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A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration

Matthias Wingens • Michael Windzio
Helga de Valk • Can Aybek
Editors

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Editors
Matthias Wingens
Bremen International Graduate
School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS)
University of Bremen
28334 Bremen
Germany
mwingens@bigsss.uni-bremen.de

Helga de Valk
Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic
Institute the Hague
and
Interface Demography
Vrije Universiteit Brussel
PO Box 11650
2502 AR The Hague
The Netherlands
valk@nidi.nl

Michael Windzio
University of Bremen
EMPAS
28334 Bremen
Germany
mwindzio@uni-bremen.de

Can Aybek
University of Siegen
Department of Political Science
57068 Siegen
Germany
aybek@politikwissenschaft.uni-siegen.de

ISBN 978-94-007-1544-8 e-ISBN 978-94-007-1545-5
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5
Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg London New York

Library of Congress Control Number: 2011931669

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Printed on acid-free paper

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Chapter 1
The Sociological Life Course Approach and Research on Migration and Integration

Matthias Wingens, Helga de Valk, Michael Windzio, and Can Aybek

Over the last four decades the life course perspective has become an important and fruitful approach in the social sciences. Some of its proponents even claim that the life course approach today is the pre-eminent theoretical orientation and new core research paradigm in social science (Elder et al. 2003; Heinz et al. 2009). Although not everyone will agree with this far reaching claim, few will dispute that the life course approach constitutes a promising conceptual starting point for overcoming the crucial micro-macro problem in social research by analysing the dynamic interrelation of structure and agency. The life course perspective has been successfully applied to empirical research in a wide range of sociological as well as demographic studies. In line with the development of the life course approach also migration and integration issues have become core topics of debate in society and are subject of a growing number of studies over the past years. Despite this similar development in time, exchanges between the life course approach and migration research are still rather limited. Reviewing the booming migration literature in Europe it is striking that the large majority of studies do not or only partially

M. Wingens (✉)
Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), University of Bremen, 28334 Bremen, Germany
e-mail: mwingens@bigsss.uni-bremen.de

H. de Valk
Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute the Hague and Interface Demography, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, PO Box 11650, 2502 AR The Hague, The Netherlands
e-mail: valk@nidi.nl

M. Windzio
Institute for Empirical and Applied Sociology (EMPAS), University of Bremen, 28334 Bremen, Germany
e-mail: mwindzio@empas.uni-bremen.de

C. Aybek
Department of Political Science, University of Siegen, 57068 Siegen, Germany
e-mail: aybek@politikwissenschaft.uni-siegen.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_1, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

use the sociological life course approach. Even though a study already carried out in the early twentieth century became a classical study in migration research as well as in the life course literature. In the “The Polish Peasant in Europe and America” (1918–1920), the authors Thomas and Znaniecki basically apply a life course approach to the study of Polish migrants coming to the US. They aimed to explain social changes and changes in, for example family relations, by focusing on the interaction between individual migrants and the host society. This line of research has however not been fully taken further in research since then. Even though migration has become one of the major factors in population change in Europe today (Coleman 2008; Taran 2009) and the resulting significant amount of research in social sciences, the main focus of recent studies has been on the position of migrants in education and the labour market as well as on issues of identity and belonging (Heath et al. 2008; Van Tubergen 2005; Verkuyten 2001). Studies mainly aim to explain the specific position of migrants after migration. In demography, studies have looked at specific transitions like timing of the first child or intermarriage with native partners (Coleman 1994; González-Ferrer 2006; Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2006; Milewski 2008). In the study of international migration moves different, often economic explanations of migration decisions are taken. Only recently more emphasis has been put on the linked lives and the role of family and other networks for facilitating the migration move (Castles and Miller 2009). That the life course approach is only limitedly used in migration studies is at least puzzling: Understanding migrants’ behaviour and explaining the cumulative effects resulting from their actions which, in turn, are embedded in societal structures and framed by institutions, requires just the kind of dynamic research approach the sociological life course perspective suggests. This is even more so the case for studies on integration issues, as integration processes actually directly refer to life course processes, be it inter-generational (cohort differences) or intra-generational (individual careers). At the same time most studies in this domain focus on the position of migrants in society by studying the process of settlement in the host society only.

The purpose of this book is to link the sociological life course approach and migration research more explicitly and provide clear suggestions on how to take this further. A compilation of empirical studies in this book shows how the life course approach can be taken up in the study of migration and migrant populations. In each of these empirical studies the authors focus on one particular aspect of migration or integration and its link with the study of the life course. In this way we aim to further elaborate on potential connections between both research traditions. In order to make fruitful use and combine both strands of research one needs of course to be aware of the starting points and background of both traditions. This introduction gives an overview of the life course approach and presents its theoretical foundations and basic concepts. A further exploration of links between migration/integration research and the sociology of the life course will be provided in the conclusion. A sociological life course approach to migration focuses on the dynamic interplay of societal structuring and institutional framing of migrants’ life courses and the

patterns of migrants' biographical mastering of transitions and coordinating of life spheres. We hold that this perspective provides a conceptual framework and bears an analytical potential which so far has not been fully exploited by migration research.

1.1 Delimiting the Sociological Life Course Approach

Before describing the sociological life course approach and its link to migration the above statement must be clarified in two respects. First, one might object that we overstate our case because there are quite a few studies, especially when it comes to integration of migrants, which adopt a longitudinal micro-analytical perspective and, thus, fit well into a life course approach (Constant and Massey 2003; Chiswick et al. 2005; Gundel and Peters 2008). First of all this type of studies are limited in Europe and only recently more of this type of studies are conducted in different European countries (Constant and Massey 2003; Van Tubergen 2006; Martinovic et al. 2009; Scott 1999; Zorlu and Mulder 2010). Second, most of the longitudinal analyses of immigrant experiences have focused on the labour market and earnings of immigrants rather than on other aspects of the life course (Bengtsson et al. 2005; Seifert 1997; Euwals et al. 2007; Kogan and Kalter 2006). For those studies that are out there few really take the sociological life course approach explicitly in and often only bear cursory reference to the relevant literature. This is a crucial difference between starting from a sociological life course approach and just adopting a longitudinal micro-analytical research design. The sociological life course approach cannot be characterized in terms of a certain type, or quality, of data and methodology alone. Rather, it also and essentially implies substantial concepts. We, thus, argue that the sociological life course approach must not be confused, or identified, with a longitudinal micro-analytical perspective (Mayer 2000)[1] and maintain that it is only beginning to take root in migration research.

Second, one might point out that in recent years population studies have increasingly adopted a life course perspective (van Wissen and Dykstra 1999; Kulu and Milewski 2007; Myrskylä 2009). This is said to have "revolutionized demography ... by focusing attention away from the behaviours of aggregate populations to the consideration of the demographic behaviour of individuals" (Hogan and Goldscheider 2003: 690). This "paradigm shift" (Willekens 1999: 26) made that populations studies moved beyond macro-level descriptions based on sophisticated measurement towards explanation and causal theorizing (Willekens 1990; McNicoll 1992). And since understanding the mechanisms underlying demographic behavioural patterns requires multivariate microanalyses of (longitudinal)

[1]Cf. also the new journal "Longitudinal and Life Course Studies" which started last year (Bynner et al. 2009).

individual-level data a life course perspective suggested itself.[2] In particular, population studies took an interest in the statistical tools and techniques of the life course approach and its methodological advances (Billari 2005; Ritschard and Oris 2005). This is an important contribution to the literature but does not imply a full use of the sociological life course approach which cannot be conceived of just methodologically. Furthermore population studies, when it comes to migration, traditionally focused primarily on migration decisions and migration projections (Bonifazi et al. 2008; Raymer and Willekens 2008). Only recently more emphasis has been put on integration trajectories of immigrants (Bernhardt et al. 2007; Coleman 2008; de Valk 2006; Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2006; Kulu and Milewski 2007; Lesthaeghe 2002). Most important, however, is a conceptual difference between the life course perspective as applied in population studies and the sociological life course approach. In demography the life course was initially mainly conceived in terms of age grading and life cycle while the latter approach conceives of the life course in terms of sequences of age-related status configurations which refer to individuals' participations in societal fields like education, labor market, and family. As these sequences are embedded in social structures, the sociological life course approach focuses stronger on the complex interplay between biographical actors and the institutional arrangements by which societies structure life courses.

1.2 Life Course Research: Unitary Field of Inquiry or Conceptual Framework?

There are basically two views social scientists hold when talking about life course research which can be labelled "object-view" and "paradigm-view" (George 2003; Shanahan and Macmillan 2008). The object-view of the life course approach refers to a substantive field of social inquiry with the life course being the constitutive subject-matter of research. Studies focus on the life course itself as a sequence of age-related and institutionally embedded role configurations and status passages seeking to delineate and explain the emergence of the modern life course, its basic form, life course patterns, and the socio-economic diversity as well as historical and cross-national variation of life courses. Since Elder's (1974) seminal study[3] this form of life course research has proven to be enormously fruitful and significantly

[2]Population studies usually relate historical situations and factors to life course patterns by studying cohorts. This is not always fully capturing the micro-macro linkage because intra-cohort variations are understudied, institutional mechanisms are rarely specified, and biographical agency and its dynamics are hard to grasp. Already 25 ago Neugarten pointed out that this approach "does not analyze lives but presents the statistical histories of cohorts" (1985: 297). Cohort studies, thus, tend to "speculate about historical forces ... At most we end with a plausible story that does not ... weigh specific forces or explicate causal processes" (Elder and O'Rand 1995: 455). At the same time sociological studies, too, show a hiatus in this domain and do not fully capture the historical situation and its dynamics.

[3]For an account of the emergence of life course research see Elder (1998).

increased our social science knowledge. In particular, it has convincingly demonstrated the indispensability of theoretically as well as methodically taking time into account, i.e. of a temporal way of thinking and dynamic analyses (Abbott 2001).

Yet, as George argues, the future of life course research lies less with this form of a specific life course field of inquiry but rather consists of an "integration of life course principles with the total range of theoretical and substantive themes" (2003: 673) in the social sciences. This indicates the paradigm-view of the life course approach which refers to a set of interconnected presumptions, principles, and concepts for analysing those sequences of age-graded and institutionally embedded status configurations. As such it represents a kind of research paradigm which serves as a suitable theoretical starting point for elucidating a large variety of phenomena. Not surprisingly, the bulk of social science studies, when relating to the life course approach, apply this paradigm-view of a conceptual framework. Yet, while dissemination of the life course paradigm across disciplines and a broad range of topics marks success rather than failure, as a consequence of the growing incorporation of life course concepts into a broad range of theories and substantive fields "life course research will become increasingly less distinctive" (George 2003: 678). Thus, it is all the more important to describe in some detail what constitutes the sociological life course approach.

Prior to this, however, we should briefly point to some terminological ambiguity: it has become common practice in the literature to speak of life course theory and interchangeably talk about a life course perspective, approach, paradigm or framework. While we do not criticise using different linguistic terms for stylistic variety's sake, we do abstain from using the term "life course theory" because, as Mayer rightly points out, "there is still a long way to go in developing life course theory" (2006: 2365). Even the most prominent proponents of life course research must, and do, concede that there is no integrated and coherent system of descriptive as well as explanatory conceptions, principles, definitions, and statements which are empirically testable – i.e. no unified life course theory. Different from an overarching one, a theoretically grounded perspective guides life course studies. Elder, for example, conceives of an imaginative framework for conducting analyses which covers the identification of research problems as well as rationales for variable selection, research design, and data analysis. The life course, thus, is viewed "as a theoretical orientation" (Elder et al. 2003: 4). In the following paragraphs we address the question of what constitutes the sociological life course approach.

1.3 The Sociological Life Course Approach: Structure, Agency, and Time

As mentioned before, this approach conceives of the life course as social structurally embedded sequences of age-related status configurations which refer to an individual's societal participations. This conceptualization implies some important theoretical and methodical aspects. Concerning the latter we – as our introduction

does not have a methodological aim – just point to the fundamental consequence that (as the theoretical comments will make clear) the sociological life course approach methodically calls for longitudinal individual-level data and dynamic microanalyses embedded in multi-level models of social processes. This can of course include both quantitative and qualitative methods (Giele and Elder 1998). Because of the focus on the interplay of structure and agency over time, the life course perspective requires methodical approaches which grasp the objective (external) shape and formation of life courses as well as their subjective (internal) biographical meaning and dimension.

Theoretically it implies that the life course is neither a purely accidental amassment of events, experiences, contexts, and actions nor an epigenetic unfolding of some inherent "natural" property of the individual[4] nor a merely idiosyncratic process-related phenomenon. To be sure: every life is different – this is immediately evident taking into account the biographical meaning of life events and of personal identity. Yet, notwithstanding that each course of a life is unique, sociological life course research may be characterized as the search for and explanation of "systematic regularities in events of unique meaning" (1991: 31) as Hagestad, quoting Back (1980), points out. These life course patterns emerge from the complex interrelations of societal structuring forces and biographical plans and actions in the historical course of time. Relating individuals' life courses in their timing, pacing, and sequencing of life events (micro-level) to the dynamics of social structures and institutions (macro-/meso-level) is a central idea of the sociological life course approach. Changing societal structures and conditions affect, via institutional regulations, life course patterns and biographical plans and – in turn – changing life courses affect the economic, political, social, and cultural situation and the institutional regime of a society. Thus, the interplay of structure and agency over time is at the heart of the sociological life course approach. This theoretical perspective seems to be particularly suitable for migration research, especially when it comes to integration issues: as a person's life course and biographical continuity, hitherto provided and guaranteed by the social structures and institutions of the origin country, becomes fragile or even disintegrated by migration she has to "re-frame" her life and biography as an agentic, self-monitored actor yet under conditions of fundamental uncertainty due to the unknown societal structures and institutional regime of the destination country.[5]

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[4]As developmental psychologists sometimes tend to assume, regarding social contexts not as constitutive of a person or biography but taking them into account only as (important) mediating variables. Dannefer (1984) criticized this as the "ontogenetic fallacy" in lifespan psychology; cf. also the subsequent discussion between Baltes and Nesselroade (1984) and Dannefer (1984a). Note that, while ever since there has been and still is much talk about integrating the sociological life course and psychological lifespan perspective, so far there is not much progress in this respect (among the few positive exceptions are Elder and Caspi 1988; Sampson and Laub 1997; Diewald 2006) but, realistically, rather reason for taking a sceptical view of integrating the two perspectives (Mayer 2003; Diewald and Mayer 2009; Settersten 2009).

[5]Cf. – though less from an institutional but rather from a phenomenological life-world perspective – Alfred Schütz' classic study on "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology" (1944).

Before briefly commenting on the three aspects of structure, agency, and time we want to point out that obviously the subject-matter of the sociological life course approach is perfectly congruent with the main topic of the current general theory discourse in the social sciences – and it is due to this systematic linkage that this approach may potentially contribute to the advancement of social theory in general. Yet, while the sociological life course perspective has stimulated important methodological innovations for the social sciences (Mayer 2000), its potential theoretical innovations advancing social theory in general are still more limited.

Life courses take the shape of – at least to a certain degree – orderly sequences of events, status passages, and social roles. Societal structuring of life courses already comes into play as these sequences of age-related status configurations are embedded in social structures. Over the last three centuries demographic and socio-cultural change combined have led to the "institutionalization of the life course" (Kohli 2007) with its basically tripartite temporal order of education, work, and retirement.[6] In a broad historical perspective the institutionalization of the life course is the indispensable correlate of the individualization process: when people get relieved from traditional bounds (of family, class, local community, etc.) the pre-modern categorical mode of societal integration (*Vergesellschaftung*) must necessarily be complemented by a temporal mode relating to individuals as biographical actors and their conceptions of life and aging. Authors suggest that the institutionalization of the modern life course results from the social organization of work (Kohli 1986), is brought about by the (welfare) state (Mayer and Müller 1986) or is a cultural construct (Meyer 1986; Fry 2002).[7] Yet, all variants agree that the institutionalization of the life course refers to temporal structures of relatively high stability which modern societies have developed and established. More specifically, there is a societal macro as well as a meso structuring of the life course. The former is exerted by a society's economic, political, and cultural systems, i.e. by markets, legal regulations, welfare-state regimes, ethnicity and language, religion, values and norms, and collective historical identity. Meso structuring is brought about by the closely interwoven texture of societal institutions and organisations (e.g. the architecture of the educational system, welfare entitlements, or age norms). Thus, societal structures and institutions pre-shape and schedule social pathways for individuals' lives (Mayer 2004) and have created expectable life course patterns of timing of events and sequencing of roles, i.e. a kind of standard(ized) life course or "normal biography" (Anderson 1985; Kohli 1986).

[6]This holds true for the majority of people in modern industrialized societies – yet, it "must be acknowledged that the description of life course patterns and other central preoccupations of the life course literature are largely irrelevant to the empirical reality of the existence of the majority of the present human population of the earth" (Dannefer 2002: 259).

[7]The tripartite life-course model has been criticized as not doing justice to female life courses (Moen 1985; Krüger 2003). In addition authors have commented that the tripartite life-course model, due to being age-differentiated, has become dysfunctional because the societies of today require and their individuals wish for an age-integrated life-course model (Riley et al. 1994). These discussions, however, may be neglected in the context of this introduction.

Yet, the thesis of the institutionalization of the life course and the notion of predictable standard(ized) life courses has been questioned from the very beginning. It is argued that the "normal biography" is a product of, and constricted to, the Fordist societal conditions, i.e. industrial mass production and economic growth, low unemployment rates and stable work careers, and expansion of the welfare state, which prevailed from the mid-1950s to the mid 1970s (Myles 1992; Mayer 2001). There is a continuing debate of whether macro-social and economic changes since the 1970s have made life courses less orderly and predictable, i.e. whether there is increasing de-institutionalization of the life course (Kohli 1986; Held 1986; Buchmann 1989; Macmillan 2005). Empirical evidence is not conclusive and very much depending on the social sphere under study (Brückner and Mayer 2005). Furthermore, the "normal life course"-figure is rather an ideal type than it has ever been empirical reality. The longer the trajectories under study, the greater variability and diversity of life courses we find. Thus, the advice to concentrate on "the life course as it is actually lived, not as we wish it to be for the sake of order in research" (Rindfuss et al. 1987: 79) is certainly appropriate. Nevertheless, the life course is at least partially organized according to a society's structures and institutions.

Concerning the emergence of such predictable life course patterns European scholars tend to take a more structural view and refer especially to the modern welfare state and its institutions, regulations, and policies as structuring forces (Mayer and Schöpflin 1989; Mayer 2001; Leisering 2003) while North American scholars rather take a cultural view and focus on shared notions, or mental maps, of life scripts and timetables (Hagestad and Neugarten 1985; Settersten 2003).[8] As already mentioned, it is a central idea of the sociological life course approach that social structural and institutional change entails life course changes. Due to the crucial conceptual importance of structures and institutions for this approach sociological life course research has produced quite a number of comparative studies to delineate cross-national variations in life course patterns and analyse the respective impacts of societies' historically grown, i.e. national-specific structural contexts and institutional regimes on life courses (Mayer 2005; Blossfeld 2009). Especially the European tradition strongly focuses on the connection between nationally varying life course regimes and societies' political economies and welfare regimes. For migrants this also implies that the country of settlement could have a substantial influence on how their life courses evolve after migration. Against this background of structural and institutional differences in receiving contexts, European comparisons of migration and integration patterns would be a fruitful extension of this idea. At the same time, as Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi state concerning educational attainment of the second generation, "little systematic research exists that would enable us to explain cross-national variations" (2008: 227). This holds true not only for education of the second generation but also applies to other domains of life as well as to first generation migrants who moved to different

[8]For a general account of these differences between European and North American scholars see Hagestad (1991), Heinz and Krüger (2001), and Marshall and Mueller (2003).

European countries. Despite existing recent studies which compare the integration of migrant groups in different European countries and in different domains of life (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2009; Zorlu and Mulder 2010; Hamel et al. 2010; Huschek et al. 2010) a systematic application of this life course perspective is still missing.

Yet, as modern life courses are not only structurally determined and importance has been attached to the individual decision making process, some remarks on the important concept of agency have to be added. There are two ways in which social scientists usually refer to the concept of agency.[9] Often this term just denotes the basic anthropological idea of an intrinsic human capacity to make choices and act: "Action depends upon the capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events" (Giddens 1984: 14). Also common is the use of this term to denote an individual's resources or characteristics which are brought to bear when taking action. In this view agency is prone to empirical measurement and operationalized by psychological concepts like planful competence, self efficacy, locus of control or coping (Clausen 1991; Bandura 1997; Crockett 2002; Gecas 2003). Sociologically, the most elaborate theoretical notion takes into account the fundamentally temporal nature of human experience and defines agency as the "temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments ... which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 970). Thus, we can analytically distinguish three constitutive dimensions of agency: practical evaluation corresponding to the present, iteration corresponding to the past, and projectivity corresponding to the future. Note that these constitutive dimensions are only analytically distinguishable within the "chordal triad" (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 970) of agency, i.e. all three combined but in varying degrees constitute individuals' actions and are to be found in any empirical instance of action.

Despite its theoretical prominence in sociology, agency has remained a "curiously abstract concept" (Hitlin and Elder 2007). Yet, the concept of agency is crucial in life course research. The process of individualization, accelerated social change, and the uncertainties of modern "risk society" (Beck 1992) have made status passages increasingly conditional – and, thus, impose agentic behaviour upon the individual (including individualized responsibility for success or failure as the reverse side of increased individual options).[10] Individuals do not merely follow institutionally pre-scheduled pathways but actively participate in societal fields like education, labor market, and family. They construct – within historical socio-economic circumstances – their life courses as self-monitored actors. Evaluating structural opportunities and institutional constraints, individuals pursue their own

[9] For an overview on the use of "agency" in life course research see Marshall (2000).

[10] According to Meyer and Jepperson (2000) the individual as an agentic actor is a cultural construction and consequence of modernity's rationalization process.

goals and biographical plans. They are – as Heinz argues – “biographical actors” (1996: 56) as opposed to a model of actors who just follow social norms, or the rational actor model of subjective utility maximizing behaviour. Rather, Heinz emphasizes the legacy of biographical experiences (past) as well as an individual’s personal life plans (future) as constitutive elements in actors’ situational evaluative decision and action taking (present). His model of the “biographical actor” takes into account the above mentioned definition of agency as it “integrates a person’s life history and life perspective, her perceived options and situational circumstances” (1996: 56). Agency is thus crucial over the life course and has become even more important nowadays as in the past the life course was more determined and less subject to individual decision making.

Agency, however, implies certain specific capacities of the individual that are not randomly available to all as has been pointed out by Settersten (2007). Agency suggests having certain capacities and skills that are necessary to master one’s life. These seem to be provided by a person’s individual characteristics, her socioeconomic position and education as well as by the network she is part of. Some groups are potentially vulnerable as they have fewer individual and social resources to rely on when mastering their own life course. International migrants are potentially one of the more vulnerable groups in this respect. In addition, having certain capabilities and taking agency over one’s life course in one context (origin country) does not necessarily translate into having agency after migration (receiving country). Patterns of relationships and the role of the individual can drastically change after migration, resulting in changes in the level of individual agency and mastering of the life course (Kagitcibasi 2005). The migration move itself potentially is a disruptive one after which it is hard to link the different time dimensions in one’s life course (past, present, future).

This latter issues links well to the last characteristics of the sociological life course approach: its dynamic research perspective. It focuses on the complex interplay of structure and agency over *time*. Thus, the interplay of structure and agency needs to be analysed not only with regard to interdependencies of different life domains but also taking into account the dimension of time, i.e. with regard to interdependencies of different temporal dynamics. Life course research must account for multi-temporal relationships and often three types of time are distinguished in this interaction: the micro-dynamics of an individual’s biographical time, the meso-dynamics of institutional (or social) time, and the macro-dynamics of historical time. The latter time dimension refers to the effects of historical changes in societal structures and conditions on individuals’ lives. Its particular dynamics are usually that of *longue durée*, i.e. represent the standard type of social change of gradual evolutionary processes but, due to far-reaching events (like a war or the breakdown of communism), may also be exceedingly vigorous. Institutional time (meso level) relates to general social age schedules (e.g. age norms; entry/exit age regulations) and their impact on people’s lives. Such “social clocks” do not tick constantly, i.e. in an undifferentiated velocity of flow. Rather, they schedule more and less events in particular life phases. They also make life course events, whether resulting from individuals’ own decisions or just happening to them,

on-time or off-time. This timing may result in specific socially (dis-) advantageous consequences. Due to ongoing political readjustments of institutional (welfare state) regimes and regulations and to organizational innovation the particular dynamics of this time dimension occur, in general, at a higher rate and greater pace. Finally, the micro-level of biographical time not just refers to an individual's ageing but rather points to the fact that previous life history experiences – and future life plans, too – profoundly impact on individuals' pending decisions.

One of the greatest challenges individuals in modern societies face is to synchronize these three time horizons and their respective dynamics. A prominent example for time horizons not being attuned to one another is shown by literature on transformations. It points to an asynchronicity which occurs as people's ingrained habits and mental attitudes outlast rapid and radical institutional changes. This results in a problem of fit with regard to institutions and individuals. The challenge of synchronization is especially complex as individuals' life courses and their biographical decisions very often must not only account for the interdependencies of different life domains but, as a consequence, are also subject to several institutional regimes and organizational regulations among and within different societal fields which do not necessarily act in (temporal) coordination. This issue may just as well apply to international migrants who move between different institutional settings and who have attitudes and perspectives that were suitable in another context. The migration move may thus result in the sketched problems of synchronization. Bringing this perspective in can be an important way to get a better understanding of the ways in which migration affects individual life courses as well as those of their offspring.

1.4 The Sociological Life Course Approach: Guiding Principles and Analytical Concepts

How does this theoretical foundation of the sociological life course approach, the complex and dynamic interplay of structure and agency over time, conceptually translate into empirical research? We should start out by pointing to the fact that there are a number of life course principles which translate the previous sketched ideas behind the study of the life course into more conceptual guideposts for empirical studies. The six most often used principles are those of historical time and place, situational imperatives, linked lives, agency, life stage, and accentuation (Shanahan and Macmillan 2008: 55).[11] The principle of time and place refers to

[11]Originally, these guiding principles were induced as generalizations from the many empirical findings of Elder's work. Elder and his followers sometimes speak of "paradigmatic principles" and sometimes of "linking mechanisms," using both terms synonymously – and sometimes they claim a sharp distinction according to which the former term refers to a "broadly applicable idea" and the latter one to a "process that links transitions to behaviour" (Shanahan and Macmillan 2008: 55; Elder 1991; Elder and Shanahan 1998; Elder et al. 2003).

the fact that individuals' life courses are embedded in and shaped by the respective historical times and places they experience, i.e. by historically particular economic, socio-cultural, and political circumstances. It obviously makes a difference with regard to life course patterns whether Turkish workers migrated to Germany in the 1960s or in recent years or whether a migrant from Morocco settles in Spain or the Netherlands. According to the principle of situational imperatives new situations impose social demands on individuals which constrain role-related behaviours. Migration can in this sense have an important impact. After migration families may for example experience different gender role expectations, migrant children may face different peer-group or school demands. But also the move of just one family member can result in significant changes to the family left behind and can for example result in different family responsibilities of spouses and children in the country of origin. The principle of linked lives points to the fact that individuals' lives are not evolving in a vacuum but are interdependent: embedded in networks of social relations. Effects of societal changes on individuals depend on these relationships, and moreover individuals' actions impact on others. For example, it matters whether a person who becomes unemployed because of economic downswing can draw on her family or a wider social network. This might be even more crucial for immigrants who face this situation and the ethnic community or relatives play a central role in supporting them (in addition their unemployment surely affects e.g. their families). The principle of agency refers to individuals constructing their live courses and biographies as self-monitored actors within the particular opportunities and constraints they face. For example, immigrants sharing a common migration background show different educational performances and occupational careers. The life-stage principle argues that the effects of societal changes on individuals' lives vary across the life course, i.e. depend on the life stage in which an individual experiences an event. For example, in contrast to migrating when being an adult already migration at young ages makes it easier to acquire good command of the language of the destination country. Finally, the principle of accentuation means that the social and psychological resources and dispositions individuals have acquired over their life history, i.e. their trained behavioural patterns get more pronounced with societal change. Again in particular migrants, due to their living in a foreign culture and experiencing different practices, may emphasize the values, mental attitudes, cultural codes, and habits prevailing in their home countries even more than they actually did before moving.

These life course principles do not constitute a consistent life course theory and, thus, are not a theoretically coherent guide for empirical life course studies. Yet, they provide a "loose coupling" of social structures and biographies which accounts for the highly complex and dynamic interplay of structure and agency over time. In empirical research usually not all principles are applied simultaneously and equally. Rather, it depends on the research question and subject under study which of these conceptual guideposts are taken into account and whether there is a dominant principle studied. Moreover, as those principles do not constitute a consistent life course theory they not only leave room for incorporating various established theoretical approaches but rather necessitate drawing upon the whole

range of social science theories. To put the principle of agency to work in empirical research praxis rational choice theory or any other theory of action may be applied. Or consider the principle of linked lives which needs to be translated into empirical research by applying, for example, network theories or theories of social capital. Yet, the aforesaid principles have proven to be a suitable and fruitful conceptual starting point for analysing the contingent relations among social structures, institutional regulations, and individual life courses.

The crucial analytical concepts for translating the sociological life course approach into empirical research are "transition" and "trajectory". Transitions are clearly defined as "changes in state that are more or less abrupt" (Elder 1985: 31f) like, for example, that from being employed to unemployed. A methodical precondition for analysing transitions is that the researcher, when operationalizing the research question, defines a valid state space determining which social status, and thus changes in states, may occur at all (for example: single, married, childless, mother, divorced, remarried, widowed, etc.). Though a change in state is often the final point of a preceding development (a divorce, for example, usually results from a longer disintegration process of a union), transitions are methodically treated as point-like events. Due to the fact that the concept of transition[12] can be easily operationalized and analysed by event history analysis[13] and given a still existing lack of appropriate longitudinal data, life course studies tend to restrict themselves to analysing singular particular transitions. This is also the case for studies including or focusing on migrants (Huschek et al. 2010; Zorlu 2002; Milewski 2008). Thus, the vast majority of life course research is actually transition research. Until today both quantitative methods and data for analysing whole life courses are still underdeveloped (though some progress has been achieved by optimal matching and sequence analysis).[14] As a result holistic analyses of life courses to date are found mainly in qualitative biographical research.

Some transitions, whether a person's own choice or externally imposed, are highly consequential in the sense of initiating advantageous or disadvantageous life course developments. They produce cumulative processes in life courses and, eventually, path-dependence (DiPrete and Eirich 2006; O'Rand 2009). Usually such transitions occur at junctures between different institutional or life domains (for example, from education to work) but may also occur within these domains (for example, opting for a particular type of secondary schooling after primary education). That a single transition may yield a persistent effect on the subsequent life course at all is due to structurally programmed probabilities for particular continuations and course patterns – which points to the second analytical key concept.

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[12]While the transition concept refers to an individual process of state change the related term "status passage" refers to transitions as well as their societal configurations: "On the micro level status passages are constructed by biographical actors (. . .). On the macro level status passages refer to institutional resources and guidelines for life course transitions" (Heinz 1996: 58f).

[13]Cf. Mayer and Tuma (1990), Yamaguchi (1991), Blossfeld and Rohwer (1995).

[14]Cf. Abbott and Tsay (2000), MacIndoe and Abbott (2004), and Aisenbrey and Fasang (2009).

A trajectory[15] relates to a longer phase within an individual's life course. Formally, it is "marked by a sequence of live events and transitions" (Elder 1985: 31). Yet, some problems arise with this concept as transitions are said to be "always embedded in trajectories that give them distinctive form and meaning" (Elder 1985). Logically, this statement grants trajectories conceptual priority over transitions while the formal definition does not (or might possibly rather point to a reverse order).[16] There is, thus, some lack of clarity concerning the relation between, or methodological status of, the two concepts (this conceptual problem is all the more of weight as most life course research is actually transition research). Furthermore, it is an essential precondition for a trajectory to give transitions a distinctive form and meaning that it has a distinctive form and meaning itself. There is, however, no elaborate theoretical argument showing how the distinctive forms and meanings of different trajectories look like and are constituted. One strategy could be to suppose a kind of formative trigger-event imprinting its meaning on the initiated process – a strategy, however, which is highly problematic as it implies a deterministic notion of trajectories.[17] Rather, life course research generally relates trajectories to particular institutions or life domains interlocking life events and transitions. In this manner trajectories are structurally established as, for example, school, work, retirement, health, or family trajectory. It is this "constitutive association" with a particular institution or life domain or, in other words: its structural foundation which makes a trajectory strongly inertial.[18] Thus, theoretically trajectories may be characterized as "life episodes with a capacity for self-regeneration and self-perpetuation. Such episodes are widely programmed into our social institutions (. . .) What makes the trajectories trajectories is their inertial quality . . . of enduring large amounts of minor variation without any appreciable change in overall direction" (Abbott 1997: 92f).[19]

[15]Generally, "trajectory" is a ballistic term denoting the flight path of a missile which has a definite direction (graphically represented not as a straight line but a curve). Yet, while ballistics conceives of trajectories deterministically there is no deterministic notion whatsoever in the trajectory concept of the sociological life course approach.

[16]Cf. also Mayer who views the life course as "a self-referential process" showing "endogenous causation" (2003: 467), thus supposing conceptual priority of trajectories over transitions.

[17]This critique may also hold true for generation and cohort theories which assume that particular historical situations and societal circumstances cause a lasting imprint on individuals, thus producing distinguishable generations in the first place (cf. Mannheim 1952; Ryder 1965) – an overstressing of the supposition of a formative period ignores individuals' capacity for learning and change.

[18]Also, this constitutive association with institutions makes the multiple trajectories of an individual's life course interdependent: "Interdependence emerges from the socially differentiated life course of individuals, its multiple trajectories and their synchronization" (Elder 1985: 32).

[19]"Trajectories are trajectories precisely by virtue of what we might call their stable randomness, their causal character, in particular their comprehensibility under the image of cause implicit in regression thinking. Their inertia arises in stable, but localized, causal parameters" (Abbott 1997: 93).

As just mentioned, life course trajectories show certain overall directions. Taking up again the formal definition of a trajectory, a crucial problem for life course research is to determine when and why a change in the overall direction of a trajectory occurs because such a relevant deviation brings this trajectory to an end. Only by supposing a priori that there is just one continuous trajectory relating to a particular institution or life domain this problem may be evaded. Theoretically, however, such a supposition would require a definite answer to the question of which (and how many) institutions and life domains, and thus: trajectories, are there at all. Methodologically, it is simply counterproductive: for example, it may be inappropriate to refer to just one family trajectory if many people in the sample get divorced but, after a while, found a new family. Therefore – just as is the case with defining a state space concerning transitions – it is the researcher who should define which (and how many) trajectories are relevant for the question under study. Life course research, thus, faces the problem of determining when (and why) a change in the overall direction of a trajectory occurs – which points to another analytical concept: "turning point". This concept deserves some explanatory comments as it is inextricably linked to the trajectory concept.[20]

Because of its point-like connotation, the term "turning point" seems to be misleading as it goes beyond this. Whether an event occurring at a certain point in time is not just a minor variation within a trajectory but a transition momentous enough to change the overall direction of this particular trajectory is logically impossible to assess in that very moment. Rather, to ascertain whether a change in direction has actually taken place is possible only after an adequate stretch of time has passed. A turning point, thus, stretches from the past into the future and can only be identified retrospectively.[21] Furthermore, turning points are conceived of subjectively as well as objectively. In a subjective perspective turning points "become a means of bridging continuities and discontinuities in a way that makes sense to the individual" (Clausen 1995: 370; Wethington et al. 2004) and are, thus, bound to an individual's biographical memories and interpretation. Yet, as the turning points individuals usually mention represent expectable "standard life course events of great significance" (like, for example, starting an occupational career, marriage, parenthood, unemployment, or change of residence) a subjective perspective on turning points gets pretty close to the general transition concept and tends to lose its conceptual distinctiveness. An analytical perspective on turning points adheres to a change in the overall direction of a trajectory: "they redirect

[20] A famous study making use of both concepts is Sampson and Laub (1993).

[21] If a turning point could be "identified merely with reference to the past and the immediate present, algorithms locating turning points could beat the stock market. It is precisely the 'hindsight' character of turning points – their definition in terms of future as well as past and present – that forbids this" (Abbott 1997: 89).

paths" (Elder 1985: 35).[22] Trajectories are structurally defined[23] as a kind of social pathways for people's lives provided by societal structures and institutions. Individuals construct their life courses by hooking up multiple trajectories, and their life courses – due to the inertial quality of trajectories – usually proceed on steady tracks. Occasionally, however, these relatively smooth directional tracks become disturbed or disconnected by "relatively abrupt and diversionary moments" (Abbott 1997: 92). Yet, not any unusual or abrupt transition constitutes a turning point: rather, it is a turning point only in case it initiates some new course pattern.[24]

Concerning the relation between trajectories and turning points there is an interesting theoretical aspect which relates to individuals' experiences of them. As mentioned before, an individual's life course may typically be conceived of as a sequence of multiple interdependent trajectories – with a number of transitions along and within each trajectory – occasionally linked up by turning points. While this basically structural view on life courses implies conceptual priority of trajectories over transitions, from the individual's point of view "the 'regular' periods of the trajectories are far less consequential and causally important than are the 'random' periods of the turning points (. . .) because they give rise to changes in overall direction or regime, and do so in a determining fashion. (. . .) In fact they are the crucial sites of determination in the overall structure of a life course" (Abbott 1997: 93). Thus, there is an important methodical aspect concerning trajectories and turning points: as some consistent internal causal regime is essential for trajectories whereas turning points show "chaotic" internal regimes, trajectories are causally comprehensible due to their probability regime while turning points are "causally incomprehensible".[25]

Finally, another analytical concept for sociological life course research should be mentioned: "sequence" (Sackmann and Wingens 2003). Sequences include at least two transitions between social status, for example, a first change in state from "employed" to "unemployed" followed by a second one to "attending training measures" (or some other state like, for example, "re-employed" or "part-time employed"). Thus, the sequence concept[26] is located between transitions and trajectories and

[22]Migration, for example, represents a turning point if – and disregard of the migrant's own view – it makes a hitherto employed worker a successful entrepreneur or turns a pupil's good previous educational performance into a school drop-out career.

[23]Yet, cf. George (2009) for a conception of trajectories relating to intra-individual change.

[24]It is indispensable for a transition to become a turning point "that the trajectories it separates either differ in direction . . . or in nature (one is 'trajectory-like,' the other is random)" (Abbott 1997: 94) – whereas it does not matter whether a turning point is biographically motivated; it may be simply random.

[25]"Ironically, trajectories are the periods within which standard statistical modelling might be expected to produce good predictions of outcome, because in a sense that is the definition of a trajectory. But the turning points, precisely because they are the more causally central shifts of regime, will not be discovered by methods aiming at uncovering regimes" (Abbott 1997: 93).

[26]For an empirical application of the formal sequence typology developed by Sackmann and Wingens see Brzinsky-Fay (2007).

may help to bridge the theoretical and methodological hiatus between these key concepts: it goes beyond focussing on single transitions without holistically aiming at whole trajectories. While both transitions and sequences refer to individual processes of state change the sequence concept puts more emphasis on patterns of societal linkages between social status. The kind of such structural coupling and degree of institutionally programmed probabilities constrain or advance particular connecting states, thus yielding different (chances for subsequent) life course patterns.[27] For example, it makes a difference for women's professional careers or the reconciliation of work and family life whether parental leave is legally provided and which pertinent regulations exist.

Both sequences and transitions are partial components of trajectories in which they are embedded. Some final remarks on the conceptual embedding of transitions and sequences, especially on the temporal structure of trajectories are thus appropriate. First, for establishing the meaning of the temporal embedding of transitions and sequences in trajectories past states must be taken into account as "sequencing is usually 'memory-endowed' in the sense that a later state in the sequence remembers information in earlier states, which means that states are not independent" (Hazelrigg 1997: 100). Thus, there is a kind of "historical memory" to transitions and sequences in a life course which is made up of individuals' experiences and identities and their accumulated resources. Note that this "historical memory" is not exclusively bound to the individual whose life course sequences are studied but may also be preserved and put into effect by other individuals and organizations. Second, the timing of transitions – together with their succession and the durations of states – is of crucial importance for their meaning. The notion of timing rests on the societal validity of age norms: on-time transitions typically are advantageous or at least imply no negative consequences while off-time transitions constitute asynchronicities within and between trajectories and tend to yield disadvantageous consequences. Third sequencing is relevant as a time-related factor as it builds on the existence of normatively standardized life course models (for example, getting married before getting children). Unlike the sequence concept put forward by Sackmann and Wingens (2003), it refers to a normative, institutionally grounded succession of events, social status and roles in a life course: an "orderly" sequencing is socially appreciated whereas a person's "disorderly" sequencing may be problematic.[28] Fourth, the time-related notion of pacing refers to the dynamics of life events and transitions. The number and pace of state changes is not distributed evenly or randomly across trajectories but, rather, varies across the life course: different life phases show different degrees of density of events and

[27]Cf. Shavit and Müller (1998), Sackmann (2001), DiPrete (2002), and Gangl (2004).

[28]The notion of sequencing entails the same problem of societal relevance as the timing notion: while there are still normatively standardized successions of events and social status "disorderly" sequences are increasingly becoming common in modern (post-)industrial societies (Hogan 1978; Marini 1984; Rindfuss et al. 1987). Thus, average or standard patterns of sequencing are fading away, especially when taking into account longer life course periods, in present-day society.

transitions occurring (Settersten 1999: 138).[29] The last and very important time-related notion is the duration of a state as this may result in state-dependence. When a person remains in a certain state for a long time this could lead to strong attachment to this particular state as state-related knowledge and competencies are acquired, state-related networks are build, and a state-related self-image and identity are developed. Thus, the longer the duration of a particular state the less likely is a change of this state.

1.5 The Sociological Life Course Approach in This Volume

Our introduction provided a brief overview of the sociological life course approach, its theoretical foundations, and basic concepts. As indicated at several points this approach has an analytical potential which migration and integration research might fruitfully exploit further. Conceptually, migration and integration research and the sociological life course approach are closely linked: the dynamic research perspective of the sociology of the life course is needed to understand and explain migrants' behaviour – being embedded in societal structures and institutionally framed – and its (cumulative) effects. Both migration and integration are life course processes. Since both research strands are intrinsically tied to one another conceptually, migration research can contribute to advancing also the theoretical underpinnings of the sociological life course approach.

This volume attempts to show successful cross linkages. A range of studies are presented that all apply the sociological life course ideas to studies on migrants and migrant groups in Europe. Each of the contributions takes a different methodological approach. As has been indicated before studying the life course can start from a range of methodological perspectives. This volume covers both more quantitative as well as more qualitative perspectives on the life courses of migrants. The book is organized thematically: indicating different important domains in the life course. Furthermore, a wide variety of approaches is chosen to study the life course of immigrants and their children. We cover both quantitative studies on population census data and survey material as well as qualitative studies based on interviews with immigrants and their offspring. Several of the contributions refer to one national context or focus on a particular local setting in a city. The studies cover different European countries, ranging from Germany, Austria to the Netherlands, and the UK. Furthermore, attention is paid to the life courses of those who have migrated themselves as well as to their offspring.

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[29]Usually, "dense" phases of accumulated state changes are stronger impacted upon by (macro-level) structural conditions than are life phases with a broadly scattered occurrence of events and transitions. Yet, the degree of density of status changes may also be due to an individual's (micro-level) coping with current circumstances.

The first contribution to this volume by Söhn addresses the issue of timing of migration in a direct way for transitions in the public domain. She asks what impact the age at migration has on education attainment for different immigrant groups who entered the educational system at different ages. Using German census data she focuses on migrants who are born outside Germany and migrated while being children or adolescents (ages of 0 and 18), also called the 1.5 generation. This is followed by a chapter that links educational outcomes to labour market outcomes, one of the key transitions in the life course. Aybek studies the transition from school to vocational education in Germany. The paper focuses explicitly on young people with lower school certificates or no school diploma at all and analyses on the differences between low-skilled young people of native-born and immigrant origin. It aims to explain differences in this life course transition for young adults of different origin. The contribution by Kogan, Kalter, Liebau, and Cohen, which focuses on labour market participation, introduces a cross-country comparison. By studying a migrant group from the same origin (Former Soviet Union) moving to two different countries of settlement (Israel and Germany) they can start to unravel the relevance of the receiving context in this life course transition. It shows the relevance of different characteristics of the person as well as the link between origin and settlement context for participation after migration. While this study explicitly focuses on first generation migrants the next chapter by Schlittenhelm has the emphasis on the second generation. In addition, she not only focuses on the transition to the labour market but also aims to capture labour market trajectories. By taking a biographical approach among the highly skilled second generation in Germany detailed information about the career paths including the respondent's perception is presented. Combining both methodological research approaches the chapter by Latcheva and Herzog-Punzenberger provides an encouraging effort to link data on migrant life courses from quantitative surveys to qualitative interviews about the individual life course and processes of incorporation after migration. Their work focuses on the city of Vienna as the context for first generation migrants participation in the labour market. Tucci's contribution also refers to the labour market but particularly aims at grasping the social context effect on labour market participation in Germany and France. She takes the different immigration and integration policies in both countries as important indicators for this context in which young adults of immigrant descendent grow up and find their way. De Valk's chapter on the transition to adulthood of the second generation in the Netherlands primarily aims at a more holistic approach to the life course of these young adults. By studying different trajectories (timing and sequencing) to adulthood using survey data we can start to understand how timing in the life course as well as linked lives are relevant for native and immigrant young adults. The importance of linked lives is further explored in the contribution by Windzio who focuses on one particular transition, namely leaving the parental home. He investigates the effects of family related norm orientations and intervening life events on leaving parental home of native Germans and Turkish immigrants in Germany using a quantitative methodological approach. Links between different life domains and their potential interaction as well as the relevance of linkages between lives are

the subject of study in the chapter by Muttarak. She uses British longitudinal data to investigate occupational outcomes of intermarried ethnic minorities in Britain. Her work shows the relevance of including characteristics of the partner (in particular ethnic origin) into the study of occupational mobility of the individual. The linkages to the own ethnic group are also of core interest in Farwick's contribution. Focusing on one residential area in the city of Bremen (Germany) he studies the effects of segregation, as one of the important context indicators, on the process of incorporation. The contribution by Schunck points to the importance of taking into account the different contexts of which immigrants are part. He questions how immigrants being part in two contextual social settings in their lives, because of the link with the home country through transnational activities, fare when it comes to integration in the host country. In the concluding chapter we aim to link the life course approach to integration research by providing an overarching view. We draw in the individual contributions to this book to give an outlook to the future. A future in which we need a better understanding of life courses of migrants and the factors of importance. Linking different research traditions in this book is an attempt to make a start with this endeavour.

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Chapter 2
Immigrants' Educational Attainment: A Closer Look at the Age-at-Migration Effect

Janina Söhn

2.1 Introduction

From a life-course perspective, school leaving certificates mark the end of a crucial phase in a person's life. The school system as part of a national life course regime produces academically 'successful' and 'not successful' students, and, by certifying their degree of success, opens or closes gates to further education and different types of occupations. From the point of view of migration research, educational outcomes represent the first mile-stone of structural integration in an immigrant child's life course in the country of destination. Hence, these outcomes – school leaving certificates – are of interest to both migration and life-course research.

Life-course research encompasses a variety of perspectives. It investigates birth cohort effects, the effects of institutional change over long time periods, or the timing of a 'critical event' within an individual's life course and its consequences (for an overview see Mayer 2004; Heinz and Krüger 2001). Usually, however, the study of institutionalized life-course regimes remains within nationally constituted units, namely nation-states. While cross-national variations of life course regimes and life-course patterns have been the subject of international comparative research (Heinz and Krüger 2001: 32), migration research can enrich this research tradition by introducing a perspective that looks at life course trajectories crossing the national boundaries of these regimes: Individuals as migrants leave one national life-course regime and enter another. In the case of immigrant children crossing nation-state boundaries means changing from one education system to another.

This chapter directly connects life course research with migration research by considering immigration itself as the critical event in a person's life course.

J. Söhn (✉)
Research Unit "Skill Formation and Labor Markets"/Project Group "National Educational Panel Study: Vocational Training and Lifelong Learning", Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), Reichpietschufer 50, 10785 Berlin, Germany
e-mail: soehn@wzb.eu

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_2, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

To what extent and under which circumstances does the biographical timing of this event, i.e. the age at migration, affect subsequent integration outcomes, in the case of immigrant children their educational attainment in the host country? As will be explained in more detail below, migration scholars have repeatedly identified a negative relationship: the higher an immigrant's age at migration, the lower his or her educational attainment.

Rather than challenging this general finding, the following text aims to, first, complement the existing literature by adding an institutionalist perspective on the reasons for the age-at-migration effect: I will demonstrate why the specific features of the German school system make it hard for older immigrant children to succeed academically and how the early selection into a multi-tiered education system accentuates the age-at-migration effect. Second, within the particular institutional setting in Germany the analysis will proceed to an intra-national comparison and empirically investigate whether some groups in the immigrant population can withstand this downgrading process connected with a higher age at migration. Does the general effect interact with other social factors?

The analysis presented here focuses on the "1.5 generation" (Rumbaut 2004: 1166; see also Sect. 2.4 in this chapter), that is on individuals who immigrated as minors, while excluding the second immigrant generation already born in Germany and thus without the actual experience of migration. A look at migration statistics indicates that in terms of numbers the 1.5 generation is relevant. During the recent waves of immigration, from the end of the 1980s until the beginning of the 2000s, more than 3 million minors immigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany. Within this group, the often-studied offspring of labor migrants from Mediterranean countries, recruited from the 1950s until the 1970s, form only a small portion. The new immigrant groups include ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*), the single largest group, and other immigrants from former socialist Eastern Europe including civil war refugees fleeing from former Yugoslavia. These newcomers together with asylum seekers from a wide range of non-EU countries – Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Vietnam being the most important countries of origin – render Germany's immigrant population more heterogeneous than ever before, both in terms of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds as well as the kind of legal status the German state assigned to them.

This chapter will proceed as follows: Sect 2.2 will recall the established theoretical view of the reasons for the causal relationship between age at migration and educational attainment. In a next step, this view will be complemented by an institutionalist argument that focuses on the effects of the structures and logics of the German school system. Section 2.3 will develop hypotheses on two different kinds of factors that can possibly serve as a shield against the educational risks that older immigrant youth face: Do the levels of parental education (Sect. 2.3.1) and the legal status of immigrants (Sect. 2.3.2) modify the impact of age at migration? As to the legal statuses the analysis compares *Aussiedler* as the most privileged group with all other immigrants. In order to answer these questions empirically the fourth section introduces the data base, the German sample census of the year 2005, and the operationalization of the key variables involved. Section 2.5

presents empirical findings. At first bivariate results are shown. Second, a first multivariate model explores whether the main effect of age at migration is simply a composition effect due to other determinants. The main part of the statistical analysis is dedicated to answering the question of group-specific age-at-migration effects as stated in the hypotheses proposed in Sect. 2.3. The concluding section argues that the differential ways in which the immigrant-specific factor of age at migration influences educational outcomes can be explained by its interaction with general institutional dynamics in schools which are responsible for the reproduction of social inequality in general.

2.2 Theoretical Argument – The Institutional Logic Underlying the Age-at-Migration Effect

The assumption that age at migration influences integration outcomes is far from new. Migration researchers such as Rumbaut (2004: 1187), Portes and MacLeod (1996: 1187), Esser (2006: 312), German PISA-researchers (Müller and Stanat 2006: 240–241), and, most recently, Böhlmark (2008) have demonstrated the general correlation: The younger the immigrant child at the point of immigration, the more likely she or he is to succeed in the host country's education system. Or to put it the other way round, immigrating during your teens can be detrimental to your school career, lower your chances to belong to the high-achievers in the classroom and to attain the more prestigious school certificates. This causal relationship can be attributed to the following general factors:

- The younger children are at time of arrival, the more time they have to learn the official school language and the more time they have to acculturate to the host society more generally (Müller and Stanat 2006: 229).
- Younger children learn a second language more easily (Esser 2006: 253).
- Migrating during primary/secondary education implies that pupils have to catch up and learn the curricular content not taught in their home countries.
- The higher the children's age at migration, the less time their parents have for getting accustomed to the formal and informal rules of the host country's school system and thus for helping their children to master the challenges they face before crucial educational decisions need to be taken during their school career.
- In addition, immigrating at pre-school age implies that children have the opportunity to attend kindergarten, an institutional environment where the host country's language can be learned before evaluation and grading of academic achievement begins (cf. Esser 1990: 137–139).

These factors are definitely important. As a general rule they apply to all immigration countries. Implicitly they presuppose basic institutional features of all national education systems: First, school performance including final exams is measured in the national language. Second, the time spent in primary and secondary education is usually limited in terms of years and age of its students – the

institutionalized sequencing of life phases being a typical trait of the modern (welfare) state (cf. Mayer and Müller 2009: 428–429). Only on the basis of this general institutional embeddedness the migration researchers can reasonably argue that the time span available to educationally succeed shrinks with a rising age at migration.

In the following I would like to further explore this institutionalist kind of reasoning. Country-specific institutional structures may have additional effects that modify the general mechanisms. The German education system is a good example to illustrate this. Its structure and institutional logic make it particularly hard for school-aged children to attain good results.

In Germany the educational integration of school-age children whose linguistic competences in German are regarded as insufficient by the school authorities begins with their placement in preparatory classes (1–2 years), or they are taught German in special courses while attending mainstream classes. At least, these are the typical programs suggested in government regulations. However, despite the lack of systematic evaluation studies, there are clear indications that some immigrant children do not get any help at all. The quality of German language classes is insufficient due to the lack of specific teacher training at universities (Gogolin 2005: 135), and preparatory classes segregate by nature (for a detailed comparative investigation of the 1.5-generation immigrants' educational incorporation see Söhn 2011). Yet, these kinds of pedagogical reactions to the arrival of immigrant children in schools and the insufficiency of such reactions are similar to those in other immigration countries (OECD 2006: 131–133).

What makes the German case special is that the German school system is characterized by early tracking into a hierarchically structured multi-tiered system of secondary education. *Hauptschule* (low-level school), *Realschule* (mid-level school) und *Gymnasium* (high-level school) are the three main types of secondary schools, leading to the corresponding types of certificates, the lowest *Hauptschul*-certificate, *Mittlere Reife* (mid-level certificate) and the *Abitur* (high-level certificate).[1] Only the *Abitur* grants access to a university. Usually tracking takes place at the age of ten. There are variations between the regional states (*Bundesländer*) – but their commonalities outweigh the variation when compared internationally and, thus, when compared with the school systems of most countries from which immigrants to Germany originate. There, either comprehensive school systems exist or selection takes place at a higher age, usually at age 14 or 15 (OECD 2005: 52).

This contrast between the structures of secondary education in the host country, on the one hand, and in the countries of origin, on the other, leads to an inevitable institutional dilemma: Back in their country of origin, immigrant children attended schools which encompassed the whole range of competences, from low to high

[1] Special schools (*Sonderschulen*) for children with so-called learning disabilities are de facto the lowest track. 80% of *Sonderschul*-students do not attain any school certificate (Powell and Pfahl 2008: 2). Individuals without school certificate are usually either former students of *Sonderschulen* or dropped out of *Hauptschulen*.

achievers. Having arrived in Germany, they have to be sorted into the hierarchically ordered school types. The general logic of how the German education system 'solves' this problem can be illustrated by looking at regulations which concern the *recognition* of school leaving certificates attained abroad. The following refers to a regulation tailored to *Aussiedler*, ethnic German immigrants. But with regard to the recognition of foreign school certificates, these regulations resemble others concerning the children of Mediterranean labor immigrants (Jacobs 1982: 20–21). A resolution by the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK 1997), the coordinating body of the ministers of education of all *Bundesländer*, states that when an immigrant child has successfully completed compulsory education in the country of origin, his or her certificate will be recognized as the equivalent of a *Hauptschul*-certificate. Thereby German educational authorities disregard the fact that a child who has attended a comprehensive school for 9 years may very well have acquired the knowledge and competences equivalent to those taught in Germany's medium or high-level school tracks.

The logic of this downgrading process, exemplified in the recognition of foreign school certificates,[2] also applies to the sorting of newly arrived school-aged youths into secondary school tracks: Official school statistics of the regional state North Rhine-Westphalia show this kind of institutional discrimination. They provide information on the type of secondary schools attended by 10- to 19-year-old immigrants during their first year in Germany. In the 1990s we can observe an overwhelming tendency to send newly arrived immigrant students to the low-track *Hauptschulen*. About four in five foreign-born students started their school careers at the bottom of Germany's stratified secondary school system (LDS NRW 2000: 88–89 referring to the years 1995–2000; author's calculation). While some of them will work their way up to mid-level school tracks, transferring from the low-track-schools to the high-level one is generally a daring task (see Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006: 296).

Complementary to the institutionalized mistrust in the educational quality or adequacy of comprehensive education-systems abroad, another institutional factor has been highlighted by other researchers. German-language training for newly arrived immigrant youths is offered mainly in low-track schools (Hummrich and Wiezorek 2005: 111; Dietz and Roll 1998: 66). Near-native knowledge of German is the precondition for attending a *Gymnasium* and attaining the *Abitur* – and it is a competency this institution is not prepared to systematically impart on its students (Gomolla and Radtke 2002: 268–269).

[2]So far, there are no statistics whatsoever on the recognition of foreign school certificates by German authorities. Although, in the case of *Aussiedler*, the regulation referred to above (KMK 1997) provided for the recognition of low-level and mid-level school certificates based on the number of school years attended in the home country, the value of such officially recognized certificates on the labor market is questionable (especially without adequate knowledge of German). In fact, integration policies offer special programs that allow *Aussiedler* youth *acquiring* German certificates. In the case of the high-level certificate, instead of a simple recognition procedure *Aussiedler* have to pass an *Abitur*-like exam in order study at German universities.

Immigrant children who arrive early, i.e. during elementary education or in (non-compulsory) pre-school-age, have, in principle, more time and hence the opportunity to meet this linguistic requirement, i.e. to learn German before selection into secondary school tracks takes place. However, until the early 2000s systematic teaching of German as a second language was no issue in preschool facilities.

Teenagers who immigrate after the age of 15 are especially at risk because full-time compulsory education in Germany usually ends at age 15. To 16- and 17-year-olds only part-time compulsory education (in vocational schools) applies. Unless they belong to the few lucky ones who fulfill the preconditions for attending a high-track school, there is no straightforward easy way for older teenage immigrant to attain a lower-level certificate, but rather a range of programs e.g. by the Federal Employment Agency. Attendance and success of these unorthodox ways of gaining a German school certificates remain understudied.

So far my institutionalist argument has explored why age at migration matters for educational attainment and why immigrating to Germany during secondary education can be particularly detrimental. Hence when Mayer (2004: 166) claims that "individual life courses [. . .] are highly structured by social institutions and organizations and their temporal dynamic", this statement is especially true for immigrants as 'latecomers' to the German life-course regime.

Following from this finding, we should assume that the effect of age at migration is stronger in Germany than in countries with differently structured education systems. There are, indeed, hints in the small number of international comparative studies that in Germany the age-at-migration effect is rather strong. In an in-depth-study on PISA, country-specific regression models which control for immigrant generation, parental education, parents' occupational status and the languages spoken at home, showed that age at migration exerts a statistically negative net-effect on the mathematical literacy among 15-year-olds in Germany (OECD 2006: 200–202). Compared to other countries, the age-at-migration effect in Germany was the second largest (Belgium fared worst) and well above the OECD-mean. Furthermore, as Esser (2006: 309–312) illustrated, in the US, the age-at-migration effect on competences is almost entirely statistically explained by English competencies while this is only partly the case in Germany.

2.3 Hypotheses on Varying Age-at-Migration Effects Among Privileged and Non-privileged Groups of Immigrants in Germany

Given the institutional characteristics of the German education system outlined above, one can indeed expect a strong age-at-migration effect on the type of school certificates immigrant children attain in Germany. This institutionalist argument complements rather than challenges those who refer to the time for learning the host country's language as an explanation of the age-at-migration effect.

This essay now proceeds to its intra-national comparison. It poses the question whether we can find group differences: Whose educational attainments are particularly or hardly affected by the timing of migration? The focus here is on socio-economic advantages (Sect. 2.3.1) and legal-political privileges (Sect. 2.3.2). Are subgroups of immigrants endowed with better starting requisites able to resist the detrimental effect of higher age at migration?

2.3.1 Age-at-Migration Effect by Parental Education

It is well-known and uncontroversial that parents' education has a strong effect on the educational outcomes of their children (for empirical evidence regarding immigrants see e.g. Alba et al. 1998: 136; Müller and Stanat 2006: 240, 244). Despite international differences in education systems and educational 'cultures', the normative entanglement of educational institutions with middle-class values and socialization styles (Bourdieu and Passeron 1971) means that foreign born children from educated family backgrounds profit from this advantage, too – or at least when compared with immigrants from poorly educated families. Furthermore, immigrant parents with high levels of education, similar to natives (Erikson and Jonsson 1996) and despite having grown up in a different country, will be driven by the motivation to make sure that their children reach at least a social status similar to their own (or like the one they had in the country of origin). While immigrants typically have high educational aspirations (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 258; OECD 2006: 114, 212), it is fair to assume that this is even more true for immigrant parents with high levels of education, who also have better means to actually realize these goals. They might, in particular, be more aware of the additional challenges their *teenaged* children face at school und make sure they get extra support.

Is high parental education a factor strong enough to alleviate the effect of migrating as a teenager? Or are the institutional hurdles too high even for the socially privileged? This question will be empirically explored in Sect. 2.5.3.

2.3.2 Age-at-Migration Effect by Legal Status of Immigrants: Aussiedler and Other Immigrants

The second interaction effect to be explored pertains to immigrants' legal status upon arrival. In this study *Aussiedler*, ethnic German immigrants from formerly communist Eastern Europe, are compared with other migrants who all came to Germany during the same period (1987–2003 – the high time of *Aussiedler* immigration). As will be explained in Sect. 2.4, the statistical analysis has to be restricted to a simplified measure of legal status upon arrival, the dichotomous distinction between *Aussiedler* and all other immigrants. As *Aussiedler* receive

German citizenship upon arrival, the binary comparison involves 'German' and 'non-German' immigrants.

Aussiedler are legally defined as immigrants of German descent, though only few of them actually spoke German upon arrival.[3] They can be regarded as a special immigrant group (West-)German governments have offered a favorable political "mode of incorporation" (Portes et al. 2009: 1079, on *Aussiedler* see Bommes 2000). These group-specific immigrant policies have generally been characterized by "active encouragement" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 46). Immediate access to German citizenship upon arrival implies not only full political inclusion but also the most secure and unconditional 'residence permit' immigrants can acquire. It provides *Aussiedler* families with a long-term perspective and the autonomy for planning their lives in Germany, including their children's school careers in the new home country. The wide range of integration programs targeted at *Aussiedler*, especially language training and counseling services, possibly exerts an additional *indirect* influence by improving *Aussiedler* parents' capability to support their children at school.

Non-*Aussiedler* are exposed to either a neutral or a negative mode of governmental reception. Civil-war refugees from former Yugoslavia, asylum seekers from a wide range of countries (e.g. Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan) and other de-facto refugees with an exceptional leave to remain (*Duldung*) are targeted by exclusionary policies. Social and economic rights are severely restricted: Adults are not allowed to work or only under discriminatory conditions. In 1993, social welfare for refugees, often provided in kind, was reduced to 20% of the normal transfers. Children with these kinds of precarious legal statuses all have the right to attend German school (and can then attend the preparatory classes mentioned in the introduction). Yet, in some regional states, compulsory education is not extended to this group of migrants, meaning that school attendance of some of these legally disadvantaged children can be delayed or not enforced at all.

EU citizens and 'family' immigrants from third countries take up a middle position between disadvantaged refugees and the politically privileged ethnic Germans.[4] Their political context of reception can be characterized as "passive acceptance" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 46) on the part of the government. The legal status of these foreigners is fairly secure, they enjoy the same economic, social and educational rights as German citizens, but they do not benefit from the kind of active integration policies as *Aussiedler* did.[5]

As shown elsewhere (Söhn 2008; 2010), the status of *Aussiedler* as a special immigrant status that combines group-specific immigration and immigrant policies serves as a 'shield' against educational poverty although it does not serve as a

[3]Among minor-aged *Aussiedler*, only the minority stemming from Romania actually spoke German as their first language (Silbereisen et al. 1999: 83–84).

[4]Non-EU parents in Germany have to have a secure legal status and must not be dependent from social welfare if they want their children to join them from abroad.

[5]Only Jews from Ex-USSR as a special category of refugees encountered a positive reception approaching that of *Aussiedler*.

stepping stone leading to the highest degree. Compared with other 1.5-generation immigrants, *Aussiedler*-children stand a lower risk of dropping out of school or attaining only the lowest school certificate – net of group differences regarding the immigrant parents' socio-economic background.

Integration policies for *Aussiedler* extended to the sphere of education. The federal German government was indeed aware of the educational risks of school-aged immigrants. A specific program that was targeted at *Aussiedler* (the *Garantiefonds Schul- und Berufsbildungsbereich*) financed extra tutoring (Puskeppeleit and Krüger-Potratz 1999: 177–178; Heinelt and Lohmann 1992: 100–101). Until 1993, all school-aged *Aussiedler* were eligible, since then funding focused on those in secondary education. Policies which targeted teenage *Aussiedler* beyond compulsory education primarily aimed at improving their German language skills and helping them to attain German school-leaving certificates, though most often this meant the *Hauptschul*-certificate.

What remains to be tested is whether the overall positive political context of reception of *Aussiedler* was powerful enough to offset the detrimental effects of immigrating during the period of secondary education – compared to the age-at-migration effect among immigrants whose governmental mode of incorporation was less favorable.

2.4 Database and Operationalization

My data base is the German *Mikrozensus* of the year 2005. The sample census is an annual survey representative of Germany's total population, organized and carried out by the Statistical Offices of the federal and the regional states. One percent of all households are obliged to take part in this survey.[6]

The research population in this analysis is restricted to individuals who were born abroad and immigrated to Germany[7] between 1987 and 2003 when they were under the age of 18. Hence, I follow Rumbaut's broad definition of the "1.5 generation" as persons immigrating as minors (Rumbaut 2004: 1166, Clauss and Nauck 2009: 7).[8] Within this population those who immigrated aged 0–5 serve as the reference group. They did not experience the change of national school systems and hence resemble the second generation, but did face the risk of missing part of kindergarten or other aspects of a German speaking environment.

[6]The following results are based on the full sample made accessible on-site at the Statistical Office Berlin-Brandenburg, *Forschungsdatenzentrum* (FDZ).

[7]Only those are included who lived in the former West-German regional states (*Bundesländer*) including West-Berlin in the year 2005. The overwhelming majority of immigrants live in this part of Germany.

[8]This broad definition of the 1.5 generation is the 'average' of the "1.75 cohort who arrived as pre-school children", the more strictly defined "1.5 generation, ages 6–12" and the "1.25 cohort, ages 13–17" (Rumbaut 2004: 1181).

In order to measure educational attainment in terms of school-leaving certificates, the subsample is restricted to immigrants who, in 2005, were at least 18 years old. For pragmatic reasons, those individuals who still attended higher secondary education (*gymnasiale Oberstufe*), leading to the high-level certificate (*Abitur*), were included in the category of individuals who had already attained this certificate. The other categories of the target variable are 'no certificate'/'low-level-certificate' (*Hauptschulabschluss*) and 'mid-level certificate' (*Mittlere Reife*). Collapsing 'no certificate' and 'low-level certificate' is mainly due to reduced numbers. But one can also argue that not only youngsters without school certificates but also those with *Hauptschulabschluss* face a high risk of remaining without further vocational training (Baethge et al. 2007: 39–41) – hence the joint category of the educationally poor.[9]

In order to take the family background of these young adults into account, the sample used in the analysis presented below is further restricted to individuals who lived in their parents' households. As moving out of the parents' home is socially selective (the educationally better-off tend to move out at a later stage in their life course), an upper age-limit is applied: The subsample is confined to the 87% of 18- to 20-year-olds who still lived at their parents' home (for a similar methodological procedure see Kristen and Granato 2004: 129–132).[10]

The key independent variable, age at migration, is recoded according to the major institutionalized phases of schooling, i.e. whether a child immigrated

- in pre-school years (age 0–5; comprising 38% of my sample): children who have the opportunity to attend (part of) German kindergarten education and to begin learning German before being enrolled in school,
- during (German) primary education (age 6–10; 37%): children who experience the change of school systems, but have up to 4 year time to catch up before tracking takes place,
- during secondary education (age 11–17; 25%): children who have to be sorted into one of the school-tracks. Due to the number of cases, only the first graph showing bivariate results distinguishes those youths who immigrated aged 16 or 17 and hence beyond the German age limit of fulltime compulsory education.

Parental education is operationalized as the most advanced school-leaving certificate of father or mother using the same categories as applied in case of their children and serves an indicator of the parents' "incorporated cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1983: 187). As can be seen in Table 2.A.1 (annex), which contains the number of cases, distributions and cross tabulations of all independent variables with the target

[9]The following analysis presupposes that immigrant youths taking part in the *Mikrozensus* thought indeed of their German school certificates when answering the respective question.

[10]In two instances I will report descriptive findings for the 1.5 generation immigrants without this upper age limit, i.e. 18- to 35-year-olds (larger case numbers, but no information on their parents).

variable, almost half of the parents show low levels of cultural capital attained in their home country. A quarter obtained a high-level certificate.[11]

As to the operationalization of the dichotomously constructed variable 'legal status upon arrival', *Aussiedler* are not directly identifiable in the *Mikrozensus*.[12] The identification of *Aussiedler* relies on a rather complex operationalization using several variables available in the sample census. Individuals are regarded as *Aussiedler* (56.0% of the subsample)[13] if they were born outside Germany, possess German citizenship, if their former or second non-German citizenship is Polish, Rumanian or 'ex-Soviet', and if naturalization took place within 2 years after arrival.[14] The comparison group, the 'other immigrants' (44.0%), arrived in Germany as foreigners. It comprises both immigrants who remained non-German citizens as well as immigrants who were naturalized by 2005, but were not identified as *Aussiedler*. Because citizens of the EU-15 form only 4.6% of the immigrant subsample and 'family' immigrants are not identifiable as such in the *Mikrozensus*, these non-*Aussiedler* who were exposed to a neutral mode of governmental reception cannot be differentiated from those with a negative legal status. Among the non-*Aussiedler*, immigrants from Turkey (8.1%) and Ex-Yugoslavia (8.7%) are the two largest national groups. The former came as family immigrants and asylum seekers; the latter were mainly disadvantaged civil war refugees.

While the *Mikrozensus* was not designed for a detailed analysis of determinants of educational achievement and learning processes, secondary analysis allows to control for a couple of structural variables traditionally found to be influential for educational attainment, namely gender, the occupational status of the father (or the single mother), the number of children in the household as indicator of the inner-family social capital (Coleman 1988) and per-capita financial resources available to a child. The regional state (dichotomously recoded) and the size of the community where the individual lived and (probably) went to school serve as two indicators of the regional supply of high-level secondary-school types (see Table 2.A.1 in the annex).

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[11]Although in the *Mikrozensus*-questionnaire foreign-born parents had to fit their non-German educational degrees into the pattern of German certificates, there are very few missing answers and the positive correlation between parents' and children's educational attainment shows the expected pattern.

[12]In previous waves of the *Mikrozensus* like in most other official statistics or surveys, *Aussiedler* are counted as German citizens and are not identifiable at all.

[13]Almost three times as many non-German immigrant children than *Aussiedler*-children arrived in Germany between 1987 and 2003, but many of former left again before the survey was conducted in the year 2005.

[14]A comparison of '*Mikrozensus-Aussiedler*' (including those with missing answers to some of the identification criteria) to my analysis with another data base, the German Youth Survey 2003 (*Deutsche Jugendsurvey*), where participants were simply asked whether they came from an *Aussiedler* family (Söhn 2008: 414), revealed very similar results regarding key variables such as educational attainment (Söhn 2011).

2.5 Empirical Findings

2.5.1 The Bivariate Correlation Between the Age at Migration and the School Certificates Attained

The four columns on the right side of Fig. 2.1 show the bivariate correlation between the ages at migration of Germany's new 1.5 generation und their educational attainment. To get a comprehensive picture, the three columns on the left depict the distribution of school certificates among the corresponding group of natives, the second generation and the 1.5 generation as a group.

Among 1.5 generation immigrants, individuals who immigrated during pre-school age (0–5 years) most often (41%) attain the high-level certificate and come rather close to the attainment of natives without migration background and to second generation youths. Of those who immigrated during lower secondary education, i.e. aged 11–15 years, only about a third reached this upper-level, and only slightly more than half them attained at least a mid-level certificate. Immigrant youths who were 16 or 17 upon arrival and thus beyond the conventional age limit of fulltime compulsory education in Germany stand a particularly high risk of dropping out or of never entering German schools at all. 12% of them had no school certificate – compared to only 2% among natives. Altogether it is fair to say: the higher an immigrant's age at migration the lower his or her educational attainment.

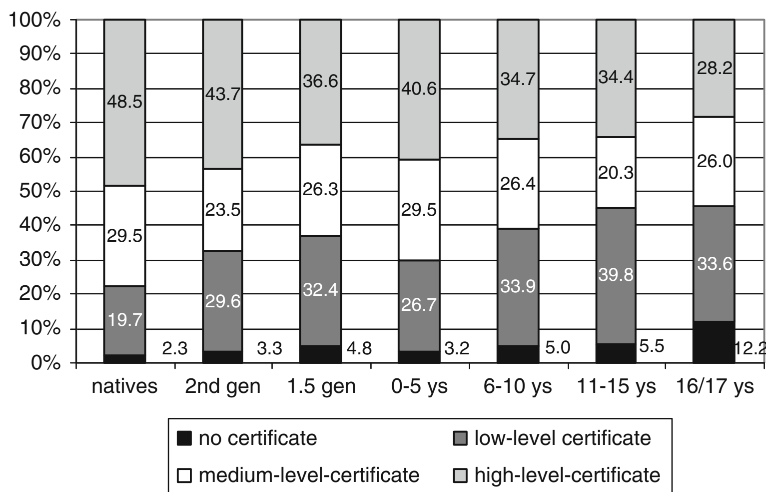


Fig. 2.1 Educational attainment of 18- to 20-year-olds, by migration status and age at migration (Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005 (FDZ); own calculation; weighted percentages. Note: 18- to-20-year-olds, living in their parents' household and in 'West'-German regional states in the year 2005, 1.5 generation restricted to individuals immigrated between 1987–2003; natives n = 10.957, 2nd generation n = 1559, 1.5 generation n = 1557, see also Table 2.A.1; correlation between age at migration and educational attainment among 1.5 generation immigrants: tau-b = −0,11)

2.5.2 Net Effect of Age at Migration on Educational Opportunities

In Sects. 2.5.2 and 2.5.3 multivariate models are calculated in order to simultaneously account for the effects of age at migration and of other factors on educational attainment. As I am theoretically interested in explaining both educational success and failure, I chose to calculate two binary logistic regression models which estimate the odds of (a) attaining a mid- or high-level-certificate instead of a low-level or no certificate, and (b) of attaining the *Abitur* with all other outcomes serving as the reference category.[15] Hence, 'model a' is interested in students escaping the risk of remaining on the lowest rank of the educational ladder, while 'model b' is concerned with immigrant students who succeed at gaining the entry-ticket to university. Tables 2.1–2.3 each show a 'model a' and a 'model b', one model below the other.

The coefficients of the independent variables (recoded into sets of dummy variables if necessary) are expressed in terms of odds ratios. This means that odds ratios <1 (and >0) imply lower chances of attaining a higher-level certificate, odds ratios >1 imply a higher probability of succeeding – compared to the reference category of the respective independent variable.

In a first step, before turning back to the research question whether age-at-migration affects privileged und non-privileged immigrants differently, the estimation in Table 2.1 analyzes for the target population of 1.5-generation immigrants whether the age-at-migration effect is actually modified when the other independent variables are statistically controlled for. After all, due to differently selective immigration flows, students with varying ages at migration could be characterized by other features influential for their educational opportunities. Models 1-a and 1-b check for potential composition effects with regard to the different levels of educational attainment.

The left column in Table 2.1 contains the unconditional effects of age at migration, using migration in pre-school age as the reference category. Unconditional effects simply reflect the bivariate relationship. In the full model (right column) with the other seven control variables, the values of these age-at-migration coefficients have changed only a little. The shrinkage is partly due to the fact that among the immigrant youth studied here those who came to Germany at a higher age tend to have less educated parents. But all in all, composition effects concerning age at migration and other control variable are almost negligible. Confirming previous research in Germany (e.g. Esser 2006: 312; Müller and Stanat 2006: 240–241), there seems to be an independent impact of the timing of migration on the level of education attained in the immigration country.

[15]Multinomial logistic regressions – more difficult to interpret than binary logistic regression (see Kohler and Kreuter 2009: 290–291) – were also calculated and lead to similar results as those presented below.

Table 2.1 Logistic regression models estimating educational attainment of 1.5-generation immigrants

		Unconditional effect odds ratios		Full model[a] odds ratios	
Model 1-a					
Dependent variable: high/mid-level school certificate versus no/low-level certificate (ref.)					
Age at migration (ref.: 0–5 years/pre-school)	**6–10 years/primary edu.**	**0.65**	***	**0.68**	**
	11–17 years/secondary edu.	**0.46**	***	**0.45**	***
Parental education (ref.: no/low-level certificate)	Mid-level certificate			2.20	***
	High-level certificate			5.15	***
Legal status upon arrival (ref.: non-German migrant)	*Aussiedler*			1.49	**
Pseudo-R^2		0.02		0.17	
Model 1-b					
Dependent variable: high-level school certificate versus no/low/mid-level certificate (ref.)					
Age at migration (ref.: 0–5 years/pre-school)	**6–10 years/primary edu.**	**0.80**	+	**0.97**	**n.s.**
	11–17 years/secondary edu.	**0.66**	***	**0.71**	*
Parental education (ref.: no/low-level certificate)	Mid-level certificate			1.48	*
	High-level certificate			4.14	***
Legal status upon arrival (ref.: non-German migrant)	*Aussiedler*			1.04	n.s.
Pseudo-R^2		0.01		0.13	

Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005 (FDZ); own calculation
Note: Immigrant subsample restricted to individuals who immigrated as minors between 1987 and 2003; aged 18–20, living in 'West'-German regional states as well as in their parents' household in the year 2005, N = 1546
Significance levels: ***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$; +$p < 0.10$; *n.s.* not significant
[a] Controlled for gender, occupational status of father/single mother, number of children in household, regional state by overall-share of low-track-schools, size of community (coefficients not shown)

Taking into account the minor shift of emphasis concerning effect size and significance level in the full model, one can describe the net-effect of age at migration regarding the different levels of school-leaving certificates as follows: For the odds of reaching at least a mid-level certificate (model 1-a), the penalty for immigrating during primary school is significant (odds ratios = 0.68) and even more so for the unlucky ones who were enrolled during secondary education (0.45). The odds of attaining a high-level certificate compared to a lower certificate

(model 1-b) are not lowered by immigrating during primary education (0.97), whereas this disadvantage remains stronger (0.71) in case of those arriving aged 11–17. Insofar as immigration in pre-school age implies extra life-time available for acculturation and language-learning – possibly within the institutional context of a German kindergarten – , it seems to have a positive effect in terms of reducing the risk of low educational attainment. Immigrating as a young child does not, however, significantly boost the odds of reaching the highest rung of the educational ladder, a position which all children from a migration background achieve less often than natives.

Corresponding to the moderate bivariate correlation between age at migration and educational attainment, the variance of the independent variable explained by age at migration alone, Pseudo-R^2, is comparatively small. About half of the explained variance is due to the impact of the parents' education, the other half by all other independent variables combined.

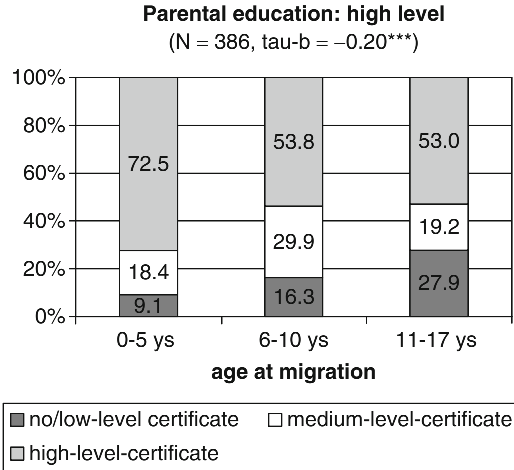
Having checked that there is indeed an independent effect of the timing of immigration on educational attainment, the next analytical step approaches the question whether age at migration has a varying impact on the educational attainment of different immigrant groups.

2.5.3 The Age-at-Migration Effect by Parental Education

Among the target population of 1.5 generation immigrants, aged 18–20 in the year 2005, one quarter has parents with high levels of cultural capital. As Table 2.1 shows, having highly educated parents is the strongest predictor of educational attainment and raises the odds of reaching a higher-level school certificate by the factors 5.2 (model 1-a) and 4.1 (model 1-b). But beyond this main effect, are these children equally affected by the age-at-migration effect as children from less favorable family backgrounds? Figure 2.2 shows the bivariate relationship for the two groups separately, revealing both the differing average achievement levels as well as the differing strength of the age-at-migration effect:

As to the age-at-migration effect, we do find the typical and statistically significant negative correlation for both groups, but – as the correlation parameters tau-b show (–0.20 versus –0.08) – it is clearly stronger among immigrant youths with highly educated parents. In order to further investigate this result, separate multivariate models are calculated for immigrant youths with high parental education on the one hand (left column in Table 2.2) and for immigrant peers whose parents show lower levels of education (right column in Table 2.2).[16] These models, which control for the same composition effects as in Table 2.1 (right column), reveal similar results as the bivariate correlations in the previous figure.

[16]In an alternative approach, logistic regression models with an interaction term were calculated for the full sample and revealed similar results.



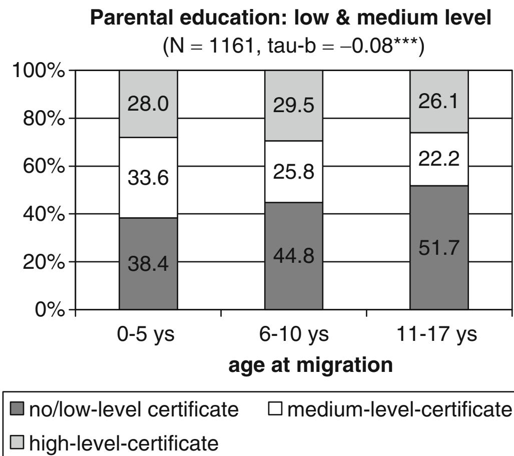


Fig. 2.2 Educational attainment of 1.5-generation immigrants by age at migration and parental education (Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005 (FDZ); own calculation, weighted percentages. Note: See note of Table 2.1 for the definition of the immigrant sample)

Young immigrants who can otherwise benefit from their parents' cultural capital have significantly lower odds of attaining the mid-level (0.32) or high-level-certificate (0.41) if they immigrate during the risky phase of secondary education than those who immigrated during pre-school age. For individuals whose parents have no, low- or medium-level school certificates, an arrival in Germany during secondary education rather than in pre-school reduces the odds of attaining at least a medium-level certificate in Germany (0.53), too, though to a lesser extent than among their socially privileged immigrant peers. The chance of gaining the high-level certificates is hardly changed by taking into account the timing of migration. Reaching the *Abitur* seems such daring task for socially disadvantaged immigrant child that even the objective opportunities connected with an early age at migration is no big help.

Table 2.2 Separate logistic regressions estimating educational attainment of 1.5-generation immigrants by parental education

		Parents with high-level school certificate (Full model)[a] odds ratios		Parents with lower-level school certificate (Full model)[a] odds ratios	
Model 2-a					
Dependent variable: high/mid-level school certificate versus no/low-level-certificate (ref.)					
Age at migration	6–10 years/primary edu.	0.68	n.s.	0.73	*
(ref.: 0–5 years/pre-school)	11–17 years/secondary edu.	0.32	*	0.53	***
Pseudo-R^2		0.16		0.10	
Model 2-b					
Dependent variable: high-level school certificate versus no/low/mid-level-certificate (ref.)					
Age at migration	6–10 years/primary edu.	0.61	+	1.21	n.s.
(ref.: 0–5 years/pre-school)	11–17 years/secondary edu.	0.41	*	0.91	n.s.
Pseudo-R^2		0.12		0.06	
N		386		1,160	

Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005 (FDZ); own calculation
Note: See note of Table 2.1 for the definition of the immigrant sample
Significance levels: ***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$; +$p < 0.10$; *n.s.* not significant
[a]Additionally controlled for legal status upon arrival, gender, occupational status of father/single mother, number of children in household, regional state by overall-share of low-track-schools size of community (coefficients not shown)

On the whole, there are only moderate differences as to the strength and pattern of the age-at-migration effects between socially advantaged and disadvantaged immigrants. Hence, the question whether high parental education can alleviate the 'penalty' of immigrating during secondary education can clearly be answered in the negative. Böhlmark (2008: 1381) found very similar results for immigrants in Sweden.

2.5.4 The Age-at-Migration Effect by Legal Status

Can comparable results be found when the 1.5 generation is divided according to their legal status upon arrival, i.e. into *Aussiedler* and other non-German immigrants? Slightly more than half (56%) of the immigrant youth under investigation enjoyed the privileged status of *Aussiedler*. This distinction by legal status hardly overlaps with the previous one by parental education, but rather cuts across it. This means that in the sample analyzed here, 22% of *Aussiedler* parents and 29% of the other immigrant parents have a high-level school certificate.

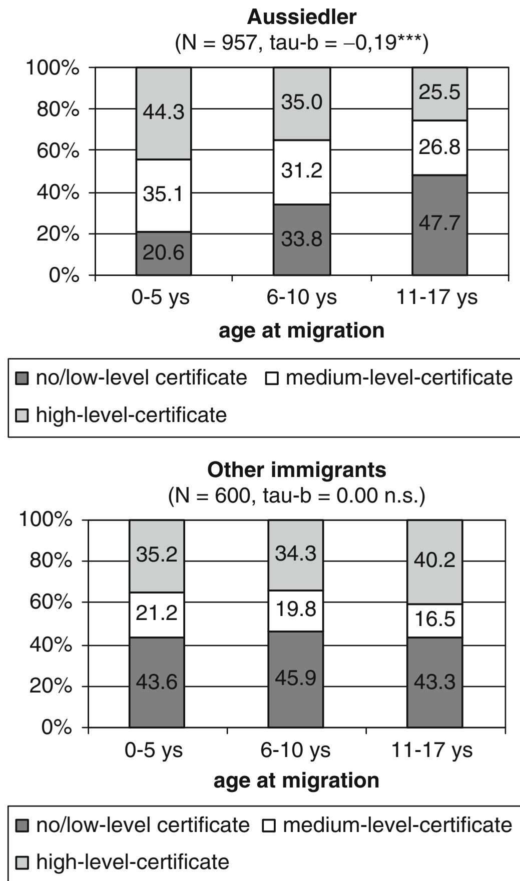


Fig. 2.3 Educational attainment of 1.5-generation immigrants by age at migration and legal status upon arrival (Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005; own calculation, weighted percentages. Note: See note of Table 2.1 for the definition of the immigrant sample)

In contrast to the social inequalities among immigrants shown above, the disparities between the average levels of educational attainment of the two legally distinct groups are less extreme. The educational differences between *Aussiedler* and other immigrants mainly occur below the *Abitur*-level. The estimation for the full sample in Table 2.1 (model 1-a) shows the *Aussiedler* youths' higher odds (1.49) of attaining at least a medium-level certificate rather than a lower one when compared with other immigrants (for similar results see Söhn 2008: 420).[17] But what about the strength of the age at migration effect?

Illustrated by Fig. 2.3 and corroborated by the multivariate models in Table 2.3, which control for other independent variables, the results are astoundingly clear: Among *Aussiedler*-immigrant youths, timing of migration exerts its 'generic'

[17] In addition, 8% of the latter, but only 2% of the former have left school without a certificate, see Table 2.A.1.

Table 2.3 Separate logistic regressions estimating educational attainment of 1.5-generation immigrants by legal status upon arrival

		Aussiedler (Full model)[a] odds ratios		Other immigrants (Full model)[a] odds ratios	
Model 3-a					
Dependent variable: high/mid-level school certificate versus no/low-level certificate (ref.)					
Age at migration	6–10 years/primary edu.	0.54	**	0.86	n.s.
(ref.: 0–5 years/pre-school)	11–17 years/secondary edu.	0.26	***	0.77	n.s.
Pseudo-R^2		0.18		0.17	
Model 3-b					
Dependent variable: high-level school certificate versus no/low/mid-level certificate (ref.)					
Age at migration	6–10 years/primary edu.	0.90	n.s.	1.01	n.s.
(ref.: 0–5 years/pre-school)	11–17 years/secondary edu.	0.51	*	0.92	n.s.
Pseudo-R^2		0.12		0.18	
N		949		597	

Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005 (FDZ); own calculation
Note: See note of Table 2.1 for the definition of the immigrant sample
Significance levels: ***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$; $+p < 0.10$; *n.s.* not significant
[a]Additionally controlled for parental education, gender, occupational status of father/single mother, number of children in household, regional state by overall-share of low-track-schools size of community (coefficients not shown)

impact: There is a strong negative and quasi-linear relationship between age-at-migration and educational certificates attained by *Aussiedler* youths in Germany.[18] Contrary to this and conflicting with conventional wisdom about the age-at-migration effect on education, this relationship does not exist at all among the comparison group of other immigrants. Both in the bivariate and in the multivariate analyses the coefficients are clearly beyond any conventional level of statistical significance.

Two descriptive findings for 1.5-generation immigrants who were by 2005 18–*35* years old (see footnote 10) further differentiate these results. First, the small group of ethnic Germans from Romania (n = 188), many of whom spoke German as their primary language, show no significant (bivariate) age-at-migration effect; they attain an educational level almost as high as native Germans. Hence, the age-at-migration effect is indeed intimately related with (not) having to learn a new

[18]Possibly, this effect of age at migration among *Aussiedler* is strengthened by an effect of immigrant cohorts. (When looking at specific birth cohorts, age at migration is simply a mathematical transformation of the year of arrival.) *Aussiedler* children who arrived in pre-school age, which means until 1993, benefited from a more generous political context of reception than later cohorts. *Aussiedler*-specific integration programs were reduced in the course of the 1990s. Furthermore, those early cohorts comprise a small number of ethnic Germans from Romania, who typically spoke German as their primary language upon arrival.

language. Second, among those who arrived at the age of 16 or 17 (n = 1200), only 2.5% of *Aussiedler*, but 21.4% (!) of the other immigrants have no school certificate. Even though one cannot single out the main reason why this is the case, clearly the in many ways advantageous situation of *Aussiedler* helped them to overcome the high risk of remaining without any school certificate when immigrating in the sensitive phase after full-time compulsory education.

2.5.5 Further Differentiation of the Age-at-Migration Effect

In the remaining empirical analysis, I return to my broader definition of educational poverty, i.e. 'no/low-school certificate', and further differentiate my analysis of the age-at-migration effect by dividing the immigrant sample into four distinct groups along the two different kinds of distinctions, social and legal-political inequalities. Table 2.4 contains the respective cross tabulation. Each cell contains the correlation parameter tau-b which signifies the strength of the (bivariate) age-at-migration effect visible among each of these four groups.[19]

The main finding is: Among those who accumulate social as well as legal-political advantages the age-at-migration is strongest (–0.24***), while among the group that suffers from both legal-political and social disadvantages, the age-at-migration effect is non-existent (0.02). Immigrants from Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey are rather good 'representatives' for the this group with cumulative disadvantages, and looking at them separately reveals no or an even slightly reverse moderate age-at-migration effect (ex-Yugoslavs: tau-b = 0.07 n.s.; Turks: tau-b = –0.03*). These results are in line with those of the German PISA-study. Segeritz et al. (2010: 128, 130) show that educational disparities between second-generation youths, immigrants aged 0–5 upon arrival and immigrants aged 6 years and older upon arrival are much smaller among students of Turkish origin than among those of Polish or 'Ex-Soviet' descent, of whom the overwhelming majority are *Aussiedler*.

Table 2.4 Strength of age-at-migration effect on educational attainment by immigrant status and parental education (Correlation coefficient tau-b)

	High parental education	Lower parental education
Aussiedler	−0.24***	−0.13***
	(n = 215)	(n = 735)
Other immigrants	−0.14*	0.02 n.s.
	(n = 171)	(n = 424)

Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005; own calculation
Note: See note of Table 2.1 for the definition of the immigrant sample.
Significance levels: ***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$; *n.s.* not significant

[19]The four groups are too small to run separate multivariate models.

2.6 Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

This chapter has explored why the age at which minor-aged individuals immigrate influences education outcomes and in how far different social groups among immigrant children are affected to the same degree. Looking at persons who change from one national education system to another makes the power the institutions of national life course regimes exert on individuals visible. Hence, my analysis complements the internationally comparative life course research which reveals the influence of varying state institutions, too. The particularity of the German school system, especially the early tracking into stratified school types, explains why older immigrants have a high risk of attaining less valuable certificates (or none at all). Following the institutional logic, children aged 10 years or older upon arrival *have* to be sorted into one of the different tracks. The way this sorting takes place is pre-structured by the concentration of preparatory measures at low-track schools and the lack thereof at high-track schools. Empirically, this analysis has focused on individuals who immigrated as minors to Germany during the more recent immigrant waves (1987–2003) and studied the kind of certificate they attained at the end of their school careers.

Before discussing the results, some remarks on the limitations of the data seem appropriate: First, with the cross sectional data at hand, it is not possible to illuminate the educational pathways between being routinely placed in the *Hauptschule* and the final degree attained. Recalling the statistics in North Rhine-Westphalia (four in five immigrants began their school career in the low-track school), we can assume that at least some teenage immigrants succeeded in moving to higher tracks – against the general trend of downward mobility during secondary education in Germany. Second, it remains desirable for future studies to carefully distinguish between school certificates attained in Germany, certificates attained abroad and foreign certificates formally recognized by German authorities as equivalent to the German ones. This distinction could not be made in the *Mikrozensus* data used here, but could be particularly important when studying the educational and economic integration processes of immigrants who arrive in the sensitive phase of being older teenagers/young adults.[20]

My empirical results showed that for the 1.5-generation immigrants studied here there is indeed a negative correlation between age at migration and their educational attainment as all theories predict. However, differentiating this group by the level of parental education and the mode of governmental incorporation – positive (*Aussiedler*) versus neutral/negative (other immigrants) – revealed a more

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[20]Thirdly, the results presented here only capture the educational attainment of immigrants who remained in Germany until 2005 excluding those who attended German schools only for a number of years and left Germany again before 2005. As many ex-Yugoslavian refugees and other refugees denied asylum had to leave, this socially selective outmigration probably leads to a rosier picture of those who stayed – however it is unclear whether the strength of the age-at migration effect is affected.

detailed picture. Contrary to my initial assumption that social or political advantages help alleviate the negative effect of a higher age at migration, the analysis revealed the – seemingly – opposite result: The more privileges a subgroup enjoys, the stronger the age-at-migration effect.

These unexpected results call for an explanation of two phenomena: Why does the timing of immigration exert such a strong negative influence on *Aussiedler* despite privileges they enjoy? And why does an early age at migration not entail the expected educational advantages among the non-German immigrants, especially those who could not rely on their parents' cultural capital?

As to the first question: In the history of *Aussiedler*-specific integration policies some education-related programs can be identified. However, these programs were not substantive enough to help *Aussiedler*-students achieve the more prestigious secondary-education certificates more easily than other immigrants. The governmental discrimination of immigrants according to their legal status primarily took place outside the education system, ranging from the security of status, access to the labor market, financial transfers, and German-language courses for adult *Aussiedler* to the general acceptance of this particular migration flow. And yet, the favorable life circumstances resulting from the accumulation of such privileges obviously did not protect *Aussiedler* youths from the downgrading processes connected with rising age at migration – as educated backgrounds do not protect immigrant children from failing at school when they immigrate during secondary education. The institutional logics of the school system, i.e. early tracking as well as German language requirements and lack of German language training in the *Gymnasium*, partially override the non school-related determinants of educational attainment.

Whereas the role of early tracking into hierarchically-ordered secondary schools has often been discussed in its relevance for the reproduction of social inequality (OECD 2005: 56–58; Solga 2005: 139–142; Köller and Baumert 2001: 106), my results complement these analyses by underlining the additional detrimental effect this institutional "sorting machine" (Kerckhoff 1995) has on the educational opportunities of teenage immigrants. When young people come from abroad and enter the school system of the host country after the usual sorting has taken place, these newcomers stand a risk of being relegated to the lowest tier, no matter what non-school related advantages they might otherwise enjoy. This downward-leveling effect is an additional, immigrant-specific penalty of early tracking.

While the status of *Aussiedler* did not serve as shield against the educational risks of immigrating during secondary education, we did not find a significant impact of age at migration on the educational attainment of the other immigrants, none of whom enjoyed legal-political privileges to the same extent as *Aussiedler*. This does not in turn mean that non-*Aussiedler* were exempted from the negative effect of immigrating as a teenager. Rather, the relevant question, which challenges traditional views on the age-at-migration effect, is why non-*Aussiedler* immigrant children did not profit from an early age at migration. To a certain extent this unexpected result may reflect that school-leaving certificates are a rather crude indicator (though in this crudeness highly influential for the subsequent life course). If information about grades or competence measures were available,

an age-at-migration effect might become visible. But this still would not explain why so many of those non-German immigrants who immigrated at an early age ended up in the low-track secondary schools.

The *Aussiedler* population could apparently exhaust the 'objective' advantages connected with an early age at migration.[21] As argued above, this finding cannot be attributed to any *Aussiedler*-specific interventions in kindergartens and primary schools. Rather, the (non-school related) advantages of their privileged governmental mode of incorporation seem to have exerted their positive effect on educational careers mainly if the *Aussiedler* child enrolled in a German school well before tracking takes place. Hence, for disadvantaged students, one can conclude that the mainstream educational institutions – even if entered at an early age – were unable to compensate for accumulated disadvantages of life circumstances many non-*Aussiedler* immigrant children faced outside the sphere of education. And exclusionary immigrant policies targeted at politically unwanted immigrants like asylum seekers were partly responsible for these underprivileged living situations of immigrant families.

The finding that Germany's pre-school and primary-education institutions are unable to compensate for disadvantaging backgrounds – in this case of newly arrived immigrant children – again underlines criticism of the role of the institutional features of German schools for the reproduction of social inequality in general. The restricted learning-time of German 'half-day schools' for instance – teaching usually ends at noon – renders parental assistance during the rest of the day particularly influential, and the unequal distribution of educationally relevant resources among parents thus takes its toll (Solga 2005: 141; Steinbach and Nauck 2004: 27).

The fact that German educational institutions have proven unable to compensate for their students' underprivileged backgrounds pertains to a range of factors, language training being of particular importance: Until recently, kindergarten staff was neither trained in teaching German as a second/foreign language, nor did pre-school education offer any systematic language training. In primary education (just as in secondary schools), German lessons have been offered, but on an underfinanced *ad-hoc* base. German as a second language has so far not been an integral part of the general teacher training at German universities. Hence, the quality of German-language teaching at German schools is rather questionable. The potential of effectively imparting the necessary linguistic competences on immigrant students within the schools has certainly not yet been exhausted.

Nevertheless, the event of migration will always be a challenge to the individual. Latecomers in a national life course regime have less time to reach similar goals as natives. And yet, if the German education system were less selective, better equipped with resources to help children and youth of any age group to learn

[21] Another multivariate model not shown here reveals that among immigrant youths arriving during secondary education the specific governmental mode of incorporation plays no significant role, while among younger immigrant children, the privileged *Aussiedler* status exerts the positive influenced visible in the main model (Table 2.1).

German effectively, and offered more learning time within schools in order to make up for disadvantaged family backgrounds, the negative effect of age at migration could – as a by-product of such fundamental political reforms – be mitigated as well, at least to a similar extent as in more inclusive national education systems.

2.A.1 Appendix

Table 2.A.1 Bivariate distribution of educational attainment by the independent variables

	No certificate	Low-level certificate	Mid-level certificate	High-level certificate		
	% (row)				N (row)	% (column per item)
Age at migration***						
0–5 years – pre-school	3.2	26.7	29.5	40.6	601	37.7
6–10 years – primary ed.	5.0	33.9	26.4	34.7	584	37.2
11–15 years – lower second. ed.	5.5	39.8	20.3	34.4	307	20.6
16/17 years – post-compulsory ed.	12.2	33.6	26.0	28.2	65	4.5
Parental education***						
No certificate	13.4	47.7	20.6	18.4	147	10.7
Low-level certificate	5.1	43.9	24.3	26.8	592	38.1
Mid-level certificate	2.1	28.0	35.8	34.1	422	25.9
High-level certificate	3.2	13.2	22.1	61.4	386	25.3
Legal status upon arrival***						
Non-German migrant	8.3	36.1	19.3	36.4	600	44.0
Aussiedler	1.9	29.5	31.9	36.7	957	56.0
Gender***						
Male	5.3	39.2	23.6	31.9	835	54.9
Female	4.0	24.1	29.6	42.4	722	45.1
Occupational status of father/single mother***						
Self-employed	8.6	20.8	12.7	57.9	75	4.9
White-collar	1.9	19.9	24.7	53.6	244	15.4
Blue collar	3.7	34.0	30.7	31.6	869	54.2
Unemployed	8.0	38.9	20.2	32.9	367	25.5

(continued)

Table 2.A.1 (continued)

	No certificate	Low-level certificate	Mid-level certificate	High-level certificate		
	% (row)				N (row)	% (column per item)
Number of children in household***						
1	4.9	33.1	26.7	35.3	429	26.9
2	2.1	26.6	28.7	42.5	678	43.3
3	7.8	39.1	21.7	31.5	265	17.7
4 +	9.1	41.7	23.5	25.6	185	12.1
Regional state by overall-share of low-track schools***						
Under-average share[a]	5.3	23.9	26.4	44.4	853	57.5
Above-average share[b]	4.0	43.9	26.1	26.0	704	42.5
Size of community***						
Large town	5.6	25.0	23.6	45.8	460	30.5
Medium-sized town	2.8	32.5	27.3	37.4	565	36.0
Small town/village	5.9	39.1	27.7	27.3	532	33.4
Total	4.72	32.38	26.31	36.59		100
N (not weighted)	61	506	418	572	1, 557	

Source: German *Mikrozensus* 2005 (FDZ); own calculation; weighted percentages
Note: See note of Table 2.1 for the definition of the immigrant sample
Significance levels: ***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$; $+p < 0.10$
[a]North Rhine-Westphalia, Hesse, Lower Saxony, (West-) Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen
[b]Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland

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Chapter 3
Varying Hurdles for Low-Skilled Youth on the Way to the Labour Market

Can Aybek

3.1 Introduction

Following the Citizen and Immigration Acts of 1999 and 2004 immigration- and integration-related issues moved from the fringes to the heart of federal politics in Germany. Meanwhile Maria Böhmer, the Federal Commissioner for Foreigners, Refugees and Integration, and even Chancellor Angela Merkel regularly address integration related issues. Concerning the integration of young immigrants[1] into the labour market, Böhmer in April 2007 stated: 'The difficult situation of young immigrants must represent a main issue in the political debate on vocational training. . . . Within the context of the National Integration Plan the federal government will put all necessary effort into easing the transition of young foreigners into vocational training – for only those who have a vocational qualification have a fair chance of integrating and taking part in our country's social life on an equal footing.'[2]

Rather than dealing with political declarations or programmatic goals, in this paper I focus on empirical research on the participation of low-skilled youth with and without a migratory background in vocational training. The German

[1] I use the terms 'young people with migratory background/of immigrant origin' and '(young) migrants/ immigrants' in this article interchangeably to refer to young people whose parents or who themselves have immigrated. However, I would like to distinguish terms such as 'young foreigners' and 'young people of foreign citizenship' etc., which refer to persons with a non-host-country citizenship.

[2] Cf. http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn_56546/Content/DE/Pressemitteilungen/BPA/2007/04/2007-04-18-boehmer-ausbildungssituation.html [Accessed on: 24 April 2007].

C. Aybek (✉)
Department of Political Science, University of Siegen, 57068 Siegen, Germany
e-mail: aybek@politikwissenschaft.uni-siegen.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_3, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

National Report on Vocational Education and Training (VET) in 2008 underscored the fact that for individuals with certificates from lower-tier schools, the chances of obtaining a fully qualifying vocational training[3] drop significantly. For young people who have no diploma or a diploma from a basic secondary school, or *Hauptschule*, the likelihood to enter VET is three times lower than for a graduate of an intermediate secondary school, or *Realschule*; and four and a half times lower than for a graduate of a higher secondary school, or *Gymnasium* (BMBF 2008: 68). These findings are also confirmed by the Second National Report on Education, which states that for the majority of the young people with lower educational degrees the transition into VET takes significantly longer than for graduates of a *Realschule* (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2008: 8–9).

Building on these findings, this article aims to develop a more thorough picture of the transition processes into vocational training in Germany, which is the first hurdle school leavers must take on their way to employment. My own analyses will deal only with individuals who have lower educational background (max. a certificate from a *Hauptschule*). Within this group I will draw comparisons between young people with and without migratory background.

The reasons for limiting my analysis to low-skilled youth are twofold: First, the proportion of young immigrants following the lower educational tracks in Germany is higher than for the native population. Second, it is not clear to what extent lower-educated youth are indeed internally a homogenous group. Looking at the students attending the basic secondary school track, Solga and Wagner (2001, 2007) claim that the composition and social background at the *Hauptschule* since the end of the 1970s has become more and more homogenized. Looking separately at native-born and immigrant low-skilled youth might bring some new insights to this claim.

After a brief description of the data set used for the analysis presented here, the following research questions will be addressed:

- Are there any differences between young people with and without migratory background during the age period when typically the transition into vocational training occurs? If yes, what are these differences?
- Are there differences between the groups of young people with and without migratory background with respect to the time they need to make the transition into VET?
- What individual characteristics have an impact on a faster or slower transition into VET?

To provide the reader with the relevant context, the next section outlines the most important findings from the published research literature on the participation in the German VET market both in general and specifically for immigrant youth.

[3] A 'fully qualifying vocational training' is an educational scheme that upon successful completion offers the participant a certificate in one of the professions acknowledged by the German Vocational Training Act or the Crafts and Trade Code.

3.2 The Situation of Young Immigrants in the German Vocational Education System

Seen from a comparative perspective, the German secondary school as well as VET systems appear to be both highly stratified and strongly selective (cf. Allmendinger and Leibfried 2003; Deutsches PISA-Konsortium et al. 2001; Walther et al. 2004). Education policy is in principle a regional matter and may therefore vary to a certain extent among the regions (‘*Länder*’). Nevertheless, some common characteristics hold for most of the country. In most regions pupils are re-grouped onto different school tracks after four years of elementary schooling. This selection procedure is based predominantly on the recommendation given by the elementary schools. There are three basic school tracks the children may attend: the basic secondary school track, the *Hauptschule*; an intermediate secondary school, the *Realschule*; or the more academic *Gymnasium*. Following the four years of elementary education, the *Hauptschule* leads to a certificate of compulsory education after five years; the *Realschule* provides a certificate of a higher status after six years, which nowadays in most professions is considered to be the educational minimum in order to be accepted as an apprentice; and finally the *Gymnasium,* offers towards the end of eight or nine years of schooling the possibility to take exams (‘Abitur’) that give access to tertiary education.

According to empirical research, the transition to the *Gymnasium* track is determined not only by the individual achievement of the student, but also by the social background of the family (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006: 49–50). The chances of a child attending the *Gymnasium* are greater by fourfold if the parents belong to the highest occupational status group compared to a child coming from a working class family. Although there are some regional differences, the probability of attending *Hauptschule* is also connected to family background: children with parents of higher social status are more often successful in avoiding lower school types compared to their peers, even if their achievement at school is equally weak.

According to a report by Germany’s Commissioner for Integration in the school year 2004/2005 only 15% of German children attended a *Hauptschule*, compared to over 40% of children with a foreign citizenship. Furthermore, almost half (45%) of German children attended a *Gymnasium*, but only a fifth (21%) of the foreign citizen students did so (Migrationsbeauftragte 2007: 57–58). This ‘ethnic divide’ with respect to school types has significant consequences for the prospects of these young people when they look for job training.

Before discussing the VET market situation, I sketch out the system itself. The German VET system can be roughly subdivided into three areas:

– company-based job training, better known as the ‘dual system’ (‘*duales Berufsbildungssystem*’);

- school-based vocational training (‘*Schulberufssystem*’), the typical preparation for certain professions such as nursing, and fully comparable to the dual system with respect to the qualification obtained; and
- the intermediary sector (‘*Übergangssystem*’), which consists of programmes and courses of different types which do not provide an acknowledged vocational certificate.

The backbone of this VET system – at least in the public discourse – is still considered to be company-based training, the ‘dual system’. This is a vocational program, in which the apprentice, after having been accepted by a company, is trained for 2–3½ years. She/he attends school one or two times a week and is trained the rest of the week within the company. This system is highly regulated and the qualifications obtained are standardised. Every person finishing vocational education is supposed to have similar levels of knowledge and all the necessary skills to work in the given profession.

Young people in Germany put much effort into obtaining a training in one of the more than 340 acknowledged professions. However, the share of young immigrants without any vocational qualification is much higher than that of youths of German origin (BMBF 2007: 123–126). The Third National Report on Education states that, among people who were in their 20s (and had already completed their education) in 2008, 30.7% of the immigrants did not have any vocational training, whereas this share among the native borns was only 12.9% (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2010: 38 and table B3-7 web).

Burkert and Seibert illustrate (cf. Fig. 3.1) that the percentage of young foreigners in Germany who participated in vocational training dropped by nearly 10% from 1993 to 2004. In 1994 this share was 34%, whereas in the year 2004 only 25% of school leavers with non-German citizenship participated in vocational training (BMBF 2006: 31). In addition to the general decline in the participation rate, there are some gender-specific observations: young females of foreign citizenship – despite the unfavourable conditions – have been able to keep their participation rate almost constant (although at the very low level of 23–25%). A phenomenon that is gaining increasing attention both in political debate and in scientific circles is the performance of male immigrants: their participation rate decreased sharply, by 14% points from 42% in 1994 to 28% in 2004 (BMBF 2006: 3).

The trend shown in the above Fig. 3.1 seems to be continuing, as the VET report for 2008 with updated information shows. The participation rate of young foreigners dropped in 2006 even further to 23.7% (BMBF 2008: 97). This is less than half of the share that could be observed for young people of German citizenship (56.9%).

The traditional strongholds of youth employment for those with lower educational levels are the small- and medium-sized companies in the German manufacturing sector. The blue-collar professions of the manufacturing sector have for years been a ‘safe haven’ for young people with lower qualifications, because in this training segment they did not have to compete with graduates of higher school tracks. In recent years, however, the conditions for companies in these segments of the economy have been especially harsh, and they have been forced to drive back

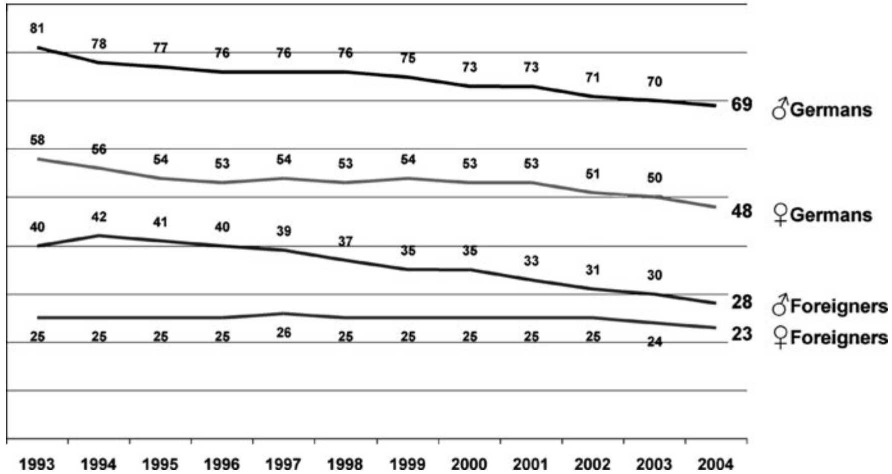

Fig. 3.1 VET participation rates by gender and citizenship, 1993–2004 (Source: Burkert and Seibert (2007: 9))

their employment and VET capacities, especially in branches such as construction. In addition, economic restructuring processes and the shift toward more knowledge-based work have changed the face of the remaining training opportunities in the manufacturing sector and led to their 'internal tertiarisation' (Baethge et al. 2007: 27–28). In many small- and medium-sized companies, expectations about the qualifications of apprentices have risen to the point that the sector is no longer offering potential VET opportunities to immigrant youths with lower educational credentials.

Although the service sector in terms of job training has been expanding, in many branches the competition is fierce. Students from the *Gymnasium* potentially apply for the same training slots as those with *Hauptschule* certificates. In some cases, where certain 'soft skills', such as social abilities and communication skills are required, acceptance can be especially difficult for young people with a working class and/or non-native background.

In recent years changes have occurred not only on the supply, but also on the demand side of the VET market (cf. Beicht et al. 2007; Eberhard et al. 2006), as for demographic reasons the total number of school leavers has increased. These factors have made it more difficult for young people with *Hauptschule* certificates to gain access to training opportunities.

The political reaction to this has been the expansion of the 'intermediary sector'. The intermediary sector channels certain groups of young people who are considered to be disadvantaged into further qualification programmes and schemes (Baethge et al. 2007). The biggest share of these programmes are called 'vocational orientation' ('*Berufsorientierung*') and 'vocational elementary education' ('*Berufsgrundbildung*') and give young people the chance to complete their compulsory schooling years, but do not provide them with a recognised vocational certificate. The fastest growing part of this system is the Labour Office programme for

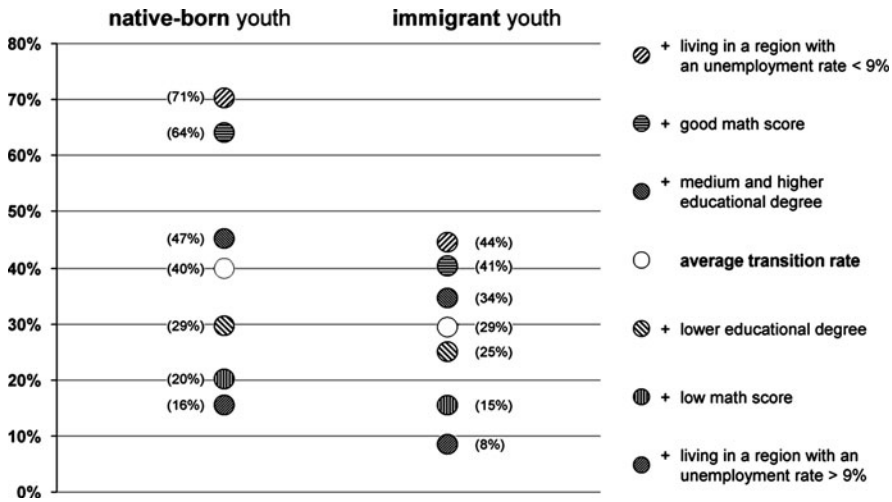

Fig. 3.2 Cumulative probabilities of successful transition into the dual system in 2004 (Source: Eberhard et al. (2006))

'vocational preparation' ('*Berufsvorbereitung*'). In addition, the growing number of participants in school or project-based programmes organised by state ('*Länder*') and local governments should also be mentioned.[4]

In order to understand certain features of this VET sector, a study has been initiated by the German Labour Office and the Federal Institute for Vocational Education ('*BA/BIBB-Bewerberbefragung*'). Since 1997, this study has annually analyzed the transition patterns of young people who applied to the Labour Offices for job training.[5] One of the main results is that young people with *Hauptschule* qualifications have a much higher probability of entering the intermediary sector than those who have *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* certificates. This is especially true for the schemes and programmes that aim to improve vocational orientation (Eberhard et al. 2006: 77). At the same time, participation in any of the schemes seems to have neither a positive nor a negative effect on the chances of entering job training in the dual system (Eberhard et al. 2006: 169).

To assess the relative chances of young immigrants and natives of getting into the dual system we refer to the aforementioned BA/BIBB-Survey data (Eberhard et al. 2006: 202–206). In 2004 the overall probability of getting an apprenticeship for native Germans was about 40% (cf. Fig. 3.2). If these young people had acquired a *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* certificate, their chances rose to 47%. If their maths grade had been – in addition to their better school certificate – 'good' or 'very good', their

[4]The typical classification presented here is, however, by no means exhaustive or clear cut, because the contents of different programmes may be quite similar on a (local) implementation level.

[5]For details about this study see Eberhard et al. (2006).

transition rate to VET was 64%. Finally, if in addition to these other advantages, the unemployment rate in their home region was below 9%, 71% of them were able to take part in vocational training within the dual system.

Among applicants who had some sort of migratory background[6] the overall probability of finding a training place in the dual system was 29%. With a *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* certificate their chances improved to 34%. Having a good maths score added another 7% points, so that the probability rose to 41%. A favourable labour market situation in addition to all of this led to a transition probability of 44%.

Some observations seem to be valid for both immigrants and natives: a better school certificate, better maths scores, and a place of residence with favourable employment conditions raise the chances of entering the dual system. But these effects are much stronger for the native-born population than for immigrants, as illustrated in Fig. 3.2.

Moreover, certain unfavourable conditions appear to have a cumulative negative effect. If the immigrant applicant had 'only' a *Hauptschule* certificate, the probability of being accepted for vocational training was 25%. If his maths score was no better than 'sufficient', his chances diminished by 10% points to 15%. And if he happened to live in a region with an unemployment rate greater than 9%, his chances of finding an apprenticeship dropped to 8%.

In sum, the traditional trajectory of leaving school and being immediately admitted to professional training seems to be more the exception than the rule for young immigrants in Germany today. Generally favourable individual characteristics and contextual conditions have a less positive effect for them than for young natives, and the impact of negative factors is stronger. Furthermore, variations among young immigrants are also observed: among immigrants born in Germany the transition rate to vocational training was on average 33% and among ethnic German immigrants (from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics) it reached 35%. However, only 18% of young people born abroad were able to make a successful transition. The most difficult situation was observed for young people born in Turkey or with Turkish citizenship: only 16% of them managed to find job training (Eberhard et al. 2006: 205–206).

3.3 Data Set and Empirical Approaches

The statistics officially collected through labour offices and chambers of commerce do not provide the necessary information to reconstruct the path young people follow after they leave school. The German Federal Labour Agency, for instance, provides information about the annual number of school leavers who begin training in a company, but does not report the experiences leading up to these individuals

[6]For the operationalisation of the concept "migratory background" in this study consult (Eberhard et al. 2006).

obtaining such an apprenticeship. Even less is known about the young people who were not able to enter VET. Which paths did they follow during their search? The Labour Agency and the Federal Statistical Office also offer potentially interesting data about young people who participate in various programmes of the intermediary sector, but this data again have important weaknesses, for they do not include information about the socioeconomic background or the previous experiences of the individuals.

Addressing the research questions posed here requires data that allow for a reconstruction of the different stages and the temporal structure young people experience during their search for a vocational training opportunity. Ideally the sample size of such a data set should allow for the drawing of comparisons between young people of native and immigrant background in a representative manner.

Such a data set was provided by the BIBB in Germany, which in 2006 conducted a study on the 'Educational Paths and Vocational Biographies of Young Adults after Leaving School'. The collected data comprises information from 7,230 individuals (cf. Schiel et al. 2006) belonging to the birth cohorts 1982–1988. The respondents were therefore between 18 and 24 years old at the time of the interview. The interviews were conducted by telephone with computer assistance. During the interviews information about the young adults' educational and vocational biography was gathered. In addition, a set of individual and familial characteristics were captured that were assumed to be relevant.

This paper uses a subsample of those data,[7] namely, for empirical purposes, it takes into account only those young people who have lower educational certificates, i.e. the individuals considered here left school with at most a diploma from a *Hauptschule*.

The indicator for 'having an immigrant background' was defined by way of 'exclusion', i.e. by defining who the native borns are. Interviewees who were German citizens, had as children spoken only German at home, and whose parents were both born in Germany were assumed to be native-born. If these conditions were not fulfilled completely, the individual was assumed to have a migratory background. Even though the overall sample is quite big, after limiting the sample to young people of lower education, it was not feasible to distinguish between different ethnic origins among immigrant youth because the sample sizes of these ethnic origin groups would have been too small. Therefore, in what follows, the reference is always to low-skilled immigrant and native-born youth in general.

To address the initially formulated questions three different empirical approaches are presented below: (1) state distributions, (2) product-limit estimations, and (3) piecewise constant exponential (PCE) models. The size of the sample depends on the empirical approach adopted, because for each analysis the group of relevance is slightly different. For the state distributions, for instance, all monthly records (spells) for low-skilled individuals aged 15 through 20 were taken into account. For

[7]On this occasion I would like to express my gratitude to the BIBB and particularly to Dr. Ulrich as well as Mr. Friedrich for giving me the opportunity to use these data for my analyses.

the product-limit estimations and PCE models age did not play a role, but only those young people who not only had left school with a lower degree, but also reported to be searching for a vocational training opportunity were included in the analyses. This is an important aspect to consider, as a basic assumption in the analyses is that every individual is ‘at risk’ of experiencing a transition into VET, which would not be the case with individuals who are not searching for a vocational training.

3.4 Distribution of Low-Skilled Youth to Different States During the Transition Process

The terms ‘transition’ and ‘trajectory’ represent key concepts in life-course research. The term ‘transition’ refers, as Sackmann and Wingens explain, to “a change from one state to another during a process” (2001: 42) where the duration in a specific state may be long or short. The term ‘trajectory’, however, denotes the “totality of all transitions and durations in different states of an actor” (Sackmann and Wingens 2001). The concept of ‘transition’ is very popular in empirical studies on the life course, because it can be easily operationalised – especially with techniques of event history analysis – whereas the concept of ‘trajectory’ poses problems in terms of a precise definition as well as for empirical operationalisation (cf. Sackmann and Wingens 2001: 21–22).

Sackmann and Wingens highlight the benefits of introducing ‘sequence’ as a concept next to ‘transition’ and ‘trajectory’ in life-course studies. They define a sequence as “a succession of at least two transitions within a process period” (Sackmann and Wingens 2001: 42). Compared to ‘trajectory’ or ‘transition’ the concept of ‘sequence’ allows the researcher to look at a life-course period as a succession of interrelated events. This creates, for instance, the opportunity to look for differences or commonalities between specific groups in terms of the sequencing of experienced situations. Such an approach, furthermore, also allows to check if the patterns of these sequences conform to the institutional regulations and norms or not. This represents a different perspective on individuals’ life courses as the focus is not on a specific event (e.g. entering VET), but is on consecutive situations individuals experience over a limited time period. Rohwer and Trappe (1997: 1) point out that life-course research not only does not necessarily have to direct its attention to specific ‘results’, e.g. a transition from one state to another, but can also examine continuous chains of events.

One recognized method for analysing temporal data is to work out the state distributions of individuals (cf. Brüderl and Scherer 2006: 331–33; Rohwer and Trappe 1997; Windzio and Grotheer 2002). The data set used here is appropriate for a sequential illustration of the life course as it contains information on the periods of education, vocational training, and employment of every interviewee. It is, however, important to mention that the plotted state distributions (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4) do *not* represent individual life-course sequences, but illustrate the aggregated picture.

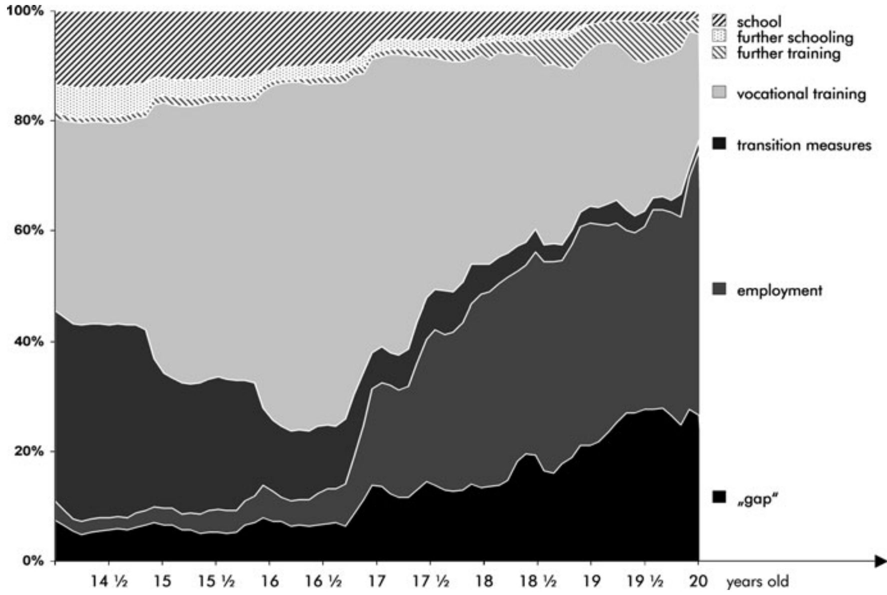

Fig. 3.3 State distributions of low-skilled native-born youth (Age 15–20) (Data: BIBB Transition Study 2006; birth cohorts 1982–1988; own calculations)

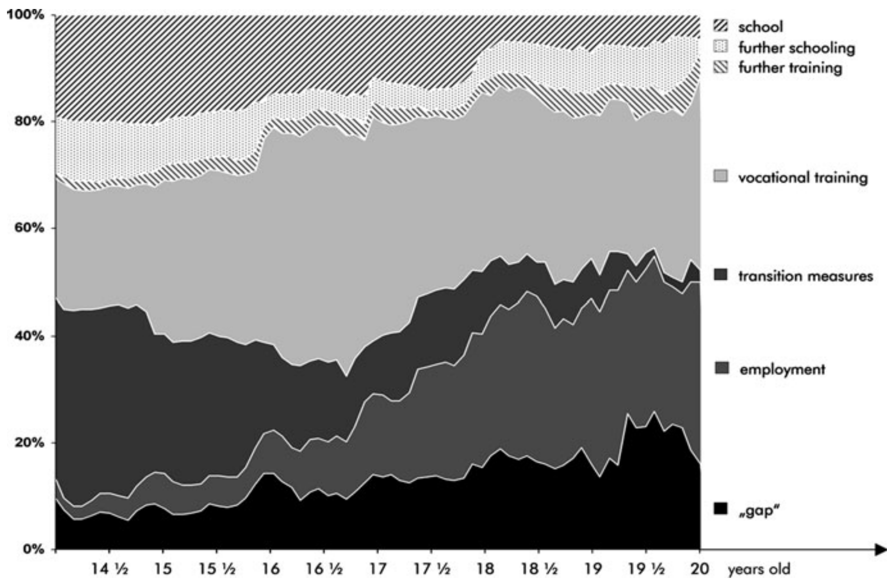

Fig. 3.4 State distributions of low-skilled immigrant youth (Age 15–20) (Data: BIBB Transition Study 2006; birth cohorts 1982–1988; own calculations)

For a certain age (based on monthly information), each individual is described as being in a specific state, e.g. in school, vocational training, or employed, and the distribution of states of the whole group at the specific age is plotted. This is therefore a descriptive approach to characterize the experiences of low-educated young people between the ages of 15 and 20 on a group level.

The six-year period from age 15–20 is crucial when considering the VET transition of youth with lower educational degrees, as many of those youths will have left school between the age of 15 and 17 (cf. Solga 2003: 20). The state distribution approach allows for the observation of differences among groups on the aggregate level with respect to their school attendance as well as their subsequent positions. Another approach would be to pick the time when individuals leave school, but this would obscure age-related patterns since the school leaving age varies.

The seven ‘states’, as they are illustrated in the following plots, represent a summary of the activities the interviewees reported to have pursued over a specific time period. To get a more comprehensible picture, for the purpose of these analyses certain activities were grouped together. Other activities, such as ‘attending school’, were specified in more detail, so that continuing the *Hauptschule* (categorised under the state ‘school’) and attending a further education after finishing the *Hauptschule* (states ‘further schooling’ or ‘further training’) presented three different categories. Different from further education are the activities subsumed under the label ‘transition measures’, which encompasses specific schemes or programmes of the Labour Office. The state labeled ‘gap’ includes all time periods for which the young people left unspecified or reported to have done ‘other things’ or ‘stayed at home’.

The plot for the native-born young people (Fig. 3.3) reveals that the distribution into different states as a function of age is structured in a clear manner by institutions. This is indicated by the shifts in the distribution after the age of 16½, with an increase in the share of those who enter employment and a decrease in those who attend various types of education and training. Among 16-year-olds those in employment make up only 6%, whereas at the age of 17 this share is 18% and gradually increases to reach a total share of 48% among the 20-year-olds. In the same age period the share of those getting VET decreases and the share of those in a ‘gap’ increases. Participation in specific schemes or programmes of the intermediary sector (‘transition measures’) takes place mainly before the age 16½ and afterwards remains very low (3–7%).

The first observation when looking at immigrant youth (Fig. 3.4) is that the share of those who are in some kind of school education through all age groups is continuously higher than for the comparison group. Apparently the school biographies of young immigrants differ systematically from those of the native borns; this is due to immigrants being on average older when they leave school. An interesting point is that the share of those who attend *further schooling* is clearly higher. This could be a strategy followed by some young immigrants to improve their chances on the VET market. Nevertheless, throughout all age groups the share participating in VET is lower than for their native-born counterparts and the

percentage of those participating in schemes of the intermediary sector is higher, and does *not* decrease sharply after age 16½. The most important observation if we compare the two plots (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4), however, is related to the overall picture. The aggregated data indicate that the life courses of young immigrants are to a far lesser extent structured by institutional regulations. The redistribution that takes place for native born youth after the age of 16½, in going from school and VET-related activities to employment, is not observed to the same extent for immigrants.

3.5 The Transition Rates of Low-Skilled Youth Entering Vocational Training

In the next step product-limit (or Kaplan-Meier) estimations are employed to compute the transition rates into VET of low-skilled immigrant and native-born youth. For this nonparametric estimation method (cf. Blossfeld et al. 2007: 72–86; Singer and Willett 2003: 483–491), as well as for the PCE models presented in the following section, the risk period for each individual starts at the time when she/he has reported to have been actually searching for a VET opportunity.

Clear differences emerge between the two groups after six months of searching for a vocational training position, as illustrated by the transition functions[8] in Fig. 3.5: More than 40% of the native-born youth have already entered VET, whereas the share of the immigrant youth who have succeeded in their transition is slightly more than a quarter (26%). After just over a year, half of the native-born low-skilled youth have entered vocational training. The group of immigrant youth needs more than twice as long (26 months) to reach that level. After four years of searching 83% of the native-born and 60% of the immigrant population manage to enter VET. The differences between the groups are – as indicated through the illustrated test results – statistically significant. For reasons of brevity further analyses cannot be illustrated here, but it is important to note that a gender-specific comparison of the transition functions within the groups shows no significant differences between males and females.

A closer look at the form of the functions in Fig. 3.5 reveals that the transition rates do not develop at the same speed throughout the observation period. Apparently within the first four months after the search for VET begins some of the young people are successful. The drop in the subsequent time period (months 5–11) indicates that the 'high season' for recruitment of apprentices has ended. Those who did not manage to make the transition have to go for other options, such as the programmes offered by the Labour Office. This pattern is probably

[8]Instead of 'hazard function', which is generally used in the methodological literature, I prefer to employ here the term 'transition function' as this describes the topic under study in a more appropriate way.

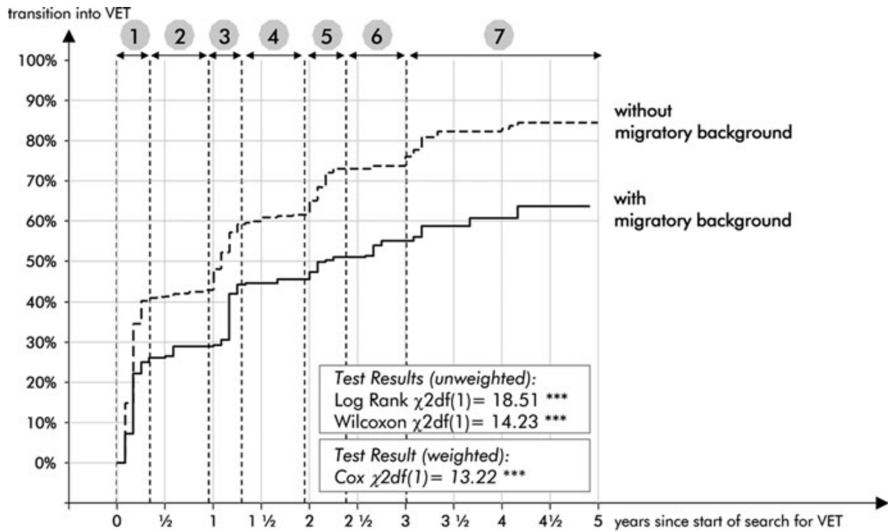

Fig. 3.5 Product-limit estimations for low-skilled youth entering VET (N[individuals] = 812; N[transitions] = 481. Data: BIBB Transition Study 2006; birth cohorts 1982–1988; own calculations)

institutionally induced and is repeated for two other 4-month periods (labeled 3 and 5 in the figure) during which a higher intensity of transitions is observed, again followed by periods (labeled 4 and 6) with relatively little change.

3.6 PCE-Models: Taking into Account Individual Characteristics and Temporal Patterns

The transition functions discussed above reveal important information about the differences between native-born and immigrant youth with respect to the temporal patterns of their participation in VET. In this section I refer to transition rate models and estimate the effect exerted by a range of characteristics on the individual level in addition to the migratory background. To account for temporal patterns, a piecewise constant exponential (PCE) model is employed, in which the total observation time is split into smaller time periods within which the transition rates are assumed to be constant, but from one period to another the rates may change (cf. Blossfeld et al. 2007: 116–127). As a control to assess improvement of the model fit through the introduction of covariates, initially an empty model is estimated. Before the results of the analyses are discussed, the introduced covariates and stepwise extension of the models are presented.

The first covariate included in model 1 is ‘having a migratory background’ with the reference category of ‘being native-born’. The purpose of introducing this

covariate early on is to check if the effect of this characteristic changes in the subsequent models when further covariates are introduced. The basic hypothesis would be that having an immigrant background should not have an effect as soon as further covariates are introduced that capture the education and productivity related characteristics of individuals. In a competing hypothesis, however, we would put forward that 'having a migratory background' may result in a devaluation of the other characteristics if providers of vocational training believe that the productivity or behaviour of an applicant is somehow negatively affected by his/her cultural or ethnic background and therefore want to avoid an erroneous recruitment (Spence 1973; Imdorf 2008).

As mentioned above, the gender-specific comparison of the transition functions within each group did not reveal any significant differences between males and females. Nevertheless gender remains a category of central importance within the German vocational training system (Krüger 1999); therefore in the second model the covariate 'being female' is included.

In the next, third step, the educational attainment of the interviewee is accounted for through incorporating into the model the average grade earned in school. Keeping in mind that in the German grading system 1.0 is the best and 6.0 is the worst grade, 'having a higher grade' refers here to have a grade better than 2.5, whereas the reference category is to have a grade between 2.5 and 6.0. The rationale for including the average grade is related to the assumption that during the assessment of applications for VET, grades may be an important indicator for the potential performance of the applicant. Providers of vocational training do not have many criteria at hand to differentiate between young people from lower educational tracks, as the applicants are on average very young and do not have much work experience. The grade mentioned in school certificate is therefore an important piece of information.

Model 4 introduces the covariate 'parents highly educated'. Keeping in mind that the analyses are about low-skilled youth, for the purposes here, a highly educated parent is one with a higher education than the child's. That is, the parent had a diploma from an intermediate school type, the *Realschule*, or better. If the educational degrees of the two parents differed, the higher educational certificate was taken into consideration. This operationalisation should not be interpreted as an indication that the educational backgrounds of the father and mother were assumed to have the same impact on the educational career of the child (cf. Blossfeld and Huinink 1991), but rather should be seen as a way to account for parental influences that might affect the chances of young people on the VET market.

Theoretical arguments as well as empirical findings point to the fact that the participation in the German VET system is affected by age norms (Solga 2000: 15; Ulrich and Granato 2006: 45). The average age of candidates who want to do a vocational training will, however, vary depending on the past education, that is, on the type of school attended. For instance, young people who follow the lower educational track successfully will graduate at the age of 15 or 16. Therefore in model 5 the covariate "higher age when leaving school" refers to individuals who are 17 and older. For our analysis the assumption would be that if the age of the

applicant is 17 or above, this could be interpreted by a potential recruiter as an indication for a prolonged school career and thus a signal for lower performance.

As the approach used in the following allows for the estimation of the transition rates in different time periods, it is necessary to specify these periods. The plotted transition functions deliver important information that can be used for this purpose. The time intervals will be determined along the above-mentioned high- and low-transition rate periods illustrated in Fig. 3.5.

The estimated parameters for the baseline transition rate confirm the observations we made in our previous analyses. The transition rate during the first 4 months of the search is high and clearly decreases in the subsequent estimation periods. This pattern is repeated twice with alternately increasing and falling transition rates. The parameter estimate for the time-constant covariate 'having a migratory background' introduced in the first model is significantly negative. Interestingly, the covariates introduced in the models 2–4, i.e. being female, having a higher grade when leaving school, or having parents with higher education, do not exert a significant effect. Also the likelihood values indicate that through the introduction of the covariates no substantial improvement in the model fit could be reached. The negative effect of 'having a migratory background', however, remains significant.[9]

In the fifth model the covariate having a 'higher age when leaving school' ($\geq$17) is introduced. As indicated in Table 3.1, being older when leaving school exerts a negative effect, i.e. it significantly slows down the transition into VET. The estimated parameter for 'migratory background' retains approximately the same size and significance. This allows the preliminary conclusion that being an immigrant is – independent of a potential age-related effect – a disadvantage for accomplishing the transition into VET.

Going one step further (Table 3.2), we would like to know if the impact of 'having a migratory background' changes over time and, if yes, how. In order to look at this, we allow the parameter estimation for this covariate to vary across the specified time periods (cf. Blossfeld et al. 2007: 123–127).

The results of this analysis illustrate that, indeed, the negative effect of a migratory background changes, but is not always statistically significant. Within the critical first 4 months after the search for a vocational training opportunity has begun, immigrant youth are apparently in a disadvantaged position: their transition rate is approximately 40% lower than the reference group of the native born youth. This weaker position on the market, however, is not limited to the initial phase of the search. After 2 years (months 24–27) the observable negative effect is even stronger, although it is not as significant as in the first 4-month period. We should however

[9]Due to the restricted available space, further computations that were performed are not presented here. For instance, interaction effects between 'having a migratory background' and other covariates are included in the models but are not shown. Furthermore, instead of the overall grade average, the models were also run with the average grades in the subjects maths or German. Another approach was to introduce the 'having a migratory background' covariate in the final model instead of including it already in model 1. These alternative specifications of the models did not lead to any outcomes that would question the results presented here.

Table 3.1 PCE-Model: transition rates into VET

Covariates		Empty model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Months since search begin	0–4	0.1176***	0.1374***	0.1433***	0.1429***	0.1483***	0.1665***
	5–11	0.0034***	0.0040***	0.0042***	0.0042***	0.0043***	0.0049***
	12–15	0.0721***	0.0874***	0.0915***	0.0913***	0.0946***	0.1059***
	16–23	0.0061***	0.0074***	0.0078***	0.0077***	0.0080***	0.0090***
	24–27	0.0638***	0.0786***	0.0825***	0.0822***	0.0856***	0.0945***
	28–36	0.0118***	0.0147***	0.0156***	0.0155***	0.0162***	0.0178***
	36+	0.0154***	0.0212***	0.0226***	0.0226***	0.0239***	0.0262***
Being female				0.8951 n.s.	0.8943 n.s.	0.8950 n.s.	0.8637 n.s.
Higher grade in diploma					1.0112 n.s.	1.0163 n.s.	0.9876 n.s.
Parents highly educated						0.8990 n.s.	0.9014 n.s.
Higher age when leaving school							0.6991**
Having a migratory background			0.5442***	0.5433***	0.5439***	0.5528***	0.5538***
N (persons)		1,584	1,584	1,584	1,584	1,584	1,584
N (events)		1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008
Log pseudolikelihood		− 2,105	− 2,069	− 2,067	− 2,067	− 2,066	− 2,054
$\chi 2$			72.352***	75.291***	75.313***	77.980***	101.631***
(df)			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Data: BIBB Transition Study 2006; birth cohorts 1982–1988; own calculations *n.s.* not significant; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

Table 3.2 PCE-Model, period specific variation of the migration background

	0–4	0.1640***		0–4	0.5963**
Months since search begin	5–11	0.0053***	Having migratory background	5–11	0.3724 n.s.
	12–15	0.1001***		12–15	0.6802 n.s.
	16–23	0.0099***		16–23	0.3516 n.s.
	24–27	0.1094***		24–27	0.2856*
	28–36	0.0164***		28–36	0.7101 n.s.
	36+	0.0304***		36+	0.3830 n.s.
Being female		0.8598 n.s.			
Higher grade in diploma		0.9815 n.s.			
Parents highly educated		0.9092 n.s.			
Higher age when leaving school		0.6982**			
N (persons)		1,584			
N (events)		1,008			
Log pseudolikelihood		−2,048			
$\chi2$		113.373***			
(df)		(11)			

Data: BIBB Transition Study 2006; birth cohorts 1982–1988; own calculations *n.s.* not significant; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

mention that the lower significance in this time period as well as the non-significance of the parameter estimates in the other defined time intervals may be due to the fact that the overall number of transitions is low. The negative effect of higher age when leaving school remains also in this model.

3.7 Discussion of the Results

The empirical work presented above aimed to analyse from various angles the transition processes of low-skilled youth from school to VET in Germany. A comparison on a descriptive level immediately highlights differences between immigrant and native-born low-skilled youth. This was illustrated through the distributions to different states, such as being in vocational training, taking part in further education or attending a programme, during the 6-year period starting at age 15. These aggregated data show that the distribution of low-skilled youth of native origin into different states for this age range is much more structured than it is for migrant youth. For instance, beginning at the age of 16½ the native borns' share in VET or educational programmes gradually diminishes and the share of youth who, having finished their vocational training, enter the labour market or are looking for a job increases. The overall picture implies a strong institutional regulation of transition processes for native youth (cf. Kohli 1985).

The state distributions for youth with migratory background, in contrast, lead to the impression that the institutionally induced, age-based channelling is much weaker for them. Although over the years the share of individuals attending a school-based education diminishes and the number of young people entering employment increases, these processes seem to occur in a much more unsystematic and generally delayed manner. Instead of obtaining a proper vocational qualification, young migrants attend further schooling or participate in the schemes of the intermediary sector. This might improve their chances, but they may also be 'cooled out' or put on 'waiting loops' (cf. Lex 1997), and finally be excluded from vocational training. Solga (2002) argues that a lower educational background in combination with the label 'participated in programmes' has quite a strong stigmatizing effect on the VET market for all disadvantaged young people in Germany.

In order to see at what rate the individual transitions of low-skilled youth into VET occur after they start to search for such an opportunity, product-limit estimations were computed. A comparison of the plotted transition functions of young people with and without migratory background reveals significant differences. Not only does the overall speed of transitions differ, but also the total share of young individuals who manage to enter vocational training at the end of a 5-year period. Half of the native borns enter VET after approximately one year, whereas slightly more than two years have to pass before 50% of the immigrants have entered vocational training.

As a further step in the analyses, piecewise constant exponential models were employed. This multivariate perspective offers the opportunity to control for individual characteristics that might exert an impact on the probability of entering to VET in specific time periods. The estimated parameters illustrate that for low-skilled youth, other individual features, such as being female, earning better grades in school, or having parents with a higher educational background do not affect the transition rate in a significant way. In addition to the constant negative impact of having an immigrant background, the last introduced PCE model illustrates that the next most significant disadvantage for the transition to VET is leaving school at a higher age. As Settersten and Mayer put it, managing certain transitions successfully is related to age norms, which represent "prescriptions or proscriptions about behavior in the form of 'shoulds' and 'should nots'" (1997: 242). These norms are confirmed through an implicit consensus in society and may, if violated, lead to social sanctions or disadvantages (cf. also Neugarten et al. 1965). The results presented indicate that such age norms exist, with young people who leave school at a later age experiencing greater barriers to entering vocational training.

In a last step the period-specific variation of the impact of migratory background was estimated. The results of this analysis highlight the temporal dimension of opportunity structures on the VET market. There are apparently shorter time periods when the transition rates are high and succeeding longer periods when the overall number of realized transitions is lower. The effect of having a migratory background varies over time. Particularly in the critical time periods, characterised by high chances of entering VET for many young people, immigrants fail to make the necessary transition. This holds true not only for the initial period of the search for vocational training, but also later on.

In sum, the essential outcome of the analysis presented here is that, for low-educated young people, who in terms educational background are assumed to be rather homogenous (Solga and Wagner 2001, 2007), having a migratory background negatively influences the transition into the vocational training system in Germany.

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Chapter 4
Individual Resources and Structural Constraints in Immigrants' Labour Market Integration

Irena Kogan, Frank Kalter, Elisabeth Liebau, and Yinon Cohen

4.1 Introduction

Entering the labour market, gaining adequate employment and pursuing a successful occupational career are central events in the life course of each individual. Among immigrants such events might occur several times in various societal contexts, implying that opportunities and constraints of these specific social circumstances have to be taken into account. Migration in itself is interconnected with the above-mentioned life course events, so that understanding these interrelationships and figuring out how these might vary across various immigrant origins and socio-economic groups are important aims of the migration-related life course research.

The human capital model is considered to be the dominant paradigm in immigrant labour market integration research (Chiswick 1978, 1979, 2005; Kalter 2003). According to its argumentation, immigrants with higher levels of human capital, above all education and labour market experience, are more likely to be quickly and successfully integrated into the receiving society. Empirical evidence

I. Kogan (✉)
Department of Sociology, University of Mannheim,
68131 Mannheim, Germany
e-mail: ikogan@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

F. Kalter
Department of Sociology, University of Mannheim, 68131 Mannheim, Germany
e-mail: kalter@uni-mannheim.de

E. Liebau
German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), 10108 Berlin, Germany
e-mail: eliebau@diw.de

Y. Cohen
Department of Sociology, Columbia University, 606 West 122nd Street, New York,
NY 10027, USA
e-mail: yc2444@columbia.edu

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_4, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

largely supports this idea, but recent studies have also shown that these assumptions cannot, by far, account for all group and all country differences (Kalter and Granato 2007; Kogan 2011). While in some countries educational credentials are extremely predictive of immigrants' labour market success, in other countries additional mechanisms seem to mediate the effect of education on the newcomers' fortunes to a large degree.

In modern economies, even highly-educated immigrants need additional resources to find adequate employment. Higher qualifications are often valued by employers only if they can be supported by fluency or even eloquence in the host country's language (Esser 2006; Kossoudji 1988). Immigrants also have to possess specific knowledge of how the labour market of the host society functions. Furthermore, access to good employment opportunities is often facilitated by the availability of social contacts and network resources (Granovetter 1973; Portes 1995; Lin 1999; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Finally, characteristics that are not captured by formal qualifications, like motivation or readiness to take a risk, might also prove to be relevant for the productivity of immigrants and thus for their successful integration into the economic structures of the receiving society (Chiswick 1978; Borjas 1990; Cohen and Haberfeld 2007). The relative importance of educational credentials and of each of these additional factors depends heavily on the institutional settings of the receiving society, like legal restrictions, labour market regulations etc. Thus the labour market integration of immigrant groups in receiving countries can only be understood by accounting for the interplay between immigrants' individual resources and host countries' structural constraints.

These ideas are well known in integration theory, and an increasing amount of empirical studies has proved the importance of the one or the other aspect. To date, however, hardly any empirical studies regard all these theoretical arguments holistically and test them simultaneously with adequate data and an adequate design. In this paper we intend to do so by means of a comparative analysis of the labour integration of FSU immigrants in Germany and Israel. We make use of primary data that were collected specifically to test the above-mentioned mechanisms.

We start by presenting the general theoretical arguments on the role of individual resources for immigrants' labour market success in more detail, and continue by explaining the rationale behind a comparison of FSU immigrants in Germany and in Israel. Then we describe our data and the variables that capture the theoretical constructs. After this, we present our main results. We conclude with a short summary and a discussion of our findings in the light of the study's major research aims.

4.2 On the Role of Individual Resources for Immigrants' Labour Market Success

Labour markets represent arenas in which workers exchange their labour in return for wages, status and other benefits (Kalleberg and Sørensen 1979: 351). This process is two-sided. On the demand side of the labour market, employers seek

to maximise their profits, sometimes not free of individual preferences, and thus determine the set of opportunities for prospective employees. On the supply side, job seekers try to maximise their income and other labour market outcomes by investing their available resources, which mainly determines their choice of opportunities. In the current paper we focus on the supply side of the labour market, trying to understand how resources, including human capital, cultural knowledge, social networks, and personality traits, might influence immigrants' labour market related life course events. We will find that while there is no lack of theoretical ideas in the field of immigrants' labour market integration, there is indeed a lack of systematic empirical research synthesizing these ideas and trying to provide a genuine empirical test thereof with applicable data and substantive research questions.

4.2.1 Human Capital and Country-Specific Cultural Knowledge

Arriving from abroad, immigrants bring with them educational credentials that are often on a lower level than those in the receiving society or of lower relevance for it. This is due, first, to overall differences in the mean level of educational opportunities in various countries, in particular to disparities between western industrialised countries (host societies) and less-developed countries (sending societies). For example, the lower level of education among immigrants coming from economically depressed areas in Turkey in the 1950s–1970s has been shown to be the prevailing factor in explaining their labour market disadvantages in Germany (Kalter and Granato 2007).

Second, some aspects of human capital, particularly language skills and cultural knowledge,[1] are country specific, i.e., they are more relevant and productive in some societal contexts than in others (Chiswick 1978; Esser 1999; Friedberg 2000). As a consequence of the act of migration, these aspects are discounted to a certain extent, hence leading to a certain devaluation of human capital. The more dissimilar the structures and cultures of the sending societies are to those of the receiving societies, the more difficult it is for immigrants to adapt to a new society. With the passage of time in the host country, differences between the native-born population and immigrants in terms of human capital should narrow as immigrants learn the host country's language, gain knowledge about how its labour market functions, and acquire local education and training.

The third point to be mentioned here is that the trend towards assimilation might be slowed down or even disrupted if immigrants are reluctant or unable to invest in the human capital specific to the host country, including the host country's language

[1] Cultural knowledge is understood to be a broad knowledge of the functioning of a specific society, including means of navigating in it, such as knowledge of its language or knowledge on how its institutions function.

(Bonacich 1972; England 1992; Dustmann 2000). Generally, one of the reasons for such reluctance is that immigrants often consider their stay in the host country as temporary, and, reasonably, refuse to make investments that are not certain to pay off (Kalter 2003). Furthermore, employers might also be hesitant to invest in their education or offer on-the-job training, since such investments might be lost if immigrants return to their home countries. For immigrants with pronounced permanent orientation, educational investments by the host country also cannot be taken for granted, as immigrants' older ages upon migration or the absence of institutional structures in the host country to promote life-long learning for the working age population might represent additional hurdles in this regard.

While the above-mentioned theoretical arguments are by no means new, there are hardly any studies designed to directly test these ideas with appropriate empirical constructs. This is partially so because the official data, e.g., those stemming from the census or labour force survey, are not collected specifically for the analysis of immigrant populations and hence do not contain information on immigrants' qualifications from abroad, on recognition of those qualifications by the receiving society, or to which degree migrants have participated in retraining courses to gain host-country-specific qualifications. The maximum that can be done with most available data is to establish the highest level of education attained by immigrant respondents and to proxy whether this was acquired in the host country or in the sending country. This procedure often fails to capture nuances of host-country specificity of immigrants' educational attainment, which might be particularly problematic in countries with a strong signalling value of education for labour market success (e.g., as in Germany).

4.2.2 Social Capital

One of the key notions of life course research is the idea of linked lives or, in other words, the embeddedness of life course events in social relationships (Elder et al. 2003). From the economic perspective as well, social networks are known to be effective sources of information on job vacancies, of reduced transaction costs and of increased efficiency (Granovetter 1974; Waldinger 1996; Burt 1992). Since Granovetter's seminal work (1973, 1974), a large body of research has addressed the role of social capital in labour market success (Burt 2001; Lin 2001; Lin et al. 2001; Portes 1998). The use of informal search methods is viewed as efficient for both employers and job seekers (Ioannides and Loury 2004; Marsden 2001; Erickson 2001). For employers, referrals by third parties reduce uncertainty related to the value of potential employees' skills and credentials. For job seekers, the use of social resources provides a means of accessing information on job openings and increases the efficiency of job searches (Montgomery 1992; Flap and Boxman 2001).

The issue of social networks has attracted growing scholarly attention in migration research (see Mouw 2002; Kalter 2006; Martinovic et al. 2009; Drever and Hoffmeister 2008; Haug 2007). Drever and Hoffmeister (2008), for example,

show that in Germany almost 50% of all jobs attained by immigrants are found with the help of networks (among the native-born the corresponding figure is 30%). The consequences of these facts are disputed: It is argued that immigrants' heavy reliance on social networks might lead to lower-quality employment (Kazemipur 2006; Falcon and Melendez 2001; Elliott 2001) or to lower wages (Green et al. 1999). Note that with regard to immigrants, a relevant issue of their networks is not just availability or size, but also quality, particularly with regard to the ethnic composition. If ethnic stratification is in place, homogeneous ethnic networks might be less effective for immigrants' upward mobility chances and might even lead to a sort of entrapment (Wiley 1970; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes 1998; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). On the other hand, and this is particularly relevant for recent newcomers, ethnic community infrastructure and inter-ethnic connections might offer immigrants a shelter in the initial period of their adaptation to the host society and provide security, high solidarity and labour market opportunities within the ethnic economy (Portes 1995; Zhou 1992; Waldinger 1994, 2005; Sanders and Nee 1996; Sanders et al. 2002). According to the segmented assimilation approach, ethnic communities are said to provide an alternative to immigrants' blocked upward assimilation into the mainstream society, but, what is more important, an alternative to their downward assimilation into the host society's underclass structures (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1999). Tight-knit immigrant community structures might cushion immigrants' economic integration into the middle class, albeit accompanied by lagged acculturation and deliberate preservation of the immigrant community values (see example of Asian Americans, Xie and Goyette 2003).

Although the ideas of social capital analysts are very appealing for the analysis of the labour market inclusion of immigrants, they have rarely been tested in their complexity and under application of appropriate methodological tools. Again, once working with most existing data, one can hardly get any information at all on networks, not to mention information on the ethnic composition of immigrants' networks.

4.2.3 Immigrant Selectivity on Unobserved Characteristics

The level of educational attainment among immigrants is affected by immigrant selection and self-selection processes, an issue discussed particularly by economists. They argue that people voluntarily emigrating from a particular country are not a random sample drawn from the population, but rather a selected group. Economic immigrants, Chiswick (1978) argues, represent the more ambitious, motivated, risk-taking, and able elements in their source countries. This is so because only persons with such characteristics are willing to take the risky and costly step of migrating. Chiswick's (1978) explanation for the exceptional success of immigrants arriving in the USA in the 1950s–1960s is, in fact, based on their positive self-selection. Selection clearly varies with respect to the type of migration, economic migrants

being more favourably self-selected on the basis of higher intrinsic abilities and economic motivation, and tied movers or refugees less so (Chiswick 2000).

While the above-described patterns of immigrant self-selection are relevant for the comparison of migrants to those who do not migrate, Borjas' (1987, 1990, 1994) work sheds light on the differences in immigrant self-selection depending on the choice of their destination countries. According to the Roy Model of immigrants' self-selection (Borjas 1987), immigrants' selectivity in terms of both observed and unobserved traits depends upon the relative returns on skills in source, respectively destination, countries. Positive selection for skills, i.e., selection from the upper tail of the home country's income distribution, is expected of immigrants from relatively egalitarian countries, i.e., those in which income is less dispersed, who immigrate to more unequal countries, i.e., the ones with more dispersed income (e.g., the US or Israel for that matter), where highly skilled immigrants can enjoy greater returns on their skills. By contrast, negative selection of immigrants, i.e., those that hearken from the lower levels of income distribution, is expected in the case of immigration from relatively unequal to more equal countries, where the (welfare) state protects the less skilled (e.g., Sweden or Germany for that matter).

The patterns of immigrant self-selection as appealing as they are, are difficult to test directly (Cohen et al. 2008), and many studies have drawn their conclusions ex-post-facto based on the residual differences in economic performance between immigrant and native-born populations after taking observed factors into account (Cohen and Haberfeld 2007). The problem with such analyses is that the residual ethnic or immigrant penalties (Heath and Cheung 2007) might not only be a function of differences in unobservables, but also be driven by other factors, including a difference in institutional characteristics of the host country, e.g., labour market structures, immigration policies, welfare regime institutions etc. (Cohen and Kogan 2007; Kogan 2007). Although hardly any official dataset contains any information on individual unobserved characteristics since these are, per definition, difficult to measure, recent research has made strides in exploring the role of personal traits in labour market success (Heckman et al. 2006; Kunh and Weinberger 2005; Uhlig et al. 2009; Barrik and Mount 1991). Nonetheless, until now hardly any studies have explored the role of personality characteristics in immigrants' self-selection and their success in the host country's labour market.

4.3 The German and Israeli Context: On the Role of Institutional Constraints

Migration and immigrants' integration are interrelated life course events, which are clearly embedded in social institutions and are subject to institutional forces and pressures of both sending and receiving societies (Elder et al. 2003; Mayer 2001). This implies that mechanisms of immigrants' labour market allocation are mediated and altered by these countries' institutional constraints. The best way

to tease out the role of institutions is to do so from a comparative perspective. In the following we focus on immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) who came to Israel and Germany during the 1990s and early 2000s (for more information on the circumstances of their migration see Gruber and Rüßler 2002; Dietz 2000; Becker 2001; Schoeps et al. 1996, 1999; Cohen and Kogan 2005, 2007). This provides us with an especially interesting and strategic design. On the one hand, immigration of Jewish immigrants from the same source country who were granted a free choice to emigrate to both destination countries enables us to conduct a rigorous comparison of a single ethnic group in two countries whose migration policies, welfare assistance and labour market institutions differ. Jewish immigrants in both countries share a similar ethno-cultural background and demographic characteristics and do not differ significantly with regard to either observed human capital characteristics, or unobservable traits (Cohen and Kogan 2007; Cohen et al. 2008). On the other hand, we can compare Jewish FSU immigrants in Germany, or Jewish quota refugees (JQR) as this group is officially labelled, to Ethnic Germans in Germany. Through this comparison we actually keep the institutional context in the labour market structure and welfare regulations constant, observing two groups that might differ in their individual resources and labour market preferences. Such a comparison might also capture another substantial difference between these two groups of immigrants that is related to the differences in their legal status, including German citizenship acquisition. Whereas JQR have to wait for about 6–8 years to receive German citizenship, immigrants arriving with the status of Ethnic Germans receive it immediately, and their further relatives receive it after 3 years of residence.

While, to our knowledge, no studies have compared JQR and FSU Ethnic Germans in Germany until now, previous research does compare Jewish FSU immigrants across the two countries (Cohen et al. 2008; Cohen and Kogan 2005, 2007; Kogan and Cohen 2007). It singled out the key features of the two countries' institutional set-ups that are relevant for immigrants' quick and successful integration into the labour market: the linkage between education and the labour market, particularly the degree of recognition of foreign educational credentials, the flexibility of the labour markets, and the systems of welfare assistance (Cohen and Kogan 2007). All three elements taken together, in Germany we are more likely to observe difficulties on the part of immigrants to enter gainful employment. The link between education and the labour market is one of the strongest in Europe (Müller et al. 1998), and thus detrimental to rapid economic integration of immigrants. At the same time, efforts to recognise foreign educational certificates are minimal, except in the case of Ethnic Germans. Despite recent attempts at flexibilisation, the German labour market remains quite rigid, with relatively high labour costs and a pronounced insider-outsider divide (DiPrete and McManus 1996; Thelen 1991). Finally, welfare assistance in Germany is comparatively generous, possibly constituting a disincentive for highly-educated immigrants to take on low-skilled jobs.

Non-surprisingly, therefore, research on FSU immigrants in the two countries found much higher unemployment risks for FSU Jewish immigrants in Germany than for those in Israel (Cohen and Kogan 2007). However, if able to enter employment, FSU Jewish immigrants in Germany are more likely than those

in Israel to enter higher status professional, technical and managerial (PTM) occupations. Cohen and Kogan (2007) conclude that because the German labour market is more rigid and welfare benefits are more generous and long-lasting, FSU Jewish immigrants in Germany, unlike those in Israel, are not forced to take whatever job is available, but can wait for matching employment. Despite these quite plausible explanations, the authors also point to alternative explanations, for example, the different role that ethnic economies might play in the two countries in accommodating immigrant job seekers or their preferences for specific occupations. However, the authors were unable to test any of these ideas due to the lack of adequate data: The official Microcensus data they relied upon does not contain constructs relevant for explaining immigrants' labour market penalties, discussed above. Furthermore, there are some flaws in identifying Jewish FSU immigrants in the German Microcensus (see Cohen and Kogan 2005, 2007).

In the current paper, we intend to build upon the earlier research of Cohen and Kogan (2007) and try to overcome some of its limits. To this end we present results of analyses based on a primary data collection among the relevant populations in both countries. This study paid specific attention to a proper operationalisation of the above-discussed theoretical mechanisms that could be responsible for explaining immigrants' labour market penalties.

4.4 Description of the Data and Variables

To answer the questions of whether and why FSU immigrants vary in their chances to become successfully integrated into the receiving societies' labour markets we use data from a comparative survey in Germany and Israel. In both countries we interviewed immigrants aged 25–54, who arrived from the FSU at age 18 or older in the years 1994–2005. In Germany the survey was conducted by telephone between May and June 2007 solely among immigrants and the data for the native-born German reference population was supplemented by the national representative sample from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), wave 2007 (see Liebau 2010).[2] In Israel data was also collected per telephone, both for FSU Jews (interviews were also conducted in Russian) and native Israelis in August 2007 and April 2008. The total number of cases collected in Germany is 655 FSU Jewish immigrants and 891 FSU ethnic Germans (Germany); and in Israel, 827 FSU immigrants, and 628 native Israelis (Israel).

For the sake of comparability, we use the same dependent variables as in the earlier research (Cohen and Kogan 2007): unemployment risk and the propensity of gaining employment in professional, technical and managerial (PTM) jobs. The

[2]Since the non-immigrant German population of the GSOEP constitutes the benchmark group to which Ethnic Germans and JQR are compared, the phrasing of many questions was taken directly from the GSOEP.

former dependent variable differentiates between unemployed individuals and those in employment, thus focusing on the active labour force. The latter dependent variable refers to the propensity of gaining employment in professional, technical and managerial jobs, which are the jobs pertaining to groups 1–3 (encompassing legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals) on the International Standard Classification of occupations (ISCO-88). In addition, once analysing immigrant populations in both countries we also explore immigrants' chances to flock to ethnic economies. Immigrants are considered to work in the ethnic economy if the proportion of co-ethnic colleagues or employers at the respondent's working place is more than half. All dependent variables pertain to employment status at the moment of observation, i.e., in summer 2007. Due to the binomial character of all three dependent variables we use binomial logistic regressions as our basic tool of analysis.

As independent variables we also replicate those used in the study by Cohen and Kogan (2007), i.e., gender, age, family status, and education. Most importantly, however, we are able to look at further indicators capturing the constructs of the major theoretical arguments. We control for host-country-specific human capital, capturing all relevant aspects, such as recognition of foreign educational credentials and participation in schooling and/or training in Germany or Israel. Host-country-specific cultural knowledge was measured by means of language proficiency, both subjectively assessed and the fact of speaking German/Hebrew at home. Social networks are captured in several ways. First, we explore whether immigrants had friends or relatives in Germany, respectively Israel, before immigration. Second, we assess the composition of respondents' network of friends (Russian/German/Israeli) at the moment of survey. All these immigrant-specific variables are coded in such a way that a value of zero (the reference category) reflects immigrants' resemblance to (or assimilation with) the natives. The value for natives was set to zero anyway, so that in a sense we estimate an immigrant-specific interaction effect. For example, immigrants who do not speak the language of the host country at home are assigned a value of 1 in the variable 'Not speaking German/Hebrew at home'. Immigrants who speak German/Hebrew at home are assigned 0, and 0 is also assigned to all natives. Thus, the effects of all immigrant-relevant variables discussed above pertain to the gap between immigrants with varying characteristics on these variables, whereas the main effects for the immigrant groups pertain to the average differences between these groups and the natives.

Further, we control for personality traits measured by the so-called 'Big Five' (Dehne and Schupp 2007; Lang and Lüdtke 2005), including items pertaining to openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. By including these measures we try to gain insight into the importance of psychological factors that are potentially relevant for immigrants' labour market integration but are usually ignored in the migration research. The variables capturing character traits are controlled in the study, but we do not estimate effects of personality traits separately for immigrants and natives, as this would overstretch the current paper. Hence the effects of personality traits are controlled for in the models but not reported separately in the tables below.

In models comparing FSU immigrants across countries, or JQRs and Ethnic Germans in Germany (as in the analyses presented in Table 4.3), we also control for years since migration and for the latter models also for citizenship status, contrasting immigrants possessing German citizenship with those who are not yet naturalized.

The analyses include only cases with non-missing information on all relevant variables. This results in 530 valid cases for JQRs, 730 valid cases for Ethnic Germans, 6,765 valid cases for the native Germans, 670 valid cases for FSU immigrants in Israel, and 566 valid cases for native Israelis. For the description and definitions of all variables used in the analyses see Table 4.A.1 in the appendix.

4.5 Results of the Multivariate Analyses

4.5.1 Extending the Set of Individual Resources as Predictors of Gainful Employment: Jewish FSU Immigrants Compared to Natives in Germany and Israel

We start our multivariate analyses by replicating the model used in the earlier analyses with the standard set of independent variables (like gender, age, age squared, marital status, and education). To this end we only compare Jewish FSU immigrants to natives in both countries, running separate regression models, neglecting Ethnic Germans for the time being. The results are presented in Model 1 in Table 4.1; they largely correspond to the findings found in Cohen and Kogan (2007).[3] The odds-ratio of 9.07 signals that Jewish FSU immigrants in Germany face a much higher risk of unemployment (relative to the natives) than their counterparts in Israel, for whom we find hardly any disadvantage with regard to employment (odds-ratio: 1.17). When looking at the relative chances of the immigrants to enter PTM employment, we find huge disadvantages of comparable size (0.25, resp. 0.29) in both countries. Thus a central finding from the earlier studies is confirmed by replicating the analyses with our new dataset.

In Model 2, we include a larger set of independent variables identified as relevant for explaining immigrants' labour market chances. Comparing the odds-ratios to those in Model 1 shows that taking into account differences between immigrants and natives in relevant country-specific human capital, cultural resources, social networks and personality characteristics; we are able to account for a large part of the immigrants' penalties. The formerly ninefold penalty of FSU Jewish immigrants in Germany (compared to the charter population) is now reduced to a 2.3-fold penalty, albeit remaining statistically significant. In Israel the above-mentioned constructs do

[3]We would certainly not expect them to be completely identical, since both datasets differ in the definition of the migrant population, particularly with regard to the years of immigration and age at migration.

Table 4.1 Relative labour market success (compared to natives) of Jewish FSU immigrants in Israel and Germany; odds ratios (and standard errors) from country-specific logistic regressions

		Model 1 (gender, age, age squared, marital status, education)		Model 2 (+ host country specific human capital, host country specific cultural capital, social capital, and personality traits)		N
Unemployment risk	Germany	9.07**	(1.17)	2.28*	(0.88)	7,295
	Israel	1.17	(0.22)	0.90	(0.40)	1,236
PTM employment	Germany	0.25**	(0.03)	1.79	(0.72)	6,705
	Israel	0.29**	(0.04)	1.32	(0.46)	953

Note: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$

not seem to play any role in explaining immigrants' labour market chances, which is not particularly surprising since we observe hardly any employment penalties for the FSU Jewish immigrants there. Model 2 is particularly successful in explaining penalties with regard to the job status of employed immigrants. Clearly, the variables added in Model 2 are crucial to understanding the relatively low occupational success of Jewish FSU immigrants in both countries. Once we observe immigrants with characteristics comparable to those of the native-born, the penalties with regard to PTM employment that are visible in Model 1 disappear. Now, in Model 2 we observe even somewhat higher (albeit insignificantly) relative chances among immigrants to land PTM jobs (1.79, resp. 1.32) in both countries.

Our next table, Table 4.2, shows how the central constructs of interest, i.e., human capital, cultural capital, and social capital, operate in each of the two countries with regard to both dependent variables. In general and consistent with the findings from Table 4.1, it is evident that these predictors make a more pronounced contribution to explaining immigrants' penalties in Germany than in Israel. If immigrants' FSU education is not recognised in Germany, they are less likely to face unemployment (0.60), but also have much lower chances of entering PTM employment (0.34). Whereas the latter effect is quite understandable – in the end it is difficult to enter high-status employment in a host society if one's education is not officially recognised – the first finding appears less intuitive. It might indicate a voluntary aspect of unemployment among those whose FSU education is recognised. The finding that they are more likely to be unemployed might be related to the fact that these people wait in order to enter matching employment, a phenomenon already mentioned in Cohen and Kogan (2007). In Israel official recognition of education does not entail any obvious advantage to those who gained it (1.19, resp. 0.96).

Host-country-specific education and training seems no less important for securing employment, particularly higher-status employment. In Germany immigrants who did not invest in host-country education are penalised by higher chances of unemployment (1.83) and somewhat lower chances of entering PTM employment (0.58; only significant at the 10 percent-level). A lack of Israeli education and

Table 4.2 Effect of individual resources in Israel and Germany; odds ratios and standard errors in parentheses

	Unemployment risk		PTM employment	
	Germany	Israel	Germany	Israel
Host country specific human capital				
FSU education not officially recognised	0.60* (0.14)	1.19 (0.39)	0.34** (0.09)	0.96 (0.24)
Without local education or training	1.83* (0.53)	1.32 (0.40)	0.58^{+} (0.17)	0.20** (0.05)
Host country specific cultural capital				
German or Hebrew, spoken or written, at the level below good (subjective)	1.66^{+} (0.44)	1.18 (0.34)	0.29** (0.08)	0.74 (0.16)
Not speaking German/Hebrew at home	4.13** (0.95)	0.96 (0.27)	0.38** (0.12)	0.91 (0.21)
Social capital				
Did not know anyone in Germany/Israel before migration	1.57* (0.35)	1.18 (0.31)	1.23 (0.33)	0.80 (0.19)
Majority of friends: Russian	1.19 (0.34)	0.66 (0.18)	0.74 (0.23)	0.79 (0.18)
N	7,295	1,236	6,705	953

Note: $^{+}p < 0.10$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$. In all models we also control for ethnicity, gender, age, age squared, marital status, education, and personality traits

training hardly affects the unemployment risk of FSU Jewish immigrants (1.32), but it dramatically lowers their chances for PTM employment by the factor of five (0.20).

Lack of proficiency in the language of the host country matters, irrespectively of its measurement (subjective or objective), but it matters significantly only in Germany. FSU Jewish immigrants with a poorer command of spoken and written German are more likely to face unemployment (1.66) and have substantially lower chances of entering PTM employment (0.29). Similarly, not speaking German at home increases the unemployment risk enormously (4.13) and also reduces the odds of entering PTM employment (0.38) in Germany. Although these results are in line with our theoretical predictions, it is nonetheless puzzling why we do not find similar effects for the knowledge of Hebrew in Israel. Apparently the fact that knowledge of Hebrew does not appear to determine chances of FSU Jews either for any employment or for higher-status employment is related to the opportunities open for them in Russian-speaking ethnic economies, which is quite pronounced in Israel (Mesch 2002).

Our results with regard to the role of the social capital are somewhat disappointing. Apart from a single effect of not knowing someone in Germany prior to migration, which seems to increase the unemployment risk of FSU Jews there

(odds ratios of 1.57), no other social-capital variables turned out to have a strong effect or to be significant. Specifically in Israel the social network of FSU Jews does not seem to play any particular role in easing their employment chances. It should be noted, however, that the two variables included in these analyses are quite indirect measurements for the use of social contacts as a means of securing access to any employment. Simply knowing someone in the host country prior to migration does not mean that such contacts will be helpful in providing information about job opportunities or even more – in serving as references for suitable jobs. Similarly, a simple account of the ethnic composition of the friendship network does not say anything about whether this network will be helpful in providing access to gainful employment. Moreover, the issue of causality remains unresolved here, as it might equally be that the employment status affects the composition of one's friends' network and not the other way around. That is why in the future research, focusing solely on the FSU immigrants in Germany, we will rely on more direct measures of social networks that might be more telling for the labour market success and apply methods of analyses more appropriate for detecting causal relationships (e.g., event-history modelling).

4.5.2 Pursuing the Effects of Institutional Restrictions: Comparing Jews in Germany to Jews in Israel and to Ethnic Germans in Germany

Thus far our analyses have concentrated on the comparison of FSU Jewish immigrants to the native-born across countries. After adequately capturing differences in the individual resources between immigrants and natives and accounting for usually 'unobservable' characteristics by including information on central personality traits, we are more certain to relate at least part of the existing ethnic penalties to the institutional structures of labour market regulation and to the welfare assistance in place in the immigrant-receiving societies. We were indeed able to show that after controlling for individual resources carefully, ethnic penalties exist solely in Germany and only with respect to immigrants' employment access. There, FSU immigrants with relevant human capital, cultural capital, social capital, and personality characteristics are still less likely than the native-born to enter employment.

Additional insights can be expected from a direct comparison of FSU Jews across the two countries. This means that we are no longer comparing differences (between countries) in differences (of immigrants to natives) anymore, but are looking directly at the differences in the employment chances of FSU Jews in Germany and those in Israel. In a sense, this follows the idea of a natural experiment: indeed all those Jewish immigrants (and their non-Jewish family members) who ended up in Germany could as easily have entered Israel and for most in Israel the opposite is true. In such a comparison we ask how FSU Jewish quota refugees who headed to

Table 4.3 Jewish FSU immigrants in Germany compared to Jewish FSU immigrants in Israel and Ethnic Germans in Germany; odds ratios and standard errors in parentheses

	Comparison to FSU immigrants in Israel		Comparison to Ethnic Germans	
Unemployment risk	3.42*	(0.68)	2.15**	(0.53)
PTM employment	1.43^{+}	(0.28)	3.89**	(0.98)
Employment in ethnic economy	0.22**	(0.04)	1.12	(0.29)

Note: $^{+}p < 0.10$; $*p < 0.05$; $**p < 0.01$. In all models we control for gender, age, age squared, marital status, education, years since migration, country-specific human, cultural, social capital and personality traits. In the model comparing JQRs with Ethnic Germans we also control for citizenship status

Germany would fare in the Israeli labour market, had they chosen Israel instead of Germany as their country of destination.[4]

Another meaningful comparison is the comparison of Jewish quota refugees in Germany to another FSU immigrant group found there: Ethnic Germans. Both immigrant populations face the same labour markets. They differ however in their privileges, such as entitlement to citizenship and recognition of education certificates, as well as in their ethnicity and pre-migration socio-demographic characteristics, which might determine their preferences and job aspirations. If these two groups still differ in the patterns of their labour market incorporation once we have adequately controlled for the apparent socio-demographic variation between the two groups, this points to the importance of the legal institutional context in Germany.

Table 4.3 presents the results of these additional comparisons. As in the earlier analyses, we look at unemployment risk and propensity for PTM employment as dependent variables. Further, we extend our analyses to an additional dependent variable: employment in an apparent ethnic niche. The first column, which shows the direct comparison of the labour-market chances of FSU Jewish migrants across countries, delivers a well-expected pattern: compared to FSU Jews in Israel, Jewish quota refugees with similar characteristics (see the extensive set of controlled variables) in Germany face significantly higher unemployment risks (3.42), and have somewhat higher chances to enter PTM-employment (1.43, the effect is significant at the 10 percent-level), but dramatically lower chances to end up in the ethnic economy. As expected, at least some of the FSU immigrants in Israel are absorbed by opportunities available in ethnically organised businesses, whereas in Germany the ethnic economy apparently creates much fewer job possibilities for

[4]In such a comparison we assume that immigrants' self-selection mechanisms, not captured by our control variables, are similar across the two countries.

FSU immigrants. This is by no means surprising, taking into account an overall higher proportion of FSU immigrants in Israel, particularly in relation to the country's total population.

The second column in Table 4.3 allows us to compare Jewish quota refugees to Ethnic Germans within Germany. Results clearly show that Jewish quota refugees, other things being equal, are more likely to be unemployed, but at the same time are significantly more likely to enter PTM jobs if successfully employed. These results point against the assumption of possible discrimination against Jewish immigrants in Germany – why should JQR be discriminated at job entry but preferred when it comes to higher-status employment – in favour of another explanation. As already mentioned elsewhere (Cohen and Kogan 2007), we might be dealing with a voluntary aspect of unemployment among FSU Jewish immigrants in terms of their 'waiting for matching jobs'. Finally, results show that Ethnic Germans, who are a much larger group of FSU immigrants in Germany, do not use opportunities of the Russian ethnic economy any more than do JQR to enter gainful employment.

4.5.3 Accounting for the Residual Effects: Preferences or Aspirations?

So far we were able to confirm previous findings of a higher risk of unemployment among FSU Jewish immigrants in Germany than among native-born Germans, Ethnic German immigrants, or FSU Jews in Israel. Controlling for an extensive set of independent variables pertaining to individual human, cultural and social capital as well as to personality characteristics, we are able to account for a large part of the employment penalty, but a residual effect still remains. How can we explain the fact that Jewish quota refugees in Germany are more likely than Ethnic Germans to stay unemployed, apparently awaiting better employment chances and eventually getting them?

In the theoretical sections we mentioned that the job search behaviour of the native-born might differ from that of immigrants. Being rational actors they are expected to enter employment if it promises them labour-market returns higher than those of their status quo upon remaining unemployed. If highly skilled immigrants face difficulties in entering adequate employment in a country with relatively high levels of welfare assistance (which is higher in Germany than in Israel, see Cohen and Kogan 2007), they might rationally prefer to stay unemployed, as long as they are sure in the end to enter high-status employment matching their qualifications. In other words, such immigrants might maintain their high reservation wages, which prevent them from entering employment at any price. If the labour market does not support such practices of 'waiting' but instead pushes immigrants, even highly skilled ones, to enter any employment at all, then immigrants will not stick to their high reservation wages but will enter employment more quickly. The latter situation is more likely to occur in Israel than in Germany.

Table 4.4 Reservation wage for unemployed FSU immigrants and natives

		Mean	N
Germany (in Euros)	Native-born (net income)	1,066.23	265
	FSU Jews	1,599.59	123
	Ethnic Germans	1,271.63	86
Israel (in NIS)	Native-born	5,651.02	49
	FSU Jews	5,061.29	62

In Table 4.4 we report reservation wages for unemployed immigrants and the native-born in the two countries. The figures for the native-born and FSU immigrants in Germany are taken from different datasets and thus are not strictly comparable. Furthermore, the results should be approached with some caution, as the sample sizes are quite small. Even if the results suffer from these and other flaws, they point in the expected direction. Compared to natives, FSU immigrants in Germany, particularly FSU Jewish quota refugees, declare higher wages needed for them to enter employment. This is particularly evident in the contrast between FSU Ethnic Germans and FSU Jews, which does not suffer from limitations of incomparability and is quite telling: reservation wages of FSU Jewish immigrants are substantially higher than those of Ethnic Germans, and the gap between the two remains pronounced, even if we look only at the highly educated.[5] The picture is opposite in Israel. Here, in accordance with our expectation, FSU immigrants claim to have somewhat lower reservation wages than the natives. Our results thus deliver one answer to the original question of why FSU Jews in Germany might face higher unemployment. Apparently they rationally decide to wait for better jobs, which are not quickly obtained in a rigid German labour market.

It still remains unclear why FSU Jewish immigrants allow themselves to wait for suitable employment at times when Ethnic Germans settle for jobs of much lower occupational status while claiming much lower reservation wages. Welfare state differences cannot be an explanation here, because welfare assistance extended to Ethnic Germans is not much different from the opportunities that Jewish quota refugees can make use of.

Apparently we should search for alternative explanations as well, one of those mentioned earlier being job aspirations. If we turn to the life course of FSU immigrants back in their home countries and look at the list of the most frequent occupations Ethnic Germans and Jewish quota refugees used to pursue in the former Soviet Union, the difference is striking (Table 4.5). JQR used to work in high-status highly specialised occupations for which special licences (as in the case of medical doctors) or German citizenship (as in the case of teachers, who in Germany hold a special status of civil servants) are necessary. Having spent many years in acquiring

[5] Among the unemployed JQRs with a tertiary education the reservation wage is 1,637 Euros (N = 79), whereas among Ethnic German immigrants with higher education it is merely 1,284 Euros (N = 38). Due to the small sample sizes these results should be interpreted with extreme caution.

Table 4.5 Five most frequent occupations among the German FSU immigrants in their home countries

Ethnic Germans	JQR
Bookkeeper	Architect, engineer or other scientist
Chauffeur	Teacher, secondary school
Sales personnel	Doctor, physician
Truck driver	Bookkeeper
Construction electrician	Electrical engineer

the qualifications necessary for these professions, JQR might be reluctant to give them up easily and instead work in lower-status occupations, which in Germany they might be able to enter with fewer obstacles. JQR are apparently more likely to engage in further education and training as well as German language courses to improve their chances for higher status employment (see also Table 4.A.1 for this evidence). Unlike JQR, Ethnic Germans tended to work in the FSU more in blue-collar or lower-level white-collar occupations, for which retraining is not that essential, high language proficiency is less of a precondition and status loss is not that pronounced.

4.6 Summary and Discussion

The major aim of this paper was to explore the importance of individual resources and of structural constraints for an important life course event among immigrants, their successful labour-market integration in a new country. We focused on human capital, above all on host-country-specific education, cultural capital in terms of proficiency in the language of the host country, social capital in terms of composition of immigrants' friendship networks, and personality traits. We also pointed to crucial differences in the receiving contexts of Germany and of Israel. Although the importance of the above-mentioned dimensions is theoretically indisputable, to date surprisingly little empirical work has been able to analyse the whole range of individual resources in one empirical model. Very few surveys contain information on a large set of variables directly related to the theoretically derived constructs, and almost no study explores this information in a strictly comparative design. The current study, contributing to theory-driven empirical research, with a substantive interest in explaining differences in labour-market attainment among FSU immigrants in Germany and Israel, is an obvious exception.

In accordance with already existing research, the current study confirms that FSU immigrants and native Israelis do not differ substantially in their employment propensity. Furthermore, there hardly any differences between the two groups in their propensity for PTM employment once completion of local education and training is achieved. The situation differs dramatically in Germany. Here, FSU Jewish immigrants have a higher propensity towards unemployment, even after controlling for their human, cultural, and social resources and character traits, although the disadvantage declines strongly when these individual characteristics

are taken into account. After including a detailed set of individual resources we are even able to fully explain immigrants' disadvantage with regard to the status of the jobs they attain. In fact, unlike in prior analyses based on a limited set of predictors (Cohen and Kogan 2007), in our current analyses for Germany FSU immigrants exhibit a similar propensity for PTM employment, given completion of host-country-specific education and training and a high level of language proficiency.

While we are able to account for large parts of the immigrants' penalties with respect to employment chances, we are still unable to explain why FSU Jewish immigrants face a remaining twofold risk of unemployment in Germany, even when controlling for the extended set of independent variables. Searching for exhaustive explanations, we confirmed that the existence of an extensive ethnic economy in Israel contributes to an easier labour-market entry of Russian Jewish immigrants there. Apparently, the fact that the Russian ethnic economy is not that pronounced in Germany (see Table 4.A.1 for such evidence), not the least due to the heterogeneity of various FSU immigrants settling there, keeps many FSU immigrants out of employment, particularly those who are less oriented towards the receiving society.

Another part of the explanation for existing cross-national differences in employment chances of the FSU Jews seems to be the existing welfare support systems in the two countries. Whereas the German welfare system is erected to protect individuals from occupational downgrading, and despite its very recent amendments still allows them enough time to find employment matching their educational qualifications, the minimalist Israeli approach encourages the unemployed to take up any employment, often at the price of a severe occupational mismatch. These assumptions were indirectly confirmed in our study, as we were able to show that the lower unemployment risk among FSU immigrants in Israel (compared to Germany) is partially attributed to the lower reservation wages among FSU immigrants. Instead FSU Jewish immigrants in Germany have higher hopes of finding employment suitable to their occupational qualifications, definitely more so than Ethnic Germans from the FSU.

Education, particularly education obtained in the host countries, appears to be one of the strongest predictors of immigrants' labour market success. Our evidence confirms this for both the German and the Israeli case. However, we started this paper with the claim that accounting for human capital alone by far is not sufficient to explain immigrants' labour market penalties in modern immigrant societies. Cultural knowledge and social resources are necessary in order to enter gainful employment. Our findings seem to strongly support this view, particularly in the German case. Although in Germany educational credentials remain the most important predictor for job entry and occupational mobility, if such qualification are not attained or at least not recognised in Germany, migrants are bound to face serious difficulties with regard to employment. Language problems apparently also contribute to immigrants' weak labour market performance, but more so in Germany than in Israel. Social resources matter then, albeit to a lesser degree than expected.

Have all questions been answered now? Certainly not, as we at least also have to take into account the demand side of the labour market exploring whether German employers do not favour Ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler)* and discriminate against JQR, the assumption we have refuted for the time being. Future research should certainly address the question of whether German employers are at all able to differentiate between the two groups and do not just consider all immigrants from the FSU as "Russians".

Acknowledgments The study was supported by the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development (Grant number 823/2004). Many thanks go to Betty Haire Weyerer for polishing the English of this paper.

4.A.1 Appendix

Table 4.A.1 Definitions and descriptions of the variables used in the multivariate analyses

		Israel		Germany		
	Variable description	FSU immigrants	Natives	FSU ethnic Germans	JQR	Natives
Dependent variables						
Unemployment (% out of labour force)	Unemployed individuals (=1) vs. those in employment (=0)	12.2	11.3	12.6	26.2	6.0
PTM employment (% out of total employment)	Employment in professional, technical and managerial jobs (=1) vs. other employment (=0)	37.8	61.8	12.1	49.5	53.0
Employment in ethnic economies (% out of total employment)	Employment in ethnic economy (=1) if more than a half of colleagues or employers at the working place are co-ethnic; rest (=0)	38.3	n.a.	16.6	13.4	n.a.

(continued)

Table 4.A.1 (continued)

	Variable description	Israel: FSU immigrants	Israel: Natives	Germany: FSU ethnic Germans	Germany: JQR	Germany: Natives
Standard independent variables						
Men (%)	Gender: men (=1), women (=0)	37.6	43.6	50.9	49.0	50.3
Mean age		40.5	40.0	39.7	43.2	41.5
Married (%)	Marital status: married (=1), unmarried (single, divorced, widowed = 0)	69.4	80.7	89.2	81.1	63.9
Tertiary education (%)	B.A. or higher (=1), below B.A. (=0)	52.2	44.4	21.8	67.2	26.5
Host country specific human capital						
FSU education not officially recognised	The highest educational degree has been equally recognized in Germany/Israel (=0), other (=1)	62.8	0	79.7	61.5	0
Without local education or training	A person has attained any education or training in Germany/Israel (=0), rest (=1)	70.9	0	86.4	74.9	0
Host country specific cultural capital						
German or Hebrew, spoken or written, at the level below good (subjective)	Speaking or writing German/Hebrew OK, poorly or not at all (=1); well or very well (=0)	67.2	0	71.2	63.6	0
Not speaking German/ Hebrew at home	Speaking only Russian at home (=1); speaking German/Hebrew or half German/Hebrew, half Russian (=0)	70.2	0	25.1	33.2	0

(continued)

Table 4.A.1 (continued)

	Variable description	Israel: FSU immigrants	Israel: Natives	Germany: FSU ethnic Germans	Germany: JQR	Germany: Natives
Social capital						
Did not know anyone in Germany/Israel before migration	Knowing none in Germany/Israel before immigration (=1), rest (=0)	28.5	0	20.7	37.4	0
Majority of friends: Russian	All or most friends are of FSU origin (=1), rest (=0)	70.0	0	81.2	77.0	0
Personality traits (Centred around pooled sample mean, i.e. deviance from 0)						
Openness	A sum score of the items 'Seeing oneself as original, coming up with new ideas, who values artistic experience and has active imagination'	2.27	2.81	−0.41	1.04	−0.52
Conscientiousness	A sum score of the items 'Seeing oneself as the one who does a thorough job, is not lazy, does things effectively and efficiently'	−0.14	0.79	0.27	−0.77	−0.02
Extraversion	A sum score of the items 'Seeing oneself as communicative, talkative, outgoing, social, and not reserved'	0.81	1.02	1.54	1.26	−0.45

(continued)

Table 4.A.1 (continued)

	Variable description	Israel		Germany		
		FSU immigrants	Natives	FSU ethnic Germans	JQR	Natives
Agreeableness	A sum score of the items 'Seeing oneself as not rude to others, with a forgiving nature, considerable and kind to others'	0.77	1.35	0.61	0.71	−0.30
Neuroticism	A sum score of the items 'Seeing oneself as someone who worries a lot, get nervous easily, is not relaxed and handles stress badly'	−0.10	−0.32	−0.16	0.46	0.04
Migrants' specific control variables						
Mean YSM	Mean Years since migration	9.0	n.a.	8.1	7.9	n.a.
Naturalized (%)	With German/Israeli citizenship (=1), rest (=0)	100	n.a.	74.5	21.2	n.a.
N	Sample sizes in the multivariate analyses	670	566	730	530	6,765

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Chapter 5
Overcoming Barriers. Career Trajectories of Highly Skilled Members of the German Second Generation

Karin Schittenhelm

5.1 Introduction

Members of the 'second generation' in Europe, meaning young adults with immigrant backgrounds who are either born in the host country or came there in their childhood through family migration,[1] more often have lower educational qualifications and fewer occupational opportunities than their native-born peers (Thomson and Crul 2007). However, there are differences between countries, for example concerning the level of inequality and the particular biographical phases in which selective processes are relevant (Heath et al. 2008). In Germany, members of the second generation encounter early selection processes, tend to be concentrated in the lower tracks of school, and rarely obtain educational degrees that provide access to university (Diefenbach 2007). Compared with their native born peers, a bigger number of these pupils leave school with low educational degrees or no qualifications at all (Diefenbach 2007). As a matter of course, members of the second generation are still under-represented at German universities (AG Bildungsberichterstattung 2008: 119) and have only limited access to academic careers. Their occupational opportunities are generally few and especially their access to the skilled labour market is limited (cf. Schittenhelm 2010). The pathways of highly skilled members of the German second generation, even though they still

[1]The use of the terminology in scholarly debates is ambiguous, since while 'second generation' is sometimes used to refer only to those who are born in the host country, others use it in a broader way to include those who arrived during their childhood or during their period of schooling (cf. Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008: 214–215).

K. Schittenhelm (✉)
Department of Sociology, University of Siegen, 57068 Siegen, Germany
e-mail: schittenhelm@soziologie.uni-siegen.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_5, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

constitute a minority, have recently become the subject of biographical research, particularly with regard to their educational trajectories (Badawia 2002; Ofner 2003; Hummrich 2002).

In scholarly debates there is still controversy about the potential reasons for the low level of educational and occupational attainment and for the heterogeneity that nevertheless can be observed among members of the second generation. How important is the country of origin for explaining this? Or does this usually ethnically defined dimension instead obscure other influences, such as the socioeconomic background of labour migrants, the majority of whom belong to the unskilled labour force in Germany? Is it a lack of investment in education and skills (Granato and Kalter 2001), or are members of the second generation discriminated against and, as a result, disadvantaged as far as their access to qualified jobs is concerned (Gomolla and Radtke 2009)?

This article will not offer a single cause alone to explain this. Instead, using a biographical approach, it will show how multiple factors throughout the entire trajectory potentially increase or prevent the second generation's access to higher education and skilled employment in Germany. These factors are, however, not necessarily random or isolated from each other. As I will explore in my analysis of the empirical findings relating to highly skilled members of the second generation, it is rather the interconnectedness of a series of circumstances that provides cumulating or compensatory effects to disadvantages in the biography. In other words, it is of particular interest to determine the extent to which successive barriers to the skilled labour market may result in cumulating disadvantages, that is, an increase in inequality over time (DiPrete and Eirich 2006: 273), or if they can be compensated for throughout the biography.

By focusing on members of the second generation who have attended university,[2] my article examines trajectories including a sequence of transitions by studying educational pathways *and* the entry to the labour market. The empirical findings are based on qualitative interviews drawn from the investigation 'Cultural Capital during Migration'.[3] All interviewees had already made the status passage to the labour market after having obtained qualifications in one of three areas: the medical professions, the technical professions, or the management and administration sector. In this article, I will first discuss the theoretical and methodological assumptions of a biographical approach to the career trajectories of the second generation. The empirical analysis then highlights the impacting institutional and social settings of different educational pathways which lead to the acquisition of the *Abitur* (in Germany the educational degree providing access to university) and, finally, the various circumstances during the entry to the labour market. A key question of the analysis, whether

[2]The paper also includes interviewees who have attended universities of applied science (*Fachhochschulen*).

[3]Started by the author, together with Arnd-Michel Nohl, Oliver Schmidtke, and Anja Weiß, this research project was funded by the Volkswagen-Foundation. See for more details on data and methods section 2.4 of this article and Nohl, Schittenhelm, Schmidtke, and Weiss. (2006).

there are interrelating effects over time, will then be discussed in the concluding section, along with the issue to which extent the presented findings concern the second generation only or whether they also hold for their native born peers.

5.2 A Biographical Approach to the Career Trajectories of the Second Generation

In the early Chicago School, ideas about the life cycle and biographical experiences were incorporated into sociological thought around migration (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958). Since then, there have been discontinuities in the biographical research traditions (Bertaux 1981), and case-oriented approaches to life histories have occasionally turned to migration (cf. Breckner 2007), whereas the main tendencies of life course research and longitudinal studies (cf. Mayer 2000; 2009) have hardly addressed the effects of migration over a longer period of time. Nevertheless, many of the subjects which have extensively been discussed in life-course research are highly pertinent to current scholarly debates in migration studies. For the purpose of my analysis, career trajectories in education and work (cf. Mayer 2000) and status passages in the life course (Heinz 1991, 1996) count among the most important issues. Indeed, life course perspectives on immigrants' access to the labour market have recently become an issue both in approaches with a quantitative (Kalter and Kogan 2006; Kogan 2007) and a qualitative (Nohl, Schittenhelm, Schmidtke, and Weiss 2006) design.

5.2.1 Implications of the Biographical Approach

Biographical analysis is based on narratives about the entire life-history. Starting with an initial question, the research participants are expected to give in-depth accounts of their biographical experiences within their own frame of reference (Rosenthal 2004; Schütze 2006). Referring to this method in my analysis, the aim is to identify sets of daily life knowledge which the interviewees had to develop in order to cope with their educational and professional paths. Using the documentary method of analysing the interview data (Bohnsack 2007; Nohl 2010), the interpretation aims at understanding the coping strategies which the interviewees have employed during their career trajectories and how the various ways of mastering and representing one's own life history are embedded in their implicit sets of knowledge and daily routines. Thus, the analytical approach provides detailed information about the transitions and stages undergone during the career trajectory, *including* the way in which the respondents perceive their own living conditions. The patterns of perception concerning one's own living conditions are not simply the result of previous stages of one's life trajectory. They also serve

as a point of departure for the further life history. Life experiences 'which are meaningful for the biography and which become biographical stocks of knowledge give structure to the future career' (Hoerning 1996: 16).

According to Bourdieu (1986a), the concept of 'cultural capital' includes the individual's whole set of skills and knowledge they have acquired, from certified qualifications and degrees to the practices and orientations of everyday life. This set is not only gained through access to educational institutions but through all kinds of networks in which a person is involved. Thus, the cultural capital of members of the second generation may vary according to the influences they have been subjected to, such as the status of their families of origin, educational paths, and peer networks. Nonetheless, the effect of a person's cultural capital is not directly translated into a person's ability or interest in educational or professional pathways without the person being evaluated by other agents (Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1999). The impact of how a person is recognized socially is discussed in Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic dimensions (Bourdieu 1979). For this reason, cultural capital is not a fixed body of knowledge that is equally necessary and useful for all graduates. Instead, we should use the term as a relational concept (*Begriff der Relationen)* in the sense of Norbert Elias (1996). Depending on whether the biographical agent needs to master status negotiations and disadvantages, the combination of skills and of social knowledge needed during one's career may vary.

A sociological perspective on individuals who perceive themselves as devalued already has a tradition in Goffman's study of 'stigma' (Goffman 1963), which examines the effects on stigmatized persons and their resulting stigma-management. The biographical approach examines the dispositions and coping strategies, with knowledge implicit in them, *and* the potentially long-lasting effects on a person's life trajectory as they become empirically evident from the life narratives. Even collectively shared experiences of non-recognition and stigmatization do not necessarily have the same effects on an individual's life history, be it on a long or a short-term basis. In this regard it is the – available and applied – body of social knowledge within the trajectory that is addressed by a qualitative investigation.

5.2.2 Status Passages and Trajectories

Since the biographical agent's situation and coping strategies during status passages have long-term effects on the entire career trajectory, my analysis emphasizes the transitional phases in an individual's biography. However, different factors operative at the branching points may have similar effects on a person's future career by increasing or decreasing that person's cultural capital or their ability to develop and evaluate their certificates over time. In this sense, my theoretical model is *not* based on the search for a major cause which would explain disadvantages in the second generation's trajectories and predominate over all other effects. On the contrary, it is the intersection of increasing or decreasing effects on a person's cultural capital throughout their life history and especially during status passages that is the subject of the analysis.

For instance, ethnic segregation may be a result of different social mechanisms. There may be boundaries created by ethnic distinctions and a subjective sense of belonging, linked to practices of social exclusion toward people defined as “other”. This emergence of ethnic segregation, which is extensively discussed in migration research (cf. Wimmer 2008), is compatible with Weber’s classical approach to ethnically defined communities and distinctions (1980:237). But disadvantages for members of the second generation can also be the result of institutional settings, even without the presence of intentionally practiced distinctions toward immigrants or ethnically defined groups (Gomolla and Radtke 2009). Take, for example, early selection at the status passage between elementary school and secondary school in Germany, which has a long-term impact on a person’s educational and professional pathway. For children who grew up in families with immigrant backgrounds, and especially for those who immigrated in their childhood, this early selection of one of three educational tracks allows too little time to compensate and to adjust to the educational expectations in the receiving country. Consequently, disadvantages that may affect members of the second generation may arise from discrimination mediated through social interaction *and* through institutional settings per se. By shaping the transition to one of the educational tracks, they can also have similar effects on the subsequent educational career. If the early selection process results in the individual moving to the lowest educational track (*Hauptschule*), with an increasingly negative impact which cannot be compensated for, in the long run this can result in not gaining access to the skilled labour market. The ultimate result is then a long-term consequence of the earlier branching point, independently of the reason for which the embarking has taken place.

Given this perspective, to what extent does the manner in which transitions are handled and mastered by the biographical agent have further impact upon the person’s career trajectory? Even though depending on a person’s set of knowledge and skills, this impact and especially the long-term effects, are not necessarily intended. In qualitative social research ‘trajectory’ has been a key concept used to describe those social processes in the individuals’ life history that are not completely under their control. In the work of Anselm Strauss (1991: 149–174) ‘trajectory’ is a term used to describe suffering and disorderly social processes (cf. Riemann and Schütze 1991). One must, however, emphasize that social processes can go beyond a person’s control, even if they have no dramatic results. As Glaser and Strauss pointed out, the open-ended nature of a status passage is sufficient reason for undesirable results to occur: ‘Sometimes a passagee enters a passage believing it desirable but discovers that neither the passage nor its goal is desirable’ (Glaser and Strauss 1971: 106). If the subsequent career cannot be known beforehand, entering a status passage may also have undesirable consequences, and breaking away from a career on which one has embarked can be difficult. In this regard, the concept of ‘trajectory’ is also useful for understanding educational and occupational trajectories (Grathoff 1991).

In theoretical debates of life course research ‘trajectory’ is mainly understood as a sequence of transitions or life events and implies an interrelation of impacts over time (cf. Sackmann and Wingens 2001). Given this perspective, it is the genetic

structure of social processes and the interrelation between single transitions and life events that forms the core of the analysis, rather than merely a process of shifting and losing control. In this sense, a biographical approach, instead of being affected by biographical illusions, if we are to apply Bourdieu's (1986b) criticism, also takes into account the dynamics of social processes unintended by the biographical agent.

5.2.3 Cumulative and Compensatory Effects Throughout the Trajectory

To summarize the previously discussed biographical approach, impacts upon the second generation's access to education and skilled employment are examined by studying the way in which they affect a trajectory over time. Also, from a long or short-term perspective, the effects may be observed at different levels by looking at:

Institutional settings in education and work: Institutionally embedded in the German education system, trajectories are shaped by early selection processes, a subsequent division into three school tracks, and the hereby provided options arising at different stages of an individual's career.

Social networks (family, peer groups, colleagues): Apart from family backgrounds, peers at school or workplaces do play a role in the sense of being 'passagees at the same time' and therefore decisive for negotiations on how to cope with status passages in the life course.

The biographical agent, his/her body of knowledge (skills, orientations and social strategies): Biographical agency in this sense is not beyond the impact of social structures or of any form of institutional or social setting.

It is the interconnectedness of these impacts over time that is the focus of my analysis. Cumulative advantages or – on the contrary – cumulative disadvantages are currently considered to be general mechanisms of inequality which affect any temporal process where a favourable or unfavourable position becomes a starting point that produces further relative gains or losses that may occur outside a person's control over his/her life course (DiPrete and Eirich 2006). Compensatory effects, on the other hand, are present if those factors that influence a career, either simultaneously or gradually over time, have contradictory results that tend to compensate for or neutralize each other.

5.2.4 Data and Methods

The data is drawn from the international research project "Cultural Capital during Migration" which examines highly skilled immigrants' transition into the labour

market in great detail, including the stages, sequences and the social and institutional frames given through migration policies and labour market regulations in the compared countries (Germany, Canada, Turkey, and Great Britain). Apart from similarities in the educational titles in one of three professional fields (medicine, engineering, and management), the sample shows variations with regard to the countries of origin and the type of migration. Using a comparative research design, four main status groups were systematically chosen on the basis of their educational titles (whether obtained abroad or in the host country) and their residence permits.[4]

The following analysis is based on the status group of interviewees that have received their most recent educational qualification in Germany and, due either to citizenship or to residence permits, have full legal access to the German labour market.[5] In order to understand the different pathways provided in the German education system the sample comprises 56 interviews with 30 university graduates and 26 vocationally trained participants.[6] By an initial question, intended to generate a narrative, the interviewees were asked to tell their life histories in great detail (cf. Rosenthal 2004; Schütze 2006). For data evaluation the documentary method was adopted (Bohnsack 2007) – a procedure for interpretative data analysis based on Mannheim's sociology of knowledge (Mannheim 1997). In this method of qualitative data analysis, the interpretation of narrative interviews emphasizes comparative case studies and tries to grasp coping strategies which the interviewees employed in institutional and social settings (Nohl 2010). By focusing the second generation's trajectories including a sequence of transitions the following comparative approach considers different school tracks and their consequences for the access to skilled employment. The cases chosen for this article (all of the research participants were either born in Germany or arrived as children because of their families' migration) shed light on different institutional and social settings in educational tracks that lead to the *Abitur* (providing access to university) and, in the long run, tend either to be direct or non-direct pathways to skilled employment.

[4]It is an element of the methodology used not to focus on ethnically defined immigrant groups but to treat ethnicity as a possible emerging feature among the various influences that shape the outcome of labour market processes; see Nohl et al. (2006).

[5]These interviews were conducted in 2005–2009 at the University of Siegen. I wish to thank the young researchers Steffen Neumann and Regina Soremski as well as my former student research assistants Hülya Akkas, Kathrin Klein, and Stefan Kohlbach for their assistance in the inquiry and data evaluation.

[6]The participants are here distinguished by their *highest* degree, among the university graduates there have been participants who also have a vocational training degree. For the purpose of a comparative analysis on behalf of a theoretical sampling, cases of participants who arrived in Germany at a later stage of their educational career were included.

5.3 Empirical Findings on the German Second Generation's Career Trajectories

All school tracks of the German educational system are included in the overview I present of the research participants' educational paths, here distinguished in relation to the institutional framework:

- First, the *direct educational path* that begins with elementary school; then the higher educational track of the *Gymnasium* is followed by qualifying for university.
- Second, the *indirect pathways* will be discussed as *second-chance-careers,* beginning with the lower or intermediate educational tracks; the university entrance certification *(Abitur)* is then obtained by attending special schools and may include a vocational training degree as an intermediate step.

The main distinction between these two types of pathways is whether the early selection process is passed in order to immediately pursue the upper educational track (*Gymnasium)*, or whether an individual begins his/her educational career by entering the lower or intermediate track. For members of the second generation, however, these types of educational paths do not vary merely in terms of the institutional framework. As I will point out in my presentation of the empirical findings, there are also contrasting constellations at the level of existing peer networks, especially in relation to the high percentage of native-German peers in some classes vs. the high percentage of pupils with immigrant backgrounds in others.

5.3.1 Following the Upper Educational Pathways

The aforementioned early selection process in the German school system forms the institutional context in which members of the second immigrant generation become overrepresented in the lower and intermediate educational tracks, while they remain a minority in the upper track or *Gymnasium*.[7] Because of this minority status, the upper educational track is linked with the social risk for second-generation immigrants to become excluded from relationships with their peers and their informal networks, as shown by the following case:

[7] According to current figures on the second generation's schooling in Germany (Diefenbach 2007; AG Bildungsberichterstattung 2008), these pupils are still underrepresented in the upper educational track. It is nonetheless worth noting that our findings are valid for the period during which our research participants, subsequently: professionals, were pupils. It is worth asking whether this situation has changed, at least in urban neighbourhoods with a large percentage of different immigrant populations.

Lale Çiçek,[8] at the time of the interview working as a medical doctor, arrived in Germany in 1970, when she was 5 years old, the daughter of Turkish labour migrants. Since living conditions were hard at the beginning, she and her sister were sent back to Turkey, and emigrated again 1 year later. In the country of arrival she started elementary school, attending an integration class (*Integrationsklasse*) with mainly Turkish classmates before being transferred to the regular school class. Initially she had difficulties with following the lessons, but when it was time to decide which educational track she was to follow after the sixth grade,[9] she was among the top students in her class. Nonetheless, although her teacher used to describe her as an exemplary pupil, she did not recommend her for *Gymnasium*. The explicit reason noted in her account was that no German was spoken in her Turkish family. She responded to the lack of recognition as a challenge and transferred – with her parents' support – to the *Gymnasium*, where she performed well, finally graduating.

Although she was integrated at an institutional level, she felt socially isolated among her native German classmates. Her social relations as she described them are similar to those presented by Elias and Scotson (1965) in their analysis of the established and the outsiders: social boundaries are not produced by formal, institutionalized rules but, instead, are created by social interactions, that is, the frequency and closeness of the social contacts between the individuals concerned. Even though an individual may be considered equal at an institutional level, distinctions are made at an informal level which determine who belongs to a group and who is excluded. Despite this, *Lale Çiçek* maintained her willingness to work hard as a student:

> . . . but ultimately it never stopped me being eager to learn and I knew exactly what I wanted and right from the start I already followed the idea that if you want to be somebody in this society you have to do it in the right way by being ambitious and having distinct aims to achieve . . .[10]

She finds direction by pursuing goals that, in her understanding, represent a generally binding, normative frame of reference in her host country. However, in her transition to *Gymnasium* she continued to be in an outsider-position. In her class, where for a long time she was the only student with an immigrant background, she was only partly included in her peers' informal relationships. Only after her entry

[8]For the sake of anonymity, all research participants are represented by code names.

[9]In Germany, the educational system falls under the jurisdiction of the *Länder* governments. In a few city-states and regions, selection occurs after six grades instead of the usual four grades which is the case in most of the *Länder*.

[10]All quotations are translated into English; the German original is presented in footnotes: "*. . . aber letzten Endes hat es mich nie in meinem Eifer irgendwie gestoppt ich wusste genau was ich wollte und hab mir schon damals recht früh das Ziel gesetzt wenn Du in dieser Gesellschaft was sein willst musst du das entsprechend mit Fleiß und durch bestimmte Ziele die man erreicht . . .*" (Interview, *Lale Çiçek*).

into the university the polarization between native students and ‘others’ which she had previously encountered was altered, due to the presence of foreign students who attended the faculty of medicine at her university.

The previously described exclusion is neither uniquely characteristic of students with a working class nor of those from a Turkish background. Similar experiences were presented by *Maria Ionesco,* like *Lale Çiçek* a doctor at the time of the interview*,* but in her case with parents from Eastern Europe, who arrived in Germany as political refugees. Her father was academically educated. Nonetheless, while the risk of social exclusion is always present as a result of minority status, it may not always have the same consequences as those previously described. There were also cases where individuals could handle this minority status without facing the described difficulty with regard to their peer relationships. Furthermore, a potential, even more problematic, consequence was the inability to cope with the risk of social exclusion and dropping out of *Gymnasium* (cf. Schittenhelm 2009).

For *Lale Çiçek* and similar cases, institutional participation in higher education is quite stable. However, the previously described biographical experience of being excluded in informal networks can be linked with elements of a “reactive ethnicity” as described by Portes and Rumbaut in their analysis of the second generation in the United States (2001: 284f). On an individual level, identification is caused by the social environment of the host country and by the way a person is attributed. For instance, in the narrative account of *Lale Çiçek* this became evident from the way she described processes of ‘othering’, primarily with regard to the way she felt perceived by her environment:

> *I was just somehow different; maybe I didn’t look different but my name was different*.[11]

She continues with her narratives by describing interactions that lead to feelings of being socially devaluated:

> *. . . they invited each other to their birthday parties and met in the afternoon and I was somehow excluded because I was a foreigner, and in the outdoor breaks I was always together with those nobody else was together with*.’[12]

In her narrative account of this biographical experience she presents herself by the way she was attributed by her environment. This self-assessment was constructed during her schooling when she had hardly any contact with other immigrant peers who were engaged in the same educational path. The described peer-relations have not been consistent throughout her life history. After entry into university, where there is a greater presence of foreign students, this situation was not reproduced. Yet, as I will show later, being attributed by others can still affect the second generation’s career trajectory in the long run.

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[11]“*Ich war ja irgendwie anders ich sah vielleicht nicht anders aus aber der Name klang anders.*”

[12]“*. . . die luden sich gegenseitig zu den Geburtstagen ein man traf sich nachmittags und man war da irgendwie schon ausgeschlossen weil man einfach Ausländerin war und ähm (.) in den Hofpausen war ich auch immer nur mit denen zusammen mit denen sonst keiner zusammen war.*”

5.3.2 Second-Chance Careers

The second-chance career path is – at least potentially[13] – offered within the German educational system for those who follow an indirect path for entering university after having completed their education in either the lower or the intermediate educational track. Compared with the previously discussed pathways, these career paths are associated with interruptions, postponements and detours (Tosana 2008). Moreover, as far as peer group networks are concerned, they offer a distinct social environment: pupils who follow the second-chance career path start in the lower or intermediate educational tracks, where they associate with their peers from similar backgrounds during a much longer phase of their educational trajectory. In Germany, the average percentage of pupils with immigrant backgrounds in these types of schools is always high (cf. Diefenbach 2007). There is, however, a potentially negative effect on the individual's social capital as a result of the peer relationships found in the lower educational track. This declining effect is not necessarily linked to the migration background of one's peers but rather to the shared situation of educational underachievement. In view of the fact that only a few of these immigrant pupils will in the end improve their career opportunities, the question remains: What circumstances result in delayed entry into an academic career, thus providing a kind of compensation for the disadvantages suffered as a result of the early selection to the lower or intermediate educational track following elementary school?

Erkan Yilmaz was born in Germany as the son of Turkish labour migrants. He began his career by attending the *Hauptschule*. After finishing school in this lower track, he tried to continue his studies by entering a commercial college (or *höhere Handelschule*), one of the options available for improving one's educational qualifications. But he eventually failed, left school, and started an apprenticeship as an electrician. Even though he enjoyed what he learned during this vocational training and then worked in this profession for about half a year, he could not imagine working as a typical electrician. Instead, he was searching for opportunities to continue his education and looked for a job with more responsibility and greater intellectual challenge. Eventually, he successfully completed a second-chance track and obtained his *Fachabitur,* in Germany a more subject-specific version of the *Abitur* that offers access to only limited academic programs. During this time, he conceived the idea of studying at university or in the field of applied sciences and entered the police academy,[14] where he was still studying at the time of the inquiry.[15] Since his living standard changed drastically after he left working life, he needed to

[13] It is worth noting that in the academic year 2006–2007 only 2.2% of all beginners at German universities received their educational qualification by following a classic second-chance career track (AG Bildungsberichterstattung 2008: 176).

[14] The term in German is *Fachhochschule der Polizei*.

[15] *Erkan Yilmaz* was included in the vocationally trained sub-sample of interviewees who had completed the highest educational degree.

earn extra money by working part-time as an electrician, apart from the government support he already received during his studies.[16]

If we compare all cases of the 'second chance' track in the sample, *Erkan Yilmaz's* case shows several typical features of this career pattern: unlike participants who had already considered academic options in following the upper educational track within the German school system, *Erkan Yilmaz* and his peers are still gradually developing and solidifying this orientation toward higher education by successfully completing a vocational path, but without having a stable occupational status, either because of circumstances in their work environment or because of their own dispositions, for instance the lack of intellectual challenge associated with this particular kind of work. In addition, the vocational training degree is used as a means of earning money during their studies and for maintaining their independence from parental income. Whereas these features might as well apply to any other young adults in this particular track, the peer environment is of particular interest with regard to the previously discussed pathway of the second generation.

Compared to cases that involve the direct pursuit of an academic education, the relationships maintained in the social networks at school vary; but they do show similarities among those participants who pursue a second-chance career: *Erkan Yilmaz* entered an educational track where immigrant pupils in Germany are overrepresented; the involvement in immigrant peer groups is typical of his educational path. Even though a high presence of peers with similar migration backgrounds does not imply that peer networks are inclusive in each regard, the social risk of being tokenized as one of the very few with immigrant backgrounds is avoided. In the case of *Erkan Yilmaz*, however, there have been other outside contacts as well. He was an enthusiastic football player and a member of different teams, sometimes teams who had a majority of Turkish or German teammates. Furthermore, he has been living with a German partner who was in the upper educational track. As a result, he pursued his second-chance educational career without being either isolated in a mainly German non-migrant school setting nor being fully integrated in homogeneous (in terms of their immigrant backgrounds or the nature of their school careers) peer-group networks. Similar conditions in terms of a socially heterogeneous environment can be observed in the following case, another variation of the second-chance career:

Yasemin Kemal, then working as an IT engineer, is a daughter of labour migrants from Turkey and arrived in Germany as a child. Unlike *Lale Çiçek*, she and her sister left the integration class in order to attend *Hauptschule*. Therefore she started her career in the lower educational track, before entering a school for improving her educational qualifications to the intermediate degree. Finally, she entered an

[16]In Germany, students receive financial support which is based on a loan system where the income level of their parents is taken into account.

Aufbaugymnasium[17] – without, like *Erkan Yilmaz,* having attended vocational training, yet, like he did by following this pathway gradually:

> *now, that was Hauptschule, so somehow I gradutated from tenth form there, and then they said, if you achieve top marks in certain subjects, Maths, German, English, which we were taught a little, ah well, you will achieve the Realschule grade, and with this grade, they said, you would be able to go on, ah, either to secondary schools or training courses or what else, well, somehow I graduated with good marks, well, I don't know, but in this context I was able to achieve the Realschule grade with good marks . . .* [18]

This intermediate level was a first step to gradually improve her credentials:

> *. . . and with this Realschule grade, well, I collected information on what was possible with it, you know, I mean, I was somehow slightly more mature, also in my mind, and they said I could go on to a Gymnasium, well, and so I somehow, with my certification and all the documents, I enrolled there somehow.*[19]

For *Yasemin Kemal* her educational aspirations developed little by little. As she described in referring to the classmates who constituted her reference group, neither she nor her sister complained about being selected for the lower educational track. This attitude changed, however, in later phases of her biography. She faced stigmatization as a second-class pupil (*Hauptschüler*) once she embarked on the second-chance path leading to the *Abitur*. Thus, even though she was allowed to enter the *Aufbaugymnasium* based on her successfully completion of the intermediate school track, she faced social distinctions as a person who once started her educational career at the lowest school level. Her way of avoiding the destiny shared by other graduates of the German *Hauptschule*, that is, her indirect path to higher education, resulted from her gradually mounting aspirations. Also typical for her case is that orientation is not only provided by the family or by peers at school and in the neighbourhood, that is, not necessarily by strong social ties. After having successfully completed an educational degree, her search for information on how to master the next step involved meeting acquaintances – 'weak' ties as defined by Granovetter (1983) – or consulting by professionals.

As we have seen, apart from the variations in the second-chance path, the cases of *Yasemin Kemal* and *Erkan Yilmaz* exhibit common features that tend to support

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[17]In Germany this is a school where pupils coming from the intermediate school track can embark and finally graduate with the *Abitur.*

[18]„ *. . . 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 ja zwischen eins und zwei würde man ja 'n Realschulabschluss bekommen 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 also in diesem Rahmen da hab' ich halt 'nen Realabschluss äh machen können*"

[19]*„ . . . und mit diesem Realabschluss ja hab' ich mich halt informiert was ich dann machen kann also ich meine ich war dann halt doch 'n bisschen weiter entwickelt auch im Kopf äh da hieß es ich könnte weiter auf'm Gymnasium gut hab' ich mich dann halt irgendwie mit meinem Zeugnis und mit den Unterlagen die es gab irgendwie angemeldet.*"

the late embarking on academic careers: although there may be setbacks, as can be observed in *Erkan Yilmaz's* early trajectory, second-chance educational careers are gradually being pursued once pupils have successfully completed a series of educational phases. In addition, the networks in which immigrant pupils participate, from close reference groups to other significant contacts able to provide information on possible career trajectories, are socially heterogeneous.

5.4 Status Passages to Skilled Jobs

Once these different institutional and social settings have exerted their influence on educational paths, how is the transition reflected on the labour market? Are the situations and strategies of biographical agents reproduced in the same way as they were acquired during the earlier educational pathways? Or do the early advantages and disadvantages of individuals' educational histories become less important, given the structure of the labour market and the kinds of opportunities it offers? In my concluding discussion of empirical findings concerning status passages to the labour market, the focus is on the way in which career trajectories in their later phases exhibit either cumulative or compensatory effects as a result of earlier disadvantages associated with the aforementioned configurations which characterize pupils with immigrant backgrounds.

5.4.1 Immediate Career Entry Based on Institutionalized Social Capital

This type of transition is distinguished by the fact that university studies and career entry merge into one another. Before graduation, the start of a career is already in sight, or even guaranteed. In such cases social capital is provided by the academic institution (university or university of applied science), regardless of whether there is an immigrant background and based solely on one's status as a student, taking part in a particular curriculum: the interviewees completed internships and established contacts with different companies during their studies or the writing of the dissertations, thus gaining social capital as well as knowledge or skills strongly related to the enterprises in which they might be working later.

In fact, for those who have finished a second-chance educational career, this transition represented a compensatory effect: *Yasemin Kemal*, the previously mentioned IT engineer of Turkish background, followed the indirect path via the *Hauptschule* in order to obtain her *Abitur*. In her case, previous postponements – the inevitable result of an indirect career path – tended to be compensated for by her immediate entry into the labour pool. She started working as an IT engineer even before having finished her formal studies. Furthermore, this transition may well

constitute a compensation for the possible disadvantages also connected with the direct path to higher education. A potential lack of supportive contacts is thus not as great a disadvantage in social networks as it is in professional life, where entry into the labour market depends to a great degree on informal contacts. However, this type of transition has been observed in a number of cases in which university graduates had a degree in economics or engineering. Far from being guaranteed for all these graduates, it is potentially available in some professional fields only.

5.4.2 Restricted Career Entry Following Multi-Stage Transitions

A characteristic feature of this type of transition into the labour market is that the educational credentials are evaluated, whereby the kind of knowledge typical of an applicant's migrant background plays a decisive role. Establishing professional credentials occurs in a series of phases, which are not only determined by institutional regulations. Rather, the transition process is to be regarded as the result of a search-and-orientation approach. The question is whether there happens a re-orientation which takes place during the status passage and the resulting discovery of opportunities in the labour market or whether this strategy has biographical continuity, that is, it is the consequence of previous stages of the biographical trajectory.

In the case of the doctor *Lale Çiçek*, who faced social exclusion by following the upper educational track, her Turkish background and language skills became relevant again when she was looking for job opportunities: She applied for a job arguing that she was interested in this particular hospital with a preponderance of Turkish patients. Although she failed, her migrant background proved to be important for her later professional socialisation. She obtained a research position that enabled her to continue to devote herself to Turkish patients and eventually became a doctor with her own office, sharing it with a colleague, and with a high percentage of patients of Turkish background. Apart from her medical skills and degrees, a body of knowledge and skills that her migrant background could offer was used to evaluate *Lale Çiçek's* cultural capital. However, she developed a particular strategy which involved using her academic degrees during a series of applications and setbacks, as she still made her status passage to the labour market. During her entire multi-stage transition she tried out various opportunities, not all of them in migration-related fields of her profession. In her narrative account she is talking about the doctor's surgery she ultimately established as follows:

> *It was particularly important for me that a Turkish-German collaboration was 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 was the main thing for me.*[20]

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[20]*„ . . . es war mir ganz wichtig dass es eine türkisch-deutsche Gemeinschaft ist weil ich wollte nicht nur die türkische Ärztin für türkische Patienten sein sondern ich wollte halt einfach nur Ärztin sein darauf kam's mir an*“ (Interview, *Lale Çiçek*).

It was not *Lale Çiçek's* intention to follow a pathway that leads to specific niches of the labour market. However, her way of ultimately evaluating her professional skills is not a specific option for members of the second generation. It has also been observed for applicants who obtained their academic qualifications abroad and immigrated as adults (cf. Nohl et al. 2007). A high percentage of immigrants in a city or region can lead to local labour market opportunities for those coming from the same country and having related skills. Yet, whereas first-generation-immigrants face problems to get their foreign academic credentials recognized (Nohl et al. 2007), the second generation's struggles for recognition is already experienced during early education. In the case of *Lale Çiçek* an isolated position during her educational path, with its direct route to university, was perceived by showing "reactive identifications" vis-à-vis the prejudicial environment in which she found herself. Finally, her restricted entry into migration-related niches of her professional field was followed gradually, accompanied by set-backs in other fields. As a conclusion, we may state that there is some evidence of cumulative effects in the second generation's trajectories, given the fact that previous factors in the educational pathway and current opportunities for making the transition to the labour market affect these trajectories in the same direction, thus producing similar outcomes.

5.4.3 Non-restricted Career Entry Following a Multi-Stage Transition and Compensatory Strategies

As a contrast, another type of transition to the labour market is characterised as 'unrestricted access'. Similar to the second type, it is influenced by various interim stages and orientation phases. The migration background is also a guiding factor and part of the biographical agent's strategy, albeit in an inverse sense. Instead of incorporating the related skills (language, knowledge of the country of origin of one's parents) or those assigned by others in the host country in terms of the use of the individual's educational assets, specific tasks are rejected and the interim stages serve the purpose of obtaining increasingly advanced qualifications and professional skills.

This is the case with a manager, *Kamer Ecevit,* son of Turkish labour migrants, who did not want to accept special responsibility for his company's commercial relationships with Turkish enterprises. He refused to restrict himself to such duties attributed by others. Instead, he adopted a strategy of obtaining more skills and more advanced training qualifications. He adopted the view that, since he was a Turk in Germany, as a professional he had to work twice as hard to distinguish himself from his native-German colleagues. His whole strategy involved accumulating educational credentials: After the *Abitur* he completed a vocational traineeship before he entered university. Having finished his studies in economics, he completed a graduate programme in the United Kingdom, before being trained at and working for a multi-national company located in Germany. That is, he pursued

a compensatory strategy by gradually increasing his cultural capital while still being involved in the transition process. In his case, his migration background was substituted by being 'international', as part of a strategy in the context of which he refused to accept the labels attached to him and compensated for the limited range of opportunities he anticipated as being available for him by the way in which he evaluated his own cultural capital.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Between the previously described pathways, the circumstances that gradually prevent or support the second generation's access to skilled employment differ strongly. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that both types of educational pathways are associated with barriers to highly skilled employment. First, overcoming a minority situation without dropping out or over-identifying in reactive ways was the main challenge those in the upper educational track were confronted with. Second, successive levels of educational achievement, combined with a strategy of finding the orientation needed, were the elements of the cultural capital that characterizes those who successfully pursued the indirect path to university. In brief, it has to be stated that the interconnectedness of circumstances in the career trajectories of highly skilled members of the second generation rarely showed effects constantly going in the same direction. The upper educational tracks, although characterized by continuous formal integration, show social risks or at least changing modes of inclusion at the informal level of peer relationships. Second chance careers, even though starting in the lower educational tracks can provide a compensation for disadvantages during the early selective processes, and delays may be compensated for if future transitions are shaped by favourable circumstances.

To conclude, it is worth asking to which extent the presented findings are typical of the second generation's career trajectories or if they can also be applied to other young adults in similar educational tracks. The early selective processes in the German educational system disadvantage all children who are not provided with the appropriate cultural capital in their families. Those with immigrant backgrounds, especially descendants of labour migrants, are not the only ones but make a high percentage among those concerned. Whereas second chance careers are linked with specific detours for any young adults following this track, members of the second generation are among those who are more likely to embark as one of the few possibilities to get higher education. Finally, specific features are evident at the level of peer networks. It is only on the pathways starting in lower school tracks that members of the second generation avoid being isolated. On the higher school tracks in Germany they are still in a minority position, being one of a few students coming from immigrant families. Given the fact that in prejudicial environments they still face processes of 'othering' or being labelled with stigmatizing attributes, the numerical disadvantages can be linked with further impacts upon their future trajectories.

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Chapter 6
Integration Trajectories: A Mixed Method Approach

Rossalina Latcheva and Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger

6.1 Introduction

In contrast to the Austrian discourse on integration in the 1970s and 1980s, when socially marginalised strata of the domestic population were at the centre of attention, in the 1990s the focus of political and media debates around the concept of integration shifted to a problematisation of 'cultural differences' of foreign workers. In academic research, too, theoretical approaches to immigration and integration diversified, but many of them still approach the topic from the perspective of the nation-state and majority society. Although some attempts of discussing migration and integration processes from a life course perspective exist (primarily in the US-American context, e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 2001), much of the existing literature pays hardly any attention to the complex interplay between individual action, prior life history and structural embedding. Most notably, those scholars who try to focus on integration as a dynamic, relational and interactive phenomenon have until very recently faced a lack of suitable longitudinal data that would do justice to both a long-term and a bottom-up perspective.

This chapter attempts a joint view on objective and subjective aspects of the integration processes of 1st generation immigrants in Austria referring to both structure and agency, using quantitative as well as qualitative methods and maintaining the necessary longitudinal perspective in the analysis. Since the first cohorts of the so-called "guest workers" in Austria, originally recruited in the 1960s and 1970s from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, now reach retirement age,

R. Latcheva (✉)
Institute of Sociology, University of Zurich, 8050 Zurich, Switzerland
e-mail: latcheva@soziologie.uzh.ch

B. Herzog-Punzenberger
Federal Institute for education research, innovation & development of the Austrian schooling system, 5020 Salzburg, Austria
e-mail: b.herzog-punzenberger@bifie.at

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_6, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

it is possible to examine their migration processes in retrospect. Compared to other Western European countries, the share of foreign-born is relatively high in Austria (15.4%) (Statistik Austria 2010a). Out of a total of around 1.3 million foreign-born in 2010, over 400.000 were born in Ex-Yugoslavia (half of them in Serbia/Montenegro/Kosovo) and 160.000 were born in Turkey (Statistik Austria 2010a, b). In Vienna, the respective figures are 440.000 foreign-born out of which 31% have a migration background in Ex-Yugoslavia and 13% in Turkey (Statistik Austria 2010b: 106–107).

In this study, we try to uncover different patterns in individual life courses and relate these to both human agency and changing social structures. By combining immigrants' subjective views and evaluations with the objective traces of their biographies, we discuss migration processes as 'life projects' of individuals who make their own choices across the life span. Yet, individual choices are constrained by individual characteristics and prior events in the life cycle as well as institutional contexts at local, national or international level. The approach applied in this study allows us to pay particular attention to the dynamic character of integration and avoid theorizing it as a de-contextualized, dichotomous, non-relational or non-interactive process. We start from the premise that integration cannot be treated as a dichotomy (integrated vs. not integrated) or as an inevitable final stage, but as a complex dynamic involving individuals and societal structures with potentially ever-changing outcomes. We explore these issues by combining quantitative and qualitative data from two studies: (1) LIMITS – Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in European Cities: Life-courses and Quality of Life in a World of Limitations[1]; (2) SIM – Equal Opportunity and Marginalisation: A Longitudinal Perspective on the Social Integration of Migrants.[2]

The chapter is organized in five sections. In the first section, we discuss theoretical challenges in the research of integration processes in Western-European societies. Our methodological approach is outlined in part two. In the third section, excerpts from the qualitative empirical material exemplify the relevant dimensions along which the respondents evaluate their individual migration project. In the fourth section, we develop a dynamic model of integration consisting of four dimensions and three phases. The chapter ends with concluding remarks.

6.2 Theoretical Challenges: Questioning the Causal Sequence, Finality, Linearity and Non-Relationality of Integration

In order to analyse the complex social process called 'integration', the diffuse quality of the normative ideal of a "totally integrated society" should be made explicit and open to critical discussion.

[1]For details, see http://www.limits.zsi.at/.

[2]For more information on the project see http://www.zsi.at/de/projekte/abgeschlossen/326.html.

In current theories (e.g. Esser 2001), the process described as 'integration' appears to have a clear direction, namely the gradual adaptation of migrants to the majority society. The majority society itself is in turn often portrayed as a totality where societal integration seems to function unproblematically. According to Esser (2001: 8ff), the integration process follows a causal order from cognitive (*Kulturation*) via structural (*Plazierung*) and social (*Interaktion*) to emotional (*Identifikation*) integration. Following his argument, patterns of multiple identifications are an elite phenomenon, while migrants with minimal command of German language and discontinuous labour market biographies are classified as marginalised also with regard to their feelings of belonging. Other strands of theory development stress the open and ambivalent character of the migration project (Pries 2005), the methodological nationalism in the understanding of ethnicity, groups and cultures (Wimmer 2008b; Brubaker 2004) and finally the interdependency of immigrants' actions and orientations with the changing circumstances in the country of arrival and the country of origin (Bauböck 2010). Actually, there may be changes of direction in the individual course of integration depending on the political, economic or demographic context. For example, the more strongly the boundaries between a (secularized) majority society and minority groups are drawn, the more likely immigrants become "re-ethnicized", religiously engaged or marginalized. Therefore, another central point of criticism of the current understanding of integration concerns its implied *linearity.* Multi-directional, curving or spiral processes seem just as likely. Different subjective feelings of inclusion and exclusion may arise in different phases of the life course. This is dependent on the subjective assessment of the current and future individual situation, which in turn results from the availability of resources such as income, education and occupation as well as the family situation, social contacts, institutional participation or the psycho-physical state of health. Changes in the availability of particular resources might change the coping strategies of the immigrants. If support by the welfare-state is limited, non-state provision coming from sources such as religious organisations, ethnic associations or transfer payments and support within the family gain increased importance.

The different temporal structures of integration processes – measured by the individual's life-course and over the generations – is often mixed up in migration-theory. The integration process is dependent on biographical events, phases of the life-course (e.g. becoming an adult, founding a family, retirement) and socialisation contexts (first generation, second generation, country of birth and country of education). Moreover, economic developments (recession and boom, modernisation and globalisation) and political opportunity structures (residence, naturalisation law etc.) are decisive. Here, the time of immigration and first establishment steps play an important role. For this reason, the specific historical situation e.g. on the labour and housing market, the hierarchy of societal groups, ideological battles and the prevalent public discourse at the beginning of the migration process should be taken into account. Changes in the societal contexts have to be tracked down during the whole duration of stay to fruitfully analyse the course of integration.

If integration is also understood as the identification with a particular group or nation (e.g. Esser 2001), it is important to comprehend how *in-groups* and

out-groups are constructed. Having said this, the relational aspect of integration becomes visible. Groups are constituted through the social process of boundary-drawing (e.g. categorisation practices). Individual actions, attitudes, physical features and objects can be charged with meaning and used as markers in order to set up and maintain symbolic boundaries between groups. Ethnicity is re-/produced in interaction processes and is *"... thus relational, and also situational: the ethnic character of a social encounter is contingent on the situation. It is not, in other words, absolute"* (Eriksen 2002: 58). Identifications and feelings of belonging do not emerge unilateral, i.e. immigrants will not develop a feeling independently of their environment. It is a reflexive process of 'being' and becoming' and therefore it is of prime importance to scrutinise what kind of feedback processes immigrants experience. These are to a large part structured by public discourse, the media, politicians and representatives of all kinds of societal institutions. Alba and Nee (2003, 2004, 2008) also conceive integration[3] as an inter-generational, reciprocal process between immigrants and the immigration society. Institutional mechanisms such as legal standards and anti-discrimination measures play a decisive role in the course of this. However, not only immigrants from other countries are excluded in today's societies, but also internal migrants from peripheral regions and sections of indigenous populations. Long-term unemployed, homeless, precariously employed and those affected by poverty might share similar experiences (cf. Dörre 2006).

As mentioned above, to understand integration processes in detail, the different spheres of society such as labour market, education, housing, the legal system etc. have to be scrutinized each in its own right. The structures of societal sub-systems are gaining increasing importance in the explanation of national differences in integration processes. This is especially visible in research on descendants of immigrants (Crul and Schneider 2010). Following the boundary-drawing approach, the ethnic aspect will decrease in importance when processes of integration are no longer conceptualized as cultural assimilation. It is rather the response of immigrants to the structures in societal sub-systems as well as interaction processes between individuals representing the majority population and the different minority populations in every day life situations. Analysing multiple identifications and emotional bonds as well as varying cultural and linguistic practices in this way would ultimately lead to a new understanding of integration in its complexity, dynamic and context-dependency.

6.3 Methodology

To put these theoretical considerations into practice, an appropriate research design and suitable empirical data are required. In our research design, we take the complexity and plurality of individual integration processes into account by

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[3] Alba and Nee use the term assimilation, which is common in the US-American academic discourse and does not mean the complete adaptation of the immigrants to the majority society.

interlinking deductive and inductive methodology. In particular, the complementary application of different survey designs and procedures of analysis to the same study units – a *triangulation approach with connected samples* (cf. Flick 2000: 309; Flick 2004) – has so far only been sporadically applied in migration research. The guiding idea of this multi-method approach is to compare individual event histories and to reconstruct the subjective meaning, systems of relevance and action orientations ascribed to them by the respondents. This approach allows a joint analysis of immigrants' own views and interpretations and the objective traces of their societal integration over the life course, *"... thereby minimizing the risk of adopting a subjectivist stance"* (Bertaux and Kohli 1984: 223).

We proceeded in four steps: (1) we reanalysed event-history data of 1st generation immigrants living in Vienna, (2) based on these results, we drew a sub-sample and carried out 30 qualitative interviews, (3) subsequently, we carried out a *structuring content analysis* by applying a *thematic* and *cross-case dimensioning*, and (4) generalized our findings by developing a model which combines *phases* and *components* of individual integration processes.

For the re-analysis of the event history data, we applied the relatively new method of *optimal matching* (Schaeper 1999; Aisenbrey 2000). Similar to *cluster analysis* for cross-sectional data, *optimal matching* is a method to discover structures in data of event history format. We analysed the employment histories (sequences)[4] of 601 1st generation immigrants from Serbia and Turkey in Vienna by comparing the distances between pairs of individual labour market trajectories.[5] The produced distance matrix made the grouping of similar labour market trajectories possible. Subsequently, *multidimensional scaling* and *cluster analysis* were applied in order to develop a typology of the individual employment biographies. These sequence clusters served as the basis for the selection of interview partners for the 30 qualitative interviews in step 2.

Table 6.1 gives an overview of the extracted clusters along relevant socio-demographical characteristics. It is in this regard essential to always compare the cluster distributions to the total distribution of the sample.

Cluster 1 is composed of 214 persons. The respondents are characterized by full-time or part-time employment since the year of arrival to Austria. Most of the respondents within this cluster are male immigrants (77.6%). Two thirds are native Serbian; one third is originally from Turkey. Almost half of the respondents have completed compulsory education, one third possesses a secondary degree, and one seventh has a university entrance certificate. Roughly 42% of the respondents are 55 years old or above. The average age in cluster 1 is therefore above the average of the whole sample. This can be explained by the earlier date of arrival of the Serbian respondents, compared to those from Turkey.

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[4] An employment sequence is the succession of employment states during the individual migration course.

[5] For a detailed description of the methodological approach, see SiM final report, p. 29 (http://www.zsi.at/attach/3Endbericht_SiM.pdf).

Table 6.1 Distribution of socio-demographic characteristics along the clusters

	Cluster 1 Fully employed throughout the migration trajectory	Cluster 2 Difficulties at the beginning	Cluster 3 Discontinuous labour market participation	Cluster 4 Transition from education to stable employment career	Cluster 5 Outside the labour market	Total
n	214	230	65	64	28	601
Percent	35.6	38.3	10.8	10.6	4.7	100
Gender %						
Male	77.6	58.3	33.8	35.9	0.0	57.4
Female	22.4	41.7	66.2	64.1	100.0	42.6
Ethnicity %						
Turkey	33.2	54.3	52.3	75.0	82.1	50.1
Serbia	66.8	45.7	47.7	25.0	17.9	49.9
Education %						
None	3.4	6.8	3.4	6.3	4.0	5.1
Elementary	46.6	45.5	50.8	37.5	64.0	46.3
Secondary	36.3	38.6	32.2	31.3	12.0	35.1
University entrance certificate	13.7	9.1	13.6	25.0	20.0	13.5
Age %						
35–44	22.9	43.9	73.8	70.3	57.1	43.1
45–54	35.5	38.3	24.6	25.0	32.1	34.1
55–64	31.3	13.0	1.5	1.6	10.7	17.0
65 and older	10.3	4.8	0.0	3.1	0.0	5.8

Source: LIMITS-project; own calculations

Cluster 2 with 230 persons represents the biggest cluster. Members of this cluster have been permanently employed during their whole stay in Austria, yet they had a hard time to get integrated into the labour market at the very beginning. This might result from the legally restricted access to regular employment for immigrants who entered Austria via family reunification. Other reasons for the discontinuity in the beginning of the labour market biography are phases of unemployment or longer periods of residence abroad. Regarding gender, age and education cluster 2 shows a distribution similar to the total sample distribution. Unlike cluster 1, this group contains a higher share of female respondents (58.3%) and a higher percentage of younger 1st generation immigrants.

Cluster 3 is composed of 65 persons (10.8% of the total sample) whose labour market trajectories are characterized by a variety of discontinuities. It is remarkable that the educational structure of this group barely differs from cluster 1 and at the same time, the respondents are significantly younger: 73.8% are between 35 and 44 years of age. In contrast to cluster 1 and 2, full employment does not mark the main part of their labour market biographies. It rather gets down to numerous periods of unemployment, stays abroad and periods of education and training, maternity leave and housekeeping. The members of this cluster experienced a relatively late labour market entrance and have precarious employment trajectories. This might be due to the economic situation at the time of arrival during the 1980ies. The ethnic background is almost equally distributed between the two groups. Female immigrants are considerably overrepresented (66.2%).

Cluster 4 is composed of 64 persons (10.6% of the total sample). They can be characterized as “labour market returnees”. While after arrival they have been out of the labour market e.g. doing housekeeping, being still in education or on maternity leave, they subsequently gained access to the labour market and mostly stayed employed until the time of the interview. Women and immigrants born in Turkey are overrepresented in this cluster (64.1% respectively 75%). Even though the interviewees of this group show the highest level of education, their labour market trajectories are affected by longer phases of unemployment and part-time work. Similarly, to cluster 3 the respondents of this cluster are relatively young and arrived in Austria later than the respondents of cluster 1 and 2.

Cluster 5 is composed of only 28 persons and thus it represents the smallest cluster. The members of this cluster have been out of the labour market during their whole migration history, primarily engaged in housekeeping. The most of them are female immigrants from Turkey (82.1%). Two thirds have compulsory education (64%) and 20% university entrance degree. 43.1% are below 45 years of age.

Following the description of cluster 1 and 2, which include three-fourth of all respondents, one might conclude that a significant part of the 1st generation immigrants in our study experienced rather unproblematic labour market integration throughout their migration history. The analysis so far leaves phenomena of insufficient social mobility out of consideration such as de-qualification, lack of further education and professional promotion or the specific placement of immigrants especially in the low-wage sectors of the labour market.

In the second step, 30 problem-centred (guided) interviews with representatives of the clusters were carried out in their mother tongue. A well-balanced distribution of cluster membership, gender, ethnic background and command of German was achieved. The aim of the qualitative phase was not the validation of the quantitatively-derived results but an in-depth analysis of the subjective evaluation of the individual "migration project". With the simultaneous consideration of objective outcomes and subjective modes of interpretation, we recognize that individual and social changes are mutually dependent and that the relationship between individuals and societal settings is bi-directional (cf. Colby 1998: viii; Giele and Elder 1998).

The software-supported (MAXQDA) *content-analysis* in step 3 builds on a *thematically comparative dimensioning* across cases (Kelle and Kluge 1999). Instead of constructing empirically based typologies from the qualitative material, we generated hypotheses in an abductive way (Peirce 1955). The core results of this analysis are condensed in the model *'Phases and Components of Individual Trajectories of Integration'* (see Fig. 6.1) presented at the end of Sect. 6.4.

In the following part, we discuss the main dimensions along which the immigrants evaluated their personal migration project and exemplify why integration has to be discussed as a non-linear process with changing outcomes depending on the changes in societal contexts. The narratives of the respondents reveal the importance of boundary-drawing processes for feelings of belonging and the subjective definition of a successful migration project. Moreover, the analysis shows that the often implied dichotomy "*integrated*" versus "*non-integrated*" fails to capture the dynamic and the open-endedness of individual life courses.

6.4 Analyses of Immigrants' Narratives

According to our findings, the following dimensions were the most relevant in the evaluation of the individual migration project: (1) economic situation and living conditions, (2) legal framework and political context, (3) intra- and intergenerational social mobility, and (4) belonging, identifications and emotional bonds.

6.4.1 The Economic Dimension

The economic dimension in immigrants' narratives encompasses their financial situation, housing conditions and more generally their standard of living. In fact, the housing situation is one of the main criteria along which immigrants evaluate the success of their migration project. Immigrants' recollection of the first immigration phase is characterized by the disappointment of their expectation of the "golden West". The ideas of "Western living standards" were dashed soon after arrival by the often catastrophic housing conditions, which made housing one of the central topics in immigrants' narratives. Excessive rents and deposits compared with the

flat's poor condition and lack of furnishing as well as unlawful terms of notice had manifold negative consequences such as, various illnesses. Furthermore, physical and psychological complaints may have been exacerbated by other problems of immigration such as separation of families and hard working conditions.

> R: Then it was really a problem finding a flat. I then found a flat – one room and a kitchen. It was very small. We had no water in the flat and only cold water in the corridor and the WC was also in the corridor. There was no warm water and it was very cold in the flat. Shortly afterwards my wife fell ill and had to spend seven months in hospital. She had a lung infection; I think she became ill because it was an old building and very dirty. In the flat it was very cold and very small.
>
> (male, Turkish, age 53, 1st cluster)

Because immigrants often provided accommodation for following relatives and friends in their flats in the years after arrival, most of the small flats were overcrowded. Despite the high level of inner-family cohesion, in many cases this led to considerable tensions.

> R: We were all living in 30 square meters. All these flats were about that big. There were six people in such a flat.
>
> (female, Serbian, age 43, 2nd cluster)

At this point, it becomes clear that the immigrants' comparatively low income, which is also a result of their positioning on the labour market (services, industry and construction sector) was directly related to deprivation in the housing sector. As often as not the interviewees did not have the necessary capital to find appropriate housing or to improve their housing conditions. Nevertheless, some managed to improve their situation by investing a considerable share of their savings for renovating and repairing their flats on their own.

> R: First we brought the water into the flat. Then we had to buy a washing machine, a dishwasher. With the two children we couldn't live with cold water any more. Then we made hot water. My husband was an electrician then. He heated the water with electricity. Then he installed the fuse box in the flat. Then he built a shower himself. Then the next year we had an oil stove.
>
> (female, Turkish, age 66, 2nd cluster)

Legal regulations constrained the access to the housing market and state benefit systems as well. The interviewees refer to experiences of discrimination that also exemplify the rigid boundary-drawing processes between the majority population and the "guest-workers" in the housing sector.

> R: There were hard times. You couldn't find a better flat so easily. The Austrian asked straight away, ha, foreigner? At the beginning, it happened to me a few times. No, he said, no foreigners. At that time, I did not have Austrian citizenship. I was often very confused. Whenever I found an advert in the paper and rang up, it was, no, sorry, and do you have children? Oh, that's even worse, out of the question.
>
> (male, Serbian, age 54, 1st cluster)

Despite bad experiences, the interviewees reported an improvement in their housing quality over time. While at the beginning they were living in extremely bad conditions, some of them have in the meantime become owner-occupiers and are happy with and in fact proud of their present housing situation.

> R: I have achieved everything I wanted to. I have bought two flats in Turkey; I have bought a flat in the 22nd district *[in Vienna]*. For me that is something special, because I wasn't born rich. I've seen the worst side of life and so I'm proud of everything I've achieved.
>
> (male, Turkish, age 62, 1st cluster)

To summarize, housing is one of the areas where the context-dependency of the integration processes becomes very obvious. The quality of housing is rather influenced by the structure of the local housing market and especially by processes of legal and personal discrimination, i.e. the opportunity structure the migrants encounter, than by the individuals' preferences. There is little evidence in the respondents' narratives that the specific housing was chosen primarily along ethnic or cultural criteria such as closeness to co-ethnics. Statistical results show that neighbourhoods with a high proportion of immigrants in Vienna are ethnically mixed and characterized by a specific cost and supply structure (cf. Giffinger and Reeger 1997; Giffinger and Wimmer 2003).

In academic, socio-political and public discourse, gainful employment is considered the main factor for ensuring opportunities of societal participation and avoiding poverty. Accordingly, discontinuous employment trajectories (e.g. phases of unemployment or sick leaves) and de-qualification processes lead to increased poverty risks. Analysis shows that discontinuity of labour market participation is not primarily influenced by immigrants' individual characteristics or their ethnic background, but more so by structural features and the dynamics of the labour market to which immigrant workers are more sharply exposed. In times of raising unemployment, they would be the first to be fired since the idea of native workers' protection (a principle established during the 1920s cf. Gächter 2005) is still relevant in Austria. The ethnic segmentation of the Austrian labour market leads to the fact that many 1st generation immigrants were restricted in their opportunity to participate in the social security system in the course of their working life. Three main reasons for this can be figured out based on the immigrants' narrations: (1) they have been overwhelmingly employed in low-paid sectors; (2) employers have *not* or have wrongly registered them, e.g. less registered working-hours per week than hours actually worked; (3) due to difficult circumstances the immigrants have partly worked without documents. Since the social benefits are directly linked to paid work, Austria can be defined as a conservative welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1990). Consequently, after not having fully participated in the social security system, also the pension benefits are limited. This has become increasingly evident in recent years as the first generation of labour immigrants reach retirement age. Their claims to state pension insurance are often substantially lower than those of Austrians who have been in similar occupations. In this regard, 'old-age poverty' increasingly occurs in an ethnically differentiated way. The following excerpts exemplify the precarious economic situation that many 1st generation immigrants in Vienna experience in the retirement phase.

I: And a pension?
R: Will I get anything - for what? I only worked with papers for 2½ years and I won't get anything and that's it.

(male, Serbian, age 59, 2nd cluster)

R: When the young boss took over the company he drew up seasonal papers for me and always just extended them. He always had them for six months... that was until the last year [2005]. He told me there was no other way. I don't know if that's true.
I: For how long did you always get a visa then?
R: For six months. The whole passport was full of visas

(female, Serbian, age 42, 3rd cluster)

The aspect of 'old-age poverty' seems to play a central role in immigrants' evaluations of the own migration project. Alongside a reduction in working ability for health or invalidity reasons, immigrants of pensionable age are confronted with a life in *complex insecurity* (Reinprecht 2006: 26). In summary, discontinuities in the employment biographies can be seen as a result of multiple disadvantages (labour market, housing market, legal practices, precarious economic and family situation etc.), which leads us to the next relevant aspect in the subjective evaluation of the integration processes: the legal and political developments during the last 40 years.

6.4.2 The Austrian Legal and Political Framework

In the time when most of our interviewees first came to Austria, immigration above all meant labour migration. Consequently, the general legal framework with regard to residence and employment rights has an overwhelming effect on the immigrants' evaluations. The complicated, often obscure legal situation is also indicated by the immigrants' lack of information on legal issues. The so called "guest workers" were paid extremely low and the regulations for workers' protection were not followed adequately by the employers for years. Especially with regard to working hours and payment of overtime, the work relations could be qualified as exploitative. In order not to endanger their residency status, many immigrants did not defend themselves against poor working conditions. For many, the low-paid jobs led to exceptional physical and psychological burdens (e.g. sickness and invalidity), which the interviewees also mention as reasons for the 'gaps' in their individual employment trajectory.

R: When my son was ill I was going to work three hours a day so that my visa didn't expire. It was not like now. If you didn't go to work you lost the workers' visa.

(female, Turkish, age 50, 2nd cluster)

The multiple burdens on female immigrants prove to be particularly critical in this respect, as unregulated working hours and insufficient childcare support put pressure on family life and the economic independence of migrant women.

> R: My working hours were not fixed. I had to stay there as long as others were working. That was terrible for the children, so I had to spend a lot of time with them in the evening. I came home tired to death after work in the evening. Only then, at ten in the evening could I go to the park with them. Can you imagine that? At nine, ten in the evening in the park in October or November, whatever. The children at home the whole day on their own, alone! Oh well . . .
>
> (female, Serbian, age 43, 2nd cluster)

The lack of institutional support and the absence of the right to fight for workers' interests and against discrimination additionally exacerbated the immigrants' situation.

> R: I wanted to stand as a shop steward, but they rejected it without comment. I think they didn't want it because I was a foreigner and the others who were standing were Austrians.
>
> (male, Turkish, age 62, 1st cluster)

For qualified immigrants, too, access to the Austrian labour market was made difficult by the existing legal and institutional regulations.

> R: A terrible situation! The work was there, but you couldn't get every type of work. At that time, it was forbidden for immigrants to switch from the employment agency for blue-collar workers to the employment agency for white-collar workers. I think the process for changing the occupation took eight years. So whatever qualification you had, anyone who started a job as a worker was always designated as a worker.
>
> (male, Serbian, age 57, 2nd cluster)

The complex interaction between the legal regulations in the domains of labour and residency was also evident in the circular relationship of citizenship and employment. The granting of citizenship as well as a secure residence status was linked to employment, since sufficient security of livelihood was a precondition for application. The definition of "sufficient" however was volatile and sometimes raised above the collectively bargained minimum wage. Moreover, sufficient financial security could only be achieved through complete integration in the labour market, which again in many cases was only possible through a guaranteed residency status. Pregnancy, unemployment or parental leave delayed or hindered naturalization and residency.

To summarize, the context-dependency of immigrants' integration processes becomes particularly clear when looking at the interplay between legal-political conditions and individual behaviour over time. The legally justified exclusion and until very recently the lacking protection against unequal treatment have lead not only to objective exclusion from the labour market and thus to insecure residency but caused subjective feelings of exclusion.

Nevertheless, institutions of social security and the rule of law are highly respected among immigrants coming from countries with different standards and more often than not form the basis of their emotional attachment to Austria. Especially for immigrants who were members of a suppressed minority in their country of origin, democracy and the rule of law is decisive for the evaluation of their own migration project.

> The social system is a thousand times better than in Turkey. That's why I love this country. For me, democracy is also very important. There is democracy in Austria. That's why I feel freer in Austria. Everybody is respected. I think that is very important. You can move freely, you are more self-confident, and you feel safe. In Austria there are human rights, which for me as a Kurd are very important.
>
> (male, Kurdish, age 37, 2nd cluster)

Another important aspect in this respect is the question whether 1st generation immigrants managed to climb the social ladder despite being discriminated against on the labour market. The issue of intra- and intergenerational upward social mobility emerged as the third significant dimension along which the respondents evaluated success and failure of their individual migration project.

6.4.3 The Subjectivity of Upward Social Mobility

Our findings confirm results from earlier research on segmentation of the Austrian labour market and the lack of social mobility in the first generation (cf. Biffl 2000; Gächter 2005; Burtscher 2009). The spectrum of the immigrants' occupational profile in their country of origin ranges from agricultural workers through handicraft trades to white-collar workers and qualified engineers. However, on entering the Austrian labour market, existing certificates of education and qualifications rarely played a role. The corresponding bureaucratic process was seen as being protracted and hopeless, and was therefore rarely undertaken successfully. Often the lack of recognition of certificates and prior experience led to employment as unskilled workers.

> R: I qualified as a medical orderly . . . then I worked as a housecleaner. I tidied up a house, cleaned, and washed and things like that.
>
> (female, Serbian, age 39, 2nd cluster)

In some cases, even a determined desire for occupational advancement was not taken account of by the employer.

> R: When I came to Austria and started my degree course at the university I was working on the side at a cleaning company. What irritated me, however, was the pay. It was very low and I wanted to get training and promotion, but they wouldn't allow it. I wanted to be supervisor. I spoke to the boss about it, that I wanted promotion, and he refused it.
>
> (male, Turkish, age 37, 2nd cluster)

The orientation towards returning to the country of origin influenced the individual strategies for improving the social status as well. In some cases, this meant that offers for further training were not taken up even though they were suggested by the employer.

Upward social mobility is often mentioned as a decisive feature of integration. In Austria however, many of the labour-migrants had to protract it to the next generation. The rigid structure of the Austrian labour market – high obstacles to entry,

a traditionally limited mobility, high seasonal employment, the maintenance of structurally weak sectors in the low wage segment, the small and medium-sized structure of the Austrian economy – brought with it that a one-time de-qualification often hindered later advancement (Volf 2001: 55; Gächter 2010).

To sum up, the integration process of immigrants was severly hindered by the lack of opportunities for occupational and social mobility. Sufficient German language skills may indeed make occupational and thereby social mobility easier, but they are not relevant for immigrants' placement on the Austrian labour market and do not protect against unemployment. For all that, the interviewees spoke of a successful migration project.[6] First, this can be explained by respondents' comparison of their individual living situation at the time of the interview with that in the country of origin or at the time of immigration. Secondly, the compensation function of other elements in the migration trajectory becomes clear. A lack of upward occupational mobility is compensated for by the acquisition of property or access to the welfare state, rule of law and democratic rights. Thirdly, the positive evaluation can be explained by focusing on the cross-generational perspective, which for most migrants constitutes an important part of the assessment of their individual migration project. Higher education, occupational advancement and material security of the following generations represent central indicators in the overall balance. The compensation patterns mentioned here again demonstrate the complexity of individual integration processes by stressing the interconnected nature of different spheres of life.

6.4.4 Belonging, Identifications and Emotional Bonds – Function and Change Over Time

The fourth dimension deals with immigrants' affiliations, identifications and emotional ties. According to some theories on immigration and integration, identification with the society of immigration is the litmus test or final aim of the integration process (e.g. Esser 2001). The approach we use for the discussion of identification processes and affiliation patterns is indebted to the paradigm of constructivism within which ethnicity or ethnic identity is described as situational, context-dependent and relational.

In the immigrants' narratives, three patterns of identification can be identified which do not necessarily correspond with the length of stay and the life course phases: (1) predominant identification with the country of origin; (2) "identity dilemma", which expresses ambivalent feelings of belonging; (3) multiple

[6] However, the fact that this research project can only reflect the view of those immigrants who could and wanted to be interviewed must also be taken into account. Those who no longer live in Austria and who have abandoned their migration project could not be interviewed.

identifications, which imply strong emotional ties with both the country of origin and the country of immigration. The following excerpts exemplify these patterns.

For some of the respondents, the emotional ties with the country of origin remain the most important point of reference for their identification even after a long residency in Austria.

> I: Where do you feel at home?
> R: At home, still. I can't say: here I'm free too. But it is nevertheless different. You know, as soon as I cross the border I feel different straight away; so light, free. Or when I get home, I understand my people, I understand my language. I don't know, my family, my house.
>
> (female, Serbian, age 42, 3rd cluster)

The identification process does not just imply an individual's decision to feel part of a group (category or collective) but also relates to the others' perception of oneself i.e. the feeling and certainty of being regarded by the "others" as part of their own group, of the whole society. Experiences of discrimination in everyday life or in the workplace increase the feeling of not being accepted in Austria, which again can increase the emotional distance from the majority society.

> R: As long as they don't like you, you can't like them either. You can't be friendly with them even if you want to. For example, I moved into this flat, there was a young man downstairs. As if he was listening to us through headphones, he repeatedly called the police, brought them here and always said we were arguing violently. He said there was violence between us. Once a plate fell to the floor and broke and he even called out the police then.
>
> (female, Turkish, age 50, 2nd cluster)

Negotiating identities does not run in a straight line but can also include vicissitudes and cracks. The 'guest worker' status assigned by both the majority society and the immigrants themselves often lead to a conflictive and ambiguous process of identification, especially when immigrants started to feel alien in both their country of origin and their country of immigration.

> R: So I am from there *[southern Serbia]* but I go there at weekends. But I don't feel at home, and I'm not at home here either. Unfortunately, I'm treated as a foreigner here too. But in my own country I'm also seen as a foreigner, because I can't be there all the time.
>
> (male, Serbian, age 44, 3rd cluster)

If a loss of clear feelings of belonging is noticeable in the excerpts quoted above, the following quote reveals the easiness of multiple affiliations.

> R: I actually feel very comfortable here and I say quite openly that I feel at home here. I live in a wonderful area when I am in Serbia and Montenegro, in Montenegro by the sea, in a wonderful city where the countryside is really very, very beautiful. I very much like going down there, but I am just as happy when I come to Vienna. What I don't have in Vienna I find there on the sea, in the nature, and when I'm down there, I actually miss a lot of what I have in Vienna when I'm here.
>
> (male, Serbian, age 49, 1st cluster)

The interdependence of employment biography, improved quality of life and acquired property with emotional ties shows that in the identification process, the focus does not have to be primarily on imagined collectives such as an ethnic group or a nation.

> R: I don't have any big plans for the future. I have had a house built here, I am very happy that I made this decision, and I own a flat in Turkey. I want to sell the flat in Turkey and pay a part of the mortgage here so I can finish paying the mortgage quicker. My aim is later to work for the MA34 *[city department]* as a house technician. I've already applied and I'm waiting for the official reply.
>
> (male, Turkish, age 37, 1st cluster)

Another central finding is that the acquisition of Austrian citizenship is not only seen as a means for equal access to societal resources but serves as a basis of identification with Austria.

> R: I have built up everything here – friends, work, my family is here, I also have Austrian citizenship. I think my homeland is Austria.
>
> (male, Turkish, age 40, 3rd cluster)

A secure residence status enables also mobility which in many ways is practiced and desired as well.

> I: Where do you intend to spend your retirement?
> R: Retirement? Good question. A bit here, a bit there, everywhere. If I could then here permanently, but I would like to travel if I could, but only for a short time.
>
> (female, Serbian, age 39, 2nd cluster)

In brief, the interviewees do not solely refer to one single homeland. Multiple identifications are important in this regard and are perceived as emotional enrichment. There are, however, also respondents who report the loss of reference points, others even after many decades in Austria still identify primarily with the country of origin. This is often associated with a negative evaluation of one's own migration project which in turn is usually based on the experience of disqualification and discrimination. Another important result is that citizenship strengthens identification with Austria and leads to active recognition of democratic obligations and rights. In the following, we will summarise our findings by developing a generalized model.

6.5 The Subjective Assessment of the Individual Migration Project: Phases and Components

The subsequently described model of *phases and components of individual trajectories of integration* is based on the reconstruction of the biographical paths and the systems of relevance of 1st generation labour immigrants of Turkish and Serbian origin in Vienna. We aim at developing a model that captures the theoretical

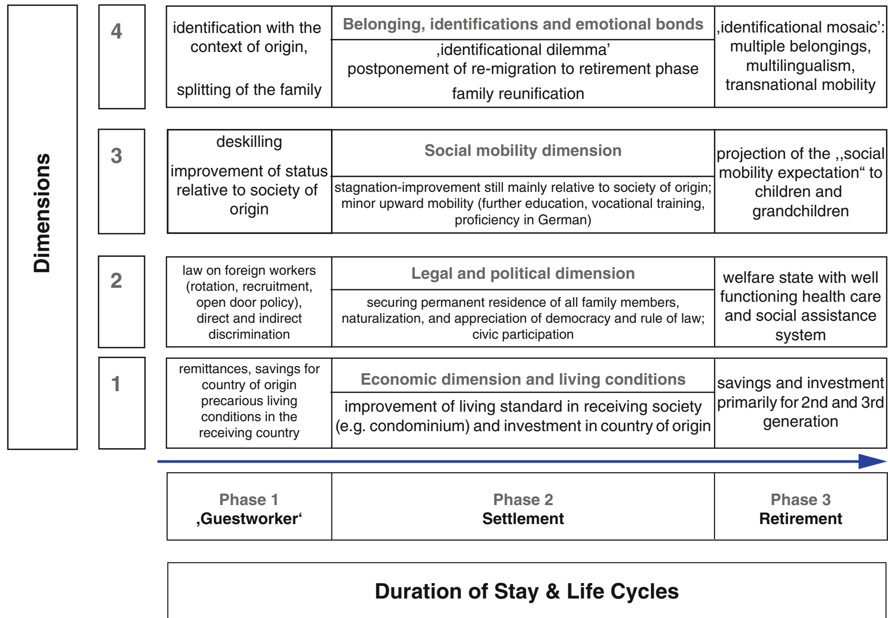

Fig. 6.1 Phases and components of individual trajectories of integration

challenges discussed at the beginning. It consists of four components which may acquire varying importance in the individuals' courses of immigration. In this model, the course of immigration and settlement is divided into three phases, which reflect different life cycles, situations and objectives (cf. Fig. 6.1). Based on the subjective evaluations of each individual migration project and thus on the different assessments of the four components within each of the respective migration or life phases we account for the multiplicity and the dynamic nature of integration. The interlocking of phases and components/dimensions does not imply causality or linearity.

6.5.1 Time: The Three Phases

The immigrants interviewed in this study came to Austria between 1966 and 1989, with the highest numbers in the periods 1970–1973 and 1986–1989. At the start of the 1970s, the demand for low-qualified workers was at its highest and reached the peak in 1974, with some 163,000 people (cf. Gürses et al. 2004). This year also marked the end of active recruitment of foreign workers.

Phase 1 "Guest working" and commuting: In this phase, a successful migration project was seen as a short-term project, originally for one year, gradually extending

to a few years. The aim was to save money for investments in the country of origin. For this reason, poor and uncertain living conditions (e.g. precarious legal status, bad working and housing situation) in the immigration country were accepted. In this phase, immigrants' primary aim was the early return to the country of origin, so there was also little targeted language acquisition. At the beginning of the migration project, economic and family reasons led some of the interviewed to commuting between Austria and the country of origin.

Phase 2 Settlement: Phase 2 is characterised by the securing of the residential status (settlement) and by family reunification. This goes together with a relative improvement of living standards and changes concerning plans for the future. Existing intentions of returning to the country of origin in the near future were delayed and ultimately shifted to the retirement phase.

Phase 3 Retirement phase: The success of children and grandchildren who mostly live in Austria becomes increasingly important for the subjective evaluation of the own migration project with age. Therefore, plans to return to the country of birth become less attractive. Some respondents gave up the intention to return, and others transformed this idea into "seasonal commuting" between the country of origin and Austria. Transnational mobility is obviously an outcome of the migration project and represents for many immigrants a valuable side-effect. In this phase, savings are increasingly used for the second and third generation.

6.5.2 Structure: The Four Dimensions

Based on the interviewees' narrations, the subjective evaluation of the migration project could be structured according to four main components: economic, legal-political, social mobility and belonging (cf. Fig. 6.1).

1. *Economic dimension*: The migrants' evaluation of their economic situation includes the amount of salary/pension, savings, investments, remittances as well as the improvement of living conditions and the acquisition of property in Austria and in the country of origin.
2. *Legal-political dimension*: Here we combine migrants' evaluations of their individual legal status and the societal and political context. Secure residency, stable employment and social-security guarantees are elements assessed in this dimension. The rule of law, democracy and gender equality are reflected upon as well.
3. *Social mobility*: The third component of the model describes the evaluation of changes of social status based on education and occupation. This relates on the one hand to the comparison of "here and there", the situation in Austria and in the country of origin and on the other hand to the comparison of "now and back then", i.e. comparing the present situation with the individual starting position in

Austria. Within this dimension, the subjective evaluation of one's own migration project can extend to a perspective across generations.

4. *Belonging, identifications and emotional bonds*: Here, several points of reference relating to the country of origin and the country of immigration can be distinguished. Within this component, identifications are (re)negotiated according to situation and context, and cognitive processes such as categorizing, coding, framing and interpreting social experience in ethnic or national terms take place. Immigrants evaluate multiple belongings and the opportunities for transnational mobility as positive outcomes of the migration project.

The three phases described at the beginning portray the course of migration rather roughly and do not vary in substance according to evaluation patterns. Instead, we can differentiate between different individual systems of relevance. This is expressed in the varying combination of the four dimensions in different life phases. Thus, the dynamic of the model arises from the different subjective weighting of the respective components within each of the phases. The components are mutually dependent not only within one phase but also between various phases. For example, multiple identifications or withdrawals of emotional ties are influenced by the legal-political and above all by the economic and social-mobility dimension. Secure residency and naturalization proves to be significant for identification processes. However, if the evaluation of the particular migration project turns out negative due to the economic and social mobility component, two things may happen: an identification dilemma may emerge, or the identification with the country of origin may become stronger. The focus on the subjective evaluations makes the compensation effects become visible as well. For example, a negative assessment on the "social mobility" dimension can be compensated in two ways: via the "economic component", e.g. by the acquisition of property and the improvement of living standards, or through the occupational and social advancement of the children and grandchildren.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

The majority of research strategies on ethnic identity, integration and migration, in particular in the combination of empirical data and theory, build on the existence of ethnic groups as quasi natural entities or as self-evident observation units (Brubaker 2004; Wimmer 2008a). Boundary-drawing processes that are immanent in the construction of social categories such as ethnic groups seldom form the basis for theoretical and empirical development in migration studies. The societal contingency and context-dependency of integration and identification processes is often obscured by "methodological nationalism". The adaptation or incorporation process itself seems to take place in a space without interaction partners and societal structures. On closer observation, however, the respective context explains a large part of the phenomena described. These include the general legal conditions,

the current economic situation, the varying availability of housing and the strata-reproducing education system as well as the experience of discrimination.

Modern societies are characterised by heterogeneity and diversity, which relates to class and life situations, ideological orientations, lifestyles and religious affiliations. These differences are re/produced by exclusion mechanisms in the various social subsystems. They are expressed in the *habitus*, in the sociolect and dialect as well as in the availability of resources and are subject to constant change. The subjective feeling of exclusion, however, is connected but not identical with objective exclusion: feelings of exclusion are dependent on the subjective assessment of the current situation as well as on the judgement of future opportunities. To understand integration processes, the subjective dimension, which is neglected in most theoretical approaches, is of great importance.

The model presented here emerged as an answer to the theoretical challenges in research on integration. It builds on subjective systems of relevance and illustrates the dynamics and context-dependency of integration processes from a life-course perspective. The components form the axes along which individual evaluations are undertaken. In this model, integration proves not to be a linear, unidirectional process that knows finality, but a dynamic process that is characterised by the changing importance of the legal and economic conditions, inter-generational social mobility and emotional ties and patterns of belonging in different life-phases. As we do not use country of origin, ethnicity or culture to explain any of the social phenomena described we refrain from ethnicizing categories of analysis or social processes. This strategy of analysis proves to be suitable and very promising for the examination of the integration processes of 1st generation immigrants. The testing of the applicability of this model for other groups of origin, migration types and other local and national contexts remains a research desideratum.

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Chapter 7
National Context and Logic of Social Distancing: Children of Immigrants in France and Germany

Ingrid Tucci

7.1 Introduction

This paper presents a comparative analysis of the socio-economic incorporation of immigrants' descendants in France and Germany, focusing in particular on their outcomes in education and employment. Schooling is a key institution in the life course (Mayer 2005) and different education systems lead to differential outcomes among children of immigrants (Crul and Vermeulen 2003). Cross-national differences in labour market structures can also be expected to translate into different types of labour market participation: a relatively high youth unemployment rate (as exists in France) will probably lead to high competition for jobs among the younger population. A wide array of institutional and structural parameters thus delimits the opportunities and constraints affecting groups and individuals, shaping their life courses. In the case of immigration, traditions of citizenship, philosophies of integration (Favell 2001) and institutional practices relating to the treatment of the 'other' play a key role as parameters defining 'national conceptions of integration'.

The migration background and membership in an ethnic or religious minority can be considered as one influence on the life trajectories of immigrants' children. In this paper, I focus on the descendants of Turkish immigrants in Germany and North African immigrants in France, applying a concept I refer to as social distancing – *mise à distance sociale* – to explain from a theoretical perspective the differential patterns of incorporation that have emerged among these groups. I argue that the differential outcomes found in cross-national research can be analysed not only in terms of national modes of integration but also in terms of national-specific logics of social distancing, that might cause immigrants' children to follow different life trajectories in different countries. The concept of social distancing defines a process of exclusion that can perpetuate or change life trajectories. By studying how children

I. Tucci (✉)
German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), 10117 Berlin, Germany
e-mail: itucci@diw.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_7, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

of immigrants move through important life course institutions such as school and the labour market and by analyzing their outcomes in these domains, it is possible to identify the moments in their lives at which social distancing occurs. Using German and French survey data – the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) for Germany and, *inter alia*, the Family History Survey (EHF) from INSEE for France – I present results on educational outcomes, unemployment, and positioning on the labour market. Based on the theoretical concept of social distancing that I develop at the beginning of this contribution, I conceptualise two specific logics of social distancing that emerge from the empirical results on France and Germany as well as the mechanisms underlying them.

7.1.1 Immigration and Integration in France and Germany

France and Germany are important immigration countries in Europe, in spite of the fact that they did not traditionally consider themselves to be. There is no doubt, however, that immigrants and their children are part of both countries' histories and that they have made a significant contribution to the economic success of their host countries after the Second World War. The recruitment of foreign workers to France and Germany was intended as a temporary solution to post-war labour shortages, but the immigrants stayed on. It took successive government administrations some time to understand that steps needed to be taken to integrate immigrants and their children. The main difference between France and Germany lies in the degree of political integration of the immigrants' descendants. In France, second- and later-generation immigrants become French citizens when they reach adulthood and receive the right to vote. In spite of the fact that Germany added elements of the *jus soli – i.e. 'right of the soil'* – to its citizenship legislation in the year 2000, a large share of immigrants' children still do not have German citizenship: for example, 63% of the German-born children of Turkish and Italian migrants do not have German citizenship (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010). In France: 80% of the immigrants' descendants between 18 and 50 of age are French citizens since birth (Borrel and Lhommeau 2010).

The exclusion of many immigrants in Germany from political life has led to the establishment of numerous immigrant associations. The foreign citizenship status of many young adults born in Germany has contributed to the intergenerational consolidation of this network of small organizations. The status difference between young adults with an immigration background in France – who are French nationals – and those in Germany – who remain foreigners – is reflected in the integration debates in these two countries. Whereas the debate at the institutional level in France tends to focus on social class and social exclusion, in Germany it focuses on the integration of the 'cultural other' into German society. Issues related to the cultural dimension of integration and to immigrants' identification with the receiving country are much more prevalent in Germany than in France, and are very

frequently used as evidence of polarization in the public debate on integration and immigration. In France, the goal is to reach or maintain a certain degree of societal integration or cohesion. The school system is quite important in this process. French policies, in contrast to German ones, are characterized by a denial of difference, as Ersanilli (2010: 44) correctly notes. Having citizenship and attending school – the main instrument of integration in France – immigrants' children are accepted into the community of French citizens and become political individuals. In Germany, the debate is centered on the issue of integration into German society in cultural terms rather than on the issue of social cohesion. This discourse is, in a sense, evidence of the focus on cultural difference. Despite the differences between the French and the German debate on integration, one can observe a culturalisation of the discourse and of the symbolic boundaries in both countries (Bail 2008), where the integration of young adults with an immigration background continues to present a significant challenge.

Immigrants account for 8% of the total population in France (Borrel 2006) and 13% of the population in Germany[1] (Statistisches Bundesamt 2007). The overall percentage of foreigners in the population is also higher in Germany than in France (9% compared to 6%). Immigrants from the Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) constitute the largest group in France, followed those from Portugal. In Germany, the so-called Ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*, *Spätaussiedler*) constitute the largest group, followed by Turkish and Italian immigrants. It is not easy to estimate the number of descendants of immigrants living in each country due to the complexity of immigration histories and the wide range of conditions in which the descendants of immigrants live. According to new estimations (Borrel and Lhommeau 2010), France has about 6.5 million children of immigrants, i.e., people born in France with at least one immigrant parent born without French citizenship, of whom 1.3 million in the 18–50 age group are of North African origin. The number of German-born children of immigrants was estimated in 2008 to be about 4.9 million, of whom 1.8 million were in the 15–45 age group (Statistisches Bundesamt 2008). Descendants of Turkish immigrants constitute the largest group in Germany (approx. 1 million, Statistisches Bundesamt 2010).

The immigrant groups considered in this paper are therefore the largest within the young population with an immigrant background in these two countries. Their parents came to France and Germany for the most part as labour migrants, and although they do not share the same cultural background, the majority of these young people are Muslims. Young people of Turkish and North African origin are not only what we call 'a visible minority' but have also become, due to the increasing public suspicion towards Islam in both countries, the target of negative sentiment.

[1]Immigrants are persons born abroad without French or German citizenship. In some cases they have since acquired French or German citizenship.

7.1.2 Participation and Social Distancing: Theoretical Framework

According to the classical theory of assimilation, immigrant success is inevitable in the long run. However, research conducted in the US has uncovered several problems with this idea. By introducing the concept of segmented assimilation, Portes and co-authors (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2006) offered a more nuanced view of what the outcomes of integration might be, identifying factors that explain the different patterns of incorporation among immigrants' children, i.e., their paths of cultural, economic and social participation. The factors identified include: (a) skin colour, (b) concentration in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, (c) structure of co-ethnic community, (d) relationship between the country of origin and country of immigration, and (e) state of the economy in the country of immigration. Although the between-country variations in these factors would be of particular interest for the present study, it will not be possible to look at all these dimensions here. However, the role these dimensions in the production of social inequality play can be presumed to vary from country to country. Bogardus (1930) already identified cultural heritage and skin colour as possible sources of the difficulties experienced by immigrants' descendants, and he considered their *partial acceptance* by the majority to be the last phase in the cycle of assimilation. Nevertheless, the issue of skin colour does not have the same significance in Europe as it does in the USA, and its significance also differs between EU member states. In France, the skin colour issue is much more often the subject of discussions on racial discrimination than in Germany.

The extent to which *institutional arrangements* shape the modes of participation available to immigrants' descendants and the processes of their inclusion and exclusion are only touched on by the segmented assimilation approach. Yet several cross-national studies focusing on EU countries have shown that different cultural, institutional, and socio-structural contexts lead to cross-national differences in the integration of immigrants and also in second-generation integration (see Heckmann et al. 2001; Silbermann and Alba 2009; Schnapper 2007; Heath and Cheung 2007; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Heath and Brinbaum 2007; Ersanilli 2010). By linking a life course approach to integration theory, it becomes possible to gain important new perspectives on the impact of the national context and on the integration processes. The arguments for linking both approaches are, first, that if integration is to be seen as both an individual and a group process, it is important to analyse the temporal sequencing of integration steps. Second, the national context in which immigrants and their children settle plays a crucial role in the process of their integration. Elder (1996) pointed to the importance of time and place, i.e., to the influence of environment and social institutions, in life course. Particularly in international comparisons, institutional differences can be pivotal in understanding life course outcomes (Mayer 2004, 2005). Comparing Germany, the US, and Sweden, Mayer shows how different life course institutions such as school, vocational training, school-to-work transitions, but also labour market

regulation shape life course outcomes and create different life course regimes. Historical, structural, and institutional parameters create a structure of opportunities and constraints for individuals:

> the institutional contexts [. . .] narrow down to a large extent which life avenues are open and which are closed (Mayer 2004: 165).

A connection can be made between Mayer's idea of "open and closed life avenues" and the concept of social distancing used in this paper. Studying the adaptation of natives and immigrants in the United States, Bogardus (1930, 1933) used the concept of social distance, defined as the proximity between individuals or groups of individuals (occupational groups, religious groups, educational groups, etc.). Bogardus' concept describes a state, whereas social distancing describes a process occurring at the societal, group, and individual levels. The idea of social distancing used in this paper refers also to the work of Shibutani and Kwan (1965). According to these authors, social distance can be institutionalized. The same might hold true for the mechanisms underlying social distancing. Through restricted access to citizenship, stratification systems within which ethnic demarcations shape access to certain positions can be perpetuated (see also Alba and Nee 2003: 43). According to Shibutani and Kwan, when it is stable, ethnic stratification functions like a moral regime. If it spans generations, that is only because it is based on social consensus regarding the mechanisms inherent in it. This idea is similar to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence (1977, 1997). The moral regime that is created or maintained in this way is perceived by the whole of society as 'natural':

> Objections that someone is acting improperly imply a set of norms as to what constitutes his rights *vis à vis* other people. There are unwritten rules – and sometimes written ones as well – as to what is appropriate for people of each sort. (Shibutani and Kwan 1965: 28)

If institutions, through the divisions they might create, are at the core of the social order, social distancing as a – not necessarily conscious – practice might be a way for institutions, organizations, groups, and individuals to maintain this social order. Finally, prejudice has also a function in this process of social distancing:

> Prejudice [. . .] is a sort of spontaneous conservation which tends to preserve the social order and the social distances upon which that order rests. (Park 1924: 344)

This paper proposes the hypothesis that inherent to each national approach to integration is one specific form of social distancing that operates at the structural, the institutional, and the symbolic levels.

I use the concept of social distancing here for two reasons. First, as has been shown consistently in the research, an international comparison on the integration of immigrants has to take national modes of integration and of boundary making into account. According to Wimmer (2009), any piece of research dealing with integration should make empirical evidence on the effect of ethnicity on different indicators its starting point. The theoretical concept of social distancing can be used to explain the persistence and significance of this 'ethnicity effect' since it addresses mechanisms of differentiation or establishing boundaries. As noted by

Alba (2005), the concept of boundaries is useful in the analysis of immigrants' assimilation and exclusion. In his comparison of the types of boundaries that characterize the situation regarding descendants of Turkish immigrants in Germany, of North African immigrants in France, and of Mexican immigrants in the United States, Alba (2005) identifies religion for France and Germany, and also citizenship for Germany, as the main factors that contribute to the creation of a clear boundary, while race is more significant in the creation of divisions in the United States. The production of boundaries refers to the relationship to the 'other' in each national context, i.e., to institutional and/or symbolic factors.

Secondly, if social distance describes a status, social distancing describes a process that is shaped by mechanisms at different levels. On the basis of these theoretical approaches, three levels of social distancing mechanisms can be constructed: the structural, the institutional, and, closely linked to these, the symbolic level. While Mayer (2004) includes occupational structures in the institutional framework, I distinguish between the institutional and the structural level of the social context, even if the two are closely linked. The institutional level refers to the state and its authority to define the status of its residents, and the structural level refers to market mechanisms and the economic sphere. The symbolic level is related to the institutional one and refers to how institutionalized boundaries are interiorized by individuals. As a result, social distancing as defined in this contribution is not necessarily the product of individual action but can be the product of institutions (e.g., school, labour markets, and citizenship). Looking at how immigrants' children fare in terms of school achievement and labour market position enables us to identify the points in the life course when these individuals experience social distancing and how the social and institutional context shape their patterns of incorporation. This brings the issue of the sequencing of exclusion mechanisms during the life course to the fore. I hypothesize that descendants of migrants in France and Germany experience social distancing at different moments in their life course. Before presenting the empirical results, in the following section I address the cross-national differences that might be of relevance in understanding this difference and formulate some hypotheses.

7.2 Germany and France as National Contexts: Opportunities and Constraints

The national framework in which children of immigrants grow up can be seen as a structure of opportunity but also as a structure of limitations or constraints that are prevalent at different junctures in an individual's life course. When comparing Germany and France, one must bear in mind the distinct mechanisms of differentiation that take effect through two important *institutions*: citizenship and school. In France, *jus soli* has existed for 120 years and, to a certain extent, with citizenship (*citoyenneté*), descendants of immigrants are given the promise of equality (Castel 2007; Tucci and Groh-Samberg 2008). In Germany, *jus soli* was only introduced in the year 2000, which means that descendants of immigrants, as

foreigners, grew up being different. Access to citizenship is also relevant for the analysis of individuals' trajectories, as nationality places conditions on access to certain categories of jobs such as those in the civil service.

Schooling or the educational system can also engender difference and shape educational careers. In France, since the establishment of the *collège unique* in 1975, all children attend the same educational institution up to the age of 15. The three-tiered school system that continues to exist in Germany, on the other hand, results in earlier tracking and selection among pupils. In France, particular importance is attached to general educational attainment: in the 1980s the political aim was for 80% of a generation to be awarded their *Baccalauréat*. This resulted in a substantial increase in 25–34-year-old graduates of higher education in France from 20% to 37% between 1991 and 2002, while, in Germany the percentage remained stable at 22% (OECD 2004a, 2005). In Germany, vocational training is not only more widespread than in France; it also has a higher status. Based on the aforementioned differences, one would expect that the French educational system would be in a better position to achieve equality of access to educational attainment, particularly with regards to higher education. Recent research on social selectivity in access to tertiary education in France and Germany indicates that selectivity occurs in France between elite universities and other tracks while, in Germany, it occurs between universities and vocational training (Duru-Bellat et al. 2008). As a result, it can be hypothesized that ethnic inequalities in access to higher education are stronger in Germany than in France.

From a *structural point of view*, descendants of immigrants have grown up in an era of mass unemployment and industrial decline. The life courses of young adults correspond to these post-Fordist life course regimes marked by a delayed entry into the labour market and unemployment. Periods of unemployment after entering the labour market tend to be longer in France than in Germany (see Quintini et al. 2007), which can possibly be traced back to lower youth unemployment rates (21% for France versus 12% for Germany in the first quarter of 2009, see Eurostat 2009). Thus, competition between young applicants is greater in France than in Germany. The risk of unemployment for immigrants' children compared to natives may be higher in France than in Germany. The opportunity structure in the different industrial sectors has also changed, and this change shapes the occupational careers of the younger generations. The shock of de-industrialization was particularly significant in France: between 1965 and 2004, France lost, in total, 25% of all jobs in the manufacturing sector. West Germany lost only 14% of jobs in this sector during the same period (OECD 2004b). The majority of foreign citizens in Germany are still employed in industry, and, in France, in the service sector, which indicates the more pronounced labour market segmentation along 'ethno-cultural' lines in Germany. This means, *inter alia*, that children of immigrants in Germany have a better chance of finding employment in this sector than in France.

To analyze the paths of incorporation or the modes of participation in society among children of immigrants in the two countries and to understand when social distancing occurs in their life courses, I use four indicators. The first two deal with school achievement, and I differentiate between the two extremes in the educational

structure that play a determining role in their later employment careers: (1) leaving school with a low certificate or no qualification at all and (2) leaving school with a university degree. The third and fourth indicators are related to the labour market: (3) industrial sector of occupation and (4) unemployment experience.

7.3 Data and Methods

The following results are based on the 1999 Family History Survey, INSEE, for France and the 2002 Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) for Germany. The surveys differ in terms of sample size but are representative for both the French and German populations (see appendix). The French Family History Survey was drawn in 1999, in the same year of the national census. This survey provides information on respondents' nationality and birthplace as well as on their parents' birthplace. Our focus is on young adults between 18 and 40 years old who were either born in Germany or France or moved there when they were 15 or younger. The immigrants' descendants included in the analysis have German, French, or foreign citizenship. This is particularly important for France, where the majority of immigrants' descendants are French citizens. If they are not foreign citizens, their country of origin is determined, for France, based on parental information and, for Germany, based on naturalization information (information available in the 2002 wave of the SOEP) and their country of birth. The descriptive statistics in the appendix show that more children of immigrants are 'naturalized' in France than in Germany. Immigrants' descendants are defined for France as having at least one parent of foreign origin. This means that descendants of North African immigrants also include children of French repatriates, who have, on average, better school and work trajectories (Alba and Silberman 2002; Silberman and Fournier 2007). In the sample, 28% of the young adults with both parents born in North Africa have a high education level, compared to 35% of those with only one parent born in North Africa (see appendix). Descendants of South European migrants in both countries are also included in the analysis as their parents also moved to France and Germany as guest workers.[2] More of the immigrants' descendants living in Germany were born abroad than is the case in France. Since migration experience might lead to different integration patterns, the birthplaces will be taken into account in all analyses. Children of immigrants in both countries are characterized by a lower social background; this might explain their lower educational achievement on average. One could expect that differences between young natives and immigrants' descendants disappear when controlling for the father's occupational status (when the respondent was 15 years old), in particular in the case of immigrants' children who were not born abroad.

[2]This group includes the following countries: Spain, Portugal, and Italy for France, and Portugal, Greece, Spain, and Italy for Germany.

7.3.1 Differences in Educational Achievement

As mentioned in the theoretical section of this paper, school, as an institution, offers different opportunities depending on the national context that shape and define educational careers (Mayer 2004). Here, I decided to look at both extremes in order to assess the degree of inequality between the groups of origin: leaving school with no educational certificate or at a lower secondary level and leaving school with a university degree. If one looks, in both countries, at the probability of leaving school without educational attainment, after controlling for social origin, one can see that all groups considered are disadvantaged (Table 7.1).[3]

Young adults of Turkish origin born in Germany have a 2.5 times greater chance of leaving school without educational attainment or only a certificate of the lower secondary level compared to young people of German origin. In Germany, being born in Germany significantly reduces the chance of having relatively poor qualifications or no qualification at all, whereas the difference between being born in or outside France makes no such difference. The effect for young people of North African origin born in France barely differs from the effect for those who were born abroad. One reason might be that the educational system in the former North

Table 7.1 Risk of leaving school without diploma or at a lower secondary level (odds ratios)

	France		Germany	
	I	II	I	II
Women (Ref.: men)	1.030+	1.025	1.086	1.086
Age	1.024**	1.028**	0.882**	0.880**
Origin (Ref.: France/Germany)				
North Africa/Turkey, born in France/Germany	1.375**	1.315**	3.254**	2.539**
North Africa/Turkey, born abroad	2.014**	1.475**	7.175**	5.704**
Southern Europe, born in France/ Germany	1.266**	1.054	1.821**	1.524*
Southern Europe, born abroad	2.144**	1.587**	4.544**	3.899**
Father's occupational status (Ref.: White collar)				
Blue-collar		2.195**		2.489**
Self-employed		1.177**		0.916
Inactive/Unemployed		4.739*		3.495**
Missing		2.978**		2.854**
Constant	−2.157**	−2.677**	1.821**	1.514**
Observations	98,400	98,400	6,885	6,885
Pseudo R^2 (McFadden)	0.01	0.03	0.12	0.13

Source: SOEP 2002 and Enquête Histoire Familiale 1999
+ $P < 0.1$; * $P < 0.05$; ** $P < 0.01$
Excluding those surveyed who remain in education

[3]The odds are higher for migrants' descendants in Germany than in France, which indicates a stronger disadvantage in Germany for this population. But this might also be related to different sample sizes.

Table 7.2 Chance of receiving a higher education degree (odds ratios)

	France		Germany	
	I	II	I	II
Women (Ref.: men)	1.368**	1.397**	0.857*	0.866*
Age	0.999*	0.995**	1.108**	1.117**
Size of household	0.755**	0.774**	0.778**	0.786**
Married (Ref.: no)	1.289**	1.274**	1.349**	1.337**
Origin (Ref.: France / Germany)				
North Africa/Turkey, born in France/Germany	0.945*	0.967	0.194**	0.310*
North Africa/Turkey, born abroad	0.536**	0.877	0.357**	0.567*
Southern Europe, born in France/Germany	0.679**	0.916*	1.161	1.551*
Southern Europe born abroad	0.388**	0.636**	0.490*	0.674
Father's occupational status (Ref.: civil servant)				
Blue-collar		0.275**		0.317**
Self-employed		0.619**		0.805*
Inactive/Unemployed		0.211**		0.415**
Missing		0.293**		0.388**
Constant	−0.719**	−0.161**	−3.676**	−3.411**
Observations	98,400	98,400	6,884	6,884
Pseudo R^2 (McFadden)	0.03	0.08	0.08	0.12

Source: SOEP 2002 and Enquête Histoire Familiale 1999
$P < 0.1$; * $P < 0.05$; ** $P < 0.01$
Excluding those surveyed who remain in education

African colonies is quite similar to the French one. The selection and orientation that occurs at an early age in Germany might mean that young immigrants have much less time to catch up with their German counterparts. Educational selection at age 15 in France makes immigrant children's catching-up processes easier. Bearing this in mind, immigration as a child is not a source of disqualification to the same extent in both countries. This, of course, has repercussions for an individual's later life course, i.e., on labour market participation and occupation.

High educational attainment can be seen as an indicator of educational success. If we look at the chances of achieving higher education certificates, it seems that young people of North African and Turkish origins are similarly disadvantaged (Table 7.2, first model). If one controls for social origin, then the effect for the descendants of North African immigrants loses statistical significance, independent of birthplace. Thus the disadvantage experienced by young people of this origin can be completely explained by their social origin. This holds not true for young people from Southern Europe. Brinbaum and Kieffer (2005) demonstrated that the latter prefer to pursue relatively short vocational training and the former a more general and longer education. Preferences, parental orientations, and community networks might explain the inter-group differences observed. Young people of Southern European origin who attend school in Germany have a statistically significant higher chance of being awarded a university degree compared to native Germans.

Social origin is not the only explanation for the disadvantaged position of descendants of Turkish migrants in Germany. Their relegation to lower tracks of the educational system that do not lead to university study probably also plays a role in this outcome. As shown by Kristen et al. (2008), young people of Turkish origin completing the *Gymnasium* have a higher chance of going on to attend university than young adults of German origin. Nevertheless, early orientation and selection in Germany reduces their chances of acquiring the university entrance qualification since they face a double disadvantage at an early age, due both to their limited social resources and to their bi-cultural situation (Geißler and Weber-Menges 2008). Finally, the results indicate that the situation of descendants of North African immigrants in France is characterized by polarization, whereas, the situation of children of Turkish origin in Germany is characterized by a relegation to the lowest tracks of the educational system. From a life course perspective, one can say here that social distancing occurs much earlier in the life course of immigrants' descendants in Germany than in France. If the educational system as a life course institution promotes the exclusion of immigrants' children in Germany, their exclusion from German citizenship exacerbates this difference. The institutionalized boundary legitimizes discrepancies in access to certain opportunities (such as civil service employment). In contrast, the more or less automatic acquisition of French citizenship of immigrants' children in France has served to conceal the different treatment of the 'other' there. Not only do children of immigrants belong to the community of French citizens; their social origin also fully explains their lower chances of completing tertiary degrees. In Germany, relegation to the lower educational tracks and massive exclusion from tertiary study leads to the accentuation of difference or boundary. Through the displacement of descendants of Turkish immigrants to the lower educational tracks, a situation is created that may perpetuate the segmentation of the labour market along ethno-cultural lines.

7.3.2 Labour Market Participation

If social distancing does not occur early in the life course in France, how do children of immigrants position themselves on the labour market in the existing structural context with the resources available to them, and which segments of the social structure do they occupy in the two countries? In the analyses that follow, the dependent variable refers to the current labour market and occupational status of survey respondents.

In light of the cross-national differences in the level of deindustrialization and size of the service sector in the two countries, I proposed the hypothesis that children of immigrants in Germany continue to occupy positions in the manufacturing sector while those in France tend to gravitate towards the service sector. As the multivariate results indicate, young people of North African origin in France have left the industrial sector and are over-represented in the service industry. Controlling for educational level, social origin, and gender, descendants of North African

Table 7.3 Chance of working in the manufacturing and service sector (odds ratios)

	France (manufacturing sector)	Germany (manufacturing sector)	France (service sector)	Germany (service sector)
Women (Ref.: men)	0.435**	0.349**	3.369**	4.521**
Age	1.111**	1.099	0.916**	0.939
Age squared	0.998**	0.999	1.001**	1.001
Origin (Ref.: France/Germany)				
North Africa/Turkey, born in France/Germany	0.649**	1.778+	1.673**	0.852
North Africa/Turkey, born abroad	0.726*	2.797**	1.471**	0.583*
Southern Europe, born in France/Germany	0.902*	1.750+	1.131**	0.960
Southern Europe born abroad	0.999	2.111*	0.829*	0.551+
Educational level (Ref.: low)				
Middle	0.741**	1.014	1.422**	0.884
High	0.710**	0.762+	1.884**	1.515**
Constant	−1.485**	−2.208+	0.153	0.873
Observations	70,280	4,512	70,280	4,512
R^2	0.04	0.06	0.09	0.11

Source: SOEP 2002 and Enquête Histoire Familiale 1999
+ $P < 0.1$; * $P < 0.05$; ** $P < 0.01$
Without self-employed respondents
Control variable: Father's occupational status

immigrants have a statistically significantly higher chance of being employed in the service sector and a significantly lower chance of being employed in the manufacturing sector (Table 7.3). This holds true regardless of their place of birth.

Immigrants' descendants born in France do not differ significantly in this respect from those who migrated as children or adolescents. The overrepresentation of young people of North African origin in the service sector might be partially explained by the rapid decline of the manufacturing sector, but also by the French employment policy introduced in 1998 (and discontinued in 2001). This policy aimed to help young people get jobs in the social sector (Kirszbaum et al. 2009: 39).[4] The results presented here also confirm findings from qualitative studies (Beaud and Pialoud 2004) that highlight the desire of young people of North African origin for 'clean' jobs, which entail different kinds of work than their parents did but also mean competing for jobs with French natives.

The situation for descendants of Turkish immigrants in Germany is almost the opposite. Also, after controlling for education and social origin, their chances of

[4]Results from logistic regressions based on the French survey "Generation 1998" indicate that young men and women of North African origin have a significantly higher probability of working as a social worker even after controlling for region, educational level, and branch of study. The results from these regressions are available from the author upon request.

being employed in the manufacturing industry are almost twice as high, but their chances of working in the service sector do not differ significantly from native Germans. Interestingly, the chance of working in the manufacturing sector in France depends on educational level: the lower the educational qualification, the higher the chance of working in this sector. In Germany, no statistically significant effect of education can be found.

Another major difference between France and Germany lies in the openness of the public sector and civil service to children of immigrants. The state is an important employer in the service sector in France, where the public sector size is twice as large as in Germany (ILO 2010). Results by Tucci (2009) suggest that the public sector in France is a significant employer of young people, including those of foreign origin. In particular, the proportion of young adults of North African origin working in this sector is as high as the proportion of French natives. Nevertheless, the former are underrepresented in the French civil service.[5] In Germany, the inequality is high and young adults of immigrant origin are hugely underrepresented in both the public sector and the civil service (Tucci 2009). The introduction of elements of the *jus soli* into German citizenship legislation might open up new employment opportunities in the civil service. The limited chances for young people of immigrant origin to get jobs as civil servants due to their foreign citizenship promote the segmentation of the labour market along ethnic or immigration-related lines. This shows how institutional and structural mechanisms of social distancing go hand in hand, reinforcing each other's effects. Not only are descendants of Turkish immigrants excluded very early in the life course; they are also assigned to positions in the labour market that are similar to those of their parents and where they do not really compete with German natives.

This strong presence of migrants' children in the service sector, coupled with a high youth unemployment rate, may be one of the causes of high competition for jobs on the French labour market. Young adults of North African origin in France experience particular difficulties entering the labour market (Table 7.4). Controlling for education level and social background, young adults of North African origin have almost twice the chance of being unemployed as young French natives. No significant effect can be found for the descendants of South European migrants.

Young people of Turkish origin in Germany are equally disadvantaged. If one only controls only for demographic variables, the chance of these young people being unemployed is more than double that of their German counterparts. After controlling for social origin and educational level, both effect and significance decline, in contrast to the findings on the young adults of North African origin in France. However, the effect for the young adults of Turkish origin who are born in Germany is still marginally significant, whereas the effect for those born abroad is

[5]This can, *inter alia*, be attributed to their social backgrounds. Research shows that having a parent in the civil service significantly increases the chance of a child also becoming a civil servant. Furthermore, cultural aspects such as the amount of information, orientation, and preparation for the entry tests to the civil service might play a role (Pouget 2005).

Table 7.4 Risk of unemployment (odds ratios)

	France		Germany	
	I	II	I	II
Women (Ref.: men)	2.016**	2.162**	1.228*	1.213*
Age	0.751**	0.840**	0.660**	0.709**
Age squared	1.004**	1.002**	1.006**	1.005**
Size of household	1.159**	1.115**	1.137**	1.105*
Married (Ref.: no)	0.555**	0.559**	0.470**	0.479**
Origin (Ref.: France / Germany)				
North Africa/Turkey, born in France/Germany	1.909**	1.790**	2.679**	1.709+
North Africa/Turkey, born abroad	2.562**	2.164**	2.345**	1.454
Southern Europe, born in France/Germany	1.130**	1.031	0.414+	0.341*
Southern Europe born abroad	1.272*	1.011	0.178+	0.118*
Educational level (Ref.: low)				
Middle		0.525**		0.491**
High		0.277**		0.262**
Father's occupational status (Ref.: white collar)				
Blue-collar		1.060*		1.751**
Self-employed		0.780**		1.065
Inactive/Unemployed		1.630**		2.001**
Missing		1.314**		2.012**
Constant	2.152**	1.230**	3.817*	−2.256**
Observations	89,329	89,329	5,160	5,160
Pseudo R^2 (McFadden)	0.07	0.10	0.04	0.07

Source: SOEP 2002 and Enquête Histoire Familiale 1999
+ $P < 0.1$; * $P < 0.05$; ** $P < 0.01$
Excluding those surveyed who remain in education

no longer significant. This leads to two conclusions. First, for the groups observed, migrants' descendants born in France and Germany do not systematically fare better than those born abroad. Cross-national research analyzing the economic situation of immigrants in France, Germany, and the UK from an intergenerational perspective shows that the situation in terms of employment of the second generation of immigrants of North African origin in France is much worse than that of the first generation, in particular for men (Algan et al. 2010). For immigrants of Turkish origin in Germany, the authors did not find such a pattern: there is neither an improvement nor deterioration in the employment situation from one generation to the next. Second, the results for the children of North African immigrants in France indicate that other factors might play a role in explaining the labour market exclusion of these individuals. Discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin or place of residence might be one explanation. According to new research for France based on the so-called 'testing method', candidates with Arabic names and those stating membership in a muslim religious organization on their resume are significantly less likely of being invited to a job interview (Cediey and Foroni 2007; Adida et al. 2010).

These findings indicate that, in France, ethno-cultural origins only begin to play a role in the labour market, whereas in Germany, the immigration background and in particular a Turkish ethno-cultural origin are already correlated with specific disadvantages in school. Social distancing thus occurs much earlier in the life course for immigrants' descendants in Germany than for those in France, where the educational system plays a key role in levelling the inequalities created by social background. The French example supports the argument that formal legal equality of migrants' children does not systematically translate into increased participation in the labour market. The promise of integration that citizenship and schooling offer is broken on the labour market. In essence, two situations emerge here: on the one hand, descendants of North African immigrants are present, and in a certain sense 'visible' on the labour market – they compete for jobs in the service branch with young people of French origin. On the other hand, the situation for young people of Turkish origin is effectively characterized by 'invisibility' because of their concentration in the same branches of the industry as their parents and their massive exclusion from the civil service. Not least of all due to their lower average educational attainment, they tend to work in sectors of the labour market where they do not really compete with natives – as was the case for their parents as well.

7.3.3 Two Logics of Social Distancing

In this empirical analysis on educational achievement and labour market participation of second-generation immigrants in France and Germany, I have focused on two elements of the social context that are central to understanding individuals' life courses: the school system and the labour market. The findings presented indicate that disadvantage does not arise at the same point in the life course of immigrants' children in the two countries: children of Turkish immigrants in Germany are disadvantaged at a young age as they pass through the school system, while children of North African immigrants in France experience disadvantage when entering the labour market. These findings reveal two distinct processes of social distancing: *social distancing through relegation* describes the situation in Germany, while the situation in France can be described as a process of *social distancing through discrimination*.[6] The following theoretical conceptualization of the two social logics is a first attempt to provide a framework for the interpretation of the situation of migrants' children in distinct national contexts (see also Tucci 2010). These two social logics are not mutually exclusive. Relegation is certainly a form of discrimination, but it differs in that distancing already takes place in school, whereas distancing through discrimination takes place at a later juncture in the life course, i.e., at the transition into and positioning on the labour market. Social distancing deals with boundary-making processes and is founded on mechanisms that operate at three levels: the institutional, the symbolic, and the structural (Table 7.5).

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[6]This distinction was first developed in Tucci (2009) and (2010).

Table 7.5 Social distancing: Function, mechanisms and effects

Processes of social distancing	Through relegation (in Germany)	Through discrimination (in France)
Function	Preservation of order	Reminder of order
Mechanisms		
Institutional level	School and Citizenship	School and '*Citoyenneté*'
Symbolic level	Emphasis of limits (*society*)	Concealment of limits (*society*)
	Internalization of limits (*individuals*)	Loss of sense of limits (*individuals*)
Structural level	Segmented labour market along ethnic lines	Competition for positions (legitimate competitors?)
Effects		
Individuals	Resignation, being among 'my own kind'	Frustration, withdrawal
Societal	Few social tensions	Social tensions

Over the years, France and Germany have not set the same limits or created the same criteria of distinction. Social distancing through relegation refers, *inter alia*, to Hoffmann-Nowotny's concept of 'neo-feudal downward or upward displacement'. According to Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973), the preservation of the established order through displacement is possible by virtue of the fact that people are allocated given positions in the social structure, no longer based on acquirable criteria (e.g., education) but rather ascribed criteria (e.g., ethno-cultural origins). This shifting of the 'evaluation basis' leads to an acceptance of these criteria so that immigrants and natives maintain their position 'below' or 'above' in this adaptation process. This form of adaptation only works when individuals accept this evaluation basis as legitimate. We can also link this idea to that of Lamont and Molnàr (2002):

> Only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can they take on a constraining character and pattern social interaction in important ways. Moreover, only then can they become social boundaries. (Lamont and Molnàr 2002: 168–169)

The institutional and symbolic levels are closely connected. Through political and educational institutions among others, categories are created that are institutionally legitimated or perceived as legitimate, constraints are put in place or removed, which, in turn, represent a basis for symbolic power. The ethnic foundations of the German nation might be the crux of the problem of rejection of the 'other'. The German tradition presents descendants of immigrants with two alternatives: cultural assimilation or distancing. Here, the achievement of cultural assimilation in Germany is particularly problematic, since "being German" is/was based on *ethnos* and not, as in France, on individuals' political will. The long tradition of restrictive German citizenship law supports the recognition of categories and boundaries. It is precisely this acceptance that leads to an internalization of a sense of constraints or a sense of what one is entitled to and what not. At the same time, this can also contribute to the preservation of stronger links with one's own ethno-cultural community. In spite of the inclusion of migrants' children in the community of

French citizens and the apparent erosion of the boundary between natives and immigrants, the boundary still persists particularly for the children of immigrants from the former French colonies in North Africa (Leclerc-Olive 1997). Police checks, discriminatory court judgments (Jobard 2006; Jobard and Névanen 2007), and above-average unemployment remind young people of North African origin that they occupy a minority position in French society and are possibly not perceived as legitimate competitors. The findings for France indicate that the disadvantage faced by children of North African immigrants in terms of educational outcomes at the tertiary level is fully explained by their social background. In this respect, they have equally high expectations when entering the labour market. However, their attempts to reach the middle class are blocked at the transition to the labour market. Social distancing through discrimination works like a *call to order* (Bourdieu 1997: 210) that contributes to the preservation of the established order.

Alongside the process of social categorization, in which people automatically tend to use distinctive traits as criteria for distinction and abasement of the other when comparing their own to other groups, other historical-collective processes may also occur, which one can discuss based on Blumers' concept of the *sense of group position* (Blumer 1958). According to Blumer, the feeling that only part of society is entitled to certain privileges emerged at one specific point in history when one group began to assert itself and dominate another, thereby consolidating a sense of the position of one's own group in relation to another. This is particularly the case in France because of its colonial history, whereas the relationship between the Turkish and indigenous population in Germany does not have a similar historically-loaded foundation. Blumer's concept helps to understand why attempts by young people of North African origin to fit into the majority meet with resistance from this very majority. Here, one can also draw on Bourdieu's idea of the sense of one's own current and potential position (Bourdieu 1997: 220). Whereas this sense of limits among young people of Turkish origin is based on the institutionalization of constraints between natives and foreigners, descendants of North African immigrants have undergone a change in their frame of reference by taking on French citizenship and embodying the value of equality fundamental to the French Republic.

The two aforementioned processes of social distancing have different individual and social effects (see also Tucci 2010). Whereas relegation might promote the preservation of ethno-cultural bonds, discrimination might lead, on the individual level, to increased frustration, which, in turn, can result in a withdrawal into one's own ethnically-shaped world or increased social tensions. The unrest in the *banlieues* could have been a consequence of the promise of political equality entailed in citizenship being broken by structural, i.e., labour market, forces (Tucci and Groh-Samberg 2008). This discrepancy between expectations and reality can also lead to a rejection of the nation itself.[7]

[7] A personal experience of discrimination in France is correlated with a reduced sense of national belonging (to France) and increased religious practice among youth of North African origin (Tucci 2009).

7.4 Conclusion

This paper has focused on two important life course institutions – school and the labour market – in order to provide evidence on different patterns of incorporation of the most important groups of immigrants' descendants in two major immigration countries: Germany and France. Descendants of Turkish immigrants in Germany face a clear disadvantage in terms of educational achievement.[8] They are relegated to a considerable degree to the lower tracks of the educational system. When working, children of Turkish migrants have a higher chance of working in the manufacturing sector, just as their parents did. This finding can be interpreted as a perpetuation of a strong segmentation of the German labour market along ethnic lines. However, the low education level of these children most completely explains their higher risk of unemployment. The situation of the children of North African immigrants in France is polarized: their chances of achieving only a low-level certificate of graduation or no certificate at all are higher, but their lower social background fully explains their slightly lower chances of achieving a university degree. The difficulty for them begins on the labour market. They have a higher risk of unemployment than young French natives, even when educational level is controlled for. In contrast with the young adults of Turkish origin in Germany, young adults of North African origin in France are no longer to be found in the manufacturing sector but are clearly over-represented in the service sector.

The disadvantages that the children of immigrants experience in France and Germany take place at different junctures in their lives. The specific types of social distancing in different countries, as conceptualized in this paper, rely on mechanisms that operate at institutional, symbolic, and structural levels. The findings indicate that the openness/closedness of the educational system, the ideology behind it, and the structure of the labour market might explain the different cross-national outcomes. Social distancing through relegation characterizes the German situation precisely because the life courses of immigrants' children are 'set' on a particular trajectory very early on. The closedness of the school system leads to immigrants maintaining positions in the social hierarchy that are no longer attractive for natives. Social distancing through discrimination characterizes the situation in France, where descendants of North African migrants "manage to make it" at school but experience a disadvantage in entering employment. The strong de-industrialization in France and the educational advancement of the children of immigrants seem to result in more equal sectoral distribution. The price young adults of North African origin pay for having a 'cleaner' job in the service sector is a significant higher chance of having a fixed-term contract than young adults of French origin (Okba and Lainé 2004; Tucci and Groh-Samberg 2008).

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[8]In the French case, the data analysed here are almost ten years old, but still one can say that this situation of polarization of descendants of North African immigrants in the French educational system still persists and the problems they face in accessing the labour market are still discussed heavily. For German case, migrants' descendants have a significantly lower educational achievement than their German counterparts (Woellert et al. 2009).

Social distancing as a process focuses on the way patterns of incorporation are shaped by national contexts–and the point at which boundary making occurs in the life course. As a consequence, this raises the question of the sequencing of exclusion mechanisms in the life course. The institutional and structural order can produce or perpetuate certain types of boundaries and divisions (Wimmer 2008, 2009). But, as argued by Mayer (2004), life course outcomes are not just the result of social contexts and structural constraints. Individual action, choices, and preferences not only determine the types of careers individuals have; they also change the structure of a society and the existing boundaries. It follows, therefore, that an analysis of the country-specific construction of cultural difference as well as national parameters for integration is vital for a sociological analysis of the inclusion and exclusion processes affecting the children of immigrants in different societies. An examination of the institutional, structural, and historical contexts can help us to understand why integration on the individual and societal level progresses in a similar or different way in different countries. At the same time, migration research needs cross-national longitudinal analyses of educational and occupational trajectories in order to understand the importance of opportunity structures and "the process by which lives are lived" (Elder 1979) among children of immigrants.

7.A.1 Appendix

Table 7.A.1 Descriptive statistics

	France			Germany		
	France	North Africa	Southern Europe	Germany	Turkey	Southern Europe
Women (%)	49.9	49.1 (47.9)	49.1	51.2	43.8	44.3
Mean age	30.9	29.2 (29.2)	30.9	30.4	28.8	29.2
Born abroad (%)	–	15.0 (27.4)	16.5	–	55.3	35.8
Mean age at migration	–	6 (6)	5	–	9	7
French/German citizen		79.2 (61.8)	62.8		19.8	23.4
Married (%)	64	50.0 (46.1)	63.5	35.5	62.8	38.1
Education level (%)						
Low	22.3	28.8 (32.4)	27.8	12.6	41	23.1
Middle	38	36.5 (39.1)	41.7	62.2	51.0	55.3
High	39.7	34.8 (28.4)	30.5	25.2	8	21.6
Father was/is blue collar worker (%)	35.6	46.3 (61.4)	63.1	37.9	63.8	58.8
N	86,258	7,009 (3,548)	6,799	6,708	333	243

Source: SOEP 2002 and Enquête Histoire Familiale 1999. Excluding those surveyed who remain in education. Weighted results

(. . .): values for those whose both parents were born in one North African country

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Chapter 8
Paths to Adulthood: A Focus on the Children of Immigrants in the Netherlands*

Helga de Valk

8.1 Introduction

The transition to adulthood is a key phase in the life course of an individual and has been studied extensively (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999; Settersten et al. 2005). The existing literature in Europe covers different aspects of the transition to adulthood but still mainly focuses on the majority or native populations in European societies (Corijn and Klijzing 2001; Liefbroer and Dykstra 2000; Widmer and Ritschard 2009). Much less is known on how the children of immigrants make the transition to adulthood and what factors are relevant here. Young adults of migrant origin are, however, a growing share of the young adult population in many European countries. It is thus becoming more relevant to get insight in the ways they make the transition to adulthood and the factors affecting this life phase. Furthermore, the majority of studies on the transition to adulthood exclusively focus on one transition in this phase of life only (Huschek et al. 2010; Zorlu and Mulder 2010). This is unfortunate as different events in the transition to adulthood are not separate experiences but are linked with other transitions and events taking place in young adults' lives. The main goal of this paper is to expand on the existing literature and get a more integral picture of the life courses of young adults of different ethnic origins in the Netherlands.

*This study was carried out when the author was a German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) guest professor at the University of Bremen and fellow at the Hanse Institute for Advanced Study (HWK) in Delmenhorst Germany.

H. de Valk (✉)
Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute the Hague and Interface Demography, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, PO Box 11650, 2502 AR The Hague, The Netherlands
e-mail: valk@nidi.nl

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_8, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

Many scholars have argued that the life courses of young adults in western Europe have changed substantially over the last decades (Liefbroer and Goldscheider 2006). Transitions are postponed, are no longer experienced in a standard order and are supposed to be subject to individual choice. Studies on young adults of the native majority population in many European countries have indicated that both in the family and private domain transitions are delayed. In the family domain new transitions, like entering cohabitation, have been included in young adults' life courses. In addition, different events are less related to one another than was the case before: the transition to adulthood is prolonged and now covers many different phases. All in all both the timing and the sequencing of the events in the transition to adulthood are supposed to have been subject to changes. Demographers and sociologists have studied these processes and link the changes in this phase of life to factors like modernization, secularization and individualization.

Studies on immigrants' position in different European countries have indicated the disadvantaged position of migrant young adults in the public domains of education and labour market. Much less is known on family life transitions of these young adults of migrant origin. Life courses of these young persons can be expected to be shaped by both the host society and their parents as is reported for the majority group too. Those of migrant origin are however in a special position as their parents come from societies in which the transition to adulthood had and has other characteristics than is the case in north western Europe. In many less developed countries of origin of migrants the transition to adulthood takes place at younger ages, follows a more standard sequence and is determined by clear expectations and norms on the timing and order of events.

This study builds on previous research and adds to our knowledge in three ways. First, it covers different (family life) events in the transition to adulthood. By studying the timing and ordering of each of the events in this transition we can get a more comprehensive insight in this phase of life. Up to now most research has studied each of these events in isolation. By taking a more holistic approach we can start understanding the evolvement of individual lives and the factors of importance. This approach builds on different sociological life course concepts like that of timing of events, human development and the idea of linked-life events (pointing to the relationship between different transitions). Second, I include young adults of different ethnic origins. This allows a comparison of life courses of young adults of the native/majority group and those whose parents migrated to the host country. I question whether children of immigrants continue the more traditional paths into adulthood, predominant in their parent's country of origin (at least at the time of migration) or adapt to patterns common in the host society. The growing size of the second generation makes it important to know more on their paths into adulthood. Timing and sequencing of events can have an important impact on young adults' life chances also later in life, making it a relevant issue to study further. Finally, by applying sequence analyses resulting in typology building of paths into adulthood we can start to understand the critical moments in young adults' lives. In particular it allows for a better understanding of the crucial factors for each of the routes taken by young adults of different origins.

8.2 The Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in the Netherlands

All those who were born in the Netherlands but have parents that were born elsewhere are defined as second generation (Statistics Netherlands 2010). The second generation in the Netherlands is a growing group and is expected to increase also in the near future. The majority of the second generation are nowadays still children and young adults. The largest origin groups are in line with the largest migration stocks in the Netherlands those of Surinamese, Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean origin (de Valk 2010).

In this paper I focus on the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan origin. The majority of these young adults grow up in an urban context in the Netherlands. In line with the migration histories of their parents they mainly live in the western part of the country ('Randstad') but also settled in some larger industrial areas in the southern and eastern part. Like many other European countries, the Netherlands recruited guest workers in the 1960s and early 1970s to fill the labour shortages in the industry. The migrants were recruited in different countries in the Mediterranean and southern Europe. Migrants from Turkey and Morocco who arrived were, in line with the recruitment policy, mainly low educated and originated from rural areas in their countries of origin.

The children of these labour migrants to the Netherlands have been reaching adulthood in the past decade. Despite the social mobility many of these young adults achieved compared to their parents, many studies also show that the second generation still is in a disadvantaged position in the Netherlands as well as elsewhere in Europe (Heath et al. 2008). Young adults of Turkish and Moroccan origin are for example more likely to drop out at school and achieve lower educational levels than their majority group peers (Crul and Vermeulen 2006; Van de Werfhorst and Van Tubergen 2007). At least part of this disadvantage results from the lower socio-economic position their families find themselves in. When it comes to finding a job many children of immigrants also face difficulties both because of their lower qualifications but also due to discrimination on the labour market (Heath et al. 2008). Also in the family domain migrants of Turkish and Moroccan origin may differ in the transition to adulthood compared to the Dutch majority group. For the separate transitions in the family domain it has been reported that timing differences exist between the second generation and the Dutch majority group although diversity is not major in all domains (Huschek et al. 2011).

8.3 Transition to Adulthood: Ordering and Timing of Events

Over the past decades the transition to adulthood in north-western Europe has changed and the Netherlands are no exception here. In particular the transition to adulthood has become more heterogeneous and the diversity in sequences

of transitions has become larger since the 1980s (Mills and Blossfeld 2005). Previous studies found that the timing, sequencing as well as the quantum of transitions are altered compared to the decades before. Many transitions and in particular union- and family formation choices are postponed by young adults today resulting in an increased variety in timing of life course transitions. In addition, the different transitions are less linked to one another and the time spend in each state is larger then it was before. Furthermore, alternative family arrangements, like unmarried cohabitation, have become more prominent (Fokkema and Liefbroer 2004). Different explanations have been put forward for this increased diversification and complexity of the life course. It has been suggested that processes of individualization, secularization and emancipation in Western Europe have led to changed demographic attitudes and behaviour (Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa 1986). The process of individualisation is for example argued to be reflected in less normative guidelines on the ordering of events in the life course. In addition, events are expected to be less concentrated for all individuals and all ages: life courses are becoming more diverse and there is no longer one type of trajectory that dominates the transition to adulthood. Finally, Brückner and Mayer (2005) distinguish differentiation in the family life domain in which more states are experienced by young adults. Studies on the native population link these changes to important shifts in the socioeconomic, cultural and technological changes in society (Liefbroer and Dykstra 2000). Consequently, young people have more autonomy in constructing their own life paths. Family tradition and parental authority no longer necessarily play a crucial role. As a result, the timing and sequencing of major transitions have become less predictable, more prolonged and diverse (Liefbroer and Dykstra 2000).

In the literature, this has also been referred to as the de-standardization of the life course. It has been put forward that life course structures have become de-standardised and individualised (Macmillan 2005; Widmer and Ritschard 2009). An individual person does not take a standard biography anymore, but has an individually determined choice biography. This suggests that in western societies nowadays people will follow life paths that are less influenced by tradition or influential others (family, peers) and institutional norms (like religious prescriptions). Instead of ascribed characteristics, the achieved individual background is supposed to be most important. Individuals are furthermore expected to be mainly focused on individual development. Young adults as a result would be less willing to engage in commitments with a partner and family. In particular the transition to adulthood is a phase in life in which many transitions are made within a relatively short time span (Billari 2005). Major steps in this transition are delayed and the order of transitions is less uniform than it used to be (Settersten et al. 2005). Recent studies on the transition to adulthood, however, suggests that it is not so much the order of transitions that has altered but rather the timing of events (Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007).

8.4 Life Courses of Young Adults of Different Origins

In the Netherlands the before described developments have resulted in particular in a postponement of marriage and parenthood and an increasing prevalence of non-marital cohabitation, non-marital fertility as well as lower levels of fertility (Corijn and Klijzing 2001; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007). Mean ages at first marriage for women have for example increased from 23.1 years in 1980 to 30.2 years in 2008 (similar patterns for men). In addition the large majority of young adults of the Dutch majority group are cohabiting with their partner unmarried before marriage. Traditionally the transition to adulthood in Turkey and Morocco emphasizes the family life transitions. Compared to the pattern in the Netherlands the transition to adulthood in Turkey and Morocco is still experienced at younger ages. Even though also in these countries new union formation patterns emerge among some groups (particularly the more urban and higher educated). The typical standard family life transitions of leaving the parental house, marriage and having a first child are strongly linked and remain important while unmarried cohabitation is still less common (Çelikaksoy et al. 2003; Nauck 2002). However, the changes in the transition to adulthood, in particularly in Morocco, are reflected in clear changes of the age at first marriage over the past two decades; the mean age at first marriage has increased to around 21.4 and 20.5 years for women in Morocco and Turkey respectively (DHS Morocco 2003–2004; Ministere de la Santé [Maroc], 2003; DHS Turkey 2003; Hacettepe University 2004; Koç 2007).

The second generation who was born and raised in the Netherlands, but whose parents were born in Turkey and Morocco, encounter these different ways of perceiving the transition to adulthood. Their parents may have certain expectations on how to make the transition to adulthood in the family domain which are not necessarily the same as the expectations common by peers and the wider Dutch society. When studying the transition to adulthood of children of immigrants two explanations arise: adaptation and tradition. Starting from the life course framework can be useful for this purpose. According to the life course sociological starting point individuals are perceived as human agents making decisions between opportunities and constraints and building on previous experiences (Elder 1985). The life course is embedded in a specific time and location which is particularly relevant for the second generation as well. The social context they live in will be important for their family life choices in the transition to adulthood. Since their parents grew up in a different society and immigrated to the Netherlands later in life, the family life choices of the second generation can be expected to differ from those of the majority group. Especially as the second generation might balance between the society of origin of their parents and that in which they themselves were born and raised.

Another concept that is useful in the study of the life courses of the second generation is that of linked life-events. This idea points to the links between life-events as a result of particular institutional context and social norms. The

interrelatedness of the life course depends on the institutional setting and relates to specific life course regimes. It is also within this specific context that life courses of men and women are interrelated: perceptions of gender role behaviors of men and women are defined and perpetuated in this way (Moen 2003). The patrilineal orientation in Turkey and Morocco traditionally differs from the Netherlands as the previous put a strong emphasis on the men as a protector of the family. Behavior of women (and particular in the family domain) is therefore bound to more strict rules than that of men in order to keep the ‘honor’ to the family (Gilmore 1990; Nisbett and Cohen 1996).

The sociology of the life course thus stresses that the different domains of life are clearly interrelated and interdependent. This urges for a more holistic perspective on the life courses of the second generation which goes beyond the study of separate states which is the most common practice up to now. Studying trajectories in the transition to adulthood sheds light on the long-term patterns of stability and change and can include multiple transitions which may help to better understand the determining mechanisms in this phase in life (Giele and Elder 1998; Sackmann and Wingens 2003). In particular, since scholars in the field of life course sociology have stressed that trajectories may have long term implications for individual life chances in different domains.

Based on this literature overview I expect differences in the trajectories to adulthood between Dutch majority group and the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan origin. In line with the theoretical notions of de-standardization of the life course I expect that young adults of the majority group are more likely to postpone transitions (a), take more diverse routes (b) and experience more diverse states (c) in the transition to adulthood than is the case for the second generation (H1 a-c). The transition to adulthood among the Dutch majority group is thus expected to be more dissimilar and more varied than is the case for the second generation. Furthermore, based on the idea of linked lives I expect that the links between the different transitions will be less for the Dutch majority group than for the second generation (H2). Finally, I expect that in particular the lives of young second generation women are different from that of the Dutch majority group (H3).

When explaining the different trajectories to adulthood I additionally expect to find effects of education and age cohorts. Previous studies among the majority group have clearly shown the effect education has on experiencing different transitions and its timing (Mills and Blossfeld 2005). The duration in education is found to be relevant for the evolvement of women’s life courses when defining their work and family trajectories (Piccaretta and Billari 2007). Most likely education also affects the routes to adulthood of the second generation as this is one of the most important institutional settings they are part of during this phase of life. Furthermore, earlier studies have indicated important cohort differences in the transition to adulthood (Settersten et al. 2005). These cohort differences could be of even more importance among the second generation: The oldest group of the second generation are those who are for the first time negotiating between the different societal context of the Netherlands and their parents. The younger cohort in that sense may be more

similar to the Dutch majority group. This leads to the last hypothesis where I expect that those who are higher educated (a) and those who belong to the younger age cohorts (b), are more likely to be in non-traditional paths to adulthood (H4 a-b). This hypothesis should hold for the majority group and the second generation alike.

8.5 Data and Methods

In this paper I use data from "The Integration of the European Second Generation" (TIES) survey. This is a European comparative survey on young adults of the second generation from Turkey, Morocco and former Yugoslavia and their majority group peers.[1] The survey was carried out in 15 cities in eight European countries including Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands. I will restrict the analyses to the Netherlands where second generation young adults of Turkish and Moroccan origin and their majority group peers were sampled. Respondents were defined as second generation if they were born in the Netherlands and at least one of their parents was born in Turkey or Morocco. Those who were born from two Dutch born parents are defined to belong to the majority group. The sample was randomly drawn from the population registers of the Netherlands, using the administrative data from these registers on (parental) origin, place of birth and age of the respondent. In total 1,500 respondents distributed over the three origin groups between the ages of 18 and 35 years were interviewed in 2007. An identical questionnaire was used in all cities and covered many topics related to the transition to adulthood.

8.5.1 Measuring the Transition to Adulthood

In this paper I include transitions in both the family and public domain. I focus on four transitions in the family domain namely: leaving home, starting a cohabiting union, getting married, and having a first child. Each respondent was asked retrospectively at what age he/she first left the parental house, for the first time started cohabiting with a partner, got married to a partner for the first time and had a first child. Each of these transitions was measured only in exact full years. This implies that we know the age (in years) when a transition was experienced

[1]The TIES survey was carried out by survey bureaus under supervision of the nine national TIES partner institutes: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) and Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, the Institute for Social and Political Opinion Research (ISPO), University of Leuven in Belgium; the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) in France; the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies (SFM) of the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland; the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) of the University of Stockholm in Sweden; the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies.

but we are unsure about the order when two events were taking place at the same age. In that sense our data are not very detailed event history data, yet the available information allows for reconstructing sequences of events that are not extensively available for the second generation. The information on the separate transitions is used to construct family life trajectories. Whereas a transition is a discrete life change within the life course (for example from living in the parental home to live on oneself) a trajectory is a sequence of linked states (Elder 1985). In this paper I thus look at timing of the events, the quantum of the experienced events and the sequencing (order) of the events.

In addition, to the information on family life transitions, I include information on the participation in the educational system as an important marker in the transition to adulthood. Unfortunately data on entering the labour market are not complete in the data collected, making them currently not usable for the analytical approach I am taking here. Furthermore, the fact that the sample I focus on here is young and we study the transitions made between 17 and 25 years of age only limits the possibilities of including labour market careers. By taking the educational level into account we partially overcome this limitation as duration in education strongly determines the age a first job is started. In addition, education still is an important determinant for social stratification in the Netherlands. Education is measured as a continuous variable ranging from 0 (no education/primary education) to 19 (university). Educational level is measured at the age of 25. Finally, in order to check for the hypothesis on cohort difference, I include a dummy for age cohort. The youngest cohort (25–29) is taken as the reference category (coded 0) versus the older cohort (30–35 years of age at the time of the interview; coded 1).

8.5.2 Methods

The analyses covered four separate steps. First, characteristics of the trajectories into adulthood were described for each of the three origin groups (the full sample of 1,505 persons is included here). Descriptive techniques were used to give an overview of the transitions experienced by the young adults in our sample. The distribution over the different trajectories is described and the level of dissimilarity between the trajectories was calculated using the entropy dissimilarity coefficient (Theil 1972). Previous studies have applied this method of coding the individual based on the current statuses (see e.g. Fussell 2005). The coding indicates whether a person currently has left the parental home, cohabits with a partner, got married, and had a first child. The percentage distribution of all status combinations is calculated and summarized in the entropy coefficient to indicate the level of heterogeneity.

In the next step, sequence analyses were carried out in which the timing of three family life events was taken as the starting point: leaving home, unmarried cohabitation, marriage. For my analyses I restrict the information to those transitions experienced between the ages of 17 and 25. I thus use the retrospective information

Table 8.1 Sample characteristics

	Turkish				Moroccan				Dutch majority group			
	Total	SD	25–35	SD	Total	SD	25–35	SD	Total	SD	25–35	SD
Age (mean)	24.7	4.4	28.5	2.8	23.4	4.2	28.2	2.8	27.5	4.8	30.0	3.0
Women (%)	51.6		51.7		50.1		53.4		51.2		49.0	
Educational level (mean)	–		10.7	5.7	–		10.5	6.1	–		14.4	4.5
Older cohort (>29 years; %)	–		31.7		–		31.0		–		56.0	
N	500		240		493		174		512		357	

Source: TIES (2007), the Netherlands

on young adults' life course experiences within this age span. In order to do so I just include all young adults who are between 26 and 35 (upper limit of our sample) years of age at the time of the interview. Unfortunately we have too few cases to prolong the observation window beyond age 25, as many respondents of the second generation are still relatively young. It of course implies right censoring in the analyses. For each year the position a young adults takes is determined and I constructed a yearly sequence representation of the three mentioned life course events. The sequence of states of each individual is denoted as $si = \{si1, \ldots, siT\}$ and the length of the sequence is the same for each individual. The coding of states was done by determining whether the person had left the parental house, entered a cohabiting union, and got married at time *t* (see also Piccarreta and Billari 2007). An overview of the coding of family life stages can be found in Table A.1 of the Appendix. After excluding cases with missing information, data were available for 771 young adults divided over the three origin groups.

Third, optimal matching was applied to calculate the differences between individual trajectories. This technique for the analysis of sequence data takes into account the ordering and timing of the sequences. It uses iterative minimisation procedures for finding distances between pairs of sequences in a sample. The distance between two sequences can be defined as the number of operations one must perform to match the sequences. For each pair of sequences in the sample, the lowest 'costs' needed to turn one sequence into another are calculated by using three elementary operations: insertion (an item can be inserted into the first sequence), deletion (an item can be deleted from the first sequence), and substitution (an item can be substituted by another item). The resulting dissimilarity coefficient was used for further analyses (Brzinsky-Fay 2007; Brzinsky-Fay et al. 2006).

In a final step the dissimilarity coefficients are used to group the different trajectories. These clusters of trajectories are analysed by using multinominal logistic regression to study the effects of different individual characteristics on the likelihood of taking the specific path into adulthood.

The characteristics of the sample and the used variables can be found in Table 8.1. The first column under each origin group refers to the full sample, the second part to the sample of 25–35 year olds that were selected for the sequence analyses.

8.6 Family Life Events: Diversity in Transitions

First of all I want to know what events young adults experienced in the family domain already. In Fig. 8.1 a general bivariate overview of family life transitions as experienced by our respondents is shown. This descriptive figure shows that a substantial share of Turks and particular Moroccans (28 and 41% respectively) did not experience any of the four family life transitions I distinguished. This share is much lower for the Dutch majority group of whom by far the majority at least had one transition. Part of this is due to the somewhat younger age structure of the Moroccan group compared to the other groups so our analyses by age will be

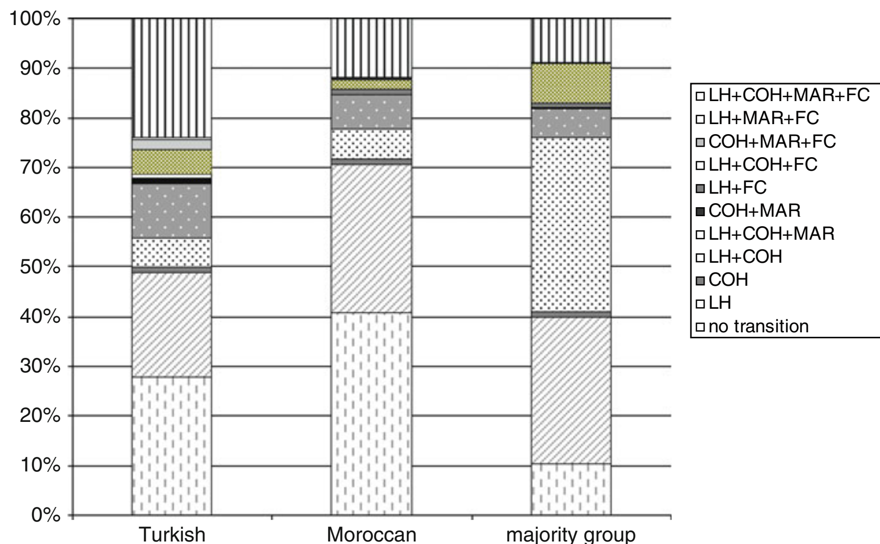

Fig. 8.1 Family life transitions experienced by second generation Turks and Moroccans and the Dutch majority group in the Netherlands (%) by origin (Source: TIES 2007, the Netherlands)

important to draw final conclusions. Between 20 (Turkish group) and 30 (Moroccan and Dutch group) percent of the young adults have left the parental home to live on ones own. Despite the fact that we do not know where they lived after leaving the parental house, the figures suggests that quite a substantial share of young adults do live without a partner outside of the parental home among all origin groups. The predominant Dutch pattern of transition to adulthood in which young adults leave the parental home and cohabit with a partner afterwards while postponing marriage and family formation is also clear for the young adults of all three origins. Nevertheless, leaving home followed by unmarried cohabitation is much more common among the Dutch majority group than it is for the second generation. Many more young Turks and to a lesser extend Moroccans have already entered a married union and partially already have had a first child as well. Around 24% of the Turkish and about 12% of the Moroccan second generation have already experienced the four main markers of family transition to adulthood.

These first findings are only giving a very general picture about the transition to adulthood in the family domain. In order to get a better insight into the diversity of experienced family life transitions among different age groups I compute a relatively simple measure of heterogeneity of status combination, the Theil entropy coefficient, for three age 'cohorts' separately (Fig. 8.2). Of course one has to bear in mind that cross sectional data are used here so the data refer to all those who are currently aged 18–22, 23–27, and 28 and older and their respective distribution across the 11 distinguished positions (as shown in Fig. 8.1) in the transition to adulthood. The higher the coefficient the more diversity in states is found among

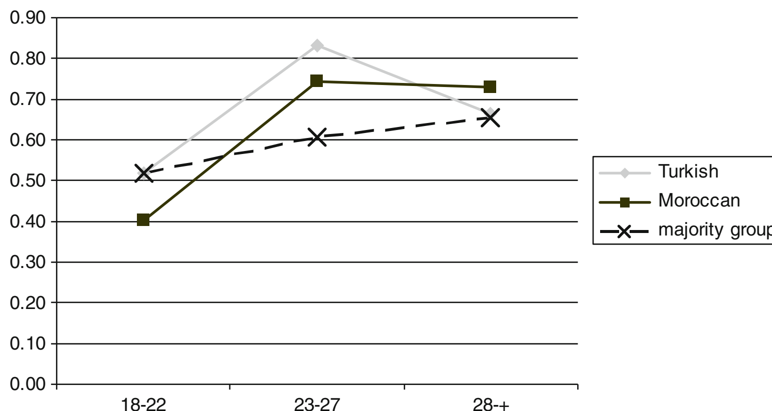

Fig. 8.2 Theil entropy coefficients for family life transitions, by age and origin (Source: TIES 2007, the Netherlands)

the particular group. Contrary to my hypothesis we do not find more diversity for the majority group than for the second generation. The data actually point to the contrary: at least as much or even more diversity is found for the second generation than is the case for the majority group, with the exception of the Moroccan second generation between 18 and 22 years for whom less diversity is found compared to the Turkish and majority group. At ages 23–27 the second generation clearly covers more diversity in family life transitions and in particular among the Turkish second generation this is the case. For those ages 28 and over Moroccan young adults show higher levels of diversity than the other two groups. However, again there is no clear second generation versus majority group divide as expected based on my hypothesis.

Thus far we have described family life trajectories without distinguishing by gender. However, previous studies have shown that the transition to adulthood is not the same for men and women. Throughout the life course women are often having more diverse statuses than is the case for men who still follow a more standard path. I therefore again calculate the level of heterogeneity for men and women of the three origin groups in the Netherlands. Figure 8.3 shows the results of these Theil entropy coefficients. In line with my hypothesis women of the Moroccan second generation and majority group have more diverse status combinations than is case for men in these groups. For the Turkish second generation no difference in heterogeneity is found between men and women. The largest gender differences are found among the Moroccan second generation indicating that particularly for women family life transitions are experienced in a variety of ways where this is much less the case for men. Overall the findings do not indicate the hypothesized stronger diversity among second generation women compared to the majority group. Though the heterogeneity among Turkish women is slightly higher this is not the case for Moroccan women compared to the majority group women.

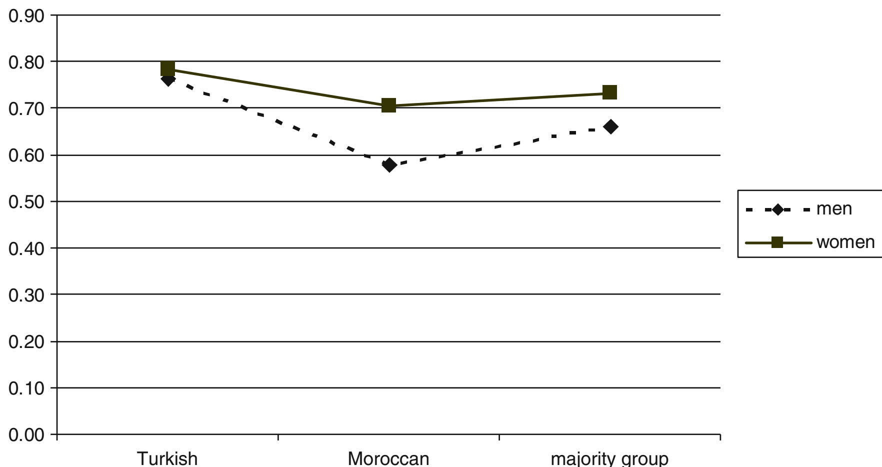

Fig. 8.3 Theil entropy coefficients for family life transitions, by gender and origin (Source: TIES 2007, the Netherlands)

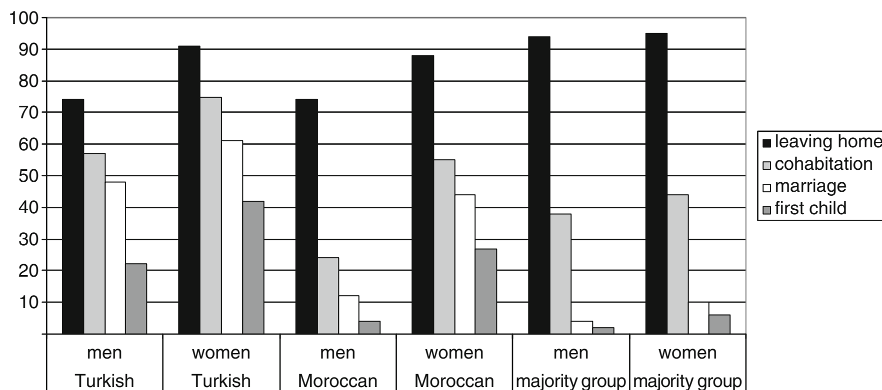

Fig. 8.4 Percentage of young adults who experienced a specific event before age 25, by gender and origin (Source: TIES 2007, the Netherlands)

The remainder of the analyses is restricted to those who are currently between 25 and 35 years of age. As mentioned before I use retrospective information on the age at which transitions were experienced between the ages of 17 and 25. First of all the share of those who experienced a transition before age 25 are shown by group and gender (Fig. 8.4). There is obviously a clear difference in the share of young adults between each of the origin groups as well as between men and women (Fig. 8.4). The parental home was left by young adults before the age of 25 in the majority of cases. Only few remained in their parents' house after 25 but many more men than women did not leave the parental house. For the second generation many more women than men had left the parental house by age 25. This gender difference was not found among young adults of the majority group. Unmarried cohabitation was much less common to have taken place before 25 years among most groups except

the Turkish. Again women are more likely to have cohabitated with an unmarried partner in all groups although gender differences in the majority group are small. Marriage is most common before the age of 25 among Turkish women, Turkish men and Moroccan women. Hardly any young adult of the majority group and few men of the Moroccan second generation have entered a married union by age 25. The same pattern between the groups and sexes holds when we look at childbearing before age 25. All in all these figures show that the second generation starts union formation earlier than is the case for the majority group and women more so then men. It is striking to see that Moroccan men in our sample seem to have postponed in particular union and family formation transitions.

The final step in the analyses is the sequence analyses of the three distinguished family life transitions. In total 195 individual sequences are found for the three family life transitions experienced between the ages of 17 and 25 years. About half of them are unique sequences and another 39 are shared by two persons another 15 by three persons in the sample. The ten most common sequences (covering half of the total sample) all start with leaving the parental home followed by no other transition. Only in 15% of all cases the first transition that is experienced is not leaving the parental house. These are predominantly young adults who start a cohabiting or married union in the parental house and only move out afterwards. About half of this group belongs to the second generation the other half are majority Dutch young adults.

I apply optimal matching techniques to distinguish patterns that are most similar to one another which are in the end clustered in five different paths to adulthood for whom substantive interpretation of the clusters is introduced here. The first group of young adults are those who did not experience any transition before age 25. This implies that they did not left the parental house, were not cohabiting with a partner and had not entered a marriage yet. These are the ones I have labelled as the "delayed independence". Around 10% of the sample belongs to this group. The second group are those who left the parental home at a relatively young age and/or spend at least a substantial time living on themselves before making any other family life transitions. Only few of them marry before age 25. This group is characterised by "prolonged individualistic" behaviour and relates to about 50% of the young adults in the study. A third group are those who leave the parental home first and shortly afterwards either start a cohabiting and/or a married union. In any case each of the three transitions is made within a relatively short time span (of about 2 years). This group is labelled "condensed transitions". The fourth group is relatively similar to the previous one with the exception that the majority of people in this group make all three transitions at the same age. It means that they do not have a period of living on their own or unmarried cohabitation but directly move out of the parental home to enter a married union. This however only refers to three percent of my sample, and I refer to them as "coinciding transitions". The majority of these young adults make all transitions young and definitely before the age of 24. Finally, I distinguish a group of "early family life". The young people in this group (the final 10% of my sample) have left parental home before the age of 18 often start a cohabiting union

Table 8.2 Distribution over the five most common patterns of family life transitions, by origin and gender (in percentages)

	Turkish		Moroccan		Majority group Dutch	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Delayed independence	14	6	25	11	6	5
Prolonged individualistic	41	37	52	43	59	55
Condensed transitions	36	36	15	31	26	24
Coinciding transitions	4	8	3	2	1	3
Early family life	4	13	6	13	9	14

Source: TIES (2007), the Netherlands

shortly after that and in case they do marry, this event also takes place at a young age. All transitions are commonly experienced before the age of 21.

The main interest in this paper is to study to what extend specific paths to adulthood are more common for the second generation compared to the majority group young adults in the Netherlands and whether routes of the latter group are more varied and dissimilar. I therefore compare the paths of each of the three origin groups and also distinguish between men and women (Table 8.2). The bivariate findings as presented in this table are corroborated by multinominal logistic regressions that were carried out including the origin, gender, cohort, and educational level of the respondent (see Appendix Table 8.A.2). Among all origin groups the largest shares are found in the group labelled as “prolonged individualistic” (Table 8.2). These young adults are postponing family life commitments. Most of them do not experience any union or family formation event before the age of 25 and the few who did so mainly entered a cohabiting union shortly before or at age 25. Although the shares of Moroccan and particular Turkish second generation included in this group is somewhat smaller than for the Dutch, still sizable shares of more than a third of Turkish women to half of the Moroccan men are in the trajectory. Overall men are more likely to be in this group than women and this is in particular the case for the Moroccan second generation.

For both the Turkish and the majority group young adults the second most common paths is that of condensed transitions: more than a third and around a quarter of the respective groups is assigned to this cluster. Also Moroccan women are found in this trajectory where different transitions are experienced within a rather short time span before reaching the age of 25. This situation is much less common for Moroccan men who are clearly postponing family transitions as is clear from the large share (a quarter) who are in the ‘delayed independence’ cluster. Other young adults and in particular young adults of the majority group are much less common to postpone all transitions: they do leave home but postpone in particular union formation decisions. The group of “coinciding transitions” applies mainly to Turkish women who are within the same year experiencing all transitions. This is the typical traditional path to adulthood which however is hardly found among the Moroccan or the Dutch majority group anymore. Finally, among all origin groups I found a small percentage of young adults who are “early family life” builders.

This trajectory where all transitions are basically experienced before age 21 is much more common among women of all groups than it is among men.

As only a limited number of young adults did have a child before the age of 25, we did not include them in the sequence analyses directly. However, when we look at the patterns of childbearing among each of the distinguished clusters of young adults it becomes obvious that childbearing ages are highest among those who are delaying independence, followed by the groups of prolonged individualistic young adults, condensed movers, and coinciding movers. Those who belong to the early family life group are also the ones with youngest ages at childbearing. Young adults who are postponing other transitions are also postponing childbearing, they are the ones who are least likely to have had a first child whereas those who are movers (either condensed or coinciding) are much more likely to have had a first child already. Many of those who made early family transitions are also having a child at a young age. Nevertheless also among this group about half of the young adults did not have a first child yet which was often due to the fact that many of them were in a relationship at a young age but this partnership also ended at a young age.

One of the key determinants in shaping family life transitions of young adults has been their educational enrolment. In this paper duration in the educational system as such was hard to assess due to limited information on the moment of leaving the school system. I do, however, have detailed information on the educational level the young adult attended. For the Dutch case this relates almost directly to the number of years spend in education: the higher the educational level the longer the period one has to spend in education. Education clearly is of importance for the trajectory taken by the young adult of every origin. It has a consistent and clear impact on distinguishing between the early family life cluster and all other clusters. Those young adults who follow the early family life path in their transition to adulthood are overall lower educated than young adults in any of the other groups. For the Turkish second generation we find a dichotomy between the two clusters that are more individualistically oriented ("delayed independence" and "prolonged individualistic"). Young adults belonging to these latter two clusters are higher educated that is the case for the other three clusters that are more family oriented. For Moroccans we find that also those who are experiencing "condensed transitions" are higher educated than those who are taking the trajectory of coinciding transitions and early family building. This latter pattern is also found for the Dutch majority group. Although we have to bear in mind that our sample size is limited it clearly points to the relevance of education for the trajectory followed in the family domain among all origin groups, which is in line with my hypothesis (H4).

Finally, I also tested whether belonging to the younger cohort implied that different trajectories into adulthood were chosen. I did not find differences between the two distinguished cohorts of young adults for the Moroccan and the majority group. For the Turkish second generation I did find that the younger cohort was somewhat more likely to be in the "delayed independence" and "condensed transitions" clusters. Contrary to my hypothesis (H4) I do not find clear differences by cohort. Given the relatively small numbers when distinguishing these cohorts by origin group again one should be careful with drawing fare reaching conclusions.

8.7 Conclusion and Discussion

In this paper I studied the diversity in the transition to adulthood and in particular the sequencing of major family life events in this phase, among young adults of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation and the majority group in the Netherlands. I included different family life transitions: leaving the parental home, starting a cohabiting union, entering marriage and having a first child (latter not included in sequences due to data constraints), to look at heterogeneity, ordering and typical paths into adulthood. Contrary to expectations on de-standardization of the life course among majority group young adults I do not find more diversity in routes among this group compared to the second generation. Rather the contrary seems to be the case: majority group young adults are concentrated in a few specific paths to adulthood whereas the second generation is much more dispersed. The same holds when we look at the states that are experienced by young adults of different origin. Again the transition to adulthood of the second generation seems as diverse on this point as is the case for the majority group. I do, however, find a clear confirmation for the expected difference in timing between the origin groups. The majority group seems overall to be more inclined to postpone transitions related to union and family formation. Although this is partially true for the second generation as well, still substantial shares of them opt for family life transitions at a younger age. Probably as a result of this difference in timing and in particular the delay of family life commitments of the Dutch majority group, I do indeed find that different transitions are more linked among the second generation.

Contrary to the theoretical idea of de-standardization of the life course my analyses do not show more heterogeneity in paths for the Dutch than for the second generation. Overall these findings suggest quite some variety in family life transitions experienced by young adults of different origins and at different ages. The fact that we do find more diversity among the second generation could be related to the fact that in particular in these families the transition to adulthood is prone to changes. Whereas for the majority group a new ‘standardized’ pattern, in which cohabitation is included and marriage and childbearing are postponed this new standard is not as far spread among the second generation. This leads to high diversity within the second generation group at all ages: some still follow the path in which these transitions are experienced in the traditional standard order and at young ages, others have the same path as the majority group and some are taking a position in between these extremes.

The analyses showed that trajectories to adulthood for women of the second generation are different from that of women from the Dutch majority group. Young women of the second generation are more likely to have started union and family formation already and be in a more family oriented trajectory to adulthood. Also compared to men of the second generation these gender differences are clear. Interestingly enough second generation men are similarly (or sometimes even more) opting for individualistic oriented trajectories as is found for the Dutch majority group men. The gender gap in heterogeneity in transitions, as well as, the main paths

into adulthood, could point to increasing polarisation in the transition to adulthood between young men and women of the second generation. Where Moroccan men predominantly postpone transitions this seems to be only the case for part of the women of this group and this gender gap is pretty similar for the Turkish second generation as well. One can question what implications this might have for finding a future partner (from the same or other ethnic group) and gender relations among couples.

At the same time I do find clear differences between the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. The latter group is overall taking more individualistic oriented paths compared to the Turkish second generation. The Moroccan second generation takes an intermediate position between the paths chosen by the majority group and the Turkish second generation. The Moroccan second generation seems in this sense to be in the process of de-standardization of their paths to adulthood. Whether this is related to different paths of acculturation, identification or other underlying factors can not be answered with this study. For the Turkish second generation my study pointed to high levels of heterogeneity compared to the other origin groups. This finding shows that diversity in family life transitions within this second generation group is very large. Whether this is a transitional phase or whether it may result in more polarization within this group (for men and women alike) of those following the traditional Turkish path to adulthood and those adapting different strategies, is an important question for future research. All in all, it shows that differences among the group of second generation young adults and their trajectories to adulthood should not be neglected by future studies.

Given the cross-sectional data of my study I can only take into account the current diversity and can not draw any conclusions on developments over time (as age and cohort effects can not be distinguished). At the same time the analyses on sequencing and the main clusters of trajectories, did not reveal any differences between cohorts as expected. This might be due to the fact that we have rather limited numbers in the two categories. Furthermore, it could be attributable to the relatively closeness of the cohorts (just 5 years categories): it might be only after distinguishing 10 year cohorts that differences indeed occur. As the young people in my sequence analyses are only 25–35 years of age they might not really be different cohorts but rather be socialized in the same period in time.

Education is found to be an important determinant for sequencing of events and paths into adulthood taken by young adults of all studied groups. My findings suggest that the second generation who is higher educated also postpones union and family formation choices compared to those with lower educational attainment as was found for the Dutch majority group. Taking more individual oriented life paths thus seems to be related to educational attainment. Whether this is the result of education as such, the incompatibility of combining education and family life or different attitudes and norms between those with different educational achievements is impossible to answer. Nevertheless, it is an important finding that education seems to determine the path to adulthood as taken by the second generation and the majority group alike.

Despite the new insights that were gained from this study on paths to adulthood several data limitation arose as well. Measurement of events was only available as a rough indicator (year). More detailed information on when exactly transitions took place is needed in order to determine exact sequencing within the year. Furthermore, due to the sample size and composition the typology of trajectories could only be based on a relatively small number of persons. This hampers the possibility of including many explanatory factors in the analyses and makes generalizations not always easy. These issues are hard to overcome as few data are available in which sufficient second generation young adults are included to do more advanced analyses. However, register data which are more and more available for analyses, could be a potential solution to these issues in the future. It would also allow including other domains of life in the analyses and studying the interaction between the private (family) and public domain of life in more detail. Furthermore, this study was limited to the Netherlands and more particular Amsterdam and Rotterdam. As the sociology of the life course rightly points to the relevance of studying individuals in time and place, it would be interesting to expand the scope to other cities, countries and second generation origin groups. Nevertheless, this study has shown the usefulness of covering different events in the transition to adulthood as is suggested in the sociological life course approach. Taking this perspective sheds more light on how lives of young adults from different origins evolve in this important period of life.

8.A.1 Appendix

Table 8.A.1 Coding of family life course states for each year for the young adults in the sample

State	Leaving Home	Cohabitation	Marriage
1 LH	Y	N	N
2 LHC	Y	Y	N
3 LHCM	Y	Y	Y
4 LHM	Y	N	Y
5 C	N	Y	N
6 CM	N	Y	Y
7 M	N	N	Y
8 0	N	N	N

Source: TIES (2007), the Netherlands

Table 8.A.2 Multinominal logit coefficients for predicting cluster of family life transitions (ref category: early family life cluster)

	Delayed independence			Prolonged individualistic			Condensed transitions			Coinciding transitions		
	B		Std. error	B		Std. error	B		Std. error	B		Std. error
Intercept	.326		.667	.476		.500	.538		.526	−.234		.999
Educational level	.099	***	.031	.118	***	.023	.078	***	.024	.044		.042
Origin. ref: Dutch majority group												
Moroccan	1.957	***	.468	.484		.354	.374		.379	.749		.769
Turkish	1.415	***	.462	.377		.334	.895	**	.345	1.737	**	.639
Women	−1.428	***	.360	−.844	**	.270	−.661	*	.283	.222		.542
Cohort (ref. oldest)	−.119		.361	.020		.268	−.411		.285	−.326		.532

Source: TIES (2007), the Netherlands
Pseudo R square: .14
$^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$

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Chapter 9
Linked Life-Events. Leaving Parental Home in Turkish Immigrant and Native Families in Germany

Michael Windzio

This study analyses the leaving of the parental home by native Germans and immigrants from Turkey. By elaborating on the concept of "linked-life events", which describes the synchronicity in timing of two different transitions in adolescent life, I expect that the synchronicity of marriage and leaving parental home has substantially declined in post-war Germany as a result of trends in modernization, secularization and individualization, especially since the late 1960s. The question of whether such a decline occurred also in the group of Turkish immigrants will be tested empirically by using data from the German Gender & Generations Survey Program. In the first step of this article, the idea of linked events in the life-course and normative bonding in communities will be discussed. Subsequently, it will be elaborated on why the timing of leaving home might differ between natives and Turkish immigrants in Germany. It will be argued that patterns of normative bonding differ between both groups particularly with regard to gender. In the first part of the empirical section, religiosity and family-related norm orientations of the two groups will be compared. A comparison of survivor functions of different subgroups will then provide first insights into differences in the timing of leaving home. By using the concepts of normative bonding and linked life-events, it will be investigated to what extent the intervening life-event of marriage has an impact on the rate at which respondents leave parental home and whether there are interaction effects of religiosity and norm orientations with regard to gender. It will be examined whether the impact of marriage is noticeably stronger in the Turkish group and if there are additional gender-specific patterns. Finally, by using a competing-risk perspective, birth-cohort effects and processes of "de-linking" of life-events will be investigated in order to compare the processes of individualization of natives and Turkish immigrants.

M. Windzio (✉)
Institute for Empirical and Applied Sociology (EMPAS), University of Bremen,
28334 Bremen, Germany
e-mail: mwindzio@empas.uni-bremen.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_9, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

9.1 Theory and Research

Elaborating on Granovetter's (1973) idea of weak and strong ties in social networks, Putnam (2000) made the distinction between *bonding* and *bridging* social capital. By referring to Hegel's concept of *Sittlichkeit*, Halpern (2005: 20) used the concept of "*normative bonding*" to describe ties of support and reciprocity within small communities and families. Social integration by normative bonding is in sharp contrast to the self-interested individual rationality when an individual need – like education – is subordinated to the fulfilment of normative expectations of the community. Normative bonding describes a specific form of social capital which is available as long as an actor meets these expectations. To some degree, this is similar to Portes' (1998) concept of negative social capital which can be an obstacle to individual freedom. In conjunction with monitoring and social control in normatively bounded communities, this is what makes the process of leaving the community being an event of high social significance. Families usually re-establish control over their children by combining the life-event of moving out with the event of marriage. Similar phenomena have been described by the concept of "linked lives" in the sociological theory of the life-course. Here, the argument is that close network ties do not only link persons but also their life courses (Giele and Elder 1998: 9p). Life courses of spouses are good examples of linked lives. Important life-course transitions, as employment, migration or retirement, are often closely related between both actors (Drobnič 2003). A generalization of this concept was developed in the Special Research Programme "Status Passages and Risks in the Life Course" at the University of Bremen (see Heinz and Marshall 2003) and pointed explicitly to the *interrelatedness* of life-courses, which depends on institutional regulations and results in specific institutional life-course regimes (Krüger 2003: 242). As Krüger argued (2001: 279), the German male-breadwinner regime, for instance, leads to a specific interrelatedness of life-courses of men and women (Born et al. 2003). It has strong effects on the social construction of male and female life courses, all the more since it reinforces traditional taken-for-granted views on the gender-specific division of housework and employment. In a similar way, values and social norms bond life-events together, which actually belong to different dimensions of the life-course. In the present study, these dimensions are residential autonomy and marriage. Following this institutional paradigm of interrelatedness, the concept of linked life events will be elaborated in the following. It highlights the links between life-events due to institutions and social norms – which brings us back to the concept of normative bonding.

While it is common in research to hint at cultural differences between immigrants and natives (Nauck 1989; Gerhards 2004), yet there are only a few studies linking patterns of leaving parental home to norms and culture (Billari and Liefbroer 2007; Huschek et al. 2010; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). Several interrelated arguments can explain why normative bonding differs between immigrants and natives. High levels of normative bonding result from characteristics of the *specific*

situation of immigrant families in the host country. Immigrants enter a new society and incorporate new information into their stock of taken-for-granted knowledge (Thomas and Znaniecki 1995 [1920], Park 1928; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). For this reason, many immigrant families show a high degree of protectiveness especially towards daughters (Nauck 1989: 260) and exert rigid social control over their children. If children leave home while marrying a co-ethnic partner at the same time, social control is transferred to the partner and shared with his or her family, whereas leaving home without marriage implies a loss of control over children.

This mechanism works especially under the assumption of *differences in values and norms* between immigrants and the native population and the consolidating effect of *ties to the own ethnic community*. While classical assimilation theory predicted a "straight line" assimilation process (Esser 2008) coming along with alienation from home and acculturation to the host culture, the theory of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997) pointed to processes of upward mobility within the ethnic community. Due to extensive chain migration and evolving migration systems, many immigrants establish or intensify networks to their ethnic community and thereby strengthen basic elements of their home country culture. In addition, new forms of migration and integration into the host society due to new modes of transport and communication (Glick Schiller et al. 1997; Jaworsky and Levitt 2007) facilitated the maintenance of social bonds to the home country. These changing conditions increased the propensity to invest time and effort into co-ethnic and home country capital (Esser 2004).

Arguments referring to cultural differences between Turkish migrants and native Germans should not neglect the large cultural differences *within* the Turkish society (Kagitcibasi and Sunar 1997) and the ongoing conflict between Kemalism and Islamism (Göle 1997). Turkey has a long Islamic tradition and adherence to religion is still widespread. In his analysis of the foundation of economy and society Max Weber (1972: 374) came to the conclusion that Islamic business ethics are the "ultimate contrast" to Puritanism. This in no way means that today's Turkey is incompatible with rationalization, democracy and modern business ethics. However, according to Weber's famous thesis on the historical roots of culture and institutions, religious differences have a formative influence which exists, as Portes and Rumbaut (2006: 301) argue, even in the present. In many industrialized Western countries, materialistic values were successively replaced by post-materialism since the late 1960s (Inglehart 1990). Bottom-up-processes of value change, individualization, and claims to personal fulfillment led to a pluralisation and diversification of lifestyles, life-courses and family structures. During the 20th century Turkey experienced a dramatic social and cultural change as well, when Kemal Attatürk tried to replace the Sharia law of the Ottoman Empire with modern western institutions from "top to bottom", but always had to wrestle with reactionary forces who tried to rebuild the old regime. Some scholars currently observe a "vacuum" created by a de-legitimization of the Kemalist modernization process which was filled by a reviving cultural and political Islam (Karasipahi 2009: 33). It cannot be ruled out that these historical developments explain results of recent comparative analyses of

value orientations in Turkey and other European societies: studies using the World Value Survey still reveal notable differences in average value orientations between citizens of EU member states and Turkey (Gerhards 2004). It has also been shown that family-related norm orientations regarding the "economic value" of children differ greatly between Germany, Turkey and Turkish immigrants (Nauck 1989: 256), although to some degree differences in the normative structure of intergenerational relationships can be explained by educational differences (Nauck 1989: 261). Strikingly, in Nauck's (1989) analysis differences in normative orientations and behavioural practices between Turkish respondents and Turkish immigrants in Germany were rather modest. In a similar manner, Kagitcibasi and Sunar (1997) argue that despite of trends in modernization, family relations in Turkey are still characterised by a high degree of "culture of relatedness".

Diehl et al. (2009: 296) found a correspondence of higher levels of religious adherence with less egalitarian gender roles in the group of Turkish immigrants in Germany, but not in the group of native Germans. Moreover, Diehl and Koenig (2009: 311p) highlighted that levels of religious adherence did not decline for Turkish immigrants in the second generation but even increased in some sub-dimensions. In her study on effects of religiousness on economic and the demographic behaviour in the US, Lehrer (2004: 18) reports results which indicate the highest rates of non-marital cohabitation in groups without religious affiliation, while the lowest rates are found in religious groups where the average level of female education is low – which still is the case with Turkish immigrants in Germany. In an earlier study, she argued that religious groups differ in their attitudes towards gender roles. Fundamentalist Protestants and Mormons emphasize women's role as housewife's and mothers (Lehrer 2000: 230), which indeed corresponds empirically with early entry into marriage. Moreover, Fundamentalist Protestants also show a low likelihood of the first union being a cohabitating relationship (Lehrer 2000: 241).

According to this line of argumentation, I expect significant differences between natives and Turkish immigrants in Germany regarding religiosity and attitudes towards marriage. Following from this, several hypotheses can be specified from these considerations.

H1: In line with the two different cultural histories of Western Europe and Turkey, value orientations concerning marriage and religion are "more traditional" in the group of Turkish immigrants compared with native Germans.

H2: When persons with more traditional values and norm orientations have stronger ties to their family, early move-outs in order to achieve pre-marital residential autonomy are less likely. Consequently, more traditional value orientations decelerate the process of leaving parental home.

H3: It has been argued that traditional values and norm orientations correspond with higher levels of "normative bonding" and social control, and, accordingly, with a closer linkage of life-events. Since Turkish immigrants have more traditional attitudes toward family related processes like marriage and leaving home, they might show a stronger association between these events compared with native Germans.

H4: The effect of marriage on leaving home is even stronger when respondents' attitudes towards marriage are comparatively traditional.

H5: Due to far-reaching cultural changes in Western democracies since the late 1960s, one might expect a linear trend in individualization and "de-linking" of life-events over birth-cohorts in the native German sample. However, it is still unclear whether Turkish immigrants in Germany show a similar trend.

9.2 Data and Methods

The empirical analyses presented in this paper are based on the first wave of the German Generations and Gender Survey. The data set consists of two independent random sub-samples which include N = 10,017 German speaking persons and N = 4,045 Turkish citizens who live in Germany as immigrants (Ruckdeschel et al. 2006; Ette et al. 2007: 12). Since the sample of German speaking persons includes also 1st and 2nd generation Turkish immigrants, this group has been defined as Turkish as well. All other immigrant groups have been excluded from the German speaking sample, so Turkish immigrants will be compared with native Germans. Turkish respondents whose move-out events took place in Turkey have been excluded from the sample. The timing of important life-events, like leaving parental home, has been measured by monthly information, so continuous-time event history analysis and the method of episode splitting could be applied. With regard to the event of interest, which is leaving parental home, the risk set begins at the tenth birthday. This procedure captures very early move-outs on the one hand, but excluded processes in the early childhood. Setting the starting point of the risk-period to the age of 14 does not significantly change the results.

Persons who do not have any school degree as well as persons with low levels of secondary education have been defined as having *low education*. Secondary educational degrees qualifying for University admission ("Abitur" or "Fachhochschulreife") were defined as *high education*, intermediate degrees from secondary education (Realschule, mittlere Reife) or other degrees as *medium education*.

The data provides information on fathers' and mothers' occupation and education when the respondent was at the age of 15. This led to categories of the highest available occupational and educational degrees in the parental couple: (1). no employment, (2). blue collar working class, (3). peasants and self-employed, (4). white collar, civil servants, professionals. Parents' highest educational degree has been distinguished in *high degrees* (master craftsmen, Abitur, academic) and *other degrees*. Since the data includes also time-varying information on other life-events, I could include this information into the event-history models as explanatory variables and estimate effects of intervening life-events on processes of leaving home (Konietzka and Huinink 2003). For each subgroup the effect size shows how closely events of moving out correspond with other events like marriage, family formation and general education. Unfortunately, with respect to the timing of general and occupational education we only know the ending time of general

education and the ending time of the highest occupational degree – which is not necessarily the ending time of the first one. Hence, the period in which move-outs due to entry into occupational training or higher education could potentially start 2 months before general education ended, and terminate 38 months later (*training/HE, end school −2/+36 mon*).

Regarding intervening life-events it does not make any sense to model effects of perfect monthly synchronization. Instead, I used a sufficiently long interval, which is long enough e.g. to cover time for transactions, like the organization of a wedding, before and after moving out. Intervals of 12 month length have been used with the dates of marriage and birth of 1st children as midpoints (*marriage period (+/− 6 Mon.)*, *birth 1st child period (+/− 6 Mon.)*). Regarding marriage, it should be noted that in the group of Turkish immigrants more than 90% of all marriages are intra-ethnic, that is, Turkish immigrants chose partners mainly from the Turkish community.

In the following analyses, event-history models are based on Cox-Regressions and a competing risk approach. Competing risks are defined as move-outs with marriage and move-out without marriage. Moving out with marriage means that both life-events occur, more or less, simultaneously. Moving-out without marriage does not necessarily mean that respondents are not married when they move out, but that move-out takes place 6 months before or after marriage. In the vast majority of cases, respondents do not stay in their parents' home for longer than 6 month after marriage. Hence, competing risks are defined by leaving-home either within ("with marriage"), or outside ("without marriage") the marriage period of 1 year Table 9.A.2. (appendix) gives the descriptive statistics of the data.

9.3 Results

Two important value orientations differ significantly between natives and Turkish immigrants in Germany: traditional attitudes towards marriage and religiosity. The Figs. 9.1 and 9.2 illustrate the distribution of factor scores over both populations. These factors have been extracted from the items shown in Table 9.A.1 (appendix) by using principal component analysis. Signs have been reversed so that high factor scores measure traditional norm orientations. It should be noted that this measurement is only cross-sectional, taken at the time of the interview. This is in most cases many years after the move-out, so the causal interpretation is always based on the assumption of rather stable value orientations and "traits".

However, the reliability of the scale "traditional attitude toward marriage" is rather low (alpha = .63, see appendix).[1] Fig. 9.1 shows that the attitude towards

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[1] Separate analysis gives an alpha of .57 for Turkish immigrants and .60 for native Germans. The reliability of the religiosity scale (.78) differs between both groups as well (.60 for Turkish immigrants and .84 for native Germans). Nevertheless, the scaling provides an advantage over single item measurements and for this reason these scales have been used in the analysis.

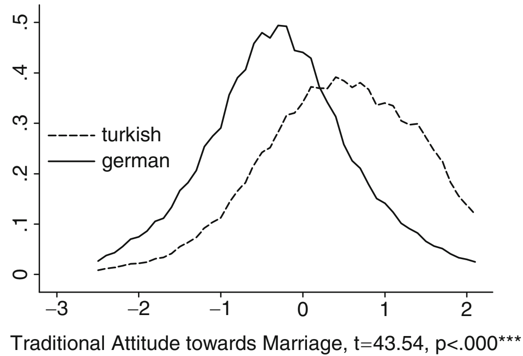

Fig. 9.1 Attitude towards marriage, factor scores N = 12555, Turkish = 3976, German = 8579 (Source: GGS 2006, own computations)

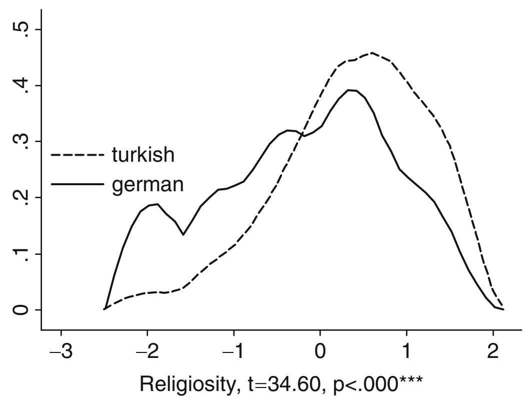

Fig. 9.2 Religiosity, factor scores N = 12555, Turkish = 3976, German = 8579 (Source: GGS 2006, own computations)

marriage is more traditional in the Turkish group, and that Turkish immigrants are also more religious than native Germans. Even if these results provide no clear evidence of the theoretical considerations made in section 2, this result is in line with the expectations: first, both populations differ with respect to religiosity and traditional attitudes towards marriage, secondly, the Turkish population shows a tendency towards more traditional orientations (H1). These remarkable differences motivate the focus on values and norm orientations as determinants of the process of leaving home. Before we test the hypotheses in a multivariate event-history design, the following graphs give a first visual impression of the process. In Figs. 9.3 and 9.4 the time-axis has been rescaled, so that the starting point of the process is the tenth birthday. Move-out events taking place before the tenth birthday have been excluded from the data.

Fig. 9.3 compares the process of moving out between natives and Turkish immigrants. Compared with native Germans, already in younger ages Turkish immigrants move out slower, that is, before the median age of 20 years. Subsequently, the process even accelerates in the German sample more than in the Turkish one, so the Wilcoxon-Test is highly significant (χ^2 (df = 1) = 191.6, p<.000). The same is true for the four survivor functions depicted in Fig. 9.4. Again, native Germans

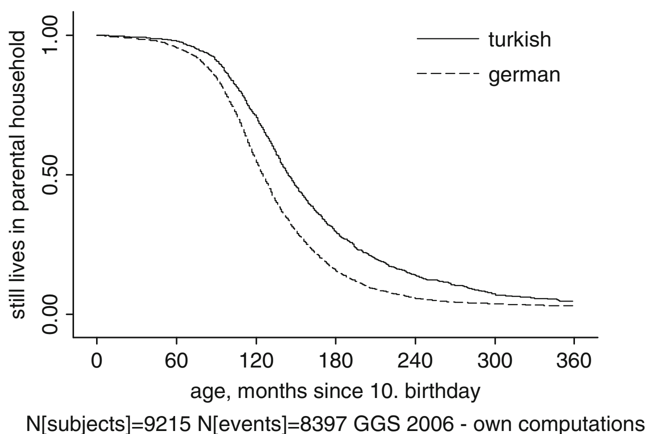

Fig. 9.3 Leaving home, by ethnic group

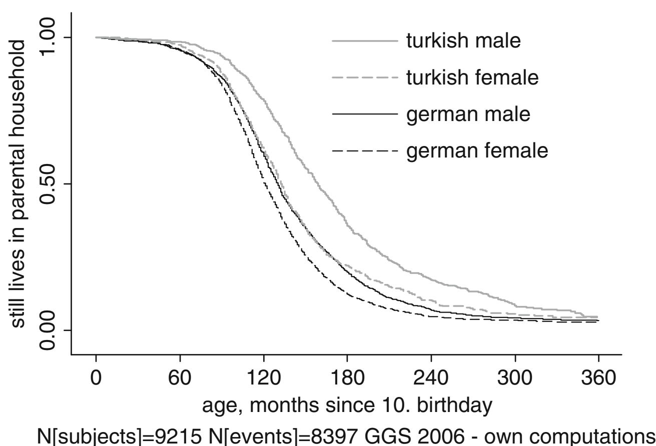

Fig. 9.4 Leaving home, by ethnic group & gender

move out faster than Turkish immigrants, but there are also gender differences. In both groups, women move out earlier than men, which probably results from their younger age of marriage.

Although the obvious strength of presenting Kaplan-Meier survivor functions lies in the clear illustration of the process for different subgroups, the obvious shortcoming is, on the other hand, their limitation in controlling for intervening life-events (but see Billari 2001; Kley and Huinink 2006). As a result, multivariate event-history models will be estimated in order to highlight the relevance of linked life-events and the interaction effects of the marriage period and norm orientations on the process of leaving home. In the first two columns of Table 9.1 effects of Cox Regressions are shown for Turkish immigrants and native Germans. Columns

Table 9.1 Determinants of leaving parental home, cox regression models, relative risk ratios

	Turkish	German	Turkish male	German male	Turkish female	German female
Birth cohort 1961–65 (ref.: 1960, older)	0.954	1.032	1.07	1.005	0.964	1.048
Birth cohort 1966–70 (ref.: 1960, older)	0.983	1.005	0.966	0.924	1.022	1.074
Birth cohort 1971–75 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.162	1.101*	1.256	1.00	1.091	1.180**
Birth cohort 1976–88 (ref.: 1960, older)	0.963	1.136**	0.873	0.966	1.086	1.324***
Female gender	1.312***	1.121***				
Crowding (no. of siblings)	1.015	1.049***	1.055*	1.059***	0.977	1.039***
Low education	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Medium education	0.824**	0.951	0.853	0.96	0.753**	0.932+
High education, (Fach-Abitur)	0.806*	1.049	0.884	1.076	0.663*	1.016
Parents: no employment	0.670*	0.97	0.791	0.921	0.591*	0.988
Parents: blue collar working class	0.701***	0.908**	0.778+	0.905*	0.611***	0.904*
Parents: peasants, self-employed	0.859	0.955	0.951	0.946	0.78	0.963
Parents: white collar, civil servants, professionals	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Born in Germany	Reference		Reference		Reference	
Age immigration: 0–10 years	1.107	–	1.033	–	1.167	–
Age immigration: 11–17 years	1.199+	–	1.029	–	1.423*	–
Age immigration: 18+ years	0.612***	–	0.559***	–	0.690*	–

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

	Turkish	German	Turkish male	German male	Turkish female	German female
Parents: abitur, master craftsmen, academic (ref.: other)	1.069	1.013	1.136	1.090+	1.048	0.968
Marriage period (−6/+ 6 month)	12.177***	7.895***	8.252***	8.000***	17.055***	7.812***
Birth 1st child period (−6/+ 6 month)	2.733***	1.862***	2.610***	1.967***	2.746***	1.833***
Training/HE, end school (−2/+36 month)	1.094	1.359***	1.008	1.288***	1.164	1.404***
Trad. attitude toward marriage	0.920*	0.921***	0.967	0.965	0.812**	0.877***
Trad. attitude toward marriage * marriage period	0.978	1.096*	0.877	1.135+	1.192*	1.078
Religiosity	0.959	0.875***	0.932	0.864***	0.993	0.882***
Religiosity * marriage period	1.165*	1.297***	1.234+	1.231***	1.122	1.333***
Sub-episodes	5,468	20,570	3,029	9,258	2,439	11,312
Subjects	1,653	7,193	894	3,312	759	3,881
Events	1,239	6,819	643	3,092	596	3,727
Ll null model	−8089.17	−54307.0	−3787.30	−22240.78	−3438.45	−27361.25
Ll	−7296.36	−52766.3	−3539.49	−21658.40	−2895.28	−26425.90

+p < =.10; *p < =.05; **p < =.01; ***p < =.001

3–6 show the results of models estimated separately for Turkish and German males as well as for Turkish and German females. At the first sight, cohort effects suggest a clear pattern in the native German sample, but no systematic pattern in the Turkish sample. However, estimating the models separately for gender reveals that German women are the only group in which we find a clear pattern of an accelerating move-out process. The younger the cohort of native German women is, the earlier they leave their parents' home. In the first two models we find a positive effect of female gender on the move-out rate, which is in line with the survivor functions in Fig. 9.4, showing faster transitions for German and Turkish women. In all models, also the number of siblings has been controlled as a rough indicator of household "crowding",[2] that is, many persons share only a limited number of rooms. Surprisingly, crowding increases the move-out rate only in the native German sample, but not in the Turkish sample, although the average number of siblings amounts 1.8 for Germans and 3.3 for Turkish immigrants. If crowding indicates an objective need to move-out due to resource scarcity (room at home), we would expect significant positive effects in both samples, and not only for native Germans. A comparison of the crowding effect between Turkish men and women reveals a gendered pattern. Crowding significantly accelerates the move-out process for Turkish men, but not for Turkish women. Obviously there are other factors in the Turkish sample, especially for Turkish women, which are more relevant than crowding. In addition, we find effects of respondents' education in the Turkish, but not in the German sample. The move-out process decelerates in the Turkish sample with increasing level of education. Again, this pattern is strongly gendered since these effects are significant only for Turkish women, but not for Turkish men. Turkish women stay at home longer if they pursue a higher level of education. Explaining this effect by economic resources only is not comprehensive since the same should be true for Turkish men as well. Hence, there might be other factors which could explain this gendered pattern.

Regarding social background in terms of parental occupational status when the respondent was at the age of 15, we find that working class children move out later than children of white collar, professional, or civil-servant parents, which holds also for most subgroups. With respect to the age of immigration in the Turkish sample the pattern is not clear. Respondents who immigrated at the age of 18 or older have the lowest rates of leaving home, which might indicate a selective subgroup of children who immigrated with their parents in late adolescence.

More interesting than this control variable are the effects of intervening life events. During the *training/HE* period we find significantly increased move-out rates in the German sample, even if we estimate the models separately for men and women. In contrast, there is no effect of training for Turks, neither for men nor for women.

[2]This indicator is limited insofar as we only know the number of siblings in the data, but not how many of these siblings were still living in the parental household when the respondent decides to move out. See, in addition, the conclusion section of this paper.

Before we analyze the results of marriage on leaving home recall that more than 90% of all marriages in the Turkish sample are intra-ethnic. The *marriage period* strongly increases the move-out rate in all subgroups. However, the first two columns show a much stronger effect in the Turkish group (factor 12 vs. factor 8). This means first, that the linking of life events – in this case marriage and leaving parental home – matters for Germans as well as for Turkish immigrants, but it is much more important for Turkish immigrants. Further, gender differences with respect to the strength of this effect are only marginal in the German sample, but remarkably strong in the Turkish sample. During the marriage period, the move-out rate increases by factor 17 for Turkish women, but only by factor 8 for Turkish men. Accordingly, the linking of life-events is much more important for Turkish women, whereas Turkish men do not notably differ from German men and women.

Moreover, there are also effects of norm orientations. A traditional attitude towards marriage decreases the move-out rate, but gender specific models reveal that this holds only for women. In addition, there is also an interaction effect indicating that during the marriage period the negative effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage is significantly diminished, that is, traditional attitudes are less decelerating during the marriage period of Germans. Gender specific models show an effect for German men (significant at the 10% level only) and Turkish women. Only in the latter group, the main effect of traditional attitudes is significant.

Regarding the models in the first two columns of Table 9.1, there is a negative main effect of religiosity on the move-out rate only in the German sample, but a positive interaction with the marriage period in both samples. While there is a negative main effect and a positive interaction effect for German males and females, we only have a slightly significant positive interaction of religiosity and the marriage period for Turkish males. More religious Germans move out later, but this deceleration is diminished during periods of marriage, which again fits well into the framework of linked life-events on the basis of normative bonding.

In sum, we get strong evidence of linked-life events both for Turkish immigrants and native Germans. However, in the Turkish sample we find large gender differences in the strength of the impact of marriage on leaving home. Similarly, also the interaction effect between traditional attitudes towards marriage and the marriage period seems to be more gender specific in the Turkish sample.

Competing-risk Cox Regression models are presented in Table 9.2. The event of leaving home was split up into move-outs without marriage, and move-outs with marriage. Again, "at the same time" means not a perfect synchronicity of marriage and move-out, but a time interval of +/− 6 months around the date of marriage. In the first two columns of Table 9.2 we find parameter estimates for the pooled sample, columns 4–6 show estimates for Turkish immigrants and native Germans separately.

Regarding the pooled analysis, we find interesting birth-cohort effects. While there is no clear trend in effects on move-outs without marriage, the rate of moving-out with marriage tends to decrease in younger cohorts. We gain interesting insights by estimating these models separately for both groups. In the Turkish sample, there is no significant trend over cohorts, neither for move-outs with nor for

Table 9.2 Leaving parental home with and without marriage, competing risk cox regression models, relative risk ratios

	Without marriage	With marriage	Turkish without marriage	Turkish with marriage	German without marriage	German with marriage
Birth cohort 1961–65 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.097*	0.591***	1.112	1.014	1.058	0.559***
Birth cohort 1966–70 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.070	0.517***	0.976	1.101	1.050	0.393***
Birth cohort 1971–75 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.194***	0.599***	1.228	1.438*	1.156**	0.268***
Birth cohort 1976–88 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.116**	0.444***	0.977	0.954	1.181***	0.154***
Female gender	1.050+	2.213***	1.01	3.395***	1.077*	1.821***
Turkish	0.506***	1.820***	–	–	–	–
Crowding (no. of siblings)	1.054***	1.005	1.029	1.001	1.058***	1.014
Low education	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Medium education	0.927*	0.919	0.705***	0.877	0.968	0.976
High education, (Fach-Abitur)	1.029	0.626***	0.733*	0.597**	1.084*	0.650***
Parents: no employment	0.93	0.955	0.631*	0.529+	0.958	1.012
Parents: blue collar working class	0.858***	1.205**	0.579***	0.974	0.882***	1.141+
Parents: peasants, self-employed	0.951	0.91	0.770+	1.163	0.969	0.907
Parents: white collar, civil servants, Professionals	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Parents: abitur, master craftsmen, academic (ref.: other)	1.045	0.916	1.033	0.592**	1.026	0.951

(continued)

Table 9.2 (continued)

	Without marriage	With marriage	Turkish without marriage	Turkish with marriage	German without marriage	German with marriage
Born in Germany	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Age immigration: 0–10 years			1.212+	1.536***		
Age immigration: 11–17 years			1.262+	1.583**		
Age immigration: 18+ years			0.629**	0.585**		
Birth 1st child (−6/+ 6 month)	2.614***	5.393***	3.963***	1.368	2.279***	7.286***
Training/HE: end school (−2/+36 month)	1.376***	0.720**	1.067	0.746+	1.394***	0.745*
Trad. attitude toward marriage	0.975	1.162***	0.939	1.139+	0.975	1.292***
Trad. attitude toward marriage * female	0.874***	0.921	0.831*	0.947	0.889***	0.780***
Religiosity	0.872***	1.081+	0.915	1.349**	0.871***	1.071
Religiosity * female	1.024	0.997	1.087	0.933	1.021	0.966
Sub-episodes	26,210	26,210	5,468	5,468	20,570	20,570
Subjects	8,912	8,912	1,653	1,653	7,193	7,193
Events	6,421	1,694	727	512	5,644	1,175
Ll null	−53065.23	13395.70	−4706.10	−3383.06	−45440.62	−8866.46
Ll	−52543.40	−12878.07	−4626.56	−3245.384	−45176.93	−8388.189

+p < =.10; *p < =.05; **p < =.01; ***p < =.001

Table 9.3 Sequence patterns of life events, by ethnic group, in percent

Sequence pattern	Turkish	German	Total
Marriage → move → child	38.16	15.60	20.01
Marriage → child → move	25.83	10.04	13.13
Child → marriage → move	5.22	4.40	4.56
Child → move → marriage	2.22	2.99	2.84
Move → child → marriage	7.31	19.82	17.37
Move → marriage → child	21.27	47.14	42.09
	100.00	100.00	100.00
	N = 1,533	N = 6,313	N = 7,846

Source: GGS 2006, own calculations

move-outs without marriage. Not in line with considerations from individualization and modernization theory, there is even a positive effect on move-outs with marriage in the Turkish cohort 1971–1975. Even if the reference group of Turkish immigrants born in 1960 or earlier, and migrating to Germany together with their parents, might be a special group, there is not any systematic trend among the other cohorts. In the native German sample, on the other hand, we observe higher move-out rates without marriage in younger cohorts. The complementary side of this process is the steady decrease of move-out rates with marriage over the succeeding cohorts. While we observe a clear and steady process of individualization in the native German sample, indicated by a trend of “de-linking” of life events, such trend did not take place in the group of Turkish immigrants.

In the pooled analysis of Table 9.2, the effect of being Turkish immigrant is highly significant. Compared with native Germans, being a Turkish immigrant decreases the move-out rate without marriage by factor 0.50. Complementary to this, in the group of Turkish immigrants the risk of moving out with marrying at the same time increased by factor 1.82.

Once again, this corroborates the result far from Table 9.1 that the life events *marriage* and *leaving parental home* are much more closely linked in the Turkish sample, which can be interpreted as an indicator of a higher degree of normative bonding in this group. The positive effect of crowding found in the pooled analysis in columns one and two of Table 9.2 for move-outs without marriage turns out to be significant in the native German sample in Table 9.3, but not in the Turkish one. Results of the competing risk models are also striking with regard to respondents’ educational levels. In the native German group, *high education* (compared with the reference group *low education*) corresponds with higher rates of leaving home without marriage, and leads at the same time to lower rates of leaving home with marriage. This is consistent with what I expected since highly educated respondents often postpone marriage and move out in order to complete tertiary education or other forms of higher education. However, although higher education decreases move-out rates with marriage in the Turkish group, it decelerates move-outs without marriage as well, which means that, contrarily to native Germans, leaving home cannot be considered as an instrument to pursue higher education in the Turkish group.

In both groups, children of blue collar working class parents have lower rates of leaving home than children of higher qualified parents in the reference group. But only native German blue-collar working-class children show slightly increased risks of leaving home with marriage (significant at the 10% level only). Moreover, aside from occupational status, also a high educational level of parents' has an impact, which significantly reduces the risk of leaving home with marriage only in the Turkish sample by factor 0.59. Regarding the low educational levels of Turkish immigrants in Germany (Diefenbach 2007), highly educated Turkish parents might be a special group, which is somewhat different from other Turkish immigrants in values and norm orientations, and that does not strictly follow the norms of linked life events. It is striking, at least, that a highly qualified parental background makes a difference with respect to linked life events in the Turkish sample, but not in the native German one – indicating that the "cultural" difference between the highly educated and others seems to be more pronounced in the Turkish group.

In the pooled sample in columns one and two of Table 9.2, birth of the first child strongly increases both competing risks, but the effect on moving out in conjunction with marriage is much higher (factor 2.6 vs. factor 5.39), which is consistent with common expectations: quite often, the events of marriage and birth of the first child are closely linked to each other. Yet, we find this pattern only in the native German sample, where it occurs in an even more pronounced way (factor 2.27 vs. factor 7.28), but not in the Turkish sample. For Turkish immigrants, the birth of the first child increases the move-out rate without marriage by factor 3.96. That is, the first child has a strongly positive effect *outside* the marriage period, but not inside. Once more, this is a striking difference between natives and Turkish immigrants. We have to recall the coding of both variables in order to understand this result: the period "birth of the first child" is measured as a 1 year interval, with the date of birth as a midpoint. The same logic was applied for defining the marriage period and the competing risks. Giving birth to the first child during the marriage period and moving out at the same time is only likely if conception occurred while the respondent lived unmarried with his or her parents. What we observe in the Turkish sample is a high probability of child-birth after the 1 year marriage period has elapsed. Hence, the insignificant effect of child birth on leaving home in conjunction with marriage in the Turkish sample might result from the fact that pre-marital conceptions rarely occur and the first child is not born before or during the marriage and move-out period, but in most cases afterwards. This is a remarkable difference between native Germans and Turkish immigrants. This might possibly be a result of higher degrees of social control and more traditional norm orientations in Turkish families, which were in line with the arguments given in the theoretical section. I will come back to this point below.

Regarding the remaining effects of the competing risk models in Table 9.2, we could expect that the training period has a positive effect on the rate of leaving home without marriage in the pooled analysis, and a negative effect on the rate of leaving home with marriage. While the negative effects on move-outs with marriage are nearly identical for Turkish immigrants and Germans, the positive effect on moving

out without marriage is not significant and less pronounced in the Turkish group. Hence, moving out in order to pursue educational ambitions is more prevalent in the German sample and it seems that Turkish immigrants arrange their training or higher education with being still under the direct parental supervision by their parents.

Finally, effects of norm orientations and religiosity on the competing risks of moving out as well as their interaction with gender have been estimated. We find that the main effects of traditional attitudes towards marriage, which represents the effect for men,[3] show a similar pattern, even if it is stronger in the native German sample. As expected, it increases the rate of leaving parental home in conjunction with marriage and slightly decreases move-out rates without marriage, even though the latter effects are insignificant in both samples. For Turkish females, the negative effect becomes significant, that is, the decelerating effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage on moving out without marriage and the avoidance of pre-marital residential autonomy seems to be more important for Turkish women than for Turkish men. On the other hand, the effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage does not significantly differ between Turkish men and women regarding move-outs with marriage. We find similar gender-specific patterns in the native German group. However, the accelerating main effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage on move-outs with marriage is countered by the significant negative interaction effect for females. From this it follows that traditional orientations of German women reduce move-out rates in general, which is in line with the results of Table 9.1.

In addition, since the interaction of religiosity and female gender is not significant and always close to one in both cases, we do not find gendered patterns of the effect of religiosity on rates of leaving home, neither in the Turkish nor in the native German group. The higher religiosity is, the higher is the move-out rate with marriage in the Turkish group, while the corresponding effect on move-outs without marriage is not significant. We find a different result in the native German sample, where high religiosity reduces move-out rates without marriage and has no significant impact on move-out rates with marriage. This means that religiosity decelerates the overall move-out process in the German sample, whereas it increases normative bonding in the Turkish sample, which is indicated by the fact that more religious Turkish immigrants tend more to move-outs in conjunction with marriage.

A closer look at the frequency distribution of life-course *sequences* in Table 9.3 corroborates the result presented above, that pre-marital conceptions rarely occurs in the Turkish sample. I used the "sequence concept" of Sackmann and Wingens (2003), which includes an origin state, a destination state, and an intermediate state that can function as a "bridge" between origin and destination state. We find considerable differences between sequences of Turkish and native German respondents. 38.16% of the Turkish group, but only 15.60% in the German group,

[3]This is because in the interaction term $exp(\beta[attitude] + \gamma[female] + \delta[attitude*female])$, only $exp(\beta\ [attitude])$ remains if the dummy *female* $=0$.

follow a "*traditional*" sequence of marrying first, then moving out and finally giving birth to the first child. Similarly, 25.83% of Turkish respondents show a sequence indicating *close bonds to the family* even after marriage: first they marry, give birth to the first child and move out afterwards. Respectively, the share of this pattern in the German group is only 10%. Moreover, shares of the sequence *child first* and the two other life-events coming afterwards occur rather rarely in both groups. Finally, two patterns of pre-marital residential autonomy (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1993) are far more important in the German sample, namely sequences starting with leaving parental home, giving birth to the first child and marriage (7.31% vs. 19.28%), as well sequences starting with leaving parental home, marriage and giving birth to the first child (21.27% vs. 47.14%). Nearly 70% of the native German population (19.82% + 47.14%) had a sequence including a period of pre-marital residential autonomy, while the corresponding share in the Turkish sample is around 28% only. Accordingly, the sequence pattern of detachment from parental home is very different in the population of Turkish immigrants, where periods of pre-marital residential autonomy are rather an exception than the norm.

9.4 Summary and Conclusion

By pointing to the specific situation of immigrants in the host country and ties to the own ethnic community, but also to differences in culture between Turkish immigrants and native Germans especially in values and norms, I argued that the degree of normative bonding should differ between both groups. Political and cultural differences between Germany and Turkey evolved over a period of several 100 years and value change in Germany was quite dynamic in the second half of the twentieth century. Yet, it is not clear whether these different religious, cultural and political developments are responsible for the observed differences in religion as well as in family-related values and norms. Nonetheless, empirical results in the existing literature and also the results of the Gender and Generations Survey in the present article draw a clear picture: Turkish immigrants and native Germans differ significantly in religiosity and attitudes towards marriage. A descriptive overview has shown that also processes of leaving parental home differ between both groups, and show gender-specific patterns as well. However, the net effect of attitudes towards marriage and religiosity appeared to be more pronounced in the native German sample in models controlling for the impact of the marriage-period on leaving home. Although there are still effects of attitudes toward marriage on the rate of leaving home in the Turkish group, most of their predictive power seems to be captured by the strong effect of the marriage period. The impact of marriage on leaving home is very strong and also gender-specific in the Turkish sample, whereas we find negligible gender differences for native Germans. During the marriage period, risks of leaving home are increased by factor 17 in the group of Turkish women, while all other groups have risk ratios around factor 8. This

is one of the most striking results of this article. It does indeed indicate cultural differences between natives and Turkish immigrants. One could argue, however, that strong effects of the marriage period on the event of moving out reveal mainly economic differences between natives and Turkish immigrants. But if economic differences were still effective even after controlling for parental occupational status and education, it would be still an open question why this pattern is gender-specific. Here I argued that differences in marriage-related norms, but also religiosity could explain rates of leaving home. Results indeed corroborated this expectation. Overall, more traditional norm orientations decelerate rates of leaving home in both groups, and show also gender-specific patterns. On the other hand, the effects of marriage on leaving home did not disappear after controlling for religiosity and marriage-related norms. Thus, the linking of life events is not simply a result of norms and values, as measured in this article. Nonetheless, I also found significant interaction effects, indicating that the decelerating effect of high religiosity was counterbalanced during the marriage period for Turkish and German men, German women, but not for Turkish women. In contrast, only in the subsample of Turkish women we found the decelerating effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage be diminished during the marriage period. This means that linked-life events due to traditional attitudes toward marriage are especially important for Turkish women, whose move-out processes are affected by this norm orientation, which unfolds its impact particularly during the period of marriage.

In addition, also the effect of periods of (first) training or first higher education differs between Turkish immigrants and native Germans. It considerably increases move-out rates for German men and women, but does not have any effect in the Turkish group. Accordingly, for native Germans education is a good reason to leave home, but not for Turkish immigrants. Turks seem to arrange their educational biographies in a way that allows them to stay at home and possibly subordinate their educational aspirations to the needs or expectations of their family. A similar pattern is suggested with respect to the effects of crowding. Although crowding indicates an objective need to reduce room scarcity at home by moving out, it has no effect in the Turkish group, but it significantly increases move-out rates of native Germans – even though the average number of siblings is much higher for Turks!

Finally, competing risks models for rates of leaving home with and without marriage revealed striking cohort effects: while rates of moving out in conjunction with marriage steadily decreased over German birth-cohorts, indicating an ongoing process of "de-linking" of life events and individualization, we did not find analogous processes in the sample of Turkish immigrants. In contrast, the Turkish birth-cohort 1971–75 even showed higher rates of leaving home with marriage than the reference group and all other cohorts (which did not significantly differ from the reference group).

Obviously, the empirical analyses in this paper suffer from at least two short-comings: First, measurements of value orientations are only cross-sectional. This requires the assumption of stable value orientations over the life-course – which cannot be tested by using this data set. Secondly, some measurements are only

proxy-indicators. For instance, the number of siblings as an indicator of crowding is not perfect since it does not take into account the number of rooms or the housing space right before the move-out event. These problems can only be dissolved by using large household panel data proving time-varying measurements.

Aside from these objections, results seem to be in line with the concepts of linked-life events and normative bonding. It might be debatable whether the process of leaving home is a good indicator of acculturation and assimilation or not, but there are clearly remarkable differences between both groups, especially with regard to the gender-specific patterns. In the sample of Turkish immigrants', individualization and "de-structuring", or "de-linking" of life-events, did not take place in the same way as it did for native Germans. Thus, empirical results provided evidence that family-related processes still differ between both groups – and the considerations outlined in the theoretical section possibly make a contribution to explain these differences.

9.A.1 Appendix

Table 9.A.1 Items indicating traditional attitudes towards marriage (−) and religiosity (−)

Traditional attitudes towards marriage
Marriage is an outdated institution.
It is alright for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in marriage.
Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should never be ended. (+)
It is alright for a couple with an unhappy marriage to get a divorce even if they have children.
Cronbach's Alpha = 0.6380
Religiosity
How often, if at all, do you attend religious services, e.g. collective prayers?
It is important for an infant to be registered/baptized in an appropriate religious ceremony.
It is important for couples who marry in public registry offices to have a religious wedding too.
It is important for a funeral to include a religious ceremony.
Cronbach's Alpha = 0.7892

Table 9.A.2 Descriptive statistics of event-history models

	Mean	sd	Min	Max
Subepispodes with event	0.310	0.462	0	1
Birth cohort 1961–65 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.120	0.325	0	1
Birth cohort 1966–70 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.110	0.313	0	1
Birth cohort 1971–75 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.095	0.293	0	1
Birth cohort 1976–88 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.192	0.394	0	1
Turkish	0.209	0.406	0	1
Female gender	0.528	0.499	0	1
No. of siblings	2.153	1.848	0	17
Low education	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Medium education	0.365	0.481	0	1
High education, (Fach-Abitur)	0.202	0.402	0	1
Parents: no employment (1)	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Parents: blue collar working class (1)	0.036	0.186	0	1
Parents: peasants, self-employed	0.424	0.494	0	1
Parents: white collar, civil servants, professionals (1)	0.123	0.328	0	1
Parents: abitur, master craftsmen, academic (ref.: other)	0.210	0.407	0	1
Marriage period (+/− 6 Mon.)	0.101	0.302	0	1
Birth 1st child period (+/− 6 Mon.)	0.043	0.203	0	1
Training period, end school −2/+36 Mon	0.315	0.464	0	1
Born in Germany	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age immigration: 0–10 years	0.050	0.219	0	1
Age immigration: 11–17 years	0.042	0.200	0	1
Age immigration: 18+ years	0.027	0.161	0	1
Trad. attitude towards marriage	−0.097	0.954	−2.404	2.792
Trad. attitude towards marriage * marriage period	0.019	0.308	−2.404	2.792
Religiosity	−0.057	1.011	−2.056	1.757
Religiosity * marriage period	0.014	0.318	−2.056	1.757

N Subepisodes = 26209, N Persons = 8912, N Events = 8115

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Chapter 10
Occupational Mobility in the Life Course of Intermarried Ethnic Minorities

Raya Muttarak

10.1 Introduction

Current stratification research usually takes on an individualistic perspective focusing primarily on a social and economic position of individual men and women in the labour market. This approach, however, fails to recognise family and household context that plays a key role in understanding social inequality. Although early stratification research considers the role of family in social stratification, it emphasises only the status of the male family head as a key factor determining a social position of other family members (e.g. Blau and Duncan 1967; Goldthorpe 1980). It was not until recently, that family (all family members as a whole) was recognised as a key unit of analysis in explaining social inequality. Drobnič and Blossfeld (2004) highlight the importance of family properties – the properties of the relationships between individuals in the family – as one mechanism underlying a stratified access to positions in the labour market. Subsequently, they conduct an empirical research investigating how socio-economic assortative matings as well as upward and downward marriages affect labour market achievement of husbands and wives during the family life cycle.

While the study of the effects of marriage homogamy (e.g. in terms of education levels, income and occupational scores) on couples' socio-economic outcomes has become more common in stratification research, there have been fewer studies that focus on economic consequences of ethnic homogamy. Ethnic attachment is claimed to be one key factor inhibiting labour market achievement of immigrants (Gordon 1964). Lesser the contact with the native population, the lesser an opportunity for them to acquire language skills, human, cultural and social capital that could be

R. Muttarak (✉)
Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Via dei Roccettinig, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI), 50014, Italy
e-mail: raya.muttarak@eui.eu

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_10, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

useful for socio-economic advancement in the host country. On the other hand, marrying to a native could facilitate economic integration of an immigrant through enhancement of their social networks and having the know-how of a host country labour market. A study of the consequences of ethnic homogamy or interethnic marriages on immigrants' economic outcomes could thus add to the understanding of social stratification particularly among immigrant populations.

Not until recently have the economic consequences of intermarriage been investigated in immigrant populations. Recent economic studies on labour market outcomes of intermarried immigrants commonly find a positive association between marriage to a native and immigrants' economic achievement. Dribe and Lundh (2008) find that intermarried immigrant men and women in Sweden have higher individual and household income and are more likely to be employed than their non-intermarried counterparts. This study however does not deal with a plausible endogeneity problem of marital choice, that is immigrants who are successful in the host country labour market might be selected individuals who are also more likely to marry a native.

Other extant studies employ two-stage procedure and instrumental variable methods to deal with the endogeneity issue of intermarriage decision. It is reported that foreign-born men and women who are intermarried in Australia and France earn approximately 5% and 9–10% higher than their non-intermarried counterparts respectively (Meng and Gregory 2005; Meng and Meurs 2009). Meanwhile, Kantarevic (2004) does not find any wage premium for intermarried immigrants in the USA whereas Futardo and Theodoropoulos (2010) observe that the probability of employment for male immigrants married to natives increases by 2.5%. Although these studies control for the endogeneity of the intermarriage decision, they employ cross-sectional designs whereby factors associated with the probability of intermarriage are measured at the same time as an observed marital status. This makes it difficult to establish causal relationships between intermarriage decision and underlying factors that drive it.

Another issue with the previous studies of economic benefits from intermarriage is the definition of who belongs to a 'native' population. Regardless of ethno-cultural groups, extant studies treat any individuals who were born in a studied country as 'native'. As a result, a partnership between an immigrant and any individual born in the host country is regarded as 'intermarriage'. However, it is evident that native born children of foreign born parents do not necessarily achieve similar socio-economic attributes as the native population (Heath and Cheung 2007). Treating second and successive generation as 'native' could have affected the assessment of the economic benefits from intermarriage in the previous studies.

The present study expands the scope of the study of economic benefits from intermarriage in three respects:

First, this study uses longitudinal data which have the advantage in solving the problem of including prevailing partnerships in the analysis. The data allow us to select only single individuals at one time point as a study sample and observe the change in their marital status and socio-economic outcomes after a certain period

of time. This way we can use premarital characteristics to predict a partner choice. We can also avoid including partnerships contracted overseas in the sample.[1]

Second, this study distinguishes between first and second generation immigrants. Commonly studies on intermarriage premium treats the second generation as 'native' (See for example: Kantarevic 2004; Meng and Gregory 2005; Meng and Meurs 2009; Futardo and Theodoropoulos 2010). However, this could be misleading because the second generation do not necessarily share similar socio-economic and demographic characteristics with the majority native population. A union between first and second generation is unlikely to yield a similar influence on economic mobility to a union between a native and an immigrant. Thus, it is crucial for the study of the intermarriage premium to distinguish between native population and immigrants and among the immigrants, between first and second generations.

Third, this study provides new empirical evidence on economic benefits from intermarriages in Britain, a country that has not yet been explored. Britain has a long history of immigration and is one of the largest immigration countries in Europe. After the Irish immigration in the nineteenth century and the Jewish migration from Eastern Europe and the Russian Empire before the Great War, another major wave of immigration into Britain is that of the migrants from British former colonies such as the Indian subcontinent, West Indies, Hong Kong and Africa after the Second World War (Pilkington 2003). The 2001 Census reports that 4.6 millions or 7.9% of the population in Britain belong to non-White ethnic background. Indians were the largest non-white population (1.8% of the total population), followed by Pakistanis (1.3%), individuals with Mixed ethnic background (1.2%), Black Caribbeans (1%), Black Africans (0.8%), Bangladeshis (0.5%) and Chinese (0.4%) (Office for National Statistics 2004).

A significant proportion of these ethnic minorities are married to a native White British spouse. According to the 2001 Census, almost 2% of all marriages (or 198,000 marriages) in Britain involve one White British person and one minority ethnic member (Office for National Statistics 2005). The rates of intermarriage however vary by ethnic groups ranging from 6% or lower for Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis to almost 30% for Black Caribbean men and Chinese women. Although it is found that interethnic marriage is on the rise (Muttarak 2010), still there has not been much empirical research on intermarriage in Britain (as compared to the USA, Canada and Australia) and particularly no research on the benefits from intermarriage.

Despite their relatively successful educational attainment, non-White ethnic minorities remain disadvantaged in the British labour market. They have lower wages, lower chance of occupational mobility and higher chance of being unemployed

[1] Partnerships contracted overseas are embedded in a different context with partnerships formed in the host country. Including these partnerships in the analysis could bias the estimation of immigrants' partner choice in the host country.

compared to British born white persons (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2010; Heath and McMahon 2005). One explanation for poor labour market outcomes of members of minority groups is that they lack bridging social ties which can link them to social resources and access to labour market in a host society (Portes 1995). Marrying a native can intuitively provide access to host country networks and facilitate immigrants' social mobility likewise. A study of economic consequences of intermarriage thus is one way to understand labour market inequality of ethnic minorities.

The present study draws on a life course approach and a sample of 2,041 ethnic minorities from the Longitudinal Study (LS), a dataset comprising linked censuses and event records for 1% of the population of England and Wales, to examine the relationship over time between interethnic union and occupational mobility (a measure of economic success in this study). Using the linked 1991 and 2001 Censuses, this study selects a sample of ethnic minority members who were single in 1991 and investigates whether those who intermarried by 2001 have a better chance of moving to a higher occupational position in 2001, accounting for the endogeneity of being in an interethnic union. Here interethnic union refers to a marriage or cohabitation where one partner is a native and the other is a minority ethnic member.[2] We find that having a native spouse increases the chance of occupational mobility for immigrant men and women by 6 and 14% respectively. The likelihood of achieving upward occupational mobility is slightly lower for the intermarried of the second generation as compared to the first generation. Our interpretation is that the union with a native spouse facilitates immigrants' socio-cultural integration and subsequently enhances their labour market achievement.

The paper is organised as follows. The next section draws upon theoretical concepts that explain the underlying mechanisms of how intermarriage could affect socio-economic attainment of immigrants. Specific hypotheses to be tested are then derived from the theoretical discussion. Next the data is described and a descriptive result is presented. Following this, statistical methods and results of a multivariate analysis are discussed. The concluding section discusses the implications of the empirical results in answering the research hypotheses.

10.2 Theoretical Considerations and Research Hypotheses

The hypothesised economic premium from interethnic unions can be explained through the two key principles in the life course paradigm, namely, linked lives and human agency.

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[2]In this study, 'native' refers to individuals who chose the ethnic category 'White British' according to the ethnic classification in the 2001 Census. Ethnic minorities are identified through a self-reported ethnicity question in the 2001 Census. Individuals who reported their ethnic group other than 'White British' in the 2001 Census ethnic classification are treated as an ethnic minority.

10.2.1 Principle of Linked Lives

The principle of linked lives emphasises that lives are lived interdependently and individuals are embedded in social relationships (e.g. couples, families, and peers) (Elder 1975, 1994). The initiation of new relationships can lead to a change in behaviour as well as form the transitions and trajectories of an individual. Accordingly, marriage can provide new social connection and shape an individual's life course. For example, since a married individual generally has an opportunity to meet some of his/her partner's contacts, this expanded social network can benefit one's labour market performance likewise (Erickson 2004).

This kind of capital generated from the structure of personal relationships is coined 'social capital'. Social relationships create social capital through various mechanisms: establishing obligations and expectations; providing information channels; and creating norms and effective sanctions (Coleman 1990). In the area of labour market performance, it is found that social ties lower job search costs and increase the probability of getting a job, especially a job with a higher wage (Granovetter 1974). The influence of social capital on one's economic success, however, appears to vary with social class, gender, and ethnicity. Lin (1999) reports that the positive influence of social capital on economic success is mostly due to having a connection with middle-class networks. In terms of gender, men are documented to have more diverse, larger, work, and organisation related ties, whereas female ties tend to be located among kin and neighbours (Campbell 1988; Moore 1990). Male networks thus expose men to information about possible job openings, business opportunities and chances for professional achievement whereas female networks are disadvantaged from an economic perspective due to their smaller size and lesser diversity.

The diversity of social networks also varies between ethnic groups. There is evidence that blacks and other minority groups in the USA have less diverse networks than whites. Ethnic minorities' networks tend to involve local ties, stronger ties, and family and kin ties, all of which might not be useful within the mainstream labour market (Portes 1998; Green et al. 1999). The lack of diverse social connections to mainstream institutions could result in the labour market disadvantage of ethnic minorities (Heath and McMahon 2005).

The social capital literature implies that individuals from a lower social class, women, and members of minority ethnic groups are not well-connected in social networks that can promote their labour market success. Nevertheless, the diversity of one's social capital could be increased through the social connections of a spouse (Erickson 2004). It is, therefore, sensible to assume that an immigrant whose partner belongs to the native population will naturally be connected with the native partner's social ties. Once receiving recognition in the native partner's social resources, the intermarried immigrants are expected to benefit from the flow of useful job related information, the advantage of having connections in the organisation, and so on.

10.2.2 Principle of Human Agency

The principle of human agency holds that life course is largely constructed by individuals' decisions and actions taken within opportunities and structural constraints (Elder et al. 2003). With respect to assimilation, apart from the influences of social, economic and political conditions in destination countries, the progress of migrants after immigration depends on both their initial characteristics at entry and their decisions to adapt and assimilate such as decisions to acquire host country language skills or qualifications and to naturalize (Jasso 2003).

Accordingly, in a host country, where the melting-pot or Anglo conformity is a model of assimilation as perhaps in the USA, it was argued that it is beneficial for immigrants to give up their ethnic identification and languages and instead conform to the dominant culture (Park 1950; Gordon 1964). This is because ethnic attachment (e.g. ethnic culture, identity, norms, social networks, and institutional affiliations) may induce social marginality and limit the acquisition of human, social, and cultural capital which in turn impedes social mobility.

Generally, intermarriage discourages ethnic attachment because it reduces the opportunity for families to transmit a coherent ethnic culture to children (Pagnini and Morgan 1990). Intermarriage also lessens the social distance between immigrants and natives. For example, associating with a native spouse should improve an immigrant's language proficiency, which is one crucial human capital for labour market success. The native spouse can also provide knowledge about the host society's culture and manners and assist with cultural adaptation which may help to reduce discrimination in the labour market. It thus can be assumed from the assimilation perspective that intermarriage helps to minimize ethnic distinction and facilitates socio-economic integration of intermarried immigrants.

This socio-economic benefit from intermarriage however, might be less applicable to second and successive generations. According to the classic assimilation theory, assimilation occurs in a 'straight-line' process whereby the foreign-born first generation are the least assimilated because they are less exposed to host society culture (Park and Burgess 1921; Gordon 1964). Subsequently, the native born second generation are better assimilated than their parents because growing up in the host society gives them opportunities to acquire language proficiency and adopt native culture from the first stage of their socialisation. Brought up by parents born in the host society, the successive generations will eventually become like the mainstream natives. If this thesis holds true, the second and successive generations will not benefit as much as the first generation from having a native spouse because they themselves grew up and are well connected in the host society.

The above theoretical accounts suggest the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 Intermarried immigrants have better labour market outcomes than those who are not because the native spouse enhances their social networks and social integration.

Hypothesis 2 Intermarried immigrant women receive larger economic premium than intermarried immigrant men because they are connected to native male networks which are reported to have more job-related resources than female networks.

Hypothesis 3 The intermarried of the second generation receive lower intermarriage premium than the first generation because they have already been socialized in the host country culture so the native spouse does not facilitate their integration as much as in the first generation.

10.3 Data and Measures

The empirical analysis is based on the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Longitudinal Study data (LS) which links successive Censuses from 1971, 1981, 1991, and 2001, covering 1% sample of the population of England and Wales.[3] The sample was initially obtained from the 1971 Census, based on four birth dates (day and month) in the calendar year. The sample is updated at each Census year and accounts for approximately 540,000 people at any one census.

The LS data are the most appropriate to investigate the economic consequences of interethnic partnerships because it is the largest longitudinal dataset available in Britain and contains a sufficient number of individuals with immigration background to perform statistical analyses. The LS also includes information on household members making it possible to identify whom an LS member is married to or cohabiting with.

Since a direct ethnicity question was asked only in 1991 and onwards, this study employs a linked LS data from the 1991 and 2001 Censuses. The sample selected for the analysis consists of LS members who: (a) were present both in 1991 and 2001; (b) were usual residents in private households; (c) aged between 18 and 55 years old in 1991; (d) were single in 1991; and (e) reported their ethnicity other than ‘White British, White Irish or White other’ in the 2001 Census ethnic classification. Same sex couples are excluded from the analysis. Finally a sample of 945 men and 1,096 women from non-white minority ethnic groups was obtained.

10.3.1 Measure of the ‘Intermarriage Premium’

In this study, occupational mobility is used as an indicator of labour market success.

Occupations are grouped according to the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC). This scheme is an occupationally based classification

[3] See http://www.celsius.lshtm.ac.uk for more details about the data.

that has rules to provide coverage of the whole adult population. Individuals are coded to NS-SEC according to their occupational categories, the size of the establishment they work at and their employment status (e.g. employer, self-employed, or employee). NS-SEC does not only incorporate individuals who are in paid employment but also provides separate categories for economically inactive individuals such as those who are in long-term unemployment, those who never worked, and full-time students.

In this study, NS-SEC is collapsed into five socio-economic classes: (1) higher managerial and professional occupations; (2) lower managerial and professional occupations; (3) intermediate occupations; (4) lower supervisory and technical occupations; and (5) semi-routine and routine occupations.[4] Those who are unemployed, never worked, and those who are economically inactive are classified into a separate category.

Occupational outcome is then compared across different marital statuses and types of union as of 2001. Marital status is divided into three categories: single, co-ethnic married, and intermarried. (See Appendix for the distribution of marital statuses in 2001 by gender, generation and ethnicity.) ‘Single’ refers to an individual who was not married or cohabiting during the period of study 1991–2001. ‘Co-ethnic married’ refers to an individual who was married to or cohabiting with a spouse from the same ethnic group in 2001. ‘Intermarried’ refers to an individual who is married to or cohabiting with a native spouse in 2001. The union between immigrants from different ethnic groups is excluded from the analysis because of very small numbers and because our main research question is to investigate the influence of the unions with a native spouse on the labour market outcomes of intermarried immigrants.

It should also be noted that the LS data does not record the date of marriage/cohabitation making it impossible to identify whether during the two Census years, 1991 and 2001, occupational mobility is achieved before or after a union was formed. If a union was formed after occupational mobility is achieved, a causal direction is then reverse. Still, the LS has an advantage over cross-sectional data used by previous studies. The data allows us to examine whether amongst immigrants who were single in 1991, but were intermarried in 2001 achieved better occupational attainment compared to those who remained single or became co-ethnic married. This way prevailing partnerships are excluded from the analysis.

[4]This five-class version is different from that given by the ONS (See https://www.ons.gov.uk/about-statistics/classifications/current/ns-sec for information on NS-SEC classes and user guideline). This paper distinguishes between higher and lower managerial and professional occupations while the original ONS version does not. In addition, while the original version distinguishes between intermediate occupations and small employers and own account workers, the two classes are combined in this paper. Technically it is recommended that the self-employed should be treated as a separate class because they are distinctive in their life chances and behaviour. This paper nevertheless combines the self-employed with those in intermediate occupations for an analytical purpose.

10.4 Descriptive Results

The percentage distribution of occupational positions (NS-SEC) in 2001 according to marital status in 2001 is given in Tables 10.1 and 10.2, for men and women respectively. Note that the sample used to present the distribution of occupational positions in 2001 excludes individuals who were in higher professional/managerial occupations in 1991.

Tables 10.1 indicates that for most ethnic groups, men who were intermarried in 2001 have better occupational attainment than their counterparts who remained single or who were co-ethnic married, i.e., a higher proportion of individuals in professional/managerial occupations and a lower proportion of individuals in routine/manual occupations. This pattern is evident for Black Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani & Bangladeshi men whereby around half of the intermarried secured higher and lower professional/managerial occupations in 2001 and only one-fifth of them were present in routine/manual occupations.

Table 10.2 displays a similar occupational attainment pattern for intermarried women in 2001. Not only that ethnic minority women with a native partner generally have lower proportion of those in routine/manual occupations, for some groups such as Black Caribbean, Indian and other ethnic, the proportion of those in higher professional/managerial occupations is also notably much higher amongst the intermarried compared to the single or co-ethnic married.

As for generational difference, it is evident that the labour market attainment gap between the intermarried and the single or the co-ethnic married is higher among the first generation than the second generation. For both men and women alike, the intermarried first generation exhibit much higher proportion of those in higher professional/managerial occupations and much lower proportion of those in routine/manual occupations than their single or co-ethnic married peers. Intermarried second generation men on the other hand do not necessarily have better occupational attainment than the single and the co-ethnic married while intermarried second generation women show slightly better labour market attainment than other partnership types.

The descriptive results suggest that, in general, those who are intermarried have better occupational attainment than those who are not. The pattern of occupational distribution is rather similar for men and women whereby intermarried first generation fare distinctively better in the labour market than those who stay single or are co-ethnic married. There is however no distinctively clear pattern with respect to ethnic difference in intermarriage premium. This is probably because the distribution of partnership type differs substantially between ethnic groups and the sample size could get very small for certain ethnic groups especially for those in an interethnic partnership.

Table 10.1 Percentage distribution of men's occupational position in 2001 by marital status in 2001

	High professional/ managerial	Low professional/ managerial	Intermediate	Low supervisory	Routine & manual	N
First generation						
Stay single	14.6	18.5	20.8	8.5	37.7	130
Co-ethnic married	13.7	15.2	29.7	7.2	34.2	263
Intermarried	27.6	31.0	24.1	0.0	17.2	29
Second generation						
Stay single	9.8	27.5	23.0	13.5	26.2	244
Co-ethnic married	20.9	20.1	17.9	16.4	24.6	134
Intermarried	10.6	28.3	19.5	13.3	28.3	113
Mixed						
Stay single	5.7	30.0	18.6	15.7	30.0	70
Co-ethnic married	0.0	57.1	0.0	0.0	42.9	7
Intermarried	19.0	20.7	22.4	12.1	25.9	58
Black Caribbean						
Stay single	8.4	27.4	22.1	10.5	31.6	95
Co-ethnic married	7.9	26.3	23.7	18.4	23.7	38
Intermarried	10.8	27.0	10.8	16.2	35.1	37
Black African and Black other						
Stay single	7.1	28.6	28.6	7.1	28.6	42
Co-ethnic married	36.4	22.7	9.1	0.0	31.8	22
Intermarried	0.0	40.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	5
Indian						
Stay single	15.5	28.2	23.9	12.7	19.7	71
Co-ethnic married	26.1	16.3	19.6	11.8	26.1	153
Intermarried	8.3	41.7	29.2	8.3	12.5	24
Pakistani and Bangladeshi						
Stay single	20.5	11.4	18.2	11.4	38.6	44
Co-ethnic married	4.4	12.6	33.3	10.4	39.3	135
Intermarried	0.0	60.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	5
Other ethnic						
Stay single	18.2	13.6	31.8	18.2	18.2	22
Co-ethnic married	20.0	24.0	24.0	0.0	32.0	25
Intermarried	0.0	37.5	0.0	37.5	25.0	8

Source: ONS longitudinal study (2001)
Note: (1) The sample excludes those who were in higher professional/managerial positions in 1991 (2) The results for Chinese cannot be shown here for a confidentiality reason

Table 10.2 Percentage distribution of women's occupational position in 2001 by marital status in 2001

	High professional/managerial	Low professional/managerial	Intermediate	Low supervisory	Routine & manual	N
First generation						
Stay single	7.7	36.2	32.1	3.6	20.4	221
Co-ethnic married	5.6	22.4	25.9	7.0	39.2	143
Intermarried	20.8	37.5	27.1	4.2	10.4	48
Second generation						
Stay single	10.5	34.9	26.2	5.0	23.4	401
Co-ethnic married	7.1	32.1	34.3	4.3	22.1	140
Intermarried	10.5	35.8	28.4	4.2	21.1	95
Mixed						
Stay single	11.3	30.9	24.7	9.3	23.7	97
Co-ethnic married	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	4
Intermarried	10.9	30.9	32.7	5.5	20.0	55
Black Caribbean						
Stay single	7.2	36.6	30.8	2.9	22.5	276
Co-ethnic married	3.2	27.0	39.7	6.3	23.8	63
Intermarried	8.7	34.8	26.1	0.0	30.4	23
Black African & Black other						
Stay single	9.2	40.8	14.3	3.1	32.7	98
Co-ethnic married	11.5	42.3	19.2	0.0	26.9	26
Intermarried	0.0	42.9	57.1	0.0	0.0	7
Indian						
Stay single	17.7	31.6	32.9	5.1	12.7	79
Co-ethnic married	8.3	29.6	29.6	5.6	26.9	108
Intermarried	22.2	37.0	29.6	0.0	11.1	27
Pakistani & Bangladeshi						
Stay single	0.0	26.3	63.2	0.0	10.5	19
Co-ethnic married	4.5	15.2	24.2	7.6	48.5	66
Intermarried	0.0	37.5	37.5	0.0	25.0	8
Other ethnic						
Stay single	9.4	40.6	31.3	6.3	12.5	32
Co-ethnic married	12.5	37.5	18.8	12.5	18.8	16
Intermarried	29.4	47.1	11.8	0.0	11.8	17

Source: ONS longitudinal study (2001)
Note: (1) The sample excludes those who were in higher professional/managerial positions in 1991 (2) The results for Chinese cannot be shown here for a confidentiality reason

10.4.1 Multivariate Models

Although the descriptive findings provide an introductory view of the occupational attainment pattern of intermarried immigrants, Tables 10.1 and 10.2 ignore the human capital and demographic differences between those who are intermarried and those who are not. It is also important to consider the endogeneity of marital choice. For example, if highly ambitious individuals are more likely to be intermarried, then they will unsurprisingly have better labour market outcomes than other groups. These unobserved characteristics raise both their chance of partnering with a native spouse as well as being successful in a host country labour market. To address these issues, we employ instrumental variable models which take into account the influences of socio-economic characteristics on immigrants' labour market outcomes and the endogeneity of intermarriage.

Dependent variable:

- Moving to a higher occupational position

Because the key interest is to assess whether interethnic unions enhance the social mobility of ethnic minority members or not, the dependent variable is a binary response coding '1' for those who moved to a higher occupational position in 2001 and '0' for those who did not change their occupation or moved to a lower occupational position.

10.4.1.1 Estimation Equations

The baseline equation for the probability of achieving upward mobility in 2001 can be specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} Y_i^* &= X'_i\beta_{10} + Z'_i\beta_{11} + R'_i\beta_{12} + \delta_1 C_i + \delta_2 I_i + \varepsilon_i \\ Y_i &= 1\, if\ Y_i^* > 0 \end{aligned} \tag{10.1}$$

where i indexes individuals and Y^* is an unobserved latent variable. Y_i equals one if an individual$_i$ has moved to a higher occupation in 2001 (in which case $Y_i^* > 0$), and zero otherwise ($Y_i^* \leq 0$). X_i is a vector of demographic variables including ethnic group, religion, age in 2001 and place of birth. Z_i is a vector of measure of human capital in 1991 including educational qualification, Cambridge Scale of Occupations, and health condition in 2001. R_i is a region of residence in 1991. The variable C_i is the indicator for individuals who are co-ethnic married in 2001; and I_i is the indicator for individuals who are intermarried in 2001. Individuals who remain single (from 1991 to 2001) are used as a reference group. There is an intermarriage premium if $\delta_2 > \delta_1$.

We can examine the effect of the change in marital status on occupational mobility straightforwardly by fitting Eq. 10.1 to the data. However, marital choice

might not be a random process, i.e., individuals may be self-selected into being single, co-ethnic married or intermarried. It is possible that some unobserved characteristics such as motivation or ability that yield positive effects on labour market achievement also promote interethnic partnerships. In this case, the chance of achieving upward mobility and the chance of being in an interethnic union vary jointly. If intermarriage is determined endogenously with occupational mobility, then δ_2 is biased and using a probit model to estimate the effect of intermarriage on occupational mobility will yield unreliable estimates of the causal effect. Hence, it is necessary to account for this joint distribution when estimating the coefficients.

This potential endogeneity bias can be written in the form of simultaneous equations where Eq. 10.1 presents the probability of achieving upward mobility and Eq. 10.2 presents the probability of being in an interethnic union.

$$\begin{aligned} I_i &= X'_i\beta_{10} + Z'_i\beta_{11} + A'_i\beta_{13} + v_i \\ I_i &= 1 \; if \; I_i^* > 0 \end{aligned} \tag{10.2}$$

where I* is an unobserved latent variable taking the value of one if the individual$_i$ is intermarried in 2001 ($I_i^* > 0$) and zero otherwise ($I_i^* \leq 0$). A_i is the vector of instrumental variables that are correlated with I_i but not ε_i. These variables include group size and sex ratio. These exogenous observables, which are assumed to affect marital choice but not directly affect occupational outcomes, serve as instruments, allowing I_i to be identified.

The coefficient of interest is $\delta_{2.}$ Because the occupational outcome and marital choice are both discrete, bivariate probit is an appropriate model to estimate this type of simultaneous equation. This model is equivalent to an instrumental variables model and is used when both the dependent variable and endogenous variable are binary (Wooldridge 2002:477–478). The probability that an individual moved up to a higher occupational position given that s/he is intermarried, then, is

$$\Pr(Y = 1 | M_2 = 1) = \frac{\Pr(Y = 1, M_2 = 1)}{\Pr(M_2 = 1)}$$

Equations 10.1 and 10.2 are estimated simultaneously with recursive bivariate probit analysis. This method allows a correlation between the residuals of the two equations. We assume that the error terms ε_i and ν_i are correlated and have a bivariate normal distribution.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon \\ \upsilon \end{bmatrix} \sim N\left(\begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} 1 & \rho \\ \rho & 1 \end{bmatrix} \right)$$

Maximum likelihood is used to obtain parameter estimates with $\text{cov}(\varepsilon_{i,}\nu_i) \neq 0 = \rho$. ρ is an auxiliary parameter that accounts for the correlation across the two equations. If a likelihood ratio test shows ρ is insignificant, it means there is no correlation

between the residuals of the two equations, i.e., no endogeneity bias is present. In this case, it is sufficient to use the probit model to estimate Eq. 10.1. If ρ is non-zero, then intermarriage is regarded as endogenous. In this case, the probit results are biased, and the bivariate probit model should be used.

10.4.1.2 Empirical Specification

Equation 10.1: Probability of Moving to a Higher Occupational Position

Independent Variable

Marital status. Measured in 2001, marital status is categorised into three marital statuses: single, co-ethnic married and intermarried.

Control Variables

Ethnicity. Measured in 2001, ethnicity is categorised into seven ethnic categories: Black Caribbean, Black African & Black other, Mixed ethnic, Indian, Pakistani & Bangladeshi, Chinese and other ethnic group.[5] The chance of achieving upward mobility in Britain is generally found to vary considerably with ethnic origins (Heath and McMahon 2005; Platt 2005).

Generation. Generation is divided into two categories. Ethnic minorities who were born outside Britain are classified as 'first generation' whereas those who were born in Britain are classified as 'second generation'. The labour market outcomes of the two groups could differ whereby the second generation, who were brought up and received education in Britain, are more likely to fare better in the labour market because they have closer socio-cultural characteristics to the native White British (Dustmann et al. 2003).

Age. Measured in 2001, age is divided in to seven age groups: 26–35, 36–40, 41–45, 46–50, 51–55, 56–60, and 61–65. Age is coded as a categorical variable because the effect of age on occupational mobility is assumed to be non-linear.

Religious affiliation. Measured in 2001, religious affiliation is classified into eight categories: Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, other religion, no religion, and information on religion not available. There is evidence that labour market attainment varies not only with ethnic background but also with religious affiliation (Brown 2000; Lindley 2002).

Having a limiting long-term illness. Measured in 1991, this is a dummy variable coded 1 if an individual had a limiting long-term illness, health problem or disability

[5] Although interethnic unions between Irish or White other with native White British are very common, they are excluded from this study. This is because their migration history, cultural and language background as well socio-economic composition differ substantially from non-White minority groups.

and 0 otherwise. Being in poor health conditions could limit individuals' daily activities or the work they can do which consequently hinder their labour market performance.

Educational qualification. Measured in 1991, educational qualification is categorised into three hierarchical categories: none or other qualification, sub-degree qualification (professional or vocational qualifications) and degree or postgraduate qualification.[6] Educational attainment plays a key role in labour market success particularly for immigrants (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2010).

Cambridge scale of occupations. Measured in 1991, Cambridge Scale is a continuous score representing an occupational unit's relative position within the national order of social interaction and stratification, taking the value 00.01–99.99. Higher scores reflect greater advantage along the stratification dimension.[7] This variable is introduced as a control for the origin state occupation.

Economic activity. Measured in 1991, economic activity is divided into four categories: working full-time, working part-time, self-employed, and other economic position. Employment status can affect occupational mobility. Part-time employment, for example, is found to be negatively associated with upward mobility because a part-time job commonly involves low-paid and low-status job (Elliott and Egerton 2001).

Region of residence. Measured in 1991, region of residence is divided into five regions: London, North, Midlands, South and Wales. This variable is added to account for regional differences in the labour market structure.

Equation 10.2: Probability of Intermarriage

Independent Variables

The independent variables selected in the equation estimating the probability of marriage are demographic and socio-economic characteristics found to be associated with the propensity to intermarriage in previous literature on interethnic partnership formation (Muttarak and Heath 2010). All variables are measured in 1991 except for religious affiliation. Note that ideally, religion measured in 1991 should be used but this question was asked only in the 2001 Census. Thus, readers should be aware that in this case religion might not be a determinant of intermarriage but a consequence of certain individuals converting to the religion of the spouse.

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[6]It should be noted that the 1991 Census records limited details of educational qualifications. Only the information about higher qualifications obtained after the age of eighteen was collected. This study therefore could only distinguish between 'degree' and 'sub-degree' qualifications while the rest includes all individuals with other/ no qualification or missing information on qualification.

[7]For further information on Cambridge Scale of Occupations see http://www.camsis.stir.ac.uk for a detailed background of the scale development and Prandy (1990) for a thorough evaluation of the scale.

Ethnicity, Generation, Religious affiliation and Educational qualification – as described above.

Birth cohort. This is divided into seven cohorts: 1936–1940, 1941–1945, 1946–1950, 1951–1955, 1956–1960, 1961–1965 and 1966–1975 cohorts.

Employment status. This is divided into three categories: in employment, unemployed/economically inactive and full-time student. Employment status implies an opportunity context where individuals can meet their potential partners. Those in employment or full-time education might have wider contact with native population in the workplace and educational institutions.

Instrumental Variables

Group size. Group size is measured as:

$$Group\ size^{e}_{ic} = \frac{n^{w}_{c}}{n^{e}_{c}}$$

where the group size of individual i from ethnic group e equals the ratio of the number of white natives in county c to the number of members from ethnic group e in county c. We take the log of group size to reduce the degree of skewness. This variable is measured at a county level (geographical area of residence in 1991) rather than at a national one because inter-group contacts are likely to take place locally. Although the exact information on date of marriage/cohabitation is not available in the LS data, we know that the LS members selected in our sample formed a partnership some time between 1991 and 2001. Our measurement of the effect of group size on the propensity to intermarry in this data is therefore rather accurate since we know that the area of residence in 1991 is not a consequence of individuals changing address after partnership formation.

Sex ratio. This variable is also measured at a county level and is based on the geographical area of residence in 1991. The sex ratio for an individual i is defined as:

$$Sex\ ratio^{f}_{iec} = \frac{n^{m}_{ec}}{n^{f}_{ec}}$$

where n^{m}_{ec} and n^{f}_{ec} are the number of males and females, respectively, from ethnic group e living in county c. The log transformation of sex ratio is used to reduce skewness. A sex ratio greater than 1 indicates that the number of men from ethnic group e living in county c exceeds that of women from ethnic group e living in county c. This could promote out-group marriage for men and in-group marriage for women.

10.4.1.3 Results from Probit and Bivariate Probit Models

As described above, we estimate the occupational mobility equation jointly with the probability of the intermarriage equation using bivariate probit models. Table 10.3

Table 10.3 Probit estimates of probability of intermarriage by gender

	Men		Women	
	B	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*
Ethnic group: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Mix	**0.743**	0.155	**1.001**	0.158
Black African & Black other	**−0.594**	0.256	−0.172	0.201
Indian	*0.440*	0.230	**0.531**	0.266
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	−0.171	0.318	0.409	0.347
Chinese	−0.292	0.287	0.366	0.310
Other ethnic	0.226	0.277	**0.984**	0.236
Second generation	**0.402**	0.153	0.036	0.134
Birth cohort: 1966–1975 (ref)				
1961–1965	**0.308**	0.137	−0.199	0.136
1956–1960	*0.321*	0.184	**−0.435**	0.196
1951–1955	*−0.567*	0.338	**−0.429**	0.223
1946–1950	−0.585	0.526	−0.444	0.299
1941–1945	−0.394	0.447	−0.599	0.381
1936–1940	−0.393	0.424	**−8.449**	0.167
Religious affiliation: Christian (ref)				
Religion NA	**−0.404**	0.192	*−0.370*	0.204
Hindu	**−1.156**	0.263	**−0.618**	0.274
Muslim	**−0.663**	0.247	**−0.628**	0.297
Sikh	**−1.197**	0.299	**−1.029**	0.393
Other religion	**−6.993**	0.355	−0.454	0.307
No religion	0.068	0.157	−0.188	0.182
Education: Degree qualification (ref)				
Subdegree qualification	−0.380	0.306	0.249	0.228
No/other qualification	0.004	0.215	**−0.362**	0.179
Employment status: In employment (ref)				
Unemployed-economically inactive	−0.239	0.149	−0.096	0.148
Full-time student	**0.510**	0.216	**0.517**	0.164
Instrumental variables				
Log group size	**0.057**	0.029	0.022	0.031
Log sex ratio	−0.219	0.141	−0.089	0.115
Constant	−1.380	0.305	−0.900	0.264
N	945		1,096	

Source: ONS longitudinal study (1991) and (2001)
Note: Statistically significant results at least at the .05 and .10 levels are highlighted in bold and italicised respectively

reports the estimation results for the intermarriage equation. Tables 10.4 and 10.5 report the estimation results for the occupational mobility equation for men and women, respectively. The sample selected for this analysis excludes individuals who were in higher professional/managerial position in 1991 because there is no room for these people to move up higher (N = 2,041).

Table 10.4 Probit and bivariate probit estimates of probability of moving to higher occupation in 2001 for ethnic minority men

	Probit models				Bivariate probit models			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	B	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*
Marital status: Stay single (ref)								
Co-ethnic married	0.308	0.252	0.048	0.111	0.059	0.101	0.044	0.103
Intermarried	0.072	0.110	0.517	0.357	**1.775**	0.342	**1.885**	0.433
Interaction terms								
Intermarried*Second generation	−0.405	0.282	**−0.663**	0.309	**−0.579**	0.222	**−0.741**	0.255
Intermarried*Mix			0.327	0.317			0.143	0.269
Intermarried*South Asian			−0.350	0.370			−0.184	0.304
Intermarried*other ethnic group			−0.411	0.480			−0.403	0.378
Ethnic group: Black Caribbean (ref)								
Mix	0.148	0.152	0.013	0.185	−0.171	0.169	−0.222	0.186
Black African & Black other	−0.116	0.183	−0.119	0.185	0.032	0.179	0.028	0.182
Indian	**0.492**	0.192	**0.557**	0.207	0.276	0.197	0.328	0.220
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	0.235	0.227	0.277	0.236	0.179	0.215	0.213	0.226
Chinese	**0.500**	0.243	**0.547**	0.254	**0.485**	0.242	**0.546**	0.245
Other ethnic	0.173	0.227	0.246	0.240	0.046	0.224	0.127	0.230
Second generation	0.097	0.118	0.119	0.119	0.014	0.112	0.033	0.116
Age: 26–35 years old (ref)								
36–40 years old	**−0.492**	0.116	**−0.491**	0.118	**−0.512**	0.108	**−0.515**	0.110
41–45 years old	*−0.144*	0.153	−0.161	0.153	−0.227	0.147	−0.237	0.148
46–50 years old	**−0.547**	0.217	**−0.547**	0.219	**−0.485**	0.216	**−0.487**	0.217
51–55 years old	**−0.619**	0.288	**−0.619**	0.285	*−0.470*	0.288	*−0.476*	0.288
56–60 years old	**−0.741**	0.285	**−0.741**	0.287	**−0.668**	0.281	**−0.673**	0.283
61–65 years old	−0.365	0.254	−0.370	0.256	−0.304	0.242	−0.310	0.245

Religious affiliation: Christian (ref)								
Religion not available	−0.234	0.167	−0.239	0.167	−0.059	0.164	−0.072	0.169
Hindu	−0.315	0.207	*−0.357*	0.210	0.043	0.227	0.002	0.245
Muslim	−0.243	0.195	−0.256	0.198	−0.002	0.199	−0.017	0.209
Sikh	*−0.419*	0.229	**−0.459**	0.234	−0.029	0.247	−0.067	0.267
Other religion	−0.548	0.361	−0.585	0.371	−0.203	0.372	−0.251	0.383
No religion	**−0.378**	0.148	**−0.378**	0.148	**−0.341**	0.144	**−0.345**	0.145
Have limiting long term illness	**−0.430**	0.145	**−0.419**	0.146	**−0.335**	0.145	**−0.336**	0.150
Education: Degree qualification (ref)								
High qualification	0.140	0.245	0.130	0.245	0.227	0.235	0.218	0.235
No/other qualification	**−0.516**	0.185	**−0.525**	0.187	**−0.432**	0.183	**−0.447**	0.186
Cambridge scale of occupations score	**−0.010**	0.003	**−0.009**	0.003	**−0.009**	0.003	**−0.009**	0.003
Employment status: Full-time (ref)								
Part-time	−0.168	0.204	−0.156	0.207	−0.200	0.178	−0.187	0.181
Self-employed	**−0.557**	0.165	**−0.586**	0.165	**−0.496**	0.154	**−0.524**	0.156
Other economic activities	0.067	0.106	0.075	0.106	0.088	0.100	0.093	0.100
Region of residence: London (ref)								
North	−0.093	0.131	−0.098	0.132	−0.078	0.117	−0.085	0.119
Midlands	**−0.334**	0.126	**−0.331**	0.126	**−0.284**	0.120	**−0.288**	0.122
South	−0.128	0.122	−0.126	0.123	−0.131	0.109	−0.134	0.110
Wales	*−0.659*	0.351	−0.680	0.344	*−0.518*	0.312	*−0.538*	0.311
Constant	0.867	0.290	0.861	0.295	0.560	0.294	0.568	0.307
ρ (correlation between two equations)					**−0.784**	0.176	**−0.755**	0.214
	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Wald z-test for coethnic = interethnic	0.89	0.346	1.7	0.192	24.79	0.000	17.84	0.000
Log-likelihood (df)	−591.553	(33)	−589.534	(36)	−901.134	(61)	−900.065	(64)
N				945				

Source: ONS longitudinal study (1991) and (2001)
Note: Statistically significant results at least at the .05 and .10 levels are highlighted in bold and italicised respectively

Table 10.5 Probit and bivariate probit estimates of probability of moving to higher occupation in 2001 for ethnic minority women

	Probit models				Bivariate probit models			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	B	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*	*B*	*S.E.*
Marital status: Stay single (ref)								
Intermarried	**−0.254**	0.109	**−0.266**	0.110	**−0.263**	0.102	**−0.271**	0.102
Co-ethnic married	0.205	0.201	0.353	0.312	**1.574**	0.342	**2.186**	0.335
Interaction terms								
Intermarried*Second generation	−0.388	0.242	−0.465	0.267	**−0.394**	0.196	**−0.486**	0.189
Intermarried*Mix			−0.019	0.314			**−0.445**	0.226
Intermarried*South Asian			−0.264	0.351			−0.396	0.247
Intermarried*other ethnic group			−0.184	0.398			**−0.615**	0.299
Ethnic group: Black Caribbean (ref)								
Mix	0.195	0.133	0.179	0.151	−0.178	0.154	−0.164	0.143
Black African & Black other	0.191	0.132	0.195	0.132	0.206	0.128	*0.218*	0.130
Indian	0.186	0.194	0.238	0.205	−0.043	0.201	−0.030	0.205
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	−0.224	0.263	−0.170	0.270	−0.362	0.251	−0.311	0.251
Chinese	0.000	0.274	0.030	0.282	−0.159	0.266	−0.075	0.261
Other ethnic	**0.564**	0.194	**0.600**	0.211	0.164	0.224	0.195	0.205
Second generation	**0.352**	0.110	**0.365**	0.112	**0.319**	0.106	**0.329**	0.105
Age: 26–35 years old (ref)								
36–40 years old	**−0.212**	0.103	**−0.207**	0.103	−0.135	0.103	−0.136	0.089
41–45 years old	**−0.319**	0.146	**−0.308**	0.147	−0.171	0.142	−0.144	0.137
46–50 years old	*−0.322*	0.188	*−0.315*	0.189	−0.176	0.184	−0.126	0.173
51–55 years old	*−0.476*	0.251	*−0.469*	0.252	−0.309	0.250	−0.230	0.228
56–60 years old	−0.668	0.340	**−0.669**	0.342	−0.464	0.325	−0.359	0.316
61–65 years old	−0.747	0.463	−0.741	0.462	−0.519	0.454	−0.529	0.445

Religious affiliation: Christian (ref)								
Religion not available	0.017	0.159	0.025	0.159	0.114	0.148	0.142	0.146
Hindu	0.149	0.216	0.126	0.218	0.344	0.218	*0.356*	0.215
Muslim	0.099	0.227	0.081	0.229	0.307	0.224	0.332	0.220
Sikh	0.247	0.251	0.222	0.254	**0.558**	0.257	**0.594**	0.255
Other religion	0.310	0.275	0.293	0.276	0.420	0.264	0.401	0.257
No religion	0.005	0.153	0.010	0.153	0.034	0.152	0.043	0.152
Have limiting long term illness	**−0.371**	0.134	**−0.374**	0.134	**−0.358**	0.123	**−0.380**	0.122
Education: Degree qualification (ref)								
High qualification	**−0.469**	0.204	**−0.459**	0.204	**−0.477**	0.196	**−0.448**	0.192
No/other qualification	**−0.424**	0.157	**−0.428**	0.157	−0.256	0.158	−0.217	0.156
Cambridge scale of occupations score	**−0.011**	0.003	**−0.011**	0.003	**−0.010**	0.003	**−0.009**	0.003
Employment status: Full-time (ref)								
Part-time	**0.309**	0.133	**0.306**	0.133	**0.255**	0.120	**0.233**	0.113
Self-employed	−0.869	0.551	−0.862	0.549	−0.832	0.524	*−0.857*	0.510
Other economic activities	0.155	0.097	0.156	0.097	0.143	0.091	0.124	0.090
Region of residence: London (ref)								
North	**0.345**	0.119	−0.084	0.128	−0.090	0.116	−0.091	0.109
Midlands	*0.266*	0.151	**−0.346**	0.119	**−0.306**	0.110	**−0.289**	0.107
South	0.128	0.147	*−0.223*	0.121	**−0.203**	0.106	**−0.213**	0.100
Wales	−0.054	0.359	−0.406	0.350	−0.375	0.294	−0.360	0.286
Constant	0.065	0.264	0.394	0.257	0.128	0.246	0.033	0.246
p(correlation between two equations)					**−0.763**	0.156	**−0.887**	0.122
	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Wald z-test for coethnic = interethnic	4.70	0.030	3.66	0.056	26.63	0.000	48.75	0.000
Log-likelihood (df)	−677.641	(33)	−677.291	(36)	−1033.747	(61)	−1032.619	(64)
N				1,096				

Source: ONS longitudinal study (1991) and (2001)
Note: Statistically significant results at least at the .05 and .10 levels are highlighted in bold and italicised respectively

Table 10.3 shows that the propensity to intermarriage varies significantly with ethnicity. This finding corresponds with previous studies of interethnic unions in Britain (Berrington 1996; Muttarak and Heath 2010). Generally, Mixed ethnic individuals have the highest rates of intermarriage, followed by those from black ethnic background. South Asians including Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are commonly found to have the lowest likelihood to intermarry. Although the results show that Indians especially Indian women have higher probability of intermarriage than Black Caribbeans, this is because the analysis includes both those who remained single and who were married/cohabiting. Since the proportion of those in partnership is relatively low among Black Caribbeans, this also lowers down their estimated likelihood of being intermarried.

As expected, second generations have a higher likelihood of intermarriage than the first generation. Born and grown up in Britain, the former are naturally more exposed to British culture, norms and language, which are one of the key factors facilitating interethnic partnerships, than the latter. Birth cohorts affect the likelihood of having a native partner especially for ethnic minority women whereby the youngest birth cohort has a significantly higher chance of engaging in an interethnic union than the older cohorts born in the late 1950s or earlier.

Compared to those with a degree qualification, having other or no qualification significantly reduces the chance of interethnic partnerships for women. It appears that for both men and women, those who were in full-time education in 1991 are significantly more likely to have a native partner than those who were in employment in 1991. Employment status might be correlated with age, whereby those in full-time education in 1991 were from younger age groups, who are generally more likely to intermarry than the older ones.

The likelihood of intermarriage varies significantly with religious affiliation. Ethnic minorities of the Christian faith have a higher probability of intermarriage than their non-Christian counterparts. However, it should be noted that this could be a result of an intermarried individual converting to the religious faith of their spouse. Sex ratio does not have any relationship with the likelihood of intermarriage whereas group size, i.e. the ratio of whites to co-ethnic members in a county of residence, poses a positive effect on the likelihood of intermarriage of the ethnic minorities, especially for men.

The results from the probit estimates of the intermarriage equation suggest that interethnic partnerships do not occur at random. Generally, younger members from the minority ethnic groups who were in full-time education or highly educated in case of women and live in the area with a higher proportion of native whites to co-ethnic members are more likely to have a native spouse. If these characteristics are also correlated with an individual's labour market outcomes, the estimation of the occupational mobility equation where intermarriage is treated as exogenous could be biased. Thus, in the following analysis, the probability of moving to a higher occupational position in 2001 is estimated both independently (in probit models) and jointly with the intermarriage model (in bivariate probit models). The results are presented in Tables 10.4 and 10.5 for men and women respectively.

Tables 10.4 and 10.5 show that the estimated correlation (ρ) between the error terms affecting occupational mobility and intermarriage is statistically significant both for men and women. The significant and negative correlation (ρ) suggests that the unobserved factors that influence the likelihood of intermarriage are likely to be inversely related with the chance of achieving upward occupational mobility. The null hypothesis that the random errors between the occupational mobility and intermarriage equations are uncorrelated is strongly rejected at the .05 significance level for both men and women alike. This implies that the estimation from the probit model could be biased and the bivariate probit model is more appropriate.

Table 10.4 shows that immigrant men who are partnered with a native woman have a significantly better chance of achieving upward mobility than their single and co-ethnic married counterparts. The interaction terms of the generation*intermarried and the ethnicity*intermarried are included in Models 1 and 2 respectively to test if this intermarriage premium varies with generation and ethnic origins. The results from Model 1 suggest that intermarried first generation men have a significantly higher chance of achieving upward occupational mobility than intermarried second generation men. In Model 2, Wald tests of coefficients are performed to test whether each ethnicity*intermarried coefficient is significantly different from one another (results are available upon request). The test results reject the null hypothesis that these coefficients are different from one another implying that the probability of upward mobility is the same for intermarried men in all the ethnic groups.

Ethnic minority women who are in an interethnic union also have a significantly better chance of achieving upward occupational mobility than those who stay single or are married to/cohabiting with a co-ethnic partner. Similar to their male counterparts, intermarried first generation women significantly have higher chance of moving to a higher occupational position than intermarried second generation women. Meanwhile, the interaction terms of ethnicity*intermarried are statistically significant for some ethnic groups whereby intermarried women with mixed or other ethnic background have lower likelihood of achieving occupational mobility than intermarried Black Caribbean or Black African & Black other women.

It is rather difficult to interpret the coefficient estimates obtained from a probit model because the discrete choice model is actually of a probability. In order to make the results easier to interpret, marginal effects are computed. The marginal effects represent a percentage change in the predicted probability of moving to higher occupational positions given a one unit change in a particular independent variable when the other covariates are kept constant. For the technical details of the calculations see Greene (1996: 712–713).

The marginal effects of selected variables calculated from the bivariate probit models are presented in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6 shows that for ethnic minority men and women, having a native partner would induce an increase in the probability of moving up to a higher occupational position by about 6% points and 14% points respectively. This indicates that intermarried immigrant women gain twofold in partnering with a native spouse as compared to their male counterparts.

Table 10.6 Marginal effects obtained from selected variables in bivariate probit models in Tables 10.4 and 10.5

	Men		Women	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Co-ethnic married	0.13	0.11	−1.39	−0.30
Intermarried	6.03	6.43	14.30	14.40
Intermarried second generation	−0.82	−1.21	−1.72	−0.32
Intermarried Mix		−1.21		−0.29
Intermarried South Asian		−0.41		−0.26
Intermarried other ethnic		−0.75		−0.29

Source: ONS longitudinal study (1991) and (2001)

It can also be inferred from Table 10.6 that the second generation gain less from the intermarriage premium than the first generation. The marginal effects obtained from Model 1 show that for ethnic minority men and women who are intermarried, being born in Britain decreases their propensity to achieve upward occupational mobility by 1% and 2% points, respectively.

With respect to ethnic differences, there is not much evidence supporting that intermarriage premium varies substantially by ethnic origins. The only minor difference is for intermarried ethnic minority women whereby being in mixed or other ethnic groups significantly decreases their probability of occupational mobility by 0.3% points compared to Black Caribbean or Black African & Black other.

10.5 Conclusion and Discussion

Using the LS data, the bivariate probit estimates of the probability of moving to a higher occupational position provide evidence that there exists an economic benefit from intermarriage for intermarried immigrant men and women. The four main findings from the empirical analysis suggest the following:

First, immigrants who are intermarried have better occupational outcomes than those who are not, supporting Hypothesis 1. Also, second generation immigrants are found to gain less from an interethnic union than the first generation, in accordance with Hypothesis 2. This finding is in line with the linked lives principle (i.e. social capital gain from marriage) and the human agency principle (i.e. partner choice and a decision to achieve assimilation). Born and bred in Britain, the second generation naturally acquire better language skills, a better knowledge of British culture and custom, and closer contacts with the white natives than their parents. Hence, the partnership with a white Briton does not contribute to the upward economic mobility of the second generation as much as the first generation because this generation has already been relatively well-integrated into British society.

Second, this study finds that immigrant women, regardless of their ethnic origin, gain the most from an interethnic partnership in accordance with Hypothesis 3.

The union with a native white man links immigrant women with mainstream white male networks which are documented to be particularly useful for career prospects. Similarly, intermarried immigrant men also gain economic benefits from partnering with a native white woman, but to a lesser extent. This is because although a union with a native white woman facilitates the socio-economic integration of intermarried immigrant men, the networks of white women are likely to be less diverse and more domestic compared to white male networks. This could be the reason why we observe the higher intermarriage premium for intermarried immigrant women.

Third, there is no clear evidence that intermarriage premium varies by ethnic origins. In fact, controlling for demographic and human capital characteristics, the propensity of upward occupational mobility no longer significantly differs between ethnic groups. Similarly, among those who are intermarried, the probability of achieving upward occupational mobility also does not vary with ethnic origins. This implies that once ethnic differences in socio-economic attributes are taken into account, all ethnic groups experience a similar gain from having a native partner.

Fourth, the finding that the selection into interethnic unions contributes negatively to occupational mobility is similar to the previous studies on the intermarriage premium. Meng and Gregory (2005) and Meng and Meurs (2009) documented that the earnings of intermarried individuals estimated in the two-stage least squares regression and instrumental variable models is higher than in the OLS estimate. Similarly, we also find that intermarried immigrants in Britain receive a higher intermarriage premium in the bivariate probit models which correct for the endogeneity of intermarriage compared to the probit model.

This result is quite puzzling because we expect a positive selection into intermarriage whereby the unobserved characteristics (e.g. ability and cultural similarity) increase both the chance of being in an interethnic union and achieving better labour market outcomes. One plausible explanation is that immigrants in an interethnic partnership are relatively liberal and have less socio-economic commitment to their ethnic community. Co-ethnic married immigrants, on the other hand, maintain a strong link with the traditional ethnic community which can impose a powerful sense of communal base for entrepreneurial dedication and motivation for upward economic mobility, as in the case of South Asians and Chinese in Britain (Modood 2004). The union with a native spouse does enhance social capital of the intermarried immigrants but they might be less ambitious or materialistic than their co-ethnic married counterparts. This might explain why we observe a negative relation between the likelihood of intermarriage and upward occupational mobility. Survey data that contains attitude questions would enable us to test this hypothesis.

This study shows that immigrants who are married to or cohabiting with a native spouse have higher chance of achieving occupational mobility than those who are not intermarried. However, this study has a limitation for it is not possible to identify neither the exact date of partnership formation nor the exact timing of occupational mobility making it difficult to draw a causal conclusion. It is feasible that an individual firstly moved up to a higher occupational position and then formed a partnership with a native partner afterwards. If this is the case, then the causal direction is reversed. Nevertheless, within limits this study shows that there is a

significant relationship between being in an interethnic union and upward mobility. Partnership formation is a crucial transition in one's life and because lives are linked, whom one is married to or cohabiting with can alter life course outcomes. Particularly for immigrant population, partner choice can play a major role in one's integration success. In order to gain better understanding of the mechanisms underlying the economic premium from a partnership, it is important to expand the study to investigate if there is also a marriage premium from the union between the first and the second generation and the union between immigrants from different ethnic groups. This is one crucial research question to be investigated in a further study on partnership formation and life course outcomes of immigrants.

Acknowledgments The permission of the Office for National Statistics to use the Longitudinal Study is gratefully acknowledged, as is the help provided by staff of the Centre for Longitudinal Study Information & User Support (CeLSIUS) particularly Christopher Marshall and Julian Buxton. This work contains statistical data from ONS which is Crown copyright and reproduced with the permission of the controller of HMSO and Queen's Printer for Scotland. The use of the ONS statistical data in this work does not imply the endorsement of the ONS in relation to the interpretation or analysis of the statistical data. This work uses research datasets which may not exactly reproduce National Statistics aggregates.

10.A.1 Appendix

Table 10.A.1 Percentages distribution of partnership type in 2001 by ethnicity and gender

	Men				Women			
	Stay single	Coethnic married	Intermarried	N	Stay single	Coethnic married	Intermarried	N
First generation	35.5	58.0	6.5	696	46.8	43.5	9.6	705
Second generation	53.6	27.3	19.1	801	64.0	21.9	14.1	1,006
Mixed	58.7	5.8	35.6	208	66.1	1.7	32.2	239
Black Caribbean	62.0	19.4	18.6	263	76.1	17.1	6.8	497
Black African	51.2	41.7	7.1	84	64.0	31.6	4.4	136
Black other	85.7	10.2	4.1	49	87.5	3.8	8.8	80
Indian	32.3	58.9	8.9	406	40.8	48.8	10.4	346
Pakistani	31.4	64.6	4.0	226	28.3	65.8	6.0	184
Bangladeshi	21.7	75.9	2.4	83	10.8	89.2	0.0	65
Chinese	53.9	32.9	13.2	76	58.2	21.8	20.0	55
Other ethnic	44.1	45.1	10.8	102	45.0	29.4	25.7	109

Source: ONS longitudinal study (2001)

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Chapter 11
The Effect of Ethnic Segregation on the Process of Assimilation

Andreas Farwick

11.1 Introduction

For more than two decades the problems of individual and social consequences of immigration to Germany have accounted for the central topics of the public, political and social science debate, within which the question of integration into functional social systems plays a key role. Especially considering the groups of working migrants who have immigrated since the 1960s, and here in particular considering migrants of Turkish origin, strong integration deficits can be found in the areas of gainful employment, education, housing as well as inter-ethnic prime-group relationships. However, extensive integration in the sense of a successive dissolving of structural disadvantage along ethnic borders within one or a second migration generation is not to be expected.

On the basis of his concept of assimilation at the beginning of the 1920s Park emphasized that the process of immigration takes place over several generations (Burgess and Park 1970 [1921]: 365). Park describes this incorporation process in the form of a race-relations-cycle as a sequence of four phases: (a) immigrants' first contact with the resident population, (b) competition/conflict over scarce resources, such as jobs and apartments, (c) accommodation in the form of ethnic job segregation and stabilized residential segregation of immigrants and finally (d) assimilation in the form of dissolving of ethnic differences and ethnic identifications (Park 1950a [1926]: 150). Park initially assumes that this process is continuous and irreversible. Only later does he admit that the process of integration can reveal fractures and consequently can stagnate on the level of accommodation, meaning the adaptation of immigrants concerning existing inequalities (Park 1950b [1937]: 194).

A. Farwick (✉)
Geography Department, Ruhr-University Bochum, 44780, Bochum, Germany
e-mail: andreas.farwick@rub.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_11, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

Esser (2001) also describes the incorporation of migrants as a generation-spanning cumulative process of assimilation in four dimensions: (a) cognition (language, culture, norms), (b) structure (education, income, social status), (c) social relationships (social networks, friendships), (d) identification (with host country symbols). The gradual assimilation in the areas of these four dimensions, extending over several life courses is indispensible for a successful incorporation process. Thereby, the way in which the first migration generation manages the incorporation process, determines the conditions of the incorporation success of the subsequent generations. Already for the first generation, incorporation progress in the dimensions of cognitive, structural and social assimilation creates essential conditions for placement in the significant societal systems of the host country. Basic knowledge in the areas of language, values and norms of the host society as well as incorporation, even if limited, into the social networks of the residing inhabitants is of great relevance also for first generation migrants.

More recently, Portes and Rumbaut, taking a broader view of multiple generations of immigrants, describe another approach with their concept of segmented assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). They assume that the incorporation process can have different outcomes according to the migrant group and various societal parameters (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 45f). Portes and Rumbaut especially emphasize the supported character of the ethnic communities for the course of adaptation by underlining the positive effect of social capital integrated in the ethnic groups' networks in the form of stabilizing values and normative models as well as mutual support for the first and also the second migration generation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 48ff).

However, Portes and Rumbaut (2001: 48ff) admit that the use of this social capital to a great extent depends on the resources possessed, especially human capital of the migrants' community. If these resources – as in the case of the Turkish population in Germany – are scantily developed, it is to be assumed that the social capital embedded in *inter-ethnic* relationships to the members of the residing population in the form of information (e.g. about apartments and occupations) as well as broader support measures offers greater benefits. Therefore, a gradual integration over several generations into the social network relationships in the receiving society is of great importance for migrants who are equipped with limited resources.

Considering the development of inter-ethnic relationships, a negative influence is attributed especially to residential segregation of migrants in urban housing areas. Thus it is argued that ethnic segregation restricts the extent of contact to members of the receiving country due to missing opportunities and/or due to strong ethnic orientations. With this in mind Heitmeyer (1998: 453) describes such segregated accommodations as "ethnic vises" from which not only the first immigrant generation but also the subsequent generations cannot easily free themselves. Esser (2001: 42) refers to the "contentedness" of ethnic housing areas, which leads to a lack of effort over several generations to gain access to the structures of the receiving country. Especially since the murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in the fall of 2004, voices in the public debate have increasingly warned about migrants'

withdrawal into their own ethnic groups and about migrants' persistent separation into so-called parallel societies (cf. Gestring 2005).

Contrary to studies in the Netherlands (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff 2007; Gijsberts and Dagevos 2007) previous empirical findings on the influence of ethnic segregation on the extent of inter-ethnic relationships in German cities have nevertheless not shown any definite results: while bivariate analyses demonstrate a negative effect of ethnic segregation (cf. Bürkner 1987; Schöneberg 1982), frequently no connection in many cases emerges within multivariate analyses considering relevant personal features (cf. Alpheis 1990; Drever 2004). A negative influence of ethnic segregation can most often be recognized when viewed on a very spatially limited level of the close neighborhood or of the residential building (Esser 1986; Kremer and Spangenberg 1980).

Viewed in the context of the demonstrated meaning of inter-ethnic friendship relationships for the integration process and the previously indistinct empirical findings on the influence of spatial concentration of migrants, a possible connection between the ethnic segregation of Turkish migrants and the extent of inter-ethnic friendships on the spatial level of housing areas as well as on the spatially limited level of the close neighborhood of migrants, will be analyzed in this study, using survey data from the city of Bremen across several generations.

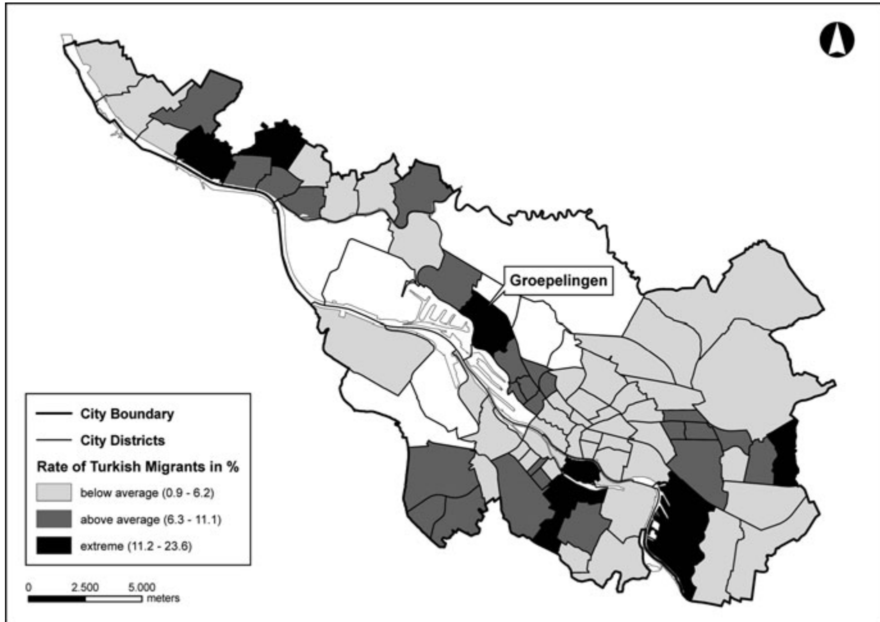
11.2 Ethnic Segregation of Turkish Migrants in the Bremen District of Groepelingen

As in almost all German big cities, a distinct ethnic segregation of the Turkish population appears in the city of Bremen (cf. Map 11.1). A very high proportion[1] of Turkish migrants can be found especially in traditional working-class districts near harbors and at industrial locations, as well as in some peripherally located large tracts of public housing construction from the 1960s to 1970s. Especially the district of Groepelingen, a traditional working-class area located near the commercial and industrial harbors of Bremen, as well as the former shipyard AG Weser, distinguishes itself by a very high percentage of the Turkish population of 18% and 20% in the areas of Lindenhof and Groepelingen,[2] as well as 24% in the area of Ohlenhof.

Overall, the district of Groepelingen is marked by a long tradition of Turkish settlement and is characterized by a high degree of "institutional completeness" due to its extensive range of services, as well as religious and cultural associations provided by migrants. This term, introduced by Raymond Breton (1964), refers to

[1]Percentages that differ by a standard deviation from the weighted mean of all parts of the town are considered very high proportions of population.

[2]A small-scale part of the town with the same name exists within the primary district of Groepelingen.



Map 11.1 Rate of Turkish migrants in the city divisions of Bremen 2009 (Source: Statistical office of the free Hanseatic city of Bremen)

a formal structure of facilities and organizations, in which almost all goods and services demanded by the immigrants in the district can be satisfied by the members of the ethnic group themselves. Consequently it is only necessary in rarest of cases for the migrants to get in touch with the organizations of the receiving country. Therefore the motive hardly exists to even initiate assimilative efforts (Esser 2001: 40f). Breton (1964: 197) himself could determine a clear connection between the extent of institutional completeness and the number of people with predominantly intra-ethnic contacts in a study in the city of Montreal. As causes for this connection he, however, cites not so much the actual use of the ethnic facilities but rather symbolic radiation effects and the intra-group oriented activities of the responsible ethnic elites (Breton 1964: 198f).

11.3 The Extent of Inter-Ethnic Friendships in the District of Groepelingen

The data of the following analysis are based on a survey of 194 Turkish households conducted in the year 2001 in the three areas with the highest concentration of Turkish households in the district of Groepelingen. Another 93 Turkish households

were surveyed in so-called control areas with a lower spatial concentration of Turkish migrants. The standardized interviews were each conducted with the head of the household in Turkish and in his or her apartment.

Within the network research the problem of the empirical comprehension of friendships is repeatedly referred to (cf. Wolf 1996: 23ff). Therefore also various social-structural, as well as cultural differences exist in the use of the term "friendship" in addition to the variations in the concept of friendship. The concept of friendship applied within the conducted survey should on the one hand not be formulated too narrowly, as is this the case, for example in the frequently asked question about the three best friends. On the other hand, though, a certain continuity of the interaction of those involved should exist. That is why the question focused on the number of good friends of German origin with whom the migrants met at least once a week. A possibly resulting slight overlap with the group of closer acquaintances was accepted in the process.

Table 11.1 provides the first indications of an influence of ethnically segregated residential areas on the extent of inter-ethnic friendships, in which the number of the Turkish respondents with a friendship relationship to a person of German origin are differentially identified by various characteristics. The low overall number of friendships with Germans is the first striking observation. Thus only 29% of the Turkish migrants indicated they were friends with a person of German origin.

A reason for this limited extent of inter-ethnic relationships could lie in a possible general reservation of Turkish migrants towards a friendship with Germans caused by cultural barriers. But in response to this argument it should be pointed out that a majority of the Turkish immigrants expressed the views that an expansion of contacts to the German population was desirable. Thus 63% of the respondents who already had friendship relationships to Germans expressed the wish to expand the number of their contacts. And also among the migrants who at that point had no friendship relationships to Germans, nearly half of the respondents wished for friendship contacts.

However, these values can be contrasted with a not insignificant number of migrants who do not wish for any or any further contacts to Germans. Hence, 19% of the immigrants who already had friendship relationships to Germans regarded further contacts as undesirable. Indeed, within the group of migrants without any friendships with Germans 24% of the respondents were not interested in the establishment of contacts.

The assumption that the small number of inter-ethnic friendships with Germans is only partly the result of reservations towards contact to Germans is also confirmed by the large number of migrants who persistently tried to establish friendship relationships in the past. Hence, 87% of the migrants with friendship relationships to Germans claimed to have actively made an effort to gain contact to Germans. And also 68% of the migrants without friendship relationships to Germans had actively tried to gain contact to people of German origin (obviously without success).

The great openness towards inter-ethnic contact to Germans and the active efforts of the Turkish migrants to gain contact to people of German origin suggest that the

Table 11.1 Percentage of Turkish migrants with an inter-ethnic friendship relation to a person of German origin

Characteristics		Percent
All		29
Types of residential area		
Residential area	Groepelingen	26
	Control areas	34
Cognitive abilities		
Knowledge of German language	Speech: good to very good	31
	Speech: bad to very bad	17
Formal education	No graduation	19
	Turkish school graduation	26
	German school certificate: elementary school (Hauptschule)	33
	German school certificate: secondary school (Realschule)	31
	German school certificate: high school (Abitur)	46
Intra-ethnic cultural ties		
Religiousness	Member of a mosque community	19
	Not a member of a mosque community	32
Use of public media	TV: viewing of primarily Turkish programs	12
	TV: viewing of primarily German programs	42
Further demographic characteristics		
Gender	Male	27
	Female	40
Age	Less than 30 years	28
	30 below 40 years	29
	40 below 50 years	36
	50 years or older	23
Migrant generation	First generation	23
	Second generation	31
Occupational status	Employed	30
	Unemployed	24
	Retired	27
Structure of household	Single	52
	Single parents	33
	Couple without children	25
	Couple with children	26
Number of Turkish friends	Less than ten friends	27
	Ten friends or more	43

Source: Own calculations; Data Basis: Survey of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen (2001)

limited extent of inter-ethnic relationships is not essentially caused by reservations of the Turkish migrants but in large part by the social distance of the German population towards this ethnic group (cf. Friedrichs 2000: 182).

When individual characteristics are considered especially migrants with little knowledge of German as well as little formal education demonstrate a markedly

lower proportion of friendship relationships to people of German origin. Also in the case of stronger intra-ethnic cultural ties (a high degree of religion; viewing of primarily Turkish TV programs) such friendships are rarer. With regard to demographic characteristics especially the male heads of the households, as well as the older people exhibit a smaller extent of inter-ethnic friendships. In accordance with the above described phase models of incorporation, a noticeably stronger inclusion of the second generation into the social networks of the host society can be observed within the migration sequence. While 31% of the Turkish migrants of the second generation indicated they maintain friendship relationships with Germans, this was the case with only 23% of first generation migrants. Distinguishing according to further socio-demographic characteristics, unemployed persons, couples, as well as less sociable migrants with a comparatively small circle of Turkish friends stand out as having a small extent of inter-ethnic friendships.

Finally, with regard to the types of residential areas there appears to be a distinct negative effect of the ethnically segregated district of Groepelingen: While the proportion of Turkish migrants with friendship relationships to Germans amounts to 34% in the control areas, this value is only 26% in Groepelingen. This seems to confirm the hypothesis of an influence of ethnically segregated residential areas on the extent of inter-ethnic friendship relationships. However, it is not possible to determine on a purely descriptive level whether the small number of inter-ethnic relationships can be explained by influences of the district – therefore by so-called context effects – or whether they may result from the fact that Groepelingen is increasingly populated by people with individual traits (e.g. poor education) which are connected with a generally low number of inter-ethnic relationships (composition effects). A separation of both of these two possible influences is only possible on the basis of regression-analytical statistical methods.

By means of logistic regression (cf. Table 11.2), it is possible to examine to which extent the previously demonstrated segregation of friendships is still statistically significant with mutual consideration of all relevant characteristics, and can be generalized beyond the sample of the interviewed Turkish migrants. The following models refer to the relative chance with which Turkish migrants maintain a friendship relationship to a person of German origin.

First all previously described personal features are analyzed in a model 1. Only the statistically relevant characteristics are identified.[3] The corresponding regression coefficients concerning the characteristics of host-society-related skills indicate that especially the school-leaving qualification of the a-levels acquired in Germany significantly positively affects the chance of the development of a friendship relationship to a person of German origin. Definite effects also appear with reference to the extent of intra-cultural orientations: members of a mosque association and especially migrants who predominantly watch Turkish TV programs have a significantly lower chance of having a friendship with a person of German

[3]Due to the indefinite direction of the connection between language ability and inter-ethnic friendship (cf. Farwick 2009: 184) this characteristic is not considered in the multivariate analyses.

Table 11.2 Relative chance for the establishment of a friendship to a person of German origin (Logistic regression)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Individual characteristics		Individual characteristics + residential area	
	b	Δr	b	Δr
Constant	−0.585***		−0.544*	
Residential area				
Groepelingen			−0.067	−6.5
Cognitive abilities				
German school certificate: high school (Abitur)	1.095*	198.9	1.088*	196.8
Intra-ethnic cultural ties				
Religiousness: member of a mosque community	−0.783**	−54.3	−0.775*	−53.9
TV: viewing of primarily Turkish programs	−1.849***	−84.3	−1.841***	−84.1
Further demographic characteristics				
Structure of household: single	1.287**	262.2	1.294**	264.7
Turkish friends: ten friends or more	1.316***	272.8	1.308***	269.9
Cases	270		270	
LR chi^2 (df)	54.71(5)***		54.75(6)***	
Pseudo-R^2 (McF)	0.17		0.17	

Source: Own calculations; Data basis: Survey of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen (2001)
Significance: *$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$. Calculation of a change of relative chance: $\Delta r = ((\exp(b) - 1)* 100$

origin. Also regarding further demographic characteristics significant effects exist. Thus singles and especially very sociable Turkish migrants have a distinctly higher chance of having an inter-ethnic friendship. An independent effect of the generation of the migrants no longer remains after the consideration of the previously named characteristics. Thus, the observed higher percentages of migrants within the second migration generation with friendship relationships to resident Germans (cf. Table 11.1) evidently can be explained by a higher mean school-leaving qualification and a lower extent of intra-cultural orientations compared with the first migration generation.

If in model 2 the influence of the ethnically segregated investigation area of Groepelingen is additionally examined, it turns out that this characteristic – contrary to the previously purely descriptive analyses – with consideration of the personal traits has no significant influence on the chance of the development of friendship relationships to Germans.

11.4 Possible Causes of a Non-existing Influence of Ethnic Residential Areas

Huckfeldt's (1983: 666), as well as Quillian and Campbell's (2003: 556ff) investigations indicate that the cause of a non-existing influence can be found in an interplay of two different social processes. Accordingly, not only the opportunity structure but also the preference for contacts within one's own group changes with different group member percentages: the lower the percentages of the particular group, the higher the priority of contacts to members of their own group. Actors, especially those with strongly developed minority status, give contacts within their own group definite priority. Transferred to the situation in the districts, therefore an interaction of the two counter-directed effects can be assumed in the investigation area of Groepelingen – with its high proportion of Turkish migrants as viewed for the city of Bremen as a whole but in fact rather moderate proportion of Turkish migrants as viewed in absolute terms. On the one hand a reduced opportunity structure of inter-ethnic contact is connected with a higher migration percentage in Groepelingen. On the other hand simultaneously a reduction of own-group preferences occurs (cf. Farwick 2009: 177–181). Consequently the expected influence of the opportunity structure of inter-ethnic contacts is offset by reduced own-group preferences.

Beyond the lack of influence of the opportunity structure, the question emerges whether the common practice in urban research of equating ethnically segregated districts with the existence of intensified internal ethnically oriented social subsystems in the form of ethnic communities is unconditionally valid. For example, the increasing motorization in the cities and the spread of modern communication technology increasingly call into question the connection of spatial proximity in the district and social community. Already in the 1960s argued Webber – more or less as an antithesis to the concept of community studies popular at that time – under the catchphrase "community without propinquity", that social communities can be maintained, even over vast geographical distances, because of modern means of transportation and communication (Webber 1963: 23).

The generally observable dissolving process of the connection between spatial proximity and community was empirically documented by Wellman (1979), especially through the comprehensive network analyses in the Canadian city of Toronto. His investigations show that the vast majority of close contacts of the inhabitants of a district occur beyond the district. In addition to the effect of means of transport and communication in overcoming distance, Wellman (1979, 1206) emphasizes four further causes of the diminishing significance of the connection between spatial proximity in the district and the development of close-knit relationships:

- thus from the spatial separation of residence, work place and relatives, it follows that the urban population is involved in various spatially dispersed relationship networks with a rather loose connection;

- due to the high mobility of the population, existing social relationships are increasingly weakened and the development of new strong ties becomes more difficult;
- the size, density and heterogeneity of the urban population, as well as the increased opportunities for interaction enhance the possibility of contacts to numerous casual, multiple and spatially non-bound social networks;
- the spatial expansion of primary relationships and the heterogeneity of the cities make it less likely that those interaction partners with whom a person enters into a relationship are themselves in turn integrated into closed, dense networks.

Wellman (1979: 1206) criticizes that the previous urban research almost exclusively focuses on the existing relationships within the investigated districts and by doing so has lost sight of the whole extent of the close-knit relationships of the district residents – therefore also those relationships that exist beyond the district. On the basis of his analyses he argues for the viewpoint of a "community liberated", a community liberated from the exclusiveness of the locality of the district. Besides Wellman's studies (1979 and 1999), more recent investigations also give evidence for the decreasing significance of spatial proximity in the district for the existence of close-knit network relationships (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999: cf. also Bridge 2002).

With the diminishing connection of locality and community, equating the spatial proximity of immigrants in ethnically segregated districts with the existence of community structures in the form of ethnic colonies appears to be increasingly dubious (cf. also Pott 2001: 64). Gordon (1964: 163) already pointed out this aspect, underlining the insignificance of spatial proximity for the development of ethnic communities. Furthermore Zelinsky and Lee (1998) showed for the American context that the "new" migrant groups which have immigrated to the USA since the 1960s increasingly are able to maintain close network relationships in the form of ethnic communities with the help of generally accessible means of transportation and new communication technology, in the sense of "communities without propinquity", without members living in spatially segregated communities (cf. also Drever 2004: 1424). This phenomenon is referred to as heterolocalism by Zelinsky and Lee (1998: 282).[4]

Heterolocalism does not exclude the idea that formal and also informal ethnic facilities are concentrated in certain areas within a city and that these in turn represent important identification points for the ethnic community. But as these facilities can be reached with available public or private transportation without great

[4]According to Zelinsky and Lee (1998: 285) the process of *heterolocalism* is marked by five characteristics in all : first by the immediate spatial dispersion of the migrants in the host country; second the residence of the migrants extensively is spatially separated from the work place and other places of daily activity; third the ethnic communities are maintained despite a missing spatial concentration of their members in districts beyond city limits, regions and even state borders; fourth the process of heterolocalism – even if observable for some time – is tied to a certain phase of socio-economic and technical developments of the late twentieth century; fifth heterolocalism can be observed in urban as well as in rural areas.

effort, even from more distant areas, it is, first, not unlikely that ethnic community structures are also dispersed beyond these localities and, second, that these places may constitute symbolic centers for the ethnic community without having special significance as residential areas for the members of the community.

For German circumstances, Nauck (1988) emphasizes how little importance is attached by migrants to the spatial proximity of people or facilities of their ethnic group. On the basis of his survey of Turkish migrants in various German cities, he demonstrates that neither the ethnic concentration in the district nor the existence of an institutionally complete ethnic infrastructure plays a role in the choice of a residential location. Also Hanhörster and Mölder (2000) come to similar conclusions in their investigation of Turkish migrants in strongly ethnically segregated districts in the cities of Duisburg and Wuppertal. Only for a small proportion of the Turkish population did general proximity to Turkish neighbors constitute a reason for their choice of a residential location (Hanhörster and Mölder (2000): 357). Many of the Turkish residents of an ethnically marked district even voiced outright dissatisfaction with the ethnic composition of the residents when interviewed in an investigation by Wiesemann (2007: 46f). The migrants cannot identify with the lifestyle of their compatriots in the district and rather fear their social control. Their only reason for choosing the location was the affordability of the apartment.

In the above-mentioned study by Nauck (1988), it has also been investigated whether a closer, local, intra-ethnic relationship network – in the sense of an ethnic colony – is associated with the spatial concentration of Turkish migrants. Nauck's analyses show no difference between ethnically segregated and other districts with respect to the extent of intra-ethnic local friendship relationships (Nauck 1988: 317). Nauck (1988: 326) remarks in conclusion: "The empirical findings presented here once again provide definitive indications that it is an ethnocentric misunderstanding to conclude from the frequency of the appearance of 'visible' foreigners in certain residential areas that these residents necessarily have intensive relationships with one another".

The analysis of the survey data of Turkish migrants in Bremen also confirms that no increased degree of close-knit intra-ethnic networks in the sense of an ethnic colony is connected to the spatial proximity of Turkish migrants in the ethnically marked investigation area of Groepelingen – as is often assumed. Therefore there is neither a significantly greater number of intra-ethnic friendships nor is there a greater number of intra-ethnic friendship relationships for the Turkish residents in Groepelingen, from whom, according to the migrants' perception, help could be expected (cf. Farwick 2009: 227–229). Internal structures are thus largely independent of the spatial proximity of migrants in ethnically segregated districts.

But this does not mean that spatial structures are entirely ineffective for the development of social relationships. Network analyses in the United States, especially the ones conducted by Jackson et al. (1977), and Fischer (1982) point to a clearly existing significance of the *neighborhood* as a place for establishing friendship relationships. In these studies, however, it is not entirely clear to what extent the term "neighborhood" – as commonly used in English – refers to the

district or alternatively possibly refers to the more narrowly constituted area of the closer residential environment defined by neighborly relationships. In particular, an investigation by Hanhörster and Mölder (2000) points to the greater significance of the closer neighborhood. They state: “While intra-ethnic communication of the Turkish population is maintained also beyond certain spatial distances, contacts of the Turkish population to Germans seem to be made possible especially through the immediate residential environment. [. . .] The proximity of the apartment to green space and the semi-public space surrounding the residential buildings have a central role as a communication space, especially for the Turkish population. Most of the neighborly contacts and intercultural communication occur on the level of the individual apartment building.” (Hanhörster and Mölder 2000: 392).

The importance of closer residence surroundings for the establishment of social contacts can also be demonstrated on the basis of the data of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen. Migrants were asked about the importance they attach to the different places “neighborhood”, “district” and “rest of the city” for various aspects of daily life. With 85% of the sample naming it most frequently, the close neighborhood was classified as relevant for social contacts. For only 68% of the Turkish migrants the district had an importance with regard to social relationships, and for a mere 32% of the respondents the rest of the city had relevance.

Furthermore, migrants were asked about the opportunities which led to their social ties. According to 23% of the respondents, most friendships were developed through the already existing network of intra-ethnic relationships. For 18%, though, the neighborhood came second as an important place of establishing friendships, closely followed by the work place, which 18% of the respondents named as an opportunity. Overall, the results of the survey of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen corroborate the importance of the closer residential environment for the establishment of social contacts and the development of friendship relationships.

11.5 Heterogeneity of the Spatially Limited Distribution of Turkish Migrants in Groepelingen

Map 11.2 shows a clear heterogeneous distribution of the Turkish population on the level of city blocks, when the spatially limited ethnic segregation in the closer residential environment in the investigation area of Groepelingen is considered: while large parts of Groepelingen exhibit only a low concentration of Turkish migrants with percentages from 1% to 17%, clear significant areas of a concentration of Turkish residents have developed in certain areas of the district with values of up to 44%. These areas are to be found in the northern part of Groepelingen primarily in buildings of public housing, and they are situated in the southern part of the investigation area around Liegnitzplatz and were built mainly in the *Gründerzeit* (1871–1914).

In order to also include the ethnic composition of the individual neighborhoods beyond the spatial level of city blocks, the Turkish migrants were first asked

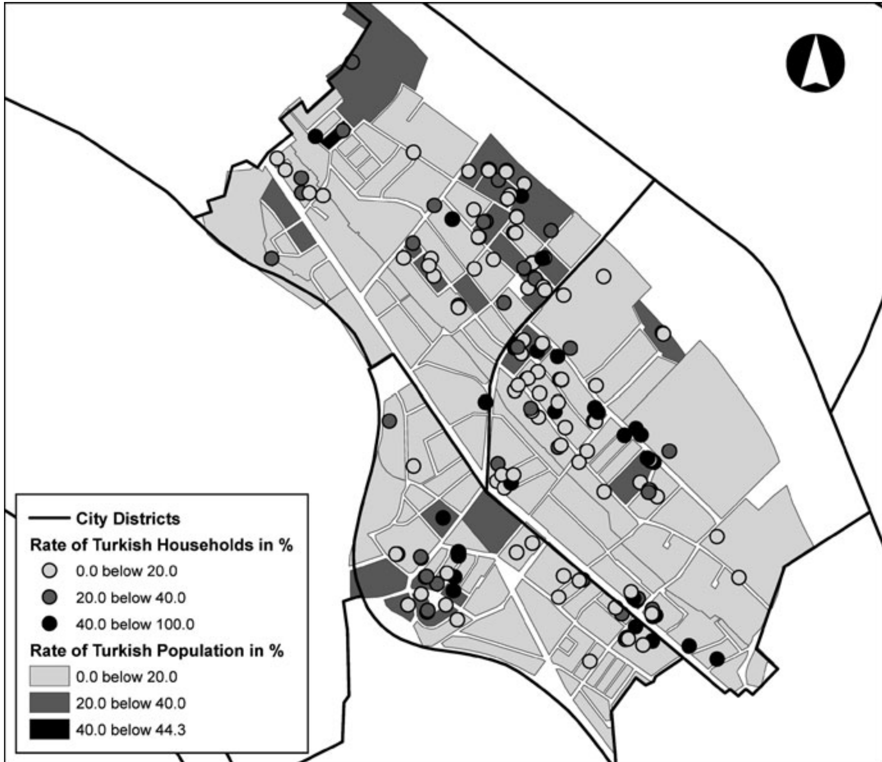
Map 11.2 Rate of Turkish migrants in the city blocks of Groepelingen 2001 (Source: Statistical office of the free Hanseatic city of Bremen)

which apartments in their own building or in the immediate neighboring residential buildings were part of their close neighborhood.[5] Overall, the number of apartments considered part of the neighborhood ranged between one and 17 residential units varied; on average five apartments were named. Participants were then asked about the ethnic background of those living in the households of the designated residential units. By means of the data collected in this manner, the percentage of Turkish households of the total number of all households in the neighborhood could be calculated. This percentage has values between zero and 100% and averages 25%.[6]

The percentage of Turkish households in the relevant closer neighborhoods of the people interviewed in Groepelingen is shown on Map 11.3. It becomes clear

[5]The apartments mentioned were designated by the interviewers on a previously drawn up sketch of the closer residential environment so as to preserve the results for the further course of the survey.

[6]Cf. Farwick (2009: 233–234) on the problem of the process of capturing the ethnic composition of individual closer neighborhoods.



Map 11.3 Rate of Turkish households in the individual neighborhoods of Migrants interviewed and rate of Turkish inhabitants in the city blocks of Groepelingen 2001 (Source: Survey of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen 2001 and statistical office of the free Hanseatic city of Bremen)

that neighborhoods with a high or very high concentration of Turks are distributed quite irregularly within the investigation area. But also in the control areas (not presented) a heterogeneous distribution of neighborhoods with high or very high percentages of Turks exists. The map moreover depicts only a low correlation between the spatial concentration of Turkish migrants in the city blocks, as well as within the close neighborhoods of the people interviewed.[7] Thus very strongly segregated neighborhoods can be found even in city blocks with a low concentration of Turkish migrants, as well as minimally segregated neighborhoods in city blocks with a high percentage of Turkish residents.

[7]The correlation coefficient as a measure of association between the proportions of Turkish migrants in the city blocks and the proportions of Turkish households in the relevant neighborhoods is low: $r = 0.27$.

11.6 The Influence of Spatially Limited Ethnic Segregation in the Closer Neighborhoods

Next we examined on the level of city blocks by means of a logistic regression to what extent the ethnic composition of the population in the closer residential environment – considering individual characteristics previously classified as important – has an influence on the existence of inter-ethnic relationships (cf. Table 11.3). In model 1 it becomes clear regarding the district-related characteristics that even when controlling for essential individual characteristics a statistically highly significant negative influence of ethnically segregated city blocks results when the Turkish residential percentage is of over 20%. The coefficient for ethnically segregated city blocks clearly has negative values. On account of this effect, the relative chance for the establishment of a friendship to a person of German origin diminishes for the residents of highly segregated city blocks – regardless of whether in Groepelingen or in the control areas – in contrast to the reference category of the residents in other city blocks, by a value of 50% (see Δr in Table 11.3). If an average duration of stay in the closer residential environment of over 40% of the daily active time[8] is considered as an interaction effect (not presented, cf. Farwick 2009: pp. 236), the chance of the formation of an inter-ethnic friendship even diminishes by a value of 68%. Considering the previously presented analyses, a definite negative effect of ethnically segregated spatially limited residence areas on the level of city blocks can therefore be assumed.

The influence of the ethnic composition of the close neighborhood is examined in model 2. Also here a highly significant negative influence of segregated neighborhoods appears where the number of Turkish households is over 20% – again considering significant individual characteristics. The possibility of the establishment of inter-ethnic friendship diminishes by a value of 54%. As described previously, the magnitude of the effect of the segregated neighborhoods clearly increases if additionally an average duration of stay of over 40% of daily time is included (not presented), so that the chance of the formation of a friendship is reduced by 65% for the residents of these areas. The results of the models thus emphasize that the extent of ethnic segregation in the closer residential environment has a significant negative effect on the development of inter-ethnic friendship relationships on the level of city blocks, as well as on the level of the close neighborhoods. But as the ethnic segregation of both spatial levels "city block", as well as "close neighborhood", as described above, correlate only slightly, the question arises, to what extent interaction effects of ethnic segregation on the two levels can be assumed: does residing in a close neighborhood with a concentration

[8]This parameter is based on the assumption that the spatial concentration of Turkish migrants essentially has an influence on the extent of inter-ethnic friendships only when the respondents also attach a certain importance to their district and accordingly also spend time in this area. As a threshold value an average daily duration of stay in the district (excluding sleeping hours), including the apartment and the closer neighborhood, is set at over 40%.

Table 11.3 Relative chance for the establishment of a friendship to a person of German origin (Logistic regression)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Individual characteristics		Individual characteristics + residential area	
	b	Δr	b	Δr
Constant	−0.454**		−0.256*	
Residential area				
City block: above 20% Turkish population	−0.683*	−49.5		
Close neighborhood: above 20% Turkish households			−0.776**	−54.0
Cognitive abilities				
German school certificate: high school (Abitur)	1.009	174.3	1.030	180.1
Intra-ethnic cultural ties				
Religiousness: member of a mosque community	−0.727*	−51.7	−0.847**	−57.1
TV: viewing of primarily Turkish programs	−1.794***	−83.4	−1.791***	−83.3
Further demographic characteristics				
Structure of household: single	1.366***	292.0	1.296***	265.5
Turkish friends: ten friends or more	1.284***	261.1	1.314***	272.1
Cases	269		270	
LR chi^2 (df)	61.17(6)***		58.11(6)***	
Pseudo-R^2 (McF)	0.19		0.18	

Source: Own calculations; Data basis: Survey of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen (2001)
Significance: *$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$. Calculation of a change of relative chance: $\Delta r = ((\exp(b) - 1) * 100$

of Turks, which additionally is embedded in a city block with a high percentage of Turks, lead to a further increase of the negative effect on the extent of inter-ethnic relationships?

Corresponding further analyses show that the negative effect of the closer residential environment on the extent of inter-ethnic friendship relationship additionally increases due to the interaction of the effect of ethnically segregated city blocks with that of ethnically segregated neighborhoods. If moreover an average duration of stay of over 40% of the daily active time is included as an interaction effect, this in turn leads to an increase of the negative effect of the segregated residential environment (cf. Illustration 11.1). Correspondingly, compared to the relevant reference group, the chance of an inter-ethnic friendship for the residents of such a segregated residential environment who also spend a lot of time in that environment diminishes by 77%.

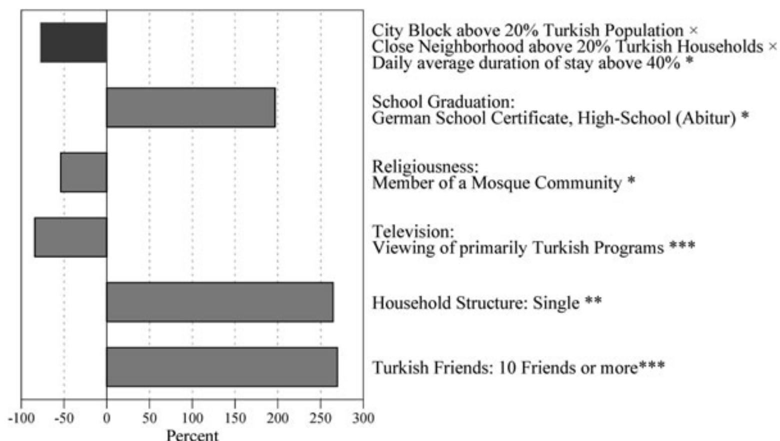


Illustration 11.1 Change of the relative chance for the establishment of a friendship to a person of German origin by type of residential area and individual characteristics (Percent). Significance: $p < 0.01$:***; $p < 0.05$:** $p < 0.10$:* (Source: Own calculations; Data basis: Survey of Turkish migrants in the city of Bremen 2001)

11.7 Summary

Since Park's fundamental works at the beginning of the 1920s the process of incorporation has been conceptualized as a course extending over several generations and comprising various dimensions. Especially considering ethnic groups with little available human capital, a successive extension of inter-ethnic social relationships to members of the residing population is of great significance. Such social relationships – in the form of specific social capital embedded in the networks – can be an important factor for integration into the functional systems of the host country.

Considering the extent of inter-ethnic relationships of the Turkish migrants, the descriptive analyses, in conjunction with the described phase models of incorporation, refer to a noticeably stronger incorporation of the second generation into the social networks of the host society compared to the first generation. Within the multivariate analyses, this generation effect, however, becomes significantly less important within the second generation, for which the positive effect of a higher average school-leaving qualification and a declining extent of intra-cultural orientations play a greater role in strengthening the influence of social connection to the host society.

Contrary to the opinion frequently expressed within social science literature that ethnic residential districts have a negative effect on the extent of inter-ethnic relationships, such a negative effect cannot be confirmed in the Bremen investigation area of Groepelingen.

The lack of such a negative influence of the ethnically segregated residential area of Groepelingen can primarily be attributed to the number of Turkish migrants, which can be classified as moderate. Because of this modest concentration, the effect of the opportunity structure can assume only marginal proportions despite the tendency toward higher intra-group preference among the Turkish population. A second cause is connected with the concept of ethnically segregated areas as social subsystems of ethnic colonies, which has as yet hardly been explored. Considering the fact that social communities are largely independent of the spatial proximity of the residential area, as a result of general accessibility to means of transportation and telecommunication technologies, such a close connection between the ethnic concentration in the residential area and the development of intra-ethnically oriented communities has to be revised.

However, it would be misleading to conclude from this that spatial structures have absolutely no influence (anymore) on the development of social relationships. Results of various empirical studies, as well as our own, analyses conducted in the city of Bremen on the basis of the survey of Turkish migrants indicate that in fact the *closer* residential environment of the actors constitutes a significant fulcrum of social relationships. Accordingly, spatially limited multivariate analyses can demonstrate a significant negative influence of ethnic segregation on the extent of inter-ethnic friendship relationships, on the one hand on the level of city blocks, and on the other hand on the level of the migrants' respective close neighborhoods.

Altogether the present analysis of spatial context effects emphasizes that beyond individual determinants, there are also structural barriers which are not imminently influenceable by every individual person. As a consequence life courses embedded in a closer residential environment with a higher number of migrants will take a distinctly more challenging path toward incorporation than those which unfold in residential environment dominated by local residents of the host country.

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Chapter 12
Immigrant Integration, Transnational Activities and the Life Course

Reinhard Schunck

12.1 Introduction

Transnationalism refers to the increased interlinkage between people all around the world and the loosening of boundaries between countries. With respect to migration, transnationalism describes immigrants' engagement in economic, socio-cultural, and political activities across borders.

Although a notable body of mainly qualitative research has developed on transnationalism and transnational migration, there are still theoretical and empirical blind spots regarding the prevalence and characteristics of transnationalism. This holds especially for the relation between migrants' transnational involvement and their integration into the receiving society. Moreover, quantitative empirical evidence for transnational activities among the immigrant populations is scarce and still missing for Europe.

Interestingly, there are only few attempts to theoretically (e.g. Bommes 2005; Faist 2000; Morawska 2002; Pries 2001) or empirically link immigrant integration and integration. Most of the work available targets the US (e.g. Guarnizo et al. 2003; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Portes et al. 2002; Portes 2003) with a few exceptions (e.g. O'Flaherty et al. 2007; Snel et al. 2006).

This paper attempts to further fill this gap. Focusing on visits to the country of origin, it presents evidence for transnational involvement of immigrants in one of Europe's major receiving countries, namely Germany. Specifically, this paper seeks to find answers to two questions: (1) too what extent do immigrants residing in Germany engage in transnational activities? (2) how are these activities related to the immigrants' integration into the receiving country?

R. Schunck (✉)
Faculty of Sociology, Bielefeld University, 33501 Bielefeld, Germany
e-mail: reinhard.schunck@uni-bielefeld.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_12, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

The following section gives a short overview on the concept of transnationalism and reviews some of the most important studies in this field of research. The third section proposes a theoretical frame which links immigrant integration to transnational involvement by combining insights from life course research with research on immigrant integration. The fourth section presents the data and subsequently the analyses conducted to test the theory's implications. The fifth section sums up the main findings, discusses strengths and shortcomings, and lays out paths for further research.

12.2 Transnational Activities and Immigrant Integration

Transnationalism, as defined by the pioneers of the field, Basch et al. (1994:6), is "the process by which immigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields across borders". In other words, transnationalism describes the emergence of social structures that transcend national borders through migrants' continuous involvement in both the sending and the receiving country, as for instance by frequent travel between these two destinations. As a consequence, stable networks across borders emerge, which may in turn intensify migration. Migrants are supposed to live 'dual lives', living in two countries, speaking two languages, and are subject to the standards of two cultural reference systems. Thus the process of migration has to be conceptualized not as a one time move from one place to another, but as a process which entails the interlinkage of two or more places, providing the opportunity for remigration and the continuous existence of social ties between these places.

12.2.1 Transnational Activities

This paper does not attempt to deliver an overview of the competing concepts of transnationalism. There are a number of instructive reviews available which discuss conceptual, methodological as well as theoretical issues of transnationalism (see e.g. Kivisto 2001; Levitt et al. 2003; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Portes 2001, 2003).

A word on terminology still seems helpful. In the course of the paper I will abstain from using the term transnationalism, instead using the terms transnational activities and transnational involvement. The term transnationalism, as Smith (2002: 148) points out, often seems to indicate a "third space", which, albeit being divorced from both the origin and the receiving country, implies an entirely new way of living simultaneously in both places. Transnational activities are more narrowly defined – as individual immigrants' border-crossing activities – and do not necessarily imply a simultaneous mode of living in-between two societies. Moreover, any social

structure connecting origin and receiving society, such as transnational social spaces, transnational communities, and transnational networks (Faist 2000; Pries 2001), presuppose transnational *activities,* as these social structures are products of immigrants' actions. In sum, it therefore appears reasonable to focus on the micro-level and concrete actions when assessing transnationalism as an empirical phenomenon.

This work investigates a tangible aspect of transnational involvement: visits to the country of origin. Visits to one's country of origin may be the most basic form of transnational activities, because they encompass physical border-crossing (O'Flaherty et al. 2007: 819–820). To maintain social ties with persons in one's country of origin, physical presence is prone to be of great importance, despite means of modern telecommunication. This also holds for keeping an orientation towards the country of origin: frequent visits are likely to strengthen and reinforce an immigrant's orientation towards his or her original culture.

12.2.2 Previous Empirical Evidence

Aside from a rich body of (ethnographic) case studies and anecdotal evidence, large scale empirical evidence for transnational involvement among immigrants is still scarce. In the following section I will discuss the most relevant quantitative studies available so far. The arguably most regarded studies come from the Comparative Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project (CIEP) conducted in the US (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Portes et al. 2002; Portes 2001, 2003), which was explicitly designed to investigate transnational involvement among contemporary Latin-American immigrants in the US.

The first lesson to be learned from the CIEP data is that transnational involvement among immigrants is far from being a large scale phenomenon. Depending on the type of border-crossing activity, the share of immigrants transnationally active rarely exceeds one third (for an overview see Portes 2003). Moreover, only a small share of immigrants regularly participate in time- and resource-intensive transnational activities (as for instance taking part in political campaigns and rallies in the country of origin or in transnational entrepreneurial activities).

The findings of the CIEP on the relation between transnational activities and immigrant integration call into question traditional theories of immigrant integration. As Portes et al. (2002) and Guarnizo et al. (2003) argue, traditional theories of immigrant integration (or assimilation) would conceive of transnational involvement as temporary and bound to disappear over time, as immigrants become better integrated into the receiving society (Guarnizo et al. 2003: 1,215; Portes et al. 2002: 288). Yet, the analysis of the CIEP data shows the exact opposite pattern. Not only do transnational activities (economic and political) increase with the time spent in the receiving country, but factors such as education, which are typically assumed to ease integration into the receiving society, actually raise the chance of

being transnationally active. Moreover, Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo (2002) find evidence indicating that transnational involvement might be caused as a reaction to unfavorable conditions in the receiving society. This "reactive transnationalism" (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002: 772) comes into play if immigrants are dissatisfied with their life in the receiving country as the dissatisfaction promotes a greater orientation towards the country of origin.

In general the authors (Guarnizo et al. 2003: 1,233, 1,238) conclude that predictions from traditional assimilationist frameworks are consistently rejected, as transnational activities do not decrease as integration into the receiving increases. At the same time, these studies do not support the assumption that transnational involvement is a venue to marginalized migrants. Transnational involvement is often highest among those immigrants who are comparably well integrated into the receiving society.

Waldinger (2008) also finds evidence for transnational involvement among Latin-American immigrants in the US. His study refines previous findings by showing that border-crossing activities do not "cluster together" (Waldinger 2008: 24). Sending remittances is characteristic for new arrivals and decreases with time spent in the receiving country, whereas settled immigrants with secure legal status are more likely to engage in transnational activities, which require physical border-crossing. Taken together, Waldinger (2008: 824,826) concludes that genuine transnational modes of living are the exception and most immigrants intend to settle permanently in the destination country.

O'Flaherty et al. (2007) provide evidence of transnational involvement among newly arrived immigrants in Australia. Investigating visits to the country of origin by analyzing data from LSIA [Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Australia] the authors (O'Flaherty et al. 2007) find that only about one tenth of the newly arrived immigrants in Australia frequently visit their country of origin. These border-crossing activities are related to the immigrants' integration into the receiving society. However, the factors that shape immigrants' transnational involvement appear to change over time: initially, economic resources are a positive predictor for visiting the country of origin, but as immigrants become integrated into the receiving society, cultural factors, such as English language proficiency, become important (O'Flaherty et al. 2007: 832, 840).

These studies have been invaluable first steps in assessing how prevalent border-crossing activities are among contemporary immigrants and in which ways these activities might be linked to these immigrants' integration into the receiving countries. But the findings are far from being definite, for the reason that the above studies have a number of shortcomings that limit the conclusions that can be drawn from them. As Waldinger (2008: 6) emphasizes, the CIEP data might not be representative of the (Latin-American) immigrants in the US, because the sample consists of a significant, nonrandom referral element (for a discussion see Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005: 906), among which transnational involvement is much higher as compared to the random sample. What is more, the CIEP data as well as the data used by Waldinger (2008) is cross-sectional, which limits the ability to draw causal inferences from it, as it is usually impossible to distinguish between

selection and causation effects in this kind of data. Although the LSIA data are longitudinal, which certainly is an advantage, it is unfortunate that it follows immigrants only for 3½ years after initial arrival. While the "embryonic stages of settlement" (O'Flaherty et al. 2007: 840) are without doubt important for further paths of integration, it is too short a time period to assess how integration and transnational activities relate. Moreover, it is unfortunate that O'Flaherty et al. (2007) do not employ adequate statistical techniques for the analysis of longitudinal data, but instead compute pooled cross-sectional regression models, as the former make much better use of the data and produce more reliable estimates.

12.3 Theoretical Frame

This study's theoretical frame proposes bringing together frameworks of immigrant integration and life course research. Theoretical conceptions of immigrant integration share a major aspect with life course research: both underscore the importance of time and temporal aspects of social processes. One key assumption within the life course framework is that "events, experiences, and contexts affect individuals differently depending on their timing in the life course" (George 2009: 166). Immigrant integration in itself is a process that unfolds over time and, in this sense, over the life course. Thus, the four main themes of life course research identified by Elder (1994) – lives in historical times, linked lives, timing of lives, and human agency – link up very well with contemporary research on immigrant integration and transnational involvement. Life course research has already been applied to the study of migration (e.g. Jasso 2003; Kley 2010; Kulu and Milewski 2007). It is moreover noteworthy that these two theoretical traditions have the same roots: one of the first studies on immigrant integration and immigrants' border-crossing involvement, Thomas and Znaniecki's famous "The Polish Peasant" (1918), also inspired life course research (Elder 1985: 24).

Few attempts have been made so far linking transnational activities to the life course (exceptions are Kobayashi and Preston 2007; Levitt 2002; Smith 2002). This is suprising, considering that particular forms of transnational involvement are likely to be associated with central stages in the life course, such as education, getting married, starting a family, finding or changing employment, and retirement. Thus, the form and extent of border-crossing activities can be expected to vary over the life course, to "ebb and flow at different stages, varying with the demands of work, school, and family" (Levitt 2002: 139).

Yet, life course research at times remains descriptive. As such, it can profit from a more direct link to a theory of action, which specifies how life course patterns come into being through individual decisions and actions. As opportunities and motives (or desires, preferences, etc.) arguable make up the basic ingredients for many theories of actions (e.g. Elster 1982; Esser 1999; Hedström 2005), this study will develop hypotheses on how opportunities and motives for transnational involvement are shaped by an immigrant's life course and her or his position in the receiving society.

Before developing concrete hypotheses on the relation of immigration and transnational involvement, we have to get an understanding what immigrant integration refers to. Integration is often conceptualized as having different dimensions, with a differentiation between four core dimensions: cultural, structural, social, and emotional integration (Esser 2006). The cultural dimension refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, such as language, knowledge of norms, etc. Structural integration relates to immigrants' positioning and the participation of migrants in core spheres of the receiving society – such as the labor market. Social integration refers to the interaction and contact with the autochthonous population, i.e. friendships, intermarriage, etc., whereas emotional integration refers to aspects of identity and belonging. In principle, integration can take place both into the receiving society and/or the ethnic group (for details see Esser 2006: 24ff) and we can speak of assimilation on a particular dimension if there are no differences between the immigrant group and the autochthonous population.[1] Assimilation into the receiving societies' labor market is given, for instance, if both groups' labor market participation and positioning is equal.

Whereas older theories assume a linear and stepwise process of integration, with integration on one dimension being a requisite for further integration on following dimensions (e.g. Esser 1980; Gordon 1964), recent theoretical and empirical research has demonstrated that the link between the different dimensions is not as clear-cut as previously assumed (Bommes 2005; Gans 1992, 2007; Kalter and Schroedter 2010; Kalter 2005b; Zhou 1992). A strict link between the different dimensions of integration is possible but not necessary. Different configurations of integration on the different dimensions are, at least theoretically, possible.

How does transnational involvement come into play? If we conceptualize immigrant integration as a series of investment decisions (Esser 2006; Kalter and Granato 2002), where immigrants can either invest time and resources into receiving country capitals (i.e. pursue an assimilationist strategy) or into ethnic or origin country capitals (i.e. pursue an ethnic strategy) there is a clear link to transnational involvement: transnational activities are similar to investments into ethnic capitals.

Obviously, an important question in previous research concerns the compatibility or incompatibility of transnational involvement and immigrant integration. From the perspective of traditional frameworks, one could argue that integration into the receiving society and maintaining ties with the country of origin are mutually

[1]In the public as well as in the scientific discourse there is a heated debate on the concepts of integration and assimilation. The concept of assimilation is criticized for rendering incorporation into a receiving country as a unidirectional process, which requires the immigrants to give up their identity, which is said to be normatively as well as descriptively problematic with respect to pluralistic societies. However, the concept of assimilation as proposed by Esser (2006) distinguishes between processes and outcomes. While assimilation is one alternative investment strategy, Esser's model allows for several outcomes. Moreover, as an outcome, assimilation merely describes a situation in which parity between two groups. This situation of similarity can, however, be reached via different routes and does not necessarily require a unidirectional adaption of the immigrant group.

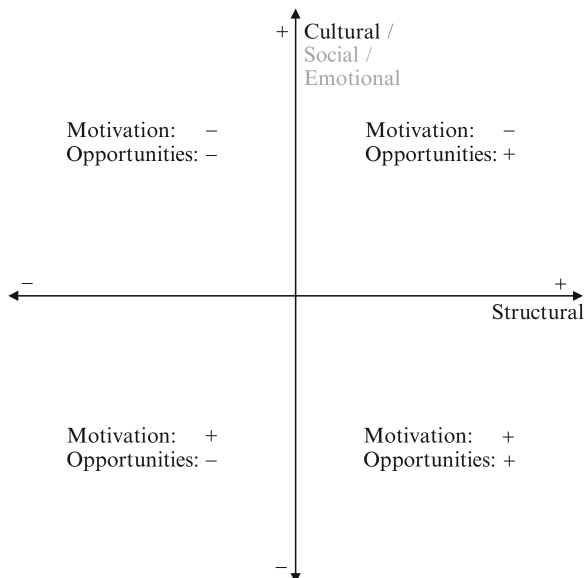

Fig. 12.1 Configurations of dimensions of integration into the receiving society and motivation and opportunities for transnational involvement (Modified from O'Flaherty et al. (2007))

exclusive, because the investment strategies are incompatible. Increasing integration will thus lead to a decrease in transnational involvement. But the compatibility might very well depend on the specific aspect we are investigating. Mutual inclusion in both origin and receiving country labor markets seems rather unlikely and exceptional (as suggested by the findings on transnational entrepreneurship), while bilingualism, hybrid ethnic identities, to name but two examples, are more likely.

At this point we find a direct link between immigrant integration and transnational involvement through the situation the immigrant faces in the receiving society. This situation is characterized by the immigrant's position in the receiving society and her or his stage in the life course. The former can be understood as the immigrant's positioning in a multidimensional social space, which is constituted by the dimensions of integration – not unlike Bourdieu's conception of social space (Bourdieu 1985). The propensity to be transnationally active then depends on the configuration of these dimensions, as combinations of these dimensions create specific motives and opportunities to assimilate, to retain an ethnic orientation, or to engage in transnational activities (graphically displayed in Fig. 12.1).

We can exemplify this on the basis of the structural and the cultural dimension. Immigrants who are structurally well integrated (or assimilated) are provided with the necessary financial means for transnational involvement, while those who are structurally not well integrated lack the resources. At the same time the degree of cultural integration shapes the motive: those who are culturally well integrated (or assimilated) have a higher orientation towards the receiving country and hence a lower motivation for keeping ties with their country of origin.

But this conception still is too static, given that opportunities and motives for transnational involvement are also structured by patterns of the life course.

At different points in the life course, there are also different opportunities for transnational involvement, as age underlies the organization of education, work, family, and leisure time (Settersten 2003: 81). To understand how transnational involvement comes into being and how it relates to integration thus requires the reconstruction of how trajectories of integration (i.e. the specific conditions that describe the immigrant's position in the receiving society over time) shape individual opportunities and motives for such involvement.[2] From such a perspective, integration is a multidimensional process on which transnational involvement is contingent and not an excluding alternative to transnational involvement.

12.3.1 Opportunities

The first variable of interest in shaping opportunities for transnational involvement, which is intimately linked to the timing of events, is certainly age. The tripartition of the life course (Kohli 1987) suggests that (time-demanding) transnational activities are more common during the first and last segment of the life course, because opportunities for such border-crossing involvement are limited during the main period of one's working life. In particular younger and older age groups, compared to persons in the midst of their life, can therefore be assumed to have more time at hand for visits to their country of origin (Hypothesis 1).

This also suggests that full-time employment limits one's opportunities for visiting the country of origin, as employment "ties" the immigrant to the receiving country. Full-time employment is thus expected to hinder long visits to the country of origin, whereas not working is assumed to provide the temporal opportunity and thus increase one the probability to visit (Hypothesis 2). Still, visiting the country of origin requires (financial) resources, despite the fact that the costs of traveling may have greatly declined in the last decades. Therefore, independent of the immigrant's labor force status, we can expect immigrants who are financially well off to visit their country of origin more often than immigrants who command few financial resources (Hypothesis 3).

12.3.2 Motivation

The opportunities to pursue a certain course of action are only part of the picture, we also have to consider an individual's motivation for certain courses of action. With regard to the motivation to be transnationally active, this paper concentrates on two important aspects: the temporal aspect of integration and the degree of (emotional) attachment to the receiving society.

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[2]This work's understanding of trajectories is level-based. Consequently, trajectories are defined as a time-dependent pattern of increase, decrease, or stability of a characteristic of interest (George 2009: 164–165).

Age, in particular the age at migration, appears as a crucial factor shaping an immigrant's motivation for transnational involvement. The more time an immigrant has spent in the country of origin before migration, the stronger will be the orientation and ties to this country, because she or he will have accumulated more origin country specific capital (e.g. social and cultural). Thus, the higher the age at migration, the stronger will be the ties to the country of origin and the higher the likelihood of being transnationally active (Hypothesis 4).

Years since migration (or years of residence) are assumed to have the opposite effect. Integration is a process over time: learning the new language, getting used to new customs and norms, building up new relations all happens over time and the years of residence capture the length of exposure. Consequently, the longer an immigrant lives in the receiving society, the higher will be his or her orientation towards this country and thus the lower the motivation to be transnationally active (Hypothesis 5). To be sure, years of residence by themselves do not constitute a causal factor for integration processes (Esser 1981), but if we are interested in investigating the link between trajectories of integration and transnational involvement, it is indispensable to look at how different measures of integration interact with time spent in the country of origin.

Life course research moreover suggests that individual lives are closely connected to the lives of others. From the perspective of linked lives (Elder 1994), we can assume that the motivation to be transnationally active is especially high, if there are direct family ties to the country of origin, as family members constitute important "location specific capital" (Michielin and Mulder 2007). One of the most intimate and important relationship is certainly that between parent and child. Therefore, we can assume that the motivation to visits one's country of origin will be higher if the parents are still living there (Hypothesis 6).

Two comments on the differentiation of opportunities and motivation appear due. First, it should be clear that this is an analytical differentiation. Factors said to shape opportunities are likely to also shape motives and vice versa. For instance, having family members living in the country of origin is likely to increase the motivation for visiting and may also indicate opportunities (e.g. a place to stay). Second, it should also be clear that the identified factors are far from exhaustive, as there are many other aspects influencing the opportunity and the motivation for border-crossing involvement. As far as the data permits, these aspects are controlled for.

Before proceeding to the empirical section of this paper, the following gives some background information on immigration in Germany.

12.4 Immigration in Germany

Today, about 19% of the German population are immigrants (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010), putting Germany among the top Western receiving countries. Postwar immigration to Germany began in 1950s and 1960s, when Germany recruited foreign workers ("Guestworkers" mainly from Greece, Portugal, Spain,

Turkey, and former Yugoslavia) to meet its industries' growing demand for labor in the reconstruction period. Although migration to Germany was supposed to be temporary labor migration, many immigrants settled permanently. After a period of comparatively low immigration in the 1970s and 1980s, mostly in form of family reunions and on humanitarian grounds, immigration to Germany increased again with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. In the late 1980s and in the 1990s Germany experienced a massive influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and the Balkan states, being either Ethnic Germans ("Spätaussiedler"), that is descendents of Germans living in Eastern Europe, or refugees fleeing the violent conflicts and wars in former Yugoslavia. Today, immigration is mostly temporary, intra-European labor migration (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010). Thus the majority of the immigrants who have settled in Germany are former "Guestworkers", their descendents, or Ethnic Germans.

The immigrants' position in the German society is rather disadvantaged, with the first and second generation still far from reaching parity of life chances with the autochthonous population, as they, for instance, lack human capital, have higher unemployment probabilities, and lower average incomes as compared to the autochthonous population (see e.g. Buchel and Frick 2004; Kalter 2005a; Kalter and Granato 2002; Kogan 2004). There are, however, considerable differences between the immigrant groups, with immigrants from Turkey being the most disadvantaged (Granato and Kalter 2001; Kalter and Granato 2002). Regarding these immigrants' border-crossing activities, representative estimates are unavailable up to now. There is, however, indirect evidence: a considerable share of interethnic marriages – foremost among immigrants with Turkish origin – are transnational marriages in the sense that one spouse immigrates to Germany after the marriage (across all groups on average 18% of the husbands and 33% of the wives, see Kalter and Schroedter (2010: 20–21) for details).

12.5 Data and Analysis

The current study is based on data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) (for detailed information on the data see Wagner et al. (2007)). The SOEP is a longitudinal survey of Germany's resident population, carried out since 1984. It contains a relatively large subsample of important immigrants groups in Germany – from Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and former Yugoslavia – and is therefore well suited for the analysis of immigrant integration. To ensure a sufficiently large share of immigrants in the SOEP, two of the several subsamples (subsample B in 1984 and D in 1994/1995) were specifically targeted at immigrants.

Since the dependent variable – visits to the country of origin – was first included in the SOEP in 1996, the analysis is restricted to the waves from 1996 to 2008. All persons who are identifiable as being a first generation migrant are included in the analysis. To identify these respondents, information on the country of origin was used. Consequentially, the defining criterion for being an immigrant is not

nationality but the country of origin. This allows including immigrants into the analysis who have acquired the German citizenship. Based on the country of origin, Turkish, Italian, Portuguese/Spanish, and Polish immigrants, immigrants from former Yugoslavia, immigrants from other Western European countries, immigrants from other Eastern European countries including Russia, and from other countries can be distinguished. A further differentiation by country of origin is impossible due to the small case numbers.

The dependent variable of the study, visits to the country of origin, is included in the SOEP every 2 years. Respondents are asked if they have been in their country of origin in the last 2 years and if so for how long. This might result in the data actually underrepresenting the incidence of visits, because if several trips have been undertaken only the longest is reported. The dependent variable was originally an ordinal variable (detailed information on the dependent and central independent variables are available in Table 12.A.1 in the appendix). It has been recoded into a binary variable, with "1" indicating a visit to the country of origin in the last 2 years that lasted at least 4 months (categories 4 and 5) and "0" if otherwise for the multivariate analysis, because spending more than 4 months in the country of origin comes closest to what is described as transnational modes of living in the literature (Basch et al. 1994; Glick-Schiller et al. 1995; Szanton-Blanc et al. 1995).

In order to ensure the correct temporal order between dependent and independent variables, time-lagged predictors have been used in the multivariate models; this means that in predicting the duration of the visit in the time between t and $t+2$, indicators from t and $t-1$ have been used.

As a measure of financial resources, the inflation-adjusted, OECD-equivalized (adjusted for the household composition) annual net household income in EURO divided by 1,000 is used. Labor force participation is operationalized with five categories: working, unemployed, retired, non-working, and other labor force status (such as being in education, on maternity leave, or military service). To capture the potential nonlinear effects of different life course stages, different age groups (up to 20 years, 21–30, 31–40, 41–50, 51–60, and 61 years and older) have been constructed. Since respondents provide information on the age at migration this can be directly included into the multivariate models, whereas information on the years of residence can be easily constructed from the age at migration. Information on the parents' whereabouts was collected in 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006. From this information two binary variables have been constructed separately for mother and father: one variable indicating, whether the respondents mother (or father) still lives in the country of origin ("1") or not ("0") and one variable indicating whether information on the mother's (or father's) whereabouts are missing ("1") or not ("0"). This allows to keep the cases for which information on the parents are missing while ensuring that the reference category does not include respondents whose parents are actually living in the country of origin.

To control for unobserved heterogeneity, the respondents' gender, level of education using the ISCED classification, marital status, number of children under 14 years in the household, intention to stay permanently in Germany (no-yes), whether or not the respondent has acquired the German citizenship (no-yes),

perceived discrimination (no-yes), whether or not the respondent has visited or was visited by Germans in the previous year (no-yes), sending remittances (no-yes), German language proficiency (very good/good vs. fair/poor/not at all), origin country language proficiency (very good/good vs. fair/poor/not at all), and period dummies are additionally controlled for.

This set up leaves 2,105 respondents with 5,672 person-years for whom there is information on all variables. The data for the analyses is unbalanced. Hence, not all respondents are observed in all seven waves; on average there are 2.7 observations per respondent.

12.5.1 Transnational Activities Among Immigrants in Germany: Descriptive Results

To assess the prevalence of visits to the country of origin, descriptive results showing how often immigrants in the sample have reported to have visited their country of origin in the time from 1996 to 2008 are presented in Fig. 12.2. The percentages have been computed by treating the different waves as if they were independent, cross-sectional data (see e.g. Diehl and Schnell 2006).[3] The number of cases therefore differs from the number of cases in the multivariate analysis.

In total and across all waves, more than two-thirds (71%) of the immigrants have visited their country of origin. As Fig. 12.2 shows, on average 29% of the immigrants report not having visited their country of origin in last 2 years. This number increases across the considered time period, from 24% in 1996 to about 30% in 2008. The majority of the visits to the country of origin is 1–3 months long. However, this share decreases almost 20% points from 46% in 1996 to 27% in 2008. At the same time, the percentage of immigrants, who only pay short visits to their country of origin, that is no longer than 3 weeks, increases from 21% in 1996 to 33% in 2008. A relatively stable share, about 4–5%, visits their country of origin for 4–6 months and an equally sized share stays even longer. It is interesting to observe that while the share of moderately long visits (1–3 months) decreases over the time, the share of short visits (up to 3 weeks) increases. This could be related to the decline in prices for flights during this time period, which might have shifted immigrants'

[3]Of course, this is not entirely correct, as it is actually a trend analysis based on the same persons. Potentially selective panel attrition can thus result in inaccurate estimates. However, the direction of any bias is likely to be negative that is a potential bias will lead to an underestimation of the visits to the country of origin. If transnational involvement is linked to the drop-out probability, the only theoretical plausible way is that transnational involvement increases the probability to drop out, which then leads to a sample from which transnational involvement is underestimated. A potential remedy for this problem lies in using cross-sectional weights. But since appropriate weighting schemes for immigrants in the SOEP are not available (see Diehl and Schnell 2006: 798 for details), the waves of the SOEP in the descriptive analysis are treated as independent, unweighted samples.

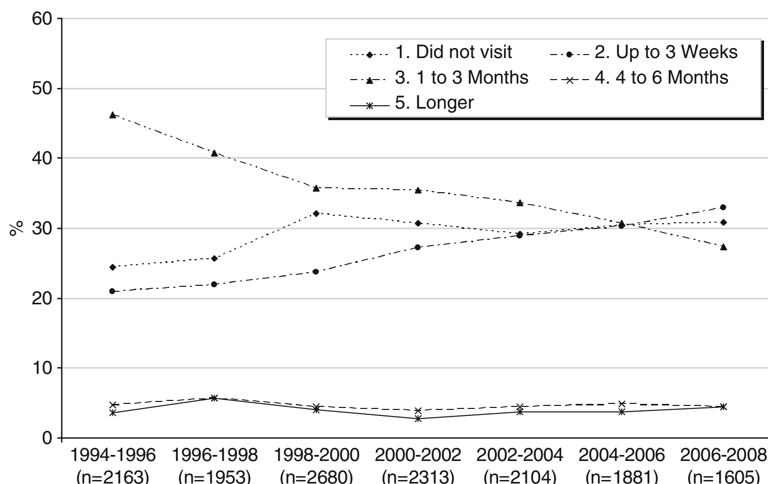

Fig. 12.2 Visits to country of origin in the last 2 years (Source SOEP 1996–2008, own computations, unweighted)

home visits from fewer and longer trips to shorter and more frequent trips. But with the data at hand, this is impossible to test and thus remains speculative.

12.5.2 Transnational Activities and Immigrant Integration: Multivariate Analyses

The following section discusses the results of the multivariate models which have been computed to test the hypotheses. To make efficient use of the panel structure of the data, random and fixed effects models have been computed (Allison 2009; Halaby 2003; Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2005). The basic idea behind these models is quite simple: since there are several observations for the same individuals at different points in time, the observations are so to speak "clustered" in individuals. These observations are not independent from one another. Some persons are generally more transnationally active than others, which will show in their individual observations. Panel data analysis allows controlling for such unmeasured characteristics in several possible ways. The random effect model allows the intercept to vary over the clusters, in this case individuals. Although the random intercept model is a considerable improvement over pooled cross-sectional regression models, it relies on a number of strong assumptions that are not always met. In particular, the random intercept model assumes that all time constant, unobserved characteristics (which cause the intercept to vary over individuals) are uncorrelated with the independent variables. If this key assumption is not met, the estimates will be biased by the (time-constant) unobserved characteristics.

Considering the present case, this is rather unlikely to hold: among the unobserved, time constant factors can be such things as a general orientation towards the country of origin which might depend on experiences in the country before migration. Such an orientation is likely to be correlated with observed predictors, as, for instance, the intention to stay permanently in Germany.

In such a situation the estimation of a fixed effects model proves to be better, as it relies only on within-person variation to estimate the coefficients. This means that the effects of the independent variables are computed by inter-individual comparisons: fixed effects models investigate how change in the dependent variable is related to change in the independent variable within the same individuals. As time constant, unobserved characteristics are fixed within individuals, the effects are estimated net of these unobserved characteristics. However, fixed effects logistic regression models only use observations that experience a change in both the dependent and the independent variable. Hence, they use comparably few cases and are less efficient than random effects models. Moreover, fixed effects models are unable to estimate the effects of time-constant independent variables. Because the effect of time-constant variables, such as the ethnic origins or age at migration, are of interest for this paper, both random and fixed effects have been computed.

12.6 Results

The results of the multivariate analysis are presented in Table 12.1. The first model includes immigrant origin and age groups. With respect to origin, Turkish immigrants have the highest likelihood ($OR = 3.18$, $p < 0.001$) of visiting their country of origin compared to immigrants from Italy, which serve as the reference category. Aside from immigrants with Turkish origin, Spanish and Portuguese as well as Greek immigrants also show higher likelihoods to visit their country of origin. Whereas Spanish and Portuguese immigrants' odds are increased by a factor of 2.04 ($p < 0.05$), the Greek immigrants' odds are increased by a factor of 2.69 ($p < 0.001$). Immigrants from former Yugoslavia, Poland, and other Western-European countries do not differ significantly from Italian immigrants in the probability to visit their respective origin countries. However, immigrants from other Eastern-European countries, which are likely to comprise mostly of ethnic Germans, are significantly less likely ($OR = 0.20$, $p < 0.01$) to engage in these border-crossing activities.

The hypotheses (H1) on the structuring effect of the immigrants' age are only partly confirmed. Compared to the reference category, that is immigrants of 31–40 years of age, the odds of paying visiting the country of origin are increased by the factor 2.17 ($p < 0.01$) for the second youngest group (21–30 years). Surprisingly, the other age groups do not differ significantly from those immigrants who are in the midst of their life. On might assume that this is due to age being confounded with the labor force status, i.e. that it is not the age groups per se, but instead one's position on the labor market that shapes the temporal opportunities for

Table 12.1 Determinants of long visits to country of origin, logistic random (RE) and fixed effects (FE), OR

		Model 1, RE	Model 2, RE	Model 3, RE	Model 4, RE	Model 5, FE
		OR	OR	OR	OR	OR
Country of origin:	Italy	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	–
	Turkey	3.18***	2.76***	3.01***	3.05***	–
	Greece	2.69***	2.83***	2.88***	2.97***	–
	Spain and Portugal	2.04*	2.20*	2.11*	2.14*	–
	Ex-Yugoslavia	1.31	1.35	1.46	1.52	–
	Other West-Europe	1.03	1.30	1.36	1.36	–
	Poland	0.34	0.42	0.69	0.68	–
	Other East-Europe (incl. Russia)	0.20**	0.24**	0.41	0.41	–
	Other	0.99	1.11	1.15	1.27	–
Age:	Up to 20 years	3.02	2.47	1.78	1.67	–[a]
	21–30 years	2.17**	2.08**	2.09**	1.92*	1.88
	31–40 years	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	41–50 years	0.88	0.81	0.75	0.67	0.48
	51–60 years	1.53	1.28	1.08	0.97	0.38
	61 years and older	2.67	1.78	1.44	1.26	0.49
Age at migration		1.11***	1.10***	1.11**	1.10**	–
Age at migration squared		0.99**	0.99**	0.99*	0.99*	–
Years of residence		1.06**	1.06**	1.07**	1.10***	1.18
ISCED:	(0) In School/No answer		1.64	1.42	1.42	–
	(1) Inadequately		1.65**	1.54**	1.51*	–
	(2) General elementary		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	–
	(3) Middle vocational		1.05	0.99	0.98	–
	(4) Vocational plus Abitur		0.72	0.68	0.68	–
	(5) Higher vocational		0.87	0.85	0.84	–
	(6) Higher education		0.97	0.87	0.80	–

(continued)

Table 12.1 (continued)

		Model 1, RE	Model 2, RE	Model 3, RE	Model 4, RE	Model 5, FE
		OR	OR	OR	OR	OR
HH-Income year (in 1,000€), OECD equivalence scale, inflation-adjusted			1.00	1.00	1.07***	1.13*
Labor force status:	Working		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
	Non-working		2.25***	2.37***	2.38***	2.65***
	Retired		1.58	1.61	1.58	1.44
	Unemployed		1.71**	1.75**	1.72**	1.34
	Other		1.36	1.32	1.34	2.36*
Father: lives in country of origin				1.93**	1.88*	–[b]
Mother: lives in country of origin				0.75	0.72	–[b]
Sending remittances				0.97	0.95	0.96
Wish to remain in Germany permanently				0.84	0.85	1.43
German citizenship				0.50	0.55	–[b]
Perceived discrimination: experienced				0.89	0.89	0.81
Interaction: years of res. X Income					0.99***	0.99*
N (persons)		2,105	2,105	2,105	2,105	334
N (person-years)		5,672	5,672	5,672	5,672	1,317

Model 4 (and Model 5 if variable is time-varying) also controls for: gender (n.s.), marital status (single: +/other: n.s.), number of children under 14 in hh (−), visited Germans in their home in the last year (n.s.), visited by Germans at home in the last year (n.s.), information on father's/mother's whereabouts missing (n.s./n.s.), German language proficiency (n.s.), country of origin language proficiency (writing: –/speaking: n.s.), period dummies (years) (n.s.)

*$p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

[a]Category was too small ($n = 10$) and was merged with age category 21–30 years

[b]Too little change over time

transnational involvement as the second hypothesis specifies. As model 2 shows, which includes aspects of structural assimilation, this is only partly true. Compared to immigrants who have a full-time job, non-working and unemployed immigrants have higher likelihood of visiting the country of origin (OR = 2.25, $p < 0.001$ and OR = 1.71, $p < 0.01$). We have to keep in mind that these are the effects of labor force status net of income. Interestingly though, neither retirement nor annual net household income prove to be significant predictors for long visits to the country of origin.[4] Thus, there is only partial support for the second and none for the third hypothesis.

Age at migration, however, affects the likelihood of visiting the country of origin in the expected direction (H4): the older an immigrant at migration, the more likely will she or he visit the country of origin (OR = 1.10, $p < 0.001$). But the relation between age at migration and visits to the origin country is curvilinear, as indicated by the significant and negative coefficient of the squared age at migration (OR = 0.99, $p < 0.01$).

The most surprising result, however, is the positive and significant effect of years of residence (OR = 1.06, $p < 0.01$). Contrary to the expectation (H5), it appears that the probability to visit one's country of origin increases with time spent in the receiving country. Although this is theoretically surprising, it links up with previous studies mentioned above. Moreover, this effect seems to be linear, as other model specifications (not reported here) show that the effect is neither curvilinear nor in any other way non-linear.

Model 3 (Table 12.1) includes the variables on the parents' whereabouts. There is partial support for the sixth hypothesis, as the likelihood of visiting the country of origin increases if the father is still living in the country of origin (OR = 1.93, $p < 0.01$). It is also noteworthy that sending remittances, which is added as a further control, is not significantly associated with visits to the country of origin.

Despite the strong effect of the years of residence, time alone does not provide a theoretical explanation for immigrant integration (Esser 1981). Instead, as argued above, the processes that happen drive integration happen over time. Therefore, to investigate the effects of potentially differential trajectories of integration over time, model 4 (Table 12.1) includes an interaction between years of residence and income. After including the interaction, which itself is highly significant (OR = 0.99, $p < 0.001$), the adjusted household income also becomes significant (OR = 1.07, $p < 0.001$), and the significance level of the coefficient of the estimated effect of years of residence increases (OR = 1.10, $p < 0.001$).

Interaction effects in logistic regression models are not easy to interpret, because we have to consider the main and the interaction effects simultaneously. To facilitate understanding of the interaction between income and years of residence, Fig. 12.3 displays the combined effects on the odds of paying a long visit to the country of origin. Overall, the positive association between years of residence and visiting

[4]Moreover, income does not have a curvilinear relation to visiting the country of origin, as the inclusion of a squared income term does not result in a significant effect (results not reported here).

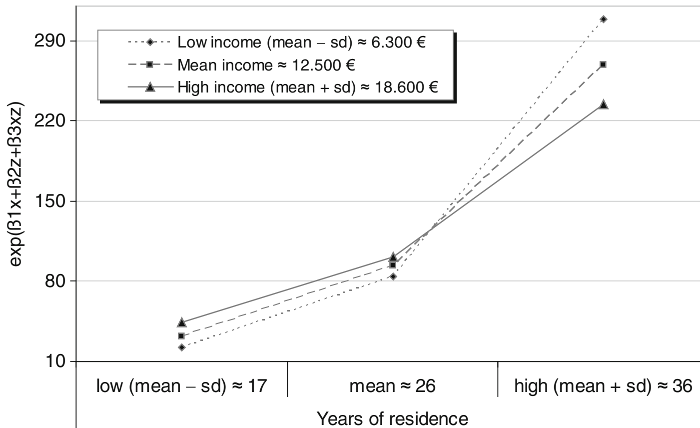

Fig. 12.3 Combined (main and interaction) effect of income and years of residence on the odds ratio of visiting the country of origin from the fixed effects logistic regression model in Table 12.1

the country of origin is also found: as the years of residence increase, so does the likelihood of visiting. However, there is little difference between the income groups (mean income plus or minus one standard deviation) for short and mean years of residence (mean years of residence and mean years of residence minus one standard deviation) as Fig. 12.3 shows. Still, for short and mean years of residence, higher income translates into a higher likelihood of visiting the country of origin, compared to low income immigrants. But the relation between the income groups reverses and the differences increase if we consider a long residence (mean years of residence plus one standard deviation). Now the high income group has the lowest likelihood of visiting the country of origin and the low income group the highest.

To check whether time-constant unobserved heterogeneity is biasing the results, an additional fixed effects model (model 5 in Table 12.1) was computed.[5] The first thing to notice is that no time-constant independent variable is included in the model and that it uses much fewer observations than the random effects models, as it relies only on within-variation and discards all observations that do not vary in their dependent and independent variables over time. If we compare the estimates of the fixed effects model to fully specified random effects model (model 4 in Table 12.1), we see that the age group effect has disappeared. In this regard, the observed effects in the random effects model may not be genuine life course or life cycle effects. Instead, belonging to a certain age group might be confounded with time-constant unobserved characteristics that are correlated with transnational involvement.

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[5]Comparing models 4 and 5, a Hausman-test ($p < 0.001$) favours the fixed effects model, suggesting that important, time constant unobserved characteristics have been omitted from the random effects model.

Moreover, the positive association between unemployment and visits to the country of origin disappears, whereas the positive effect between non-working and visits remain. Therefore, the data indicates that becoming unemployed in itself is not a true predictor for visits to the country of origin. Rather, the effect of unemployment seems to stem from a correlation between unemployment and time-constant confounders. It is noteworthy that the fixed effects model also shows a positive association ($OR = 2.36$, $p < 0.05$) between spending time at the country of origin and "other" labor force status, which includes diverse status such as maternity leaves, military and community services, irregular employment and the like. Unfortunately, the category is too small to disentangle what is behind this effect.

Most importantly, the positive income effect ($OR = 1.13$, $p < 0.05$) and the interaction effect remain significant ($OR = 0.99$, $p < 0.05$), whereas the effect estimate of the years of residence is no longer significant. Still, the fixed effects model generally supports the interpretation of the interplay between years of residence and income.

12.7 Conclusion

This paper used data from the SOEP to study the prevalence and the determinants of visits to the country of origin by immigrants in Germany. It delivers evidence for immigrants' involvement in Germany, by investigating a tangible aspect of border-crossing activities: visits to the country of origin. Descriptive analyses have shown that a considerable share of the immigrants engages in such activities. At the same time, the share that is transnationally very active, defined in this study as visiting the country of origin for 4 months and longer in a 2 year period, is not large, around 10%.

This study proposed to combine theoretical considerations from life course research with research on immigrant integration. It should be apparent that both streams of research are highly compatible. Analyzing immigrant integration and transnational involvement from a life course perspective can provide a coherent framework for understanding the effects of age, duration, and timing. The proposed perspective suggests that transnational activities vary over the life course, structured by age- and timing-effects as well as the immigrant's position in the receiving society, by creating specific opportunities, obstacles and motives for such activities.

Although the analyses only partly confirm the theoretical expectations regarding the structuring effect of an immigrant's age, they provide ample evidence on the importance of the timing of events and the temporal aspects of integration, as indicated by the effect of age at migration and the combined effect of years of residence and financial recourses. The latter finding is particularly important as it underscores that a factor's effect might be time-dependent. Moreover, transnational involvement seems to be structured by the immigrants' participation in the labor market, and this certainly is patterned over the life course.

Regarding the relation between immigrant integration and transnational involvement, this paper's findings neither conform fully to predictions of assimilationist nor to transnational theoretical conceptions. First, a basic assimilationist perspective would expect a declining tendency for transnational involvement as integration into the receiving society increases over time. This is obviously not the case, as years of residence seem to increase an immigrant's propensity for the origin country. However, there still seems to be a patterned association between an immigrant's position in the receiving society. The interaction of financial resources and years of residence point toward potentially different trajectories of integration, given that the effect of the available financial resources change with the time spent in the receiving country. Financial resources appear to be enabling, creating the opportunity for transnational involvement. But over time those immigrants who command most financial capital are the least likely to be transnationally active, which again links up with an assimilationist perspective. Moreover, although there is no clear association between other aspects of structural assimilation, such as education, and the propensity to visit one's country of origin, those who are not working and have no formal education are transnationally more active.

Second, similar to findings of Waldinger (2008), this study shows that transnational activities do not cluster together. Although this was not at the focus of this study, it is noteworthy that sending remittances is not linked to visits to the country of origin. Thus, the data do not support the idea of a transnational mode of living.

But this is only a first step to investigate the relation between immigrant integration and transnational involvement. The results of this study suggest that integration and transnational activities, at least when it comes to visiting the country of origin, can go hand in hand. It needs to be checked whether this also holds for other aspects of transnational involvement.

This study has a number of shortcomings that point to further directions of research. First, it is apparent that the specified models are far from being able to comprehensively explain why immigrants' engage in transnational activities. If we take the notable differences between the immigrant groups as the point of departure, we see that these differences do not disappear, once characteristics shaping opportunities and motivation are controlled for. Second, the SOEP mostly contains information on immigrants who have been residing in Germany for quite some time and most of them intend to stay in Germany permanently (Table 12.A.1). It would be interesting to check whether similar patterns can be found among immigrants who have been in the country of origin for shorter time spans. Third, panel attrition can pose a serious threat to longitudinal analysis, specifically if panel attrition is non-random. It is possible that transnational involvement over the life course increases the probability to drop out of the sample, for instance, through permanent remigration. Consequently, the fact that retirement (or the older age groups) does not seem to be related to visits to the country of origin, could be due to selective panel attrition in the sense that only those (old) immigrants remain in the sample, who per se have a

lower probability for transnational involvement and permanent remigration. Future research should take these issues into account when further investigating the relation between immigrant integration and transnational activities.

12.A.1 Appendix

Table 12.A.1 Descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables based on the multivariate sample (N: Person-Years = 5,672) (Source: SOEP 1996–2008)

Variable	Categories/description	Mean/%	SD	Min	Max
Visit to country of origin:	1 "Did not visit"	18.05			
	2 "Up to 3 weeks"	24.58			
	3 "1–3 months"	45.96			
	4 "4–6 months"	6.49			
	5 "Longer"	4.92			
Sex :	0 "Male"	50.49			
	1 "Female"	49.51			
Country of origin:	Italy	34.57			
	Turkey	15.29			
	Greece	8.97			
	Spain and Portugal	4.48			
	Ex-Yugoslavia	17.15			
	Other West-Europe	4.99			
	Poland	3.49			
	Other East-Europe (incl. Russia)	7.32			
	Other	3.74			
Age:	Up to 20 years	2.10			
	21–30 years	16.80			
	31–40 years	25.26			
	41–50 years	20.33			
	51–60 years	21.65			
	61 years and older	13.86			
ISCED:	(0) In school/no answer	3.84			
	(1) Inadequately	18.53			
	(2) General elementary	30.15			
	(3) Middle vocational	30.98			
	(4) Vocational plus Abitur	6.47			
	(5) Higher vocational	2.38			
	(6) Higher education	7.65			
HH-Income year (in 1,000€), OECD equivalence scale, inflation-adjusted		13.19	7.35	0.0	174.0

(continued)

Table 12.A.1 (continued)

Variable	Categories/description	Mean/%	SD	Min	Max
Labor force status:	Working	55.64			
	Non-working	22.87			
	Retired	6.33			
	Unemployed	9.43			
	Other	5.73			
Remittances to relatives/friends abroad	0 "No"	85.01			
	1 "Yes"	14.99			
Father lives in country of origin	0 "No"	62.84			
	1 "Yes"	37.17			
Mother lives in country of origin	0 "No"	51.66			
	1 "Yes"	48.34			
Intention to stay permanently in Germany	0 "No"	36.39			
	1 "Yes"	63.61			
German citizenship	0 "No"	94.38			
	1 "Yes"	5.62			
Experienced discrimination	0 "No"	52.77			
	1 "Yes"	47.23			
Years of residence	Years of residence since arrival	21.64	10.73	0.0	52.0

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Chapter 13
Immigrant Settlement and the Life Course: An Exchange of Research Perspectives and Outlook for the Future

Helga de Valk, Michael Windzio, Matthias Wingens, and Can Aybek

13.1 Introduction

Patterns of immigrant settlement as well as the process of incorporation of children of immigrants are directly affecting the life courses of immigrants, their families as well as the majority population in the host country. From this perspective a linkage between the sociology of the life course and research on migration and integration of immigrants seems obvious. In the general introduction we started with an overview of the theoretical foundations and basic analytical concepts of the life course approach and pointed to potentially fruitful links with migration and integration research. The 11 contributions in this book empirically demonstrated the analytical potential of linking the life course perspective and research on immigrant settlement. In our conclusion the use and payoff of this connection will be discussed in more detail. Now, while the link between the life course approach and migration and integration research seems to be obvious, existing studies on family dynamics and the life course often focus on majority populations only and hardly take

H. de Valk (✉)
Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute the Hague and Interface Demography, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, PO Box 11650, 2502 AR The Hague, The Netherlands
e-mail: valk@nidi.nl

M. Windzio
Institute for Empirical and Applied Sociology (EMPAS), University of Bremen, 28334 Bremen, Germany
e-mail: mwindzio@empas.uni-bremen.de

M. Wingens
Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), University of Bremen, 28334 Bremen, Germany
e-mail: mwingens@bigsss.uni-bremen.de

C. Aybek
Department of Political Science, University of Siegen, 57068 Siegen, Germany
e-mail: aybek@politikwissenschaft.uni-siegen.de

M. Wingens et al. (eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5_13, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

those with a migrant origin into account. Little is known on the background and consequences of life course transitions for migrants and their families. Our book is an attempt to overcome this limitation of previous work and to show the relevance of applying a life course approach to the study of immigrant groups. Bridging the gap between research traditions is urgently needed as Europe's current population is already heterogeneous and expected to be even more diverse in the future. In many countries already a fifth of the population is born abroad, or has at least one parent born outside the country of residence. International migrants often experience a rapid social change when moving from their country of origin to another country of settlement. Depending on the move they may not be familiar with the culture in the country of settlement, its institutional regimes, and everyday life practices. This may bring along many uncertainties as was already very well described by Thomas and Znaniecki in their classic work "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (1918–1920). As they also show the migration move can have a disruptive effect on the individual migrant and the family.

At the start of this book we argued that a closer link of migration and integration research and the life course approach can be potentially gainful for both research traditions. The life course approach has been applied in empirical research in various sub-disciplines of sociology, demography, and related fields. However, in migration research the life course paradigm up to now mainly was applied to one strand of studies focusing on migration decision-making and internal mobility choices (Massey and Espinosa 1997; Wagner 1989; Kley 2009; Mulder 1993; Mulder and Hooimeijer 1999). The life course approach is much less established in the subfield of research on migrant settlement and integration yet. Despite the fact that some ideas from the life course approach have been included in recent studies, a fuller reflection of this approach in studies on migrant incorporation is still missing. This is rather unfortunate since the event of an international migration move is an ideal-type of a life course transition and, at the same time, it is in many cases also a turning point with profound consequences for the migrants and their families. Furthermore, after arrival in the receiving country outcomes of incorporation processes are closely linked to the various factors which are emphasized in the sociological life course approach through concepts like transitions, path-dependence, timing, sequencing, etc. Also concerning the children of immigrants it is relevant to take a life course approach as their lives evolve in a societal structure which is potentially quite different from that of the context in their parental family. The importance of life course concepts and principles is also of clear significance when studying the second generation. Taking the life course approach could furthermore be a starting point to studying the variety of settlement processes as a set of trajectories of incorporation. Yet, rather than being just another frame for the application of the sociological life course approach, research on international migration and integration and migrant populations can advance and test the ideas put forward in the life course approach. This mutual way ahead can be a fruitful starting point for future studies. In this book an attempt was made to provide a broad overview of potential applications in different domains related to the study of the process of settlement of international migrants and their offspring.

13.2 Life Course Principles and Concepts in Migration and Integration Research

Integration research is mainly driven by theories on the settlement process of international migrants after moving to a new country. Most of these theories have been developed in the North-American context and starting from first generation international migrants. Classical assimilation theory hypothesizes a direct and linear process of adaptation in all domains of life. Although it has been questioned whether this still is an accurate way of describing migrant families in Europe, it remains the core assumption in much of the research on integration of migrants. According to the classical straight line assimilation perspective, developed by researchers from the Chicago School like Park and Burgess in the early twentieth century, an immigrant will automatically adapt to the new societal context after migration (Park 1950). The receiving context remains stable according to this view and the migrant almost automatically becomes part of mainstream society. Despite different adaptations to this theory (Alba and Nee 1997) the overall idea of immigrant adaptation is still often perceived as an automatic one way street of change. Only recently it has been stronger emphasized that it is also important to take both origin and destination context into account when aiming to explain adaptation processes (Van Tubergen 2006). Overall many theories have aimed to explain immigrant adaptation to a new environment by taking a rather static approach. Compared to such integration perspectives, the life course approach takes a more dynamic perspective to migration and migrants' lives after settlement. Migration is an event in time, and being a migrant is a stage in a person's life, following the event. The concept of timing, i.e. that the timing of events in life is relevant can very well be applied to study the effects migration has on the individual life course. The timing of the migration move may matter for experiencing other events and the unfolding of the further life course. In addition, also for the second generation the timing of the migration move of their parents can be relevant. Parents who migrated only at a later age might have been largely socialized in the country of origin and may just as well have experienced many demographic events already before migration. Timing of events also emphasizes the path-dependency of the life course. The life course perspective in this way stresses the importance of interdependency of different events and transitions.

One of the main contributions of life course research comes from the dynamic perspective of agency and structure. Agency and structure interact: while micro-level processes have been regarded as being shaped by institutions and structures, individual life courses are also shaping institutions and structures at the same time. This implies a focus on societal context, especially the institutional structure, and its reproduction over time. According to this, it is ever more clear that complexity and dynamics of social life can not be accounted for by studying "isolated" points in time and assuming implicitly that the current states reflect equilibrium. Ignoring the dynamics of social life can impede appropriate conclusions. Despite the focus on dynamics over time still many studies applying a life course approach study

separate transitions only. Less attention has been given to life trajectories, including different stages within a certain period. Traditionally the literature on integration of immigrants has paid attention to different life domains and the links between them. The classical model of assimilation as formulated by Gordon (1964) suggested that integration relates to different domains in life and that assimilation in one domain does not necessarily cause integration in other areas. Having said this also in the sociology of migration many empirical studies still capture just one domain of life or focus on one transition only. Recent studies have paid attention to aspects of the transition to adulthood of immigrant youth for example (Bernhardt et al. 2007; De Valk 2006; Milewski 2008) but much less attention has been given to covering whole life histories and capturing trajectories, including timing and sequencing of separate events. This is unfortunate as transitions often occur in different domains like education, work and the family around the same time. Studying the transitions in each of these domains separately does not recognize the interrelatedness of these spheres in a person's life. Timing of events in one domain is related to those in other domains. Possibilities and choice options later in life are furthermore limited and linked to earlier decisions and conditions.

Different models of immigrant incorporation or acculturation are also core to models developed by socio-psychologists like Berry (1997, 2003). Acculturation strategies may vary for individuals depending on a range of factors and depend on both the societies of origin and settlement, the individual and the interaction between each of these factors in the course of acculturation. The idea of different integration outcomes, as put forward by Portes and Zhou in the mid nineties, also refers to different life paths of international migrants in the host society. The suggested "segmented assimilation" (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997) focuses on the different ways in which the lives of second generation migrants evolve. According to their ideas it covers three potential pathways: the traditional straight-line assimilation, upward mobility in ethnic communities or downward assimilation towards the urban underclass of the receiving society. Despite its implicit links to studies of the life course this is not at the core of the work. In recent years the applicability of the segmented assimilation theory has been subject of discussion because it was developed within the US urban context and might not be adequate for the European countries. Once more it points to the importance of taking the societal structure or the wider society setting into account when studying the life courses of immigrants: the contexts which international migrants face when arriving to the US are not similar to the ones faced by immigrants settling in Europe.

The emphasis that the life course approach puts on the importance of societal context is of major interest for studying life courses of migrants and their descendents. Migrants face a radical change in geographical context and the linked historical setting. Migrants move between two different contexts: the society of origin and destination. How this change between contexts influences the individual life course and the consequences it has for migrants, their families and the wider network is still understudied. When aiming to better capture population change among migrants in the host society, the settlement context is of course extremely relevant. However, the importance of the country of origin should not be neglected:

international migrants have lived part of their lives in a different society and take these experiences along when moving. A more direct link between the two different contexts can further our understanding of the effects of migration on integration processes and family change.

The societal structure and its institutional setting also largely determine the choices and are providing the setting in which individuals have to model their individual life course (Mayer 2004). In integration studies, the work by Esser points to the fact that integration processes are not universal but are subject to differences in individual choices in a restricted context. Esser's (2008) theoretical approach to the incorporation process of immigrants can thus be connected to some basic principles of life course research. According to his core assumptions, individual action is always related to the expected utility of investment alternatives. Arguing from a rational choice perspective, Esser (2004) pointed out that also the incorporation process depends on outcomes of individual investment choices. The basic argument in Esser's actor-based model is that there is a limited set of individual and contextual characteristics which influence the utility-function of immigrants. Actually, his actor-based model provides a multilevel perspective focussing on choice at the micro-level, which is at the same time guided by a subjective definition of macro-level conditions. In other words, from the actor's point of view, context characteristics govern the expected utility of each alternative. Esser's (2008) arguments draw attention to the social conditions of investment in the host country as, for example, group size, group composition and the emergence, shifting or dissolution of boundaries have an important impact on immigrants' life-courses.

Alba and Nee have pointed in their work in particular to this latter point: the role of "boundaries" for the incorporation of immigrants. If the majority population perceives an immigrant group as a distinct community characterised for example by high poverty risks, high shares of welfare receivers and sub-cultural practices, this majority will probably span ethnic boundaries (Alba and Nee 2003: 59) and may tend to discriminating practices. These, in turn are likely to result in "reactive ethnicity" and "assertive distinctiveness" from the immigrants and thus lead to reinforced ethnic boundaries. For international migrants the context thus refers not only to the host society in general but also to that of their immigrant origin group in the settlement country (Breton 1964). Van Tubergen (2005) has referred to this as "community effects": the own ethnic group can be an important context for individual life courses. Each of these context characteristics (origin, settlement and community) determines which alternatives are available and attractive for choices of individual migrants and their offspring

The life course approach also stresses the importance of relevant others in the life of the individual. According to the idea of linked lives, a person is affected by what happens to others, and when making decisions people consider the consequences there might be for others. Processes of migration of individual persons and families, but also family reunification are all embedded in linked-lives. Especially for migrants, who have moved to another society, the links for example within the family can be expected to be of major importance. The family provides

a “safe haven” in a new context and links with the country of origin. At the same time one may assume that as a result of an international migration move, with its disruptive effects, social relations within the family as well as between partners are subject to change. Kagitcibasi (2005) for example suggests different family models and their changes due to migration. Applying the linked lives principle more directly in migration and integration studies may advance knowledge on models of continuity and change in relationships.

13.3 Empirical Findings on Immigrant Settlement and the Life Course

As outlined before, there are obviously potential links between integration theories and the life course approach. Our book is an attempt to better capture this issue. In the 11 empirical chapters of this volume different principles and concepts of life course research have been touched upon. Some studies simultaneously apply different concepts in their analyses whereas others include distinct parts of the life course approach. The possible tools of life course research in integration studies have also been shown by using very different methodological starting points. As already noted, the life course approach is not one unified theory, but rather a specific set of theoretical guidelines, principles, and concepts through which social reality can be analysed. The most important key concepts have been clarified in the introduction.

In her contribution to this volume, Söhn investigates the link between the migration move and educational outcomes by studying the age-of-immigration effect on educational attainment in the 1.5 generation immigrants to Germany. This timing effect of migration for outcomes in other domains of life has received little attention in research so far. While the group of the *Aussiedler* (repatriates of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe) is prevented from being excluded from lowest levels of educational attainment compared with non-German immigrants, the age-of-migration effect is comparatively strong. She finds a similar pattern when comparing respondents with higher and lower levels of parental education: high parental education prevents from lower educational levels, but at the same time the age-of-migration effect is much larger. Making an international migration move at the ages of primary or secondary education removes a considerable part of the advantage of 1.5 generation immigrants who have highly educated parents or who have the rather privileged status of being *Aussiedler*. From Söhn’s study we conclude that timing of migration is crucial for the effects the move might have on the individual life course: the transition from the sending to the host country may have particular strong impacts on the later life course when it occurs in a “sensitive” phase of life. In addition, this also points to the importance of taking the past into account as is stressed by the life course approach. In combination with path-dependencies resulting from certificates of general education, the

age-of-migration effect is thus supposed to shape future trajectories. Actually, age at migration has not only an impact on placement in the stratified system of secondary education, but can either open or block opportunities of further investment in later life. This is shown for educational outcomes of immigrants but may just as well apply to other domains of life.

Following up on this perspective, Aybek draws a picture of the important transition after leaving the lower level secondary school system. His quantitative analyses focus on transition patterns of young people with low educational certificates into vocational education and training (VET) in Germany. Although in terms of their educational background this group might be assumed to be homogenous, Aybek's analyses demonstrate that having a migratory background has a negative impact on the chances of making a successful transition into VET. In addition to that, his results indicate that during the transition processes into VET age norms exist, as young people who leave school at a later age experience greater barriers. From a perspective of the sociological life course approach also interesting are his results with respect to the temporal order of opportunity structures on the VET market. He points out that shorter time periods exist that are institutionally induced and in which the transition rates into VET are higher. These are succeeded by longer periods when the overall number of realized transitions is low. The effect of having a migratory background – being itself a time-invariant characteristic – also varies over time as young people of migratory background fail to make a successful transition especially during time periods generally characterised by high chances of entering VET.

In their comparison of Jewish immigrants in Germany and Israel with ethnic German *Aussiedler*, Kogan et al. show that Jewish FSU (Former Soviet Union) immigrants in Germany have higher unemployment risks than the *Aussiedler* and the FSU Jewish immigrants in Israel, but at the same time have higher rates of employment in high qualified professional, managerial and technical jobs. An innovative aspect of their study is the analysis of two very similar groups in different receiving contexts, which allows to better single out the effects of the receiving context. FSU immigrants in Germany have much higher reservation wages than is the case for their compatriots in Israel. This can potentially be due to two specific characteristics of the receiving contexts: first, there is an extensive ethnic economy of Russian Jewish immigrants in Israel making the access to the ethnic labour market rather easy and the expected returns of investment in the ethnic community comparatively high. Secondly, while the welfare state in Israel is rather rudimentary, Germany still has a protective welfare system and a much higher level of de-commodification. Hence, institutional characteristics in both countries encourage different investment strategies and result in very different transitions patterns between employment and unemployment. Certainly, an extension of the period of observation may reveal large differences of their trajectories in the long run. Nevertheless the study is a clear example of the importance of institutional regimes for outcomes in one domain of life.

Whereas the previous contributions focused on those who migrated themselves, the work by Schittenhelm studies second generation immigrants. Schittenhelm

applies a qualitative approach to analyse barriers of entry into skilled labour force and different coping strategies. This approach can be directly related to the idea of cumulative disadvantages from life course studies (Di Prete and Eirich 2006). Her results give insight into the transition to higher education and the subsequent transition into the labour force. She focuses on highly educated second generation young adults and shows in an intriguing way how being a minority or even the only student with migration background at the *Gymnasium* (higher track of secondary education) can lead to an outsider position and requires intensive coping. However, once having passed the access to the Gymnasium, which is in Germany a highly important transition not only for employment-trajectories, feelings of "ethnic retention" become unlikely even in such a marginal social position. Interestingly, studying at the university in a more cosmopolitan context can be a relief from the burden on incomplete social integration in school. From a life course perspective it would be interesting to see whether the improved social integration into the university context leads to positive attitudes towards tertiary education in general, motivates further investment and opens trajectories into high status positions. Schittenhelm points also to another important path, namely the second chance career. Here, vocational training is used to maintain independence from parental incomes. Participating in tertiary education – while working in the trained occupation at the same time – should be considered as an enormous investment of time and effort. In most cases, the subjective perception of peer relations played a crucial role in the formation of cultural capital. The study highlights thus the importance of the subjective perception of social ties and important others as an incentive to invest in higher education and to experience these transitions. The qualitative approach provides the opportunity to analyse the impact of individual coping strategies in subjectively defined situations and thus to investigate also subjective construction of reality – which is a reality that may trigger or impede investment in specific incorporation trajectories.

Latcheva and Herzog-Punzenberger apply a multi-method approach of quantitative optimal-matching analysis and qualitative interviews. The scope of their study are first generation immigrants in Austria and their labour market experiences. They find five types of immigrant employment trajectories of which about 70% of their sample had a rather successful trajectory even if the majority had some problems right after arrival. From these clusters the authors sampled their respondents for the qualitative part. By subdividing the incorporation trajectories into different phases related to the life course and migration, being "Guestworker", settlement and retirement, they elaborate on four dimensions which structured the subjective evaluation of the migration project. In this way a more in-depth insight can be gained from what migration means for the individual and the life course. Similar to Schittenhelm's contribution, their work gives a better idea of what is perceived relevance for the migrant life course, as well as into the subjective evaluation and definition of situations after experiencing the migration move.

Analysing the impact of different receiving-country institutions requires a comparative design as applied in the study of Tucci. Her special focus on North African immigrants in France and Turkish immigrants in Germany yields interesting

insights into institutional processes of social distancing affecting status attainment during different stages of immigrants' life courses. Hence, she sheds light on how institutional structures can influence individual life courses. Foremost, social distancing in Germany is mediated by the stratified system of secondary education. The relative risk of Turkish immigrants (compared with natives) of leaving school without a higher secondary diploma is much higher compared with North Africans in France. Only in Germany the access into higher education is still restricted for Turks, even when controlling for the level of father's occupation. However, if Turkish students reach the Abitur, their propensity of pursuing a university degree is even higher than for the native German group. Accordingly, the process of social stratification already begins at a very young age, what Tucci calls social distancing through relegation. In France, however, other things being equal, immigrants from North Africa have higher risks of unemployment than Turkish immigrants in Germany. Regardless of their comparatively high levels of education, trajectories of status attainment are decelerated, flattened or even blocked during the transition into the labour market. With regard to immigrant incorporation over the life course, we observe fundamentally different situations in France and Germany: the process of status attainment of many Turkish immigrants in Germany is hampered early in life resulting in limited opportunities to acquire high levels of education. In France, by contrast, institutionalized processes of distancing are mainly obvious when making the transition to the labour market. Contrary to the German situation these can hardly be obscured since discriminating practices on labour markets are obvious when investment behaviour and educational degrees of immigrants and native are similar. In the two studied countries different moments in the life course of young adults of immigrant origin are thus important for their further opportunities. This could affect individuals' aspiration levels and plans for their future life already at a very young age with all kinds of implications for the individual and the family. Implicitly, Tucci's study addresses also the effects of institutional differentiation on life-courses for social integration at large.

The linkage between different transitions in the life course is studied in De Valk's research on the second generation in the Netherlands. Taking a more holistic perspective on the life course both timing and sequencing of major events in the transition to adulthood are studied among a sample of second generation Turks and Moroccans and majority group young adults. Paths into adulthood are constructed based on the timing of leaving education, leaving the parental home, starting union formation and having a first child. Findings show that diversity in states is similar for Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch young adults; leaving home to live on ones own and unmarried cohabitation are also experienced by many of the second generation. Contrary to the theoretical idea of de-standardization of the life course De Valk does not find greater heterogeneity in paths for the Dutch than for the second generation. Using optimal-matching techniques followed by cluster analyses demonstrates that a limited number of predominant paths can be found. Education is one of the major determinants in sequencing and timing of events among all studied groups. De Valk shows the importance of the institutional setting for the structuring of the life course. The order of transitions is largely the same, but timing of events differs between the

second generation and the majority group. Although paths of the second generation also partially differ from that of the majority group, adaptation to the predominant pattern of the majority group is apparent. The structuring of the life course for the second generation thus seems to be influenced both by the country of origin (of the parents) but also by the host country.

Leaving the parental home is one of the first and key transitions in many young adults' lives in Europe nowadays. Studying the process of leaving home, Windzio shows that the degree of normative bonding to the family is much higher in the Turkish population. Here, moving out from the parental home is more closely linked to the event of marriage than in the German group. This has been described as "linked-live events": especially for Turkish women the events of moving out and marrying occur more or less simultaneously, while pursing occupational training or higher education is more important in the German group. Moreover, the historical process of de-structuring and de-linking of life events which are observed in the German group cannot be found for Turkish immigrants. Even though data do not allow for cohort differentiation in the life courses of second generation Turkish immigrants, findings indicate a steady decline in move-out rates for marriage reasons in the German, but not in the Turkish group. While the standard sequence pattern (70%) in the German sample is moving out first and then marriage or childbirth, 63% of Turkish adolescents marry first and move out at the same time or afterwards. This hints at the high relevance of normative bonding to the family and to the norms of the community. Further analyses should investigate how these specific transition patterns, which indicate a propensity to invest into the ethnic community, lead to specific trajectories in the further life course.

The impact of immigrant-native intermarriage on socioeconomic attainment is analysed in Muttarak's study. By controlling the process of selection into a specific type of marriage by using a bivariate probit specification, she shows that the "social" dimension of the incorporation process can indeed facilitate "structural" assimilation. According to her line of reasoning, from the immigrants' point of view, getting into marriage with a native can already be considered as an investment into receiving country social capital. Even more important are the long-term effects of such an investment. Inter-marriage opens up the access to receiving country networks providing information also on better paid jobs. It can thus be considered as a decisive transition during the incorporation process, which does not only link origin and destination states, but which can be a real turning point, can "redirect paths" (Elder 1985: 35) and give trajectories a new direction.

An important aspect which has received more attention in Europe only recently are spatial segregation and assimilation. Research starting from the social-capital paradigm highlighted the importance of social bonds and chain-migration which govern decisions on migration and residential choice. In combination with unequal participation and discrimination in housing markets, chain-migration results in spatial segregation of immigrants and natives. Farwick shows that spatial segregation and availability of ties at small-scale spatial units has a significant impact on friendship assimilation. Since ties to natives open access to weak-tie networks and to "fresh information" on job opportunities, educational institutions and social

services, these structural barriers to assimilation impede the assimilation process in general. Moreover, chain-migration and spatial segregation strongly correspond with ethnic enclaves, and investment into ethnic capital becomes thus more likely, which might lead to incomplete assimilation trajectories in the long run.

Schunck's study on transnational activities and structural integration addresses the balancing of the different contexts of which immigrants are part. Integration theories primarily focus on the host society and pay little attention to the relevance of the origin country. Classical authors suggested that links with the native place of the community of origin will fade over time and become less important for individuals. Nevertheless life courses of the second generation might, however, still be influenced by the links they have with their parents' country of origin as well as with those of the same origin in other countries of settlement. Instead of being limitations to the choices over the life course these transnational links could just as well stimulate new forms of organizing life courses. This is also the topic of Schunck's contribution. One might argue that transnational activities mainly indicate strong bonds to the country of origin and therefore impede the assimilation process. Schunck, however, nuances this suggestion and, by differentiating between several dimensions of assimilation, reveals a rather complex picture: transnational activities, measured here as visits to the country of origin, are facilitated by financial resources. A certain minimum degree of structural assimilation is thus a precondition of these activities. In this way countries of origin and settlement are directly connected: the position one takes in one society will be relevant for the opportunities one has in the other. Yet, the effect of financial resources on transnational activities varies according to the time lived in the host country. Immigrants who already stay many years in the receiving country show a high level of transnational activities when financial resources are rather low. Although there is no direct empirical evidence from this study on the degree of assimilation of long-staying immigrants whose financial resources are comparatively low, following this model one would argue that their economic failure corresponds with investment into the ethnic community and into country-of-origin cultural capital. When economic success is an incentive to take the mainstream assimilation path, low income-levels of long-staying immigrants could facilitate the subjective perception of ethnic boundaries and increase the need to rely on the social capital of the ethnic community. Due to path-dependency of these decisions they will reflect in different trajectories of assimilation in the long run.

13.4 An Outlook to the Future

This volume is an attempt to closer link two lines of research: the sociological life course approach and the study of immigrant incorporation. Immigrant settlement and processes of incorporation will remain of crucial importance for societies not only in Europe but also in other countries. An international migration move constitutes a transition in the life courses of the migrating individuals and their families.

Immigrants make certain transitions both before and after the migration move. This leads to questions of why specific transitions are made or not, why transitions turn out to be turning points, to what degree a current outcome depends on past states, and to what degree path-dependencies cumulate into distinct trajectories. Immigrant incorporation can thus make use of theoretical and methodological benefits provided by the life course paradigm. Migration and incorporation of immigrants are ideal types of social processes depending on historical time and place. The sociological life course principle of linked-lives can be of even more importance for immigrants from more family-oriented collectivistic societies.

In addition, the growing second generation who are descendents of immigrants also call for different views on incorporation than have been developed for immigrants. More and more European societies include substantial shares of second generation migrants – a situation which has been common in North America because of the longstanding history of immigration to this region. This situation is still rather new for many European societies where a large share of the second generation just recently reached adulthood and more full insights in their life courses are still lacking. In addition, for this group many life course choices will still evolve over the next decades. The life course approach is particular suitable for these descendents of immigrants who have not an international migration experience but are the offspring of international migrants. In the life course approach different conceptions of time are used (transition, sequence and trajectory). In conjunction with the paradigm of actors making decisions given certain contextual and situational factors these conceptions of time can be perceived as the main elements of immigrant incorporation over the life course. This view also allows to study second generation migrants compared to those who migrated (first generation) and the majority populations in the settlement country. It any case points to the importance of studying the incorporation process from a longitudinal perspective. By dynamically relating decision-making at the micro-level to social structures and institutions at the meso- or macro-level this approach avoids individualistic as well as ecological reductionism.

Despite the fact that immigrants are sometimes suggested to be one similar group, in reality a lot of diversity is captured. Most theories on immigrant incorporation have been developed in the US. When applying these theories to the European situation one has to realize that the origins of immigrants in Europe as well as their migration background are quite different from those in the US. From a sociological life course approach with a focus on both the origin and settlement structure this may imply that processes of settlement and incorporation will be quite diverse. Furthermore the life course approach not only allows for taking this immigrant diversity into account but also makes comparisons to majority populations relevant: it is not so much the ethnic origin but the individual life course that is subject of study in this view. In this way we can overcome the potential problem of qualifying differences between individuals as having a migrant specific origin and show that life courses (in which migration is one event) may evolve similar or different.

Overall, also the empirical contributions in this volume have demonstrated that trajectories of incorporation are a result of decisions at the individual level

immigrants made within specific opportunity structures. Outcomes of these decisions can lead to path-dependencies and turning points. This was shown by using different methods of analysis. The common principles of the life course approach can allow for a shared terminology and facilitate mutual exchange between different research traditions. The qualitative studies in this book have shown that the subjective perception of contexts and the framing of the situation are highly relevant for individual life course decisions. Studying migration biographies means to strongly focus on individual life paths and to aim at an in-depth understanding of individual experiences and decision making. The more quantitative approaches as applied in different contributions of this book also aim for understanding these same processes. When striving for a true mixed-method approach a common framework as provided by the life course approach is extremely valuable to advance our knowledge. This may in particular be the case for understanding the life courses of immigrants and their descendants.

Thomas and Znaniecki's work on the Polish migrants to the US already showed the importance of understanding the migration experience from linking different generations. This remains valuable also for the development of studies in the future. Intergenerational family ties are supposed to be strong and important for migrants coming from non-western origins (Nauck 2002). In the non-western countries of origin the family is central for the individual over the life course. Families provide the necessary support, and resources are exchanged between the generations because a wider government safety net is lacking. Immigrants from non-western countries are supposed to originate from and be part of family systems that have strong interdependent ties and obligations compared to natives in the host society (Bolzman et al. 2004; Burr and Mutchler 1999). Theories on "family systems" suggest that family relations and the related expectations reflect the importance attached to kinship in a society. Several authors have argued that in more collectivistic societies, kinship ties take centre stage (Todd 1985; Kagitcibasi 1996; Nauck 2007; Reher 1998). How and to what extent the migration experience affects perceptions and behaviour regarding filial obligation remains unexplored. Getting more advanced insights into the determinants of filial obligations (perceptions and behaviour) of immigrants and their offspring is also of societal relevance now that a substantial share and growing numbers of migrants are ageing in Europe. In addition, life courses of particularly the second generation are shaped by the host country structures and institutions and can be different from those of their parents. The life trajectories of these young adults can have important consequences for the intergenerational ties and support. Little is known on how young adults navigate these different or even contradictory expectations and what consequences this will have for intergenerational support (De Valk 2010). Difficulties in balancing conflicting roles may result in tensions within the family that put the intergenerational ties under stress.

The sociological life course approach could be an important impetus to get ahead with linking different life stages and generations. Getting more advanced insights into intergenerational relations and family dynamics would be extremely valuable to further understand migration and the life course. In this perspective it is crucial

to take the wider social (family) networks in countries of origin and destination into account. Even after almost a century our research thus can still be informed by Thomas and Znaniecki's classic study on "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America." Going beyond their work by better covering individual life courses from diverse angles is the challenge that is ahead of us.

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