negative action and attitudes because of their ethnic origin. Of course, measuring discrimination through survey research is not without its limitations and problems, since this phenomenon "is subject to such diverse social flections" (Salentin, 2007: 36). Moreover, sensitivity to unfair treatment and the threshold of perceptions of discrimination might vary across countries and even among certain origin groups within countries (Marsh and Sahin-Dikmen, 2003). However, despite these methodological caveats, the reporting of unfair treatment at different levels (and therefore assuming discrimination) should be read as an indication of reality, as an expression of subjective experiences which may help to better understand the minority viewpoint in certain situations (Salentin, 2007). The pattern of response to the questions about unfair treatment is displayed in Figure 2. The first result is that roughly six out of ten descendants of Turkish immigrants perceived some kind of unfair treatment in school, in the workplace or overall in life, a result which is consistent across all three life domains and does not differ between the survey cities or gender (not shown in Figure 2). As for the Turkish second-generation group, who experienced hostility regularly or frequently, we find the discrimination to be the greatest in school (18%) followed by life in general (15%) and in the workplace (9%).

Previous research on experiences of discrimination reports generally higher perceptions of unfair treatment among those with disadvantaged social status, such as little education or low income (Kasinitz *et al.* 2008). In order to explore possible inter-relations, I used (Spearman rank) correlations between the three indicators of discrimination and my measures of socio-economic attainment presented in Table 1. My findings revealed that potential relationships between the two sets of measures are barely observable for second-generation Turks in the two Austrian cities, underlining that perceived dis-

crimination largely pervades different socio-economic positions and cannot be limited to socio-economically disadvantaged second-generation Turks.[2]

Figure 2. Perceptions of discrimination by second-generation Turks (%)



Source: TIES Austria (2007–2008).

Social well-being and its determinants

This final section turns to the question of how the Turkish second generation perceives their social inclusion in Austrian society and how socio-economic well-being and perceived discrimination might affect their social well-being. I treat social well-being as measured by Dion *et al.* (2009) and Reitz (2009) through using three constructs: self-esteem, feelings of belonging and out-group trust (for a detailed description of the variables see the Appendix).

Self-esteem is measured on a scale combining the degree of agreement of respondents with the statements "I am able to do things as well as most other people", "I feel I do have much to be proud of", "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself", "At times I think I am no good at all" (reversed). The final scale ranges from 1 to 4, while an increasing factor score indicates an increase in the level of self-esteem, the average level of which is 3.5 for second-

[2] The only exception was found, albeit at a rather weak statistical level, with the correlation between educational level and perceived unfair treatment in life (correlation coefficient: 0.10, $p<0.1$).

generation Turks. The measure "Feelings of belonging" consists of two survey items: How strongly do you feel that you belong to... "Austria" and "the survey city (Vienna/Linz)". Answer categories ranged from 1, "Not at all" to 6, "Very strong", with a mean value of 4.1 for the study group. Finally, interviewees were asked to imagine a thermometer and to indicate their feelings towards the Austrian population – ranging from 0° Celsius on a 10-point scale up to 100° Celsius. An increasing score indicates a rise in the level of out-group trust and feelings towards the majority population (mean=65° Celsius).

Ordinary least-squares regression is used to test for the influence of intergenerational mobility, individual socio-economic attainment and perceived discrimination on the three indicators of social well-being. For each outcome variable, three models of increasing complexity have been estimated. The first model (M1) contains measures of intergenerational mobility as well as city of residence, age and gender as control variables. In a second step (M2), the effects of individual education, occupation attainment and perceived discrimination are examined. This model is free from measures of intergenerational mobility. The basic idea behind this twofold strategy is to explore the influence of each set of indicators separately. The final model (M3) includes all variables of interest in one. For the sake of brevity, discussion of the results are largely based on Model 3 (M3), but important differences between the remaining steps will be stressed below.

Overall, the results presented in Model 3 of Table 2 reveal quite similar patterns with respect to the influence of my independent variables of interest on the three aspects of social well-being of second-generation Turks in Austria. To begin with, the figures show that intergenerational mobility is positively related to it. Achieving a higher educational level than their parents increases the individual level of self-esteem as well as the amount of out-group trust which second-generation Turks have in the majority population. A similar direction can be predicted for intergenerational occupational mobility towards feelings of belonging. Put differently, greater intergenerational socio-economic progress by descendants of Turkish immigrants in Austria translates into higher levels of social well-being.

Turning to the relationship between the socio-economic attainment of the Turkish second-generation and their social well-being, we see that the regression coefficients indicate that a low educational level decreases feelings of belonging, trust in the majority population and levels of self-esteem. The latter is also substantially reduced for children of Turkish immigrants who obtain a low social-class position, particularly when unemployed. Those second-generation Turks who are at the margins of the socio-economic spectrum in Austria not only have the lowest levels of self-esteem but also have a stronger tendency to feel less attached to their country and city of birth. Consequently, their low sense of belonging seems to increase their perceptions of social distance with the non-Turkish majority population.

A strong and negative effect on all three outcome variables measuring social well-being is additionally found for perceived discrimination (the responses to all three questions about unfair treatment presented in Figure 2 are combined in one index). The more frequently hostility is perceived in school, the workplace or generally in life, the lower the social well-being of second-generation Turks. Thus, discrimination experiences seem to be a major roadblock for positive individual perceptions of self-esteem, feelings of belonging and trust in members outside the Turkish community.[3]

Table 2. Ordinary Least Squares Regression of social well-being, standardized beta coefficients

	Self-esteem			Feelings of belonging			Out-group trust		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
Vienna	**-0.17****	**-0.15****	**-0.16****	**-0.15****	**-0.17****	**-0.16****	**-0.20*****	**-0.15****	**-0.16****
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(2.94)	(3.07)	(3.05)
Intergenerational upward mobility									
Education	**0.17****	–	**0.11***	0.03	–	0.01	**0.10+**	–	**0.12+**
	(0.08)		(0.09)	(0.13)		(0.14)	(2.88)		(3.08)
Occupation	0.08	–	0.10	**0.12***	–	**0.17****	0.07	–	0.10
	(0.08)		(0.08)	(0.13)		(0.13)	(2.86)		(2.94)
Educational attainment									
Lower-secondary		**-0.18****	**-0.22*****		**-0.12+**	**-0.16****		**-0.25*****	**-0.30*****
		(0.10)	(0.10)		(0.16)	(0.16)		(3.48)	(3.56)
Upper-sec.vocational		-0.01	-0.02		-0.09	-0.09		0.01	0.01
		(0.12)	(0.12)		(0.20)	(0.20)		(4.37)	(4.33)
Upper-sec. acad. (ref)									
Post-sec./tertiary		0.00	0.01		0.09	**0.10+**		0.06	0.07
		(0.13)	(0.13)		(0.22)	(0.21)		(4.77)	(4.73)
Occupational position (EGP)									
Execs/professls. (ref.)									
White-collar worker		-0.13	-0.09		0.06	0.07		-0.01	0.03
		(0.14)	(0.14)		(0.22)	(0.23)		(4.87)	(4.95)
Skilled blue-col. work		-0.01	0.04		0.10	0.11		0.00	0.06
		(0.15)	(0.15)		(0.24)	(0.24)		(5.19)	(5.36)
Unskilled bl.col. work		**-0.12+**	-0.06		0.08	0.1		0.01	0.07
		(0.16)	(0.17)		(0.25)	(0.27)		(5.51)	(5.91)
Economically inactive		**-0.24****	**-0.17+**		0.07	0.08		0.09	0.09
		(0.13)	(0.14)		(0.21)	(0.23)		(4.64)	(4.98)
Perceived discrimination		**-0.22*****	**-0.19*****		**-0.18****	**-0.14***		**-0.15****	**-0.12***
		(0.04)	(0.05)		(0.07)	(0.07)		(1.58)	(1.60)
Adjusted R2	0.06	0.16	0.17	0.05	0.10	0.12	0.04	0.11	0.13
p	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000
N	334	330	330	334	330	330	329	326	326

Source: TIES Austria (2007–2008).

*Notes: Significant levels: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. All models are controlled for age and gender (neither are significant in any of the models presented here).*

The findings displayed in Table 2 tell us that second-generation Turks' individual socio-economic attainment and perceptions of have a stronger impact on their social well-being compared to their intergenerational mobility.

[3] I further controlled for holding Austrian citizenship, since previous studies indicated at least a potential correlation between citizenship and feelings of belonging (Herzog-Punzenberger *et al.*, 2012; Schneider *et al.*, 2012). However, this variable was never significant in any of the models and has therefore been dropped from the analysis.

For example, educational attainment, social-class position and perceived discrimination explain 16% of the variation in self-esteem (R-squared of Model 2 = 0.16) while the explanatory power of intergenerational mobility is about 10 percentage points lower (see R2 in Model 1). Similar patterns are also observable for the regression outcomes on feelings of belonging and out-group trust.

It is, finally, worth noting that social well-being and the observed influences of my independent variables do not vary by age or gender. The latter finding is especially surprising given that gender differences in subjective well-being are often reported due to gendered socialisation processes (Kriesi *et al.,* 2012). At the same time, my findings reveal that the social well-being of second-generation Turks is largely determined by their socio-economic achievements and perceived discrimination – which also do not differ by gender. Throughout all my investigations, however, I find a negative effect for living in Vienna over Linz on social well-being. Second-generation Turks in Vienna show lower levels of self-esteem, feelings of belonging and trust in the majority population – and therefore social well-being – compared to their peers residing in Linz, even after considering potential variations in intergenerational mobility, individual socio-economic achievements and perceived discrimination. I return to this finding in the conclusion.

Summary and conclusion

This paper has explored the social well-being of second-generation Turks in Austria and examined its inter-relatedness with their socio-economic achievements in school and on the labour market, their degree of intergenerational progress and perceived discrimination as a contextual condition. Two major results have been revealed: first, that social well-being of second-generation Turks in Vienna and Linz is largely determined by their socio-economic achievements. Intergenerational progress is also found to be positively related with social well-being but at a much lower level. Secondly, experiences of discrimination in their educational and occupational trajectories and in daily life are the strongest predictor of their social well-being.

Beginning with the former finding, those second-generation Turks who are more at the margins of the socio-economic spectrum in Austria report lower levels of self-esteem, a stronger tendency to feel less attached to their country and city of birth and lower levels of trust in the non-Turkish majority population. This finding is worrying for at least two reasons: first, as I have shown, the group of second-generation Turks in lower educational and occupational positions seems to be particularly large in Austria due to processes of class reproduction in the Austrian education system, leading to a substantial group with low levels of social well-being. Second, studies exploring educational achievements in primary or lower-secondary education among more-recent birth cohorts of Turkish descendants still report substantial disadvantages for these adolescents (Herzog-Punzenberger and Schnell, 2014; Unterwurzacher, 2009). In other words, if the correlation between socio-

economic and social well-being persists, we can hardly expect the social well-being of our group of Turkish descendants to increase.

With respect to the second finding, this paper has shown that experiences of discrimination are a second major obstacle to the social well-being of second-generation Turks. The more frequently second-generation Turks in Austria experience unfair treatment, the less often they feel attached to Austria or the city of residence and its non-immigrant residents. Perceived hostility also reduces the individual self-esteem of these young adults of Turkish origin. Strikingly, experiences of unfair treatment and hostility prevail among second-generation Turks irrespective of their actual socio-economic position. The lack of opportunities for second-generation Turks in education and on the labour market, as well as perceptions of unfair treatment and hostility, are major obstacles to the development of their social well-being in Austria.

Besides these major outcomes, my results revealed that second-generation Turks in Vienna report lower levels of social well-being compared to their counterparts in Linz. This finding is generally in line with previous research on other dimensions of "social integration", e.g. less civic engagement or political participation (Herzog-Punzenberger *et al.*, 2012: 198–202), stronger Turkish identification (Schneider *et al.*, 2012: 298) and a greater degree of embeddedness in co-ethnic networks (Schnell, 2014; Weiss and Strodl, 2007) in Vienna compared to Linz. Future research is needed to explore why the Turks in Vienna seems to be a more closed community compared to that in Linz and whether this pattern serves as an explanation for lower levels of social well-being. In addition, potential differences in local integration and recognition policies between the two Austrian cities should be considered as a potential explanatory factor in future research.

Overall, the findings presented in this paper indicate important challenges for Austrian actors and institutions. As long as structural barriers and discrimination against second-generation Turks are not abolished, this group of people, born and residing in Austria, might not feel a sense of belonging to and acceptance by this host society. Future studies should focus particularly on the social well-being of other immigrant-origin groups and their descendants in order to examine whether the findings presented here can be generalized for all children of immigrants in Austria.

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Appendix.

Variables	Description	% mean (SD)	N
Self-esteem	A scale combining responses about how much respondents agreed with the statements "I am able to do things as well as most other people", "I feel I do have much to be proud of", "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself", "At times I think I am no good at all (reversed)" (Reliability coefficient=0.82). The final scale portrays the Rosenberg self-esteem scale and ranges from 1 to 4, while an increasing factor score indicates an increase in the level of self-esteem.	3.5 (0.86)	334
Feelings of belonging	The measure of "feelings of belonging" is made of 2 survey items: How strongly do you feel that you belong to... "Austria" and "the survey city (Vienna/Linz)". Answer categories ranged from (1) "Not at all" to 6 "Very strong" (reliability α=0.86).	4.1 (1.2)	334
Out-group Trust	Respondents were asked to imagine a thermometer and to indicate their feelings towards the Austrians/Austrian population – ranging from 0 degrees Celsius (negative feelings) on a 10-point scale up to 100 degrees Celcius (very positive feelings). An increasing score indicates an increase in the level of trust in and feelings towards the majority population.	65.4 (25.8)	334
Vienna	A dummy variable taking the value 1 for respondents living in Vienna and 0 for those residing in Linz.	59.3	198
Age	A continuous variable ranging from 18 to 35.	24.9 (4.7)	334
Female	A dummy variable coded as 1 for females and 0 for males.	52.4	175
Intergenerational upward mobility	Respondents are classified as upward mobile if they (1) achieved a higher educational level than their parents (based on the ISCED), or (2) a higher occupational status than their parents (based on ISEI)		
	Upward mobility – education	47.0	157
	Upward mobility – occupation	43.1	144

Appendix continued.

Variables	Description	% mean (SD)	N
Educational attainment	A categorical variable generated on the basis of ISCED, representing the highest achieved educational level. The categories are: lower-secondary education (max. ISCED 2a), vocational and training-orientated school types (ISCED3c), Matura-orientated school types (ISCED 3a, 3b), and post-secondary education (ISCED 4–6).		
	Lower-secondary education	28.4	95
	Upper-secondary education – academic-orientated	12.3	41
	Upper-secondary education – vocation-orientated	48.2	161
	Post-secondary/tertiary education	11.1	37
Social class (EGP)	Measured on the basis of the Erikson-Goldthrope-Portocarero (EGP) classification scheme which was derived from ISCO88. Due to small sample sizes, the EGP classes were recoded into *unskilled blue-collar workers* (classes VIa and VIb), *skilled blue-collar workers* (class V and VI), white-collar *workers* (classes IIIa, IIIb, IVa and IVb) and *executives and professionals* (classes I and II). Those who were not participating in the labour force at the time of the interview have been coded as *economic inactive*.		
	Executives, professionals	14.1	47
	White-collar worker	20.4	68
	Skilled blue-collar worker	15.9	53
	Unskilled blue-collar worker	12.0	40
	Economically inactive	37.7	126
Perceived Discrimination	An index combining responses about how much respondents agreed with the statements: "Did you experience hostility or unfair treatment because of your origin or background …" in (1) secondary school, (2) current workplace and (3) ever in life. The inter-item consistency was found to be adequate (α=0.73). This final standardized scale ranges from 1 to 5 and is treated as a continuous variable in the statistical analysis. An increasing factor score indicates an increase in the level of perceived discrimination.	2.5 (0.9)	330

Source: TIES Austria (2007–2008).