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**“The Second Generation in Europe”**

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**Theory Building and the Second Generation**

Research on the second generation of post-war immigrants is a relatively recent phenomenon. Only in the past decade has it become a key element in studies on integration. The post-war second generations in Europe came of age at about the same time that researchers began exploring their situation. Examples of early studies in various countries are Seifert 1992, Crul 1994, Tribalat 1995, Veenman 1996 and Lesthaeghe 1997.

Studies of the second generation play a very important role in the theoretical debate on integration. The classical assimilation theory has been developed by studying the generational development in a number of domains. Studies that showed social mobility over generations and studies that proved mother tongue language loss in the second and third generation were essential in formulating the classical assimilation theory. The debate about what is often called the new second generation in the United States (children of the post 1960's migration to the United States) launched a number of new theoretical paradigm's on integration. The most important theoretical framework is that of segmented assimilation. The idea is that immigrants may assimilate into three different segments of the receiving society: the mainstream or middle class, the underclass, or their own ethnic community. In the last case, they may retain much of their cultural legacy while developing a specific economic niche in the receiving society.

The theory of segmented assimilation has been largely developed on research on the second generation of Asian and Mexican descent. Especially based on research on second generation Mexicans Glazer (1992) formulated his much debated question about second generation decline. Glazer questions if social mobility for the present second generation is still possible (like it was before) if they don't reach a limited amount of educational credentials. In the present economy education has become a dominant

precondition for social mobility. More recently a debate has started that is summarized as the rethinking of assimilation. Alba and Nee (2003) argue that although there are more paths of integration as argued in the segmented assimilation model the main trend among most groups is still assimilation. They especially use data on the second generation to prove their point.

An important place in the debate about the second generation is reserved for the importance of class. The minority position of many second generation groups in the US and especially in Europe coincides with a very low class position. If one takes class in consideration the gap with the children from native-born parents often narrows considerably or even disappears. This raises the discussion whether integration problems are related to class or culture or whether these two factors are intertwined in a way which is difficult to unpack analytically (see for instance Vermeulen and Penninx 2000; Crul and Vermeulen 2003).

### **International Comparative Research on the Second Generation**

International comparative research on the second generation is still thin on the ground. The ESF research project with the title “International Migration and the Cultural Sense of Belongingness of the Second Generation” in the 1980’s can be seen as a first step (Liebkind 1989; Rex 1987; Wilpert, 1988). Among the more recent one’s are the ISCEY project and the EFFNATIS project. ISCEY, the International Comparative Study on Ethnocultural Youth, was carried out in 12 countries, among them eight European countries during the mid 90ies. It had a strong psychological focus as well as information on language use, discrimination and schooling but obviously did not get to the point to use the wealth of comparative data of a dozen countries until now. The EFFNATIS project, conducted from 1998 to 2000 by researchers in eight European countries, focused on the relationships between national integration policies and the outcomes for the second generation (Heckmann et al, 2001). Field surveys were conducted in Germany, France and Britain using a common questionnaire, while researchers in Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Finland and Spain produced country reports, based on secondary analysis of existing data – which often proved hard to assemble. Because EFFNATIS targeted different ethnic groups in different countries, no comparisons could be made of how the same ethnic group had fared in different settings. Cross-national comparisons were therefore difficult to make (Heckmann et al, 2001).

### **Special Issue: The Future of the Second Generation in Europe**

The most recent second generation project was launched in 2000 and has compared second-generation immigrants in six European countries, with a primary focus on the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. Findings are reported in a special issue, *'The future of the second generation in Europe'* of *International Migration Review* (Winter 2003), edited by Crul & Vermeulen. Researchers used the outcomes of the country reports from the EFFNATIS project, and they also gathered additional material and conducted secondary analysis on existing national data sources. The articles in IMR provide a state of the art review of all relevant literature on the second generation in six of the eight countries. The comparison between the countries was based on national data. Sometimes a secondary analysis was made of existing data.

In the special issue of *International Migration Review* Crul and Vermeulen show that the school careers of second-generation Turks exhibit startling differences across Europe. The greatest distinctions can be seen in the percentages of second generation Turks entering lower vocational tracks – the lowest secondary school type in all countries. In France, Belgium and the Netherlands, between one quarter third and one third of the second-generation Turks followed a lower vocational track, whereas in Germany and Austria the figure is between two thirds and three quarters. At the top end of the ladder, we see that far more second-generation Turks in France, Belgium and the Netherlands enter preparatory tracks for higher education than in other countries. National contexts vary widely in the types of opportunities they offer to second-generation Turks. Although one might now be tempted to conclude that France and Belgium and to a lesser extent the Netherlands, provide the best institutional contexts for migrants, that is not the whole story. A comprehensive assessment also requires knowledge of how children *perform* in vocational or in academic tracks. In France, for instance, we see that as well as having higher rates of entry into preparatory tracks for higher education, the Turkish second generation also has higher school dropout rates than in other countries. Of the second-generation Turkish young people in France who have already ended their school careers, almost half have gained no secondary school diploma at all, compared to only one third in the Netherlands and substantially fewer in Germany and Austria. In the latter two countries, the majority of Turkish second-generation children enter an apprenticeship system that enables them to work and study while gaining job qualifications and experience.

Transition to the labor market likewise differs sharply between countries. The apprenticeship system in the two predominantly German-speaking countries ensures a relatively smooth transition. Unemployment among second-generation Turks in countries with apprentice systems is three to four times lower than in France, Belgium or the Netherlands. Such systems apparently give young people with low vocational diplomas a start on the job market – a step much harder to accomplish in countries without such a system. Turkish second-generation youth in Germany have acquired a relatively secure labor market position through the apprenticeship system. In France and to a lesser extent in Belgium and the Netherlands, we see more polarization. While a substantial group of second-generation Turks are reaching white-collar or professional positions, many qualified and unqualified workers are suffering serious unemployment as a result of their difficult transition to the labor market.

To sum up, Crul and Vermeulen show that different outcomes can be related to differences in national educational institutional arrangements (starting age compulsory schooling, amount of school contact hours in primary school, school system characteristics and the importance of early or late selection in secondary education) and the different ways in which the transition to the labor market is formalized (esp. the importance of the apprenticeship system) in the countries respectively (cf Crul 2005a; 2005b;2005c; Faist, 1995; Muus, 2003).

The institutional approach, as it is dubbed by Crul and Vermeulen (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; 2005;cf Reitz 2003), can be seen as a new approach to explain differences in integration between nation-states.

The importance of the local and national context for integration pathways\_has received more attention in European than in American research (Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Doornik, 1998; Eldering and Kloprogge, 1989; Fase, 1994; Heckmann e.a. 2001; Mahnig, 1998; Muus, 2003; Werner, 1994). That research in Europe is more cross-national is understandable given the fact that there are many countries close to each other, which, although economically linked, are structured very differently. It is there for more obvious to look at the effects of these differences. In the American debate on the second generation, the emphasis has been on comparing different ethnic groups in the same city or national context (See the most important studies Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Kasinitz e.a., 2002). There have been comparatively

few studies in which the integration of American children of immigrants is compared with the integration of children of immigrants in other countries (Exceptions are the studies of Alba, 2003; Faist, 1995; Mollenkopf, 1999). North American researchers, as Reitz (2001: 8,9) argues, have only recently started to give more attention to the importance of the national context in which immigrants and their children try to move forward. The national context has mostly been taken for granted (Alba, 2003: 23).

To bring in the local and national context as an important factor of integration has been one of the most important European contributions to the international theoretical debate on integration.

Although rigorous study is still urgently needed, we believe we can already conclude from the above study that national contexts have a considerable impact on the paths of integration that the second-generation groups are following in the various countries. With more detailed and comparable data it must be possible to describe the importance of the national and local context more precisely. The debate about integration seems to have had a persistent blind spot for the importance of the national and local context in which the second generation is trying to move forward.

### **TIES (The Integration of the European Second generation)**

In 2003 a new research project on the second generation has started with the acronym TIES. The TIES project is coordinated by Maurice Crul and Jens Schneider (IMES). TIES is an international research project on the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia, and Morocco in eight EU-member states. The "second generation" refers here to those children of immigrants born in the immigration country, having followed their entire education there, and being now between 18 and 35 years old.

Since migration is primarily an urban phenomenon, the project will be realised in 15 cities in eight countries. These cities are: Paris and Strasbourg in France, Berlin and Frankfurt in Germany, Madrid and Barcelona in Spain, Vienna and Linz in Austria, Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands, Brussels and Antwerp in Belgium, Zurich and Basle in Switzerland, and Stockholm in Sweden. In almost all cities the focus will be on three different groups: two immigrant populations and a "native" control group. The two immigrant groups are Turks and Moroccans in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and Turks and Ex-Yugoslavians in Sweden, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Due to the later influx of labour migrants, the Spanish project will only address Moroccans and the native control group.

Since there is still very few statistical material on the second generation, and the existing data are not internationally comparable, the project's centre piece is a survey with over 10.000 respondent in the participating countries. The strongly comparative focus of TIES includes juxtapositions between ethnic groups, cities and EU-member states. The actual data collection and interviewing with the questionnaire is scheduled for the beginning of 2006.

First results are expected for the beginning of 2007. The idea is to discuss them on the local and national levels with a broad forum of scientists, policy makers, institutions, and civil society activists. In 2008, stakeholders and NGOs from all over Europe are brought together in an international conference to analyse the possible consequences for integration policies and target measures.

Since TIES produces an internationally comparative dataset on integration in Europe, this is of great interest for migration scientists and theorists from all over the world. Therefore, at the beginning of 2009, an academic conference with scholars from Europe, North America and Australia will focus especially on the comparison of the positions of second-generation migrants on those three continents.

See for further information on the TIES project: <http://www.imiscoe.org/ties>