

**Keynote Lecture at the 13<sup>th</sup> International Metropolis Conference,  
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**The second generation in Europe.  
Three questions about integration.  
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**Introduction:**

Yesterday the Dutch Minister of Integration Ella Vogelaar concluded her speech with an optimistic note on the school success of the second generation in the Netherlands. Today we will talk about the integration of the second generation in eight European countries. To name them from north to south: Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland and Spain.

In this lecture I will answer three questions about integration in relation to the second generation.

1. What about the place of integration; where did they grow up?
2. Integration with whom?
3. What is the best place of integration?

I will answer the three question by making use of a large international survey with the acronym TIES, which stands for 'The Integration of the European Second generation'. ([www.tiesproject.eu](http://www.tiesproject.eu))

We, that is the eight research teams, collected in total 10.000 interviews in fifteen cities in eight countries with second generation youth of Turkish, Moroccan and former Yugoslavian descent and with what we call a *comparison* group. This comparison group consists of people in the same age group (between eighteen and thirty five year old) with both parents born in the survey country. On purpose we do not use the title *native* group because also the second generation is by definition native born and – in most cases - holds the citizenship of the survey countries.

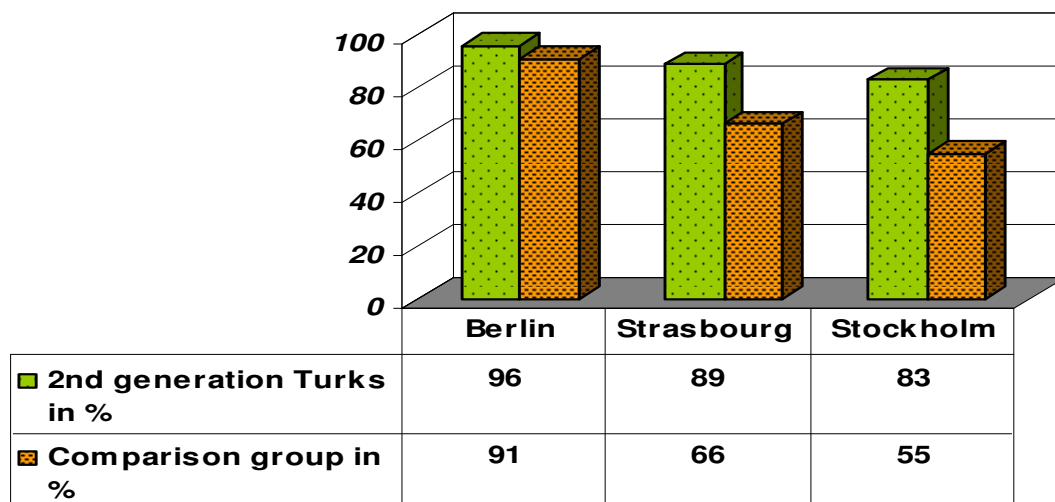
The first two questions, about the place of integration and integration with whom, I will answer for both the second generation groups and the comparison group. I think that if we discuss integration in these newly formed multi-ethnic big European cities, we need to do this for both the second generation and the comparison group. For both groups need to adapt to this new societal reality.

**First question: The place of integration; where did they grow up?**

Let us now look at the findings relating to the first question: the place of integration. We interviewed the ten thousand people in the fifteen cities, but did they also grow up in these cities? In other words, are they part of an established group in the city or are they actually newcomers to the city?

I will present our findings for the three second generation groups and the comparison group in nine out of the fifteen cities.

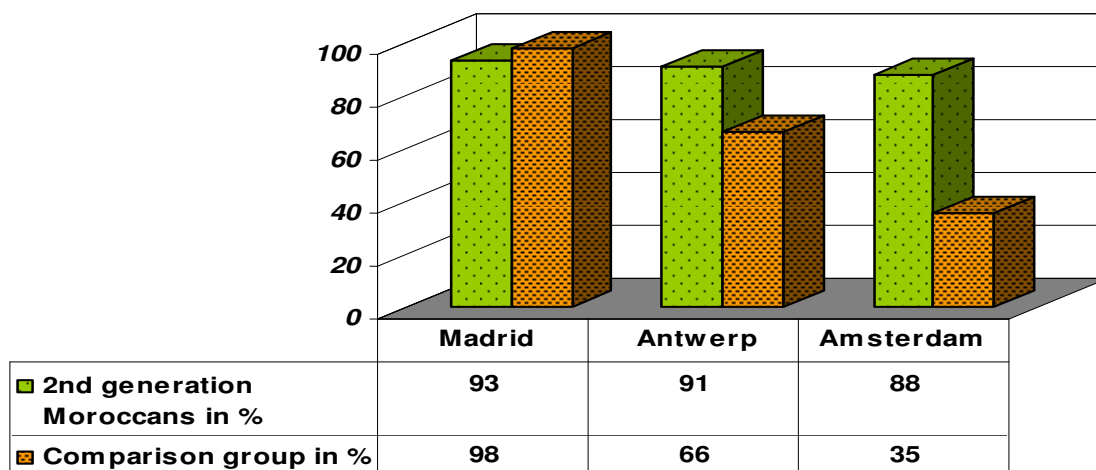
Table 1: The percentage of the 2nd generation Turks and comparison group members who grew up in the survey city.



(Source: IMES, 2008 TIES survey)

As you can see the Turkish second generation in Berlin, Strasbourg and Stockholm are in overwhelming majority born and raised in these cities. Comparison group members are more often newcomers to the city. In Stockholm for instance about half of the comparison group came to the city at a later age (after the age of fifteen). We see the same high percentages for second generation Moroccans in Madrid, Antwerp and Amsterdam.

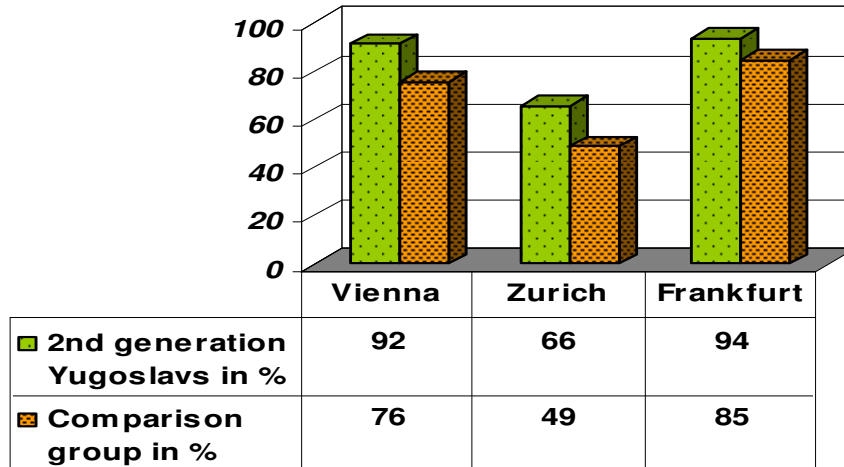
Table 2: The percentage of 2nd generation Moroccans and comparison group members that grew up in the survey city



(Source: IMES, 2008 TIES survey)

The next table shows the second generation from former Yugoslavian descent and the comparison group in Vienna, Zurich and Frankfurt.

Table 3: The percentage of the 2nd generation Yugoslavs and comparison group members who grew up in the survey city.



(Source: IMES, 2008 TIES survey)

Again we see that the second generation is more often born and raised in the three cities than the comparison group. It shows that the second generation is a strongly established group in the cities. They have a life long history in the city. They grew up in the city, went to school in the city and are now as young adults entering the labor market in the same city. It should therefore maybe not surprise so much that, when asked, they state they strongly or very strongly identify with the city they live in.

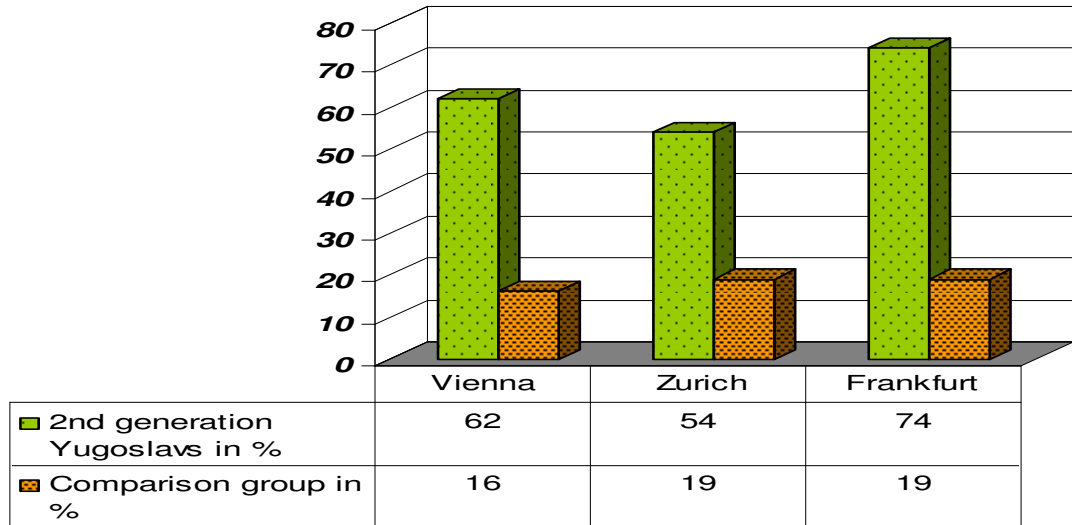
They also show in their practices at the neighborhood level more social cohesion than the comparison group members. They have more frequent contact with their neighbors, they have more family members living in the neighborhood and in the city, and, for instance, if asked to what extent they feel responsible for the life quality of their neighborhood they respond more positively to this question than the comparison group.

A substantial part of the comparison group (about a third) consists actually of newcomers in the city. They have to adjust themselves and find their ways in this new big city society. So if we want to talk in terms of the established group and the newcomer group, it is clear that the second generation is a pretty well established group. It is among the comparison group where we find more people who are the actual newcomers.

### **Second question: Integration with whom?**

Let's now move to my second question about integration: integration with whom? One of the main integration debates at the moment is the debate about the 'parallel Gesellschaft'. In other words, are immigrants and their children fenced in their own ethnic group? We asked the respondents in our survey about the ethnic background of their three best friends. The following table shows the average percentages of friends with a different ethnic background than their own.

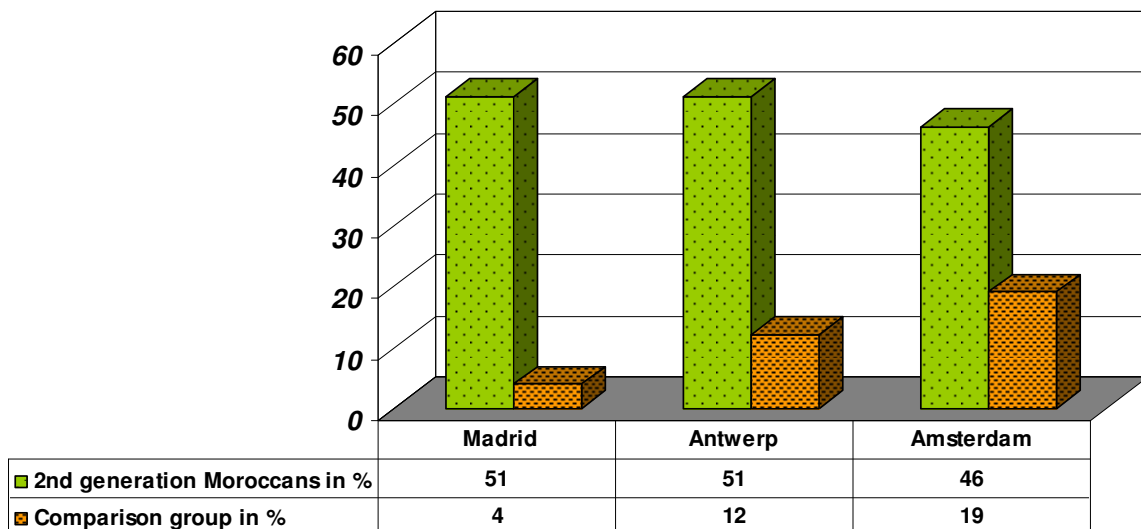
Table 4: The percentage of 2nd generation Yugoslavs and the comparison group with best friends from a different ethnic background.



(Source: IMES, TIES survey)

About two thirds of the second generation Yugoslavs has best friends with a different ethnic background than their own. For the comparison this ranges between sixteen percent in Vienna and nineteen percent in Frankfurt.

Table 5: The percentage of 2nd generation Moroccans and the comparison group with best friends with a different ethnic background.

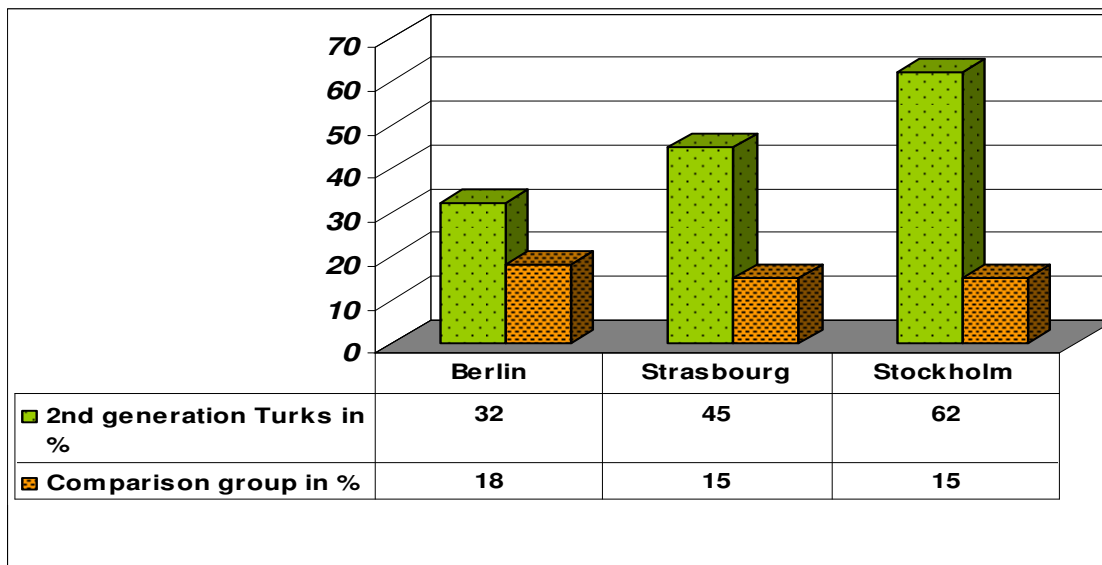


(Source: IMES, 2008 TIES survey)

The Moroccan second generation shows lower percentages (around fifty percent) of best friends with a different ethnic background compared to the second generation Yugoslavs. The third group, the second generation Turks, on average, again shows lower percentages. But interestingly we also see big differences between the cities. Second generation Turks in

Stockholm score at the same level as second generation Yugoslavs do in general, while the percentage is with 32 percent much and much lower in Berlin.

**Table 6:** The percentage of 2nd generation Turks and the comparison group with best friends with a different ethnic background.



(Source: IMES, 2008 TIES survey)

The comparison group scores between 18 percent in Berlin and 15 percent in Stockholm and Strasbourg. So, to conclude, there are considerable differences between second generation groups in terms of the interaction with other ethnic groups. With rather high percentages for second generation Yugoslavs and much lower for second generation Turks.

In general, with maybe the exception of the second generation Turks in Berlin, we can not say that the second generation is fenced in in their own ethnic group.

If there is indeed a group that lives in a ‘parallel Gesellschaft’ it concerns the youngsters of the comparison groups. They show a worrisome low degree of integration into the new multi-ethnic reality of the cities.

### **The third question: What is the best place of integration?**

Now we move on to my last question about integration: What is the best place of integration? I will answer this question by the example of education. Research on the educational position of the second generation or the educational position of children of immigrants in general, usually has a national or local focus. In the explanation of the low levels of education the emphasis is mostly on the socio-economic characteristics of the parents (especially their low level of education) and sometimes on cultural characteristics like the value parents attach to schooling.

At the same time the integration context, or how the educational system is selecting children of immigrants differently, or how educational policies help or hinder children of immigrants, is taken for granted or as given.

An international comparison, where we look at the same ethnic group with the same starting position (all born in the survey countries) can bring out the importance of the integration *context*. It can bring out the importance of the local or national educational systems and how they select children of immigrants differently.

We will show the findings for second generation Turks in seven countries. (Spain is not included here, as in Spain we interviewed the Moroccan second generation and a comparison group, but not the Turkish second generation.)

The table shows the highest diploma for those who already left school and the present level of schooling for those still in school.

Table 7: 2nd generation Turkish youth in seven countries:

Highest diploma for school leavers or present level of schooling for those still in school.

Educational level	Germany	Switzerland	Austria	Belgium	Netherlands	France	Sweden
Primary	3%	0%	4%	3%	6%	3%	0%
Lower sec.	28%	22%	28%	7%	24%	8%	5%
Apprenticeship/ Study preparing for labor market entry	54%	56%	32%	35%	18%	24%	24%
Higher sec.	8%	12%	25%	35%	25%	12%	21%
Tertiary	7%	10%	11%	20%	27%	53%	50%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	505	441	252	573	482	504	238

(Source: IMES, 2008 TIES survey)

What immediately draws our attention are the high percentages in Sweden and France in tertiary education. About *half* of the second-generation Turks are either studying in higher education or already have a higher education diploma. This contrasts starkly with the percentages for Germany, Switzerland and Austria. Five times as many second generation Turks are to be found in higher education in France and Sweden compared to the German speaking countries. How to explain these huge differences? Now, I hear you think that probably the Turkish communities in France and Sweden are very different from Germany, Switzerland and Austria. The Turkish parents in Sweden are indeed slightly better educated than the Turkish parents in Austria, Switzerland or Germany. But in France the Turkish parents are actually a bit less well educated than in the German speaking countries. So what could explain the differences?

The ranking from left to right actually runs precisely parallel to the ranking from more *stratified or closed* school systems in Germany, Austria and Switzerland to more *open, comprehensive* systems in France and Sweden. Maybe it should not surprise us much that if a second generation Turkish child goes to school in Germany at the age of six (as most of our respondents did) and is already selected for the type of secondary education at the age of ten, this child is most likely to enter into vocational tracks (Hauptschule or Realschule) and not Gymnasium. In comparison, the second generation Turkish children in France entered school

at age two and a half. They thus started to learn French in an educational environment at an early age and were only selected at age fifteen. They had twelve and a half years to catch up with their French peers. And many did indeed catch up as we have just seen, and made it into higher education.

Belgium and the Netherlands rank in the middle with about a quarter of the second generation in higher education. This can partly be explained by the later selection age, at respectively fourteen and twelve years old. But this is only part of the story. Also in the Netherlands the majority of the second generation Turks enters the vocational stream. However, different from Germany, Austria or Switzerland, many students move up through the vocational column, step by step into higher education. They started out in lower vocational education, moved on to middle vocational education, than to higher vocational education and some continue into University. This route, what we call *the long route* in the Netherlands, takes three extra years. About half of the second generation Turkish youth in higher education took this long route. So, though it requires a lot of persistence, it is an important extra route to success for second generation Turks in the Netherlands.

The examples show that specific characteristics of the educational system make a huge difference for second generation youth across the seven countries. Now, how will these differences in outcomes shape the Turkish communities differently in these seven countries? In some countries, like Sweden, France, Belgium and the Netherlands we already see an upcoming first elite among the second generation. They move into professional jobs in the labor market and earn a nice income. They often move to the better housing or buy houses in the city. They become the first Turkish yuppies in the city. But they are not only yuppies; they also take over the leading positions in the Turkish community organizations. They are becoming the spokespersons for the community. They take the lead in the emancipation process of the group. As we know from other social movements it is very important to have an elite that takes up this role.

In Germany, Switzerland and Austria we hardly see an upcoming elite among the second generation. We do see a steady development, compared to the parents, from unskilled to skilled workers. There is also intergenerational social mobility in these countries, but it is of a different quality and magnitude than in the other four countries.

My overall conclusion from the comparison is that each country gets the type of Turkish community according to the chances and opportunities it provides.

Further information about the TIES project can be found on the following website:

<http://www.tiesproject.eu/>