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Migration and Integration Research

Filling in Penninx's Heuristic Model

Anja van Heelsum & Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas (eds.)

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edited by
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Introduction

Anja van Heelsum and Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas

Rinus Penninx has made great efforts to systematise and classify the existing research in the field of migration and ethnic studies. One of the objectives of his PhD thesis (1988) was to evaluate social science research in this area and to contribute to the accumulation of knowledge and the formation of theory. Many years later, his valedictory lecture (2013) re-evaluated research on migration and integration again, this time at the European level.

The analysis of achievements has always been accompanied by the identification of the challenges to pursue. In his inaugural lecture upon his appointment as director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) at the University of Amsterdam (1994), Penninx formulated a number of conditions for the development of a fruitful programme of research. IMES, and later the International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion network (IMISCOE), represent in fact the practical materialisation of this research agenda.

The analysis of the existing literature and the setting up of a research programme have structured – but also have been structured by – a systematic classification of relevant themes. First, Penninx distinguished between migration and integration research. This dividing line was used in the clustering of the different IMES research teams. While migration research relates to the actual border crossing of people and to the laws and regulations that apply to them, integration research relates to the way in which immigrants find a position in the new context and how they are treated by the receiving society.

Second, within the realm of integration research, Penninx (1988) distinguished between the socio-economic and ethno-cultural dimensions. While the former includes employment/income, education and housing, the latter includes identity, culture, religion, language as well as image formation in the media and discrimination. Twenty-five years later, Penninx (2013) added a third dimension, this time on the legal/political aspects.

If we look at the 25 PhD theses supervised by Penninx, the wide variety of subjects he has been involved with becomes clear. The theses are diverse with regard to their topics, levels of analysis, approaches and methodologies. A more detailed analysis of the content of these theses reveals that most fields of Penninx's heuristic model of migration and integration research have actually been covered. In other words, his model – which worked both as an analytical tool and as a roadmap – has partially been filled by his PhD candidates.

This evidence has led us to cluster the chapters of this book according to the above-mentioned scheme. The first section deals with the legal/political dimension. Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas analyses Spain's immigration policies so as to re-examine to what extent, when and where liberal democracies are constrained by rights. Again for the case of Spain, María Bruquetas-Callejo looks at the gap between immigrants' rights and effective access with regard to unemployment benefits and pensions, social services and healthcare. In these two chapters, the distinction between the law on the books and the law in practice is crucial in the analysis of immigration policies.

The second section is on the socio-economic dimension. In the current context of economic crisis and deteriorating industrial relations, Judith Roosblad re-examines her work on trade unions by considering what current changes mean for the Dutch trade unions and what their impact is on the promotion of immigrants' interests. In a similar vein, Stefania Marino revisits the old dilemmas articulated by Penninx and Roosblad (2000) with the objective of creating a heuristic model (*à la* Penninx) for the comparative analysis of trade union strategies towards migrant workers. Shifting from trade unions to immigrant entrepreneurship, Surrendra Santokhi considers the case of The Hague to identify and assess the factors that determine the chances for the development of multicultural tourism in ethnically concentrated areas. Focusing on education, Philipp Schnell looks at the factors that explain the variations in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks across different EU countries.

The third section of this books deals with the ethno-cultural dimension. On the basis of data on Moroccans, Anja van Heelsum reconsiders the concept of *ethno-cultural position* as introduced by Rinus Penninx, which she used earlier with regard to second-generation Surinamese. From an ethnographic perspective, Simone de Bruin analyses the 'ethno-party scene' by considering how growing ethnic diversity influences their organisation and programming and how and why people choose the Turkish, Moroccan or Asian party scenes. Shifting the focus to policies, Eltje Bos considers recent developments in Dutch

policy on art and theatre and how the culture of immigrants is incorporated both in policy documents and with regard to implementation arrangements. By analysing files on royal decorations (1974-2009), Janneke Jansen examines society's valuation of virtues and whether and to what extent immigrants have been incorporated. Finally, very different both in topic and approach, Lina Pochet observes the parallelisms between Anancy stories and drumming, both afrocultural manifestations spread by the African diaspora in America.

The fourth section includes two articles that deal with interrelations between the socio-economic and ethno-cultural dimensions. Though Fridus Steijlen's focus on the housing of Moluccans seems to point to their socio-economic position, his article shows how the *wijk* (ward) became a symbol of their identity anchored in the Netherlands. Using quantitative data, Aslan Zorlu analyses interethnic differences in nest-leaving behaviour by considering both socio-economic and cultural factors. Interestingly, these two articles show that the socio-economic and ethno-cultural dimensions cannot be completely disentangled.

Finally, science is never complete without methodological concerns. Given Rinus Penninx's insistence on methodological issues – probably acquired during his period in the Department of Social Research Methodology at the Free University – we end with two chapters on research methodology. Given his training as an anthropologist, it is no coincidence that both articles deal with ethnographic challenges in the field. Liza Mügge discusses the use of the diary as a method and how it remains a source of data long after the research project is concluded. On a similar topic but using a different approach, Ilse van Liempt observes how thick descriptions, while being intimately connected with empirical data, allow for the development of valid and relevant theory.

Altogether, this selection of articles shows the great variety of topics tackled by Rinus Penninx and his flexibility in accompanying PhD candidates in such diverse fields. This book leaves out what all this research has meant in terms of dedication and discussion but above all in terms of loyalty, warmth and friendship.

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THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION

6 The educational mobility of second-generation Turks in cross-national perspective

Empirical findings, explanations and policy lessons[1]

Philipp Schnell

6.1 Introduction

Children of immigrants are leaving school and entering the labour market in increasing numbers in most northwestern European countries. Their opportunities and achievements in these countries are often regarded as the 'litmus test' for integration and for the success or failure of policies in this field (Penninx 2003). The key arena in which to examine the integration of immigrant youth is that of educational attainment (Kao & Thompson 2003; Zhou 1999). Here, there is a substantial body of literature that looks at the comparative academic achievements of different immigrant ethnic groups, and at the varying degrees of educational mobility among their children (see Heath, Rothon & Kilpi 2008 for a review; Penn & Lambert 2009).

Considerable attention has been devoted to the children of Turkish immigrants because Turks are one of the largest immigrant groups and among the most disadvantaged in terms of education. Previous studies have reported high drop-out rates among Turkish youth, in parallel with a higher tendency to repeat grades and generally lower levels of access to higher education (Dustmann, Frattini & Lanzara 2012). Although patterns of disadvantage are evident in most countries, first comparative studies point to remarkable variations from one country to another in terms of the extent of the disadvantage faced by second-generation Turks (Crul & Vermeulen 2003). However, neither the precise scale of the differences in educational mobility nor the reason for the cross-border variations is at all clear (Heath et al. 2008). Current research tends to focus primarily on differences in levels of achievement between second-generation Turks and the majority groups in their various countries. Other studies that do examine cross-national variations often pay little attention to the role played by variations in the institutional arrangements of the different countries' education systems. If they address this issue at all, they often reach conflicting results that leave both empirical lacunae and unanswered questions (Schnell 2012). In this essay I aim to

partially redress this issue by asking: What causes variations in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks across countries? More precisely, I examine differences in the degree of educational mobility of second-generation Turks across three European countries and five cities, namely Sweden (Stockholm), France (Paris and Strasbourg) and Austria (Vienna and Linz). Data for this study comes from the TIES survey, a collection of data about the children of immigrants from Turkey (as well as from the former Yugoslavia and Morocco) now living in fifteen European cities in eight countries, which was carried out in 2007 and 2008.[2] From the pool of available countries participating in TIES, Austria, France and Sweden have been selected as suitable 'cases' for comparison. Sweden has an education system with late selection and full-day teaching. By contrast, the Austrian education system has early selection and half-day teaching. Finally, France has been selected as a third case for this comparison. Although its education system is similar to the Swedish one, a number of national studies have revealed that the French education system may also have 'selective moments', making it an interesting contrasting case. In all three countries (and their five cities), samples of second-generation Turks and a comparison group are used. Taken together, the empirical analyses of this study are based on a total sample of 2,294 respondents.

I will begin by studying educational mobility at the aggregated level by analysing differences in educational attainment. The analysis then goes on to investigate educational pathways in order to shed light on the processes of educational mobility. In an attempt to establish what the explanatory factors actually are, and to understand the divergent patterns of educational mobility among the Turkish second generation across the different countries, emphasis will be given to interaction mechanisms that exert influence at both an individual and an institutional level. I define 'interactions' as the interplay between the institutional arrangements of education systems and different individual- and group-related resources that are relevant for navigating successfully through these systems (Schnell 2012). Finally, in the concluding remarks of this essay, I reflect on a number of modest policy-related implications drawn from this empirical groundwork. I provide recommendations for policy action aimed at developing meaningful strategies and interventions to reduce ethnic educational inequalities, abolish structural barriers and promote educational mobility for the children of immigrants.

6.2 Cross-country differences in degrees of educational mobility

Beginning with a first glance at educational outcomes, the investigation of absolute differences between second-generation Turks across the three countries revealed that the size of the group of high achievers (those with post-secondary education or higher) is more than twice as high in France and Sweden as it is in Austria. At the same time, the highest percentage of early school-leavers (those with primary and lower-secondary education at most) among the Turkish second generation was found in the Austrian cities (Table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1 *Early school leaving and achieving a post-secondary/tertiary educational level, by group and country*

	Austria		*France*		*Sweden*	
	Second-generation Turks	*Compar. group*	*Second-generation Turks*	*Compar. group*	*Second-generation Turks*	*Compar. group*
Early school leaver	30%	14%	19%	3%	9%	4%
High achiever	14%	36%	31%	70%	47%	61%

Source: TIES 2007-2008, author's analysis

Comparing second-generation Turks and their comparison groups across the three countries and five cities showed that differences in educational attainment were most pronounced at the highest and lowest ends of the education ladders in Austria and France. In both countries, such comparative attainment differences were higher overall than in Sweden (compare Table 6.1).

These cross-country attainment differences are mirrored in the analysis of educational pathways. In general, second-generation Turks are academically more disadvantaged than the comparison group because they are more likely to be placed in less academic tracks at school, and so are less often found in the academically orientated tracks that lead to tertiary education. These relative differences in educational pathways are most pronounced in the Austrian education system. They can be seen clearly in France, and they are least pronounced in the Swedish education system.

Overall, the comparisons of educational attainment and educational pathways revealed similar rankings across the three compared countries (and five cities): second-generation Turks show the weakest performance in Austria, a medium to high level in France, and the best

performance in Sweden. The educational mobility of second-generation Turks across Austria, France and Sweden thus shows significant differences. The next section turns to the question of how these differences can be explained.

6.3 Explaining cross-country differences

In order to explain the differences described above, I argue that on the one hand it is important to consider a number of specific institutional arrangements within each education system, which together form country-specific institutional constellations. On the other hand, such institutional arrangements shape to a great extent the interaction with individual-level factors and resources, such as family resources or the significant role of peers and teachers. They also determine their magnitude and direction, and set the point in time at which educational resources become relevant (Schnell 2012; Schnell & Crul 2013). In this section, I will show these varying interactions and thus illustrate the influence of individual-level factors on educational attainment.

The main components of the Austrian education system are the late starting age of pre-schooling (around age four), the early segregation into different ability tracks (at the age of ten), a low degree of permeability between education tracks after the early tracking, and a half-day teaching system in compulsory education. The impact of this institutional constellation on the early stages of a student's education leads to greater interaction with family resources. Parents are important agents in this early period in supporting their children's learning and making school choices. Children of less educated parents are frequently streamed into less academic tracks in lower-secondary education. This is particularly true for second-generation Turks who are more often tracked into the lower stream (66 per cent versus 41 per cent for the comparison group) because they originate in higher numbers from less educated families, thus confirming the specific relevance of the parents' educational backgrounds in the early selection process. This process is reinforced by the low participation rates in pre-schooling by second-generation Turks in the Austrian cities (65.5 per cent as compared to 83 per cent among the comparison group). Both factors contribute to explaining the greater downward streaming of second-generation Turks at the first transition point after primary school, and this early selection determines to a large extent their subsequent educational pathways.

The significance of within-family resources is also related to the half-day schooling system that persists throughout the compulsory edu-

cation years. The responsibility to learn is transferred to the parental home and to the students' leisure time, which makes parental involvement and support significantly more important for students in terms of learning and homework. Although the relevance of family support has been clear for all students in the Austrian system, family support is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group.

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

The Austrian education system offers the option of moving upwards at the end of lower-secondary education to students who have been placed in the vocational stream after primary school. In this context, non-immigrant peers are important if a student is to move upwards at this stage, because second-generation Turks on the vocational path usually come from less educated families who are rarely equipped with the knowledge or resources to support them in the upward process. Best friends outside the family become the major source of information and support. But the low percentage of second-generation Turks who finally move upwards (23 per cent) indicates that the support provided by the peer group is not adequate in very many cases.

In France, an early pre-school starting age (around age three), full-day pre-school services, guaranteed pre-school places, and a full-day comprehensive compulsory schooling system are among the main components of a national institutional constellation that leads to relatively few interactions with family resources. In particular, supplementary help from family members is regarded as less important because this type of support is institutionalised in the education system. The orientation process that determines selection into upper-secondary education is the single most crucial institutional arrangement for French students. Although this first selection happens relatively late (around fifteen), the orientation process involves a high degree of interaction with a number of individual-level factors. Firstly, having highly educated parents increases the chances of students being streamed into academic tracks. This correlation between tracking decisions and parents' educational backgrounds explains to a large extent why there are unequal continu-

ation rates into the academic track for second-generation Turks and their comparison group (53 per cent compared to 80 per cent for the comparison group). Secondly, teachers and the support and advice they provide are crucial at this stage in streaming students upwards towards the academic tracks. Finally, the ethnic composition of peers in school matters a great deal for second-generation Turks at this point. If parents cannot help, peers in the comparison group – whose parents or older siblings have experience and knowledge of the French education system – become crucial sources of information for second-generation Turks. Selection into different types of upper-secondary tracks through this orientation process determines to a large extent the educational pathways that students will follow.

In addition, differentiation in the upper-secondary academic tracks, and the 'second chance' to enter post-secondary and tertiary education by the vocational route, are also important features of the French institutional constellation. The late opportunity for an upward transfer interacts less strongly, however, with the educational background of parents or with family support. Instead, the number of native peers in the vocational school and the support provided by teachers are the most important factors for second-generation Turks being able to acquire the relevant certificate and enter post-secondary and tertiary education by this route.

In Sweden, the institutional constellation of the education system is composed of full-day pre-school services that children can attend from two years old onwards, and an integrated track from primary school until the end of lower-secondary education, with full-day teaching. The first allocation into different tracks comes at the transition into upper-secondary education (at the age of fifteen/sixteen). Other important elements are the high degree of permeability between tracks in upper-secondary education and the possibility of entering post-secondary/tertiary education from all upper-secondary tracks (both academic and vocational). Routine full-day schooling leads to fewer interactions with individual-level factors and makes family resources less relevant in the educational mobility of the study groups. Even at the first transition point, before entering academic or vocational tracks in upper-secondary education, family characteristics (such as parents' education or the availability of additional educational resources) are unimportant because the transition is not linked to a specific differentiation process. As a result, second-generation Turks enter academically orientated tracks in numbers similar to the comparison group, irrespective of family background (slightly more than 50 per cent in both groups).

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

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

6.4 Concluding remarks: lessons for policy

The differences in the educational mobility of second-generation Turks across the three countries represent a daunting challenge, especially for those countries whose education systems incorporate unfavourable institutional arrangements. My findings suggest that the combination of a

number of important generic institutional arrangements seems to lead to greater levels of inequality and a lower chance of upward mobility for second-generation Turks because of greater interactions with individual level resources – as compared to the situation in other countries.

One of the most pressing questions that arises from these observations is: what should we do? In this concluding section I will provide some policy recommendations based on the findings of this study that I believe should be at the heart of a more effective educational mobility experience for second-generation Turks in particular, and for children of immigrants in general.

Reject early selection and tracking — As the data suggest, the earlier a student is selected and tracked into different (ability) schools, the higher the importance of the parents' educational background. In Austria, larger inequalities in parents' educational attainment lead to stronger differences in their children's chances in school, since the education system is highly selective at an early stage of schooling. The opposite is the case in France and Sweden, where disadvantaged children of less-educated parents are less dependent on their family backgrounds when tracked at a later age. This finding has profound consequences for second-generation Turks (and children of immigrants in general) measured against their comparison groups. The great majority of the Turkish second generation has its roots in families whose parents frequently have low educational qualifications and often lack the means to support their children in school-related activities. They also have limited information on school choices. Being tracked into different streams after just four years of compulsory education provides too little time for their children to overcome these initial disadvantages. In addition, delayed selection increases the chances of children of less-educated parents entering academic streams. Policy action is needed to restructure the selection moments towards a system with delayed selection in order to reduce inequalities and to provide a sufficient learning period for children of immigrants to catch up with students of non-immigrant origin.

Increase pre-school opportunities and quality — My findings reveal that among the most important generic institutional factors that may explain educational differences across countries are pre-school attendance and age on entering education. Results for France and Sweden indicate that almost all children of both groups attend some sort of pre-school facilities already at age three. By contrast, pre-school education in Austria usually takes place in the kindergarten, which is not considered part of the education system and thus has the ethos of early childcare rather than early education. Moreover, as shown in this study,

second-generation Turks attended kindergarten facilities less often, and the majority of those who went to pre-school started later than age four, which consequently leads to a shorter duration of pre-schooling. The different institutional arrangements for pre-school attendance and starting age result in remarkable differences in the preparation time for compulsory education for young children across the three countries. Second-generation Turks whose parents may have limited education and language skills do not achieve the schooling readiness of their classmates of non-immigrant parents, and thus have to rely more heavily on pre-school education. If the preparation time in pre-school facilities is short, they are already in a disadvantaged position when starting compulsory education in primary school. My empirical evidence confirms that if early childhood education starts at a sufficiently young age, it significantly aids the development of second-generation Turks, especially in the case of children from low socio-economic family backgrounds. Thus, municipalities should be obliged to provide pre-school places free of charge for all children and pre-school services should offer a full-day care system. They should also provide the opportunity to start at a younger age (e.g. age three). In Austria, as recently claimed in a number of studies (Nusche, Shewbridge & Rasmussen 2009; Wroblewski & Herzog-Punzenberger 2009), further development is still needed in the quality of pre-school education and support, in particular with respect to the quality of language support (Herzog-Punzenberger & Schnell 2012). Finally, because placing young children in pre-school may not be the cultural practice of some immigrant parents, programmes are needed which allow information on early education to be shared with immigrant families.

Longer training hours in schools — During my research, I found that the educational success of second-generation Turks in Austria is much more dependent on various forms of additional support provided by their parents than that of their counterparts in France and Sweden. In addition, measuring them against their comparison group revealed that family involvement and support is an important aspect in the Austrian education system for all groups, while it is almost absent in France and Sweden. The results show, however, that second-generation Turks rely even more on educational support from their parents than do children of the comparison group. These findings point towards one important institutional feature: the major distinction between the three education systems is the half-day school system in Austria on the one hand, and full-time education in France and Sweden on the other. As a result, the family becomes the focal point of an educational system which delegates learning and homework to the family home, where the

educational success of students is highly dependent on the help provided and the time families spend with them. By contrast, with systems such as those in France and Sweden that offer full-time education and supervised homework tutorials in schools, the role of help provided by parents becomes important only once children face difficulties and need more support than is on offer at school. Half-day school systems should therefore expand after-school programmes that provide tangible academic support, such as homework help, language tutoring and information about extra-curricular activities and future pathways, thus reducing dependence on support at home, especially for children of immigrants such as second-generation Turks.

Prioritising teacher preparation — One significant finding to take away from my study is the vital role of teachers during the educational careers of second-generation Turks in all three countries. Because Turkish parents possess relatively few means to support their children's education, teachers play a very important role in their schooling. They serve as motivators who reinforce aspirations and act as gatekeepers in advising on more prestigious tracks, in particular for second-generation Turks from disadvantaged family backgrounds (Schnell, Keskiner & Crul 2013). Interpersonal social relations between students and teachers increase the chances of successfully managing the most important transition points and are significant agents for second-generation Turks when navigating successfully through the indirect routes of these education systems. But not all teachers have been trained to deal with students and classrooms that are becoming increasingly diverse. While in France and Sweden 'diversity training' is built in as part of initial teacher education (Taguma, Kim, Brink & Teltemann 2008), substantial numbers of the teacher population in Austria lack the knowledge and skills to meet the needs of students with an immigrant background since intercultural education is not a compulsory module in their education (Furch 2009). Ministries and educational policymakers should introduce mandatory initiatives to strengthen the capacity of teachers to support and advise students of immigrant origin. Linguistic diversity and intercultural education should become a core principle in the curriculum for teacher training in all European countries. The new programmes must provide teachers exposure to, and appreciation of, the family backgrounds of Turkish second-generation students and the children of immigrants. In addition, initiatives should be launched to increase diversity among new teachers themselves (Herzog-Punzenberger & Schnell 2012), and non-governmental organisations supporting the development of teachers in intercultural education should be promoted through state resources and funding (Luciak & Khan-Svik 2008).

Building mentoring and community supports — Mentoring relationships often evolve in after-school programmes and community-based organisations, and they can generate considerable social good. Furthermore, as previous research suggests, mentoring relationships can make a significant difference in adolescents' lives (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova 2008). For second-generation Turks and for minority youth from disadvantaged family backgrounds with limited social resources, mentors can support students in schools by providing homework tutoring, guidance in important school choices, or simply by acting as role models. As the data suggest, Turkish parents are often unable to provide sufficient educational support for their children, and mentors can provide a valuable service by filling that void. The need for mentoring or community support is all the greater for second-generation Turks in an education system like Austria's, which delegates learning and homework to the family home because of its half-day training system. Previous research in Austria (as well as in countries like the Netherlands or the United Kingdom) has shown that community involvement and mentoring programmes, if available, are associated with improved student outcomes because they reduce the pressure on parents who may lack the skills to support their children (Jeynes 2005, 2007; Schofield 2006). But community and mentoring programmes depend on funding to establish such programmes. Thus, ministries and their agents should not only encourage immigrant or neighbourhood communities to organise educational support programmes for young students, but they should also offer resources and clarify the application processes for funding.

Turkish immigrants are one of the largest groups of foreign origin in Europe. Faced with all the difficulties that invariably beset migrants in a new country, parents understandably see schooling as the path to a brighter future for their children. The five recommendations outlined here should be seen as the first elements in a framework aimed at abolishing structural barriers and building a more forward-looking education policy that better serves the needs of second-generation Turks who have chosen education as the means to change their lives.

Notes

1 This essay is based on my dissertation which was supervised by Rinus Penninx and Maurice Crul (2008-2012).

2 The participating countries and cities were Austria (Vienna and Linz), Belgium (Brussels and Antwerp), France (Paris and Strasbourg), Germany (Frankfurt

and Berlin), Spain (Madrid and Barcelona), Sweden (Stockholm), Switzerland (Zürich and Basel) and the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam). The full data set brings together almost 10,000 respondents. The term 'second generation' refers to children of immigrants who have at least one parent born outside the survey country (in this case, born in Turkey) but who were themselves born in the survey country and have had their entire education there. At the time of the interviews, the respondents were between 18 and 35 years old.

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