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Citizenship and Educational Attainment amongst the Second Generation: An Analysis of Children of Immigrants in Finland

Elina Kilpi-Jakonen

Citizenship acquisition is often viewed as an indicator of immigrant integration as well as an event that spurs integration further. Relatively little is known about the relationship between citizenship and integration for children of immigrants. This article examines the relationship between citizenship and educational attainment at approximately age 16 in Finland using register data. Results suggest that children of immigrants who are Finnish citizens have better educational outcomes than non-citizens, measured with three indicators of educational attainment. However, the Finnish citizens come from families with higher levels of educational and economic resources than non-citizens and this explains much of the relationship between citizenship and education. After controlling for intervening variables, second-generation students with Finnish citizenship are found to be more likely to choose general rather than vocational upper secondary education compared to their peers who have another citizenship. It is argued that this reflects a difference in educational attitudes between the two groups.

Keywords: Citizenship; Education; Second generation; Immigrant integration; Finland

1. Introduction

Acquiring citizenship of the country of residence can be of major importance for immigrants. Countries vary not only in the ease of obtaining citizenship but also in the extent to which citizenship affects life chances, such as employment opportunities. In addition to having an impact on employment, citizenship is also likely to affect one's sense of belonging and this is arguably more important for children of

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immigrants, who have very few or no memories of their country of origin, than for their parents. Restrictive citizenship regulations lead to the maintenance of boundaries between the majority and immigrant minorities and, together with other boundary-maintaining characteristics, citizenship can affect the integration of immigrants and their children through the openness of society to accept minorities into the mainstream (Alba 2005).

Citizenship can be seen as either the end point of, or as a step towards, the integration of immigrants (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010; Fougère and Safi 2009; Kogan 2003). The Finnish government seems to believe in the latter: a fact sheet for immigrants states that 'naturalisation affects a person's legal status, but also has a bearing on supporting his/her integration' (Finnish Immigration Service 2011, 1). More generally, Ersanilli and Koopmans (2010) argue that immigrants who naturalise not only show a willingness to integrate, but the new citizenship also spurs integration further, though only in countries where the state has imposed linguistic or cultural preconditions on access to citizenship. Whether citizenship acquisition is a sign of greater integration attitudes and whether it assists in the integration process is also examined in this article, where the focus is on the effect of Finnish citizenship on the educational achievement of immigrants' children. Finland has imposed a requirement of economic integration on citizenship acquisition and since 2003 an explicit requirement of linguistic integration. From the point of view of this article, these requirements are made on the family—or more specifically on the parents—as minors cannot apply for citizenship independently but acquire it if their guardian does and includes the child in their application.

Prior research on citizenship acquisition and its effect has focused on the adult first generation, and relatively little work has been published on the citizenship of immigrants' children. Nevertheless, the naturalised second generation has been found to have higher educational attainment than their non-naturalised peers (Dronkers and Fleischmann 2010, though only for women; Fibbi, Lerch, and Wanner 2007). Moreover, employment prospects have been found to be higher for the naturalised second generation in the Netherlands, but not necessarily in Germany and Switzerland (Euwals et al. 2010; Fibbi, Lerch, and Wanner 2007). However, the main drawback of the studies cited here is that citizenship status is measured in (early) adulthood, at the same time as the educational and employment outcomes. Therefore, it cannot be established whether acquiring citizenship leads to higher attainment or whether it is the relatively more successful who are more likely to obtain citizenship. Although this study cannot fully overcome problems of causality, it is a step forward in terms of establishing a stronger causal link from citizenship to educational attainment. Similar research has been done in the United States, where the citizenship of parents has been found to have an effect on the education of their children (Rumbaut 2008). However, in the American context, where many immigrants and their children reside illegally, legal residence may be even more important for children than the difference between being an American citizen or not (Bean et al. 2011; Gonzales 2011).

The Finnish immigration context is somewhat different to that of many other European countries in that it was only in the late 1980s and early 1990s that the number of migrants to Finland really began to grow. The three most significant streams of immigrants to Finland have been ethnic Finns and their descendants from Russia and Estonia, refugees, asylum seekers and their family members, most notably from Somalia and areas of the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo in particular, as well as marriage migrants. Due to the substantial number of immigrants who have migrated in order to live with their Finnish spouse, a sizeable proportion of immigrants' children are children of mixed origin. With regard to the ethnic Finns from the former Soviet Union, it should be noted that their right to return is based on Finnish nationality, but not citizenship, and that their Finnish language skills tend to have been relatively limited at the time of migration, particularly amongst the younger generations.

The focus of this article is the relationship between citizenship status and educational attainment, as measured by three different educational outcomes around the age of sixteen. The next section goes into more detail in examining prior research on citizenship and integration and explores the reasons why we might expect there to be a relationship between citizenship and educational attainment for children of immigrants. Following this, Finnish citizenship legislation is described. Then, the quantitative data and methods used in this article are presented. This is followed by the empirical results from analyses where the determinants of citizenship acquisition as well as the relationship between citizenship and educational attainment are studied. The article ends with a discussion of the results in relation to possible mechanisms linking citizenship status and educational attainment.

2. Citizenship and Integration

A substantial amount of previous research has examined the association between naturalisation and immigrant integration. On the one hand, it has been argued that 'citizenship acquisition signifies the shift of immigrants' allegiance and commitment to the receiving country' (Yang 1994, 449), and therefore, naturalised persons should exhibit higher levels of integration than their non-naturalised counterparts. On the other hand, a number of studies have shown that naturalisation itself leads to better employment outcomes (e.g. Bratsberg, Ragan, and Nasir 2002; Fougère and Safi 2009), implying that, regardless of whether prior to naturalisation those who choose to naturalise are any more integrated, after naturalisation they tend to become more so. What is more, Euwals et al. (2010) argue that amongst some groups, those acquiring citizenship may be negatively selected in terms of their employment situation if it is the most vulnerable groups who aim for a more protected position in society. Diehl and Blohm (2003) also argue that whether or not citizenship reflects greater integration is group specific and dependent on how different groups are accepted into the mainstream in other ways, most notably employment opportunities.

There is a tension in the literature between the view that citizenship reflects identity and integration and the view that citizenship acquisition is the result of cost-benefit calculations on the part of the immigrant. Research linking citizenship and host-country identification has found this link to exist in France and Germany (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010; Zimmermann, Constant, and Gataullina 2009) but only partially in the Netherlands (Bevelander and Veenman 2006; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010). Nevertheless, it has been argued that one of the reasons why naturalisation tends to improve employment outcomes is that employers view naturalised immigrants as more integrated and are therefore more likely to employ them (Bratsberg, Ragan, and Nasir 2002; Fougère and Safi 2009). In addition to potential gains in terms of employment, naturalisation can bring with it a number of other benefits, such as civil rights and possibly extended travel opportunities.

Despite potential gains from naturalisation, the resources it takes to apply for citizenship should not be underestimated. In particular, immigrants with low levels of human capital are likely to require social resources in order to have the necessary information for making an application, which is likely to be one of the reasons why the size of the co-ethnic group has been found to be positively related to naturalisation propensities (Bloemraad 2006; Fougère and Safi 2009; Yang 1994). This is interesting as one could assume the size of the co-ethnic group to be related to more self-sufficiency within the group and thus a lower likelihood of desiring naturalisation.

The discussion above concerns mainly the first generation, and relatively little prior research has focused on children of immigrants, i.e. the second generation. This lack of attention can be due to a number of reasons: on the one hand, specific citizenship regulations may make it non-sensical to examine the effect of citizenship, for example in countries where citizenship is granted to all born in the country; on the other hand, data sources often do not include information on citizenship, or if they do, then this can be the only way of identifying immigrant-origin children, making it impossible to study naturalised children of immigrants. Due to Finnish citizenship legislation and the administrative data available, both of these restrictions can be overcome in this study.

Several possible mechanisms can be hypothesised to link citizenship and educational attainment. Broadly speaking, these can be thought to be that (i) citizenship reflects (prior) sociocultural integration of families and this integration also benefits children's educational attainment; (ii) citizenship changes the frame of reference of immigrant families and increases the motivation of children to succeed educationally; (iii) citizenship reflects economic integration of families, and economic resources benefit children's educational attainment; and (iv) citizenship affects the way that others treat children of immigrants, in particular that teachers treat children differently depending on their citizenship. It is generally expected that if an effect of citizenship is found, then this will be positive. In particular, negative selection into Finnish citizenship is not expected due to the fact that citizenship acquisition requires some amount of economic integration.

In order to distinguish between these mechanisms, the analysis in this article relies on controlling for those parental resources that have an effect on both citizenship acquisition and educational attainment as well as analysing three different educational outcomes. Controlling for parental economic resources aims to assess the third mechanism in particular and controlling for parental education gives some indication of the first mechanism. On the other hand, it can be assumed that teacher-given grades are more susceptible to the fourth mechanism than educational choices that are made by children together with their parents.

3. Finnish Citizenship Legislation

Finland has had two main pieces of citizenship legislation: the Nationality Acts of 1968 (401/1968) and 2003 (359/2003). The data used in this article measures citizenship status in the years 2000–2004, and thus, the relevant legislation in most cases is that of 1968. In addition to the Nationality Acts, this review of citizenship legislation also relies on a review of administrative practices by Hämäläinen et al. (2005), who explain the situation in summer 2003, which is meant to be representative of the situation in the 1990s.

The main determinant for citizenship acquisition is the length of residence. The length required is between two and six consecutive years immediately preceding application. For citizens of other Nordic countries, the length required is two; for refugees, people given asylum, people who have been left without citizenship through no fault of their own and people with a Finnish spouse, the requirement is four years; and for all others, it was five years, increasing to six in 2003. In addition, people with longer, non-consecutive lengths of residence can also apply for citizenship. If a person is born in Finland to non-Finnish citizen parents, then they are granted Finnish citizenship if they would otherwise remain without any citizenship. Minors cannot apply for citizenship on their own, but it is granted to them if it is granted to their guardian.

However, the length of residence that counts for citizenship is dependent on the residence permit. There are two main types of temporary residence permits (A and B) as well as a permanent residence permit. Once a person has resided in Finland for two years with an A status, they can be given permanent residence. Moreover, the years resided in Finland with a B status do not count towards the residence requirement of citizenship applications. In general, people moving for work receive their first residence permit with a B status, whereas refugees and returnee immigrants receive an A status. Despite their privileged position with regard to residence permits, returnees are not in a privileged position with regard to citizenship acquisition.

Naturalisation also requires proof of secure income to take care of the whole family. Proof of Finnish or Swedish language skills has also been required from 2003, although it seems that some language skills were already required prior to the new law. Overall, citizenship is granted in a discretionary manner: people who fulfil all the

requirements may be denied citizenship, and people who do not fully fulfil all the requirements may nevertheless be granted citizenship.

Many rights in Finland, including family reunification, do not require citizenship. In addition, neither citizens nor non-citizens have rights to extended family reunification or to sponsoring family members from abroad. The number of public sector jobs that require Finnish citizenship is relatively small but does include police officers, judges and some jobs in the foreign affairs administration. Finnish residents who are eligible for citizenship are also eligible for welfare services, including all forms of study grants. There is one obligation that may deter young men from applying for Finnish citizenship: the general national defence obligation. Men over the age of 18 are liable for military service, which lasts at least six months. Dual citizenship has officially been accepted since 2003.

4. Data and Methods

The data used in this article comes from a data file compiled by Statistics Finland, the Finnish national office of statistics. The students in the data are a stratified sample of compulsory-school leavers in 2000–2004.[1] Immigrant origin is defined by parental country of birth, and in the first stage, children of immigrants (at least one foreign-born parent) are distinguished from the majority (only Finnish-born parents). The data includes approximately 19,300 majority students and a total of 3,909 children of immigrants.

In order to examine the relationship between citizenship and educational attainment, there is a further focus on those children of immigrants who had been resident in Finland for long enough to be eligible for Finnish citizenship, referred to here as the second generation. More specifically, this group includes all children with one foreign-born and one Finnish-born parent ('mixed origin') as well as those children with two foreign-born parents who had been resident for at least nine years at the time of finishing comprehensive school—2,071 students in total. The main reasons for excluding those with slightly shorter lengths of residence are that some of that residence may not have counted for the residence requirement (see section on legislation) and that applications have at times taken several years to be processed. Nevertheless, the results have been checked including all children of immigrants resident for at least five years, as well as checking for differences within the second generation depending on length of residence and mixed origin. All statistically significant results also hold when analysing subgroups or adding those with shorter residence.

4.1. Dependent Variables and Methods

The first dependent variable studied here is citizenship. This information is included in the administrative registers and comes from the year in which the student finished comprehensive school. Within the second-generation sample, 1,515 have Finnish citizenship and 556 do not. There were three students who had missing information

on their citizenship, and these are included with the non-citizens as it is assumed that any naturalisations would be in the registers. When students are weighted according to registered language to reflect the true proportions in the population, an estimated 85% of the second generation have Finnish citizenship.

Three dependent variables are used in this article to measure educational attainment at around age 16: average grades, continuation in education and the choice between general and vocational upper secondary. Finland has a nine-year comprehensive school system, after which students apply to upper secondary education. Finnish children start school around the age of seven, and there is no tracking or streaming in comprehensive schools. There is a dual system of education at the upper secondary and tertiary levels. Students apply to upper secondary schools during ninth grade and are admitted largely on the basis of their average grade from the comprehensive-school-finishing certificate (*peruskoulun päättötodistus*). Although there are more than enough places to study at upper secondary level for all students to gain a place, entry to each course/school is mainly according to grades. Both types of upper secondary schools give access to both types of tertiary education (universities and polytechnics, the latter also known as universities of applied sciences). Nevertheless, it is rather more difficult to access universities from vocational upper secondary schools than from general ones.

The first measure of school achievement used here is the average grade in the comprehensive-school-finishing certificate. Grades are given in each subject from four (unsatisfactory performance) to ten (excellent performance). The mean average grade in this sample is 7.8. For anonymity reasons, the very top and very bottom grades have been collapsed in the data; thus, the range of grades is from six to 9.5. Grades are teacher-assigned and based on examinations set by the teachers and teacher evaluations of classroom activity. There are national guidelines for each grade, but teachers are not monitored as to how well they follow these guidelines. Overall, a strong and consistent link between teacher-assigned grades and standardised tests has been shown to exist. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression is used to model the effect of citizenship on average grades, controlling for relevant student and parent characteristics.

The second measure used is of continuation to upper secondary education versus dropping out, and the third measure focuses on those who continue and contrasts the choice between general and vocational upper secondary schools.[2] Students' continuation is measured one year after finishing comprehensive school. The proportion of students who did not continue to upper secondary schools is just under 6% in this sample, and amongst those who continued, 58% went to general schools and 42% to vocational schools.

The binary dependent variables, including citizenship acquisition, are modelled using logistic regression models. However, in order to make the results more interpretable as well as better comparable across models, the results are shown as average marginal effects (Mood 2010). Average marginal effects display the results of (in this case) logistic regression models as the average effect of a variable on the

probability of success. This is done by taking the logistic probability density function at each observation's estimated logit, multiplying it by the coefficient for the variable in question and averaging over all observations. The results in this article have been obtained using Stata's margins command.

In the 550 cases where information was missing on the student's average grade as an independent variable in the models of continuation and choice, this is replaced by the average for other students with the same national origin and continuation decision. A dummy variable is also included in the analyses to identify those who originally had missing information. The results were checked using multiple imputation—where the effect of separate categories for missing parental information was also checked—as well as complete case analysis and the main results were not strongly affected. The models were also run as multilevel models taking into account the school level, but, again, the results did not change much and thus, results from single-level models are used here.

4.2. Independent Variables: National Origin and Family Resources

National origin in this article is defined by parental country of birth. Countries have been grouped together based on cultural and/or geographical proximity. The groupings used are:

- Russian/Estonian, including all areas that were formerly in the Soviet Union (864 second-generation students in the sample, representing 30% of the second generation);
- Ex-Yugoslav (125, 4);
- European, largest countries of origin likely to be Sweden, Germany and United Kingdom (406, 37);
- West Asian and North African, including all majority Muslim countries in Western Asia, largest countries likely to be Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Morocco (184, 9);
- East Asian, including mainly Vietnam and China (175, 5);
- South Asian, largest countries likely to be Thailand, India, Philippines and Japan (60, 3);
- American, including North, Central and South America as well as Oceania, largest countries likely to be USA and Canada (60, 6);
- Sub-Saharan African, largest countries likely to be Somalia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana and the Congo (DRC) (179, 6);
- Unknown (18, 0.5).

The measures of family resources used in this article are presented in Table 1 along with the distribution within second-generation citizens and non-citizens as well as the majority. The models used in this article are largely based on prior research using the same data (Kilpi-Jakonen 2011, 2012).

Table 1. Distribution of parental resources within the second generation with Finnish citizenship, those without and the majority (percent within each group).

	Second gen. by citizenship		
Variables	Finnish	Other	Majority
Highest parental education			
University	33.3	21.0	22.7
Upper secondary or lowest level tertiary	50.9	47.4	68.4
Lower secondary or unknown	15.9	31.6	8.9
Parental income			
Low (at most, one parent earns in second quartile)	32.7	65.9	19.7
Medium (at most, one parent earns in third quartile)	30.0	22.8	31.0
High (both earn in third quartile or at least one in fourth)	37.4	11.4	49.4
Highest parental socioeconomic group			
Upper non-manual (senior officials, upper management)	28.5	13.9	25.2
Lower non-manual (supervisors, clerical and sales)	27.9	16.7	36.7
Self-employed, including farmers	8.2	4.3	11.9
Manual workers	22.3	21.3	19.7
Outside labour force and unknown	13.2	43.8	6.5
Adults in household			
One or none	24.6	35.2	21.4
Father linked to child in registers			
No father	5.8	27.8	1.2
Father's labour force status			
Employed	67.3	40.5	79.5
Unemployed	12.7	18.5	7.2
Outside labour force	6.5	3.9	6.3
Unknown	13.5	37.1	7.0
Mother's labour force status			
Employed	67.3	48.2	80.9
Unemployed	15.5	26.5	8.9
Outside	5.7	7.8	4.9
Unknown	11.5	17.4	5.3
Observations	1,515	556	19,286

Note: All variables refer to the year when the student finished comprehensive school except for parental socioeconomic status, which is from 2000 for all students.

5. Results

5.1. Predictors of Citizenship Acquisition

Before analysing the relationship between citizenship and educational attainment, citizenship acquisition is analysed as a dependent variable for the whole population of children of immigrants. In particular, it is interesting to see whether there are large differences between national-origin groupings in terms of their propensity to acquire Finnish citizenship. Table 2 presents the results of three models: the first one with only national origin, the second with length of residence and mixed origin and the third including other significant predictors. The reference is the Russian/Estonian group, amongst whom 48% have Finnish citizenship. Over 90% of children of immigrants with European or American origins have Finnish citizenship, whereas the

Table 2. Citizenship acquisition among children of immigrants (average marginal effects after logistic regression).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
National origin (Russia/Estonia as reference)			
Ex-Yugoslavia	−0.119**	−0.063***	−0.054***
	(0.048)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Europe	0.475***	−0.018	−0.018
	(0.018)	(0.056)	(0.055)
West Asia/North Africa	0.145***	0.057***	0.067***
	(0.036)	(0.013)	(0.015)
East Asia	0.279***	0.115***	0.134***
	(0.033)	(0.019)	(0.020)
South Asia	0.248***	0.062**	0.093***
	(0.054)	(0.028)	(0.029)
America/Oceania	0.456***	0.038	0.052
	(0.026)	(0.058)	(0.060)
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.025	0.005	0.024
	(0.040)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Unknown	−0.135*	−0.025	−0.011
	(0.079)	(0.044)	(0.041)
Length of residence		0.039***	0.037***
		(0.002)	(0.002)
Mixed origin (only immigrant parents as reference)		0.255***	0.220***
		(0.035)	(0.035)
Parental education (university as reference)			
Upper secondary			−0.037***
			(0.014)
Lower secondary			−0.061***
			(0.015)
Parental income (low as reference)			
Medium			0.025
			(0.016)
High			0.051**
			(0.020)
Father (no link to father in registers as reference)			0.034**
			(0.014)

$N = 3916$; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

group with the lowest proportion of Finnish citizens is the ex-Yugoslav one, of whom 36% are Finnish citizens.

The predictors found to affect citizenship status are length of residence, having a Finnish-born parent, parental income, a link to a known father being present and parental education. The first three are unsurprising since these are, in some form or another, factors on which citizenship acquisition is based. Based on previous research, it was also expected that parental education would have an effect. The effect of a presence of a father in the registers may be due to several mechanisms, one possibility being that single mothers are less likely to apply for citizenship even after controlling for their income and education level.

The largest differences between groups disappear after these controls are introduced. Almost all of the effect comes from controlling for length of residence and Finnish-born parents. After all controls have been introduced, it is the Asian (and North African) groups that have the highest propensities to have Finnish citizenship, whereas the ex-Yugoslavs continue to be slightly lower than other groups.

5.2. Citizenship and Educational Attainment

The results from models where citizenship is used to predict educational attainment can be seen in Figure 1 and Table 3. The 'gross models' only include dummy variables for second-generation non-Finnish citizens and the majority, where the reference category is second-generation Finnish citizens. The 'net models', on the other hand, include a range of control variables that predict either educational attainment or citizenship acquisition (or both). The main interest is in the difference between second-generation citizens and non-citizens. In the figure, the top panel shows the results for average grades, the middle panel for continuation versus dropping out of education and the bottom panel for choice of general versus vocational upper secondary education. The results for the majority are included for comparison, although it should be noted that in the net models, the reference category with regard to national origin is the Russian/Estonian second generation rather than the second generation as a whole.

With regard to average grades, we can see that there is a significant difference between citizenship groups but not between Finnish citizens and the majority: non-Finnish citizens have average grades that are approximately a third of a grade lower than those of the other two groups. The second model adds gender, national origin, parental income, education, socioeconomic status and Finnish birth (to control for mixed origin), the number of adults in the household, as well as the presence of a link to the father. This reduces the citizenship effect to being practically non-existent and does not change the difference between second-generation citizens and the majority.

Moving on to continuation to upper secondary education and contrasting this to dropping out of education, we again see that non-Finnish citizens are disadvantaged compared to the other two groups. The probability of continuing in education is estimated to be 6.3 percentage points lower than that of their Finnish citizen peers. The difference between the latter group and the majority is 1.7 percentage points and borderline significant (the logit estimate is significant at 5% level, whereas the average marginal effect is significant at 10% level). These differences are reduced and no longer significant in the second model, which introduces controls for gender, national origin and average grades, parental income, education, labour force status and Finnish birth, the number of adults in the household, as well as the presence of a link to the father.[3]

With regard to the final dependent variable, choice between the two types of upper secondary school, we can see that there is a difference of approximately 20 percentage points between the citizen and non-citizen second generation. There is also a difference of approximately ten percentage points between the majority and the second-generation Finnish citizens. In both of these cases, it is the Finnish citizens who are more likely to

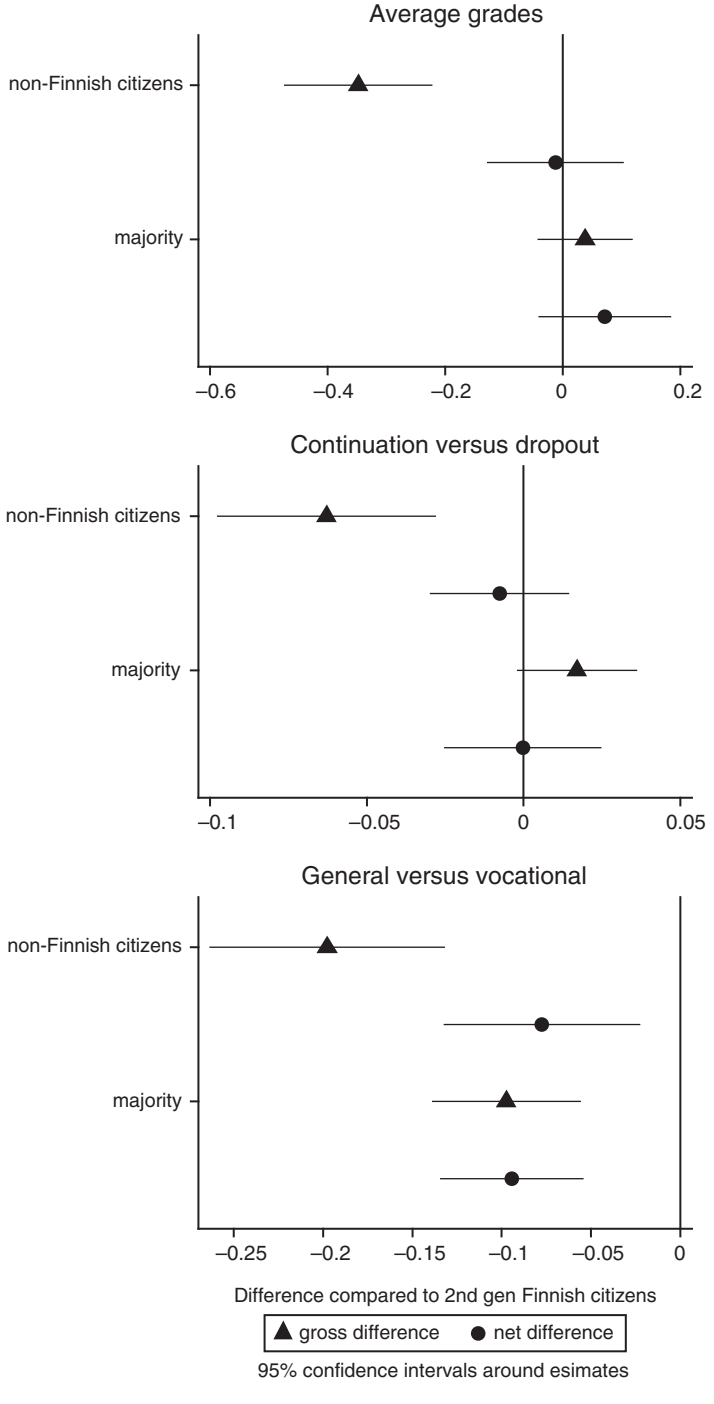

Figure 1. Effect of citizenship status on educational attainment, second-generation Finnish citizens as reference (results for continuation and choice of school type as average marginal effects).

Table 3. Models of educational attainment, models with only citizenship status in the upper panel, full models in lower panel (OLS model of average grades, average marginal effects after logistic regression for continuation vs. dropout and general vs. vocational).

	Average grades	Continuation vs. dropout	General vs. vocational
Model with only citizenship status ('gross effects')			
Citizenship (second generation with Finnish citizenship as reference)			
Second generation non-Finnish citizens	−0.348***	−0.063***	−0.198***
	(0.064)	(0.018)	(0.033)
Majority	0.038	0.017*	−0.097***
	(0.041)	(0.010)	(0.021)
Full model ('net effects')			
Citizenship (second generation with Finnish citizenship as reference)			
Second generation non-Finnish citizens	−0.012	−0.008	−0.077***
	(0.059)	(0.011)	(0.028)
Majority	0.072	−0.000	−0.094***
	(0.057)	(0.013)	(0.020)
Highest parental education (university as reference)			
Upper secondary or lowest level tertiary	−0.354***	0.011*	−0.084***
	(0.020)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Lower secondary or unknown	−0.650***	−0.012	−0.104***
	(0.029)	(0.008)	(0.014)
Parental income (low as reference)			
Medium	0.069***	0.000	0.022**
	(0.020)	(0.005)	(0.009)
High	0.176***	0.003	0.055***
	(0.021)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Highest parental socioeconomic group (upper non-manual as reference)			
Lower non-manual	−0.165***		−0.042***
	(0.020)		(0.009)
Self-employed	−0.174***		−0.060***
	(0.026)		(0.011)
Manual workers	−0.411***		−0.112***
	(0.024)		(0.011)
Outside labour force and unknown	−0.339***		−0.045***
	(0.034)		(0.015)
Father's labour force status (employed as reference)			
Unemployed		−0.017***	
		(0.007)	
Outside labour force		−0.002	
		(0.006)	
Unknown		−0.011	
		(0.007)	
Mother's labour force status (employed as reference)			
Unemployed		−0.015***	
		(0.005)	
Outside labour force		−0.015**	
		(0.008)	
Unknown		−0.026***	
		(0.007)	

(*Continued*)

	Average grades	Continuation vs. dropout	General vs. vocational
One or no adults in household (two as reference)	−0.194***	−0.010***	0.004
	(0.017)	(0.004)	(0.007)
Average grades		0.060***	0.297***
		(0.003)	(0.002)
Missing information on grades		−0.110***	–0.072***
		(0.005)	(0.012)
National origin (Russia/Estonia as reference)			
Ex-Yugoslavia	−0.455***	0.020*	0.036
	(0.103)	(0.010)	(0.052)
Europe	−0.038	−0.007	0.075*
	(0.106)	(0.022)	(0.043)
West Asia/North Africa	0.070	−0.002	0.143***
	(0.117)	(0.024)	(0.043)
East Asia	0.562***	−0.022	−0.002
	(0.087)	(0.022)	(0.036)
South Asia	0.156	−0.060	0.042
	(0.169)	(0.075)	(0.120)
America/Oceania	0.292*	0.015	0.043
	(0.152)	(0.023)	(0.090)
Sub-Saharan Africa	−0.115	0.005	0.170***
	(0.121)	(0.013)	(0.033)
Unknown	0.489**	0.008	0.007
	(0.230)	(0.048)	(0.088)
Mixed origin (only immigrant parents as reference)	0.029	0.003	−0.076**
	(0.090)	(0.018)	(0.038)
Female (male as reference)	0.578***	−0.035***	−0.008
	(0.013)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Father (no link to father in registers as reference)	−0.025	−0.008	−0.020
	(0.058)	(0.012)	(0.025)
Constant	0.372***		
	(0.074)		

Note: N = 20,774 for average grades, 21,324 for continuation and 20,046 for general vs. vocational. *$p < 0.1$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$, average grades centred on 7.5.

choose general rather than vocational school. The second model introduces controls for the student's gender, national origin and average grades, parental income, education, socioeconomic status and Finnish birth, the number of adults in the household, as well as the presence of a link to the father. This reduces the difference between the non-citizens and the other two groups, though the difference between the two citizenship groups remains significant and is estimated at eight percentage points.

By and large, there do not seem to be differences between national-origin groupings in the effect of citizenship (results available on request). With regard to choice of upper secondary school type, all national-origin groupings show a positive effect of Finnish citizenship, although due to small group sizes, it is not significant in all cases. The group that stands out slightly is the Russian/Estonian one, for whom the effect of citizenship is minimal and due to the relatively large group size, this is estimated with relative certainty as not being statistically significant. If the Russian/

Estonian group is excluded, the effect of citizenship within the second generation is estimated to be 15.2 percentage points (standard error [SE] 3.0), whereas including the Russian/Estonian group reduces the estimated effect to 7.7 percentage points (SE 2.8).

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to examine the relationship between naturalisation and educational attainment. In order to take into account eligibility for citizenship acquisition, the focus has been on the effect of citizenship within the second generation, defined as children of immigrants who either migrated before starting compulsory education or have one Finnish-born and one foreign-born parent. The results confirm the broad expectation that Finnish citizenship is associated with higher educational attainment among children of immigrants: before any other controls have been introduced, there is a significant difference between citizens and non-citizens for all of the three measures of educational attainment used.

After taking into account parental characteristics, which affect both citizenship acquisition and educational attainment, the initial effects of citizenship are reduced and even become insignificant for two of the three outcomes. This confirms findings from previous international research that it is often the more successful and (economically) integrated immigrants who naturalise. It is also consistent with the possibility that having citizenship of the country of residence improves employment chances of immigrants. In the Finnish context, it was also expected that citizenship would be correlated with parental income, as this is one of the requirements for acquiring Finnish citizenship. Nevertheless, the difference between citizenship statuses remains large and significant for choice of upper secondary school type: second-generation Finnish citizens are more likely than their non-citizen peers to choose general upper secondary schools.

One of the suggested mechanisms linking citizenship and educational attainment was that citizenship acquisition reflects the economic integration of families. This seems to be the case, but the results suggest that there is more to citizenship than this. Moreover, due to the fact that citizenship was not found to affect all educational outcomes, it is also unlikely that citizenship is merely another measure of other parental resources, such as social capital. In particular, the finding that citizenship does not affect average grades, after other relevant controls have been introduced, would suggest that citizenship is not necessarily an additional measure of socio-cultural integration. A possible exception to this are the group of children of immigrants who had lived in the country for six to eight years prior to finishing comprehensive school (results available on request) for whom a significant difference in average grades between citizenship statuses can be seen. It is possible that within this group, the early naturalisers are the families who have integrated better in terms of language acquisition and/or have higher levels of social capital. Another suggested mechanism was that teachers might treat citizens differently to non-citizens, but there does not seem to be evidence to support this.

The final suggested mechanism was that citizenship changes the frame of reference and educational motivation of immigrants and their children. Choosing general education reflects a greater willingness to invest in human capital accumulation, not least because general upper secondary education in itself is not necessarily useful on the labour market and requires further educational investments either at secondary or tertiary levels. Therefore, we may assume that the frame of reference for children of immigrants who have become Finnish citizens is Finland and they therefore have a greater motivation to embark on a longer educational career.[4]

It is also plausible that citizenship acquisition reflects cost-benefit calculations on the part of immigrants and that this rationalisation of decision-making blurs any relationship between citizenship and sociocultural integration (Bevelander and Veenman 2006). However, it is probable that this would be more likely to be the case for some national-origin groups rather than for others. In particular, it is probable that immigrants from less developed countries would be more likely to benefit from Finnish citizenship in terms of access to welfare and increased international mobility. However, these kinds of national-origin differences were, in general, not found. The only group that stood out in terms of no citizenship differences for choice of school type was the Russian/Estonian second generation. It is possible that amongst this group, the frame of reference is Finland, even amongst non-citizens due to the large numbers of ethnic Finns in this group. It is also possible that non-citizens in this group may see a Finnish education to be more transferable to their origin countries, in particular Estonia, than do non-citizens in other groups and are therefore more willing to embark on a longer educational trajectory.

These results are largely in line with previous research on the educational attainment of children of immigrants that links citizenship acquisition to higher educational attainment (Dronkers and Fleischmann 2010; Fibbi, Lerch, and Wanner 2007).[5] However, because this article uses an educational transition before the children reach majority, the causal claim from citizenship to educational choices rather than the other way around is on firmer footing; the children with Finnish citizenship in this data would have acquired the citizenship before making any educational transitions. This article also demonstrates the value of examining several outcomes in order to better assess the possible mechanisms linking citizenship and educational attainment in the absence of direct measures of the hypothesised mechanisms. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that there is another underlying factor that influences both citizenship acquisition and educational choices and that citizenship itself is not directly affecting educational choices.[6]

In conclusion, this article has examined the way in which citizenship acquisition affects the educational attainment of the second generation. This relationship has received relatively little attention in prior research. Results suggest that children of immigrants who have become Finnish citizens come from families that have higher levels of educational and economic resources. The different transition propensities to general upper secondary schools amongst the second generation would seem to indicate that citizenship status affects the attitudes and motivations of children of

immigrants and thus spurs integration further. It is argued that the more ambitious educational choices reflect a change in the frame of reference of children with Finnish citizenship and a greater motivation to invest in human capital accumulation.

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Notes

[1] Additionally, the students need to have been under the age of 25 at the time of finishing compulsory education and resident in Finland in 2004 and 2005 to be included in the sample. The sample is stratified according to registered language with 5% of Finnish, 30% of Swedish and 50% of other-language speakers included in the sample. All results are weighted to reflect the sampling probability.

[2] The results concerning citizenship status and general upper secondary education are unaffected by the exact reference category chosen: the results regarding citizenship stay the same when dropouts are included with students in vocational schools.

[3] This is the only outcome for which there may be a differential gender effect: the difference between citizenship statuses is significant for girls even in the model that includes all controls and its size is estimated to be just under three percentage points. The gross citizenship difference is approximately 12 percentage points for girls.

[4] Further analyses that separate out a small group of second-generation non-citizens who have at least one parent who is a Finnish citizen suggest that the citizenship of the child is more important than that of the parents since these children have an even lower propensity of choosing general upper secondary than their non-citizen peers with only non-citizen parents (results not shown).

[5] In contrast to the results of Dronkers and Fleischmann (2010), the effect of citizenship did not seem to differ when the two genders were analysed separately, with the partial exception of not continuing in education for which a female difference is possible.

[6] On the other hand, the evidence from non-citizen children with citizen parents suggests that this is not necessarily the case since the parental citizenship does not help the children in these cases.

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