Disparities in Attaining Tertiary Education between the Children of Native-Born Parents and the Second Generation of Migrants: A Comparative Analysis for 6 Western European Countries

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Introduction

As it influences the person's intellectual and professional capacities, education may be regarded as to be amongst the most important factors in an individual's life. In addition, it provides the resources for building up the social and cultural networks to be used in the future. Furthermore, in the contemporary societies, school emerges as a competitive ground like labour market or other social domains like politics. It can be argued that the school performance of the students as well as the ultimate educational attainment level of the individual are not merely based on individual-level factors, but also they are related to the one's socio-cultural environment, parents' educational and occupational characteristics as well as socio-economic level of the student's family. Last but not least, particularly, the individuals, who reside in relatively more advanced countries, are exposed to further socio-economic and cultural segregations and political issues. These may be determined by the size of and variations within their migrant populations. In sum, the issues related to the disparities in education outcomes between the children of the native population and the descendants of the migrants those countries may be complex.

The purpose of the analyses in this study is to examine the differences in the tertiary level educational attainment between the children of native-born parents and the descendants of the migrants in Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK). The literature review and empirical analysis results to be presented in this chapter are complimentary to the study of the author's analysis on the effects of immigration background on the secondary school performance in these six countries (see Özdemir, 2019)[1]. These two sets of analysis are expected to highlight the factors influencing the differences all throughout the secondary and later levels of education. In this regard, the empirical evidence presented in this study is assumed to help us exploring individual-level and/or intergenerational factors resulting in descendants of migrants to have education-related disadvantages in the selected countries. Therefore, the main objective of this chapter is analysing the impact of the socio-economic inequalities across native-born and migrant adults, which are likely to appear in other domains of social life, on their children's education-related outcomes rather than the success or failure of

[1] The analysis on the disparities in the secondary school performance of the children of the native-born parents and the second generation of the migrants was firstly presented in In International Conference on Research in Education and Social Sciences (ICRESS), February 3-7, 2019, Lisbon, Portugal; then it was published as a chapter in "Research Highlights in Education and Science 2019" book. For this, please see Őzdemir E. (2019) How does Immigration Background Affect Secondary School Performance: The Analysis of OECD-PISA Data in 6 EU Countries. In Wu, W., and Alan, S. (eds.) Research Highlights in Education and Science 2019, Ames: ISRES Publishing, pp. 140-148.

individual migrant communities in schooling. In other words, the overall analysis results of this research are likely to demonstrate to the extent to which the education systems of the selected countries are inclusive for all groups of students.

The hypothesis to be tested in the study is "*The gaps in the tertiary education attainment are mainly determined by the differences in the parental education and occupation characteristics*". The dependent variable to be tested this hypothesis is the dichotomous variable indicating whether the individual has completed tertiary education. The previous literature provides clear evidence for the link between the transfer of social advantages across generations and social mobility (e.g. see Goldthorpe, 1992; Saunders, 1995; Coleman, 2003; Corak, 2013; Bridge & Wilson, 2015). In this respect, regardless of the parents' migration background, the individual's parental education and occupational skill levels are assumed to be influential on the one's final level of educational attainment. On the other hand, any statistically significant analysis result on differences across migrant groups in this study is likely to indicate further intergenerational socio-cultural differentiation related to parents' country of origin. It should be noted that the expected disparities in having tertiary education between the children of foreign-born and native-born individuals are likely to be linked to migrants' disadvantages in earlier levels of schooling. As mentioned above, this latter topic was examined previously by the author (Özdemir, 2019).

The variation in having university degrees across countries may emerge as a result of the differences in both national secondary school and higher education systems of the countries. These variations may be related to the compulsory fees paid during tertiary education, amounts of these fees, and the available financial support during the tertiary education. For example, in Sweden and Germany, either there are no compulsory fees or such fees are very low; and in Belgium, France, the students are obliged to pay some low amounts of fees. On the other hand, there are higher fees for tertiary education in the Netherlands are higher than two latter countries, while the most expensive tertiary education costs among six selected countries are found in the UK (except for Scotland). The grants systems are also different across these countries. There is a universal grant system for tertiary education only in Sweden. in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and the UK, the grants are determined according to needs-based criteria. A set of mixed criteria (including needs and merit requirements) is applied in Germany for such higher education support. Moreover, students can have different types of financial support in all of these countries. In Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK, the student loans are available ; in Belgium and France, students can have supports in the forms of family allowances and tax benefits; and in Germany, the students can benefit all these three types of support (EURYDICE, 2015). In addition, the differences in this issue may be particularly correlated with the labour market segregation, which includes the

differentiations in occupations, skills and the other needs of country's labour market. In this regard, the statistics indicate that, in Germany, there was no remarkable change in the proportion of the employed people aged 25-64 with tertiary education level between 2004 and 2016 (around 30%). On the other hand, this proportion substantially increased in all other five countries over the same period; in these countries, more than two fifths of employed individuals in this age group had a university degree by 2016 (Eurostat).

The target population in the analysis is all individuals aged 25 to 34 years old, who were born in the host country or, who immigrated before age 14, and who completed at least 8th grade. The European Social Survey (ESS) data are selected for the analysis to examine the differentiation in the likelihood of completing tertiary level of education across migration background categories. All the ESS waves from 2 to 8 are included in the analysis[2]. Logistic regression model is selected for the multivariate analysis. The reason is that, the dependent variable is the dichotomous variable showing whether the individual have attained tertiary education level. Other details related to the data and statistical method used in the analyses can be seen in the Data and Methodology section below.

Apart from the methodology and the findings sections, the study includes a literature review. The selected literature presented here is expected to provide insight about the relevance of the variables used in the analysis of the study. Moreover, it is beneficial for the comprehension of the complexity of the topic in terms of cross-country differences and other intra and inter communal factors shaping the variations in the educational behaviour across different groups within individual countries.

Literature Review

Theoretical Approaches

Previous research on the differentiations in the education outcomes between the children of the native-born parents and the descendants of the migrants underlines three main sets of influences, which are namely institutional, socio-economic and cultural factors, respectively. The cross-country variations and the disparities across groups within a single country are both linked to the interaction of these three factors.

In this regard, Ogbu's "Cultural-ecological theory of minority school performance" provides a remarkable theoretical insight in exploring this interaction for the school success of the second generation of migrants. Initially, this approach examines the manner, in which the minorities are treated or mistreated in education in relation with educational policies, pedagogy, and returns for their investment or school credentials; this component is called "system" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). The second part is about

[2] The ESS data sets are accessible at https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org . References of the ESS data used in this study are given in the "References" section of this chapter.

minorities' perceptions and responses to schooling as a consequence of how they are treated in the host country. This includes the barriers faced by minorities qua minorities, which are composed of instrumental discrimination, relational discrimination, and symbolic discrimination. Moreover, the theory explores the impact of the white treatment of the minorities, which is expressed in the minorities' responses, or their "collective solutions," to the collective problems against these types of discrimination (Ogbu, 1995a; 1995b, in Ogbu & Simons, 1998). The categorisation of voluntary and involuntary minorities is not based on race, and the dominant patterns of belief and behaviour is the focus of the analysis. In this respect, the theory assumes that beliefs and behaviours of voluntary and involuntary minority groups represent ends of a continuum, and there may be variations within each of voluntary and involuntary minorities as the same treatment may cause diverse interpretations by different groups (Ogbu & Simons 1998). The authors argue that this theory is likely to assist the educators by providing criteria for assessing the success potentials of educational strategies together with some instructional strategies, to address the issues of mistrust, oppositional identity, and peer pressure not to "act white" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

In her study, van Zanten examines the impact of the Republican model of integration on the schooling performance of the children of migrants in France (van Zanten, 1997). Based on her study results, the author concludes that the analysis of the link between migrant groups and educational systems ought to include exploring dynamic interaction between national ideologies. The reason is that, they are embodied in education laws, school structures, curriculum, and teachers' attitudes and practices. The effects of ideologies can also be observed in specific economic, social, and cultural determinants for the group perceptions and responses to these ideologies (van Zanten, 1997).

In their research, Levels and his colleagues (Levels et al., 2008) focus on the variation in school performance of students with migrant background from the policy-making point of view. The authors assume that origin, destination and community effects are theoretically distinguished in their study. According to their assumption, those three aspects have certain characteristics affecting the educational outcomes of the children of the migrants. The level of prejudice and discrimination and the variation between traditional and non-traditional immigration countries are the factors determining the destination effect. On the other hand, community effects on immigrant student's educational achievements may include the socio-economic capital level and the size of the given immigrant community in the host countries . The findings of the analysis demonstrate that the relative size of the immigration community has a positively impact on the school success of the migrant's children as they may be more likely to access positive ethnic social capital. (Levels et al., 2008).

As mentioned in the study of Suarez-Orozco, having much more barriers and segregation

over generations, "involuntary/disparaged" minorities produce alternative strategies for social mobility (Ogbu, 1981 in Suarez-Orozco, 1991). In this regard, Suarez-Orozco assert that, the characteristics of involuntary minority responses can be identified by language, mannerism, dress and sphere of economic activity. Moreover, there exists a job ceiling for the non-European immigrants, which may indicate the limits in their careers that they could not rise regardless of talent, motivation, or achievement. As a result, higher drop-out rates and other measures of educational failure might be a response of those immigrant groups to such the job ceiling. This phenomenon can be interpreted as countercultural resistance to the perceived alien ways of the dominant majority (Suarez-Orozco, 1991).

Institutional Factors

Borgna (2016) argues that her analysis results for European countries point out the notion of institutional complementarities. Early tracking is related to severe migrant penalties when it takes place with immigrant marginalisation linked to lack of standardization in the allocation of resources across schools like in the post-war immigration countries. Moreover, late entry is likely to exacerbate disadvantages in case of linguistic distance between the native population and the migrants. In addition, the author states that immigration history of the host country is another influential factor. In more recent receiving countries, a single factor in the educational system may be sufficient to explain differences between the descendants of the migrants and the children of the native population (e.g. tracking in Italy). On the other hand, the combination of institutional features may affect the emergence of such differences in countries with a longer history of immigration, (like tracking and marginalization for Germany) (Borgna, 2016).

As shown in the study of Buchmann and Parrado (2006), despite the fact that the differences between the children of the migrants and the natives are likely to reduce after controlling linguistic and socio-economic characteristics of the household, the relative disadvantages of the migrants' children is likely to sustain in Northern European countries. Thus, the authors argue that the institutional aspects in the host societies are important. According to the authors, the governmental policies and public animosity toward immigrants in destination countries may refer to higher levels of segregation at school between the migrants and the natives, where the descendants of migrants may be exposed to discrimination, lack of access to quality educational resources, or denial of parent's citizenship rights.

The research results of Crul and Vermeulen (2003) indicate that, French and Belgian education systems enable the students to attend higher education levels, when they are compared to the Austrian and German systems. In the latter two countries, children start the primary education in later ages. Therefore, the elimination in the education

system occur earlier than France and Belgium (at age 10). This results in the fact that less successful children are likely to end up in vocational education and apprenticeship.

According to their analysis results, Ağırdağ and his colleagues argue that teachers' negative attitudes and students' lack of attachment to school are both related to the monolingualist policies of Flemish education system in Belgium. In this respect, multilingualism may be suggested as an alternative to augment the sense of belonging of the students with various ethnic background (Ağırdağ et al., 2014).

Dronkers and de Heus assert that, in the macro level, cultural and socio-economic characteristics of origin and destination countries influence in the differences in the school performance between the descendants of the migrants and the natives (Dronkers & de Heus, 2012). Nevertheless, the impacts of parental education and occupation are more important in countries with lowest level of differentiation. On the other hand, children of migrants have worse school performance in strongly differentiated educational systems irrespective of parents' occupation status. Furthermore, standardisation of the school system and the length of compulsory education in the origin country, the available education resources in destination countries, living in a host country with longer immigration history, and dominant religion in the origin country can be listed as other macro level factors influencing the variation between the groups (Dronkers & de Heus, 2012).

Socio-Cultural and Socio-economic Factors

The studies on differences in education outcomes also investigate the effects of cultural factors such as language, acculturation and community effect. However, as argued in Ogbu's theoretical approach, the negative impacts of such socio-cultural factors on the disparities between the descendants of migrants and the native population may be linked to what extent the migrants react in different socio-political and socio-economic environments (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). In this regard, examining the cultural aspects in the literature involves the analysis of the interrelation between these aspects and other socio-economic and institutional features in determining the disparities in educational outcomes between groups.

Ruhose and Schwerdt (2015) focus on the impact of early education tracking on the gap between the children of migrants and of natives based on the PISA, TIMMS and PIRLS data. The results of cross-sectional regression models highlight that the effect of early tracking before age 15 on migrant-native test score gaps of tracking is substantially positive. Nonetheless, further analysis of the same data indicate a remarkable effect of heterogeneity with respect to the frequency of speaking the test language at home. The analysis results suggest that speaking languages other than the test language at home has a strong early tracking impact on relative achievement of the migrant students in reading.

In a policy brief, Siarova and Essomba point out the importance of the language proficiency of the students for the language at school in preventing behavioural problems and school failure, which may emerge because of stress, anxiety and boredom linked to lack of comprehension (Siarova & Essomba, 2014). On the other hand, the authors underline the results from the previous studies demonstrating the lack of good practices in teachers' training, effective language support and native language courses across European countries.

Studies exploring the differences in the education outcomes between the children of the migrants and the native-born parents also examine the impact of the socio-economic inequalities between groups and intergenerational disadvantages. This particular research in this field supports the analyses of the variation in parents' socio-economic conditions and human capital transferred to their children.

Brinbaum and Kieffer argue that, despite the high educational aspirations of their parents, the children of migrants are likely to begin their secondary education with difficulties. This is related to lower educational and occupational levels as well as poor French skills of their parents (Brinbaum & Kieffer, 2009). In this respect, the authors state that their analysis results support the theories of school reproduction suggesting that the inequalities of school performance are mainly related to social factors.

The research of Bourne and others (2018) demonstrate that, in spite of the fact that cognitive ability is regarded to be highly heritable, the intergenerational reproduction of inequalities in educational attainment does not emerge because of this. In addition, environmental factors related to individuals' social origins are likely to influence in the formation of their cognitive ability. In this respect, the authors emphasize the significance of their findings for the weakening relationship between children's cognitive ability and their parents' class over time while the relation with child's cognitive ability and their parents' status and education is strengthening (Bourne et al., 2018). Their analysis findings show that cognitive ability mediates a minor part of the relation between social origins and educational attainment. Thus, the authors argue that it is necessary to examine how social origin actually operates other than through cognitive ability.

The empirical evidence presented in the previous literature indicates that in spite of the disadvantages that children of migrants face in the beginning of their education may be overcome in the long run (Boado, 2008), the socio-economic differences widen the education-related gaps between the second generation of the migrants and the children of the parents with native origins. Therefore, parents' human capital (Brinbaum & Kieffer 2009; Bourne et al., 2018) and other unfavourable socio-economic conditions (Park & Kyei, 2010; Worbs, 2003) are essential components in testing the hypothesis of the study.

Entorf (2015) argues that, the educational achievement gaps between migrant and

native-born students can be explained mainly by the variation in the socio-economic status of the parents, language and level of acculturation. However, it is a complex process, which requires detailed analysis of composition of migrants and concentration of migrant students. The latter aspect may result in further segregation and early tracking for the migrants' children in disadvantaged schools. Nevertheless, the author states that the results of such policies cannot be observed for several years. Rapid instruction in the local language is necessary for the migrants with language vulnerability together with personal orientation to the education system to ensure catching up with their native-born counterparts (Entorf, 2015).

The research findings of Crul and Vermeulen suggest that, despite the similarities in background characteristics of the first generation for both Turkish and Moroccan communities in Europe as having low level of education and working in low skilled jobs, the segmented assimilation, in which the assimilation is supposed to be neither linear nor homogenous, applies to the second generations of those immigrant groups differently (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). The findings point out that looser ties among the Moroccan migrants have led the second generation to have more individualistic behaviour and seeking the success in higher educational levels, while the entrepreneurship drew on the tight family relations and the cohesion within the Turkish community. Turkish second generation young people generally are likely to follow shorter and more vocationally oriented educational tracks; school dropout rates of the Turkish female students are higher as a result of early-age marriages (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). In the light of their analysis results, Crul and Vermeulen conclude that, although childrem of Turkish migrants profited from its closure and stronger social cohesion, they are likely to perform worse than the Moroccan second generation in education. In the first look, it seems as if the Turkish immigrants have experienced a smooth transition to the labour market. However, their lower proportion in higher educational attainment might be the price that Turks have to pay (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003).

The longitudinal study results of Smith and his colleagues (2019) on the migrants' intergenerational integration in Sweden indicate that the advantages transmitted to the migrants' children in improving their school performance is positively correlated with the duration that the parents have lived in the host country. This pattern is visible for most of the groups included in the analysis. Nevertheless, the findings also show that the effects on 2.0 and 2.5 generations may vary across different migrant groups (either downwards or upwards) because of intermarriages, the socio-economic and human capital level of parents at the time of immigration, cultural differences and the alteration in Swedish language proficiency over time (Smith et al., 2019).

Longitudinal data analysis results of another research on the variation in school success across children from different migrant communities and racial groups in the USA show

that, the inequality in educational outcome of the young children across racial/ethnic groups remains even after controlling the effects of family characteristics and language proficiency (Glick & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). The results suggest that socio-economic well-being of the household or other family characteristics are not sufficient to explain the variation. In addition, clustering the students by cultural origins is not always consistent. According to the empirical evidence of their research, the authors state that parents' behaviours and involvement are other important factors in achieving better academic outcomes (Glick & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007).

According to his analysis results, Jerrim argues that the age at the time of migration and the concentration of children of migrants at school are two significant factors determining school success of the migrant students in England. Furthermore, the neighbourhood deprivation and region of residence are two macro-level socio-economic factors affecting their school performance in this country (Jerrim, 2018).

Having Tertiary Education

In their study on the effects of socioeconomic inequality on the access to high status post-secondary institutions in Australia, the USA and the UK, Jerrim and colleagues have found that, the significant direct impacts of family background on the enrolment at elite collages are evident. These impacts are together with the effects of the SES on the academic achievement in high school, which also influence enrolment in tertiary education institutions (Jerrim et al., 2015). Their findings suggest that, despite the substantial variations in the organisation of post-secondary education, small cross-country differences are observed in the impact of SES on stratification in higher education across Australia, the UK and the USA . In the light of the results of the same analysis, the authors argue that although they face different institutional challenges in each country, the families with high SES level are able to use their resources to the greatest possible effect to ensure that educational inequalities are maintained (Jerrim et al., 2015).

The study of Hällsten and Thaning (2018) on the horizontal mobility and education outcomes in Sweden shows the existence of an influential horizontal segregation by parental SES at the upper secondary and the tertiary level in this country. This segregation is likely to emerge in particular dimensions of socio-economic background, especially among males. Thus, some portion of such segregation is not transformed into subsequent inequality in expected labour market outcomes. The reason is that, this segregation has a heterogeneous nature. However, the analysis results suggest a substantial level of inequality in the average level of tertiary graduation rates for upper secondary tracks, and average earnings for tertiary fields. After exploring the effects of parents' education, occupation, income and wealth, the authors assert that the wealth is the most influential factor determining the segregation across educational fields in tertiary education level.

Individuals with parents having higher levels of education are likely to attend high prestige education irrespective of academic field such as arts, humanities, law and health professions. Individuals having more disadvantaged socio-economic background tend to attend tertiary programmes like teaching, short health and social services. These empirical results indicate that, reducing social background to a uniform dimension may cause misleading outcomes in the analysis of intergenerational educational disparities. The reason is that, each dimension involves its unique and specific patterns for segregation and inequality (Hällsten & Thaning, 2018).

The findings of a cohort analysis conducted by Tolsma and colleagues on the educational attainment differences across migrant groups in the Netherlands suggest that, the inequalities between the native population and the ethnic minorities have reduced in the lowest levels of education over time, and they have become less likely to occur within vocational tracks of secondary education. However, disparities in attaining tertiary level education between the descendants of the natives and the other groups have remained during the same period (Tolsma et al., 2007). The authors argue that, the university track is more exclusively the domain of native Dutch. The analysis results point out that other groups are cumulated more in the vocational track. These two analysis results are likely to indicate the formation of ethnic educational inequality in those transitions. Despite the fact that the social origin indicators may explain the ethnic educational differentials to a certain extent, ethnic educational inequality persists even after controlling socio-economic characteristics. Last but not least, the authors state that, even under a condition of saturation as suggested in maximally maintained inequality (MMI) proposition (Raftery & Hout 1993, in Tolsma et al. 2007), in the earlier stages of education, the patterns of ethnic inequality outcomes in education sustain between higher secondary education and tertiary education. This implies that the inequality is founded qualitatively within tertiary education in the Netherlands. The latter finding corresponds to the effective maintained inequality (EMI) proposition (Tolsma et al., 2007).

The research outcomes of Kristen and colleagues (2008) on the probability of attending university in Germany confirms that variables like belonging to a higher social class, having better educated parents, and displaying a stronger motivation for status are likely to increase the chance of enrolling a university rather than a vocational path. The analysis results demonstrate that, even after controlling all these variables together with the final grade for secondary education and familiarity with the dual character of German vocational training, the descendants of the migrants, particularly the children of the ones with Turkish origin, are more likely to attend the university compared to the children of native Germans. Based on these findings, the authors argue that, this pattern may be related to the strategy of the migrant communities to avoid employer discrimination during apprenticeship training position, which may arise due to their social distance

disadvantages in Germany (Kristen et al., 2008). On the other hand, the authors assert that, attending the university does not necessarily lead to attaining the degree. This fact is more relevant for the children of the migrants since they have relatively lower final upper secondary school grades than the children of the native-born people. This may be interpreted as they are academically less well prepared for tertiary education, and they are more likely to drop out (Kristen et al., 2008).

The analysis results of Feliciano and Lanuza (2017) on the intergenerational mobility within migrants in the USA demonstrate the differentiation in advantage in educational attainment across the generations within the immigrant communities on the basis of the years of schooling. In addition, the migrants' children have relatively lower educational attainment levels (12 years of schooling) when they are compared to the ones with native-born parents (14 years of schooling) before controlling the standard measures of family SES including household income, parental occupational attainment, and parental years of schooling (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017). On the contrary, when these socio-economic and parental factors are included in the multivariate models, 11 out of 13 immigrant groups analysed in the study have significantly more years of schooling than the 3rd (or later) generation Whites. The authors assert that, the majority of the differences in intergenerational educational mobility is likely to be explained by the class background of immigrant parents. Moreover, there is a contextual dimension, which should be considered in the analysis. This should cover in what country (geographical) and when (historical) the parents completed their highest educational attainment (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017).

In sum, the literature provides the evidence not only for the effect of SES in general, and parents' human capital in particular, on the access to tertiary education (Triventi, 2013; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017), but also for the segregation in the fields of study in post-secondary and tertiary education institutions (Jerrim et al., 2015; Hällsten & Thaning, 2018). These results are also consistent with the research findings related to the effect of socio-economic disparities on the secondary school success, which are discussed above. Although the socio-economic characteristics of the families and parents may cause similar result in different countries, the effect of migration background may differ across countries (Tolsma et al., 2007; Kristen et al., 2008; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017) in relation with the cross-country variations in labour market, education system, or other contextual patterns in the host country. In this regard, it can be asserted that, empirical evidence derived from previous literature supports the assumptions of this study's hypothesis related to the impact of parental human capital characteristics on the probability of attaining tertiary education. Therefore, any differentiation in attaining university (or higher) degree between the descendants of the migrants and the native-born population after controlling these factors may suggest a certain level of discrimination in access to

tertiary education.

To conclude, the recent literature demonstrates that, in general, the education outcomes depend upon the interaction among the, socio-economic conditions, in which the student lives, the transfer of inter-generational (dis)advantages, cultural environment and education system of the country. Particularly, the lower socio-economic well-being of the families and lower educational and occupational characteristics of the parents are the primary factors, which lead to lower education attainment levels for the children of the migrants. In the following stages, the penalisation of low school performance by the current education system (via drop outs as in case of France or via shifting to vocational education as in case of Germany) is likely to increase the disparities between students with migration background and the ones with the native origins. The literature also indicates the importance of language spoken at home and other community-level cultural differences. In this regard, the analysis examining the final level of education attainment should take account of the factors from all these domains, where the data are available.

Data and Methodology

As mentioned in the "Introduction" above, in the analysis of this study, European Social Survey (ESS) data sets of rounds between 2004 and 2016 are selected to examine the disparities in attaining tertiary education level.

There is a limited number of cross-national comparative survey data allowing the analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the second-generation over a long period of time. For instance, despite their relatively big sample sizes, the complete socio-economic data allowing the analysis for second generation in cross-country survey datasets such as European Union Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) and European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) are available only for few years. Unlike the ESS, the data about parents' educational, occupational and migration background are not collected in core questionnaires, but in ad hoc modules in particular waves of these surveys (for the list of the EU-SILC and EU-LFS core data variables, see https://www.gesis.org/en/missy/).

In this respect, the ESS data are used to examine the likelihood of the descendants of the first generation migrants in having tertiary education. There are both advantages and limitations of using ESS data in this study. Fortunately, the ESS collects detailed country of birth data of the respondents and their parents. In addition, the highest educational level attained by the parents and the occupation that both parents had when the respondent was 14 years old are among the data collected by the core ESS questionnaire. Nevertheless, the biggest disadvantage of the ESS in the analysis of second generation of the migrants is the small number of observations in individual waves. Besides, despite

the implementation of the same migration and occupation modules in all rounds, the questions have been modified over time. By considering both positive and negative aspects of this data source, some standardisations are applied to ESS data in order to obtain maximum level of consistency in the analysis results of this study.

The target population of the analysis for the likelihood of having tertiary education attainment is all the individuals in 25-34 age group, who were not in education at the time of the survey, and who were born in the study countries (i.e. the native population) or who migrated to the selected countries before age 15, and who completed 8th grade in the current country of residence. There are two assumptions of selecting this group of individuals for the analysis. First of all, these individuals are assumed to be in the country during their ages of secondary education. Secondly, they are expected to have completed their highest level of education in the country of residence. Therefore, it is expected to be composed of the same group of individuals, who attended the secondary education in the host country, and who were exposed to similar education disparities that are shown in the PISA analysis (see Őzdemir, 2019). There are also other reasons of choosing the individuals in 25-34 age group. Initially, the individuals in this age group are assumed to have completed their formal education. Moreover, selecting this 10-year age interval is likely to provide bigger number of cases in ESS data to acquire statistically more reliable findings. For the same reason, despite the use of detailed country of birth data of the parents to distinguish second generation of EU and non-EU born migrants, country of birth of the individual is grouped in two broad categories, which are namely "Native" and "Foreign-born" respectively. The rationale lying behind this categorisation is that all the descendants of the immigrants are assumed to be the dependant migrants of the first generation irrespective of the country of birth of these children. Last but not least, small number of observations in ESS requires the grouping of individuals in such broader categories to obtain statistically consistent results.

For the multivariate analysis of the study, logistic regression model is selected. It is conducted by using pooled ESS data to examine the factors influencing the odds for having tertiary education level. Using the pooled data is expected to overcome the statistical hazards that may emerge because of small number of observations, especially for the individuals with migration background.

The equation for simple logistic regression model is

$$P(Y_i = 1) = \frac{\exp(B_0 + B_i * X_i)}{1 + \exp(B_0 + B_i * X_i)}$$

where $P(Y_i = 1)$ indicates the conditional probability of the outcome variable (Sommet and Morselli 2017). As defined by Eboli and Mazzula (2009), the regression coefficients are estimated by the maximum likelihood method, where the dependent variable is of a qualitative nature. In this respect, such modelling estimates the parameter values

maximising the probability of observing the experimental data set. The Wald test is used in verifying the significance of the outcomes, and model's goodness of fit is shown by Nagelkerke R^2 and/or Cox's R^2.

The pooled data set used in the multivariate analysis covers the available data of all seven ESS rounds in 2004-2016 period. It should be noted that some part of the relevant information, which is necessary to determine the target population, is not available in the 2nd round (conducted in 2004) of ESS in France and Sweden. Therefore, the analysis for these two countries covers 2006-2016 period. It should be noted that the logistic regression models in this study are implemented for each selected country separately.

The dichotomous variable indicating whether the individual has completed tertiary education is the dependent variable of the logistic regression analysis. Five independent variables for the individual and parental characteristics are included in these models, which are namely i.) the sex of the individual; ii.) 5-year age groups; iii.) the highest parental educational attainment; iv.) the highest parental occupational status when the individual was 14 years old; and v.) the migration status of the individual as the combination of the country of birth of both parents and the individual. In addition, the year of the ESS round is also involved as a categorical independent variable in the models. Unfortunately, no language-related variable is involved in the analysis. The reason is that, the ESS does not collect data on the language proficiency of the individual and/or parents at the time of the respondent's schooling years.

The categorisation of the variable for the parents' occupation when the individual was 14 years old is different across ESS rounds. In addition, the categories given in this variable do not correspond to the conventional ISCO codes (ILO). In this regard, in the analysis of this study, broad groups for occupations are used. This grouping identifies high-skill white collar, semi-skill or low skill white collar, and blue-collar occupations. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the detailed data for country of birth of parents are grouped as "EU-born" and "non-EU" born to explore the variation between the descendants of the migrants from these two categories of origin countries.

Descriptive Findings

Descriptive findings demonstrate that, there is significant level of variation in having parents with low education attainment level (ISCED 0, 1 or 2) between the descendants of the migrants and the children of native-born parents in all selected countries. The figures are relatively low for the individuals with at least one native parent (Figure 1). Less than one tenth of children of native-born couples had parents with basic schooling in Germany all throughout 2006-2016 period. The proportions for individuals with two native-born parents were bigger than the figures found for the individuals with only one migrant parent in France and the Netherlands, and in some particular sub-periods in

Belgium, Sweden and the UK. On the contrary, the children of the parents, who were both born abroad, had substantially bigger shares of low parental education attainment level in all six study countries. The figures were 60% or higher over the period in Belgium; and three out of four descendants of foreign-born couples had parents, who had low education attainment during 2006-2008 period in France and the UK. Despite the fact that the findings for the individuals in this category in Sweden and Germany were relatively lower than the other four countries, they were much bigger than the share for the individuals with at least one native-born parent.

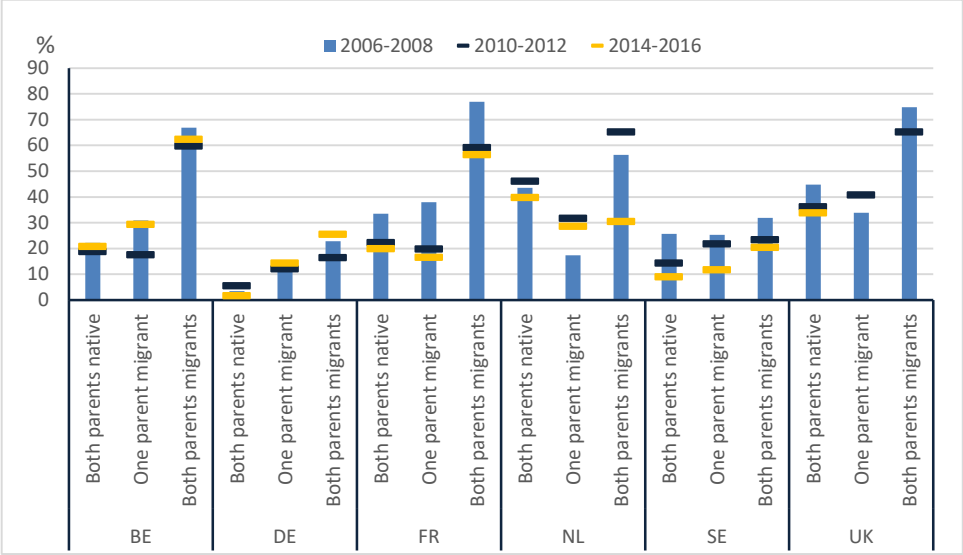

Figure 1. Proportion of Individuals Aged 25-34 Whose Parental Education Level is Basic Schooling by Migration Background of Parents, 2006-2016 (%)

Note: The consecutive ESS waves are grouped in order to obtain sufficient number of observations for consistent findings. The figures for the individuals with one migrant parent and two migrant parents categories in the UK for 2014-2016 are not presented because of statistically unreliable findings due to insufficient number of observations.

Source: ESS microdata, own calculation.

A similar pattern is found for the variation in having parents with low occupational skills across migration groups. The proportion of the individuals, whose parents had been working in low skilled jobs when the individual had been 14 years old, was significantly higher among the ones with two foreign-born parents, when they are compared to their counterparts with at least one native-born parent in all selected countries, though some fluctuations are observed across sub-periods (Figure 2).

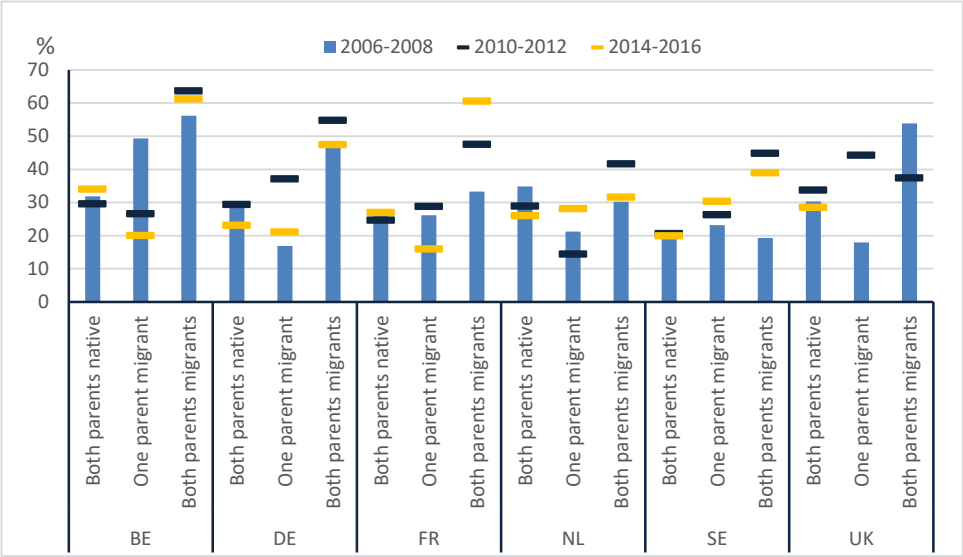

Figure 2. Proportion of Individuals Aged 25-34 Whose Parental Occupational Level is Low Skilled Jobs by Migration Background of Parents, 2006-2016 (%)

Note: The consecutive ESS waves are grouped in order to obtain sufficient number of observations for consistent findings. The figures for the individuals with one migrant parent and two migrant parents categories in the UK for 2014-2016 are not presented because of statistically unreliable findings due to insufficient number of observations.

Source: ESS microdata, own calculation.

Descriptive analysis results suggest that there are disparities in attaining tertiary education in some study countries between broad categories for the parents' country of birth. In Belgium, more than two fifths of the individuals aged 25-34 with at least one native parent had tertiary education level over 2006-2016 period. This figure did not exceed 20% of the descendants of overall migrant couples between the same years (Figure 3). Despite a smaller variation between these two groups than the gap observed in Belgium, the proportion of the individuals, who completed tertiary education, among the children of foreign-born couples was significantly smaller than the ones with two native parents in Germany, France, the Netherlands all throughout the period, and in Sweden between 2010 and 2016. The proportion for the ones with only one migrant parent are similar to the figures estimated for the individuals with two native-born parents in these countries. The findings indicate even bigger shares for the former group of individuals in particular years in France, the Netherlands and Sweden. On the contrary, in the UK, the lowest figures are found for the descendants of the native-born couples. In 2010-2012 period, only 36% of the individuals in this category had tertiary education level, whereas the majority of the ones with at least one migrant parent had a university degree.

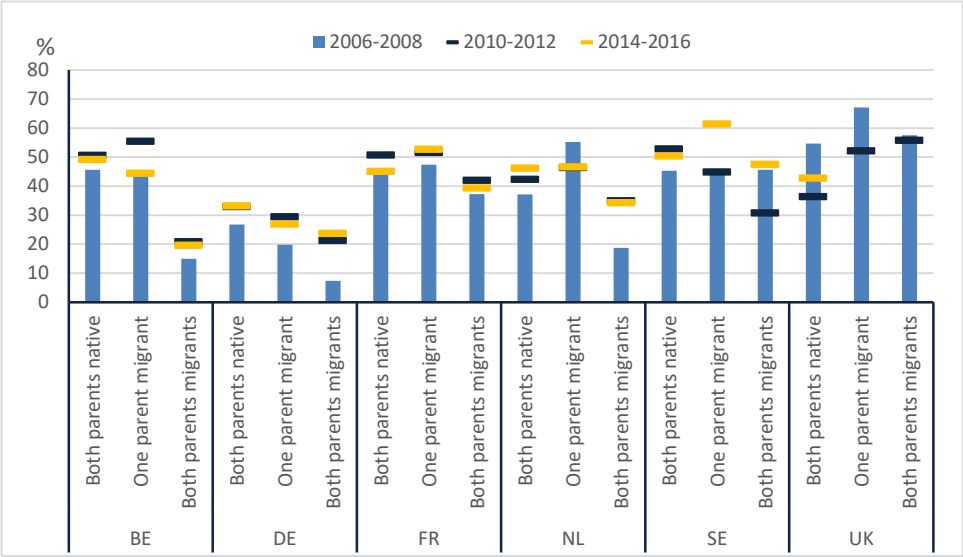

Figure 3. Proportion of Individuals Aged 25-34 Who had Tertiary Education by Migration Background of Parents, 2006-2016 (%)

Note: The consecutive ESS waves are grouped in order to obtain sufficient number of observations for consistent findings. The figures for the individuals with one migrant parent and two migrant parents categories in the UK for 2014-2016 are not presented because of statistically unreliable findings due to insufficient number of observations.

Source: ESS microdata, own calculation.

Multivariate Analysis Results

The model summary indicators of the logistic regressions show that, the model for Germany has relatively lower level of variance explained for the likelihood of having completed tertiary education for the age group in concern when it is compared with the models for other countries. On the other hand, regression conducted for Belgium has the highest explanatory power (Table 1).

Table 1. Pseudo R^2 Values for the Logistic Regression Models for having Tertiary Education Level

	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	N
BE	0.230	0.307	1365
DE	0.112	0.158	2116
FR	0.153	0.204	1359
NL	0.151	0.204	1460
SE	0.168	0.225	1251
UK	0.150	0.201	1414

Source: ESS microdata, own calculations

The findings of logistic regression models do not demonstrate a statistically significant variation in attaining tertiary education level across migration background categories in Germany and France for the ones, who were living in these countries at age 14 and completed at least 8th grade (Table 2). On the contrary, in other four selected countries,

individuals in particular migration background categories are observed to be less advantaged. In Belgium and the Netherlands, the foreign-born individuals, who started residing in the host country at age 14 or younger, and whose both parents were born outside the EU, have much lower odds of attaining tertiary education than the children of native-born couples after controlling other individual and parental characteristics. In the Netherlands, the odds ratio for the former group of individuals is as low as 0.26, and it is just above 0.1 in Belgium. Likewise, in Sweden, native-born individuals, whose both parents were born in the EU, are much less likely to finish a university when they are compared to their counterparts in the reference category. On the other hand, in Sweden and the UK, native-born individuals with two non-EU-born parents have higher likelihood to attain tertiary education level relative to the individuals in all other categories. Moreover, in the UK, unlike Belgium and the Netherlands, the children of non-EU-born couples, who were born abroad, are almost 11 times more likely to have university degree than the individuals with two native-born parents.

Table 2. Odds Ratios of the Independent Variables in the Logistic Regressions for Having Tertiary Education Level

	BE	DE	FR	NL	SE	UK
Female	1.601***	1.014	1.559***	1.381**	2.145***	1.388**
Male (ref.)						
25-29	1.175	0.684***	0.755*	0.603***	0.540***	0.772*
30-34 (ref.)						
Low	0.127***	0.314***	0.164***	0.221***	0.304***	0.455***
Medium	0.238***	0.493***	0.315***	0.452***	0.423***	0.627**
High (ref.)						
ISCO 4+5	0.685*	0.471***	0.611**	0.894	0.527***	0.550***
ISCO 6+7+8+9	0.476***	0.277***	0.399***	0.587**	0.398***	0.284***
ISCO 1+2+3 (ref.)						
Native/both parents EU	0.699	0.852	0.423	1.994	0.318*	0.485
Native/both parents non-EU	0.482	0.670	1.647	1.127	2.991*	2.548***
Migrant/both parents EU	0.653	0.757	1.656	0.366	2.009	0.348
Migrant/both parents non-EU	0.123**	0.601	1.578	0.255***	1.111	10.640***
Native/parents mixed	1.054	0.996	0.962	1.213	1.145	1.431
Migrant/parents mixed	0.654	0.358	1.234	2.325	1.672	0.837
Both parents native (ref.)						
2004	0.670	0.765		0.862		0.511**
2006	0.723	0.558**	1.023	0.870	0.724	1.804**
2008	0.768	0.710	1.109	1.158	1.022	1.603*
2010	1.015	1.000	1.427	1.045	0.821	0.971
2012	0.875	1.059	0.903	1.215	1.373	0.943
2014	0.707	0.920	0.838	1.365	1.117	1.172
2016 (ref.)						
Constant	0.507**	0.261***	1.134	0.669	0.925	1.018
N	1365	2116	1359	1460	1251	1414

*Note: Significant at *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05*

No data in France and Sweden prior to 2006.

The order of independent variables: Sex; 5-year age groups; highest parental education level; highest parental occupation when the individual was 14 years old; migration background; year of ESS round.

Source: ESS microdata, own calculation.

The findings for other independent variables included in the models suggest similar patterns in the selected countries in general. Women in the target population of the analysis are more likely to attain tertiary education level relative to men in all selected countries, but Germany (Table2). The results indicate that the individuals in 25-29 age group have lower odds of having tertiary education attainment than the ones aged 30-34 in all countries except for Belgium. This finding may suggest that the individuals continue their formal tertiary education activities during later ages in the other five countries. In addition, the results show that the lower the parental education level, the lower the chance of having a university degree. In addition, the individuals having parents, who had less skilled jobs during the individuals' teenage years, have lower odds of attain tertiary education. According to the findings, it can be argued that there is further segregation between the children of the parents with higher ranks of white-collar jobs and the ones with lower parental occupational skills. This is not the case in the Netherlands, where the variation between skilled and less skilled white-collar occupations is statistically insignificant. The logistic regression results for the effects of parents' education and occupational levels on the likelihood of attaining tertiary education correspond to the PISA analysis results for the secondary school success (Özdemir, 2019). In this regard, it can be argued that the relative human capital disadvantages of the parents are continuously influential on the education outcomes for the individuals in secondary and tertiary education stages.

Conclusion and Discussion

The results of both descriptive and multivariate analyses highlight the educational and socio-economic disparities across the ones with different individual-level and parental migration experiences.

In addition, the ESS analysis findings in this study suggest that there is a strong link between the socio-economic well-being of the households and the education outcomes for the children. This fact confirms the assumption of the hypothesis tested in the study. The effect of migration background of the parents becomes statistically marginal for most of the categories after including the parents' education level and occupations in the analysis. However, the negative effect of migration background on attaining tertiary education remains particularly for migrants having two non-EU born parents in Belgium and the Netherlands. As mentioned in "Data and Methodology" section above, there are some other variables, which could not be included in the empirical analysis of this study as they are not available in ESS data. For example, the information for the language

spoken at home when the individual was in school is not collected in this survey. In addition, very small number of cases- particularly for the second-generation of the migrants- in the ESS data sets does not allow further detailed analysis.

According to the findings if the study, it can be argued that the results for the likelihood of attaining tertiary education based on ESS data are consistent with the results of PISA analysis (Özdemir, 2019). For instance, the PISA analysis findings also demonstrate that the socio-economic well-being of the student's family is among the most influential factors affecting the secondary school success in all selected countries in this study. Specifically, in Belgium, the children of foreign-born couples are likely to have the lowest plausible values in all academic fields. On the other hand, results from PISA do not indicate any statistically significant variation between the students in this category and the children of the native couples in the UK. In this respect, it may be argued that the disadvantages faced by the children of non-EU-born parents persist after the secondary school in some countries, while more egalitarian education systems as in the case of the UK enable the descendants of migrants with non-EU origins to complete higher educational levels.

The empirical findings of this study point out that the socio-economic differences tend to sustain across generations. Education can be regarded as one of the most influential agents in transferring the advantages from the parents to their descendants. On the contrary, the children of the families having disadvantageous socio-economic characteristics are exposed to risks and hardships not only because of the financial shortcomings of the households, but also insufficient human capital background of the parents. Therefore, it can be asserted that the gap between the native population and immigrants is likely to remain in the future just because of the disparities in education outcomes across groups.

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