Online Supplement: Intergenerational Social Mobility Among the Children of Immigrants in Western Europe: Between Socioeconomic Assimilation and Disadvantage

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Social class coding scheme

In order to have matching class schemes between respondents and respondents' father, we recoded the detailed ISCO codes for the respondent's occupation into big classes matching the scheme used to report father's occupation. The ESS questionnaire asks respondents about their father's occupation when they were fourteen, and the answers were grouped in nine occupational categories by the ESS survey team: "higher administrators", "professional and technical", "clerical", "sales", "service", "skilled worker", "semi-skilled worker", "unskilled worker", and "farmer".

The conversion of ISCO code used to classify the respondents' occupation into the parental big classes is not seamless. This is in part because some of the professions cited as a illustrations for the parental big classes in the ESS questionnaires are not consistently coded as such in the ISCO classification. For instance, an insurance agent is considered a technical occupations in the ISCO classification, but given as an example of sales occupation in ESS questionnaire inquiring about the father's occupation. Likewise, many trade professions such as baker or bricklayer are cited as example of semi-skilled occupation in the father occupational scheme but coded as a trade class part of a skilled labor category in the ISCO classification.

Discrepancies between two class coding schemes result in two, main data issues for the creation of a common scheme. First, the distinction between certain categories (e.g., semi-skilled and unskilled as alluded to above, as well as sales and services) is highly ambiguous when it comes to assigning these larger labels to ISCO occupations. Second, the parental class scheme features a large "professional and technical" class which is highly heterogeneous when considered through the ISCO classification. To solve these issue, we produce a highly aggregated class scheme in which all "workers" (skilled, semi-skilled, etc) are assigned to a "blue-collar occupation" category. Second, in order to disaggregate the second parental class, we distinguish between fathers with a "professional" rather than a "technical" occupation based on father's education. Specifically, we assigned those fathers from from that class with completed tertiary education to the "professional" class. This is guided by the fact among respondents' classified as "professional" in the ISCO classification, 64.29% have a lower or higher tertiary education, while the equivalent share is only 24.76% among those classified as having a "technical" occupation. Our class scheme yields four "big classes" that are highly aggregated but relatively unambiguous, and structure along a clear gradient: (1) "Higher administrators and Professionals" (the first class in the parental scheme with the highly educated members of the large "technical and professional" group), (2) "Technical occupations" (the second class in the parental scheme without the highly educated professionals), (3) "Service occupations" (combining clerical, sales and service), (4) "Blue-collar occupations (combining skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers) & Farmers". While the data allow us to treat "Blue-collar occupations" and "Farmers" as separate classes, we decided two combined

into one groups for two reasons: (i) while a non-neglictable share of fathers are "Farmers" in every country, only a handful of individuals in the children generations occupy this class position, and (ii) blue-collar occupations are the most likely destination of the children of farmers fathers (analyses available upon request).

Educational attainment of natives and second-generation parents in different occupational classes
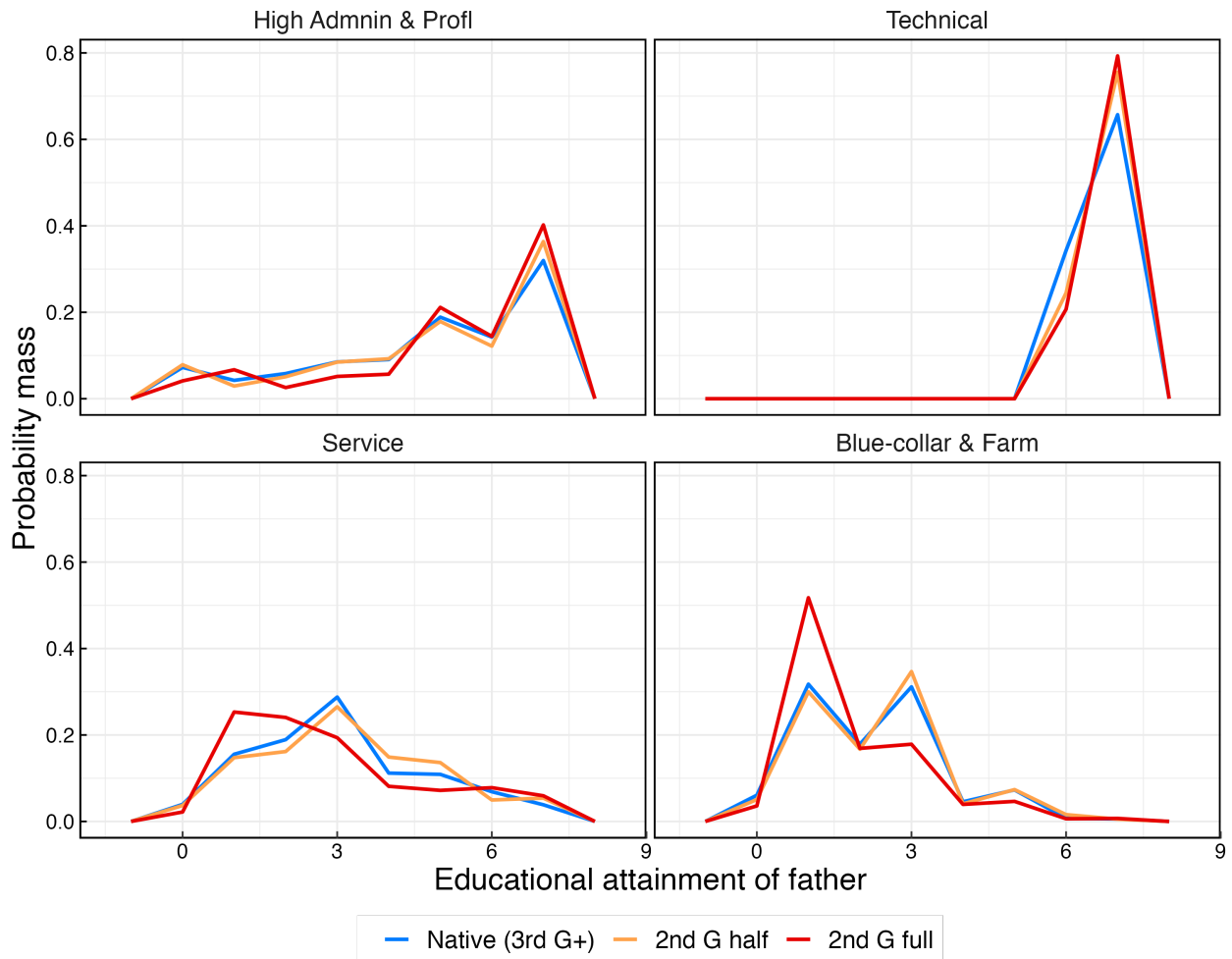

Fig A1 Distribution of educational attainment by class and nativity status of fathers

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants. Multinomial regression model.

	Technical	Service	Blue-collar & Farm
Technical	−0.027	−0.127	−0.171
Service	0.800***	1.190***	1.078***
Blue-collar & Farm	1.114***	1.674***	2.311***
2nd G full	−0.181	−0.007	0.234
2nd G half	−0.068	−0.117	−0.187
BE	−0.280**	0.145	−0.290*
CH	−0.159	0.071	−0.330**
FR	0.214**	0.575***	0.391***
GB	−0.219**	0.570***	0.090
NL	−0.066	0.268**	−0.131
SE	−0.371***	0.053	−0.116
Age	−0.007***	−0.008***	−0.007***
Female	0.350***	0.715***	−0.888***
Round 5	−0.028	0.013	−0.052
Round 6	−0.126**	−0.045	−0.086*
Round 7	−0.192***	−0.133***	−0.165***
Round 8	−0.265***	−0.277***	−0.293***
Round 9	−0.315***	−0.412***	−0.378***
Round 10	−0.430***	−0.521***	−0.600***
Technical*2nd G full	−0.620	0.415	−2.329***
Service*2nd G full	0.053	0.457**	0.161
Blue-collar & Farm*2nd G full	0.036	0.092	−0.455*
Technical*2nd G half	0.121	0.126	0.255
Service*2nd G half	0.017	0.097	0.140
Blue-collar & Farm*2nd G half	−0.003	0.116	−0.062
Technical*BE	−0.167	0.106	−0.068
Service*BE	−0.383**	−0.513***	0.015
Blue-collar & Farm*BE	−0.588***	−0.611***	0.096
Technical*CH	−0.195	0.101	−0.655
Service*CH	−0.340**	−0.451***	0.152
Blue-collar & Farm*CH	−0.373***	−0.570***	−0.213
Technical*FR	0.068	−0.841**	−0.433
Service*FR	−0.348**	−0.538***	−0.026
Blue-collar & Farm*FR	−0.370***	−0.500***	−0.158
Technical*GB	−0.167	−0.044	−0.242
Service*GB	−0.455***	−0.506***	−0.174
Blue-collar & Farm*GB	−0.830***	−0.694***	−0.481***
Technical*NL	−0.254	−0.043	−0.312
Service*NL	−0.474***	−0.340**	−0.376**
Blue-collar & Farm*NL	−0.494***	−0.450***	−0.458***

	Technical	Service	Blue-collar & Farm
Technical*SE	0.057	−0.116	−0.091
Service*SE	−0.313**	−0.398***	−0.191
Blue-collar & Farm*SE	−0.487***	−0.679***	−0.589***
BE*2nd G full	0.123	0.299	0.091
CH*2nd G full	0.243	0.231	0.407**
FR*2nd G full	0.489**	−0.019	−0.023
GB*2nd G full	0.092	−0.181	−0.169
NL*2nd G full	0.025	−0.034	0.173
SE*2nd G full	−0.259	−0.439***	−0.182
BE*2nd G half	0.034	−0.640***	−0.735***
CH*2nd G half	0.312	−0.060	0.023
FR*2nd G half	0.364	−0.107	−0.160
GB*2nd G half	0.175	0.236	0.176
NL*2nd G half	0.246	0.228	0.149
SE*2nd G half	0.359**	0.276	0.126
Constant	−0.183**	−0.740***	−0.531***

Note: $^{*}p < 0.1;^{**}p < 0.05;^{***}p < 0.01$

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants. Multinomial regression model.

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants. Re-weighted sample equalizing group size of natives and second-generation immigrants.
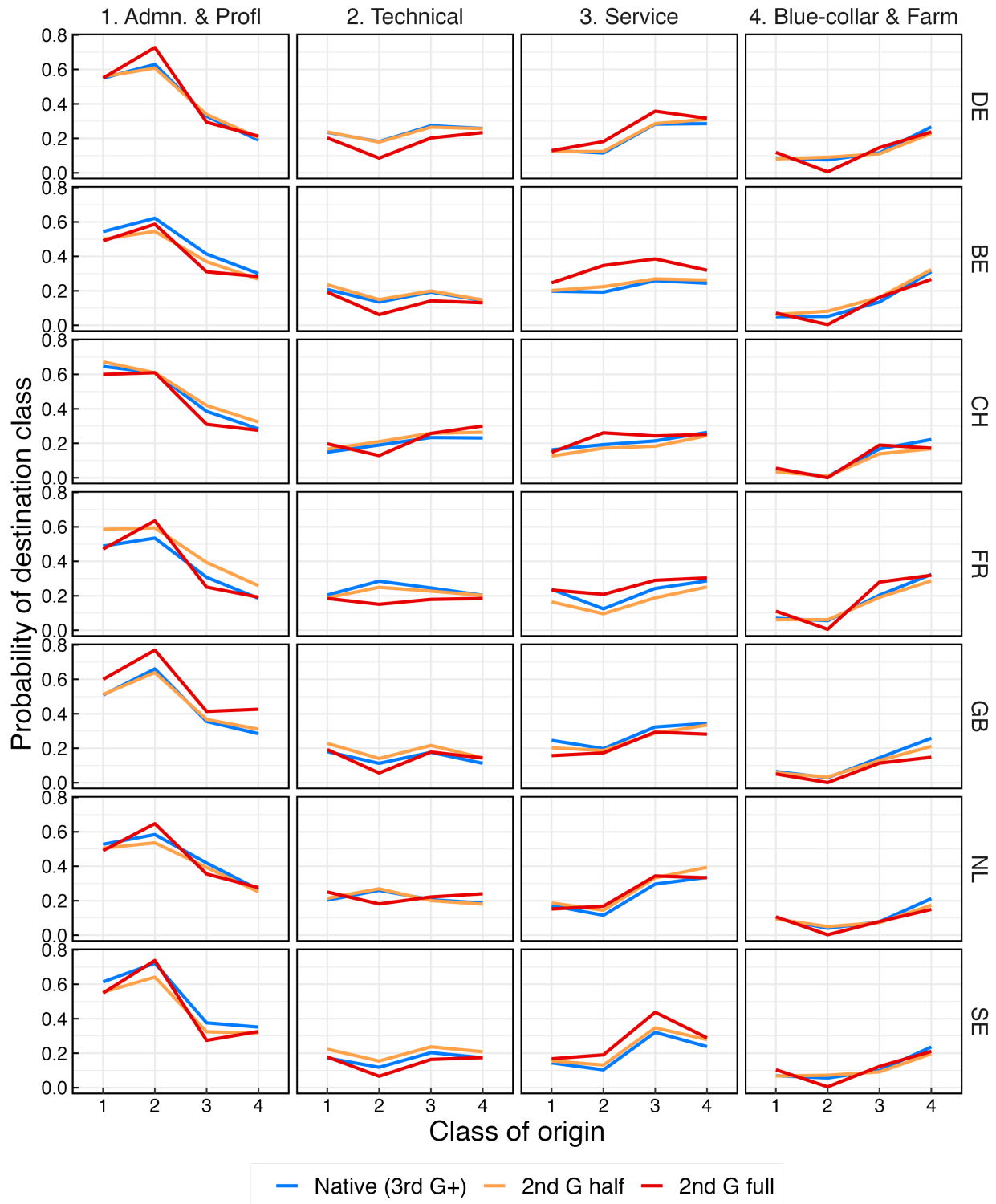

Fig A2 Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants. Class of origin and destination take on the following values: "Higher administrators & Professionals" (1), Technical occupations" (2), "Service occupations" (3), "Blue-collar & Farming occupations" (4). Countries are: Belgium (BE), Switzerland (CH), Germany (DE), France (FR), Great Britain (GB), Netherlands (NL) and Sweden (SE).

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants. Relaxed Lasso-based estimates.
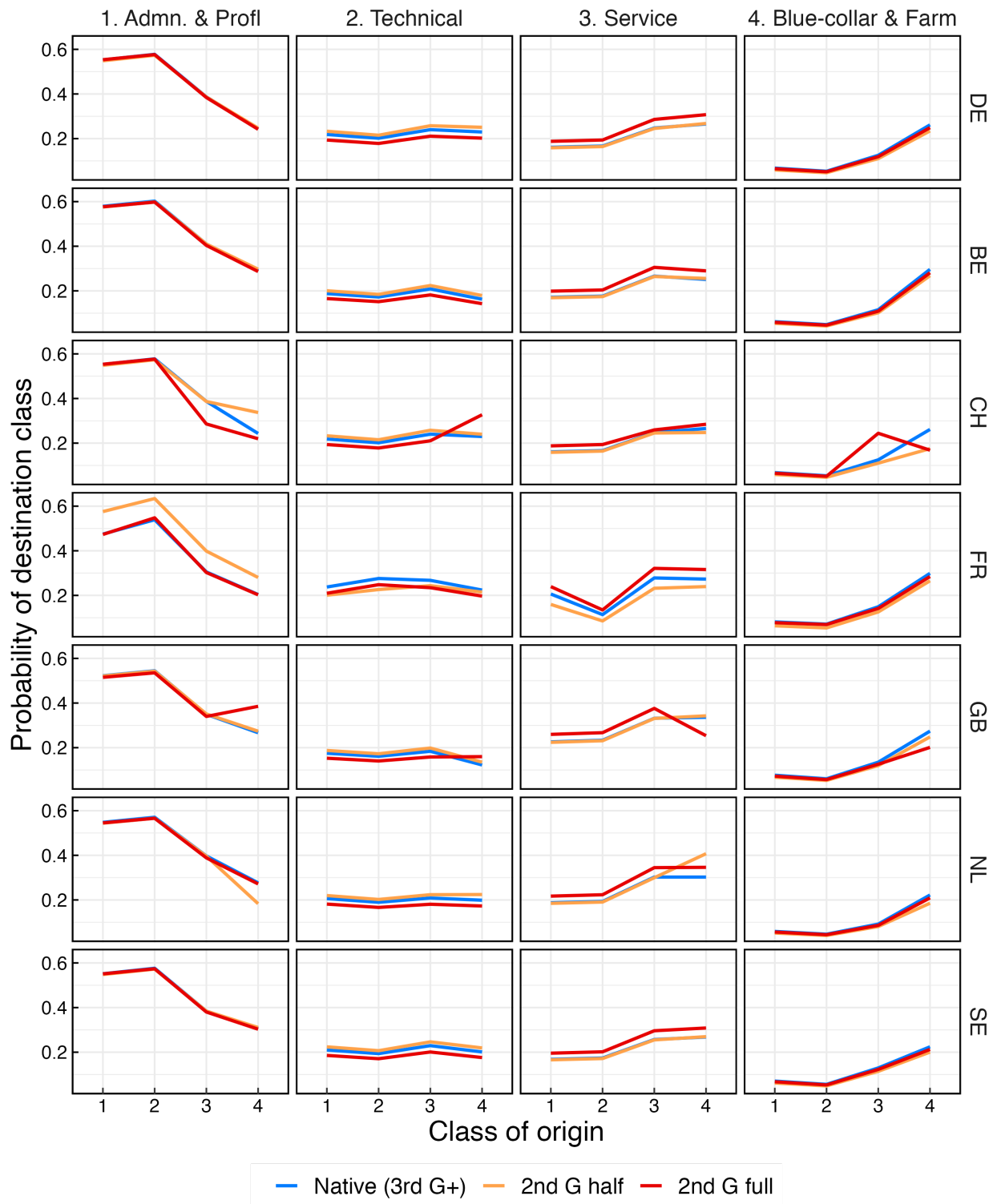

Fig A3 Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants. Class of origin and destination take on the following values: "Higher administrators & Professionals" (1), Technical occupations" (2), "Service occupations" (3), "Blue-collar & Farming occupations" (4). Countries are: Belgium (BE), Switzerland (CH), Germany (DE), France (FR), Great Britain (GB), Netherlands (NL) and Sweden (SE).

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants of different regional origins. Multinomial regression model.

	Technical	Service	Blue-collar & Farm
Technical	0.004	−0.082	−0.213
Service	0.791***	1.183***	1.060***
Blue-collar & Farm	1.109***	1.669***	2.301***
Asian	0.189	−0.118	−0.919**
European	−0.237	0.008	−0.386*
MENA	0.042	0.645*	0.122
Mixed & Other	0.447	−0.638*	1.230***
SS African	−0.398	−0.029	0.162
BE	−0.274**	0.140	−0.259
CH	−0.160	0.068	−0.323**
FR	0.211*	0.558***	0.366***
GB	−0.228**	0.570***	0.052
NL	−0.080	0.278**	−0.159
SE	−0.380***	0.047	−0.111
2nd G full	0.016	0.031	0.165
2nd G half	0.027	−0.163	0.044
Age	−0.007***	−0.008***	−0.007***
Female	0.350***	0.715***	−0.889***
Round 5	−0.027	0.012	−0.055
Round 6	−0.129**	−0.049	−0.091*
Round 7	−0.192***	−0.135***	−0.169***
Round 8	−0.268***	−0.285***	−0.293***
Round 9	−0.314***	−0.414***	−0.374***
Round 10	−0.430***	−0.526***	−0.602***
Technical*Asian	0.265	−0.190	−0.827
Service*Asian	−0.434	0.152	−0.774*
Blue-collar & Farm*Asian	0.073	0.258	−0.483
Technical*European	−0.104	−0.131	0.476
Service*European	0.154	0.200	0.411**
Blue-collar & Farm*European	0.046	0.065	0.044
Technical*MENA	0.346	0.749	0.099
Service*MENA	0.149	0.433	0.459
Blue-collar & Farm*MENA	0.169	−0.057	−0.173
Technical*Mixed & Other	0.523	1.118	−2.427***
Service*Mixed & Other	−0.562	−0.030	−0.607
Blue-collar & Farm*Mixed & Other	−0.222	0.498	−1.468***
Technical*SS African	−0.617	0.753	−1.174***
Service*SS African	0.288	−0.176	−0.024
Blue-collar & Farm*SS African	0.428	0.163	−0.283
Technical*BE	−0.185	0.053	−0.043

	Technical	Service	Blue-collar & Farm
Service*BE	−0.389***	−0.503***	0.001
Blue-collar & Farm*BE	−0.601***	−0.607***	0.064
Technical*CH	−0.281	0.071	−0.745
Service*CH	−0.355**	−0.449***	0.149
Blue-collar & Farm*CH	−0.362***	−0.562***	−0.214
Technical*FR	0.022	−0.915***	−0.381
Service*FR	−0.351**	−0.539***	−0.031
Blue-collar & Farm*FR	−0.364***	−0.469***	−0.118
Technical*GB	−0.139	−0.097	−0.148
Service*GB	−0.421***	−0.478***	−0.088
Blue-collar & Farm*GB	−0.837***	−0.709***	−0.449***
Technical*NL	−0.290	−0.072	−0.224
Service*NL	−0.445***	−0.341**	−0.322*
Blue-collar & Farm*NL	−0.478***	−0.458***	−0.423***
Technical*SE	0.046	−0.166	−0.155
Service*SE	−0.309**	−0.399***	−0.172
Blue-collar & Farm*SE	−0.475***	−0.667***	−0.597***
BE*Asian	−1.011	−0.114	0.303
CH*Asian	0.260	0.270	0.343*
FR*Asian	−0.156	−0.155	0.037
GB*Asian	0.744	1.753***	−1.204
NL*Asian	0.651	0.048	−0.732
SE*Asian	−0.104	0.679	0.662
BE*European	0.305**	−0.093	−0.082
CH*European	0.107	−0.965*	−0.179
FR*European	−0.445	0.181	−1.101**
GB*European	1.092	−0.384	0.482
NL*European	−0.552	−0.360	−0.607
SE*European	−0.150	−0.322*	−0.109
BE*MENA	−0.473	−0.794**	−0.308
CH*MENA	−0.653	0.426	0.410
FR*MENA	0.352	−0.339	−0.289
GB*MENA	0.212	−0.478	0.535
NL*MENA	0.135	−0.219	−0.071
SE*MENA	−0.421	−1.561**	−1.957
BE*Mixed & Other	−0.118	0.633	−0.393
CH*Mixed & Other	−0.323	−0.564	−1.652**
FR*Mixed & Other	−0.166	0.245	1.384***
GB*Mixed & Other	0.102	−0.069	0.200
NL*Mixed & Other	−0.048	−0.474	−0.624
SE*Mixed & Other	0.640	0.921**	−0.591
BE*SS African	0.941	2.040**	−1.579***
CH*SS African	1.199**	1.268**	−0.157
FR*SS African	0.318*	0.268*	0.280

	Technical	Service	Blue-collar & Farm
GB*SS African	−1.082	−0.631	−0.932
NL*SS African	1.003**	1.164**	−1.172*
SE*SS African	1.009	−0.769***	1.060
Constant	−0.186**	−0.740***	−0.512***

Note: $^{*}p < 0.1;^{**}p < 0.05;^{***}p < 0.01$

Table A2: Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants of different regional origins. Multinomial regression model.

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants of different regional origins. Re-weighted sample equalizing group size of natives and second-generation immigrants.
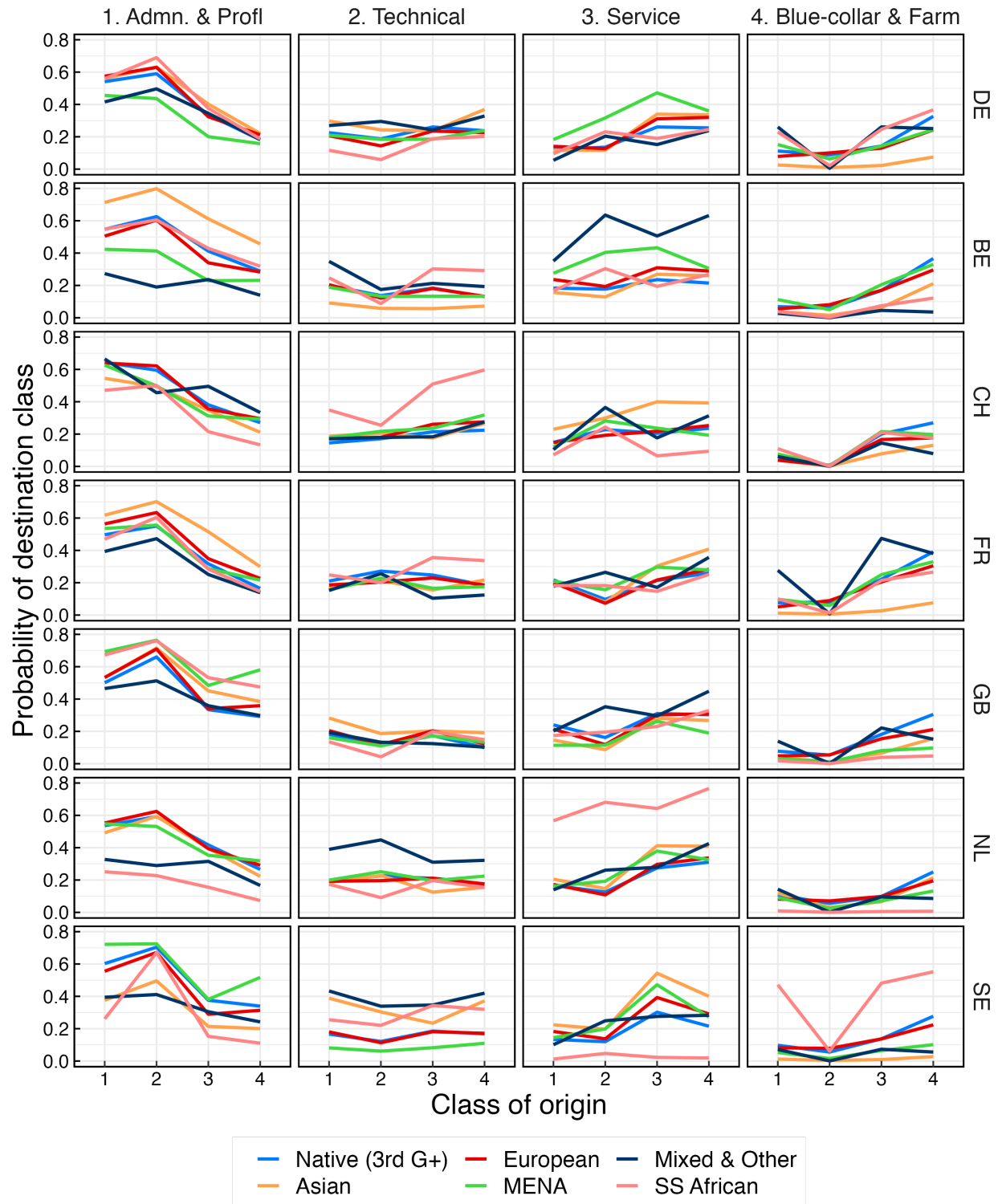
Fig A4 Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants of different regional origins. Class of origin and destination take on the following values: "Higher administrators & Professionals" (1), Technical occupations" (2), "Service occupations" (3), "Blue-collar & Farming occupations" (4). Countries are: Belgium (BE), Switzerland (CH), Germany (DE), France (FR), Great Britain (GB), Netherlands (NL) and Sweden (SE).

Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants of different regional origins. Relaxed Lasso-based estimates.
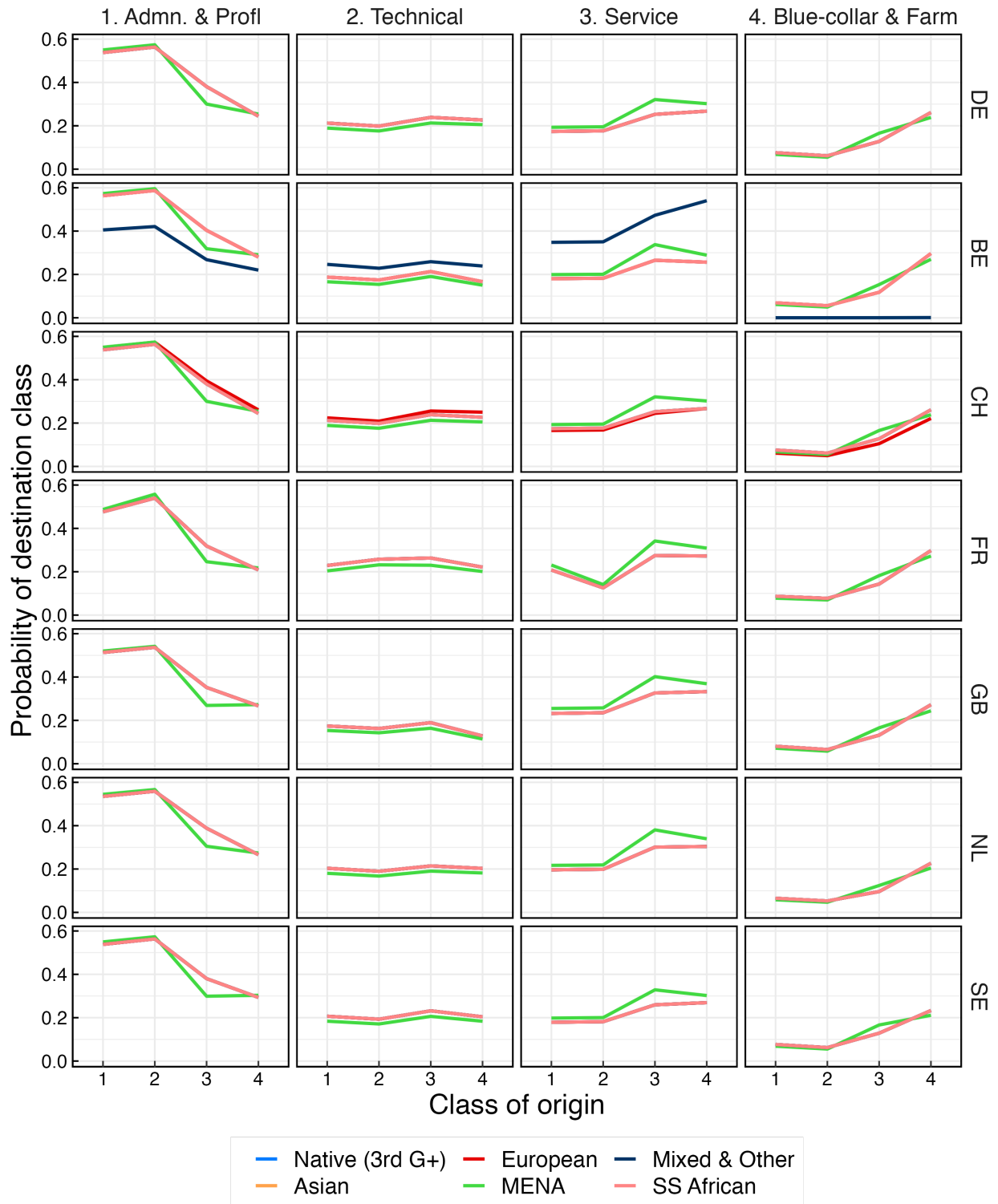

Fig A5 Probability of class destination by class of origins for natives and second-generation immigrants of different regional origins. Class of origin and destination take on the following values: "Higher administrators & Professionals" (1), Technical occupations" (2), "Service occupations" (3), "Blue-collar & Farming occupations" (4). Countries are: Belgium (BE), Switzerland (CH), Germany (DE), France (FR), Great Britain (GB), Netherlands (NL) and Sweden (SE).

Minimum detectable differences at an 80% power and a 95% significance level.

The table below outlines the minimum detectable differences in probabilities between natives and the specified immigrant groups, calculated at a significance level of 0.05 and with a statistical power of 0.80. That is, with a 5% probability of falsely rejecting the absence of difference (false positives), and an 80% chance of correctly detecting a difference in probabilities of class attainment if one exists (true positives). Our analysis reveals that for pooled data, we could detect differences of at least 10 percentage points, given the sample sizes available. However, when analyzing the data by regional origins, due to significantly smaller sample sizes, the effect sizes needed to detect differences could be substantially large, potentially requiring differences in probabilities of up to 70 percentage points. Exceptions to this include comparisons between Natives and second-generation (2G) immigrants of European origin, as well as MENA immigrants in France, where differences of about 10 percentage points would be detectable (this figure is close to 15 percentage points for Germany and Belgium). To a lesser extent, differences between Natives and Asian immigrants in Great Britain and the Netherlands could also be detected.

Country	2ndG-full	2ndG-half	Asian	SS-African	European	Mixed/Other	MENA
BE	0.15	0.13	0.85	0.38	0.12	0.56	0.20
CH	0.14	0.12	0.43	0.89	0.10	0.37	0.42
DE	0.13	0.09	0.36	0.78	0.09	0.32	0.20
FR	0.14	0.11	0.52	0.35	0.12	0.41	0.14
GB	0.16	0.13	0.21	0.44	0.14	0.24	0.56
NL	0.20	0.15	0.20	0.75	0.20	0.29	0.31
SE	0.19	0.13	0.44	0.99	0.12	0.41	0.49

Table A3 Minimum detectable differences at an 80% power and a 95% significance level

Extended review of past scholarly works on the educational, neighborhood and labor market attainments of the second generation

To formulate empirical expectations on social mobility outcomes, we conducted a holistic assessment of the literatures pertaining to the socioeconomic trajectories among the second-generation in three institutional domains: schools, labor markets and neighborhoods. While we could not do justice to each literature in detail due to space constraints, we strove to synthesize their key findings. While our empirical focus is on Western Europe, we nevertheless include work from the United States to derive hypotheses from mechanisms and processes which are general in nature.

Schools

The literature on the educational performance and attainment of the children of immigrants growing up in Western societies is vast. Nevertheless, and in spite of considerable differences across educational systems, it is possible to identify broad empirical patterns. One such identifiable pattern is that children of immigrants typically aim high in terms of educational success - higher than children of natives of comparable socioeconomic background, in fact. In the United States, for instance, Asian- and Hispanic-origin children have higher aspirations for educational success than their White native counterparts (Kao and Tienda 1998). In England, Fernández-Reino (2016) documents a similarly strong optimism in terms of educational ambitions among immigrant youths compared to native White British students. Importantly, this optimism also obtains among students originating from the most disadvantaged groups in their respective national contexts - e.g. Turkish-origin students in Germany (Salikutluk 2016), North African-origin students in France (Brinbaum and Kieffer 2009), and African- and Pakistani-origin students in England (Strand and Winston 2008). Ethnographic research credits this optimism to a specific focus and "family mobilization" among immigrant parents whose own migration project is predicated upon the promise of upward mobility for their children (Zéroulou 1988).

Research on educational choices largely reflects this optimism: at equal socioeconomic backgrounds, the children of immigrants typically make more ambitious educational choices compared to their native origin peers (Jackson et al., 2012, Cebolla-Boado 2011). The extent to which these aspirations and choices materialize in an advantage in terms of educational attainment remains unclear, however (Engzell 2019, Dollman and Weissmann 2019). Rather than a second-generation advantage, some studies report an important penalty net of socioeconomic background in many European countries (Borgna and Contini 2014), while some report a net advantage (e.g. Wilson et al. 2011 in England). Many more, still, report little difference in attainment once socioeconomic background (particularly parental education) is accounted for, so that there exists little ethnic gap per se, be it in the form of an net advantage or a penalty (in Germany: Luthra 2010, France: Brinbaum and Kieffer 2009, Ichou 2013. Sweden: Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011, UK: Ichou 2015, Wilson et al. 2011). Overall, then, the literature on the children of immigrants at school provides mixed signals when it comes to intergenerational social mobility: the children of immigrants are more ambitious than their native counterparts but may not be able to wholly translate this ambition into higher attainment.

Neighborhoods

Another institutional domain shaping the life chances of the second-generation are the neighborhoods where they grow up. While a comparative approach suggests lower segregation levels in European

compared to American cities, segregation between immigrants and natives remains substantial across European cities, and indeed high for many groups in the UK, Belgium and the Netherlands (Musterd 2005). Likewise, Glikman and Semyonov (2012) show African and Muslim immigrants in Europe tend to reside in neighborhoods that are poorer than, and more isolated from members of native majorities. Case studies in different national contexts confirm this general pattern. In France, Pan Ké Shon (2010)'s study shows that African-origin migrants are more likely to reside in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods and less likely to move out of them. Wessel et al. (2017) describe a similar pattern in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden.

In spite of heterogeneity across groups and national contexts, immigrants and their children generally live in more isolated and poorer neighborhoods compared to natives (Alba and Foner 2015, chapter 4). Ethnographic studies of the second generation growing up in poorer neighborhoods suggest stark social mobility prospects for those concerned. For instance, Bucerius' (2014) and others' (e.g., Sauvadet 2006, Lapeyronnie 2008) studies of the lives of young men of African and Middle Eastern origins in marginalized neighborhoods near major European cities describe how poverty and strong local ties lead to blocked spatial mobility. These ethnographic descriptions are in line with larger-scale quantitative studies of limited neighborhood attainment among the second-generation. In one of the most extensive studies to date, McAvay's (2018) finds that the children of non-European immigrants in France are more likely to remain stuck in the poor and segregated neighborhoods they generally grow up in, compared to other immigrant and native groups. Other recent studies in England and Wales (Zuccotti 2019) and Sweden (Gustafsson, Katz, and Österberg 2017) confirm this pattern of limited intergenerational change: poorer and ethnically concentrated neighborhoods continue to characterize the lives of the second generation as it reaches adulthood.

The interaction of ethnic segregation and greater poverty rates among immigrant families (Heath et al. 2008) means that the emergent properties of concentrated neighborhood poverty may play an important role in shaping the life chances of the second generation. In that regard, research on the American context is relevant, pointing to the nefarious effects of concentrated disadvantage. Generally, concentrated disadvantage in the neighborhood hampers other aspects directly shaping life chances such as cognitive development, linguistic fluency and health (see Sharkey and Faber 2014 for a review) - all of which may play a role in determining different mobility prospects for the second generation growing up in Europe compared to natives.

Work

The entry of second-generation immigrants onto labor markets has also given rise to a vast new literature on economic integration (Heath et al., 2008, Drouhot and Nee 2019). Comparative studies suggest the second generation is doing relatively well in that regard, as they attain more desirable labor market positions than their parents who typically moved to Europe as unskilled workers in the postwar era. Controlling for various socioeconomic characteristics, Lessard-Phillips et al. (2012) and Pichler (2011) do not find that second-generation migrants are disadvantaged in European labor markets. Such findings from comparative studies are buttressed by studies done in separate national contexts documenting moderate upward mobility or intergenerational stability in occupational attainment (e.g., Spain: Aparicio 2007, France: Meurs et al. 2009, Norway: Hermansen 2016, England: Li and Heath 2016, Zuccotti 2015). Importantly, there exists little evidence for patterns of "downward assimilation" or blocked mobility at the bottom among the children of immigrants (Drouhot and Nee 2019). Instead, an emerging literature has

started to look at the social experience of the new immigrant elite (Crul et al., 2017). Zuccotti (2015) speculates that these relatively high levels of labor market attainment among the children of immigrants reflect aspirations for mobility transmitted by parents who have experienced status loss upon migration. A recent study based on historical census data in the United States provides evidence for such a second-generation advantage: among the earlier waves of Italian, German and Irish migrant families, their US-born children attained systematically higher percentiles in the income distribution than the children of natives of similar social origins (Abramitzky et al. 2021).

However, there exist limits to these optimistic aggregate patterns. In her study of ethnic minorities in England and Wales, for instance, Zuccotti (2015) finds that second-generation Black and Pakistani men benefit less from a privileged class background than others, and are instead more likely to experience downward mobility. Likewise, the lower status members of the second generation in different national contexts (e.g. Turkish-origin in Germany, Pakistani in England, etc) are at a consistently higher risk of unemployment than others (Heath et al., 2008: 218-220). Relatedly, a large literature on ethnic penalties has documented residual gaps in hiring and occupational attainment after controlling for human capital among second-generation members of many minority groups in Western Europe compared to natives; in their review, Heath et al. (*ibid*) identify such penalties in all ten Western European countries they cover.

In the same vein, an important literature has used audit studies and other experimental designs to document consistent and sizeable patterns of discrimination in European labor markets. Past work documents hiring gaps based on national origins affecting Pakistani or Turkish applicants (Midtbøen 2014, Kaas and Manger 2011), being Muslim (Adida et al. 2016, Heath and Martin 2013, DiStasio et al. 2019) and being of a darker phenotype (Polavieja et al. 2023, Pager et al. 2009). National origin-, religious- and race-based discrimination practices in hiring may stir the second generation towards blocked or downward mobility if they are widespread or high in magnitude. Zschnirt and Ruedin's (2016) meta-analysis of 34 studies carried out between 1991 and 2015 in Western Europe and North America suggests that immigrant applicants have to send three applications for every two applications sent by otherwise similar natives. Overall, evidence for lingering and widespread patterns of hiring discrimination on multiple dimensions strongly qualifies the optimism induced by past work on the economic integration of the second generation.

Table A4 sums up the key findings from the literatures we reviewed across different institutional domains shaping the life chances and prospects for social mobility of the second-generation.

Table A4 Key empirical findings for second-generation outcomes compared to native outcomes in separate research fields relevant to life chances and intergenerational mobility

	Schooling	Neighborhood	Work
+ (better)	*higher aspirations* (e.g. Saliktuluk 2016), *more ambitious choices* (e.g. Jackson et al. 2012)		*higher intergenerational income mobility* (e.g. Abramitzky et al. 2021)
= (comparable)	*similar performance net of parental education* (e.g. Ichou 2015)		*occupational attainment explained by family SES* (e.g. Pichler 2011, Hermansen 2016)
- (worse)	*worst performance net of parental education* (e.g. Borgna and Contini 2014)	*higher neighborhood poverty and social isolation* (e.g. McAvay 2018)	*ethnic penalties in hiring* and *higher risk of unemployment* (e.g. Heath et al. 2008) and *hiring discrimination* (e.g. Zschnirt and Ruedin 2016)

Table A4 suggests considerable tensions across research fields on the second generation. Together, research on the educational, neighborhood and labor market outcomes of the children of immigrants gives off mixed signals as to whether or not they are reaching parity with natives. Additionally, it uncovers substantial heterogeneity by immigrant regional origins and destination country. Our reasoning is that trajectories of intergenerational mobility crystallize a balance in the combined influence of these different domains, and thus allow researchers to pass a more holistic and durable judgement on the general direction of incorporation among the second generation after it has come of age.

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