

**Cultural Capital during Migration. Academically and  
Vocationally Skilled Adults with Immigrant  
Backgrounds in Germany**

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# Cultural Capital during Migration. Academically and Vocationally Skilled Adults with Immigrant Backgrounds in Germany

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# **Cultural Capital during Migration. Academically and Vocationally Skilled Adults with Immigrant Backgrounds in Germany**

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## **Summary**

This paper gives an overview of the project's main empirical findings on academically and vocationally trained adults with immigrant backgrounds who received their most recent educational title in Germany. Starting with the range of variation in the respondents' migration backgrounds, the presentation continues by demonstrating the distinct ways that immigrant families transmit educational orientations to their descendants. The varying career trajectories of the research participants are characterized both by educational pathways in different school tracks of the German education system and by different patterns of the subsequent transitions into the labor market. As the paper will demonstrate, different strategies of coping with barriers in the research participants' academic careers have been observed.

## **1. Introduction**

Our investigation at the University of Siegen, affiliated with the international study group "Cultural Capital during Migration,"<sup>1</sup> concerns academically qualified and vocationally trained adults with immigrant backgrounds. At this point in our inquiry, our sample is based on:

- 30 interviews with members of the academically skilled status group
- 26 interviews with members the vocationally trained status group<sup>2</sup>

All members of the two status groups live in Germany and received their most recent educational degree in the host country.<sup>3</sup> In addition, both status groups, by virtue of their holding residence permits are allowed equal access to the German labor market. According to the research design our interviewees belong either to the technically skilled labor group or are trained in the domains of

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1 Besides the authors of this paper, Hülya Akkas, Anja Frindt, Thorsten Hummerich, Stefan Kohlbach, and Antje Winkler have conducted interviews and/or contributed to data evaluation.

2 For the sake of anonymity, in the following presentation of our empirical findings all original names have been changed. Apart from the code name the academically skilled research participants are signified with ID and the vocationally trained ones with MD in order to distinguish the two status groups.

3 Some of our research participants are born in Germany and belong to a population often discussed as the second Generation (cf. Thomson/Crul 2007; Heath/Rothon/Kilpi 2008). Since our sample includes research participants who arrived in their childhood or as young adults, we distinguish case groups according to educational titles, residence permits and migration background.

medical or economic professions.<sup>4</sup> As the members of the two status groups have already followed educational pathways in Germany before facing status passages into the labor market, our analysis refers to earlier trajectories, too, in order to explore socialization processes in the host country which influence the access to qualified labor.

A side note on the issue of immigrants' participation in the German educational system might be in place here. In most of Germany's federal states<sup>5</sup>, parents and their children must make a decision after only four years of elementary school that will strongly affect a child's educational and professional future. When children reach the age of 9 or 10 they must choose among three schools listed here by ascending level of academic difficulty: 1) the basic *Hauptschule*, 2) the *Realschule*, mainly preparing students for vocational training, and 3) the *Gymnasium*, for those students who plan to attend university. The early classification of school graduates is of particular disadvantage for children from families with less cultural capital. For those, who tend to lack educational support at home, this kind of selection allows insufficient time to compensate<sup>6</sup> which affects all children from less-educated families whether they are born in Germany or have immigrant backgrounds. However, time spent in the educational system of the host country before the decisive selection among school tracks is extremely short, especially for those pupils who immigrated with their families in early childhood or during the first years of schooling.

The selective processes in the German school system are the institutional context for the fact that immigrants or members of the second immigrant generation are overrepresented in the lower school track (*Hauptschule*), rather well represented in the vocational education oriented one (*Realschule*), whereas they are still in a minor position in the higher track (*Gymnasium*).<sup>7</sup> Even though there are second chances to get the *Abitur* (required for university admission) after having passed lower and middle-ranged school tracks, access to university is mainly open to *Gymnasium* graduates. Second chances at educational careers are provided by schools (*Aufbauschulen*) that lead to either *Abitur* or *Fachabitur* (polytechnic entrance certificate), both allowing continued study, but the latter provide access to specific subjects only. Schools that offer second chances to achieve higher education can be chosen immediately after having finished the middle-ranged track (*Realschule*). However, as we will later point out, they still provide opportunities for graduates of the vocational training system. Our paper presents empirical findings on educational careers and status passages into the labor market, thus referring to one of our main analytical questions: how cultural capital is constructed and evaluated by members of the various status groups. In the following chapters we will begin with an outline of observed migration backgrounds (chapter 2) before presenting types of educational

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4 As a substitute for persons with academic degrees in economic studies, we have chosen administrative or business services in the vocationally trained group.

5 There are exceptions, for example in Berlin there have been efforts to change the age by which this school selection requirement must be made.

6 This early selection in the German school system and its consequences for the reproduction of social inequalities was one of the main subjects of criticism by Vernor Munoz, special reporter on educational rights, in his 2007 UN education report.

7 For more details about pupils with immigrant backgrounds in the three school tracks of the German education system see Diefenbach (2007), Schittenhelm, (2009a).

orientations transmitted by the immigrant family (chapter 3). Finally we will discuss educational pathways and transitions into the labor market relating to typical courses, orientations, and (coping) strategies. Herein we will start with an analysis of the academically trained status group (chapter 4), and we will then discuss case studies on non-direct pathways drawn from the vocationally trained sample (chapter 5).

## 2. Types of Migration

(Steffen Neumann)

The following chapter deals with the matter of variation within the process of migration based on heterogeneous reasons. Indeed it is important to clarify the contextual backgrounds of migration where empirical findings can be generalized from a single case, i.e. *fallübergreifend*. This topic will first be explored for the academically trained status group. In our sample of twelve cases examined and analyzed thus far, we dealt with academically skilled people who received their last educational certificate from a German university (*Bildungsinländer/innen*). Therefore, we must introduce and briefly explain two essential dimensions.

The most important criterion is their background, including the decisive social conditions both in the region of origin and the region of the host country. Accordingly, there are three different types of migration:

- **1. Labor Migration;**
- **2. Refugee Migration;**
- **3. Educational Migration.**

The factors of independence or dependence in the decision making process leading to the decision to leave the region of origin is the second, more internally differentiating criterion. Hence, it is possible to specify the three extracted types of migration. Labor migration, refugee migration, and educational migration processes are always based on the decision of our interviewees' parents. Thus, since our interviewees either have no singular experiences of migration, (due to either their birth in Germany or their subsequent migration during infancy), or the account of their involvement in the process is focused primarily on parental migration, we have experienced difficulty with our empirical findings. The interpretation of the migration process is taken from and about people who have not and will not be interviewed. However, the second criterion is crucial for educational migration: There are, thus far, three cases in our sample of interpreted interviews which have shown dependency in their decisions to immigrate to Germany for educational purposes, thus educational migration is the only migration type which also existed – other than independent parental migration – in the form of dependency.

Examining these two criteria together as a heuristic instrument, it is possible to extract four types of migration which will subsequently be explained in more detail. Our comparative analyses were used as source material.

## Overview:

- **1. Labor Migration of the Family:** Yasemin Kemal (ID07), Lale Çiçek (ID14) and Ecehan Celik (ID22), Ayhan Cinar (ID23), Kamer Ecevit (ID17);
- **2. Refugee Migration of the Family:** Maria Ionescu (ID04);
- **3. Educational Migration of the Family:** Emefa Labah (ID08), Özgür Peker (ID09) and Aaraam Moradi (ID15);
- **4. Dependent Educational Migration:** Baran Jiyan (ID10), Bertrand Ékoné (ID12) and Sarath Pieris (ID13).

### **2.1 Labor Migration of the Family: Yasemin Kemal (ID07), Lale Çiçek (ID14), Kamer Ecevit (ID17), Ecehan Celik (ID22) and Ayhan Cinar (ID 23)**

The first type from which we can generalize empirical findings from a single case is one in which both mothers and fathers sought a more expedient labor migration process as a direct result of an existing structural framework of the host country's labor market, that is recruitment of low wage labor. In all cases, the situation in the home country was evaluated negatively. Nonetheless the bases for that are heterogeneous (Yasemin Kemal (ID07): debt; Lale Çiçek (ID14): family problems; Ecehan Celik (ID22): unemployment, Kamer Ecevit (ID17): illness of a family member). Besides that variation, migration always seems to be a strategy to resolve various kinds of problems. In order to bring the whole family together, the first emigrated parental person used legal requirements of the host country to officially allow the emigration of the rest of the family that is "family reunion". The independency of the migration and its decision making processes beforehand are quite obvious.

The recruitment of low wage labor in Germany was demonstrated in every interpreted interview as a specific structural-logical step related to the labor market at a certain time. Any institutionalized cultural capital which people received in their country of origin was systematically devaluated in Germany. However, not only could different strategies of dealing with that matter be shown, but also different degrees of cultural capital. Even institutionalized cultural capital was devaluated in the host country. The question was raised whether particular parental cultural capital instead has a positive effect for the next generation.

### **2.2 Refugee Migration of the Family: Maria Ionescu (ID04)**

Another variation shown on the basis of just one single case is refugee migration. This type proceeded independently from most of our interviewees. The motivation on which migration is based is not escape from persecution or violence in the strict sense of right of asylum. Rather, existing political conditions were evaluated negatively against a background of ideological differences. Thus, parallels to the case of labor migration are evident. Migration seems to be a strategy to resolve personal problems, but there are also significant differences which in this case involve the third type of

migration in our study: The parents had accumulated academic cultural capital in their region of origin and continued the accumulation process in the host country as well. As a matter of unfortunate fact, with just a single case we cannot formulate a generalized statement.

### **2.3 Educational Migration of the Family: Emefa Labah (ID08), Özgür Peker (ID09) and Aaraam Moradi (ID15)**

Once again, an independent form of migration is demonstrated - the educational migration of the family. But in this case, a prime example of the independent type of migration is shown: The interviewees are purely the indirect subjects of their parental migration process since the parents' host country is now the country of origin of our interviewees. In fact, the second generation did not migrate at all.

Educational opportunities are the main reason parents immigrated. In all cases the parental generation came to Germany to begin study either at a university or, in one case, to pursue vocational training. In short, migration does not seem to be a means or strategy to resolve personal problems, but rather to accumulate cultural capital in various forms during the first status passage. From their point of view, immigration to Germany is necessary as a result of superior standards in Germany in comparison to those in their region of origin.

In clear contrast to labor migration, the respective capacities of capital, especially those of cultural capital, are fundamentally different, showing respectively their different social class situation. Whereas the genuine intention in all three cases was to migrate for educational objectives, the specific cultural capital has certain effects on the remigration process. The highly specified technical-scientific cultural capital is restricted to countries and regions with comparatively sufficient educational and technical standards in order to be chosen as the country where the institutionalized and incorporated cultural capital should be received (e.g. Özgür Peker (ID09)).

Medical cultural capital, on the other hand, offers a nearly unrestricted transnationalization of cultural capital either in the host country or other third countries respectively (e.g. Aaraam Moradi (ID15)) or the region of origin, which does not limit the remigration process (e.g. Emefa Labah (ID08)).

### **2.4 Independent Educational Migration: Baran Jiyan (ID10), Bertrand Ékoné (ID12) and Sarath Pieris (ID13)**

Now the focus of our analysis shifts onto the younger generation. Here the motives and reasons are essential. Similar to the previous type, migration is based on genuine educational factors, namely the accumulation of institutionalized and incorporated cultural capital in the host country. The moment of migration is at the very earliest the first status passage, that is the time between receiving a compatible university entrance qualification and starting an academic education or the time persons began to study

in their country of origin, but without receiving institutionalized cultural capital or an educational certificate).

The reasons people emigrated are multifaceted here: Either events in the country of origin such as closed universities (Sarath Pieris (ID13) or advantages in the host country like technical know-how (Baran Jiyani (ID10) or tuition-free university enrolment (Bertrand Ékoné (ID12) play a crucial role. All cases that represent this type are identifiable by something particular, namely the restriction of the transnational realization of their cultural capital. As we already observed, either the cultural capital in its broadest sense cannot be adequately utilized in the region of origin with the difference related to the standard of technology between the region of origin and the host country (e.g. Baran Jiyani (ID10), Bertrand Ékoné (ID12)), or the medical cultural capital is, in contrast to the previous type of educational migration (cf. 2.3), linked with a certain political-legal capital which has a dominant meta-position. German or European citizenship is prerequisite to utilization of the medical cultural capital received from the identical host country (e.g. Sarath Pieris (ID13)).

## **2. 5 Future Prospects**

In Siegen we are now investigating, and will continue to investigate the extent to which the empirical findings can be interpreted with our second status group, consisting of vocationally trained individuals (MDs). In brief, we shall be researching whether there are “later migrated persons” in the sample of our MDs and if we make a generalization in terms of both our examined status groups. For this purpose we shall be identifying tendencies as well as exceptions. Additionally, the cases of ethnic German resettlers (*Spätaussiedler*), that is, emigrants of German origin from Eastern European states within the sample of our vocationally trained interviewees, will probably be tested for types of migration. This typology will either prove its flexibility to integrate those cases of ethnic German resettlers or must be further elaborated. We shall be dealing with such questions in our future research.

### 3. Educational Orientations with Respect to Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural Capital within the Family

(Regina Soremski)

All of our highly qualified interviewees with diverse migration backgrounds made adequate use of their cultural capital during their entry into the labor market. Each interviewee described a successful educational pathway. Neither are we aware which educational orientation became important nor to what extent their family background affected their further education. Therefore it is of interest to reconstruct processes and interactions which show how they acquired their educational orientations (cf. Soremski, 2008, 2009).

The following findings are based on 10 case studies which primarily represent either the second generation or people who spent their lives in Germany from an early age, respectively. These individuals come from labor migrant families (Ecehan Celik, Yasemin Kemal, Lale Cicek), educational migrant families (Özgür Peker, Aaraam Moradi) or political refugee families (Maria Ionescu). In spite of their heterogeneous migration background they have in common experiences within the German school system. In contrast to the second generation we also consider the group of educational migrants who migrated by themselves for educational reasons (Baran Jiyan, Sarath Pieris, Bertrand Ékoné).

Taking both groups into consideration, we are able to show, across the cases, three types of educational orientation linked to migration background and family status. The table below gives a succinct graphic overview:

Edu- cational Orientations:	Forms of Migration					
	Labor Migration		Political Refugees		Educational Migration	
	Family-related migration	Single person migration	Family-related migration	Single person migration	Family-related migration	Single person migration
Upward Educational Mobility	<b>Ecehan Celik</b> (ID 22) <b>Yasemin Kemal</b> (ID 07) <b>Lale Çiçek</b> (ID 14)					<b>Baran Jiyan</b> (ID 10) <b>Sarath Pieris</b> (ID 13)
Status Continuity					<b>Özgür Peker</b> (ID 09) <b>Aaraam Moradi</b> (ID 15)	<b>Emefa Labah</b> (ID 08) <b>Bertrand Ékoné</b> (ID 12)
Compensation of Downward Mobility			<b>Maria Ionescu</b> (ID 04)			

Referring to constitutive processes and interactions along the educational pathways, namely the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital, we rely on Bourdieu's (1982) definition. He describes educational orientations as the result of a reciprocal interposition between family expectations on the one hand and school demands on the other. (Bourdieu 1982, cf. p. 47)<sup>8</sup> Such an interactive transmission concept includes resources, perceptions, and interpretations of the social situation in which those processes are embedded. It is not part of this chapter to show detailed reconstructions but to provide insight into interaction processes dealing with aspects mentioned above.

### 3.1 The Second Generation of Labor Migrants: Educational Upward Mobility (Ecehan Celik (ID 22), Yasemin Kemal (ID07), Lale Cicek (ID 14))

Educational upward mobility or an orientation toward higher educational qualifications compared to their parents' is connected to a special social situation of the labor migrant family in Germany. This social situation is predominantly characterized by social downgrading or non-acceptance of qualification degrees the first generation obtained abroad as mentioned in the chapter above. Social change in terms of higher occupational positions the second generation could achieve is also connected with family history. The migration story of Ecehan Celik and that of Yasemin Kemal entails transformation processes of gender roles as part of a coping strategy for the social situation in which they lived before, during, and after migration:<sup>9</sup>

<p><b>Ecehan Celik (ID 22)</b> and her mother came to Germany in 1964. They followed her father who started to work in a mine a few months ago. Originally, he was a qualified tailor in Turkey but was hired as miner in Germany. Her mother was a qualified teacher, but started to work in a factory after migration. Both pathways seem similar if the following aspect is omitted. She had been a housewife in Turkey but took up her first job in Germany afterwards. Therefore her motivation to work was based on the situation in Germany. She considered her job as a time-limited opportunity to save enough money for her children's future. In other words, she wanted them to achieve better social positions than she ever had.</p>	<p><b>Ecehan Celik (ID22):</b> „Ja (.) gerne (.) und zwar (.) äh iss mein Vater 32 geboren also er war (.) 64 wie alt war er denn da (.) ähm 32 war (.) er (.) //mhm// genau wie er nach Deutschland kam [...] er hat 'ne Ausbildung in der Türkei gemacht (.) ähm als (.) Schneider (.) die haben (.) 'ne ganze Zeit lang diese Baskenmützen (.) //mhm// geschneidert also er war (.) dafür zuständig (.) //mhm// und dann wurde er arbeitslos (.) //mhm// und meine Mutter (.) hat Lehrerin gelernt in der Türkei (.) //mhm// hatte ein Diplom (.) hat durch die Heirat (.) zwei Kinder bekommen (.) und war jetzt Hausfrau (.) //mhm// dadurch dass mein Vater nach Deutschland gekommen ist (.) war meine Mutter mit den äh mit zwei Kindern in der Türkei alleine (.) aber mein Vater hat hier ne Möglichkeit gesehen meine Mutter nachzuholen [...] ja dadurch sind wir dann im Oktober 64 nach A-Stadt gekommen (.) und ähm (.) meine Mutter hat direkt (.) in einer Fabrik auch ähm 'ne Anstellung gefunden“ (line 142-164)</p> <p><b>Ecehan Celik (ID 22):</b> “die war immer berufstätig so lange wir zurückblicken können meine Mutter hat immer</p>
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<sup>8</sup> Bourdieu, P. (1982): *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft*. Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp.

<sup>9</sup> In the following presentation of our empirical findings we will show extracts of the original interview (in German) and a short summary of the narration in English.

	gearbeitet hier in Deutschland //mhm// (.) nach dem Motto (.) ja das iss auch sehr wichtig (.) ich äh (.) bin aus der Türkei gekommen (.) ich bin jetzt in einem fremden Land (.) //mhm// fühle mich eigentlich <u>nicht</u> wohl weil ich hier niemanden kenne ich möchte aber für die Zukunft meiner Kinder so <u>viel</u> wie möglich an Geld ansparen (.) und <u>maximal</u> nach fünf Jahren bin ich dann hier weg (.) //mhm// und baue mir etwas in der Türkei auf (.)“ (line 200-206)
<p><b>Yasemin Kemal (ID 07)</b> and her father came to Germany in 1971. Her mother immigrated first and initiated a family reunification. The migration story she told focuses on the history and interaction process of her parents before her mother decided to go. Firstly, both partners moved from a rural area where they were born to an urban area. From that point of view a labor migration to Germany seemed to be a second step on their way to higher social status. Although both partners decided to work in Germany, only the mother was permitted to go. Her leaving caused a conflict situation with her husband so that both partners had to redefine their gender role relation over the years.</p>	<p><b>Yasemin Kemal (ID07):</b> “also meine Eltern kommen ja aus (<i>Region X, Region in der Türkei</i>) //mhm// also nicht aus (<i>Ort G, Stadt in der Türkei</i>) //mhm// oder was //mhm// weiß ich wo also aus (<i>Region X, Region in der Türkei</i>) eigentlich also deren Ursprung also nachdem sie geheiratet haben haben sie dann halt in (<i>Ort H, Stadt in der Türkei</i>) gelebt //mhm// das ist 'n Begriff ne ((lacht)) //jaja// haben sie in (<i>Ort H, Stadt in der Türkei</i>) gelebt also wir sind //mhm// auch in (<i>Ort H, Stadt in der Türkei</i>) groß geworden aber trotzdem halt irgendwie ne äh ja wie soll ich sagen die Erziehung und überhaupt //mhm// das ist halt irgendwie äh ja traditionell halt alles //mhm// und daher war das natürlich schon für meinen Vater nicht verständlich und nicht akzeptabel dass meine Mutter dann irgendwie alleine wegfahren sollte //mhm// ja das ganze Haus also Wohnung musste aufgelöst werden //mhm// also äh meine Mutter äh hat sich durchgesetzt //mhm// und hat gesagt sie fährt egal was @es@ kostet //mhm// und äh sie ist nach Deutschland ich und meine Schwester sind halt zu meinen Großeltern“ (line 490-500)</p>

In comparison to both cases the migration story of **Lale Cicek (ID 14)** is similar to a certain extent. However, a new aspect was revealed by focusing on her parents’ occupational positions in Germany. They each started from an unqualified position and improved to a qualified one:

<p><b>Lale Cicek (ID14):</b> Her father was a qualified tailor but began to work as a presser in a factory in Germany. He started his own tailoring business afterwards. Her mother came as a non-skilled worker who could only find a job as an assistant in a canteen kitchen where she worked her way up to the job of qualified cook. Both chose occupational upward mobility to cope with their low social status in Germany which was contrary to their social level before leaving Turkey: As a legitimate descendant her father was in a position to take over the farm or the</p>	<p><b>Lale Cicek (ID14):</b> „mein Vater hat dann die erste Zeit in der Fabrik hier gearbeitet als Bügler irgendwann machte dann diese Fabrik Insolvenz //mhm// daraufhin hat er sich dann selbständig gemacht //mhm// und hat dann ne Änderungsschneiderei angefangen //mhm// und damit hat er eigentlich ganz gut Geld gemacht [...] und meine Mutter hat damals schon in der (.) im Altenheim in der Küche als Küchenhilfe angefangen //mhm// und sie kann ganz gut Deutsch was so diesen Küchenbereich Gastronomie anbelangt aber alles andere sich mit denen so nen normales Gespräch zu führen ist anstrengend //mhm// weil sie viele Begriffe einfach nur in ihrem Arbeitsbereich //ja// stecken geblieben sind weil sie sonst außerhalb ihrer Arbeit kaum Kontakt zu Deutschen hatten //mhm// [...] und meine Mutter hat sich dann dort allmählich in dieser (<i>ugs. f. Stadtmission</i>) hieß die sie heißt heute immer noch so hat sie sich dann so</p>
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<p>family business respectively, but he rejected the arrangement as a result of a conflict with his own father.</p>	<p>hochgearbeitet //mhm// weil sie halt sehr fleißig war sehr pünktlich sehr genau (.) äh also man war sehr zufrieden mit ihr und hat sie dann auch gefördert“ (line 733-752)</p> <p><b>Lale Cicek (ID14):</b> „wir haben also: m:mein Vater hat eigentlich gut Grundbesitz dort könnte auch dort ganz gut leben //mhm// aber aus verschiedenen Gründen durch die Streitigkeiten mit seinem Vater ist er hergekommen“ (line 678-680)</p>
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In this respect social change is not only an *intergenerational* but also an *intragenerational* phenomenon, connected with a social status the family had in their country of origin, firstly, and with gender and occupational reorientation, secondly.

Taking the migration story as a context of their educational pathways and the specific migration experience as a channel of orientations towards upward social mobility, the mothers' strategies are characterized not only by delegation (cf. Ecehan Celik) but by opportunity for emancipated social behavior as well (cf. Yasemin Kemal and Lale Cicek). Therefore, we should look closely at the school careers of their daughters and resources relevant to the transfer to grammar school:

<p><b>Ecehan Celik (ID 22)</b> went from elementary school to extended elementary school. After a classmate told her that a degree from the extended elementary school is not authorized for university admission, her mother discussed the matter with the headmaster. She convinced him and the grammar school headmaster to transfer her daughter to grammar school.</p>	<p><b>Ecehan Celik (ID 22):</b> „dann bin ich zu meiner- (.) zu meinen Eltern gegangen und hab gesacht ja die Schülerin hat aber gesacht ich geh auf die Hauptschule und von der Hauptschule aus kann man nich studieren //mhm// da war meine Mutter <u>entsetzt</u> [...] die hat uns am nächsten Tach gepackt (.) //mhm// und dann sind wir ähm zur Hauptschule zur der Rektorin gegangen (.) und mit ihr gesprochen und sie sachte ja (.) dann machen wir mal'n Termin (.) ähm auf dem Gymnasium die Fächer der Ecehan sind gut //mhm// also das wäre gar kein Problem dass sie jetzt angenommen wird auf'm Gymnasium (.) aber dass äh die Anmeldefrist vorbei war //mhm// (.) da muss man gucken sachte sie ob der Rektor da auch willig iss (.) //mhm// weil da gibt es (.) einen Test und wenn man den Test besteht kann man dann auf's Gymnasium (.) //mhm// dann sind wir dahin (.) mit meiner Mutter (.) ähm zum Gymnasium zum Rektor und der Rektor ((holt tief Luft)) hat gesagt ja der Test iss vorbei aber ich seh ja an den Noten (.) dass ähm Ihre Tochter nich schlecht iss (.) äh nur bei der Rechtschreibung da m- muss sie noch was unternehmen und da sachte sie gut (.) äh da sachte er (.) gut da frag ich mal zwei Sachen ich kann mich noch gut erinnern //mhm// (.) wie wird denn Pferd geschrieben das Pferd und dann musste ich buchstabieren und da sacht er siehste (.) haste doch gewusst (.) gut haste bestanden“ (line 340-363)</p>
<p><b>Yasemin Kemal (ID 07)</b> attended a special class at the elementary school. In other words, Turkish speaking teachers were hired to teach pupils with Turkish backgrounds. After receiving the letter of recommendation she went</p>	<p><b>Yasemin Kemal (ID 07):</b> “also da wir haben ja in (Ortsteil B, Stadtbezirk) gewohnt und in der Nähe war halt 'ne Grundschule da wurden wir angemeldet äh wir kamen also ich und meine Schwester ich sprech' immer äh von uns beiden äh kamen halt in die Schule in so Sonderklassen rein [...] wo dann halt nur türkische Kinder waren //mhm// äh mit äh türkischen Lehrern die aus der Türkei hierher äh //mhm// eingeflogen waren um halt hier Unterricht äh zu gestalten“</p>

<p>to extended elementary school. There, she passed two exams in addition to those for admission to secondary school. After obtaining information on further education options, she decided to apply to a grammar school for students with indirect educational pathways leading to university entrance.</p>	<p>(line 21-34)</p> <p><b>Yasemin Kemal (ID 07):</b> „das war halt die Hauptschule so hab' ich dann halt irgendwie meine zehnte Klasse da abgeschlossen dann hieß es natürlich wenn man dann halt irgendwie die Leistungen in bestimmten Fächern Mathe Deutsch Englisch was wir 'n bisschen hatten äh gut ist also (.) mh (.) ja zwischen eins //mhm// und zwei //mhm// würde //mhm// man ja 'n Realschulabschluss bekommen //mhm// und mit diesem Realabschluss könnte man ja weiter äh entweder in den fortführenden Schulen oder Ausbildungen oder wie auch immer also ich hatte halt irgendwie 'nen guten Abschluss weiß ich jetzt nicht aber jedenfalls //mhm// also in diesem Rahmen da hab' ich halt 'nen Realabschluss äh machen können und mit diesem Realabschluss ja hab' ich mich halt informiert was ich dann machen kann also ich meine ich wu- war dann halt doch 'n bisschen weiter @entwickelt@ //mhm// auch im Kopf äh da hieß es ich könnte weiter auf'm Gymnasium //mhm// gut hab' ich mich dann halt irgendwie mit meinem Zeugnis und mit den Unterlagen die es gab irgendwie angemeldet“ (line 107-118)</p>
<p><b>Lale Cicek (ID 14)</b> also attended classes at primary school with other pupils of migrant background. But her teacher took note of her positive achievements and sent her to another class composed of German pupils only. There she had been one of the top pupils. However the same teacher refused her a recommendation for grammar school because of her social background. As a result, she continued to struggle for higher education, but with eventual success.</p>	<p><b>Lale Cicek (ID 14):</b> „dann hab ich äh zweite dritte Klasse in einer sogenannten Integrationsklasse die Schule äh besucht //mhm// das heißt wir waren überwiegend türkisch:e Schüler //mhm// und hatten in der Woche mehrere Stunden Deutschunterricht durch einen deutschsprachigen(.) Lehrer [...] da ich damals schon sehr wissbegierig und fleißig war hat damals //mhm// meine Klassenlehrerin gesagt das geht nicht //mhm// du bleibst nicht hier damit du wirklich weiter kommst //ja// kommst du in die deutsche Klasse das war für mich natürlich ein Drama weil ich jetzt meinen Klassenverband verlassen musste //mhm// und dann war ich ab der vierten Klasse in der deutschsprachigen Klasse wo nur noch Deutsch unterrichtet wurde //mhm// ich war sehr lange die einzige (.) ausländische Schülerin //mhm// das erste halbe Jahr hatte ich nur Fünfen und Sechsen auf dem Zeugnis weil ich nicht mitgekommen bin [...] und nach nem halben Jahr hat sich das dann bei mir sehr stark gewandelt //ja// dass ich dann innerhalb kürzester Zeit meine Zensuren sehr schnell verbessert habe und dann auch bis zum Ende der sechsten Klasse Klassenbeste war“ (line 32-49)</p> <p><b>Lale Cicek (ID 14):</b> „was mich dann damals so irritiert hat meine Lehrerin hat mich immer hoch gelobt du bist sehr fleißig du bist sehr gut [...] nichtsdestotrotz hat sie mir in der sechsten Klasse gesagt als es darum ging Realschule Hauptschule //mhm// äh Realschule Gymnasium //ja// ich war ganz sicher dass ich ne Gymnasialempfehlung kriege //mhm// es hieß dann nein //mhm// ich will dir kei- ich werde dir keine Gymnasialempfehlung geben weil a du kommst aus einer türkischen Familie in deiner Familie wird auch nicht Deutsch gesprochen und du hättest enorme Schwierigkeiten //mhm// und das würde dich belasten //mhm// andere die schlechter waren als ich ich hatte nur Einsen und Zweien auf'm Zeugnis hatten eine Gymnasialempfehlung bekommen und das hat mich natürlich (.) irritiert //mhm// und das hat mich erst recht angeregt so jetzt erst recht //ja// jetzt will ich's wissen“ (line 58-69)</p>

Their school careers already indicate ways their social status or migrant status in Germany is associated with lower educational pathways and degrees. Taking this into consideration, resources are essential for people with migrant background to attain higher educational qualifications. These resources consist of knowledge of the German school system, social capital provided by their families (cf. Ecehan Celik), success by degrees, and helpful advice from the institution itself (cf. Yasemin Kemal). Furthermore, it may be of vital importance to have gatekeepers at earlier stages of the school career, and a family with an emotionally supportive attitude toward one's educational goals (cf. Lale Cicek). In this respect higher education is seen as an emancipation process as well as a recognition process.

### 3.2 Refugee Migration and Second Generation: Compensation of Downward Mobility through Education (Maria Ionescu (ID 04))

The second type of educational orientation concerns an accumulation of cultural capital to compensate for economic capital forfeited during migration. This type is represented by the Ionescu family who have an academic background. It is a singular case among the whole sample. Even the migration story is unique when compared to the others, since the family came from Romania in 1974 for political reasons. (cf. chapter 2)

Looking at their special migration story from an intergenerational vantage point, the second generation is offered a set of orientations related to changes in social status configuration during the migration process:

<p>Maria Ionescu's mother came from a family who was part of the political elite. To her, migration meant political autonomy and social detachment. Hence her mother considered the bribe money she had to pay for a visa as repayment of her inheritance. Above all, she decided to cancel her university studies after she and her baby followed her husband to Germany. While her husband was continuing his studies she became a housewife. In other words, she wanted to live in a German middle-class family model based on a secure financial situation she already lost.</p>	<p><b>ID 04:</b> „nun war es so dass mein Großvater in der Partei ziemlich fest verankert war und als K- Kommunist der ersten Stunde noch galt //mhm// und noch unter'm Vorgänger von Ceaușescu Parteikader war //mhm// so dass es für meine Mutter recht schwierig war dass Land zu verlassen ohne dass die Familie als Verräter- (.) -Familie dasteht und sie hat quasi so hat sie's mir erzählt den halben Familienbesitz was noch an Erbschaft von ihrer Mutter da war als Schmiergelder veräußern müssen damit sie 'n (.) 'n Visum bekommt um auszureisen //mhm// und das hat sie eineinhalb Jahre gekostet (.) und 'n Haufen (.) Lauferei auf Ämter und dann dass wir dann tatsächlich dann am (.) 13.12.75 ausreisen konnten“ (line 37-46)</p>
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In short, the migration story shows that coping with side-effects of migration from Romania to Germany became a compensation strategy to preserve a social status traditionally connected with academic qualifications and a strong socio-economic position within Romanian society. Furthermore, the implementation of those orientations is related to special social and institutional contexts. The following educational pathway of **Maria Ionescu (ID04)** serves as an example of how those orientations could potentially be transmitted:

<p>Maria Ionescu's primary school time is characterized by irregular changes of classes as well as schools. In the first instance her family moved from one town to another because of her father's job change. Facing the social situation at the second primary school, with its high percentage of pupils with migrant background</p>	<p><b>ID 04:</b> „das war ne ganz interessante Geschichte (.) die (.) Grundschule hatte (.) 'n sehr sehr hohen Ausländeranteil und (.) meine Mutter wollte aber dass wir 'ne gute Bildung bekommen weil sie immer sagte wir haben kein Geld und wenn wir was auf'n Weg mitgeben dann ne gute Schulausbildung //mhm// und hat uns wirklich richtiggehend hingetriezt dass wir gut in der Schule sind weil das das einzige Kapital in Anführungsstrichen war //mhm// was sie</p>
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<p>and low teacher motivation, her mother decided to move to another district. The situation changed when Maria Ionescu went to the third primary school. Her performance at school had always been above average but fell below. At that point she began efforts to improve her academic standing. That tended to result in a top level position among her classmates who looked upon her as an overachiever and reacted accordingly especially at grammar school a few years later. Maria looked upon herself as a migrant with less money. Again it was her mother who motivated her to struggle to gain social recognition by high achievements at school.</p>	<p>uns mitgeben (.) konnte und (.) da hat sie sich diese Grundschule angeschaut und hat festgestellt der Ausländeranteil iss sehr hoch die Motivation die Kinder zu unterrichten war relativ niedrig und es gab eine pure Ausländerklasse wo (.) wirklich sehr wenig Unterricht so betrieben wurde weil die ganzen Kinder sowieso kein Deutsch konnten und da war ich zuerst in dieser Klasse drin“ (line 76-87)</p> <p><b>ID 04:</b> „und dann war das so dass meine Mutter sich das dann näher angekuckt hat hat gemerkt dass ich immer weniger- also dass ich nach einem Jahr weniger konnte noch als vor ‘nem Jahr und hat sich entschlossen mich äh dass ich ne andere- auf ne andere Sch- Grundschule gehen soll //mhm// damit ich ne bessere Chance hab hinterher auf’s Gymnasium zu kommen was allerdings hier in ((Name der Stadt)) nur geht wenn man in nem anderen Wohngebiet wohnt weil es hier nach Bezirken geht und man muss dann am Oberschulamt ‘n Antrag stellen und das heißt nein wieso Sie sind ja in dem Wohn- Einzugsgebiet von der Schule und da sind meine Eltern umgezogen damit ich ‘ne andere Grundschule besuche“ (line 99-108)</p> <p><b>ID 04:</b> „und dann bin ich (.) auf ‘ne andere Grundschule gekommen //mhm// übrigens die wo mein Sohn jetzt auch war @(.).@ (.) und (.) da war es dann so, dass ich schon wieder zurückgi- zurücklag, im Verhältnis zu dem, was ich auf der einen Grundschule gelernt hatte, das war wiederum weniger, als was so im Standard jetzt auf der anderen Schule (.) gut gewesen wär und dann musste ich das alles aufholen //mhm// und hab tatsächlich als Klassenbeste dann diese- die Grundschule absolviert“ (line 109-116)</p> <p><b>ID 04:</b> „das Gymnasium wo wir waren iss ja eigentlich vom Einzugsgebiet her eher ‘n Gymnasium wo viele Reiche sind viele reiche Leute reicher Hintergrund viel Geld und wir hatten wenig Geld dafür aus’m Ausland //mhm// (.) dann (.) hat meine Mutter auch immer gesagt ja müsst mal was richtig leisten sonst kommt ihr da nich an“ (line 141-145)</p>
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Thus Maria Ionescu envisioned a compensation strategy to deal with institutional barriers on the one hand but also to deter social downgrading as a migrant by attaining excellent grades on the other hand. In short, she has reproduced a deficient self-perception and therefore a social stigma management her mother had previously created. Her school career was made possible by resources in terms of cultural capital, orientations her parents provided, and social capital in the form of her mother’s support.

### 3.3 The Second Generation of Educational Migrants: Status Continuity through Education (Özgür Peker (ID 09), Aaraam Moradi (ID 15))

The third type of orientation is seen in minimal contrast to the second type but in maximal contrast to the first type. In respect to the first aspect migrant families with a professional background appeared exclusively. With regard to the other aspect patrilineal and occupational tradition became part of

orientation patterns. Özgür Peker as well as Aaraam Moradi focused on the educational pathways of their fathers which are often combined with their fathers' migration stories while they neglected to mention those of their mothers. (cf. chapter 2) Özgür Peker's father received his doctoral degree in electrical engineering. Özgür Peker, in turn, became an automotive engineer. Aaraam Moradi's father is a physician just as Aaraam Moradi himself. Neither family had a problem with social downgrading during the migration processes. This social situation and the resources involved had provided Özgür Peker as well as Aaraam Moradi a window of opportunity in the institutional context of school. In the particular case of how they coped with career decisions, an intergenerational transmission of educational orientations is reconstructed below:

<p><b>Özgür Peker (ID 09)</b> had an irregular school career: He advanced from primary school to grammar school but failed at 7<sup>th</sup> grade. That is why he decided to go to secondary school where he passed his exams. Then he went back to grammar school to get his <i>Abitur</i>. His parents intervened twice: Firstly, they wanted him to transfer from primary to grammar school although he was recommended for secondary school. Secondly, they convinced him to go back to grammar school while he was ambivalent as to which kind of apprenticeship he could choose. Both in times of institutional barriers and in times of developing an independent concept of career, his parents were in favor of higher qualification. Therefore they provided him time for interim steps with the prospect of a wider range of individual career opportunities through education, including apprenticeship.</p>	<p><b>Özgür Peker (ID 09):</b> „also (.) genau fing ja an dass ich eigentlich nach der (.) Grundschule //ja// 'ne Empfehlung hatte von den Lehrern (.) die eigentlich gesagt haben ich wär' halt (.) gut für die Realschule geeignet oder sehr gut für die Realschule und für's Gymnasium wär's halt ziemlich knapp //ja// und damals dann eigentlich haben meine Eltern verstärkt @soweit ich mich erinnern kann@ sogar meine Mutter drauf gedrängt dass ich trotzdem auf's Gymnasium gehe //mhm// und das hab' ich dann halt auch gemacht (.) und ich weiß halt nicht wenn ich mich mehr angestrengt hätte ob ich's nicht vielleicht auch geschafft hätte aber (.) da ich wie gesagt eigentlich ziemlich viel Blödsinn gemacht hab' die ersten zwei drei Jahre“ (line 186-193)</p> <p><b>Özgür Peker (ID 09):</b> „da bin ich halt doch erstmal auf die Realschule gegangen hab' erstmal da den Abschluss gemacht und (.) danach (.) ähm::: hab' ich mir persönlich halt überlegt ob ich dann 'ne Lehre anfangen //mhm// aber mit sechzehn Jahren wusste ich ja überhaupt nicht was für 'ne Lehre ich dann hätte machen sollen oder war ziemlich unschlüssig //mhm// das Einzige wär' vielleicht noch Kfz-Mechaniker @(.).@ oder so gewesen aber das (.) na ja am eigenen Auto rumschrauben ist vielleicht noch was anderes als an fremden Autos hab' ich mir halt gedacht @(.).@ war so ziemlich unschlüssig //mhm// und meine Eltern haben das halt gemerkt und haben gesagt gut wenn du dir so unschlüssig bist //mhm// mach' doch halt erstmal das Abitur //mhm// und dann kannst du immer noch äh sehen ob du studieren willst du kannst 'ne Lehre machen du kannst auch erst 'ne Lehre machen und dann halt noch studieren wenn du willst wenn du's Abitur hast iss'es im Prinzip alles offen //mhm// also so kam es im Prinzip dass ich gesagt hab' gut drei Jahre Schule ist ok (.) dann mach' ich das halt auch“ (line 196-207)</p>
<p><b>Aaraam Moradi (ID 15)</b> was an average primary school pupil but an extraordinary “book-freak” by his own account. According to this he received a recommendation to secondary school. His mother talked to his class teacher in order to initiate her son's transfer to grammar</p>	<p><b>Aaraam Moradi (ID 15):</b> „also Studium war immer klar meine Grundschullehrerin wollte zwar nicht dass ich auf ha ha Anekdoten @(.).@ //ja// schön ähm also ich war in der Grundschule (.) immer nur mäßig ich war so'n Bücherfresser ich hab mit vier Bücher also im vierten und im dritten Schuljahr schon Bücher gelesen die man einfach nicht liest in dem Alter ich hab viel gelesen mein Vater hat viele Bücher //mhm// ich hab halt alles querdurch //mhm// mh in der Bücherei kannte man mich mit Namen also wenn ich da</p>

school. Since then he has been one of the best pupils at school. From his point of view family served as a shelter for self-education, far from either institutionalized education or standardized knowledge. Thus, cultural capital or an orientation towards cultural capital was indirectly transmitted at an early age, not in the context of school but of family. In respect thereof family is also to be considered as social capital in terms of social gatekeeping or mediation.

rein gegangen bin wussten sie der kommt jetzt und leiht sich Bücher und äh (.) ich war in der Grundschule nicht gut ich war in der Grundschule (.) eigentlich immer so drei so und meine Grundschullehrerin die hat gesagt (.) der muss auf die Realschule der kann das nicht und dann bin ich da hat meine Mutter aber gesagt quatsch natürlich kann der das wie das so ist bei (.) Eltern mit Bildungshintergrund der kommt natürlich auf's Gymnasium im Gymnasium hat ich in der fünften nen Durchschnitt von eins vier also //mhm// das war //mhm// definitiv nicht die falsche Entscheidung“ (line 277-289)

Coping with institutional demands or a successful school career respectively depends on resources their families could offer. Those resources include cultural capital as educational orientations towards higher qualifications in the first instance. By looking closely at the transmission processes another resource became apparent. Social capital in terms of their parents' commitment had a beneficial effect on institutional policy or institutional inclusion mechanism in order to which ensured social status continuity through education.

### **3.4 Educational Migration of Free Movers: Between Upward Social Mobility (Baran Jiyan (ID 10), Sarath Pieris (ID 13)) and Status Continuity (Bertrand Ékoné (ID 12)).**

Individuals who moved for educational reasons do not constitute another type. The reconstruction of their school careers verifies existing educational orientations in terms of upward social mobility and status continuity.

Thus, family mobility patterns illustrated by **Baran Jiyan** (ID 10) and **Sarath Pieris** (ID 13) are similar to those of Yasemin Kemal's family. Each moved from a rural area to an urban area but did so for diverging reasons. The migration of Baran Jiyan's family and Sarath Pieris's family was not only associated with an expanding variety of infrastructural and social opportunities but especially with access to higher education for their children. In short, parents provided a framework for intergenerational upward social mobility which gave rise to academic careers abroad. Migration combined with education, in the eyes of both generations, is considered a strategy for attaining higher social status. In contrast to such a liberal concept of cultural capital another, more restrictive, one exists. The father of **Bertrand Ékoné** (ID 12) initiated and supported his son's educational migration to Germany. Relating to that support, each of Bertrand Ékoné's parents has an academic degree. They soon established a basis for their children's successful educational careers by financing private lessons at home. Migration for educational reasons meant not only career opportunities but also a career expectation to maintain the family status.

### **3.5 Closing Notes**

Research on academically trained migrants has shown that family socialization experiences in addition to institutional school career experiences result in three types of educational orientations.

- (1) upward educational mobility
- (2) status continuity
- (3) compensation of downward mobility

Taking all cases into consideration, these educational orientations can be both an opportunity and a constraint, depending on the social background of the family, its resources, and institutional barriers. However, successful educational careers remain based on intergenerational transmission of higher educational orientation. Resources like social capital, economical capital, emotional support, and time combine to bolster this transmission process. Their impact seems most important when the time arrives for the decision in favor of grammar school.

## 4. Trajectories and Status Passages of the Academically Skilled Status Group

(Karin Schittenhelm)

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the status groups' conditions for building and evaluating cultural capital both in educational institutions and in labor market organisations. To understand interrelations of educational pathways, migration background, and possible influences of family/reproduction, we especially consider status passages:

- in the context of educational and professional careers including those experienced before the interviewee's entry into the labor market
- resulting from one's own or from family migration
- which reflect the social mobility of the interviewee in relation to the class background of the interviewee's family
- in the context of private living conditions

There is diverse potential interplay between these dimensions, thus giving context for multiple status passages a person may experience (cf. Schittenhelm, 2009b). However, with regard to the two status groups, academically and vocationally trained *Bildungsinländer*, the following issues should be made clear from the very beginning of the analysis.

Even though migration and social mobility have an impact for educational or professional careers, these factors often cannot be easily determined in the interviewee's biography. "Migration" can be transmitted by the family without being part of the interviewee's own biographical experience, and social mobility may be a process that deeply affects patterns of orientation during an extended sequence of educational steps. In addition, with regard to the status groups' residence documents, any change in private living conditions such as marriage or the birth of children has no legal consequences. However, it may affect the way they pursue professional careers in combination with partnership or parenthood.

### 4.1 Changing Modes of Participation in Educational Pathways

To understand changing modes of participation in interviewees' educational pathways our analysis begins with a relatively small subset. The six cases in our subsample are used to ensure a variety of trajectories followed by the interviewee's route to achieve the *Abitur*, the university preparatory educational degree in Germany. All of them have grown up in Germany and followed the existing school tracks of the German educational system.

It is worth noting that participation in the educational system is not guaranteed to bring migrant students regular standing as a social member of the school class. According to our empirical findings,

institutional participation does not necessarily mean inclusion in social networks of peers. Moreover, the institutional settings as well as the level of informal inclusion or exclusion are potentially changing during our interviewees' educational pathways (cf. Schittenhelm, 2007). Therefore in our entire analysis we consider the institutional frames as well as distinct interactive processes as potential impacts for young immigrants' educational pathways.

With regard to the institutional frames we distinguished two pathways to achieve the *Abitur*:

- **The regular pathways** (Elementary school, then *Gymnasium*): Lale Cicek (ID14), Maria Ionescu (ID04), Aaram Moradi (ID15)
- **Non-direct pathways in all kinds of second chance careers** (low or middle-range tracks and *Abitur* by second chance) : Yasemin Kemal (ID07), Özgür Peker (ID09), Kamer Ecevit (ID 17)

These types of educational pathways not only vary with regard to the institutional frames of low, middle-range, and advanced school tracks. In addition, they do not exhibit the same risk of exclusion in the context of peer relations. Due to the minority position of pupils with immigrant backgrounds in the higher school track (*Gymnasium*), experiences of being outsiders excluded from peer relations and their informal networks has been observed in the regular pathway to the *Abitur* (Lale Cicek ID14, Maria Ionescu ID04). In contrast, during second chance careers pupils with immigrant backgrounds start in low or middle-ranged school tracks characterized by high rates of peers with similar backgrounds. They do not risk becoming outsiders but suffering discrimination of second chance careers in the sense of being stigmatized as second-class pupils (Yasemin Kemal ID07).

However, in both types of educational pathways we can observe changing modes of participation in the course of one person's educational pathway. In this respect we can consider the following types of institutional and informal exclusion that are potential opportunities in the course of young immigrants' educational career.

- special school classes for immigrants only in elementary school
- barriers in the status passage between elementary school and *Gymnasium*
- minority position and high risks of informal exclusion in *Gymnasium*
- a higher percentage of foreign students at universities show less risk of social exclusion.

**The chart below shows changing modes of participation with regard to institutional frames and social inclusion or exclusion**

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Migration background</b>	<b>Intergenerational Transmission</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Educational pathway</b>	<b>Changing modes of Participation</b>
Lale Cicek ID14	Labor migration from Turkey	upward educational mobility	doctor	- first school start in the country of origin - start in the host country with <i>Integrationsklasse</i>  change to regular pathway: elementary school <i>Gymnasium</i> university	- social exclusion in the peer-context of all regular classes until the <i>Abitur</i>  -inclusive environment at the university
Maria Ionescu ID04	refugee migration from Eastern Europe	compensation of downward mobility	doctor	- regular pathway: elementary school  <i>Gymnasium</i>  University	- social exclusion in the peer-context of all regular classes until the <i>Abitur</i>  - inclusive environment at the university
Yasemin Kemal ID07	labor migration From Turkey	upward educational mobility	software engineer	- start in the host country with <i>Integrationsklasse</i>  -non-direct pathway: <i>Hauptschule</i> <i>Aufbauschule</i> (second chance the <i>Abitur</i> )	- social inclusion in a lower school track and in a non-direct track to the <i>Abitur</i>  - inclusive environment at the university
Aaram Moradi (ID15)	(family) educational migration from Iran	status continuity	doctor	- regular pathway:  elementary school <i>Gymnasium</i> University	- social inclusion in the regular pathway
Özgür Peker ID09	(family) educational migration from Turkey	status continuity	engineer	school start in the host country:  - non-direct pathway  elementary school <i>Gymnasium/Realschule</i> second chance <i>Abitur</i>	- informal inclusion during all school classes in the non-direct pathway
Kamer Ecevit (ID17)	(family) labour migration from Turkey	upward educational mobility	economics/ management	school start in the host country:  -non-direct pathway elementary School <i>Realschule</i> second chance <i>Abitur</i>	- informal inclusion during all school classes in the non-direct pathway

## 4. 2. Status Passages between University and Labor Market

### 4. 2.1 Patterns of Transitions after Educational Pathways in the Host Country

After social integration in the host country influences the educational pathway, how is the transition reflected in the labor market? Are positions and strategies reproduced in the same way as they were acquired during the previous educational pathway? Or do the earlier advantages and disadvantages of the respective education history tend to level out here, with the labor market's opportunistic structures defining how individuals with a migrant background know how to evaluate their previously obtained educational credentials?

The following illustration refers to a specific case group from our overall sample. The group included foreign students, who also grew up and were educated in the host country. With reference to the previous status of the evaluation, the focus is on the following seven cases: Yasemin Kemal (ID07), Özgür Peker (ID09), Maria Ionescu (ID04), Aaraam Moradi (ID15) und Lale Çiçek (ID14), Kamer Ecevit (ID 17) und Ayhan Cinar (ID23).<sup>10</sup> By comparing the aforementioned cases, we can clearly show that the transition to the labor market is more heterogeneous than during the earlier educational career. The subsequent illustration differentiates amongst the transition processes on the basis of the following criteria:

- 1) Restricted versus unrestricted use of educational credentials

Restricted use occurs if transition can be observed not to the regular labor market, but to new “native country-specific” part-time labor markets. These depend on the inclusion of a high proportion of immigrants from the respective native country. In this way, a corresponding customer pool or specific target market emerges.

- 2) The length and sequence of the transition, that is, whether this is direct or occurs via intermediary transitions or search and orientation phases. In this case, the question also arises as to what extent cyclical dynamics set in, with the respective start of one phase leading to other phases in succession.
- 3) The analysis additionally considers the possibility of a close link of career entry to changes in an individual's private life conduct (partnership, children, family or other living forms), insofar as these emerge as relevant.

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<sup>10</sup> Cases previously described as “later migrated persons” are considered individually in the following sections.

### *Direct and Unrestricted Career Entry: Yasemin Kemal and Özgür Peker*

This transition process is distinguished by the fact that university studies and career entry effortlessly merge into one another, that is, in some circumstances they even occur simultaneously. Before graduation, the start of a career is already in prospect, or even guaranteed. Seeking and orientation phases already occur – if they play any role at all – during the final stages of study. Irrespective of previous setbacks and the hardship of her educational career, after graduating from her computer science course, the labor market situation is extremely favorable for **Yasemin Kemal (ID 07)**. She experiences the privilege of an *effortless* transition from her academic training to the labor market. She receives job offers even before she has graduated. As she described at length in the interview (lines 218- 246), Yasemin Kemal received a job offer – *without* prior application – before actually completing her studies. However, her reaction is cautious. Therefore, she accepts the offer from the sponsoring company for the period when she is scheduled to write her dissertation (“I just gave them a nod” (245)). Her reasons for the decision are a result of the prevailing situation, which she deals with pragmatically. On the one hand, she is motivated by her personal situation, namely, in the sense that she did not have to “send in loads of applications everywhere” (240), (which she describes as “really good” (239)). In addition, the social and collegial atmosphere of the company was relevant to her decision.

Positive integration into her specialist professional milieu, including contacts with companies that are obviously connected here, and a good position on the labor market are decisive for this transition. Earlier drawbacks in her educational career, that is, restrictions that were often mentioned in the interview with regard to the indirect path until her school-leaving diploma, no longer play a role. Having a family and becoming a mother are irrelevant for her career entry, as Yasemin Kemal will only become a mother at a later stage in her career.

**Özgür Peker (ID09)** can also effortlessly complete the transition to the labor market. He graduated as a certified engineer (from a University of Applied Science) in automotive manufacturing. However, Özgür Peker himself approaches the company supervising his dissertation, in order to secure a job after graduation: “after overcoming a few hurdles, it then worked out all at once” (Z 100). As in Yasemin Kemal’s case (ID07), ultimately, the decisive factor is contact to the company where he completed his dissertation. This company then employs him after he finishes his studies and before he takes his final examination. While Yasemin Kemal’s employer offers her a job, Özgür Peker attempts to get a foothold by making verbal and written enquiries.

In the interview, Özgür Peker describes in detail the importance of the company’s exclusive internal social benefits: the group manager, whom he contacts, immediately introduces him to the departmental manager, who informs him that there are “no permanent vacancies” (420) in his area. The (presumably more informal) discussions both with the group as well as departmental manager here work out well

for him, so that the managers decide initially to employ him. That leads to the third and final interview, also attended by a representative of the personnel department. Over time, the internal job (after processing through the relevant individual authorities) is turned into a permanent position, which is established on the basis of regular efforts and queries by Mr. Peker as well as his group and departmental managers. This highlights another aspect of social capital (alongside the above-mentioned one of exclusive information exchange): cultivating contacts is necessary, which doubtlessly takes up time (“so I just kept working at my contacts with everyone and spoke to them again by telephone” (470-471)).

*The common link* in both cases is the virtually simultaneous transition from traineeship into a profession (for Mr. Peker this meant slightly lowering his expectations). Additionally, both obtain jobs in the company where they worked for their dissertation. In each case, the role played by social benefits is clearly evident. For Özgür Peker, as for Yasemin Kemal, private circumstances and life conduct such as perhaps starting a family play no part in career entry. In respect of their individual strategies and ways of approaching the status passages, there are marked differences emerging on the basis of the case comparison. While Mr. Peker actively works to secure a job, Yasemin Kemal is offered a job without any extra effort on her part.

***Unrestricted Career Entry and Parenthood: Maria Ionescu (ID04), Aaraam Moradi (ID 15), Kamer Ecevit (ID 17) and Ayhan Cinar (ID23)***

If the process is predefined, this characterizes another form of unrestricted career entry, as interviewees clearly combine their professional work with the demands of parenthood. They carry out this role in the context of various living models. In addition, the search and orientation approach is influenced by the respective individuals attempting to do justice to both sides of their lives. Here, we first distinguish (1) a restriction and (2) an acceleration of finding employment due to parenthood and the associated private living models. In this sense, all those cases were included in the analysis, where corresponding subjects are explicitly or implicitly expressed.

- (1) If finding employment is connected to single or equal parenting roles, the individuals concerned have to deal with timing and geographical limits that impact on their availability for the labor market. While for the cases outlined below finding employment is unrestricted in terms of the question of a labor market specific to the native country or general target market, in other ways, the process is once again restricted:

In the relevant cases, as they were previously described, the conventional (gender)-roles and family models were not adhered to. **Maria Ionescu (ID04)** works as a doctor in a clinic, she is a single parent and at the same time carries out the role of (sole) breadwinner. **Aaraam Moradi (ID 15)** also works as a doctor. His role as a father takes temporary priority over his career. In other words, he has opted for “paternity leave” in order to take the pressure off his partner, who is already more advanced in her professional career as a doctor. In both cases, the course of the transition to the labor market and the related phases of orientation are outlined below:

**Maria Ionescu (ID04)** applies for two jobs, one of them being advertised for the clinic, where she had already completed her training. Her application is accepted by both clinics. However, the clinic that she already knew because of her training offered the job very late. Her application situation is characterized by two central components that influence her search: namely, institutional and regional ties, with both components being closely interlinked. A connection to the former training clinic emerges and the only other alternative is the clinic in a nearby town. This situation reproduces a pattern of action that is meant to facilitate the compatibility of family and career. Thus, the continuity of her employment situation as well as the connection to the location makes it possible for Maria to assume responsibility within the family as well as facilitating (employment) security, which in turn is also based on family factors. Maria Ionescu’s search for employment and the compatibility of her family status (lone parent and single mother as well as main breadwinner for the family) occurs under conditions that lead her to consider her migration background as an additional difficulty. At this point, it should be noted that various dimensions are overlapping here.

**Aaraam Moradi (ID15)** takes “paternity leave” before he commences his year of practical training. However, this choice is strategically motivated, that is to say it is meant to guarantee that the child’s mother has the necessary free time to continue her own medical training. In her case, it is evident that her training has reached a more advanced stage. While she is already in the middle of her “practical year”, Aaraam Moradi is just about to begin his practical training. By suspending his studies within an institutionally secure context (“paternity leave”) and devoting himself to his role as father, he succeeds not merely in achieving an equal partnership model. He also manages to fulfill role ideas that are sequentially incorporated into his biographical pathway. Currently, the family takes priority over professional career goals. In the longer term, both partners will combine career and family. After a practical training placement, Aaram Moradi then applies for a job in a clinic, but he considers family demands while searching for the job.

Taking into consideration comments about career entry made by **Maria Ionescu (ID04)** and **Aaraam Moradi (ID15)**, similar approaches are evident during the transition phase. On the one hand, the

regional connection appears restrictive; and on the other hand, the compatibility of parenthood and career is a limitation. Maria Ionescu always combines both aspects of her search. Indeed, she is obliged to do so, as she is a lone parent. By contrast, Aaraam Moradi is living in a partnership model, in which he can prioritize the relevant spheres in chronological sequence, that is, either by putting career or family first. In both cases, the compatibility of career and parenthood requires a greater willingness to compromise and can only be achieved by greater effort. Maria Ionescu manages to achieve her goal of employment at a University Clinic and in the same region, by submitting two applications in succession. However, her current job is not where she lives. Aaraam Moradi also commutes daily from one town to the next, in order to reach his workplace.

For both doctors, there is no choice as regards the range of jobs. Aaraam Moradi finally accepts the only job offer that he receives. After observing how foreign doctors are at a disadvantage on the threshold to professional life, Maria Ionescu has become cautious and prefers to accept a position that she has already been offered in the locality, rather than take a risk. In both cases, it is noteworthy that the question of compatibility of both life spheres is explicitly a topic of conversation and discussed in detail in the interview. This raises the question of to what extent their respective living models are an integral part of the conditions of their life conduct, which they may take for granted. The question is whether their living models may be implicitly regarded as self-reflexive factors.

(2) In contrast to the above-mentioned cases, parenthood can speed up the process of finding a career. This is true if the working person has the role of sole or main breadwinner, that is, in a living context, in which the other partner (male or female) primarily takes the responsibility for looking after the children.

After graduating in business studies, **Kamer Ecevit (ID 17)** and **Ayhan Cinar (ID23)** each took managerial positions in companies. They definitely describe family changes as additional factors for their own career development during the process of transition to the labor market. That is to say the changed living situation is perceived as an additional pressure for the success and the speed at which they find employment. However, unlike the above-mentioned case, questions of the connection of professional and family life conduct are not explicitly mentioned nor described in detail. Instead, conditions pertaining to the individual career path are mentioned rather incidentally.

***“Restricted” Career Entry in a Series of Chronological Stages: Lale Çiçek (ID07)***

The explanations about career entry provided by **Lale Çiçek (ID07)** refer, among other things, to the transition from studying to the practical year and her experience as a trainee doctor. A characteristic feature of her transition to the labor market is that her educational credentials are repeatedly evaluated

and used, whereby the “specific”, that is, migration-related experience of the protagonist plays a part. In addition, establishing professional credentials occurs in a series of phases and stages, which are not just determined by regulations in the medical profession. Rather, in her case, the transition process is also to be regarded as the result of a search and orientation approach.

In the interview, Lale Çiçek describes how, after her training position had finished at the hospital, she had expected to obtain a position as a trainee doctor. The hospital in fact has a high proportion of Turkish patients, so that she attached considerable importance to gaining employment at this particular hospital. Therefore, she regards her cultural assets in the form of educational and social skills from her native country of Turkey as a definite chance in the search for a job.

For the continued progress of her professional socialization, her migration background is of renewed significance. In this case, after completing her job as a trainee doctor, which she ultimately gained at a different clinic, she adopts the strategy of no longer submitting clinical and specialist applications, but applies “everywhere” (288). Ultimately, she obtains a research position, which inspires her in the sense that, on the one hand, she can pursue her scientific ambitions, and on the other hand, she can continue to devote herself to Turkish patients.

The relevant statements make it clear that during the course of her scientific work, she has in many respects gained inspirational ideas by travel and making new contacts and she appreciates her new experiences. By the same token, it also emerges that these experiences involved negative factors, which primarily relate to the time pressure that her work was subjected to. The ambivalence is particularly obvious for Lale Çiçek, when she becomes pregnant, although she continues to work. In one sense, her professional ambition merits official recognition, in so far as she is awarded prizes for her scientific work. In another sense, this finally helps her, as she no longer needs to apply for jobs, but is offered a job instead. In addition, her previous specialization working with Turkish patients, and especially her Turkish language skills, now earn the appreciation that was previously lacking.

However, for the first time, Lale Çiçek experiences this as an additional pressure, so that the years spent fighting to obtain such a position are again devalued. In other words, she cannot appreciate her earlier success and remains distrustful. Ultimately, she summarizes her professional experiences as follows:

[...] Hmm what I have now determined for myself is that I actually had to really get down to work a) as a woman and b) as someone with a migrant background, that you had to achieve twice as much for half the recognition //mhm// because there were constantly moments when you heard things like what did she actually do then, and what was she actually doing to make an impression //mhm// although there was no question about it //yeh// so you were really made to feel all of that (lines 490-495)

[...] ähm was ich nun für mich festgestellt habe war das ich a als Frau und b als jemand mit nem Migrationshintergrund doch ordentlich anpacken musste dass man doch doppelt so viel leisten musste um die halbe Anerkennung zu bekommen //mhm// weil es gab immer wieder Momente wo du dann gehört hast wat hat se denn eigentlich gemacht womit hat se sich denn eigentlich hervorgetan //mhm// obwohl das außer Frage stand //ja// also da hat man das einem schon spüren lassen (Z. 490-495)

She primarily interprets her professional work as a reaction to the prejudicial, self-opinionated approach of others in her working environment. The experience of a lack of recognition during the course of her professional biography is, in this context, perceived as personal discrimination against her as a woman and second-generation migrant. It is remarkable that she finishes her professional clinical career just as she achieves the pinnacle of success. She opens a practice with a German colleague. On the basis of her professional career history and experiences, she has arrived at some conclusions as to how to carry out her current work:

<p>I have been here now since September 2002 with my German colleagues, it was particularly important for me that a Turkish-German //mhm// err: community is established, as I did not just want to be a Turkish doctor for Turkish patients, but I simply wanted just to be a doctor that //mhm// was the main thing for me</p>	<p>ich bin jetzt seit September 2002 hier mit meinen deutschen Kollegen es war mir ganz wichtig dass es eine türkisch-deutsche //mhm// äh:: Gemeinschaft ist weil ich wollte nicht nur die türkische Ärztin für türkische Patienten sein sondern ich wollte halt einfach nur Ärztin sein darauf //mhm// kam's mir an</p>
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Lale Çiçek's "restricted" career entry is characterized by the fact that her migration background plays a decisive role in the use of her educational credentials. It is both a result of attributions, which she experiences through third parties, as well as her own application strategies. In further discussion of this case, the question has to be addressed as to what extent – for instance in comparison to Maria Ionescu und Aaraam Moradi – issues of compatibility of parenthood and career also have on her case and perhaps influence career entry.

By way of contrast, the case of **Kamer Ecevit (ID17)** offers another example of transition. His parents also arrived in Germany as migrant workers from Turkey. After graduating in business studies, he now has a managerial position in a company. His case is one of unrestricted transition, although it is also influenced by interim stages and orientation phases. For Kamer Ecevit, these served the purpose of obtaining ever-higher qualifications. In his case, too, his Turkish origin was a guiding orientation factor in this transitional phase, albeit in an inverse sense. Instead of incorporating his related skills (language, cultural knowledge of native country) or the existing attribution in his host country in terms of the use of his educational assets, he deliberately rejected accepting specific tasks as a Turkish national (for instance, accepting special responsibility for commercial relationships with Turkish enterprises). He did not want to restrict himself to these duties. Instead, he adopted a conciliatory strategy, by striving to achieve more skills and advanced training qualifications and adopting the approach that he had to work twice as hard as a Turkish native speaker to distinguish him from the rest.

#### 4. 2. 2 Educational Migrants: Career Entry in Host Country

We may also describe educational migrants as “later migrated persons”. They are characterized by the fact that they only became immigrants during the later phase of their educational or professional careers. Their own migration generally occurred later on, after the school-leaving diploma. They started their further education partially in their native country. In this case, they have no comparable educational and socialization experiences in the host country, as in the above-illustrated cases. In their native country, their social inclusion was generally not in question. Here, migration is not a family project, but an aspect of the individual’s biography and thus – more or less – dependent on the individual decision (see chapter 2).

In contrast to the above-mentioned case group, later migrated persons arrive in Germany when they are adults and have completed their schooling and socialization mainly in their native country. The question is now to what extent their status passage to the labor market reveals unique features. The comparative analysis is based on narrative interviews of three cases, with the following information providing an overview:

Case	Migration background	Educational Career	Profession	Status Passage Career Entry
Sarath Pieris (ID13)	educational migration second migration and return to Germany	school-leaving diploma in native country studies in Germany	Dentist	obligatory detour via second migration
Bertrand Ékoné (ID 12)	later migrated persons	school-leaving diploma in native country studies in Germany	electro-technical engineer	career entry after orientation phase
Baran Jiyan (ID10)	later migrated persons	school-leaving diploma in native country studies in Germany	engineer, vehicle manufacturing	immediate career entry

In the following analysis, questions focus on the afore-mentioned dimensions: (1) unrestricted/restricted use of education credentials, (2) duration and immediacy of the status passages and intermediary phases. Linking of career entry to private living models proved irrelevant in the previously evaluated cases. So far, the following transitions were observed:

### *The Obligatory Detour to the German Labor Market: Sarath Pieris (ID13)*

**Sarath Pieris (ID 13)** already begins his doctoral dissertation during his studies in Germany and he has obtained a scholarship. After completing his State Exam, he hopes to specialize in the field of cosmetic dentistry and implantology. However, due to the institutional constraints in Germany for specialization fields, it is not possible for him to fulfill his plan. Leaving Germany is not only suggested to him in terms of his educational career, in which case he could have reacted by changing his specialization plans. Rather, he is also confronted with a (professional)-career choice related barrier, which he cannot avoid in any other way. A special characteristic of the medical field is that to qualify as a doctor, German citizenship is required, or at least citizenship of the European Union. In spite of having passed his final examination in Germany, Sarath Pieris has no rights resulting from German citizenship. Moreover, he has no possibility of achieving such rights via institutional means in Germany. Thus, a renewed phase of migration – and this time to avoid the legal restrictions on his status in terms of his professional biography – is the only alternative available to him (“in that case, I was just forced to leave Germany” (97)).

In this case, Sarath Pieris is once again confronted with a situation that is independent of his own action, as was also previously the case in Sri Lanka after he finished high school. On each occasion, the compulsion to emigrate is *structural*, as he is determined to maintain his educational and professional plans. He accepts a job offer in Norway. What this documents is the *transnationlization* of Sarath Paris’s acquired cultural assets. Although his experience of the residence and work permit status in Norway is extremely positive, for him, Germany remains the focal point of his world. He had his family and friends in Germany, not to mention his girlfriend, to whom he is meanwhile married. A second emigration is linked to emotional needs (“you can’t live in two worlds the whole time, otherwise you get worn out” (117-118)). Meanwhile, he is living in Germany again.

### *Career Entry after Orientation Phase: Bertrand Ékoné (ID12)*

**Bertrand Ékoné (ID12)** represents the greatest possible contrast to the above-mentioned case of Sarath Pieris. He already received a job offer from a private company, even before graduation from his electro-technology degree. However, he signaled no interest in this offer. The decisive factor for him was his intention to complete his PhD.

Bertrand Ékoné shares the desire to obtain further academic training with Sarath Pieris. Originally, he pursued the idea of staying as a doctoral student with the professor, who already supervised him during his studies. However, he is not able to do so, as this professor is about to retire shortly and will only be a professor *Eremitus*: “But my professor could not take me, because he was about to retire, so

that he could not create another new job” (611-613). For this reason, Bertrand Ékoné responds to various job advertisements: “First I either got no answer or only negative ones” (44). As a result, similar to Sarath Pieris, he decides to apply for a job outside Germany. With the assistance of his retired Professor (Eremitus), Mr. Ékoné tries to go to the USA.

Here, the potential is evident of possibly prolonging the migration history. While Sarath Pieris takes up the opportunity offered to him (a job offer from Norway), Mr. Ékoné already fails in the preliminary stage or does not even make an attempt of any sort. In this instance, he lists his lack of financial resources as well as potential difficulties of obtaining an entry visa for America. While Sarath Pieris is obliged to emigrate again due to visa and statutory work permit factors, for Bertrand Ékoné, the prospect of a second migration is not viable. However, his application attempts finally lead to three job offers in Germany, including some with the option to complete a PhD.<sup>11</sup> He decides to take up one of these possibilities.

Like Yasemin Kemal, Bertrand Ékoné potentially has the chance for effortless transition to the labor market, based on the prevailing opportunities. However, based on his own inclinations, he would like to carry out his intention to complete a doctorate and continues a phase of search and orientation. At this point, it must be noted that a second migration is included amongst the options anticipated in this phase.

#### ***The Direct Career Entry: Baran Jiyani (ID10)***

Unlike Bertrand Ékoné, **Baran Jiyani (ID 10)** is not from an academic family. The social background, similar to work migrants, is influenced by *formal* educational distance, which in the case of Baran Jiyani cannot be traced to his family’s socio-economic status. His father has his own shipping business. In addition, the educational interest and mobility for the sake of education is already evident in his family (cf. Section 3). In Germany, Baran Jiyani studied automotive technology and meanwhile he is working as an engineer in a company.

As regards the transition to the labor market, Mr. Jiyani is rather reserved, which makes the exact evaluation and interpretation of his experience of the status passage more difficult. He only describes the ‘underlying conditions’ for his *effortless* transition to professional life. Thus, he first completed a traineeship in a company where he later wrote his dissertation and also worked there during the holidays as a student trainee. He was “then immediately employed, even before I submitted my project, I had already signed my contract, which was the best thing you can imagine nowadays – to go straight from studying to starting a career.”

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<sup>11</sup> Here, subject-specific and typical characteristics of relevant fields are documented (medicine versus technology/science), which emerge from interaction with other subject fields, e.g. state or official fields and result from their ‘meta’ status.

Although there are clear parallels to the effortless transition made by Yasemin Kemal, there are differences here in the *temporal dimension*: while Miss Kemal leaves the university sphere relatively late (at the *end of her studies*), Mr. Jiyan makes contacts much earlier, in order to gain experience. The question of how contact is made is also interesting: Yasemin Kemal learns about the possibility to complete a dissertation through work contracts and offers of students and professors. Mr. Jiyan, as the comparison shows, obtains relevant information and contacts via his “favorite professor”. In both cases, the social capital of the university serves as an intermediary body to make contact to private commercial structures.

#### **4. 2. 3 Interim Conclusions and Comparative Analysis**

A short interim conclusion is to sketch the most important results as well as to provide initial key points of comparison in both case groups, that is, for individuals who grew up and were educated in the host country, Germany, and those individuals who arrived as “later migrated persons”:

The individuals who grew up and were educated in the host country already have educational and socialization experiences that are influenced by the education system here. These experiences can serve as preliminary influences for their ability to deal with the later transition to the labor market. However, the transition process is also influenced by opportunistic structures, which are dependent on the immediate context of the transition, i.e. the given labor market conditions or social networks.

In this case, the question arises as to what extent the individual experience of educational migration and the related period in the host country, which is not yet of long-standing duration, offers the opportunity to establish relations’ networks and contacts. In the case of Baran Jiyan, however, graduating from the University of Applied Science is connected with a direct link to the practical world of work, without the option of completing a doctorate being remotely considered. In his case, a second migration is neither necessary, nor is it considered as a way of achieving further training and educational aims.

For the case group of later migrated persons, a second migration is at least evident as an overarching case, whenever a phase of search and orientation is necessary. However, this option played no part for any other individuals studying in the host country during the status passage to the labor market.

## **5. Non-direct Transitions into Academic Careers. A finding in the Vocationally Trained Status Group**

*(Kathrin Klein, Karin Schittenhelm)*

The following chapter deals in particular with pathways and transitions of vocationally trained interviewees who grew up in the German host country. Our presentation of empirical findings is focused on non-direct transitions into academic careers thus viewing those research participants of our sample who are going to continue study after vocational training. They represent the position closest to the previously introduced academically skilled status group.

### **5.1 Non-Direct Transitions into Academic Careers: Studying after Vocational Training**

We will first discuss the comparative analysis of two main cases (Kirti Ambar MD01 and Jana Schilling MD05) to present a non-direct pathway to educational training in the following discussion. As we will clarify after presenting our findings, this non-direct pathway is indicated in three other cases in the vocationally trained status group (MD03, MD09, and MD12), whereas the case of Erkan Yilmaz (MD09) will be considered more thoroughly in a later part of this chapter. Finally, we will include a case from the academically skilled status group (Kamer Ecevit, ID17) for our comparative analysis.

In the analysis of the non-direct pathways to academic careers in particular, the status passage which involves the beginning of a new educational orientation is of crucial interest. At this decisive point the course taken for a higher educational career will be set, and the specific educational process selected will be described. The main questions to be raised in this part of the report are noted here:

- Which strategies and coping patterns are crucial for success in educational advancement?
- What kind of influence is exerted by the migration backgrounds of the family, and which role is played by the educational pathway in the host country?

The following table gives a short overview of the cases to be discussed in this chapter:

<b>MDs</b>	<b>Type of Migration</b>	<b>Educational Pathway</b>	<b>Training Profession</b>	<b>Studies</b>
Kirti Ambar MD01	labor migration, India second generation	regular way until the <i>Abitur</i>	bank clerk	economic sciences
Jana Schilling MD05	<i>ethnic German</i> <i>resettler</i> self-experienced migration	<i>Gymnasium</i> , drop out  <i>Realschulabschluss</i>  vocational training  <i>Fachabitur</i>	Nurse	civil engineer
Adiane Schilling MD04	<i>ethnic German</i> <i>resettler</i> self-experienced migration	<i>Gymnasium</i> , change to “Realschule”  vocational training  <i>Fachabitur</i>	Nurse	
Erkan Yilmaz MD09	labor migration, second generation	<i>Hauptschule</i>  <i>Handelsschule</i> , drop out  vocational training  <i>Fachabitur</i>	Electrician	police academy
<b>IDs</b>	<b>Type of migration</b>	<b>Educational pathway</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Studies</b>
Kamer Ecevit ID17	labor migration second generation	regular pathway to the <i>Abitur</i>	economics/management	economic science

### 5. 1. 1 The Revival of Academic Options: Kirti Ambar (MD01) and Jana Schilling (MD05)

In the following analysis similarities and differences in the non-direct pathways of Kirti Ambar and Jana Schilling will be explained. At this point, I would like to indicate that both women reflect a dependent type of migration (see chapter 2), that is they had no influence on the decision making process. Whereas Kirti Ambar was born and raised in Germany, Jana Schilling moved to Germany at the age of 16 when already engaged in her school career. For a better understanding of the migration story and the life courses before the first status passage, the two cases are briefly introduced:

**Kirti Ambar (MD01)** was born in Germany in 1983. Her migration process is introduced by her mother, who migrated to Germany 30 years ago in the course of a labor migration. Her father followed his wife two years later as a result of the conflation of the married couple (“family reunion”). As a member of the second generation, Kirti Ambar followed the regular pathway until the *Abitur* (see chapter 4. 1) just as her older sister. She successfully graduated without mentioning any exclusion experiences. According to her account she followed a standardized life course along the educational institutions kindergarten, primary school, and grammar school. In view of the fact that Kirti Ambar was born in Germany she was able to follow a direct path through the educational institutions without detours or upheavals.

**Jana Schilling (MD05)**, born in 1974 in Romania, has been living in Germany since the age of sixteen. Her migration story begins in 1990, when the entire family, including father, mother, and her younger sister migrated as so called *Spätaussiedler* (ethnic German resettlers) to Germany (see chapter 2). They moved to Germany in the course of the reunion of the large family<sup>12</sup>. Jana Schilling spends her childhood to 8<sup>th</sup> grade in a small village in Romania. At the age of 14 she moves to a large city 30 miles from her hometown to attend grammar school. One and a half years later she migrates independently to Germany in the course of the migration process of her parents. She continued her educational pathway in the host country including repetition of class nine at the grammar school. Due to another change of school in the upper forms, she dropped out of school in 12<sup>th</sup> grade.

The crucial difference between these two cases is their migration background and their way of growing up in the host country. Whereas Kirti Ambar demonstrates an educational course without any discontinuities, Jana Schilling struggles with her transition process from Romania to Germany. In fact Kirti Ambar did not migrate at all, and Jana Schilling migrated at the age of sixteen. The school experiences of Jana Schilling relate to two different country-specific school systems. Her educational pathway reflects distinct discontinuities and interruptions. On arriving in Germany she must repeat class nine, although she had already completed this level in Romania. In addition to difficulties with the school system, Jana Schilling struggles in developing social contacts and forming a social network. Although restricted, she can utilize her institutionalized cultural capital, gained during her school time in Romania. But in Germany social exclusion and isolation characterize her school experiences. Analyzing the non-direct pathway of the two women, we now need a closer look at their pathways after finishing their school careers.

**Kirti Ambar (MD01):** After the *Abitur*, Kirti Ambar has at least two possibilities. On the one hand, she has the option to begin a university career, as her elder sister has done, and on the other hand she has the opportunity to start a vocational training. In this decision making process her sister acts as

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<sup>12</sup> The large family of Jana Schilling consists of several aunts and uncles, who left Romania during the eighties and settled in Germany.

supporter and advisor. In contradiction to her own pathway, her sister submits a proposal to follow a professionally oriented pathway. The action concept of her sister sets aside the idea that a professional training is a sound basis for pursuing an academic career afterwards. Whereas the sister left the milieu of her family and started a social rise by educational attainment, in terms of an academic career, she suggests to Kirti Ambar to remain in the milieu of the family by starting professional training. As a result, Kirti adopts the proposal of her elder sister and makes the decision to begin a professional career. At this point in time, an academic orientation still exists implicit in her action concept. It is not completely discarded but temporarily postponed. Her strategy still considers the option for access into the academically skilled labor market.

After successfully finishing grammar school, Kirti Ambar begins vocational training as a bank clerk. Immediately after the professional training Kirti Ambar travels abroad to Honduras for several months. Afterwards she again works part-time in her former job. In addition, she intends to study economics at a university located near her residence.

**Jana Schilling (MD05)** As a result of renewed discontinuities at the grammar school, Jana Schilling cannot cope with different school systems and changing social ties, so she eventually drops out in 12<sup>th</sup> grade. The objective reasons for leaving school are traced to external conditions as well as the lack of possibilities to act. Furthermore, the backgrounds for the dropout relate to the unique situation of Jana Schilling, respectively to her private circumstances. In sum, the reasons for the preliminary break with the educational career differ significantly and are much more multifaceted. In our case, it is relevant that Jana Schilling dismissed the academic career only temporarily. The option to study at another time is continuously present in her concept of life.

After leaving school, Jana Schilling finds a training position in a hospital as a nurse. Opportunity structures at her home place are crucial for her further orientation. She begins the vocational training as an intermediate step especially to maintain her economic status.

In both cases, the pathways to academically skilled labor take place in a non-direct manner. In the case of **Kirti Ambar** the professional training appears immediately as a stopgap before entering university. The professional training as a detour serves for the accumulation of practical knowledge, the extension of the orientation phase, and the establishment of a sound basis to finish a university career successfully and efficiently. In the case of **Jana Schilling**, economic reasons are decisive for beginning professional training. Implicitly personal dispositions (marriage to the Romanian boyfriend) and obvious opportunity structures (nursing school) influence her decision to begin professional training.

In both cases the educational orientations of each woman develop in the framework of the educational institutions attended (kindergarten, primary school, and grammar school). The influence of the social system “family”, especially of the parents, in the case of educational aspirations, motivation, and the exchange of orientation knowledge is relevant and crucial in the transmission of cultural capital to develop an individual biography which both utilize in their educational and professional career. By beginning professional training Kirti Ambar and Jana Schilling realize the social status of her parents and remain in the same milieu. Upon the transition to an academic course, they detach from their milieu of origin and exceed the status of the parents.

In both cases the transition into the academic course takes place during a certain life period and relates to specific circumstances. Kirti Ambar continues to develop her academic orientation during her time of vocational training. The informal containment in the milieu of the bank and a constructive relationship with her superior revealed new possibilities and offered important opportunity structures. After a stay abroad she returned to occupation opportunities at her earlier institution and renewed her academic orientation by starting a university career in economics. In the case of Jana Schilling, the transition into the labor market and an academic career differs only negligibly from the previous case. Professional as well as private discontinuities in her life ensure a changing process and a new orientation in another living environment. Jana Schilling applies for a job as nurse in a small hospital in a large city, relocates there, and builds up a new social network. To achieve the requirements for university entrance, Jana Schilling attends upper-level vocational school to attain the vocational baccalaureate diploma. Concurrently with full-time employment as a nurse, she finishes vocational school successfully. With access authorization in hand she realizes her plan of studying civil engineering at university. At the time of the interview she is about to receive her intermediate diploma. The non-direct pathway of Jana Schilling is likewise completed successfully with the intermediate stage of a professional training, while the causes for it vary in comparison to the first case.

What the above mentioned cases have in common is that the option for an academic career is always present, although the reasons for the non-direct pathway vary. Kirti Ambar has realized the discontinuity compared to the status of her parents step by step in the form of vocational training. In the case of Jana Schilling the discontinuities in her school time and in her relationships to peers due to the later migration process play a decisive role for the repeated breaks and changes during her direct pathway to academically skilled labor.

Vocational training as an interim step before going to university can also characterize the biography of interviewees of the academically skilled status group. After having finished school (*Gymnasium*) with the *Abitur*, **Kamer Ecevit ID17** began his apprenticeship. This has been part of an overall career plan: to have a profession and to be able to earn money shortly after school while at the same time gaining access to highly skilled professions. Kamer Ecevit (ID17) is the son of labor migrants from Turkey and the first generation of his family to follow an academic career. The apprenticeship enabled him to be economically independent from his parents who were non-privileged with regard to social status and income. Like Kirti Ambar his entire pathway is shaped by a regular attainment of the general *Abitur*, and the apprenticeship is only a marker in the context of a normal academic career path. According to his retrospective view – he was already established in the academic profession when being interviewed – the apprenticeship has always been an interim step. Whether he had been involved in a process of searching for perspectives in former times – as discussed in the case study of Kirti Ambar – is not empirically evident. But with regard to institutional frames of the trajectory, the cases of Kirti Ambar and Kamer Ecevit are both in strict contrast to those of Jana and Adiane Schilling who passed their *Abitur* by second chance options.

### **5. 1. 2 Developing Academic Options Gradually: Erkan Yilmaz (MD09)**

Whereas for the above mentioned type of academic careers have been an early option, **Erkan Yilmaz (MD09)**<sup>13</sup>, gradually developed this idea after successfully following the vocational training track. Like Kamer Ecevit ID17 he is the son of labor migrants from Turkey and has grown up in Germany. After elementary school he first attended the *Hauptschule*. After the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> grade his performance in school improved, and he began to become more interested in school. However, after finishing the low track *Hauptschule* he tried to continue with a commercial college (*höhere Handelsschule*, one of the second chance options to a *Fachabitur*). But he ultimately failed, left school, and after a period of searching and reorientation embarked on an electrician's apprenticeship. Even though he enjoyed what he learned during the vocational training, he could not imagine working as a typical electrician. Nevertheless he successfully finished his apprenticeship and worked in this profession for about half a year. However, he was searching for opportunities to continue education and sought a job with more responsibilities and intellectual challenges.

Finally he followed a second chance track to gain a *Fachabitur*. During this time he developed the idea of studying at university in the field of applied sciences. He started to think in terms of becoming an architect or a civil engineer. The option to do something that interested him, both with regard to the intellectual level and the responsibilities involved became more and more attractive to Erkan Yilmaz. However, he was also looking for stable job opportunities. Therefore in the long run these professions had not been his first choice, and he finally entered police academy. He was fond of police training

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<sup>13</sup> For more details about this case see also Kohlbach (2007).

and after having completed three years study he will soon begin his final examinations. During his studies his living standard changed drastically after having left work life for this reorientation towards a more agreeable career. But he received governmental support for studying (*Bafög*)<sup>14</sup> and earned additional money by working part-time as an electrician. Thus his vocational training degree became useful cultural capital even while following highly qualified pathways.

Here we can observe homologies between the case of Erkan Yilmaz (MD09) and those of Kirti Ambar (MD01) and Kamer Ecevit (ID17): The vocational training degree is used, (or is expected to be used in the case of Kirti Ambar), to earn money during their studies and thus to be independent from parental incomes. But unlike persons who had already viewed academic options in following the higher school track in the German school system, Erkan Yilmaz is developing this orientation gradually by following the vocationally trained pathway in which he was successful but did not feel intellectually challenged.

Being raised in a neighborhood with a large number of immigrants, he had frequent contact with peers of similar backgrounds. Due to the fact that he followed a school track in which immigrant pupils are overrepresented in Germany (see chapter 1.1), being involved in immigrant peer groups is characteristic of his educational career, at least at the very beginning. During the interview his leisure activities had been one of the main topics. He is an enthusiastic football player and was a member of teams in both Turkey and Germany. Since residing in a small town in Germany, he has lived with a German partner. Meanwhile they have moved to a city where both began their studies. In contrast to the case of Jana Schilling, a partnership did not prevent Erkan Yilmaz from pursuing higher education.

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<sup>14</sup> In Germany students receive financial support as credits relating to the income of their parents.

## 6. Concluding Discussion

This paper gives an overview of the project's main empirical findings concerning adults with immigrant backgrounds who received their most recent educational title in Germany. Starting with the range of variation in the respondents' migration backgrounds, the presentation continues by demonstrating distinct ways that immigrant families transmit educational orientations to their descendants. In recent publications, this transmission of orientations, along with other elements of a family's cultural capital, has been discussed with regard to current scholarly debates on immigrant families and their influences on their children's educational achievement (Soremski, 2008, 2009).

As the paper demonstrates, the varying career trajectories of the research participants are characterized both by educational pathways in different school tracks of the German education system and by different patterns of the subsequent transitions into the labor market (cf. Schittenhelm, 2009a, b). Apart from social class backgrounds, gender can affect these trajectories in the interplay with distinct migration backgrounds (Schittenhelm, 2009a). Furthermore, the way in which social contexts matter for these trajectories has been explored in recent publications concerning the second generations' trajectories.

In order to understand the emergence of barriers that highly skilled adults with immigrant backgrounds have to face in their academic careers, the investigation addressed symbolic dimensions seen as the way the professionals and their skills are attributed and evaluated (Neumann, 2009) as well as types of exclusion from informal social settings at school and work places (Schittenhelm, 2007, 2009a). The ability to cope with the challenges of an academic career, often resulting in different coping strategies – as demonstrated in this paper, has been explored with regard to relevant social contexts of these trajectories. Along with the impact of the immigrant families upon the children's educational careers (Soremski, 2008, 2009) the effects of various kinds of social networks - including relatives and peers - have been explored in this regard (Klein, 2009, 2010).

According to the study groups' overall design, the status groups' characteristics have been investigated comparatively. An intergroup comparison has been conducted to understand similarities and differences between members of the second generation in Germany and highly skilled professionals who immigrated with academic titles that have been received abroad (Nohl, Schittenhelm, 2009). A cross-national perspective considered the impact of national contexts upon the ways professionals face symbolic exclusion (Neumann, 2009). The interplay between nationally determined conditions and varying sub-national contexts has been explored with regard to social networks in Great Britain and Germany by considering the way they affect educational achievement (Klein, 2009, 2010). Furthermore, the many ways that sub-national contexts matter in Germany and the United Kingdom has been stressed by exploring effects of locality on the second generations' transition into the labor market (Schittenhelm, Hatzidimitriadou, 2009). According to these results local contexts show huge

variation in the compared national contexts and have impacts for the respondents' social networks and final labor market opportunities.

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