

The Social Mobility Processes of Second-Generation Women with a Turkish Migration Background Living in Berlin

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Abstract

Based on data from semi-structured interviews, this study investigates the social mobility strategies employed by upwardly mobile German-Turkish women living in Berlin. Using educational attainment and labor market achievement as objective indicators of upward mobility, the subjects fit into three categories of social mobility trajectories. Important processes for upward mobility are identified within these categories, using the framework of Bourdieu's theory of capital. In some cases, the domestic transmission of cultural capital is essential for upward mobility, while in others it is a context-specific resource for effective decision-making. Moreover, an expansion of social capital to extend beyond isolated ethnic communities is decisive for all subjects; either for its conversion into necessary cultural capital or through the avoidance of some of the negative effects of social capital on women in certain tightly-bound ethnic communities. While the mobilization of ethnicity is useful for the upward mobility of a subgroup of German-Turkish women, it is a limitation for others. Finally, regardless of social mobility trajectory categorization, subjects are unified by their lack of symbolic capital in mainstream German society. The strategies they employ to counter this are found to be more assertive and focused on Germany than those employed by the previous generation.

I. INTRODUCTION

WHILE opportunities for social mobility are a concern for policymakers worldwide, opportunities for the social mobility of migrants, in terms of educational attainment and labor market achievement, are becoming major policy concerns in Europe. The present study examines the social mobility careers and processes of second-generation¹ women with a Turkish migration background² living in Berlin.

Whereas in previous decades labor migrants easily found, and were in fact specifically recruited for, employment as un- or semi-skilled workers, economic changes after the 1970s³ and even more after the unification of Germany⁴ have contributed to a decrease in the number of such jobs available. Especially in an environment in which employment depends on 'at least medium-range educational qualifications,' educational attainment is seen as the 'main prerequisite for the suc-

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¹The term second generation refers to immediate descendants of those people who migrated to Germany for a variety of factors for a period of at least a few years (regardless of whether the stay was or is intended to be permanent). The second generation will have been born in the country of migration (host country) or will have moved there before primary school age (Worbs 2003).

²The present study uses the terms women with a Turkish migration background, German-Turks and Turkish-German interchangeably and without political intent.

³Including, among others, the economic recession following the oil crisis, which slowed the demand for labor (Worbs 1970, Goethe Institut).

⁴Re-unification brought about the return of ethnic Germans from southeastern and eastern European countries (Spätaussiedler) (Worbs 1012) and reunified Germany with its traditional source of labor from the eastern parts of the territory. This brought about a decline in demand for unskilled labor from abroad and simultaneously prompted national discussions of identity and how labor migrants would fit into the new Germany.

cessful socio-economic integration⁵ of migrants and for their social mobility' (Söhn and Özcan 2007, 101). This study thus employs degrees of educational attainment and labor market achievement as indicators of upward social mobility.

Against the background of these important policy implications and the German institutional context, this study employs data from a series of sixteen interviews conducted with upwardly-mobile German-Turkish women living in Berlin to examine their educational and labor market trajectories. Firstly, using Bourdieu's framework of the different forms of capital, the analysis focuses on the different strategies that these women employ for both capital accumulation and capital conversion. The domestic transmission of cultural capital is shown to be decisive for the upward mobility trajectory of many women, while in other cases it is shown to be a context-specific resource that helps parents make effective educational choices for their children. However, in particular for the women interviewed, the most effective strategies for upward mobility involved an expansion of their social capital to extend beyond the relatively isolated Turkish migrant communities in Germany. While some women experienced the negative effects of social capital present in tightly bound ethnic communities, they were nonetheless able to mobilize specific ethnic strategies to propel themselves into an upward social mobility trajectory. The analysis also finds that all of the women interviewed subjectively experience a lack of societal recognition of their upward mobility processes, indicating their lack of symbolic capital. In analyzing the specific strategies employed in order to counter this lack of symbolic capital, the study concludes that this second-generation of upwardly mobile German-Turkish women employs strategies that are different than many of those described in the literature on German-Turks. In particular, these strategies are much more assertive and focused on a future in Germany than those of the previous generations.

⁵Socio-economic integration is most often measured by labor market participation and is seen by most European states as the first essential step towards the integration of migrants. Some theorists, however, argue that socio-cultural integration is becoming a more important concept to measure integration. This is measured by host-country identification, proficiency and use of the host-country language, and interethnic social contacts. Often residential or spatial segregation as well as incarceration rates are used as well (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010; Koopmans 2010).

⁶The receiving country for essentially all of post-war Turkish migration to Germany was actually the German Federal Republic (West Germany). The majority of Germany's current Turkish population is still heavily concentrated in this part of Berlin.

⁷West Germany's post-war recovery, beginning in the 1950s, and the development of an export-led economy required a high degree of industrialization and, due to a variety of factors, such as the loss of able-bodied men in the war, post-war emigration and the division of Germany (which cut West Germany off from its traditional supply of labour from the east), a sufficient supply of labour for this industrialization was not present in West Germany.

II. TURKS IN GERMANY

Turkish migrants and their descendants form the largest minority in Germany, where over 60 percent of Europe's entire Turkish population resides, including both naturalized and second-generation Turks (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 970). This amounts to a total number of two and a half to three million Turkish citizens and other persons with Turkish background in Germany (including naturalized German citizens), making up 3 percent of its total population (Kaas and Manger 2011; Söhn and Özcan 2007). Despite internal diversity, the vast majority of migrants from Turkey are of working class and rural backgrounds that were either recruited by German industry in the 1960s and 1970s as un- or semi-skilled workers or migrated as family members (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 970; Söhn and Özcan 2007, 101-2).

Labor migration to Germany⁶ from Turkey began in the 1960s, when the German economy was immediately in need of laborers (Worbs 2003, 1012).⁷ While labor recruitment from Turkey was officially stopped in 1973, the two peaks of migration to Germany actually occurred in the early 1970s and then again in the 1980s. The first occurred as a result of family reunification policies that allowed workers to bring their families to Germany, even after the stop of official recruitment. This had the effect of significantly changing the demographic make-up of the Turkish migrant population so that in 1975, 50 percent of this population consisted of family members of foreign workers, compared to only 20 percent in 1961 (Wilpert 1977, 473). The second peak of migration occurred in the 1980s and 1990s when the "in-between generation," those who had come to Germany as youth and children as a result of the aforementioned family reunification policies, reached a sufficient age to begin choosing and bringing spouses from Turkey to Germany (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 970). Overall, the second-generation of Turkish migrants has a largely working class background, having had low family income by European standards and growing up in circumstances in which most families lived in substandard or crowded accommodations and neighborhood schools were made up of a majority of

students with a migration background (971). These are all important factors to consider when examining the social mobility opportunities of the second generation.

III. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

This study uses educational qualifications as well as occupational positions as common objective indicators of upward social mobility. In this case, these indicators are applied to the second-generation interview subjects whose narratives make up the crux of the analysis. Given that all of the interviewees come from a migrant working-class background, an examination of their educational and occupational outcomes with respect to their origins aligns with the most comprehensive definition of social mobility as referring to a movement in social position. Thus, inequality in social mobility outcomes refers to differences in social achievement according to social background (Boudon 1974, xi).

Improvements in educational qualifications and occupational position are also oft-used measures in the quantitative literature on social mobility. In particular, differing levels of educational attainment are considered to be a "major cause of inequality between people in their chances of occupying a more advantageous class position". For example, Breen in his 2010 study on the effects of educational expansion and equalization in the 20th century in Britain, Sweden, and Germany, found that in "all three countries educational expansion promoted greater social mobility" (Breen 2010, 365). Moreover, because of this, educational attainment and labor market achievement are also considered priorities by the German state with regard to the integration of migrants and those with a migration background in the second generation. The National Action Plan on Integration, published in December 2011 by the Federal Commissioner on Migration, Refugees, and Integration, cites education as "the key for individual development opportunities in our society," (2011, 64) while stressing employment opportunities: "In a society strongly influenced by employment like Germany, integration into the labor market is a core task of integration policy" (2011, 109).

This study examines the social mobility of Turkish migrant women in Germany as a process with the aim of attaining an upward trajectory. In doing so, it is important to understand the tools available to subjects in the process, not all of which are purely economic in nature. Thus, Bourdieu's theory and interpretation of the different forms of capital is a useful framework for analysis, as it includes not only economic capital but also forms of capital particular to a subject's social position. Outside of economic capital, which Bourdieu

defines as "immediately and directly convertible into money," (1986, 47) he identifies two other major forms of capital.

Firstly, Bourdieu elucidates the concept of cultural capital as a collection of social assets, outside of economic capital, that can help promote a higher status in society by helping actors to "appropriate social energy" (1986, 46). More specifically, cultural capital is understood as the "ensemble of embodied dispositions such as learnable skills and abilities which enable individuals to handle the social potentials," of different types (Honneth 1986, 59). Bourdieu argues that the most powerful principle of cultural capital and the symbolic efficacy thereof is the logic of its generational transmission-in particular its domestic or "hereditary" transmission, which benefits those who are able to accumulate cultural capital from an early age. This initial accumulation of useful cultural capital able to cover the whole period of socialization is, however, only possible for the offspring of families already endowed with strong cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986, 49).

The second form of capital that Bourdieu outlines is social capital. Social capital is dependent upon membership in a group, with the resources available to a particular agent being dependent on the capital available to the collectivity as a whole or to the other individual members of the social group. Thus, the volume of social capital available to a given agent "depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (Bourdieu 1986, 51). Thus, social capital is not embodied in either the social agents themselves, like cultural capital, or in the physical implements of production, like economic capital, but in the relations among persons (Coleman 1988, S98).

Since social capital is unique in the way that it is embedded in the very structure of social relations between and among agents (S98), several other thinkers have made important contributions to the theoretical literature on social capital. In particular, Portes (1998) focuses on some of the negative consequences of social capital, which include the exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms and downward leveling norms among members of a group.

A final capital formulation, symbolic capital, overarches both cultural and social capital. Most importantly, symbolic capital refers to the degree of societal recognition of the levels of cultural and social capital that agents enjoy. It is "nothing other than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized" (Bourdieu, 1989, 21). Thus, Bourdieu argues, objec-

tive relations of power tend to reproduce themselves in relations of symbolic power due to the fact that, reciprocally, "symbolic relations of power tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations that constitute the structure of social space" (21).

The analytic strength of using the different types of capital to examine social mobility processes lies in the fungibility of these forms of capital (Portes 1998, 2; Bourdieu 1986, 54). Capital can be converted from one type to another, and while the outcomes of possession of social or cultural capital are reducible to economic capital, these types of capital produce their effects "only to the extent that they conceal the fact that economic capital is at their root" (Bourdieu 1986, 54). Moreover, even while the outcomes of the possession of alternative forms of capital are indeed reducible to economic capital, the processes that bring them about are not (Portes 1998, 4). Thus, for example, "the acquisition of social capital requires deliberate investment of both economic and cultural resources" (4), while the conversion of economic capital into social capital also presupposes specific labor that is nonetheless not purely monetary in nature (Bourdieu 1986, 54).

This understanding of the conversion of different types of capital is a useful conceptual framework for examining the social mobility trajectories of women with a Turkish migration background living in Berlin for two main reasons. Firstly, as Çağlar (1994) asserts, it is a framework within which social mobility refers to changes in the overall volume of capital, as well as changes in its distribution among the different forms. This is congruent with Bourdieu's assertion that "the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world" (Bourdieu 1986, 46). Secondly, this understanding of the conversion and, ultimately, accumulation, of different types of capital, helps to conceptualize social mobility as a process with each subject at the center of their own social mobility trajectory. While this study uses the outcomes of educational and labor market achievement relative to social background as objective measures of social mobility, the processes for the accumulation of different types of capital as well as gaining recognition for its existence, are variable. Thus, this paper will focus on the processes through which women with a Turkish migration background living in Berlin work to accumulate and convert the different types of capital that they possess.

IV. THE GERMAN INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

The understanding of the alternative forms of capital presented above allows for the conceptualization of social mobility as a process of the accumulation and conversion of capital. Pott, (2001) in his case studies of the social mobility processes of some educationally mobile offspring of former guest workers, offers a definition that provides a valuable framework for the understanding of these processes as "an effect of a set of actions (and decisions) under particular societal conditions" (170). Thus, in order to understand the processes whereby women with a Turkish migration background seek to accumulate capital in order to achieve a high level of educational attainment as well as a secure labor market position, it is essential to understand the context in which they operate.

Numerous international comparative studies have shown that in Germany, as well as in many other contexts, it is general institutional arrangements that have a greater impact on the academic achievement of migrant youths, rather than any educational policies which explicitly target them (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 983; Crul and Schneider 2009, 522; Holdaway et al. 2009, 1398; Söhn and Özcan 2007, 102). So, this study considers the characteristics of the German institutional setting as a whole rather than any migrant-specific policies, which can vary also widely by area and school district. Research has shown that compared to that of other countries, Germany's school system is highly stratified due to specific institutional arrangements that combine early tracking, few contact hours (due to a half-day school system) and a late mandatory school entry age relative to other European countries (Crul and Schneider 2009, 1513-14; Holdaway et al. 2009, 1389; Kristen and Granato 2007, 345). After entering school at age six, students are placed into three different secondary school tracks at age ten.⁸ The lowest vocational track *Hauptschule*, nine years in duration, leads to a minimum qualification, while the intermediate track *Realschule* consists of ten years of total education, leading to a medium level qualification. Both of these tracks have customarily constituted the preparation for an apprenticeship, although the certification from the lower vocational track, *Hauptschule*, has become increasingly devalued in the past decades. In contrast, the highest educational track *Gymnasium*, thirteen years in duration, is the only track that leads to post-secondary education, after the completion of the *Abitur*, the final examination and leaving certification from a *Gymnasium* (Kristen and

⁸While the tracking decision usually involves a combination of teacher recommendations and parental choice, the exact methods vary by federal state (Bundesland). Therefore, country-wide generalizations about the degree of influence of parents and/or teachers are difficult to make.

Granato 2007; Söhn and Özcan 2007).

Studies show that the German-Turkish population tends to have lower educational attainment when compared to other migrants with similar socio-economic backgrounds in Germany. It also shows the least favorable distribution among the three different tracks of secondary schooling. In 2000, 56.6 percent of German-Turkish students attended *Hauptschule* (vs. 23.6 percent of those with a father born in Germany), 19.3 percent attended *Realschule* (vs. 34.5 percent) and only 10.2 percent attended *Gymnasium* (vs. 32.5 percent) (Söhn and Özcan 2007, 110). They also tend to have lower education attainment outcomes in relation to Turkish migrants with similar socio-economic backgrounds in other European countries (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 976-77; for a comparison with the Netherlands see Crul and Schneider 2009, 1512).

Besides its degree of stratification, there are two other important characteristics specific to the German institutional arrangement that make an understanding of it essential to the objective definition of social mobility expounded upon in this essay: the particular strength of its linkages between educational attainment and labor market position and its strong tendency to reproduce intergenerational social inequalities. Comparative research has shown that the link between educational attainment and labor market position is more pronounced in Germany than in other countries. This makes the education of the second generation even more crucial — given that in this context educational attainment is very strongly related to labor market access and success as well as to children's school outcomes (Kristen and Granato 2007, 344). The system's strong-point in this regard, however, lies in its ability to create more successful transitions to the job market, credited in large part to its apprenticeship system and other transition institutions, which are open to students who have completed any one of the different school tracks (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 977; Holdaway et al. 2009, 1389; Worbs 2003, 1027). While only small numbers of migrants have been able to enter higher (tertiary) education, they have been able to acquire relatively secure labor market positions among jobs requiring lesser qualifications (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 977-83). Even here, however, there are indications that Turkish women have particular difficulties with this transition from school to the labor market. This is also exacerbated by the shortage of apprenticeships in the German economy over the last few years (Worbs 2003, 1029). Thus, for complete integration of migrant workers into the labor market to occur, there must be equal employment opportunities in terms of both labor market access and position (Kaas and Manger 2011, 2).

The final particularity of the German educational system is its tendency to reproduce intergenerational social inequality more than any other OECD country, closely tying this mechanism of reproduction to a particularly low level of intergenerational educational mobility (Söhn and Özcan 2007, 114; Stiftung 2012). Not only is it a system in which the socio-economic and educational backgrounds of parents are particularly strong indicators of children's future educational success, it is also a system in which comparatively few children attain a higher level of education than their parents. This systemic reproduction of social inequality, however, concerns both natives and migrants (Söhn and Özcan 2007, 116). Indeed, the 9th Report of the Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration on the Situation of Foreigners in Germany supports this by claiming that whether a child manages the transition from primary to secondary school depends primarily on social origin (2012, 82). Thus, Germany is the OECD country characterized by the highest correlation between parents' socio-economic status and their child's reading competence (Söhn and Özcan 2007, 114), as just 20 percent of 25 to 34 year-olds leave education with a higher educational qualification than their parents compared to the 37 percent average of the OECD (Deutsche Welle 2012). In a country where, as outlined above, educational attainment is so closely related to labor market position, this "class bias" in the German school system may largely explain why, compared with its European neighbors and North America, Germany has the lowest levels of social mobility overall (Söhn and Özcan 2007, 116; Stiftung 2012).

The German labor market itself fits into what Faist (1994) defines as a (neo)corporatist framework. In this framework, the markets and the state are linked through "intermediary organizations", such as unions, and relevant policies are formed within it (447). Faist (1994) and Worbs (2003) posit that the "dual system" for apprenticeship training, mentioned above, ensures high overall rates of training and access to qualified occupational positions but does not guarantee long-term employment (Faist 454; Worbs 1027). There are also high rates of nonparticipation of Turkish women in both postsecondary schooling and apprenticeships, which explains both their relatively low employment rate and also points towards their exclusion from future employment opportunities (Crul and Schneider 2009, 1517-18; Faist 447; Worbs 1034). In particular, Turkish females have a particularly narrow range of options after non-completion of education or job training (Faist 450). While some studies have investigated potential discrimination directed against German-Turks in the labor market (Kaas and Manger 2011), on the whole

Faist (1993) concludes that:

Personal acts of discrimination by employers and workers that disadvantage Turkish youth, vis-à-vis their German peers in obtaining access to apprenticeship slots, do not explain their access and exclusion from training. Rather, it has been the role and function of public policies and job networks that have determined hiring and recruitment patterns in different sectors of the labor market. (327)

Thus, while the processes that different individuals instigate and undergo in order to increase their levels of capital are definitely shaped and influenced by personal acts of discrimination, the effect of state policies and institutional arrangements and how the subjects react to them is also crucial.

Despite the fact that students of the second generation tend to attain better education results than the first generation, they still experience "considerable disadvantages" in comparison to their native German peers (Kristen and Granato 2007, 344). This suggests that there must be additional mechanisms operating in this context that serve to exclude migrants and those with migrant backgrounds. Thus, this study seeks to expand upon some of the factors that operate at the micro-level which are exclusionary to migrant women in their educational and labor market trajectories and thus to their upward social mobility opportunities. Furthermore it will examine how the social mobility processes that these women adopt are used to counter these environmental factors.

V. THE APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE STUDIES OF TURKISH MIGRANTS IN GERMANY

While the situation of Turks in Germany has already been comprehensively outlined, this section turns to a brief analysis of the most important applications of the concept of social mobility to the German-Turkish context in order to understand how the present study contributes valuable insights. Whereas the quantitative literature paints a generalized picture of German-Turks' social mobility achievements in Germany, it also indicates a possible unique feature of the Turkish community in Germany: its marked degree of segregation. These findings suggest that this distinctive feature of the

German-Turkish community may be the main obstacle to the upward social mobility of many German-Turks. However, quantitative work has been unable to provide insight into the processes that operate at the individual level to both produce this effect and any possible negative consequences thereof. While the few qualitative studies that exist on the subject of the social mobility of German Turks have focused on these specific processes, their scope has either been limited to examining strategies for upward mobility restricted to a specific subgroup of German-Turks, which has been left undefined, or on processes particular to the first generation. Moreover, none of the social mobility literature has focused on the German-Turkish female experience. A comprehensive reading of the quantitative literature indicates two main findings. Firstly, it indicates that their relatively low socio-economic and educational background largely, but not completely, explains any deficiencies in educational and labor market attainment faced by German-Turks. Secondly, it demonstrates that the Turkish community in Germany is unique in its high degree of segregation compared to other migrant groups.⁹ A variety of studies have shown that the lack of social mobility exhibited by German-Turks with regard to their educational and labor market attainment is largely due to the relatively low socio-economic and educational background of their parents, exacerbated by the already described tendency of the German school system to reproduce class positions and cement socio-economic hierarchies (Ammermueller 2007, 225; Kristen and Granato 2007, 353; Ward 2009). However, for German-Turks, in particular, social background taken alone may not be sufficient to account for specific disadvantages or ethnic differences that they face at important educational transitions (Kristen and Granato 2007, 354; Kristen et al. 2008, 131). This begs the essential question of what is unique about the Turkish community in Germany that sets it apart both from other migrants with similar backgrounds in Germany and from Turkish communities in other European countries.

With regard to this, the quantitative literature indicates that what is unique about the Turkish community in Germany is its relatively high degree of segregation. For instance, several survey studies have found that Turkish immigrants in Germany and their offspring have a manifest degree of ethnic cohesion and are thus embedded in isolated and homogenous social networks, even in the second generation (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, 973-4; Worbs 2016). Moreover, they are also found

⁹Specifically when compared to migrant groups with a similar socio-economic background that were also recruited as un- or semi-skilled labor in the post war period, known as classic labor migrants. Classic labor migrants came to Germany as the result of recruitment agreements between the German government and several Mediterranean-European and North African countries (Worbs 2012). These agreements were with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Goethe Institut).

to have comparatively low levels of inter-ethnic contacts to both other migrants and native Germans when compared to Turks in other countries (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011, 224). Given this context, it seems essential that the implications of this uniquely high level of social isolation on the social mobility processes of German-Turks be examined. While the quantitative literature thus indicates that moving outside of isolated social networks may be a useful strategy for German-Turks to achieve upward social mobility, it is the qualitative literature that gives insight into the specific strategies used by German-Turks to achieve upward mobility.

Pott (2001) has focused on a specific strategy for social mobility used by a particular subgroup of the second-generation of Turkish migrants: the mobilization of ethnicity. However, while he recognizes this strategy is only used by a particular subgroup he does not define this group, nor does he recognize the possible limitations of the use of this strategy. Focusing on educational mobility as a central component of most forms of social mobility, the study presents three cases in which the upwardly educationally mobile offspring of former Turkish guest workers utilize ethnicity as a flexible tool for the social mobility process. He claims these individuals are "ethnicized not only by others, but first and foremost by themselves," and therefore that the mobilization of ethnicity outside of ethnic communities can also be of significance (174-5). He thus notes that "a formal conceptualization of ethnicity as a situational resource, which may but does not have to be used, also suggests that ethnicity can be a useful form of capital in the process of mobility" (182).

While Pott's framework of the social mobility process as specific to societal conditions is useful for analysis and his outlining of ethnicity as a possible tool outside of ethnic communities, rather than as a purely negative characteristic, is insightful, he ignores the possible limits of this approach by purely dismissing "ethnic categories and topics" as "unimportant" to those actors who "define themselves and act such that mobilization of ethnicity is irrelevant" (174). This negates the possibility that the suppression of ethnicity by acting and defining oneself in such a way that the mobilization of ethnicity is irrelevant is, in fact, a specific strategy meant to counter certain societal limitations, and thus, that ethnic categories and topics are far from unimportant to these individuals. Moreover, while there can indeed be positive mobilizations of the concept of ethnicity, it must be recognized and reaffirmed that this is a strategy that can only be used in limited contexts. The present study examines for which typology of social mobility trajectory this is a useful strategy. In doing so it defines the specific subgroup for which the use of

this strategy is beneficial, and elucidates its limitations for others.

Cağlar (1994, 1995) has also published on the social mobility processes of Turkish migrants. However, given that her fieldwork was completed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, her work focuses almost entirely on the first generation of migrants and on the particularity of the situation in a pre- and post-unified Berlin. Cağlar's work is an important reference point for the present study, in particular with regard to the social space that Turks occupy in Berlin and the analysis using Bourdieu's capital framework that she provides. However, significant changes have taken place between the first generation that is the focus of her work and the second generation that is the focus of this study, specifically with regard to their strategies for countering their perceived lack of symbolic capital. Whereas Cağlar asserts a complex framework in which Turks in Germany use reference groups in Turkey to conceptualize their own mobility, the upwardly mobile women referred to in the present study adopt strategies that are much more assertively focused on Germany.

Cağlar examines an important implication of the high degree of social isolation exhibited by German Turks that is illustrated by the quantitative literature. Whereas German-Turks have effective networks amongst themselves, they have fewer and less effective connections outside the Turkish migrant community and therefore suffer from a lack of social capital with respect to the network of connections they can effectively mobilize (1994, 193; 1995, 310). While this lack of social capital outside of the community is important for analysis, the most significant challenge that German Turks face, according to Cağlar, is a lack of symbolic capital, or societal recognition, which causes them to "seek ways of compensating for this deficiency" (1994, 312).

Cağlar argues that Turks rule out Germany as a place where their symbolic capital might be achieved in the near future and hence that Turkey becomes "the most convenient place for matching German-Turks' economic mobility with their social and symbolic capital" (1995, 312). However, while this is the case, Turks living in Germany also occupy a precarious social position in Turkey. Consequently, the social space of German-Turks "consists of an interplay of their social positions in two different societies," (1994, 217) where they have a severe deficit in symbolic and cultural capital in both. Therefore, the continued and persistent presence of Turkey in the lives of German-Turks is related to their pursuit of upward social mobility, rather "than with their 'traditionality,' the immutability of their belonging to Turkey or the question of whether they will return to Turkey

or not in reality" (1994, 217). Conversely, the present study shows that important changes have taken place between the first and second generation of migrants. At least for the upwardly mobile females that are the subject of this study, the strategies that they adopt in order to counteract their lack of symbolic capital in German society do not focus exclusively on reference groups in Turkey.

VI. METHODOLOGY

Data for this study originated primarily from fieldwork conducted in Berlin between February and August 2013, as well as for three weeks in January 2014. The target population for interviews included women with a migration background from Turkey currently living in Berlin, specifically those women who had at least one parent who came to Germany as a (guest worker) during the period of official labor recruitment, or who came to Germany after the period of labor migration was officially over in 1973 due to family reunification efforts. All of the women selected were to have been born in Germany or were to have migrated to Germany during their primary school age years.

Altogether sixteen semi-structured interviews with Turkish women were conducted with subjects who ranged in age from 23 to their mid-40s. Questions were asked about their migration background and experiences with bureaucratic authorities. Interviewees were also asked to take the interviewer through a narrative of their educational and labor market trajectories. This age range was deemed appropriate in order to garner different perspectives, from women who would have newly completed their high school education and commenced their studies or transition into the labor market, to women who should have already entered the workforce for a long enough period of time to have achieved labor market mobility. Subjects were approached on the basis of recommendations and contacts from several different sources, including: local community organizations in the Berlin neighborhoods of *Kreuzberg* and *Neukölln*, through personal contacts of the researcher as well as through several academics working on similar topics. After these various initial contacts were made, more subjects were recruited based on recommendations from previous interview subjects. The interview subjects all lived in different areas of Berlin at the time of interviewing and most of them had lived there for the majority of their lives, with the exception of two subjects, one of whom grew up in Bremen and one of whom grew up in the area around Frankfurt am Main.

VII. DATA ANALYSIS

For the purpose of analysis, three categorizations for the interviewees were created on the basis of their objective social mobility trajectory: those that followed a *traditional* path through the educational system and into the labor market, those that took significant *detours* on their trajectories and those that became *entrepreneurs*. This allows for the comparison of different social mobility processes between and within groups. Similar to Pott (2001), the first part of this data analysis examines the past "mobility patterns and strategies," of the interview subjects in order to gain insight into their mobility careers (171). Later the analysis turns to some factors related to the outcome of these social mobility processes, in terms of the societal recognition of their upward mobility trajectories.

In both parts of the analysis, therefore, Bourdieu's theory on alternative forms of capital is a useful framework, in particular with regard to how the subjects use specific mobility strategies to try to build up their stock of capital and to gain recognition for the existence of this capital. The domestic transmission of cultural capital, in particular, is shown to be decisive for the upward mobility trajectory of many women. It is also a context-specific resource that helps parents to make effective educational choices for their children. Important for all the trajectory categories, moreover, is an understanding of the role of social capital in their mobility careers. This role is either positive, through helping to obtain cultural capital, or negative, through the detrimental effects that an abundance of social capital in a relatively isolated community can have on its female members. Finally, these women subjectively experience a lack of societal recognition of their upward mobility processes. The specific strategies that upwardly mobile German-Turkish women of the second-generation employ in order to counter this lack of symbolic capital are much more assertive and focused on a future in Germany than the previous generations' strategies.

VIII. STRATEGIES FOR CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

I. Traditional Path

The first category of women refers to seven interviewees who can objectively be defined as having followed, or who are currently following, what in Germany is often considered the "traditional path" in their upward social mobility trajectories. This category includes women, all from working class backgrounds, who have completed the *Abitur* (the leaving exam from *Gymnasium*, which

qualifies one to study at university), either by attending a *Gymnasium* or a *Gesamtschule*¹⁰ or by completing the middle-tier qualification at a *Realschule* and then moving on to *Gymnasium*. Furthermore, they have either completed or are in the process of completing an *Ausbildung* (post-secondary apprenticeship) or studying at university. Those who had completed their education were employed at the time of their interview.

Understanding the challenges that these women describe gives insight into important decisions made in the process of their social mobility careers. The following presents a cultural and social capital analysis of the social mobility trajectories of women who followed the *traditional* path in their careers. In terms of cultural capital, the ways in which German language acquisition occurred for these women demonstrates the importance of domestic cultural capital transmission and of effective parental decision-making. Moreover, cultural capital is interpreted as a culturally specific resource with respect to the German educational system, where parents rely on the cultural capital available to them in order to make effective decisions for both the school tracking and school selection of their children necessary cultural and social capital for a *traditional* upward mobility trajectory.

II. Language Acquisition

The realm of German language acquisition is particularly illustrative, as their current level of near-perfect German ability is a factor that all of the women in this category mention as being an important catalyst for success in Germany. Language ability is a clear example of what Bourdieu distinguishes as the form of embodied cultural capital, which implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation. Given that the most powerful principle of cultural capital is the logic of its generational transmission, in particular its domestic transmission, these women faced a clear deficit in their early lives by not having German as the main language in their domestic environment.

Understanding how these women were able to acquire their language skills gives insight into the process whereby they came to acquire higher levels of cultural capital. This is particularly important in the German context where the educational system's characteristics of late school entrance and half-day school compound

the issue of the already limited transmission of this embodied cultural capital from the first to the second generation of migrants. Since German students are tracked into different systems relatively early, migrant children are particularly disadvantaged by not having enough time and support to reach the same language proficiency level as their German peers. The interviewees in this category were able to overcome this language acquisition deficit due to a variety of parental decisions and social circumstances.

Melike¹¹ spoke to me about the main reason behind her development of good German language skills from an early age: "My parents placed a lot of value on me speaking German." Her parents thus enrolled her in various forms of early childhood education, partly out of necessity, as both of them worked full time, but also partly out of concern for her language skills, thus ensuring that she entered elementary school with a good level of German. Melike is representative of several interviewees who not only had parental support with regard to language acquisition but also had parents with the ability to make effective decisions for her. Since Melike's parents were not able to provide her with sufficient embodied cultural capital in the form of language acquisition in their domestic environment, they ensured that she would be able to acquire this specific form of cultural capital by placing her in a substitute environment more conducive to its accumulation.

III. Cultural Capital as a Context Specific Resource

Parental decisions that influence early cultural capital accumulation with regard to language acquisition are indicative of the importance of the domestic environment and of parental support within the German educational system as a whole. While Melike's parents were able to make effective choices in order for her to be able to acquire the German language skills necessary to succeed, many theorists have explained that what may be particularly lacking and problematic for migrant families is a lack of knowledge about the specific features of the German educational system, which operate in addition to the socio-economic and educational background factors already described in the literature on German-Turks. In the context of migrants in Germany, Germany-specific knowledge of the

¹⁰The Gesamtschule refers to a type of schooling that was expanded in 2010/11 in Berlin under the new name of the integrierte Sekundarschule (integrated secondary school) which eliminates the other school tiers, combines all the school tracks and offers students the opportunity to complete all of the different levels of schooling and their corresponding leaving certificates, from Hauptschule to Gymnasium (Senaatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Wissenschaft). This school type was more popular in the past in Berlin than in many other German federal states. These schools, similar to the new integrated secondary schools, delayed the tracking decision of students until later years and allowed students to go on to complete different school leaving certificates, regardless of original track placement.

¹¹The names of all the interviewees have been changed to respect their privacy and their rights as research subjects.

educational system can be seen as a form of cultural capital. A lack of context-specific knowledge of the German educational system is therefore a lack of cultural capital among migrants. This detrimentally affects the educational outcomes of children despite the high educational aspirations of parents and children.

This lack of context-specific knowledge is also problematic with regard to the form of cultural capital that Bourdieu identifies as institutionalized, in the form of educational qualifications. Hence, a particular feature of the German educational system documented in past studies is that even higher parental education in migrants' country of origin does not necessarily translate into improved chances for their children reaching the *Abitur* as much as it does their German peers, a finding that is significant only for Turks (Kristen and Granato 2007, 353). This is corroborated by several interviewees who describe their parents lack of knowledge of the German educational system, such as İpek, who said that her parents "didn't have the knowledge or the background," to make good educational choices for her. Thus, knowledge of the German education system can be seen as a form of cultural capital on which migrants are not able to draw in order to make effective choices for their children's educational future even if they had a relatively high degree of institutionalized cultural capital in the country of origin.

Thus, further tying the upward social mobility trajectory of these women to the institutional set-up of the German educational system is illustrative of the challenges these women faced with regard to the specific decisions their families had to make for them to enable their upward mobility. Outside of examining the accumulation of embodied cultural capital in the form of language ability, highlighting two key decisions that parents make at transition points in their children's educational career is useful in the context of this cultural capital analysis. This examination can serve to effectively highlight the situations in which a social background that results in a lack of cultural capital transmission can influence these decisions, and also how the women categorized as following a traditional educational trajectory deviate from the generalized patterns followed by other German-Turkish families. These decisions are, firstly, the important transition from primary to secondary school track and, secondly, school choice at both the primary and secondary school levels.

IV. Transition from Primary to Secondary School Track

The transition from primary to secondary school track, in the form of either *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gym-*

nasium, is particularly important, so much so that the central matter for educational inequality in the German context seems to be whether students are able to enter and subsequently complete one of the upper tier tracks of secondary schooling (Kristen and Granato 2007, 345). While the method of transition varies according to the different German states (*Bundesländer*) and in terms of the degree to which the choices of parents over teacher recommendations influence secondary school track placement, there is normally some degree of importance given to parental influence. Zeynep, who, had relatively little support from her parents, while having studied at university, spoke about her experience with this in a rather bitter tone:

The problem I find is simply that as a child or as a teenager one is helpless, both with regard to the evaluation or the decision of the teacher, but also to the decision of the parents. So if you do not have parents who are actively engaged for you, who then just... say... go to the school leadership and say: 'Hey I do not agree with this recommendation!'

Thus, particularly in contexts such as Berlin, where parental influence can have a larger effect on students' secondary school placement, migrant parents with low levels of context-specific cultural capital may not possess the relevant means required for making advantageous choices, such as by advocating for their children to be put into a different school track or by providing additional support from home to influence the performance of their children at the tracking point.

In fact, several of the women in this category, who managed this transition more smoothly, describe having had extra help provided for them by their parents, who consciously sacrificed in order to invest in tutoring or who encouraged their children to attend after-school help programs. For example, Damla describes:

After school I went to a daycare because my mother doesn't speak very good German... my Dad worked a lot and so the fact that there was someone to do our homework with us was really the decisive factor - that my parents paid a lot of attention to my educational schooling and that in the daycare I had someone in the afternoons with whom I could do my homework and who could correct it.

These programs allow the children of migrants to gain the cultural capital that parents could not transmit in the domestic environment.

V. School Choice

The second important decision that parents can influence with regard to their children's educational career revolves around school choice at both the primary and secondary school levels. School choice is relevant at the primary school level, because some primary schools are seen to better prepare students for the important tracking point, but also at the secondary school level, even after the tracking decision has been made placing students in one of the three secondary school tracks. For instance, parents can choose a *Gesamtschule* for their children who have not received a *Gymnasium* placement in order for them to possibly change tracks later but stay in the same school, while for their children who have a *Gymnasium* placement, they can choose a *Gymnasium* that better fits the students' orientation or that has a better reputation. While most school placements in Germany roughly correspond to residential area, at the secondary school level in Berlin there is more leeway to apply to schools outside of a particular residential area. Several of the interviewees who have had educational success chose, with the active support of their parents, to attend schools outside of their residential area, often in more upscale neighborhoods of Berlin. Derin describes the thought process behind her and her parents' decision for her to move from a *Gymnasium* in *Kreuzberg*, which had a large percentage of students with a migration background, to a *Gymnasium* in the Spandau neighborhood:

I wanted a change and, um, the main focus/emphasis in this school was in the area of social service. And I had thought... well I just really wanted to be active in the social services sector.

In this way some of the interviewees who have had the most straightforward educational success are different than many of their second-generation Turkish counterparts, for studies have shown that, even where there is a certain degree of leeway in school choice, as in Berlin, Turkish families frequently pay attention to only one school option due to a lack of familiarity with the German system. Furthermore, the school they consider is typically the one that accommodates more foreign nationals than any possible alternative school (Kristen 2008, 508). Thus, educational knowledge works as a central context-specific resource, a form of cultural capital specific to Germany, which shapes the perception of alternatives. Migrant families, due to their limited cultural capital in the form of knowledge of the German education system and the restricted transferability of origin-specific educational resources, are not able to

make the most effective choices for their children. In this way they limit the embodiment and institutionalization of cultural capital in their children.

VI. Social Capital Expansion

Given their working-class background and their lack of context-specific cultural capital, this begs the question of to what extent and how the parents of women who managed to move relatively seamlessly through all of the important educational transitions in the German school system were consciously able to make important decisions for their children. For those parents actively engaged in improving their children's educational level, and thus their cultural capital, it was most often a result of actively seeking out this information. Derin, in a manner similar to other interviewees, describes how her parents made the decision for her to attend her particular *Gymnasium* and later to switch to a different one: "They really just informed themselves about... which school is good and so on." From this it is possible to see that for many Turkish migrant parents, information about the German educational system is gleaned from the social contacts that they can reach out to in order to discuss their children's education. Thus, the knowledge gained from their social contacts is a type of capital mobilized from the use of these social networks; that is, social capital.

Above and beyond the already discussed deficiencies in cultural capital faced by Turkish-Germans, which are largely parallel to those faced by other migrants with a similar working class background, Turks in Germany are particular in their pronounced lack of social capital with respect to their relations with mainstream German society. As already mentioned, German-Turks are characterized by a large degree of segregation, thus their social capital exists purely among themselves and not in relation to the wider mainstream German society (Cağlar 1994, 193; 1995, 310). This deficiency in social capital is more serious for German-Turks when compared to other migrants with a similar socioeconomic background in Germany as well as when compared to Turks with similar social backgrounds in other European countries. Thus, for Turks in Germany, less social capital outside of their limited social world restricts their acquisition of potentially beneficial resources through interpersonal relations with the wider society. In particular, it limits their ability to obtain key cultural capital that is relevant and effective in the wider German context and that can then be transmitted generationally.

It is in this aspect of social capital that many of the most successful interviewees differ from their second-

generation counterparts - they belong to families that actively sought to break the isolated social networks in which many German Turks are embedded in order to build social capital outside of their Turkish community. For İpek and Melike this took the form of going to school outside of a neighborhood characterized by a high proportion of people with migration backgrounds, whereas Derin's parents reached out to gain information about the schooling system from sources other than neighbors and relatives. Thus, even while Derin's parents gathered information from their social contacts, they differ from the majority of other Turkish families in that they actively sought to contact sources outside of their ethnic community, thereby mobilizing a larger degree of social capital. As will later become clear, most of the upwardly mobile women interviewed have made clear attempts to build their stock of social capital by reaching out beyond a social circle dominated by German-Turks.

However, not all of the women interviewed who moved through the German educational system and into the workplace in the most traditional or straightforward manner were the beneficiaries of effective parental decisions and support. In these cases, they often benefitted from a social context more favorable in helping them succeed. İpek had relatively little parental support in her educational timeline. She arrived at elementary school with no German language skills, despite having been born in Berlin and had no parental advice or support in the important transitions in her educational career. However, İpek lived in an area that did not have very many migrants: "We were lucky that we grew up in that neighborhood because the proportion of migrants was minimal." Due to this she was able to benefit from the social capital she obtained by her association with non-Germans: she was able to learn German more quickly than if she had been in a class with more migrants with language difficulties and she could emulate her classmates' choices at important transition points. Thus, living in a neighborhood with more Germans can equal the effect of having parents who reached outside of their inherited social networks to seek educational information.

IX. DETOURS

The second category of women refers to those six interviewees who have, or are in the process of, an upward mobility trajectory, but who have taken significant "detours" on this trajectory. All of the women have completed a school leaving certificate from either *Hauptschule* or *Realschule* and have completed, or are in the process of completing, an *Ausbildung* (post-

secondary education that is not from a university). Those who have completed these steps are currently employed. In this typology, the term detour refers to a two pronged-process. Firstly, it denotes an initial move away from an upward trajectory. For some of the women in this category this indicates that they switched to a lower educational track or dropped out without receiving a leaving certificate, while for others it indicates that they had planned on a particular path after finishing their secondary school track but changed their further educational plans due to a variety of circumstances. Secondly, the term designates the return to an upward mobility trajectory that these women undertook, either through improving or finishing their educational qualifications or by finding gainful employment.

In terms of the initial move out of an upwardly mobile trajectory, this section elucidates some of the negative aspects of social capital that can be particularly impactful on women with a Turkish migration background. These include downward-leveling norms as well as restrictions on the individual freedoms, in particular on female community members. This section also examines some of the strategies employed by these women to return to an upward mobility trajectory. In this case they relied on state support as a substitute for community or familial backing, or used their ethnicity to their advantage. The mobilization of ethnicity, as explicated by Pott, is thus found to be a useful form of cultural capital only for those women who would like to advance their careers in sectors considered to be migrant-specific or into sectors that actively recruit migrants, while it has its limitations in other sectors.

X. THE MOVE OUT OF AN UPWARD MOBILITY TRAJECTORY

Negative aspects of social capital Given the large degree of social insulation exhibited by the Turkish community in Germany, alternative information on different paths or career trajectories is often not readily available, resulting in an effect that İpek describes as "rowing against the current most of the time," in terms of school quality and educational support from parents and the community. Furthermore, community expectations with regard to important educational decisions, especially those regarding Turkish female migrants in Germany, are suggestive of some of the negative aspects of social capital as elucidated by Portes (1998, 15).

The negative aspects of the large degree of social capital that German Turks have in their relations with each other include both downward-leveling norms and restrictions on individual freedoms. İpek describes the difficulty that some students have in pushing to succeed

within her own social circle, because they have parents who say: "I also only have an Ausbildung, it is enough to do this," and she claims that many families:

Don't really look up and then think... man, we are in the best educational landscape, in Germany anyone can at anytime, even if they were too silly after the 10th [grade], get something going again, through an alternative or secondary education path you can earn anything.

Consequently, it becomes problematic "when you are always only with this circle of people then it is also normal if you only have an Ausbildung or none at all." As İpek describes, if in these closed social circles it is mostly accepted that students will not enter into higher educational tracks, then the tendency for inter-generational educational stratification could reproduce itself - resulting in a general pattern of negative school choice decisions across the large communities of Turks in Germany, resulting in downward-leveling norms.¹²

These norms are not only present with regard to school choice and track decisions but also with regard to restrictions on individual freedoms, especially with regard to adolescent girls. Here, the decisions made in the social network may serve as a reference point in the evaluation process, thus making the typical choices of others in the network have a clear impact on school selection. Talya's parents definitely took into account their community's expectation of where she should go to school:

Yeah it was like this: so I had a *Realschule* recommendation and at that time it was that girls didn't get sent very far away so I looked for the closest school, and so that's how the decision came about, should I say.

Thus, one important consequence of the strong degree of social capital that Turks can draw on with regard to their relationships with each other are strong gendered expectations for educational attainment and progress.

Talya, who, after finishing her *Realschule* certificate, was forcibly married at the age of 16 to a man from Turkey, describes how she was raised: "With us foreigners (Ausländer) honor is something important... we were raised that we need to be careful about our honor, your pride, blah blah blah should not bring any dirt/filth because of this and that." There are,

thus, significantly gendered expectations of educational progress among some social circles of Turks in Germany, which serve to hinder cultural capital acquisition among females with a Turkish migration background. In fact, looking back to the group of women who made it through the educational system in a traditional, relatively seamless fashion some, such as Zeynep, mention explicitly that they were not subject to such restrictions:

I grew up in a Turkish environment where the parents didn't really support or promote their children and, um, it more or less meant that girls, um, don't really need to go to school. It is also enough if they marry early and have children... but my parents were not like this.

In the absence of parents who did not support such gendered expectations, restrictions on personal freedoms or downward-leveling norms, or a combination of both, are often the main stumbling blocks for German-Turkish women's social mobility. This is further exacerbated by an important factor mentioned by Zeynep: a lack of spokespeople or mentors available for women with a Turkish migration background in Germany.

Transition from school to labor market

A final challenge that many of these women faced included the difficult transition from school to the labor market. This transition is difficult even for women who did not face particularly gendered expectations from their families. As previously mentioned, there are specific transition institutions in Germany, such as its apprenticeship system, which streamline access to qualified occupational positions. However, other research has shown that Turkish women often suffer from a lack of information and can have trouble accessing different apprenticeship positions. Many interviewees in this category mention this difficulty, while Simay also mentions an added challenge:

I had a lot of problems at that time because there was a shortage of places to do an Ausbildung and especially in the branch that I wanted to work in. This is representative of the apprenticeship position shortage that is, as also mentioned previously, becoming characteristic across Germany (Worbs 2003, 1029). Moreover, it once again demonstrates the importance of cultural and social

¹²This certainly corroborates research that shows that when there are potential alternatives for schools, Turkish migrant families, due to a lack of information, typically only consider the option that accommodates more foreign nationals than the alternative school (Kristen 2008:508). While this is due to the limited references points that they may have within their community, it is also possible that there are cases of migrants consciously choosing the school option with more foreign nationals. This would indicate a measure of recognition on the part of certain Turkish parents of the fact that more social capital exists among communities of Turkish migrants and it is possible that these parents hope their child will be more successful in an environment where such social capital exists.

capital attainment for these women's future success.

I. The return to an upward mobility trajectory

Despite all of these specific challenges that women with a Turkish migration background had to overcome, all of the interviewees in this category were able to take a "detour" in order to continue an upward mobility trajectory. In order to do so they employed two specific strategies. Firstly, they relied on certain supportive institutions of the German state and, secondly, they actively used their migration background to their advantage.

II. Relying on resources of state

For several women, using the resources of the German welfare state can be a substitute, at least financially, for families who are either unable or unwilling to support their female family members. This support is far from perfect and many women decry their treatment by the authorities in different state agencies, as Ela does when she says, "This office has really broken me... I mean they demand documents from me and then lose them and I don't get my support if that happens." Thus, while some women do complain of discrimination from the authorities, mostly they rationalize their treatment as being congruent with the German state wanting to support as few people as possible and explain that their frustrations are mostly due to bureaucratic loopholes. In fact, every interviewee, despite varying levels of frustration or desperation was quick to add qualifying statements. For example, Azru comments on the amount of paperwork required from the state for her financial support while she was a student:

You always have to prove everything in the JobCenter, but otherwise... I mean we are a welfare state and you have to control this somewhere somehow, I mean in America or so, in New York and so, everyone has to care for themselves and so, somewhere I can also understand it... so I don't find our system to be bad, I'm glad to live in this social democracy.

Most women are careful to mention that they are thankful that such a support system even exists to help them, often comparing Germany's welfare state support to either than in America or to the support available to relatives and friends in Turkey. Other women went through specific state measures designed to recruit

school leavers for job training, congruent with the variety of supportive measures outside of the "regular system," mentioned by Worbs (2003,1034).

III. Public sector employment

Whereas several women relied on the German state for financial support for themselves and their dependents while they worked to improve their educational qualifications or looked to find gainful employment, some women in this category also looked to the state for another reason: employment. Three of the interviewees who were able to successfully upgrade their educational qualifications with state support are currently public sector employees. The National Action Plan on Integration (2011) specifically encourages the higher representation of people with a migration background in the public sector because, as a service to the public, it should be representative of the population it serves. Whereas "immigration background alone may not be the decisive criterion," the plan encourages a progression towards the "intercultural opening of the administration," alongside pursuing the representational equality of men and women in the public sector (418-19). Thus, with the proper educational qualifications, it was possible for these women to use their migration background to their advantage and find gainful, permanent employment for the German state. This is a clear case of the conversion of cultural capital, in the form of educational qualifications gained with the support of the state, into economic capital, in the form of a stable job and, thus, income.

IV. Mobilization of ethnicity as a form of cultural capital

Thus it is clear that, outside of some of the negative aspects of social capital mentioned previously, there are certain benefits of membership in the Turkish community. Whereas some women used their background to their advantage in applying for jobs in the public sector, some women also used their Turkish background as a form of cultural capital in order to propel a transition into the social work field. Havin, for example, states: "in my area/field, I rather have advantages because of the fact that I am Turkish." Adan, moreover, describes choosing this field because of the particular advantages that it afforded her, such as job security: "I know that if I were to quit this job here, I would also relatively quickly find something new." This is largely congruent to the process that Pott describes, of upwardly mobile second-generation Turkish youth choosing to use their ethnicity as an advantage in their field, a strategy par-

ticularly useful in the fields related to the social work or pedagogy field. Pott (2001) does mention in his different case studies and typologies that using ethnicity as an advantage allows certain women to present themselves "as an expert and a potential candidate for intercultural tasks in the area of gender- and migration-specific jobs (178)." This is certainly the case with these interviewees.

However, while Pott claims that the mobilization of ethnicity is useful for a specific subgroup of the second-generation of Turkish migrants and analyses three typologies within this subgroup, he does not articulate how this particular subgroup is formed or defined. I argue that, at least for females with a Turkish migration background, the utility of using ethnicity as a form of cultural capital is useful only insofar as it is a strategy for a shift in their social mobility career through bringing them onto an upward trajectory. In certain cases it thus facilitates the conversion of cultural capital into economic capital. As mentioned before, however, there are limitations to the social contexts in which the positive mobilization of ethnicity can be used effectively. For example, ethnicity was not a useful category to propel a detour for Azru, who, as a minority actress, struggles to gain admission into a competitive mainstream theatre program:

I also always got very positive feedback but I soon noticed that I am also not the type... I have been in the final round so often but then the last step didn't work and I do think... I am pretty sure... when I later looked at the class arrangements... the majority of them were blonde and there always seemed to be a quota of dark-haired... no idea.

Ethnicity is thus not an appropriate tool to be mobilized for some women attempting a detour into a field not normally associated with those who have a migrant background. Moreover, the women who followed the traditional path towards upward social mobility also do not necessarily employ positive mobilizations of ethnicity. If anything, some of them mention its potential limitations. Therefore, Zeynep sees it as important that migrants are not limited to jobs in sectors that are related to migration, gender and Islam:

But it is also important that we for example also get a chance or opportunities to work in areas that have nothing to do with migration or Islam or other questions such as that... which many do not do, so when you look for example in the area of social

work field, many social workers are those with a migration background.

Thus, the positive mobilization of ethnicity is only useful for a particular subgroup in propelling a detour towards an upward mobility trajectory in the social mobility careers of some second-generation Turkish women.

XI. ENTREPRENEURS

The final categorization of the social mobility trajectories employed by women with a Turkish migration background consists of the three interviewees who are successful entrepreneurs. Through a variety of detours, all of these interviewees completed post-secondary education, two of them having graduated from university and the third having completed two separate *Ausbildungen*. While, before opening their own businesses, the entrepreneurs mostly used the same strategies as employed by the women who took detours on their upward mobility trajectories; two unique qualities can be discerned among the entrepreneurs. The first is that they all highlight going through a clear period of insecurity before they developed their own distinctive initiatives, thereby emphasizing that entrepreneurship is only destined for a certain type of person. The second corroborates much of the literature written about female entrepreneurs with a Turkish migration background; their businesses do not fall into the typical ethnic economy (Hillman 1999, 279; Kil and Silver 2012, 100). Both of these qualities demonstrate that an expansion of their social capital is particularly useful for these female entrepreneurs.

It is estimated that female entrepreneurs own only 5 to 10% of Turkish enterprises in Germany, making female entrepreneurs with a Turkish background a rarity (Hillman 1999, 273). This is also mostly the way that these women view themselves. For example, Mira describes her situation with regard to the challenges she faces as an independent businesswoman: "the first disability is that one has to distinguish oneself as a woman and the second is the migration background." These women thus view themselves as particularly rare exceptions; they have broken away from tradition and, in the process, have had to deal with specific problems.

Mira runs a large chain of employment offices that works with very mixed clientele in Berlin. Here, similar to some of the women who took detours on their educational careers, she used institutional help in order to move her into her upward mobility trajectory. Thus, while she was enrolled at her university, she was able to work with a variety of advisors to develop a con-

crete business plan and, with their support, to apply for a start-up loan for her company. Mira describes this institutional help:

Here in Germany there are so many funding opportunities, also from the state you can't call it anything else: but, those who want help also have to go and get it. The person who cannot research this is in any case not suitable for self-employment anyways.

Thus, despite the significant amount of help that she received from an institutional source, Mira is quick to emphasize that this type of help is not suitable for all and that unique skills and motivations are required to be an entrepreneur. Mira, in using the resources available to her, was able to convert the useful social capital she had access to in order to build up her embodied cultural capital; the learned skills involved in presenting oneself as a successful businesswoman to a wide variety of stakeholders.

The second entrepreneur, Awira, is the owner and manager of an upscale Turkish restaurant, with a fellow female business partner who also has a Turkish migration background. Their restaurant is located in a Berlin neighborhood known for a particularly low concentration of Turks. For Awira, having a business that distinguishes itself from the ubiquitous döner kebab stand associated with Turkish cuisine, located in a non-ethnic neighborhood, is the culmination of a long process of expanding her social network. It was this expansion outside of her social network that most helped her social mobility trajectory. After being convinced by non-Turkish friends that she was intelligent enough to study at a university, she moved out of her home into a different neighborhood in Berlin, which she describes as "like moving into a whole new world." In her view, this move was essential to helping her to open up to the world:

I worked... saw a lot of Germany that I had never seen before... I couldn't travel before because of my family and so on... So I was really open to everything, I wanted to experience everything, see everything and learn, above all get to learn different things.

Awira used this impetus to learn and experience new things to move through a wide range of careers and to spend time abroad while completing her degree. Thus, from her multiple cosmopolitan networks, Awira gleaned the cultural capital necessary to present herself as a multicultural woman who is able to draw on her

Turkish background and to package certain aspects of it for consumption by the mainstream German society.

Although the two interviewees described above own businesses in areas and sectors that cannot be defined as belonging to an ethnic economy, the third entrepreneur runs a travel agency that specializes mostly in trips to Turkey for German-Turks. However, even in this situation, she is very careful to differentiate her business from other more "typical" Turkish-German travel agencies. Selin and her sister took over an existing agency. While her sister has in the meantime left the business, she describes this process to me:

Before her time, the travel agency specialized even more on trips to Turkey. At that time when we took it over, of course we continued with Turkey, but we also opened up worldwide and took on all sorts of other things: rental cars, vacation packages, mostly long-distance trips, and hotels.

Thus, Selin and her sister worked to make their new business distinctive. In this way, Selin also explains the relative success of her business compared to these other travel agencies:

At the beginning the competition was, I think, a bit stronger... but it has since subsided... but that isn't because they didn't know Turkey, but that they simply were less... I'll say... up-to-date compared to us for example because we really do not miss anything in terms of seminars, trainings and so on in the tourism sector, in this respect we are up to date.

Claiming to be more qualified than the many other Turkish travel agencies is another way in which Selin distinguishes her business and moves it away from an ethnic economy model. Moreover, by offering different services, such as organized trips to Turkey with both German and German-Turkish clients "to bring both sides together," Selin firmly opens up her client base to the mainstream German society. Thus, just as for so many others, it seems that building social connections outside of the isolated social networks in which many German-Turks are embedded is also essential for female entrepreneurs to succeed outside of the male-dominated Turkish ethnic economy.

XII. LACK OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

Despite their differing upwardly mobile trajectories, all of the women interviewed for the present study were unified in sharing a main concern: having their upward

mobility recognized and legitimated by the mainstream German society. While different categorizations were used to analyze the specific strategies that interviewees used for their upward mobility, taken together, all of the women interviewed for the present study are currently in an upward mobility trajectory. This is because they have all either achieved a high level of education and a secure position in the labor market or are currently in the process of upgrading their educational attainment or job status. Thus, they employ similar approaches to gaining societal recognition for their upward mobility; approaches that are generally more focused on a future in Germany than those employed by first generation.

Each interviewee, with little to no prompting, was able to speak about and describe in detail multiple situations in which she felt directly discriminated against or in which she felt that her accomplishments or upward social mobility were not recognized. Indeed, the generally negative image of Turks in Germany plays out particularly conspicuously in the lives of German-Turkish women. The stock figure in the media of the Turkish woman abused by, first, her "Turkish culture" and, increasingly by "Islam," is a conduit, as described by Yildiz (2012), for concerns about the integrity of German society as much as it is about the actual treatment of Turkish women (481). This negative image frustrates Mira, for example:

Here I have a position and I am not taken in that way, but I mean outside of this position, when I am outside with the authorities, and when I am inquiring about different things... you notice the discrimination.

Here Mira references the fact that people often assume she is the rhetorical oppressed woman of Turkish background. Within the confines of her business she has built up a certain level of symbolic capital; her coworkers and employees acknowledge the levels of capital she has accumulated, whereas outside of her work environment she faces multiple stereotypes and types of discrimination. While Mira feels this contrast particularly strongly, many other women also mention that they face a multitude of discriminations. Whether these discriminations are felt to be institutional and bureaucratic in nature or take the form of daily micro-aggressions, the result is similar. Here Mira once again expresses the personal consequences of this treatment:

But it is also already to the point that, to say it like this - one could just as well say... why have this status, when it is not

recognized anyways. This is a real conflict for me.

It is clear, therefore, that what the majority of these upwardly mobile women suffer from is a lack of symbolic capital in Germany; a lack of recognition of their multiple capital accumulations. As Çağlar's (1994) analysis agrees, German-Turks adopt a wide variety of "compensating for this deficiency" (197). However, this generation of women has adopted strategies different than those described by Çağlar to do so.

Most importantly, there has been a shift in the self-understanding of German-Turks towards Turks that live in Turkey. Çağlar argues that German Turks' recognize their lack of symbolic capital in Turkish society, which in turn influences the strategies that they employ in Germany, while still making Turkey as the idealized place to achieve upward mobility, regardless of actual intent to "return." Presently, however, interviewees seek to point out not only their non-acceptance by or categorization as "the Germans"¹³ by Turks in Turkey, but also their essential difference for having grown up and been shaped by German values and in the security net of a social welfare state. As Selin affirms:

I have been here for over 30 years and I am just used to it. I feel German here, or Germanified also. I can honestly say that, even though I still have my Turkish side, very strongly... but I don't think I could live in the Turkey, in the conditions that are there now.

Thus, these females are quick to point out that, at present, conditions in Turkey are not up to the standard that they would expect to live in. Moreover, as Ayse, but also many others, affirm, German-Turks approach life differently than Turks in Turkey:

It is different, from the way of thinking to the attitude towards life, everything is somehow split, you cannot combine the two together.

In this way, German-Turks seek to point out not only their difference from Turks who have grown up in Turkey, but also, implicitly, a certain degree of superiority, for having grown up in a society that they feel better respects human rights and takes care of its citizens because it has a better social security net. Thus, Turkey is no longer a viable option for social mobility anymore, even as a mere collection of reference groups against which to compare mobility trajectories.

¹³The word "Almanci" in Turkish is used to define those with a Turkish migration background living in Germany and often has a derogatory connotation.

Moreover, while the second generation of Turks in Germany still exhibits a large degree of isolation from mainstream German society, it is not as isolated as the previous generation and thus symbolic capital attainment is not as problematic as it was in the past. This slight improvement, despite continued deficiencies, combined with the reduction of Turkey as a social mobility reference category, makes these upwardly mobile women adopt a more Germany-centric approach to countering this symbolic capital deficiency. This, at least for these women who have consciously built up their social capital levels by breaking out of social networks composed of primarily German-Turks, is fostered by an appreciation of German democracy, its human rights record and the freedoms it provides. Even while the women often complicate this appreciation with skepticism and active critique, they are finding new methods with which to counter their lack of symbolic capital. Most of these methods revolve around forging a new identity and space in Germany and openly advocating for their recognition.

A full investigation of the multitude of ways that these women work to build their symbolic capital levels is outside the scope of this paper. However, one particular method bears mentioning here in order to demonstrate that the social challenges of being a woman with a Turkish migration background in Germany do not end once they are upwardly mobile. Many of the strategies these women employ for increasing symbolic capital levels include, but are not limited to, asserting their rights within formal institutional structures. In particular, the high naturalization rate of many of the women interviewed is a way for them to gain symbolic capital in Germany, by being recognized as German citizens. While some women applied for citizenship themselves and some had their parents apply for them when they were minors, applying for citizenship is in itself an attempt to accumulate cultural capital. Simay describes the decision that her family made in becoming naturalized citizens:

The reason for applying for German citizenship was really simply because of the fact that we live here and there was also the thought, ok, we aren't going to migrate... we aren't going back to Turkey anymore and we are really citizens of this state.

Thus, she highlights the most important aspect of this capital accumulation: the ability to identify oneself as a citizen of the state and, through this, to attain a higher level of symbolic capital.

Unfortunately, however, as Mandel argues, the popular understanding of what it means to be German is

often confounded and simultaneously conflated with citizenship, which, up until reforms of citizenship laws in 1993 and 2000 was difficult to obtain, making it difficult for German citizens of Turkish background to be considered fully German (Howard 2008, 42-45; Mandel 2008, 80-81). Given this difficulty, these women have had to find more assertive ways to advocate for their symbolic capital.

Here citizenship does have its advantages, as many women now use the formal institutional structures they have access to as German citizens in order to fight against perceived discriminations, or limitations on their attainment of symbolic capital. At least four interviewees explicitly mentioned writing official complaints after perceived negative treatment by a variety of bureaucratic authorities. Zeynep describes the motivation behind such decisions:

It is important to fight for your own rights in this country, which we also have... Today I have the stance that I need to fight for my rights... I have become a lot more self-confident.

It is clear that for Zeynep, and for the multiple women interviewed who took similar action, it is important to assert their rights within formal institutional structures, as a way of asserting their rights to belong to such structures. While such action might not prevent the multitude of micro-aggressions they face in their daily life, these women believe that such continued assertions will help improve their treatment by different authorities.

Overall, it seems that, for many of these upwardly mobile women, their approaches to social mobility are very Germany-centric. Even while several women mention Turkey as a "back up" plan or a last resort, it is not a site necessarily dreamed of for permanent migration anymore. However, there is a trend of German-Turks moving to Turkish cities, as mentioned by Cağlar (1994, 199) and by one of my interviewees. While an in-depth discussion of this trend is outside of the purview of this essay, it is worth noting that this interviewee mentioned that shared experiences and values from growing up in Germany predominate even among groups of Turkish-Germans living in Turkey. Overall, however, the upwardly mobile German-Turkish women interviewed in this study express a preference for living in Germany, despite the symbolic capital restrictions that they must continually and actively combat.

XIII. CONCLUSION

This study served to examine the strategies employed by upwardly mobile women with a Turkish migration background living in Berlin to accumulate cultural, social and symbolic capital throughout their social mobility careers. Cultural capital is shown to be an important tool for these women both in its domestic transmission and as a context-specific resource for effective decision-making in the German educational context. Moreover, the accumulation of social capital through maintaining contacts outside of isolated Turkish migrant communities is demonstrated to be the most universally effective strategy for upward mobility among all of the defined typologies of upward social mobility trajectories. While some interviewees experienced the negative effects of social capital that can be particularly poignant for women in tightly bound ethnic communities, the women who were subject to these negative effects were nonetheless able to mobilize specific ethnic strategies to propel themselves into an upward social mobility trajectory. Finally, while all of the upwardly mobile women included in this study experience a subjective lack of societal recognition of their multiple capital accumulations, and thereby lack symbolic capital, they employ specific strategies to counteract this deficiency. These strategies are found to be much more assertive and focused on a future in Germany than those employed by the previous generation of Turkish migrants. However, understanding the limitations that these women face with regard to the societal recognition of their capital accumulation establishes that in the future it will be necessary to continue to creatively respond to the social challenges faced by women with a Turkish migration background living in Germany, as these challenges are far from overcome once upward mobility is achieved.

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XIV. APPENDIX

Important Translation Notes

In several cases the present study uses the original German words to refer to specific persons or parts of the German educational system, since these words do not often have a direct translation in the English. The following gives an outline of these words:

- Grundschule – elementary school, normally starts at the age of six, four years in duration after which students are tracked into three different educational tracks.
- Hauptschule – the lowest educational tier after Grundschule where students typically spend five years, earning a lower-tier qualification and allowing entry into some, but not all, apprenticeship positions.
- Realschule – the middle education tier after Grundschule, where students typically spend six years. Afterwards they are qualified to attend a professional Gymnasium or a general-education Gymnasium or are able to do an apprenticeship.
- Gymnasium – the highest educational tier after Grundschule, where students spend 10 to 11 years, for a total of 12 or 13 years of elementary and secondary education. This is the only track of schooling that prepares students for the Abitur. Students typically attend university or do an apprenticeship after completion of this track.
- Abitur – the high school leaving exam, the only qualification that allows for entrance to university.
- Gesamtschule – a school form which delays the tracking decision of students until later years, which allows students to complete any of the three educational tracks and corresponding leaving certificates.
- Integrierte Sekondarschule – integrated secondary school, a school form introduced in Berlin in the school year 2010/11 where after the completion of elementary school, students are no longer tracked into a triple tier system, but attend either a Gymnasium or an integrated secondary school, which, similar to the Gesamtschule, eliminates the other school tiers, combines all the school tracks and offers students the opportunity to complete any of the different levels of schooling and their corresponding leaving certificates, from Hauptschule through to Gymnasium.
- Abschluss – a general word referring to a leaving certificate from any of the multiple educational tracks or tiers in Germany.
- Ausbildung – post-secondary education that is not in a university, often in the form of an apprenticeship combined with classroom learning provided by the state (the "dual system").
- Gastarbeiter – literally, "guest worker," refers to those workers who came to Germany as un- or semi-skilled labor in the post war period as the result of recruitment agreements between the German government and several Mediterranean-European and North African countries. These agreements were with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968).