Inclusive education for children of immigrants:

The Turkish second generation in Sweden, the Netherlands and Austria

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Abstract

This study examines the factors that contribute to cross-national differences in educational attainment among second-generation Turks in Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden. Drawing on the international TIES survey we investigate empirically school trajectories and outcomes from descendants of Turkish immigrants in the three countries to identify the main driving forces behind social mobility. We pay particular attention to the interactions between the prevailing institutional arrangements in school and the role that family resources play in education to explain cross-national differences in outcomes. Our results show these cross-national differences can hardly be explained by differences in the parental generation of second-generation Turks. Instead, our empirical evidence highlights that the interaction between the institutional arrangements and family level factors determines the direction and the ultimate outcome of the educational process. Education systems which provide more favourable institutional arrangements render second-generation Turks less dependent on family factors and resources and ultimately lead to their higher educational attainment.

1. INTRODUCTION

The educational attainment of second-generation students in Europe's knowledge-based societies is an important determinant of their subsequent life chances – their occupational and economic attainment as well as their general well-being. School qualifications and university degrees are often regarded as entry tickets to specific positions in the labour market. Fairly stable patterns have been documented by various studies indicating that children of immigrants whose parents originate from North Africa and Turkey are predominantly found to perform below their respective majority groups (Alba and Silberman 2009; Crul et al. 2012b; Dustmann et al. 2012; Heath et al. 2008; Schnell 2012). The children of Turkish immigrants are one of the largest and most geographically dispersed immigrant groups in north-west Europe. There appears to be a relatively high level of disadvantage experienced by second-generation Turks during compulsory schooling, in combination with a higher tendency to drop out or repeat grades, lower school attainment rates, and generally lower levels of access to higher education. Although these patterns are evident in most European countries, recent comparative studies point to remarkable differences in the size of these disadvantages for second-generation groups across the various countries (Crul et al. 2012b; Crul and Vermeulen 2006).

In this chapter we continue this line of research by examining more deeply the factors that potentially contribute to cross-national differences in educational attainment among second-generation Turks. More precisely, using the framework proposed by 'integration context theory' (Crul and Schneider 2010) we examine the actual pathways of members of the Turkish second generation by drawing on comparative data from the international TIES survey for Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden. We will focus especially on school trajectories and outcomes because the educational pathways constitute the main driving force behind social mobility. We will concentrate on the opportunities and the hindrances that the respective school systems create for second generation Turkish youth in the three countries. More precisely, we will look at the interaction between the prevailing institutional arrangements in school and the role that family resources play in education. In the last portion of the chapter, we summaries the findings and focus on the mechanisms that explain cross-national differences in education among young people belonging to the Turkish second generation.

2. EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES ACROSS COUNTRIES - THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Over the last decades, structural and socio-cultural explanations have been developed to explain educational inequalities between ethnic groups in North-western Europe. Given the oftentimes disadvantaged position of the first generation of immigrants in European labour markets, and their position predominantly in the lower social strata, there has been particular emphasis on the structural approach as a means of explaining the educationally disadvantaged position of second-generation immigrants (Crul and Holdaway 2009; Heath and Brinbaum 2007; Heath et al. 2008; Phalet et al. 2007; Van de Werfhorst and Van Tubergen 2007). Because parental social class has a considerable influence on a child's educational attainment (through the transmission of resources), structural arguments primarily attribute differences in educational attainment and achievement between immigrant and non-minority children to parental socio-economic status. Therefore, parental education is probably the best indicator for explaining different outcomes (Kao and Thompson 2003).

This approach has largely been applied to explain differences in educational attainment between children of immigrants and non-immigrants within north-west European countries. But in these single-country studies, immigrants and their children are confronted with broadly similar socio-economic conditions, while the opportunity structure of the host country is equitable. In these national studies, variations in important institutional elements, such as the education system, are 'held constant', and are only studied in terms of their differing effects on children from a range of ethnic or social origins in the country in question. But this does not tell us the whole story. As Crul and Schneider (2010) recently argued in their 'integration context theory', one also needs to study school outcomes as part of the system's idiosyncrasy which generally comes to the fore only in comparison across national school systems. Differences in national contexts may contribute to the explanation of diverse outcomes for children of immigrants across Europe, given the very different institutional arrangements, in particular regarding their educational systems.

The first important perspective in integration context theory is therefore its focus on the generic institutional arrangements of education system. The most relevant aspect through which school systems differ is their degree of differentiation (Breen and Buchmann 2002; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Kerckhoff 2001; Van de Werfhorst and Mijs 2010) which relates to institutional settings and arrangements in secondary and tertiary education. Recent research has identified a number of major institutional arrangements within the differentiation dimension with regards to which European educational systems differ. To begin with, a

number of studies have documented the effect of early selection on educational inequalities. Most studies show convincingly that early selection and tracking negatively affect children of lower class background (e.g. Breen and Jonsson 2005). The effect of early selection and tracking on children of immigrants is much less documented (Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Penn and Lambert 2009), although some evidence exists which shows that inequalities are magnified for ethnic minority groups through early selection (Entorf and Lauk 2008). Besides early vs. late selection, the age of entry into school, notably the attendance of pre-school, the number of school contact hours in primary school, the permeability of the school systems, for instance between vocational and non-vocational, and the way the transition to higher education is organized are additional aspects of differentiation. A number of studies discuss the impact of not, or only partly, attending pre-school (see for instance Crul and Doomernik 2003; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003). They reveal that pre-school attendance is especially important for children of immigrants in school systems characterized by early selection. Yet, the countries that have early selection (e.g. Germany or Austria) happen also to be the countries with the lowest number of contact hours in primary school (Crul et al. 2012b). Subsequently, the number of contact hours affects the amount of homework that needs to be done outside school and the level of support expected from parents (Schnell 2012). The degree of permeability defines the potential for moving between tracks. If tracks and courses are based in different institutions (e.g. work-based versus school-based), stronger boundaries prevent movement between levels (Arum et al. 2007; Kerckhoff 2001). Inversely, high permeability enables second chances through streaming upwards, an option which the Turkish second generation are especially likely to seize (Schnell 2012). On the other hand, it also leaves room for down streaming, a phenomenon which also affects second generation youth more strongly than the comparison group of native parentage (Crul 2013). Finally, in some countries the transfer at the transition from upper secondary school to higher education is organized almost automatically, but in others it involves a conscious choice, in which case the Turkish second generation seems to continue less often into higher education (Crul 2013).

The second important perspective in the comparative integration context theory includes the agency of individuals and groups, i.e. the ways in which they actively develop options and make choices, challenge given opportunities and structural configurations (Crul and Schneider 2010: 1260). In different contexts, individuals' subjective and objective options for gaining access to and for claiming participation in education depend on various individual and group resources (i.e. the economic, social and cultural capital). Different school characteristics at each stage of the school career interact with available family resources

leading to different outcomes at important selection points in the school career (Schnell 2012). At worst this includes the difficulty for parents to offer their children practical help with their homework in primary or secondary school – or, at best, it contributes to the strong drive of some parents to push their children ahead through education (see Kasinitz et al. 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008).

The complex puzzle formed by different school trajectories and outcomes of second-generation Turks across the three selected countries will be analysed in the empirical section presented below by considering the factors emphasized by integration context theory (Crul and Schneider 2010) and the interactions between these factors (Schnell 2012).

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study makes use of the international TIES survey (The Integration of the European Second Generation). TIES is a collaborative and comparative research project carried out between 2007 and 2008 that looks at the experiences of children of immigrants from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and Morocco, in fifteen cities in eight western European countries (Crul and Heering 2008; Crul et al. 2012a).

From the pool of available countries participating in TIES, Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden have been selected as suitable 'cases' for comparison in this chapter based on the so called 'diverse case study design' (Gerring 2007). Sweden has a comprehensive education system with late selection and full-day schooling. By contrast, Austria can be described, in short, as a country with a non-comprehensive system, early selection and half-day schooling. Thus, the two countries represent diverse cases in this cross-national comparison, defined by large variations in the broad outlines of their educational systems. Finally, the Netherlands has been selected as a third case for this comparison. Its educational system has a slightly delayed age of selection (age 12) but a high degree of differentiation in secondary school, making the Netherlands an interesting contrasting case.

The empirical analyses are based on a total sample of 2.455 respondents, subdivided into second-generation Turks (N=1.209) and a comparison group (N=1.246) whose parents were both born in the survey country. The term 'second generation' refers to children of immigrants who have at least one parent born outside the survey country, but who were themselves born in the survey country and have undergone their entire education there. At the time of the interviews, all respondents were between 18 to 35 years old.

4. EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES AT A GLANCE

We start our empirical analysis by examining differences in educational outcomes in order to establish the actual size of attainment differences across Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden. Table 1 shows the distribution of educational levels separately for second-generation Turks and the comparison group across the three countries. Educational levels are defined as a combination of the highest diploma obtained for those who have already left school and the current educational level of those still in school.

Turning to the results for Austria, we find the Turkish second generation more frequently leaving school with a certificate from compulsory education only (primary and lower- secondary education together) compared to the comparison group. About one-third of the Turkish second generation in Austria obtain an apprenticeship or related certificate as their highest educational level. Moreover, they are significantly over-represented in this vocational track, with a difference of 11% between them and the comparison group. As far as post-secondary and tertiary education is concerned, the figures indicate that the comparison group is clearly out-performing second-generation Turks in Austria.

Table 1: Educational level of second-generation Turks and the comparison group, by country (%)

	Austria		**The Netherlands**		**Sweden**	
	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks	Comparison group	Second-generation Turks
Primary school	1.7	3.9	2.0	8.4	0.0	0.0
Lower secondary school	10.1	21.4	8.6	21.0	3.6	9.2
Apprenticeship or vocational track	22.7	33.6	5.7	10.6	-	-
Upper secondary academic track	30.4	22.5	21.3	31.6	34.4	56.6
Post-upper secondary/tertiary	35.1	18.6	62.5	28.4	62.0	34.3
N	484	458	512	500	250	251

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008.

Somewhat similar achievement differences are also observable in the Netherlands with second-generation Turks being overrepresented in the lower educational categories. For example, almost 30% of the Turkish second generation in the Dutch education system left

school early and directly after completing compulsory education (primary and lower secondary education). The respective portion in the comparison group is only 10.6 %. Large and significant differences in educational attainment can also be found in higher education: second-generation Turks are half as likely to complete their educational career with a diploma from tertiary education as compared to the comparison group. It is worth noting, however, that among the Turkish second generation, the proportion of high achievers (beyond upper-secondary educational level) is almost the same size as the group of early school leavers (primary and lower secondary education at the most).

The last two columns of Table 1 show the results for Sweden. Since the Swedish educational system consists of a comprehensive system and a post-secondary and tertiary sector in which job specialization for the labour market takes place, the great majority of students are situated in the upper end of the education ladder. Nevertheless, there appear significant group differences in educational levels. Second-generation Turks are twice as likely to leave Swedish schools after compulsory education. Moving on to the top end of the educational ladder, the gap between the two groups amounts to nearly 30% in favour of the comparison group.

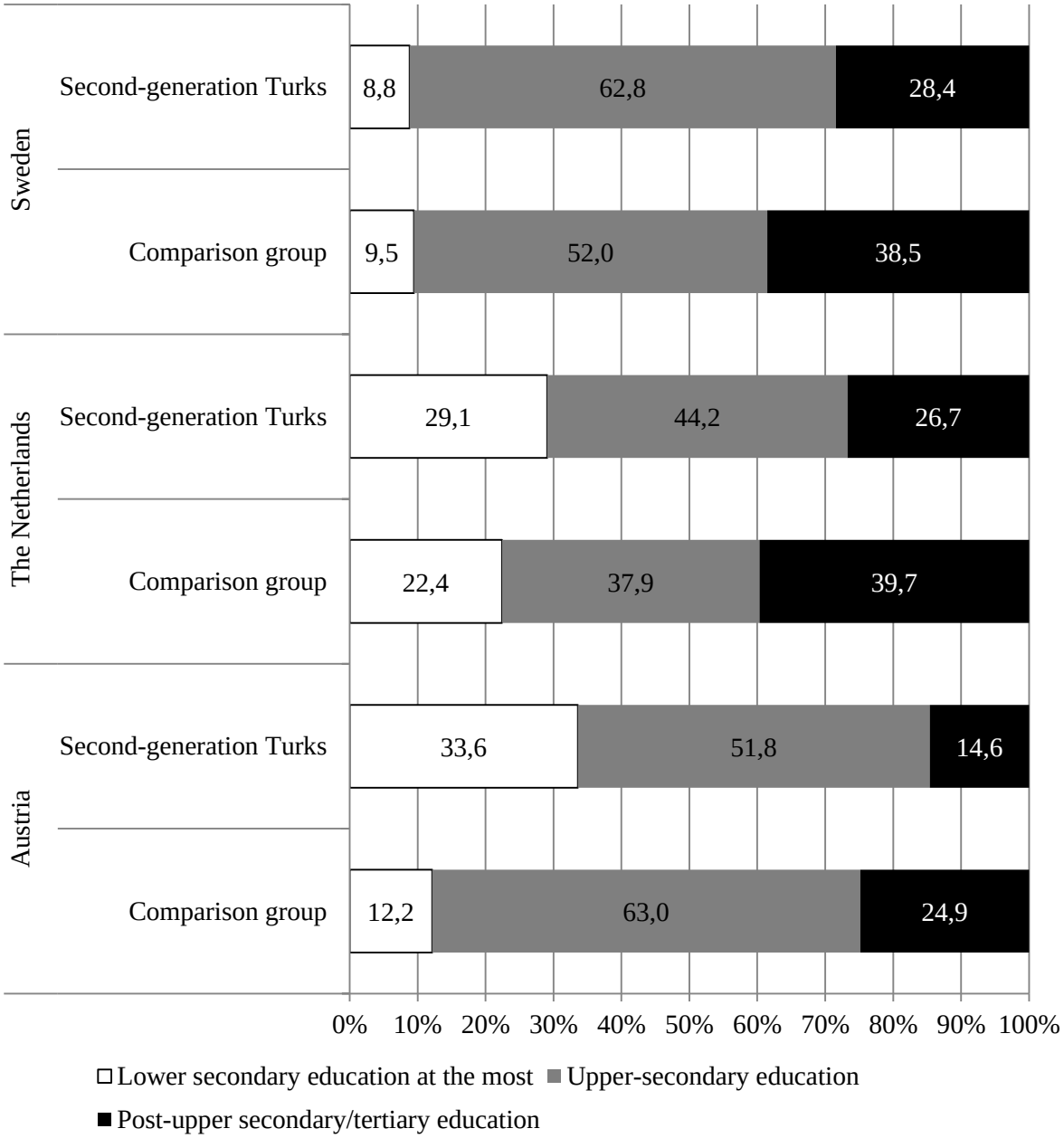
How can these differences in educational outcomes between the Turkish second generation and their peers of non-migrant origin be explained? The link between social origin and the educational attainment of children has been identified as the major explanation for the disadvantaged position of the Turkish second generation in education in Europe (Crul and Holdaway 2009; Heath et al. 2008). Previous studies demonstrate that the Turkish second generation in Europe frequently comes from less-advantaged social and educational backgrounds (Dustmann et al. 2012; Penn and Lambert 2009). It is therefore possible that a substantial portion of the differences between the comparison group and second-generation Turks reported above can be explained by differences in parents' educational background. In order to hold these possible differences 'constant', Figure 1 shows the educational outcomes[1] for respondents of the two study groups whose parents posses at the most low educational credentials.

The first point to note is that within the three countries, group differences in educational outcomes are substantially reduced indicating that a large part of the educational disadvantage of second-generation Turks is related to the differences in the educational background of the parents. For instance, the large group differences in post-upper secondary

[1] The five categories of the dependent variable 'educational level' (compare Table 1) had to be reduced to three categories because of small case numbers and the non existing apprenticeship track in Sweden.

education in Sweden are considerably reduced once we consider students from similarly low educational family backgrounds. Similar patterns can be observed in Austria and the Netherlands were group differences shrink at the lower end of the educational ladder once we hold parental educational background constant.

Figure 1: Educational level of second-generation Turks and of the comparison group whose parents possess low educational credentials (%)



Source: TIES survey 2007-2008.

These figures also show that differences in educational levels among second-generation Turks across countries persist once parents' educational background is held

constant. In other words, second-generation Turks in Sweden more often achieve higher educational levels than their counterparts in the two other countries even if they have from parents with similar educational backgrounds. We conducted additional multivariate analysis (not shown) in order to explore whether the differences in the educational outcomes of second-generation Turks across countries could be explained by compositional differences and immigration related experiences of the Turkish first generation (beyond parental educational background). We controlled for parents' occupational position, ability to speak the survey country language, reasons for migration, region of origin in Turkey and length of residence in destination country, because the Turkish communities in Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden differs slightly according to these factors.

Although the majority of Turkish parents migrated to the three destination countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s for work and family reason, in Sweden in particular the Turkish first generation includes some Turkish refugees (e.g. Kurdish refugees who migrated in the early 1980s to Sweden) who possess more educationally relevant resources (Schnell 2012). Our multivariate results revealed that second-generation Turks in Sweden are still four times more likely to achieve a higher educational level than the Turkish second generation in the Netherlands and Austria, and that differences in the educational outcomes of the Turkish second generation remain highly significant across countries even after adjusting for compositional and immigration related factors in the parental generation[2].

5. THE INTERPLAY OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE EARLY PERIOD OF SCHOOLING

In all countries, the most important first selection is that which takes place before or during secondary education and which distinguished those pupils who are to attend academic tracks from those destined for middle and vocational tracks. This first selection determines to a large extent the paths young students follow in their educational career. In most countries, the timing of the selection is at the beginning of secondary school.

The first selection in Austria takes place after primary school at the age of ten. Students are streamed into two separate types of schools: vocational (Hauptschule) and academically orientated (AHS-Unterstufe) lower-secondary education. Hauptschule represents the lower tier and is open to everybody after primary school. On the other hand, the academically orientated track prepares students to continue into upper-secondary schools leading to the

[2] Results are available upon request.

university entrance certificate. Table 2 (left column) shows the percentages of those who enter the academic and more prestigious track after primary school among second-generation Turks and the comparison group. Approximately three out of ten second-generation Turks are streamed into the academic track, while the continuation rate for the comparison group is six out of ten.

In the Netherlands, students are tracked for the first time at the end of primary school at age 12. On the basis of national examinations and the recommendation of their teacher, they are assigned to different tracks in the secondary school system. Children with the highest advice enter the streams preparing for tertiary education (HAVO or VWO), while the remaining students are streamed into the lower and less attractive streams of secondary education (VMBO). Our results indicate that only about a quarter of the Turkish second generation makes the transition into the academic tracks while the proportion for the comparison group is close to 60%.

In Sweden, the first transition point takes place after compulsory education (*Grundskolan*) at the age of 15 before entering upper-secondary education. As displayed in Table 2, almost 60% of the Turkish second-generation moves on to the academic track and does not differ significantly at this stage from the comparison group in terms of their continuation rates.

Table 2 shows the relative chances of entering the academic track in relation to the comparison group within each country (see columns M1 and M2). These are derived from binomial logistic regression on track placement and are expressed as odds ratios. The results are reported before (M1, gross) and after (M2, net) controlling for parents' educational background. Our findings show that, even after controlling for parents' educational background, second-generation Turks in Austria and the Netherland are significantly less likely to enter the academic track as compared to the comparison group[3] while group differences in entering the academic track at the first transition point are not significant in Sweden.

[3] Recall that an odds ratio of 1 would express equal opportunities.

Table 2: Transition rates towards the academic track at the first selection moment in percent and odds ratios (before [gross] and after [net] controlling for parental educational background)

		%	M1: Gross [B]	M2: Net [B]
Austria	Comparison group	58.5	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
	Second-generation Turks	33.8	0.30***	0.64**
			(0.04)	(0.11)
			R2: 0.13	R2: 0.29
The Netherlands	Comparison group	59.5	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
	Second-generation Turks	25.6	0.23***	0.52***
			(0.03)	(0.08)
			R2: 0.16	R2: 0.27
Sweden	Comparison group	64.5	*Ref.*	*Ref.*
	Second-generation Turks	59.6	ns	ns
			R2: 0.02	R2: 0.04

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008. Notes: Results for models M1 and M2 are derived from binomial logistic regression on track placement. Dependent variable: 1=academic track, 0= other. M1 controls for age, gender and city of residence (in Austria and the Netherlands). M2 adds controls for parental educational background. Standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, ns=not significant.

In order to understand the different chances for second-generation Turks of entering the academic track at the first selection moments in the three countries we consider the interplay between various institutional arrangements. More precisely, we consider how many years have passed between the moment they enter educational facilities and the time of first selection into different tracks. This time span is significant not only because it determines exposure to the majority language, but also because it offers students starting from a disadvantaged position the opportunity to acquire the skills necessary for selection into an academic track. If we take the mean age at which our respondents entered school and the formal selection age in each country (compare Table 3), we find that the percentage of second-generation Turks who make it into an academic track increases with the rise in the number of years of common education prior to selection. Although direct causal effects are hard to prove with the available data, our findings do clearly point in a certain direction.

Table 3: Years between the start of education and tracking for second generation Turks

	Mean age at entering (early childhood) education institution	Age at track selection	Years of education before selection
Austria	5.2	10	4.8
The Netherlands	4.0	12	8.0
Sweden	3.1	15	11.9

Source: TIES survey 2007-2008.

The situation appears most unfavourable in Austria and the Netherlands in which the length of time between entering educational institutions for the first time and the first selection point seems to be too short to overcome difficulties in early schooling.

If we first consider Austria, the combination of institutional arrangements provides a period of an average of five years of common education prior to selection. Pre-primary education in Austria usually takes place in kindergarten. In principle, children can go to kindergarten from age three upwards, while the average starting age is four. But as our TIES results indicate, pre-school attendance varies considerably between second-generation Turks and the comparison group in Austria. Fewer than 66% of Turkish second-generation students had their first educational experiences in kindergarten (compared to 84% in the comparison group). The majority of the Turkish second generation started later than age four, which consequently led to a shorter overall stay in kindergarten. Compulsory schooling in Austria begins only at age six with entrance into primary school, so that a considerable number of children have been in an educational institution for only five years before the most important decision about their future school careers is made. This in and of itself is rather short, but combined with the fact that most schools only offer half-day programs, the amount of contact hours between teachers and children is in fact even more limited. The limited timeframe (late start, relatively small amount of contact hours and early selection) significantly reduces the opportunity for second-generation Turkish children in Austria to enter the academic track, as observed in Table 2.

Their counterparts in the Netherlands are located precisely in the middle range in terms of years spent in education. The average starting age for enrolling in pre-schooling facilities is 4, while primary school continues until the age of 12 at which time pupils are placed into different ability tracks for the first time. Although the average number of years prior to first selection is longer than in Austria (8 years), very similar proportions of second-generation Turks enter the more prestigious tracks at the first selection moment (compare Table 2). One reason that contributes to the lower chances for second-generation Turks of

entering the academic tracks is their limited participation rate in pre-school. In the Netherlands, only about 30 % attend pre-school facilities before entering primary education.

Sweden provides public and full-day care for children through pre-school services. Pupils can enter pre-school as early as age one. The numbers derived from the TIES survey indicate that over 90 % of both groups make use of this service while the average starting age is below three. At the age of six, all pupils enter compulsory education, which lasts nine years, and students usually make their first choice about the next stage of their education when they are around sixteen. The early start combined with the late selection amount to almost 12 years of schooling before tracking into different ability tracks takes place, a phenomenon which seems to increase the chances of children of Turkish immigrants. More than half of second-generation Turks followed the academic track after passing the first transition. Most importantly, their transition rate into secondary education does not differ significantly from the comparison group, indicating the existence of equal opportunities in education for children from different ethnic and social origins.

6. DIRECT AND INDIRECT PATHWAYS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Those students who successfully enter into academic tracks at the first selection moment are predominately channeled directly into higher education in all three countries. Thus, the higher rate of track placement into the vocational track early in the educational career (e.g. in Austria) explains a large part of the absolute and relative group differences in terms of access to higher education (compare Table 1). An additional feature of institutional arrangements might contribute to explain why second-generation Turks enter higher education in the Netherlands and Sweden more frequently than in Austria. This concerns the degree of permeability which allows for up-streaming of students who have been streamed downward earlier in their educational career.

Such a possibility for upward streaming exists in Austria at the end of lower-secondary education (at the age of fifteen). Students who have been streamed into the vocational track (Hauptschule) at the age of 10 have the opportunity to move upward towards the academically orientated tracks. But the empirical results for Austria in the TIES survey show that the proportion of upward-movers of Turkish origin at the end of Hauptschule is relatively small. The odds seem to be set against obtaining the marks required for the upward move and entering one or the other of the two academic tracks. The Turkish second generation is found to be less upwardly mobile at this transition point (23.2%), than the comparison group (41%) (Schnell 2012).

The picture is slightly different in the Dutch school system: slightly more than a quarter of the Turkish second generation enters the academic orientated track in lower secondary education (compare Table 2). But around 28.5 % finally end up in higher education, indicating that a substantial proportion of students are not following the direct academic route to higher education[4]. One characteristic of the Dutch school system is that it offers indirect routes through vocational tracks and additional qualifications, which allow students to enter higher education through an indirect route. Although it takes students two or three years more, these indirect routes provide a 'second chance' for students who have been streamed downwards earlier in their educational career (Crul et al. 2009). In particular, second-generation Turks from disadvantaged family backgrounds take advantage of this indirect or long route in order to enter higher education in the Netherlands (Schnell et al. 2013).

The Swedish educational system does not really provide 'second chances' because the permeability between tracks at the end of each education stage is always a given. Students in lower and upper-secondary education can choose tracks without any restrictions, while all upper-secondary tracks provide certificates that permit students to continue in post-secondary/tertiary education. These high levels of permeability lead to greater access rates into higher education for second-generation Turks in Sweden as compared to Austria and the Netherlands.

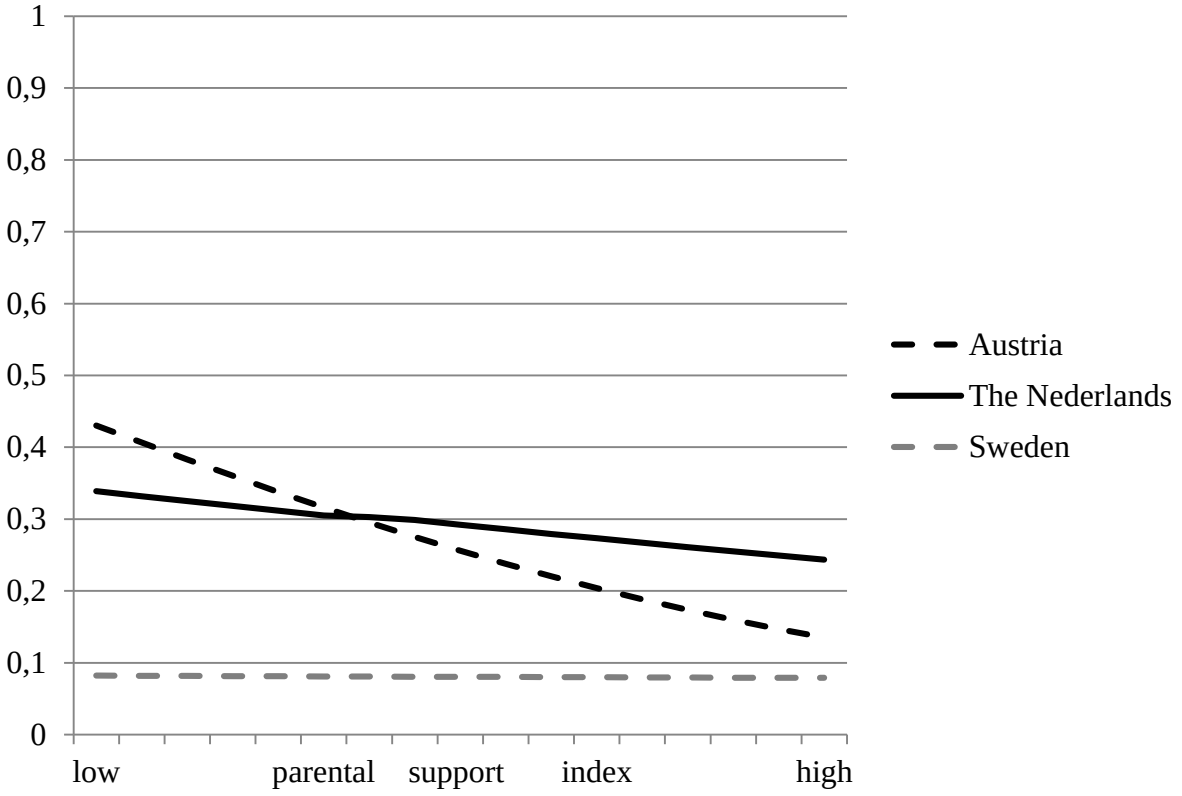
7. INTERACTIONS BETWEEN FAMILY RESOURCES AND INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

This section widens the perspective by examining interaction mechanisms between institutional arrangements and family resources in order to understand differences in outcomes for the Turkish second generation in the three countries in question. 'Interactions' become most evident when looking at how far extra support provided by family members correlates with specific educational pathways and outcomes in the different countries. Figures 2 and 3 show predicted probabilities of leaving school early (after compulsory education) and achieving a post-secondary/tertiary educational level (high achiever) in relation to the parental support provided by Turkish parents. This support index includes information on the frequency and the amount of time parents spend helping with homework, talking with their children about school, or meeting with teachers. The results in figures 2 and 3 are derived

[4] The proportion is substantial because not all second-generation Turks, who started in the academic track in lower secondary education, continue until higher education.

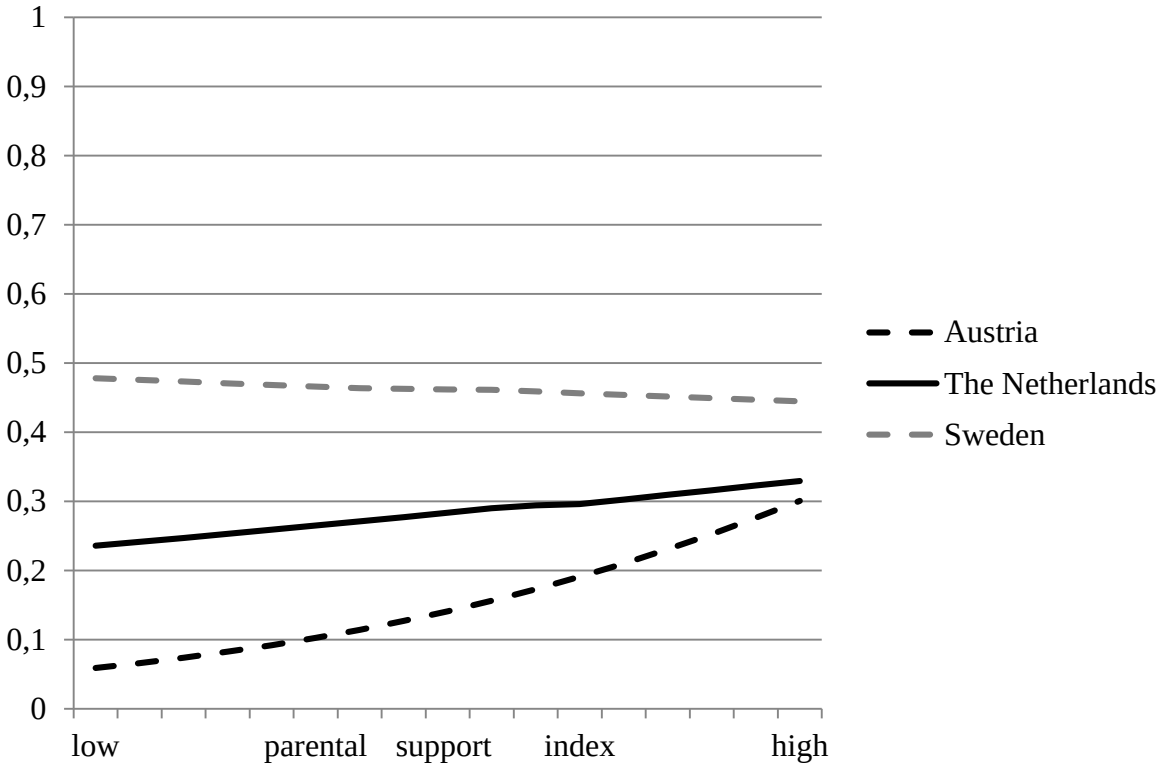
from multivariate analysis and are displayed for parents with the same educational background (lower-secondary educational level). Figure 2 indicates that with increasing support from their parents, the chances that students will leave school early decline sharply in Austria. On the contrary, the predicted probability of being an early school-leaver in Sweden is relatively small, independently of the support provided by parents and appears almost unrelated to parental involvement. The results concerning the link between the family resources of second-generation Turks in the Netherlands and the risk of leaving school early are weaker as compared to Austria, but still significantly correlated with educational success.

Figure 2: Predicted probabilities of leaving school early for second-generation Turks according to parental support, by country



Source: TIES 2007-2008. Notes: Results are derived from binomial logistic regression on being an early school leaver (1, otheriwse 0). Results are controlled for age, gender, parental educational background and city of residence (in Austria and the Netherlands). Parental educational level is set to 'lower-secondary education' while all other independent variables are set to mean.

Figure 3: Predicted probabilities of achieving a post-secondary/tertiary educational level for second-generation Turks according to parental support, by country



Source: TIES 2007-2008. Notes: Results are derived from binomial logistic regression on being achieving a post-secondary/tertiary level (1, otheriwse 0). Results are controlled for age, gender, parental educational background and city of residence (in Austria and the Netherlands). Parental educational level is set to 'lower-secondary education' while all other independent variables are set to mean.

As displayed in Figure 3, the predicted probability for second-generation Turks in Austria to climb the education ladder to the highest level without any parental support was below 10%. The more support these children get at home the sharper the increase in their chances of reaching the upper end of the ladder. In contrast, a slight 'reverse effect' in terms of the effect of parental support can be seen in Sweden. Second-generation Turks in Sweden have a slightly reduced probability of achieving the highest levels of education when they receive increased levels of parental support. The results displayed in Figure 3 indicate that, in the Swedish educational system, Turkish parents provide support when their child is not performing well at school. Finally, and similarly to our findings in Figure 2, the results on the association between parental support and educational achievement for second-generation Turks in the Netherlands can be situated between Austria and Sweden.

In order to test if the patterns identified differ between second-generation Turks and their comparison groups within each country, we conducted additional analyses (not shown) testing for differential effects among groups. We did not find any significant differential

effects for second-generation Turks in Sweden. Thus, the low role played by parental involvement in determining whether children become low or high achievers, applies equally to both groups and therefore the same for the whole student population in Sweden. By contrast, in Austria and the Netherland, our results indicated that parental involvement is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for the comparison group. In other words, parental support is positively related to educational success for students in the Austrian and Dutch educational system. But second-generation Turks seem even more dependent than the comparison groups on the frequency of support provided and the involvement demonstrated by their parents.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Second-generation Turks achieve very different educational outcomes in Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden. Our empirical investigation of absolute differences between second-generation Turks across the three countries revealed that the size of the group of high achievers (those with post-secondary education or higher) is twice as large in Sweden as it is in Austria. At the same time, the highest percentage of early school leavers (those with, at most, primary and lower-secondary education) among the Turkish second generation was found in Austrian. The educational outcomes of second-generation Turks in the Netherlands can be situated between these two countries. The proportion of high achievers is only slightly lower than in Sweden while the proportion of students who leave the Dutch education system early is larger than in Austria. The relative comparison between second-generation Turks and the comparison group across the three countries showed that differences in educational attainment were most pronounced at the lowest and the highest ends of the education ladders in Austria and the Netherlands. In both countries, such comparative attainment differences were higher overall than in Sweden.

Our results showed further that these cross-national differences in educational outcomes among second-generation Turks could hardly be explained by differences in the parental generation. When examining educational outcomes for second-generation Turks originating from families with similar characteristics, such as comparable levels of education, we found that the differences observed persisted across the three countries. In order to explain these remaining differences, we then considered the combination of institutional arrangements within each education system, which together form country-specific institutional constellations.

The main characteristics of the Austrian institutional constellation are the late starting age of pre-schooling, the early segregation into different ability tracks (at the age of ten), a low degree of permeability between education tracks after the early tracking, and the half-day of schooling in compulsory education. The impact of this institutional constellation on the early stages of a student's education lends more importance to family resources. During this early period, parents are therefore important agents in supporting their children's learning and in making school choices. Our outcomes confirm the specific relevance of the parents' educational backgrounds for the early selection process and the significance of within-family resources, which are also related to the half-day schooling system that persists throughout the years of compulsory education. The responsibility for teaching is transferred to the home and to the students' leisure time, which makes parental involvement and support significantly more influential 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.

In the Netherlands, an average pre-school starting age of four, a slightly delayed selection time (with the age of 12) and the possibility of entering higher education through indirect routes are among the main components of the national institutional constellation. Although the first selection into unequally prestigious tracks is postponed until the age of 12, we found that still only a quarter of the Turkish second generation makes it into the academic tracks in secondary education. This low transition rate among second-generation Turks can be partially explained by the lower educational background in the families of origin. This process is reinforced by the low participation rates in pre-schooling for second-generation Turks in the Netherlands. The lack of preparation time through pre-schooling translates into greater downward streaming of second-generation Turks at the first transition point after primary school. Nevertheless, the Dutch system can be characterized by high permeability between tracks in secondary education, thus allowing for upward transfers. Our results showed that a substantial number of second-generation Turks who had been streamed into the vocational track at the first selection point take advantage of these possibilities in order to enter higher education through indirect paths. This late opportunity for an upward transfer interacts less strongly with parents' educational background and family support.

The Swedish combination of institutional arrangements provides full-day schooling from early pre-school through primary education until the end of the integrated track in compulsory education. The prolonged and comprehensive full-day training phase makes family resources less relevant for the educational attainment process of both study groups.

Even at the first transition point, which takes place before entering different academic and vocational tracks in upper-secondary education, family characteristics, such as parents' educational background or their additional educational resources, are not significant factors for managing this transition period successfully, because the transition takes place late in the educational career. Consequently, second-generation Turks enter academically orientated tracks in similar proportions to the comparison group, irrespective of their family backgrounds. Moreover, the high degree of permeability between tracks and the fluid linkages between upper-secondary tracks and post-secondary/tertiary education, make individual-level factors of minor relevance for second-generation Turks who are on their way to achieving their highest educational diploma.

The empirical evidence available in our study highlighted the fact that cross-national differences in the educational attainment processes of second-generation Turks cannot be due to a single set of explanatory factors. Two parties are involved: on the one hand the children of Turkish immigrants, who have their own characteristics, efforts, family backgrounds, and, on the other hand, the educational systems of the countries, with their differing institutional arrangements. It is, however, the interaction between the two that determines the direction and the ultimate outcome of the educational process. Yet these two are unequal partners. The educational systems' institutional arrangements as well as the way such arrangements determine the relevance of family involvement and resources, matter more for the outcome of this process. Education systems which provide more favourable institutional arrangements, such as 'preparing practices' through early childhood education, full-day teaching and late selection, render second-generation Turks less dependent on family factors and resources and ultimately lead to their higher educational attainment.

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