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Nohl, Arnd-Michael; Ofner, Ulrike Selma

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Arnd-Michael Nohl / Ulrike Selma Ofner

Migration and Ethnicity in Documentary Interpretation – Perspectives from a Project on Highly Qualified Migrants

Public discussion on migration tends to use ethnicity as an important category. Newspapers frequently point to the ethnic background of newly arrived immigrants or even of those people who have been in the respective country for ages. The "Chinese-American" is a common notion as is the "Turkish guest worker" in Germany. Unfortunately, research on migration often follows this trend and takes over ethnicized categories from common sense discourse. Research is being done on "Italian" migrants or "Mexican" un-documented people. Even where ethnicity is not a category that structures sampling, it is at least a topic under empirical scrutiny. How migrants define their own ethnicity is a frequent question of both quantitative and qualitative inquiry.

Yet, it makes a difference whether a person *describes* himself or herself as belonging to an "ethnic group" (and/or *is described* accordingly by others), or whether a person actually *belongs* to an ethnic group. This subtle but extremely important distinction between the ethnic self-description and the description by outsiders on the one hand and ethnic affiliations on the other hand results in the fact that migration researchers are faced with major problems with regard to basic theory as well as methodology. These problems could be countered by prejudging – in a constructivist manner – both theoretically and methodologically that ethnicity was merely a matter of ascription. One could also – in an objectivist manner – make the ethnic group the basic concept and steer the sampling of empirical research along ethnic lines of distinction. The task of migration research and its empirical results becomes more complex when one does not basically orient oneself either in theory or in methodology to ethnic categories of distinction, but tries to empirically grasp the meaning of ethnic labelling and of potential forms of communitization.

This complex task is the main discussion point of the article at hand. We would like to discuss how it is possible to conduct migration research beyond ethnic lines of distinction without completely ignoring the meaning of ethnicity (in both of the above mentioned manifestations). In order to do this we will first draw on a classical approach of empirical, qualitative research which has been ground breaking in the field of migration: the approach of the early Chicago School (chapter 1). Important insights of this approach are taken up when we expand on the methodology we use in our own research:

the Documentary Method (chapter 2). As methodological reflection cannot and should not be abstracted from empirical research practice, it will be useful to discuss main issues of our approach within the framework of an ongoing inquiry into the life histories of highly qualified migrants[1] (chapter 3 – 7).

1 "Race Relations" and Comparative Analysis in the Chicago School

In two respects, the former Chicago School, as it had formed around William I. Thomas and later on around Robert Ezra Park, was relevant to conducting research on the immigration society: On the one hand, first theoretical categories and models used to describe the phenomena of immigration were developed which, however, are often criticized these days and which focus on ethnic differences without being pre-structured by them. On the other hand, this research practice includes a trend-setting approach to conducting research on immigration and on the impacts it has on modern societies.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, immigration in the United States must have appeared as an element of "*Conditio Humana*" (Human Condition), and not as a special phenomenon of a hyphenated sociology. In contrast to conventional contemporary reception, which deals either only with the migration-theoretical results of this sociology and criticizes it (cf. e.g. Wieviorka, 1995; Treibel, 1999; Heckmann, 1992), or merely reflects it in a methodological manner (cf. e.g. Lindner, 1990; Weymann, 1995; Bohnsack, 2005), we would like to look at both aspects of the Chicago School.

Robert E. Park portrays the programme of sociology in an immigration society with the following words: "In the study of race relations, we are concerned with more than the formal facts. We are concerned with experiences and with the personal reactions of individuals and races. It is not sufficient to know what happened; we want to know how the transaction looked through the eyes of individuals seeing it from opposing points of view. If there were not racial points of view there would be no race problems" (1950: 152).

This research attitude rules out from the very beginning a one-sided assignment of problems (in the sense of reducing immigration problems to migrants). "Race relations" constitute in the reciprocal perspectives of all

1 As much as distinction forms and potential forms of communitization such as the ethnic group or even gender were the subject of this study on highly qualified migrants, the migration status as such remained an empirically underexposed subject in this study. One of the reasons for this is that we have not empirically compared the migrants with highly qualified locals. There is no study without blind spots (cf. Nohl, 2007).

groups and individuals involved, through which one shall take a sociological look at the social process.
This research attitude outlined by Park is implemented in an impressive way by Louis Wirth, one of his students. In his dissertation on the „Ghetto“ (1956), Wirth first elaborated the historical genesis, i.e. the „natural history“ of ghettos in Europe, and then cast his empirical eyes on the settlement of the Jewish population[2] in Chicago.

With regard to the first 30 years of Jewish migration to Chicago, Wirth emphasizes that the Jews, most of whom had migrated from Germany, shared the clubs, political views and even the wartime experiences of the German-speaking Chicago population, while they cultivated their religious rites. Until then, there had been no “racial problems” in the sense Park had in mind. According to Wirth, “racial points of view“ (i.e. perspectives which designate or are typical of an ethnic group) developed only when Jews also migrated from Russia. Wirth reconstructed what the successful Jews must have thought of the newcomers:

“The Jews on the South and the North Side [the better-off residential areas; note by authors] were becoming conscious of the growth of the ghetto on the West Side, which, though removed from their own residential districts by considerable distance, would be regarded by Gentiles as an integral part of the Jewish community. They considered themselves even farther removed in social distance than in miles from these poor, benighted peddlers with long beards, with side-locks, and long black coats. They sensed that all the progress they had made in breaking down barriers, in preventing the development of a ghetto, and in gaining recognition for themselves, as persons rather than as Jews, with their Christian neighbours might now, with the new connotation that was attached to the word Jew, come to a sudden halt” (1956: 183).

The social distance towards the newcomers was accompanied by the fear that outsiders (“gentiles”) would not see the differences and might believe that all persons of Jewish faith, whether they live within or outside the ghetto, formed an entity. The ghettoization and the latent prejudice of the non-Jewish population seem to be the prerequisites for the forming of “race relations” and “race problems”. The latter are not given a priori, but constitute in the social occurrences of the immigration society, as is shown by Wirth.

In the course of the years, the population in the individual residential districts has changed, though. The ghetto population is prospering and moves into the transitional zone in which the well-established Jews are already living. The latter are now forced to move on, since they live in this area not only because of the better housing conditions, but above all because they

2 One cannot escape the objectivizing and – in this case – ethnicizing suggestive power of languages. While at this point we should be talking of a population group which – as is shown by Wirth – made similar practical experience (such as living in European ghettos) and is called Jewish on the strength of self and external ascriptions, it mutates into the “Jewish population” for the sake of a more practical and clear language.

want to distance themselves from the Jews in the ghetto. On the other hand, new immigrants are moving into the old ghetto.
In accordance with Park's programmatic draft, Wirth investigates objective facts only as far as they are conveyed by the reciprocal perspectives. In this respect, two fundamental approaches come into effect: On the one hand, Wirth *compares* between the perspectives of established and newcoming Jews, including their experience with non-Jews. On the other hand, he interrelates these perspectives and *compares* them. In doing so, he orients himself above all by the self-structured nature of his cases (the social worlds) without categorizing them into geographic, ethnic or socio-economic dimensions *in advance* of the empiric reconstruction.[3]

The fact that these comparative reconstructions remained largely "unsystematic" and that the "search for comparison groups was not streched to the limit for the development of theory", as Glaser and Strauss (1969: 155) were to write decades later, is all the more astonishing because the comparative analysis is at least suggested in Park's migration-sociological research programme (see above).[4] What else than the reconstructive interpretation of reciprocally comparing and demarcating ethnic points of view could have been the central practice of Chicago research activities on "race relations"?

Yet, Park's research programme is pioneering with regard to practical research and basic theory. In the scope of this programme, Park emphasizes above all the terms "attitude", "experience", "opinion" and "idea". According to Park, experience is "concrete, personal and unique". It is derived from practical actions, not from theorizing reflection: „To say that it [experience; note by authors] is personal is merely to say that it is the result of action rather than reflection" (1950: 152). On the other hand, the idea is repeatable and thus independent of time and place. Historical facts were developing

3 Zorbaugh (1969) did the same in a very convincing manner, although his study contained fewer theoretical references to migration research.

4 One of the reasons for this might have been that especially in his final chapter, Wirth quite suddenly comes up with sociological generalizations. In order to make clear the sociological relevance of his empirical study, Wirth reduces his distinguishing comparisons to some sociological generalizations, which closely follow Park's socio-ecological theory. He now speaks of a "symbiosis" and "accommodation" of the groups (ibid: p. 282f) without making this empirically plausible. We believe that the shortened presentation of the empirical results is due to the orientation to the metaphor of the social laboratory which is typical of the Chicago School. These researchers believed Chicago to be the ideal laboratory in which social phenomena could be empirically-microscopically analyzed and immediately afterwards be generalized for the entire country. Wirth wrote for instance: „If we knew the full story of the ghetto we would have a laboratory specimen for the sociologist that embodies all the concepts and the processes of his professional vocabulary." (ibid., p. 287). Already Robert E. Park had seen urban development as some kind of "controlled experiment" (1952: 73). He wrote the following: „in the city every characteristic of human nature is not only visible but is magnified" (ibid: p. 86). This point of view, oriented to generalization, was not longer aware of the contrasts among the urban population which Wirth had originally brought out.

only when individuals were communicating on their experiences (cf. ibid: 153). This clearly shows that experience is not the subjective reflection of objective results. Instead, objective results are constituted in connection with experience. Besides, experience offers researchers a doorway to the "racial points of view" (ibid: 152) and/or to „attitudes" (ibid: 153). The latter are stored in the (accumulated) experience of man. „To make an attitude intelligible it is necessary to study its natural history; to reproduce the circumstances under which it arose so completely that the observer can enter imaginatively into the situation and the experience of which the attitude is part." (ibid: 154)

Even though the reference to the imaginative entering of the situation shows that in those days precise methods of interpretation were not available, it makes clear the significance of the natural history of an attitude, as it was elaborated, for instance, by Wirth on the example of the ghetto. This attitude and its genesis can be elaborated only by the observer, never by the actor himself. As soon as the actor turns to it, he formulates a rationalized version of his attitude, which Park describes as "opinion" (ibid: 154). While an attitude can be worked into naturally accumulated experience and can be grasped only in the scope of an intensive interpretation, an opinion is a theorized self-reflection (established on the basis of one's own attitude).

2 Towards the Documentary Interpretation of Migration

In our opinion the documentary method corresponds to Park's programme of research on "race relations" in that it also starts out from the perspective-bound constitution of social problems and distinguishes between theoretical self-reflection and experience-bound attitudes. Yet, it implements the methodological and basic-theoretical implications of this programme in a more convincing manner.

Already the founder of the sociology of knowledge, Karl Mannheim, had seen the innovative practical research potential of U.S. American sociology, especially that of the Chicago School, and had suggested to combine it with the fund of formal basic categories developed in Germany in those days (cf. Mannheim, 1953a, 1953b). Especially the documentary method of interpretation developed by Mannheim and further developed into a multi-purpose research method by Ralf Bohnsack (cf. Mannheim, 1952a; Bohnsack, 2008; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007), which is the methodological basis of our own study (see Section 3), is capable of taking into account Robert E. Park's programmatic reflections and of converting them into a consistent methodology.

The documentary method considers the knowledge of actors an empirical basis, but detaches from the actors' ascriptions of meaning ("opinions" according to Park). This requires the distinction between reflective or theoretical knowledge on the one hand ("idea" according to Park) and the practical or incorporated knowledge on the other hand, which was described as "experience" and "attitude" by Park, while Karl Mannheim referred to it as "non-theoretical" knowledge and/or "conjunctive experience" (cf. Mannheim, 1982: 67, 191). Documentary researchers therefore "do not assume that they know more than the actors, but that the latter themselves do not know what they really know, having an implicit knowledge that is not easily accessible to them by reflection" (Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007b: 11).

Since this implicit and/or "a-theoretical" knowledge can initially be accessed only against the background of the interpreter's thought-experimental ideas of normality, it is important to substitute these ideas of normality by empirical comparison horizons and cases as soon as possible. For this reason, comparative analysis in the documentary method must not only bring the different cases into relation (as is the case with Louis Wirth), but is also responsible for methodically controlling the interpreter's ties to a particular social location (cf. Mannheim, 1952b). It is only against the background of other empirical cases of comparison that the interpreter will be able to realize the peculiarities of the cases he is studying without being blocked by his/her own ideas of normality.

In the scope of this peculiarity of the cases, questions of ethnicity must also be discussed. The empirical question here is, first of all, whether the cases which are associated with an ethnic group in an objectivist manner (for purely strategic research reasons on the part of the researcher) have the conjunctive experience in common which distinguishes these cases from other cases (which are associated with another „ethnic group" for strategic research reasons).[5] Secondly, it must be clarified which conjunctive experience across cases is found within an "ethnic group". After all, it might be experiences made with ethnic labelling from outsiders.[6] Thirdly, in cases of ethnic labelling which have not been turned into the conjunctive experience of an ethnic group (reconstructed as such by the researcher) it must be reconstructed in

5 In this context it shows that one cannot completely escape the clutches of objectivism not only when it comes to giving these groups a name (see footnote 2), but also in the scope of research practice. If it is not intended to conduct a complete survey on a society or a social space, it will always be necessary to preliminarily identify within this social space individual groups for strategic research reasons, and to give these groups a name ("youths", "Mexicans", "men"). However, this can only be the beginning and not the result of research.

6 For instance, the confrontation with ethnic labeling from outsiders can be identified as a conjunctive experience across different cases, which shows in otherwise quite different cases of individuals whose parents immigrated from Turkey (cf. Nohl, 2001; Ofner, 2003).

which frames of orientation and experience this external ethnic labelling (and possible even self-labelling) is experienced (cf. Bohnsack/Nohl, 2001).
However, experiences and orientation frames are not only case-specific. According to the documentary method, empirical inquiry should not stop at reconstructing cases. In fact it aims at constructing types. Experiences and orientations identified across different cases are abstracted from singular cases and constructed as types. As soon as an orientation frame is abstracted from a specific case by comparison with other cases with the same orientation frame, a sense-genetic type emerges.

The construction of socio-genetic types serves to inquire into the social background of a certain frame of orientation (cf. Bohnsack, 2007). By comparing different cases, specific dimensions of experience can be identified which pertain to intersecting "social locations" (Mannheim, 1952b). Social locations like the generation location, the gender location or the migratory location provide the respective people with a potential of experiences in a specific part of the social realm. This location already "restricts the range of self-expression open to the individual to certain circumscribed possibilities" and suggests (but does not enforce) "certain definite modes of behaviour, feeling, and thought" (ibid: 106).

The three questions concerning ethnicity, which were asked above, can now be answered within the construction of types – and thus on a higher level of complexity. First of all, the connection between ethnicity and social location must be investigated. Yet ethnicity as such is not a social location per se. That is the documentary interpretation of migration does not start off by comparing migrants of different "ethnic" background. Rather one investigates *if* there are collective experiences which are shared by a group of people we signify with ethnic labels. Only in this case an ethnic social location would have to be assumed, while it would have to be taken into account at the same time whether the experiences in question were possibly experiences in external ethnic labelling. Now it can be worked out which meaning an external ethnic labelling (and possibly even a self-labelling) has in the frame of social locations referring to different dimensions (gender location, generation location, age etc.).[7]

7 Such an approach towards ethnicity has been prevalent in recent documentary interpretations of migration, cf. Nohl, 2001; Bohnsack/Nohl, 2001; Weller, 2003; Schittenhelm, 2005.

3 Highly Qualified Migrants: Empirical Results and Methodological Remarks on an International Project

In the scope of the international, interdisciplinary research project "Cultural Capital during Migration"[8] we have not based our sampling on ethnic differences, thus being in accordance with the reflections mentioned above. As it is the purpose of this project to empirically analyse how migrants use their knowledge and skills during their status passage into the labour market, which obstacles they face and what kind of strategies they develop in order to overcome them,[9] we have drawn our attention to the topics mentioned and have considered implicit and explicit aspects of ethnicity only within these topics.

Although most migration research structures its sampling according to ethnic affiliations (e.g. by comparing Turks to Italian migrants), our sampling is focused on different status groups of migrants instead. Firstly, we distinguish between migrants who received their educational titles in the host country and those who received their educational certificates abroad. Secondly, we compare migrants whose labour market access is restricted by migration law with those with full legal access. Thirdly, we compare between the core group of our research, the migrants with academic titles and those with vocational qualification (who serve as a contrasting group). Last but not least, we contrast the labour market access in Germany to Turkey, United Kingdom and Canada respectively. With these comparisons we intended to empirically shed light on the different factors (educational organisations, labour market expectations, migration law) which influence the status passages of highly qualified migrants into the labour market. While reconstructing the various experiences of migrants during their "multidimensional status passage" (Schittenhelm, 2005) into the labour market, those which are significant across different cases are abstracted from singular cases and constructed as types.

Within the frame of the broader project the article at hand is concerned with the orientations and experiences of the status group of those highly qualified migrants who have obtained their educational titles abroad and who

8 The leaders of the project are Arnd-Michael Nohl, Karin Schittenhelm, Oliver Schmidtke, and Anja Weiss. For an outline of the project including its methodological rationale see Nohl et al. 2006. First results of the project have been published in working papers, see http://www.cultural-capital.net. See also Schittenhelm, 2007; Ofner/Nohl, 2008; Henkelmann, 2007; Nohl/Schittenhelm, 2008; Soremski, 2008; Nohl, 2008a.

9 Connected to its methodological frame which is largely influenced by the Documentary Method, the project is based on a Neo-Bourdieuan perspective on migration, education, and social inequality in which the concept of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) plays an important role although this concept had to be revised vis-à-vis issues of globalisation and migration (cf. Weiss, 2006a and b).

only then came to Germany where they have obtained a residence permit which allows them access to the labour market equal to that of native people.

To ensure comparability throughout the entire project, interviewees were chosen along specific criteria. They should have left their country of origin at least 5 years before the interview, they should not be older than 45 years, and have a degree or working experience in the field of economy/management, IT or the health sector. Although these criteria facilitated comparison, we were confronted with an enormous heterogeneity of cases even within our own status group.[10] During the documentary interpretation of approximately 45 narrative interviews (cf. Schütze, 2003) in total (of which 32 were examined thoroughly), it took us quite a time to identify several important dimensions of these biographical accounts.[11]

Nonetheless, we have tried to avoid one-sidedness of sampling when we were searching for interview partners and selecting narrative interviews for closer examination. We found it important to include men and women, people from different countries of origin (from Sweden to Gabun) and migrants who are more or less successful. Hence our sample includes persons who have been able to fully and immediately use their foreign academic degrees on the labour market as well as those who were only able to cash in their knowledge and skills on labyrinthine tracks, sometimes beyond or below their original qualifications. While avoiding one-sidedness especially in the second phase of data collection, following strategies of "theoretical sampling" (Glaser/Strauss, 1969), we paid also attention to elaborate previously but tentatively developed types as well as to develop contrasting types.

Most significant were the dimensions of motives for migration, phases of the status passage into the labour market and strategies to use one's knowledge and skills as cultural capital. Each of these dimensions has been taken as the starting point for constructing *sense-genetic types*, i.e. frames of orientation, which have been detached from individual cases and have been identified as specific for the respective dimension, are formulated as types (cf. Bohnsack, 2008). Only then we were able to analyse how these dimensions overlap and modify each other in the sense of socio-genetic typology. And only within these three typified dimensions we identified the function ethnic labels and ethnic commonalities may assume.

In the remaining part of this article we will elaborate on the biographical orientations related to migration (chapter 4), then go into typical strategies of using one's knowledge and skills on the labour market (chapter 5) and into the phases of the status passage (chapter 6). Finally we will give first insights

10 Heterogeneity turned out to be methodologically challenging for comparative analysis between status groups and countries in particular (cf. Nohl, 2008c).

11 For the documentary interpretation of narrative interviews cf. the contribution of Nohl to this volume and, in depth, Nohl, 2008b.

into the construction of a socio-genetic typology on cultural capital during migration (chapter 7).

4 Biographical Orientations Related to Migration

Reconstructive social research provides the researcher with surprises. When starting the investigation into highly skilled migrants we anticipated that we are per se dealing with labour migration in the common sense, i.e. with people who migrated for the sake of using ones cultural capital under better conditions – mostly for better payment. But to our own surprise it was very hard to find 'the classical labour migrant' when looking for interview partners with foreign academic degrees. In fact amongst the 45 persons interviewed only two would fit into this category.

So let us have a look at those orientations, motives, and reasons which brought academic foreigners to Germany. These biographical orientations need to be regarded in a broader context. Whatever it was – single reasons or clusters of motives – they were not constituted in a vacuum but are closely related to the macro- and meso-structural conditions under which they are developed. The typology we elaborated deals with the biographical orientations and the background which induced the decision to migrate and to stay in Germany. In our empirical data we could identify five main types of orientations: Partnership orientation (1), amelioration orientation (2), qualification orientation (3), refuge seeking (4) and Wanderlust (5). These orientations can occur as single causes or interfering motivations for leaving the country of origin. They determine the process that leads from emigration to immigration. Therefore we also identified overlapping, changing, obsolete and new orientations which motivate migrants to consolidate their presence in the actual country of residence.[12]

(1) Partnership orientation: This type of orientation can either occur as a singular reason to migrate or can be connected to co-existent motivations to change the place of living.[13] It can also be a reason to stay in the country.

(a) In those cases in which partnership was the only identifiable motive to migrate, the persons in question were notably willing to undergo more or less considerable risks or deprivations in their professional career. In cases where partnership-based orientation was associated

12 That doesn't mean that there are no other orientations beside these five that have been singled out as particularly striking. For example, social contacts in the immigration country might support the decision to stay without being a very significant single motive.

13 By the way, none of the interviewees had a purely strategic partnership in the form of marriage as one of the very few possibilities to obtain a stable residence permit in Germany.

to other, labour market related motives (qualification, amelioration and, to some extent, exploration), the migrants also had to endure forms of (professional) downgrading after coming to Germany but most of them sooner or later managed to put their knowledge and skills to use.

(b) However, partnership and/or family orientations can substitute the original motives to migrate, e.g. refuge-seeking or qualification is substituted by a partnership orientation which becomes even stronger when migrants have started a family.

(2) Amelioration orientation: We define „amelioration" as a hope for socio-economic improvement. As evidenced in the interviews, aspirations for a higher living standard, social security, attractive professional fields and higher wages are to be considered as an amelioration orientation.

(a) Apart from the rare cases of migrants endowed with a cultural capital both highly valued and transnationally usable (cf. chapter 5), who came from low-income countries in order to get a well paid job in Germany, generally the migrants' amelioration expectations were connected to other motives like partnership orientation. As an exception, for the ethnic Germans of our sample a higher living standard and social security were the striking and singular motives to migrate to Germany.

(b) Very rarely it occurred that the amelioration motive emerged only after a stay in Germany for qualification purposes. In these cases the change of orientation was initiated by further new motives. With regard to the amelioration orientation it has to be mentioned that the hopes for a better socio-economic level of living which migrants achieved in Germany in some cases turned out to be less positive than hoped-for. However, these migrants did not re-migrate back home for other reasons.

(3) Qualification orientations: In our empirical data we found different kinds of qualification: study terms abroad, postgraduate studies, pre-doctoral positions, gathering professional experience abroad, medical specialists' training. Where qualification was the only motive for migration, the original idea was not to stay in Germany but to return after having gathered the aspired cultural capital. However, other orientations emerged which made the plan of returning home obsolete (see above).

(4) Refuge seeking: The biographical narrations revealed that some people had to leave their home country due to the menace of war, armed unrests or political persecution. Unlike stays abroad for qualification purposes, which imply temporariness, refuge-seeking is a type of migration of unpredictable duration. As long as the cause that drives a person to flee does not vanish, it will overlay all other motivations for staying. These

other orientations turn out to be merely additional motives that can exert a positive impetus on establishing oneself in exile: founding a family, professional success etc.

(5) *Wanderlust:* The comparatively luxurious "desire for change" is an orientation of lower significance in our empirical data than the four types elaborated above. The analysis of the interviews shows that factors like curiosity, explorative urges or simply 'itchy feet' can only be found in combination with other orientations leading to migration.[14] This seems to be symptomatic for the current socio-economic situation in many parts of the world.[15]

5 Typical Modi Operandi of Using Knowledge and Skills

As much as biographical orientations are closely related to the macro-structural and meso-structural conditions under which they are developed, the utilization of knowledge and skills cannot be observed in isolation from the labour market on which they act. For this reason it is impossible to only take into regard biographical and professional orientations of migrants. These orientations rather have to be reconstructed in their close conjunction with the opportunity structures and restrictions of the labour market.

Therefore the typology which we develop in this chapter cannot be reduced to the *career orientations* of migrants, but pertains to the *modus operandi* of utilizing knowledge and skills. Ultimately this modus operandi designates the emergence of cultural capital and comprises of the relation of knowledge, skills and biographical orientations on the one hand, and opportunities and restrictions of the labour market on the other.[16]

14 The orientations we found to be combined with wanderlust were mostly orientations likely to promote the career such as qualification and amelioration. Therefore it is not surprising that migrants with wanderlust desires are at the same time strategically oriented towards finding adequate jobs. In some cases wanderlust was specifically directed towards Germany because of connections to this country for special reasons such as childhood holidays. Obviously this went hand in hand with learning German – and speaking the language furthermore improved the opportunities on the labour market from the very beginning..

15 This has to be seen in contrast to the previous generation. We happened to interview three migrants born in the early 1940s and it turned out to be remarkable how literarily lightfooted they afforded to travel around. When they arrived in Germany in the late 1960s or early 70s, they did not necessarily have concrete ideas about their stay here. In fact, they did not worry about their future in this decade of very good access to the labour market especially for academics. However, such generation-typical differences could not be further investigated in the scope of our project.

16 Yet, at times implicit and unconscious actions (following a knowledge of which they themselves are not aware) and strategically planned actions cannot be separated clearly.

The modi operandi of the usage of knowledge and skills are not only diverse concerning the results of the respective efforts, but also with regard to the tracks which lead to these diverse results. Therefore, beginning with the respective type we also examine some different paths leading to this modus operandi. We have developed six types of utilization of knowledge and skills, including sub-types which describe the tracks on which these forms of utilization have been achieved.

(1) Full acknowledgement of cultural capital on the private sector: The full acknowledgement of cultural capital on the private sector certainly is one of the most privileged forms of using knowledge and skills based on foreign educational titles. However, it is ridden with prerequisites. Those migrants who are able to fully use their knowledge and skills on the labour market have told us different tracks towards the full acknowledgement of cultural capital which can be constructed as sub-types:

(a) In the case of those whose knowledge and skills prove to be transnational from the start, that is independent from the place of acquisition, we find a labour market which itself has gone through a transnationalization process. The field of medical and medicine-related science is endued with broad networks and journals across different countries. It is not only jobs and job applicants who are brokered in these networks and journals, but the very careers of these people are formed – e.g. by publications – across borders.

(b) Whereas this labour market in Germany is quite open even to scientists without command of the German language (because it is based on English), the transnational careers in the economy are an evidence of how useful and important a good command of German is for the acquisition of management posts. Apparently the professional knowledge expected from managers is rather transnational, whereas specific communicative competencies, which are also within the scope of duties of a manager, are strongly bound to a good command of the country's language.

(c) In those cases where the cultural capital is not considered transnational from the first, there are different tracks to acquire certain stocks of knowledge and skills in order to catch up and reach full acknowledgement of one's cultural capital. Among the bankers whom we have included in our research we have found an interesting mode of acquiring knowledge and skills in-house. This mode is interesting because apparently the respective banks assume per se (i.e. regardless of a migration background) that their prospective employees do not possess the skills and knowledge required for successful work. For this reason they have more or less institutionalized a kind of a novice phase. In this novice phase, which ideally is shaped as a trainee-programme, our interview partners succeed in adapting their cultural capital to the expectations of their employers and finally receive full recognition.

(d) By far more difficult is the recognition of cultural capital in private enterprises where those stocks of knowledge and skills which are (or seem to be) needed for full recognition have to be made up for outside the enterprise, that is to say at university. The persons concerned have to fight their way through the university's bureaucracy and to put up with the recognition of only a small part of their previous academic courses. Only when they have obtained a local academic degree, they are able to access the labour market on the level of their previous (foreign) academic degree.

(2) Full state recognition of institutionalized cultural capital and private enterprise recognition for incorporated cultural capital related to the home country and migratory background: Whereas in the previous type of full recognition of cultural capital by private enterprises the peculiarity that the migrant has obtained his/her knowledge and skills outside Germany is at best not valued at all or if so it is only valued negatively, in the following type we find an unusual combination of full state recognition for cultural capital and of appreciation of knowledge and skills related to the home country and the migration background in general:

In this type the recognition of the foreign academic title is subject to a more intense state regulation than in the type previously discussed. That is for those migrants who hold foreign degrees in medicine or law the state recognition for the foreign title is the conditio sine qua non for labour market inclusion. If one looks at the life stories it seems to be so easy and hassle-free to receive full state recognition for cultural capital, but this recognition is linked to restrictive entry conditions to the respective professional fields. The professional law itself ethnicizes the migrants. It implicates that only a certain person subgroup (Germans, EU-citizens, migrants married to Germans) is entitled to a minor professional licence as physician/dentist or to receive practical training in judicial work after having passed the first state examination. The minor professional licence (which in the medical profession allows the person only to work under the supervision of a fully licensed physician) itself is then linked to certain conditions concerning the foreign academic title of the migrant. Then the status as a novice (the status in which the migrant has only a minor professional licence) is very much regularized by the state, too. However, this track finally leads the migrant to a position on the labour market distinguished by its economic independence.
We have to assume that the strong regulations on the basis of professional law and the implicated discrimination of migrants with foreign academic titles are followed by ethnic exclusion on the labour market. This ethnic exclusion makes it important for the respective doctor to find employment in a practice which is placed in a niche of the health system. They cater for people with whom they share the same home country or at least the

migratory background.[17] This niche in the labour market could be called an "ethnic economy". However, this term would disguise the peculiar genesis of the niche which has to do less with ethnic affiliation than with ethnic labelling. First of all, this niche has been constituted by the immigration of major population groups (especially those who share the home country with the respective professional). Those persons from these population groups who do not feel adequately catered for in the practices of native 'German' doctors then look for alternatives and find them in doctors with a migratory background. It is only on this basis of (assumed) ethnic exclusion in the mainstream practices that the specific knowledge and skills of a doctor with a migratory background become relevant: He/she does not only speak the language of the patient, but also is assumed to have a better understanding of his/her situation as a migrant.

(3) Home country related recognition of cultural capital by private sector: Whereas the previous type is constituted by a combination of full state recognition of knowledge and skills and of their reference to the home country or migration background, in the third type we have identified a lack of that general recognition which is the prerequisite for enhancing cultural capital with knowledge and skills related to migratory background or the home country. In fact in the third type the knowledge and skills which the migrants bring along with them is exclusively used with reference to the home country. Hence it is the specific (ethnicized) reference to the home country which makes knowledge and skills become cultural capital. A lawyer from Brazil, for instance, finds employment as a specialist for Latin American tax law. Nevertheless, this home country related niche with its opportunities is also ridden with restrictions which become quite apparent in the cases examined. The very knowledge and skills which are successfully placed on the market as long as there is a strong reference to the home country loose value as soon as this reference disappears.

(4) Private sector recognition for newly acquired non-academic cultural capital within the previous profession: Whereas in the previously described forms of cultural capital the foreign academic degrees were – more or less successfully – used on the labour market, from hereon we discuss types in which foreign knowledge and skills are not valued offhand on the labour market. Mainly among ethnic Germans we have found persons who, although their educational titles had been recognized by the state, were not able to find an adequate position on the labour market. After a considerable period of unemployment they started an occupational retraining in their profession, subsidized by the welfare state and its employment office. While

17 In the judicial system this peculiarity is not only based on the assumption that a migrant – on the basis of his/her incorporated cultural capital – is able to better cater for other migrants (especially if they are compatriots), but also on institutionalized cultural capital (e.g. private law). For instance, a lawyer can defend a migrant in divorce cases.

this retraining is positioned on a sub-academic level, these migrants could not find any assistance for further or repeated academic training in their profession. Hence the retraining takes place on a lower, more practically orientated level – downgrading the cultural capital of the migrants (for example an engineer for car-constructing from Russia got a training as a repairman for cars).

(5) Private sector recognition for newly acquired non-academic cultural capital outside the previous profession: That the foreign academic degree is not accepted in the receiving country is an experience also shared by those migrants whose form of cultural capital constitutes the present type. However, the migrants considered here have dissociated from their original profession before or during migration and have gained experience in non-professional "jobs", e.g. as taxi-driver. Having worked and been insured for more than one year, they then have the (sometimes hard won) opportunity to enter a state-financed occupational retraining course in a new, but non-academic professional area. This course, financed by the employment office, gives them new opportunities on the labour market.

(6) Cultural capital based on social identity: Insofar as cultural capital denotes a relation between a person's knowledge and skills on the one hand and the expectations and opportunities of the labour market on the other hand, not only the existing stocks of knowledge and skills as such are concerned but also their ascription. Yet the modus operandi of using cultural capital which constitutes the following type dislocates this balance: Here migrants are mainly ascribed knowledge and skills on the basis of their social identity. Other parts of their knowledge and skills, especially those acquired during university education, are not considered. On the one hand we find people who are able to position themselves on the labour market because *as migrants* they are considered language mediators (who have received only a very short training). On the other hand we have identified female migrants who are consigned to do jobs because they are *women*. They then work in child care or family assistance jobs although they have not received any relevant training at all. We also find combinations of the ascribed cultural capital, e.g. when a Bosnian female is asked by the city administration to care for a child from Bosnia displaying behavioural problems.

6 Phases of the Multidimensional Status Passage

Whereas the typologies on the biographical orientations related to migration and the typical modi operandi of using one's knowledge and skills give insights into important factors of labour market inclusion, the temporal and spatial nature of the labour market inclusion which we observe within the narrative interviews conducted with migrants can be best conceived of as a

status passage. As the migration-related biographical orientations (see chapter 4) already have revealed, this status passage is not only concerned with labour market inclusion but also with other aspects of the migration to Germany. During the analysis of the interviews it then became clear that there is yet another dimension to be considered, too: the dimension of partnership and social relations. Hence the object of our scrutiny is a "multidimensional status passage" (Schittenhelm, 2005). By considering these three dimensions and their interactions we identified the following phases of the status passage into Germany and into the German labour market:[18]

(1) Pre-Migration: The pre-migrational phase is understood as the period of time during which the orientation(s) which motivate(s) migration develop(s). Different aspects and incidents generate the migration motive. In some cases we see the development of a multidimensional migration motive (e.g. a combination of a partnership, amelioration and an exploration orientation); other cases only show one dominating aspect (e.g. a partnership-related migration motive).

(2) Transition: This phase comprises any possible transitional stage persons find themselves in during migration. The state of transition as it is understood here extends from emigration to the point where a decision for a medium or long-term stay in Germany is taken or until the most basic legal rights (right to earn money, free choice of residence) are assured. By means of using such a wide definition, the transitional phase covers many different characteristics of the migrational histories of our interviewees. It is therefore divided into subtypes, differentiated according to the voluntariness and the duration of the transition.

(3) Initial Phase: This phase describes the period of time during which the migrants are allowed to perform an active start in Germany (regarding access to the labour market and general self-determination). Some typical elements of the initial phase shall just be mentioned very briefly here: These are e.g. language problems in everyday life, a phase of acquiring the foreign language in a language course, initial unemployment, as well as visits to and problems with public authorities.
The initial phase is directly linked to the migration-related biographical orientations (see chapter 4), because it is set as the phase in which the motive for staying (or in some cases for leaving again) develops and mostly (except for the remigrants) it ends when a biographically relevant motive for staying can be identified. According to the different combinations of dimensions involved in generating the reason for staying (ranging from the migration-dimension over the labour market to the dimension of partnership and social relations), there are different subtypes of the initial phase on which we cannot elaborate here.

18 The following is a brief summary of the in-depth analysis accomplished by Thomsen (2008a).

(4) *Establishment:* The beginning of the establishment phase can be identified at the point in time when the immigration orientation changes into a motivation for staying. An establishment is often (but not necessarily) reached by the impact of the dimension of labour market inclusion, and nearly always by the impact of a partnership and family orientation. As the name of the phase already suggests, in many cases a further establishment can be observed in the combination of both dimensions.

7 Socio-Genetic Typology: Relations Between Usage of Cultural Capital, Migration-Related Orientations and Phases of the Status Passage

The labour market inclusion of highly qualified migrants takes place in a combination of those typified dimensions which we have analytically separated in the previous chapters. Now it is essential to relate these typologies to each other and to discover (in terms of sociogenetic type construction) regular connections between them.

The central question of our sociogenetic typology is how and under which social conditions the migrants (are able to) use their knowledge and skills as cultural capital. In order to answer this question, we consider the relation of knowledge and skills on the one hand, and the expectations and opportunity structures of the labour market on the other hand. As is evident in chapter 5, these typical relations have specific antecedents which we have described as paths or tracks. Within these paths towards the utilization of knowledge and skills, different typical experiential dimensions of the migrants intertwine. At the interface at which the multidimensionality of biographical experiences is manifested, forms of legal inclusion and exclusion, social networks, experiences of symbolic exclusion, gender, migration-related biographical orientations, phases of status passages and the utilization of knowledge and skills merge (see figure 1).

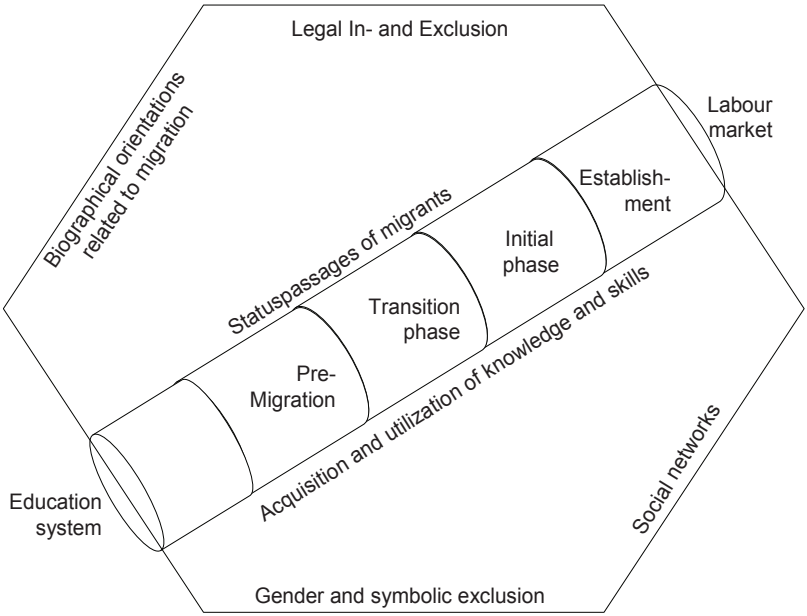

Figure 1: Multidimensionality of biographical experience

Owing to the interest of the research project we take the utilization of knowledge and skills as well as the paths which lead to it as kind of basic typology. Only from here we reconstruct how this basic typology is overlapped by other typical experiential dimensions. In the following we investigate regular connections between the typified dimensions mentioned above. We start with the respective endpoint of the utilization of knowledge and skills as cultural capital. Then we reconstruct which experiential dimensions how and in which reciprocal entanglement constitute the path the migrants have followed towards this endpoint.[19] Six socio-genetic types have been identified:

(1) Cultural capital on the basis of social identity: Flight, long-term transitory deprivation and symbolic exclusion: In those cases of women refugees who only hold an exceptional leave to remain („Duldung"), legal exclusion as well as symbolic exclusion based on gender and ethnicity turned out to be decisive for the inclusion into the labour market.

19 The dimensions of symbolic exclusion (Ofner, 2008) and social networks (Thomsen, 2008b) are not included here.

It is characteristic that these persons who came to Germany in order to flee from their home country are caught in a long-lasting transitional phase because they are not granted a permanent residence permit. As migrants who only hold an exceptional leave to remain they are usually not allowed to work and they have to reside in a hostel. The long duration of this transitional status in which the migrants cannot be certain if they will be able to remain in Germany is not meant to prepare the migrants for life in Germany. Rather its purpose is to keep refugees in transition, in abeyance.

Although the motive to flee could not be used to lead to a permanent residence status, it plays an important role in the labour market inclusion of these refugees. This motive explains why these migrants put up with the accommodation in a hostel and finally – after their legalization – with a labour market inclusion below their academic education.

It is significant that even during the many years of transitory deprivation, these migrants made their first experiences with gendered and ethnicized labour market inclusion. Both refugees analysed here had observed that other female refugees illegally work as cleaning women. They themselves dismissed such opportunities due to their illegality. However, even when they still only hold the exceptional leave to remain, these women refugees find opportunities to work. With these 'jobs', which are situated on the lower levels of the service sector and which have a 'female' or ethnicized connotation, the trajectory into a form of utilizing cultural capital which is ascribed on the basis of social identity starts even within the transitional phase.

These refugees continue to use ascribed cultural capital on the basis of their ethnic and gender identity when they get legalized and search for jobs on the legal labour market. They are invited to a course in which academically educated migrants are trained as 'community translators'. On completion of the course both refugees discover that the opportunities to work as independent community translators are very restricted.

(2) Legal inclusion into the welfare state and labour market independent motives to stay as the context of new acquisition of non-academic knowledge and skills: An intricate form of labour market inclusion, in which the cultural capital that migrants bring along with them from abroad gets lost (like in the previous type), is to be found among persons who are – in contrast to the refugees mentioned above – largely included in legal terms. It is only with knowledge and skills which they have acquired in Germany that these persons manage to succeed on the labour market. Under which conditions did these migrants acquire new knowledge and skills, the more so as they are non-academic?

In the life stories of the respective migrants it is documented that they go through a relatively short phase of transition, after which they are granted a legal status which allows them a long-lasting stay in the country. Here the

initial phase and legal inclusion merge. Legal inclusion goes as far as granting citizenship to those migrants who are ethnic Germans. Others marry persons residing in Germany. Hence they are not only legally included, but are also motivated to settle down due to partnership and family orientation (at least as soon as they have children).

However, in all cases investigated we have identified enormous difficulties in making use of the foreign academic title on the German labour market. The academic diplomas are not acknowledged by universities or by private sector employers. There are various though functionally equivalent reasons for the migrants not to revise their decision to migrate during this initial phase: In the light of the difficult living conditions back in Russia, remigration is not an option for ethnic Germans motivated by strong orientations towards amelioration not only as far as earning their living is concerned. This is even more evident as these migrants are also partnership and family oriented, so that a revision of the decision to migrate would have to be a family decision.

There are two contextual conditions under which these migrants busy themselves with acquiring new, non-academic knowledge and skills below their former educational titles: Firstly, the orientations which lead to settlement in Germany develop beyond the labour market (be it due to politico-economic amelioration or to starting a family). Secondly, the respective migrants get into the phase of establishment before they are soundly included in the labour market.

The relatively late acquisition of non-academic knowledge and skills indeed is also based on the welfare state-provisions these persons have access to. This is because they have been working (though in unskilled jobs) during the initial phase (and thus got insured against unemployment) or were legally included as ethnic Germans.

(3) Precarious balances between biographical orientations and utilization of cultural capital restricted to the home country: How come that highly qualified migrants – and it's worth noting that the respective persons are all female – hazard the consequences of the fact that their foreign academic titles can only be used with strong reference to their home country? These ladies for a considerable time risk a precarious balance between their private biographical orientations and their wish to use the foreign educational title on the labour market.

On their arrival these women do not receive full recognition of the educational titles they have been granted back home. Rather they find employment (or get self-employed) because their educational title is country-specific. They work e.g. as a specialist for the Polish economy or become a judicial expert for Latin-American tax law.

All these migrants come to Germany with a partnership orientation, i.e. in order to continue their partnership with a German national. However, none

of them takes the 'easy' road, which consists of getting married and receiving a family visa subsequently. On the contrary, they try to legally set foot on German territory independent of their spouses. Those who do not profit from EU legislation receive a visa as a specialist (e.g. for Latin American tax law) or as an undertaker. Hence this independent access to legal inclusion in Germany also documents the precarious balance between the restricted utilization of cultural capital and biographical orientations. The migrants then try to leave this precarious balance behind and to give their stay in Germany permanence by expanding their opportunities to use cultural capital.

(4) Careers based on professional law and migration motives convertible to extensive legal inclusion: In contrast to the previously discussed connection of different experiential dimensions, we now investigate a tight and stable connection of migration-related biographical orientations and legal as well as labour market inclusion.

In the respective cases we find a biographical orientation or a flight motive which allows swift and extensive legal inclusion already in the premigration phase, or in the transition phase at the latest. All these migrants are either married to Germans, become Germans or receive full rights as refugees under asylum laws. With this extensive legal inclusion they enjoy the benefits of a state procedure which recognizes their educational titles as medics, which allows them to be granted a minor medical licence.

In this regular connection in the initial phase of the status passage, the utilization of knowledge and skills overlaps with a specific legal inclusion which itself is connected to migration-related biographical orientations. This overlap is the prerequisite for the opportunity to get processed by professional law.

The respective migrants then start their career in Germany as an assistant doctor/dentist. However, this degradation is smoothed by a career based on professional law with which these migrants can anticipate the end of their assistance and hence the full utilization of their cultural capital. The utilization of cultural capital is further improved by the ethnicized niche on the labour market. As we have shown in chapter 4, these doctors find employment in practices which cater for migrants, especially those of their own home country.

(5) Completion of academic knowledge and skills during a period of rest in the context of partnership or qualification orientations as migration motives: Highly qualified foreigners have to put up with a partial devaluation of their cultural capital and with a subsequent acquisition of new knowledge and skills not only in the health system with its professional law, but also in medical/biological research and in the management/business sector.

In the regular connection reconstructed above (4) we have already seen that the biographical orientations related to migration are an important contextual condition for putting up with degradation. Whereas in the health

system, which is heavily regulated by the state, the period of rest in which new stocks of knowledge and skills can be acquired is organized by professional law, we do not find such organizational structures on those tracks which lead to full recognition of cultural capital by the private sector. Here we shall ask why the respective migrants do not only put up with the temporary degradation of their academic titles, but also with the risks of acquiring new knowledge and skills although their value as cultural capital cannot be anticipated?

In the life stories of the respective migrants it becomes apparent that various biographical orientations overlap in the migration process. Moreover, their migration takes place in an early stage of their lifetime at which they have not yet established themselves in the home country. The biographical orientation(s) which is (are) important in the premigration phase (qualification and/or partnership motives) then is (are) not replaced by another orientation, but overlap(s) and is (are) hence enforced. The qualification orientation in particular makes it easier for the migrants to acquire knowledge and skills within a company or a university for a longer period of time, because this orientation is based on the assumption that one's education is not yet completed and that there is still something to be learned.

(6) The enlargement of cultural capital during the premigration or transition phase and the local attachment of transnational careers through partnership and family orientations: Finally we would like to consider a connection of experiential dimensions which is peculiar just because migrants are able to use their foreign knowledge and skills so easily. If one turns to the life stories of those who, in the private sector, receive full recognition for their foreign educational titles and who do not have to expand their cultural capital after migration, two characteristics become evident: Firstly, those highly qualified migrants who work in the private economy as managers or consultants have already enhanced their cultural capital before migration or in the transition phase. In some cases the migrants even establish a close connection to Germany at that time.

Secondly, we have to ask why these highly qualified people, whose academic degrees turn out to be transnationally acknowledged, remain in the geographically restricted German labour market at all? Reconstructing the life stories of these migrants, we come across a partnership orientation that only develops after migration. This partnership orientation goes along with the transition from the initial phase to that of establishment and finally leads to starting a family, i.e. having children.

In the cases of these persons, who command transnational cultural capital, an important characteristic of the status passage also relevant to many other cases becomes apparent: Utilizing cultural capital may not always be in the focus of the biographical orientations of the migrants themselves, although it is in the research project's centre of interest.

8 Outlook

As the empirical results of our research project clearly show, migration can hardly be reduced to questions of ethnicity. At the same time, such questions concerning ethnicity cannot be ignored completely either in the scope of migration research. The documentary method offers a complex access to the connection between migration and ethnicity, which we would like to examine once more theoretically and empirically in conclusion and in an outlook.

The question of migration research, which we believe to be of central importance, can be formulated as follows in the sense of the documentary method: To what extent is ethnicity a matter of communicative knowledge, provided we are talking about ethnicizing self-labelling or external labelling? And to what extent is ethnicity a momentum of communitization, i.e. a factor of conjunctive experience?

First of all, the results of our research work indicate that migrants experience ethnicization through others or ethnicize themselves. For example, persons who have hardly thought about "ethnic groups" before leaving their country of origin are labelled as coming from that country, while nobody ever asks them whether they can identify themselves with their home country.

Those academic migrants, whose university degrees are not acknowledged (neither by institutions nor by the private sector), are ethnicized with regard to their professional skills and/or their substitution. The receiving country reduces them to their (actual or presumed) language capacities in dealing with their fellow-countrymen.[20] Other university graduates, on the other hand, gain recognition on the labour market (and get a job) just because they have acquired professional competence and knowledge regarding their country of origin during their studies. With this in mind, we refer to the esteem of specific experience, to include (conjunctive) experience (for instance with the economic or judicial system existing in the country of origin). Yet, it is not the experience of an "ethnic group" but conjunctive experience made in dealing with a state and a national community.

An interesting intermediate form between ethnic labelling and conjunctive knowledge related to ethnicity is found with those doctors whose patients are almost exclusively migrants from the same country of origin. Once they have overcome the ethnically discriminating obstacles of professional

20 As far as ethnicity "merely" refers to experiences made with external ethnicization, it nevertheless must be taken into account that such assumed affiliations with an imagined community will produce consequences. Even though they are not based on similar previous experience, they may cause such an experience. In the field of ethnicity, the formation of ghettos might be seen as a result of such assumed affiliations. It is these consequences of imagined societies that enable practical collective experiences like that of an affiliation with a social location.

law, these doctors (more or less) consciously establish themselves in quarters with a high percentage of migrants. The local migrants see and accept them as "belonging to the same ethnic group". Strictly speaking, this is neither self-ethnicization nor external ethnicization, but the intermediate form of an ethnic self-collectivization, regardless of potential differences with regard to religion, affiliation with a certain class, minority etc.[21]

When, for instance, a doctor from Russia treats mainly patients who likewise come from Russian-speaking countries, both the doctor (as shows in our interviews) as well as his patients (as it is assumed) allege that they will understand each other better – not only with regard to the language.

This kind of making use of cultural capital by referring to assumed origin-specific language and action capabilities is also found independently of the individual's origin, which means that doctors from different countries act in accordance with the same pattern to gain a professional foothold in the receiving country. Thus, it is not at all an "ethnic" pattern of labour market inclusion practiced e.g. only by doctors from Russia. It rather is a question of dealing in a strategic manner with ethnic labelling which is characteristic of an occupational group.

These results refer to the significance of comparative analysis for the reconstruction of ethnicity. In order to be able to identify whether an ethnic group has experience in common, it will not be sufficient to look for such congruity among different members of this group which, for the time being, has only been imagined by the researchers. (Using the example of the doctors from Russia, these would be found rapidly: They all are treating patients from Russian-speaking countries.) It is also necessary to differentiate between these common experiences and the experiences made by other ethnic groups, which have only been imagined for the time being. If, however, the common experiences of one "ethnic" group correspond to those of the second group – as is the case in the example – they obviously are not conjunctive *ethnic* experiences, but – like in the example – conjunctive experiences which go back to a specific modus operandi of making use of knowledge and skills.

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21 At the same time, doctors from foreign countries experience external ethnicization and/or a symbolic exclusion by members of the majority group in society. The latter for the most part stay away from doctor's practices which are both run and visited by migrants.

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