

Jan Skrobanek

**Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation of young
immigrants in school-to-work transition in Germany**

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1 Parameters of the Research Project

Recent debate in European countries including France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom indicates growing concern in the majority society over the emergence of so-called “parallel societies”, especially where immigrants are involved. These fears reflect a now clearly recognized consequence of international migration, namely that ethnic minorities continue to have inferior access to education and income and inferior positions on the employment market. They are thus denied access to work and to the many areas of society and of social status to which work is the key (Kalter/Granato 2002; Reyneri 2001; Heath/McMahon 2000; Neels/Stoop 2000; Fassmann et al. 1999; Vourc'h et al. 1999; Gras/Bovenkerk 1999; Bevelander 1999). The groups affected by this ethnic inequality are characterized *inter alia* by inadequate educational attainment among children, a lack of training places for adolescents, high unemployment among young adults, high criminality, and – last but not least – a trend towards attributing greater significance to ethnic categories assigned by both out-group and in-group.

One central line of enquiry for transition research is therefore to ascertain the factors conducive to successful integration into the vocational training and employment markets. Published studies primarily concerned with entry to the employment market are now legion (Blossfeld 1985; Büchel/Weisshuhn 1995; Büchtemann et al. 1993; Diefenbach 2002; Hillmert 2004; Mills/Blossfeld 2005; Müller et al. 2002; Neels 2000; Schober/Gaworek 1996; Seifert 1992; Steinmann 2000; Wingers/Sackmann 2002).

Published research on the first-hurdle transition is less voluminous (Boos-Nünning 2006; Granato 2003; Granato/Ulrich 2006; Haeberlin et al. 2004; Helland/Støren 2006; Helberger et al. 1992; Imdorf 2005; Nicaise/Bollens 2000; Palamidis/Schwarze 1989; Schittenhelm 2005; Schober/Gaworek 1996; Schumann et al. 1991). In general, research so far has found that for individuals with an immigrant background, compared with those lacking such a background, the ethnic differences are often equivalent to those identified in schools and on the employment market: longer delays for school-leavers in obtaining positions, lower participation in vocational training, higher uptake of assisted career entry or sponsorship, and longer periods spent going through the transition system.

While this assessment is now endorsed by something like a consensus, research coverage is only very patchy – compared with research coverage of the school and employment market environments – with very few relatively detailed descriptions of the transitions gone through, and very few theoretically underpinned interpretations and corresponding empirical studies of this ‘ethnic inequality’ in relation to the special case of ‘first-hurdle transitions’ (cf. Boos-Nünning 2006). All analytical approaches so far have essentially focused on two points: a) integration or disintegration contingent on differing endowment with human capital (Granato/Kalter 2001; Esser 2001, 1990; Nauck et al. 1998; Diefenbach/Nauck 1997), and b) integration or disintegration contingent on ethnically motivated discrimination by actors and institutions of the target society (Boos-Nünning 2006; Gomolla/Radtke 2002; Solga 2005; Youdell 2003).

There has been virtually no study of the collective strategies of immigrant-origin young persons that are influencing the nature of integrative processes with regard to the target society. This is remarkable in that the fears referred to above are aired frequently in the public arena, and thus manifestly call for objective study. At the same time, the debate on appropriate forms of integration and acceptance of minorities or immigrants is becoming more acrimonious. And yet the evidence and the actual state of knowledge to date are not at all clear and consequently not a firm basis for action. On the contrary, there is a growing sense that the real concern felt is not to do with the actual situation of immigrants and the problem of integrating them sustainably

into society, but is to be understood rather as fear relating to people of immigrant origin, who are felt to be alien, too demanding, and too averse to integration.

Alongside the processes of negative discrimination related to human capital issues and of ethnically motivated discrimination, processes that have been demonstrated in study after study, and that represent restrictions imposed on the young persons concerned from outside, are there also tendencies to (re)ethnicization on the basis of subjectively or collectively perceived discrimination? Is it the case that the reaction to negative experiences with regard to individual and group-based attempts to integrate is a return to the group of origin and to its resources, norms, and interpretative schemata?

In recent years there have been many indications of the young people concerned reacting in comparable ways. On the one hand, there were the disturbances at Burnley, Bradford, and Oldham in the U.K. in 2001, and in Paris and other French cities in 2005/2006. But there are also innumerable smaller indications of tensions and problems relating to the integration of young people of immigrant origin. Examples that can be cited for the German context include the issues raised in connection with the Rütliesschule, and the debate over the banning of headscarves and use of some languages in schools.

Direct evidence from the standpoint of those affected is in many cases also beyond dispute: it reveals a socio-economic debacle, a refusal to allow access to society, an ethnically motivated marginalization of unwelcome competition arising from the successor generation(s) of earlier immigrants. They have been discriminated against in many areas of life (in particular the vocational training and employment markets) for decades, and left with no recourse but to their group of origin (with all the socio-cultural and economic consequences that that implies) and can often find no contact outside their social group, particularly in what concerns their means of daily subsistence and their self-respect. Many see themselves as “second-class citizens”, in the knowledge that they will not be accepted.

In spite of these signals, an attribution of cause frequently put forward is that “those to blame” for failed integration are the immigrants themselves, allegedly *unwilling to do what they ought to do*. Only very rarely – whatever the reasons for this may be – is any consideration given to the idea that the apparent obduracy with which people of immigrant origin hold fast to their ethnic culture might be indicative not of unwillingness to integrate and inability to keep up with the requirements of modern Western society, but of their reaction to perceived experience of social exclusion from that very society. Yet there is now sufficient empirical evidence of the existence of this link (Berry et al. 2006a, 2006b; Dubet/Lapeyronnie 1994; Groenemeyer/Mansel 2003; Heitmeyer et al. 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2006; Kalin/Berry 1996; Solga 2005; Wieviorka 1992).

► Link between first-hurdle transition processes, perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization

This background establishes the rationale for the research project’s main aim, which is to investigate more fully the nature of the relationship between the processes of the school-to-employment transition, perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization and also integration into and disintegration from the society. We conjectured that successful integration into the vocational training and employment markets would lessen social discrimination experiences and (re)ethnicization tendencies, and thereby assist integration into society. It could accordingly be expected that integration would tend to be impeded by situations involving failure to integrate into the vocational training or employment market and interpretation of such failure as social disadvantage or ethnic discrimination. We further assumed that any such perception of discrimination would lead to reversion to the in-group and its resources – i.e. (re)ethnicization – and, through this, jeopardize access to vocational training and

jobs even further. Thus the central issue was the relationship between objectively discriminatory life situations, subjective perception of such social discrimination as ethnic discrimination, and an enhanced level of “reversion” to the resources of the ethnic in-group.

In the survey waves of November 2005 – November 2006, based on a longitudinal study of transition among secondary general school leavers run by the *Deutsches Jugendinstitut* (German Youth Institute), additional data were added to document ethnic aspects of discriminatory experiences, and ethnically motivated retreat to the group of origin. This gave a unique opportunity to combine the already existing longitudinal data on training and wage-earning histories and on social, personal, and structural circumstances with the newly obtained ethnic information relating to the issue of integration versus disintegration.¹

► Quantitative longitudinal study of the transition from school to work in the case of secondary general school leavers

The report submitted below will refer to these data, and in accordance with its terms of reference will address four broad issues:

- 1) Ethnic inequality at the first hurdle as a result of ethnic discrimination.
- 2) Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization resulting from a failed transition from school to vocational training or employment.
- 3) Effect of perceived discrimination on (re)ethnicization.
- 4) Effect of (re)ethnicization on further integration into vocational training or employment.

In order to examine these issues, we propose to proceed as follows: in Chapter 2 we begin by concerning ourselves with the theory and with testable hypotheses to be derived from it, with reference to the general parameters of the research project. Chapter 3 examines the design of the present study and the issue of the indicators used. Chapters 4 and 5 report the results.

We wish to record our gratitude first and foremost to the Jacobsstiftung, which has funded the present research project. Our thanks are due also to Nora Gaupp, Ralf Kuhnke, Tilly Lex, Hartmut Mittag and Birgit Reissig of Research Area 1 at the DJI, and to Prof. Bernd Wegener and his colleagues Martin Gross, Bodo Lippelt und Niels Rückert, who gave their support to the study throughout the research period in the form of ground-clearing work, know-how and constructive criticism. Finally, we would like to thank Gabriele Kämpfe, our project officer throughout the entire duration, whose work greatly lightened our own burden in the writing-up period.

¹ In addition, differing sets of measures are taken into account in as far as they serve to help the integration of young people into the vocational training and employment markets. Discrimination, social identity and (re)ethnicization, from the fifth wave onwards a substantial new module was added to the data set.

2 Theory and hypotheses

In this section we shall consider theoretical aspects with reference to the issue under study. Our procedure will be to review the latest research and the hypotheses deriving from it strictly with reference to the relevant individual issues with which the project is concerned. Consequently the reader will not be confronted with a synoptic (action) theory, but always with specific assumptions and information related to the specific issue or the broad issues listed above.

2.1 Ethnic discrimination on the path to vocational training and employment

The first issue to be considered here is whether there is evidence of ethnic discrimination during the transition from school to employment. This question is of particular interest in that inferences can be drawn here from the situation of secondary general school leavers with regard to subjectively perceived social discrimination.

In the current debate on issues of ethnic discrimination, two explanations in particular are the subject of controversy (Kalter 2005): a) those that tend to invoke differences in socio-economic or class-specific background, or alternatively the *endowment* of majority and minority population with (general or specific) capital assets; and b) explanations that tend to concentrate on the differing benefits accruing from the capital assets in question – and hence on *discrimination*. The key point at issue here is whether ethnic differences are attributable to differences in endowment between individuals or groups – or to ethnic discrimination on the part of resource-rich individuals, groups or institutions.

► Two explanations: ethnic inequality the result of discrimination or the result of endowed characteristics

Is it the endowed capital assets that count?

Being at a disadvantage in obtaining a vocational training place or employment may, firstly, result from the differing nature of the cultural capital possessed by different individuals. Thus, for example, it has been argued that cultural differences led to socio-economic inequalities between the groups concerned (Rosen 1959). In the first generation of immigrants in particular, so the argument runs, the socialization acquired in the country of origin is still too dominant for the opportunity structures available in the target country to be fully exploited (Alba et al. 1994: 212).

Another line of argument focuses on the general preferences and objectives of members of minority groups. Here, the central assumption is that inequalities occur because of a mismatch between the goals of the majority society and those of the minority. Thus minorities might for example regard themselves as mere temporary sojourners, strongly bonded to their country of origin. Longer-term plans for integration into the majority society would never be made on this basis (Korte 1990), and this would in the final analysis impede access to education and employment.

Ethnic inequality could just as well be the result of the current preferences of the actors themselves with regard to education, training and jobs, i.e. a result that can be ascribed to a characteristic – such as immigrant background. On this basis, differing expectations with regard to qualifications, differing career orientation or differing job preferences – to name but a few examples – would be responsible for differing access achievement, regardless of ethnic group.

Yet another prominent line of argument explains disadvantages in obtaining vocational training placements or positions in employment on the basis that specific capital assets, be they specific to the country of origin or to the group of origin, are often less valued in the target country, or indeed not valued at all – in what is often a glaring contrast with the country or group of origin – while the individuals concerned are mostly not endowed with those target-country-specific capital assets that create

openings and are thus valuable characteristics to accumulate (Chiswick 1978, 1991; Esser 1999, 2001; Gillborn 1990; Park/Burgess 1972; Willis 1977; Youdell 2003).²

All a matter of discrimination?

Another part of recent work concerned with explaining ethnic inequality is made up of studies that address the issue of group-related or institutional discrimination against minorities on the part of the majority society. Broadly speaking, it can be seen that there are two interpretations, and that they could not be more different from one another.

One interpretation sees forms of discrimination as present whenever an individual or a group of individuals is preferred to another individual or group on grounds of particular (individual or group) characteristics. From this perspective, even preference on grounds of differing achievement comes under suspicion of being discriminatory (Banton 1994: 1; Zegers de Beijl 1992: 3).

The second interpretation features a less complex use of the concept of discrimination, an approach that at least absolves educational capital assets – that is, those that are held to represent an individual's personal achievements – from the suspicion of serving as a means of discriminatory treatment. To this line of thinking, discrimination is present only when characteristics other than an individual's educational capital exert influence on outcomes (Arrow 1973: 3).³ If one accepts this approach – which will be the case here – then ethnic discrimination with regard to the first-hurdle transition would be present when immigrant-origin young people encounter differing access to dual vocational training even though school achievement is identical (and with other central factors accounted for). By analogy, this of course applies likewise to other kinds of transition stations, such as secondary school attendance, or specific qualifications obtainable within the transition system. But why should there be discrimination at the first hurdle?

First of all, there could be “tastes for discrimination” involved, leading to unequal or discriminatory treatment of members of ethnic groups (Becker 1971). Individual preferences of this type for or against a particular (ethnic) group lead to preferential treatment or disadvantage of members of that group.

A quite different situation is represented by forms of statistical discrimination (England 1992) that derive from specific gaps in knowledge or information relating to individuals or groups. Those practising the discrimination have no information, or insufficient information, about the capabilities and/or efficiency of the individual concerned relative to those of other individuals. Because of the unavailability of information, the practice in these instances is to adduce an experience-based estimate of the mean efficiency of the group to represent the capabilities of an individual, although it may differ from the actual capabilities of the group member under consideration, or may be “ethnically distorted”.

Is ethnic discrimination at the first hurdle plausible?

The increasing excess demand for vocational training places in the German Federal Republic means that providers have long been able to cherry-pick the applicants most closely conforming to the requirements for the position offered and thus likely to bring the greatest benefit for the provider. In this process, the level of educational attainment reached is of central importance during the first-hurdle transition (Müller et al. 2002: 46 ff). The selection process linked to the educational attainment level, in which providers of qualifying places and vocational training places are increasingly looking

² In this context, economic (generalized) capital is less prone to devaluation than any other type.

³ In this approach, discrimination functions as a kind of residual category for unexplained differences in the likelihood of realization of particular outcomes in circumstances where account is taken of more or less generalized capital assets (here e.g. educational attainments and school leaving certificates in particular).

for higher levels of formal educational capital and concomitantly for (assumed) ability and motivation, is leading to a negative creaming-off of those young people who are relatively less well endowed with educational capital. This acquisition process linked to the relative educational capital of the young people is the key element of the productivity-driven selection process governing entry to the vocational training and employment markets (Nicaise/Bollens 2000).

However, the increased demand also implies a problem that can be described as complexity of the applicant situation. The steadily rising supply of applicants for the limited number of training places makes it plausible that increasingly specific modes of selection should be established in order to keep transactional costs (here meaning the obtaining of information) within acceptable limits (Schaub 1991: 80). Here – as with selection on the basis of educational qualifications – a central role could be played by statistical discrimination, since providers of vocational training places often have comparatively little information at their disposal relating to applicants for the places on offer. The attraction of this procedure is that the broad selection basis reduces (consequential) costs and risk (Müller et al. 2002: 48). However, this applies only where the attainment peaks of the group not discriminated against are at least equal to those of the group(s) that are discriminated against, and where the screening of applicants by the providers is efficient enough to identify these attainment peaks.

► Statistical discrimination

Statistical discrimination is but also plausible in situations where there is not a wide range of applicants to choose from. The inferior mean performance of migrant-origin young people at school or in training could be adduced as relevant information in exactly the same way in such situations too, thus diminishing the chances of these young people relative to those of others without the same background (Boos-Nünning 2006: 13).

“Tastes for discrimination” seem equally plausible. Providers of training places could very well have an interest in disadvantaging members of their in-group vis-à-vis members of an out-group in distribution of scarce resources – even at the cost of the productivity imperative – (Hardin 1997; Hechter 1986). In such cases a young person of immigrant origin would only be taken on if the material benefit compensates adequately for the cognitive costs of the awarding of the place. A bad conscience over the failure to respect in-group-related preferences would be something that the provider could subsequently live with.⁴

► Taste for discrimination

Ethnic discrimination – residual effect after taking account of endowed characteristics, familial and contextual restrictions

Conclusions with regard to the role of ethnic discrimination at the first hurdle can only be drawn when immigrant origins are treated as one among a number of theoretically plausible influence factors behind ethnic inequality, all taken into account in the context of a comprehensive model. Should a so-called “residual effect” deriving from immigrant origin be identified, after due account has been taken of endowed characteristics and familial and contextual restrictions, this would constitute – in terms of the procedure chosen here – evidence of possible ethnic discrimination at the first hurdle (Granato/Kalter 2001: 508) (**H_{1a}**). The comprehensiveness of the account taken of other factors is the measure of the

► Ethnic discrimination as a “residual effect”

⁴ Arguments and evidence for this can be found e.g. in Boos-Nünning (2006: 14) or Moss and Tilly (2001). The authors show among other things that providers of places often invoke qualifications generally and soft skills in particular solely as a pretext for unfavourable treatment of applicants from a minority, so as to avoid or disguise a sanctionable discriminatory practice.

reliability with which an effect can (putatively) be identified as ethnic discrimination (Granato/Kalter 2001: 508).

Endowed characteristics to be examined here include, to begin with, educational capital in the form of educational qualifications, the final grades in German and mathematics. As we saw above, educational capital assets are regarded as a key prerequisite for successful integration into the employment market. On that basis it is to be expected that educational capital will likewise play a key role at the approach to the first hurdle. We conjecture: **H_{1b}**) the higher a young person's educational qualification, the better his or her chances will be of obtaining a preferred position after leaving school. Preferences in the training and employment contexts will continue to be fed into the analyses. This is done on the basis that the young persons' actions are rational and purposive, although the probability of objectives being actually attained is limited by specific action resources and restrictions on action (Opp 1997, 1998). In this context it is noteworthy that discussion so far of central variables for the explanation of ethnic inequality or discrimination has wholly disregarded the issue of young people's preferences (the point is illustrated e.g. in the Seifert/Solga discussion 2005, 2006; cf. also Kalter 2005, 2006a/b, Boos-Nünning 2006). It is obvious that a young person's preferences with regard to the entry stage will be of central importance in placement (**H_{1c}**).

Alongside the possible presence of ethnic discrimination in the transition from school to employment and a possible disadvantage resulting from endowed characteristics, familial resources represent a further factor that could potentially affect the position attained. Here the main points of interest are the employment status of the parents, the parents' wishes with regard to vocational training, and the support that the young person receives from the parents during the transition from school to employment. The parents' employment provides a measure of their structural position. Ethnic inequality could result from parents of young people of immigrant origin being less well positioned structurally than the parents of their German contemporaries (**H_{1d}**). The operation of legacy mechanisms (e.g. fulfilment of the parents' wishes), could result in this difference being transmitted to the next generation (Kalter 2005).⁵

Finally, in addition to these individual and familial influences, it is possible that institutional and structural factors may be significant with regard to ethnic inequalities at the first-hurdle transition. Especially in the light of the discussion so far on issues relating to the disadvantage of young people of immigrant origin during their integration into the vocational training and employment markets, it is remarkable that the various analyses rarely take into account structural factors, in spite of the fact that the relatively firm structuring and high stability of the German mobility regime constitute one of the main external restrictions (Mills/Blossfeld 2005: 11). These structural factors include, first of all, the general socio-economic background, which plays an active role both before and throughout the transition and affects individuals' prospects at the various thresholds encountered. A primary central factor is the relationship between supply and demand in opportunities for vocational training, acquisition of qualifications, and employment. Indeed, in times when training places are scarce, this relationship might well come to have special importance when young people with few educational assets compete with other young people for the available

⁵ As the recent discussion on accounting for ethnic discrimination has shown, a further factor occupying a central position in explanations of ethnic differences in access to the labour market is the networking that takes place between young people of immigrant origin (the point is illustrated e.g. in the Seifert/Solga discussion 2005 and in Kalter 2006: 148 or Boos-Nünning 2006: 15). A point of particular significance here is the ethnic make-up of the network, since any ethnically homogeneous network can mobilize only the resources of its own ethnic group (Esser 2005: 87; Pendakur/Pendakur 2002: 168ff.). This aspect too might conceivably be a cause of disadvantage for young people of immigrant origin at the first hurdle. Unfortunately the survey waves studied here contain no information on the prevalence or otherwise of ethnically homogeneous networks. This indicator was included in the investigation only for subsequent waves. It accordingly cannot be examined here.

places. There are often considerable regional variations in supply and demand. The likelihood of ethnic discrimination might then increase in line with the deterioration of the placement situation in relation to demand (H_{1e}). Where supply exceeds demand, ethnic discrimination could be expected to become less likely. In conjunction with this influence variable, account needs to be taken of which German state is concerned and of whether the area is urban or rural, as this permits at least some allowance to be made in the analysis for specific characteristics of the transition regime in the various federal states and for differences in the respective funding structures of primarily urban and primarily rural areas (H_{1f}).

2.2 Failure at the first-hurdle transition as a determinant of perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization?

In discussion hitherto on the causes of perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization, one hypothesis has figured particularly prominently, yet remained virtually untested. It is assumed that failure – or the sense of failure – in the obtaining of positions at the first hurdle promotes perceptions of discrimination and also promotes (re)ethnicization (on this point cf. for example Alba et al. 1994: 235; Dubet/Lapeyronnie 1994: 160; Eckert 2001: 459; Gerard 1983: 872; Lex 1997; Nauck 2001: 11; Solga 2005: 284; Willis 1977: 101)⁶. The hypothesis may be formulated in general terms as follows: among young people of immigrant origin, failures during the process of social integration increase the probability of reversion to the group of origin.

► Failures in social integration increase the probability of reversion to the group of origin

Beyond these suppositions, however, we actually still know very little about the determining factors of the named aspects among young people of immigrant origin. There has been a corresponding failure to consider the issue of collective strategies among young people of immigrant origin who feel that they are victims of discrimination and, as such, excluded from access to society. Is it really the case that such young people react to negative experiences in the context of individual and group-based attempts at first-hurdle integration by reverting to the group of origin together with its resources, norms and interpretative schemata?

In an attempt to answer the question raised here, the following section will consider whether negative entry experiences at transition from school to vocational training and work do in fact enhance perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization.

What theoretical explanation can be given for a connection between the manner in which positions are obtained at the first hurdle of perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization? In terms of the situation described of immigrant-origin young people facing the first hurdle, it may be conjectured that at the moment of failure to obtain a place during the transition – understood as entry to a status permitting further advancement – a perception of discrimination becomes more probable. In this process, the act of ascribing the failure to obtain a position to aspects of discrimination has an identity-stabilizing effect: it is not my school performance or my personal characteristics that have brought about my situation at transition, but rather my ethnic origin or my group affiliation.

A similar effect attributable to the placement process may be conjectured for (re)ethnicization. When a young person fails at the transition point, this impedes access to capital assets (e.g. certificates for training and employment) that are needed for continued access to the vocational training and employment markets. If the young people recognize this connection, they will generally also realize that their integration

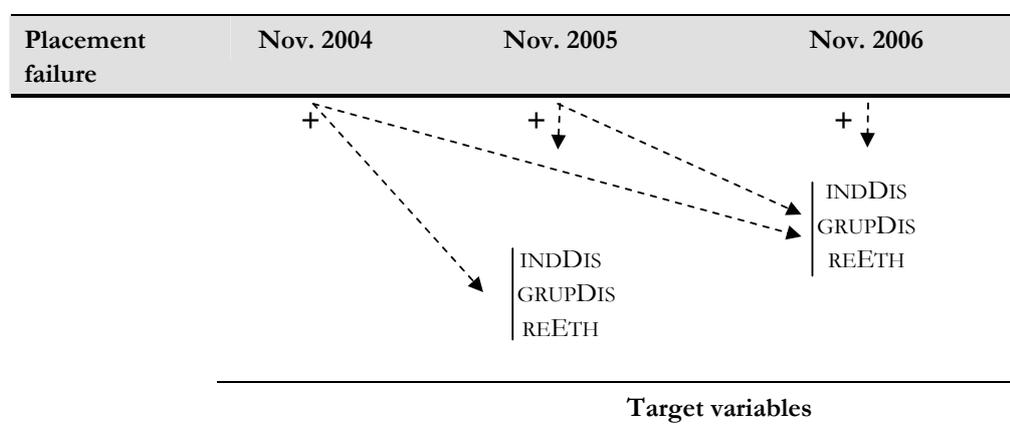
⁶ For further discussion of the issue see Anhut/Heitmeyer 2000: 17-75; Asbrock/Wagner/Christ 2006: 146-175, Heitmeyer 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006; Heitmeyer/Müller/Schröder 1997, Schröder et al. 2000: 101-198.

into the target society and thus also their personal and social identity are in jeopardy. Given this appreciation of their situation, it then becomes attractive to the young people concerned to turn to their group of origin or their sub-group and thereby to (re)ethnicize, as a way of averting or at least alleviating damage to their personal and social identity (Goffman 1996; Alba et al. 1994; Solga 2005).

These considerations gave rise to the following assumptions, to be tested in the context of the research project: An *actual experience* of social marginalization or disintegration during the school-to-employment transition – defined in the present case as “no follow-up”– leads

- $H_{2a)}$ to a **perception of individual discrimination**,
- $H_{2b)}$ to a **perception of fraternal discrimination**,
- $H_{2c)}$ to increased probability of **(re)ethnicization** or reversion to the group of origin.

Fig. 1: Conjectural effects of position attained on the dependent variables



Note: --> = denotes conjectural direct effects on dep. variable
 + = denotes positive correlation

Assumed effects with account taken of the variables “resources available to young person”, “Immigration generation”, “group affiliation” and “gender”.

The assumptions are tested by correlating, for the three survey dates of November 2004, November 2005 and November 2006, the respective placement positions attained with the respective dependent variables. This is done in both a diachronic or longitudinal and a cross-sectional perspective:

- Effects of November 04 position on 05/06 dependent variables (longitudinal),
- Effects of November 05 position on 05 (cross-sectional)/06 (longitudinal) dependent variables,
- Effects of November 06 position on 06 dependent variables (cross-sectional).

Fig. 1 tabulates the relevant assumptions and the analysis correlations between the respective waves in overview form.

2.3 Perceived individual and fraternal discrimination as a cause of (re)ethnicization

In the context of failures in integration into the vocational training and employment markets, a further issue has become controversial: if a perception of individual/fraternal discrimination leads to (re)ethnicization, do the two aspects therefore constitute a single cause – or is the latter essentially independent of any experienced discrimination?

► Individual/ fraternal discrimination promotes (re)ethnicization

First indications of the direction of the link between perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization are to be found through reference to the social identity of individuals. In general, individuals seek a positive social identity relative to other individuals or to groups (Tajfel/Turner 1986; Tajfel 1981). The social identity of a given individual is built up largely on affiliation to a group or groups (Tajfel/Turner 1986; Tajfel 1981; Liebkind 1989), which permits a more or less clear distinction and a basis for comparison between different groups. The strength of the individual's positive evaluation of the social identity concerned then indicates the subjective significance that this affiliation has for him or her (Esser 1999; Skrobanek 2004; Opp/Mühler 2004).

By means of social comparison, the group members involved take in information about their own status position and that of the reference group, a process of comparison which may yield a positive or a negative result (Merton 1995). Positive social comparisons with an out-group lead to a stable and satisfying identity. However, if the group is rated inferior to the out-group, a negative social identity soon develops. The central objective, a positive social identity, has not been achieved.

This is precisely where the problem of perceived discrimination comes into play. Actors basically always act with the objective of achieving preferred goals, subject to the restrictions inherent in the situation (Esser 1999; Lindenberg 1989). To achieve these goals, however, they need access to appropriate capital assets. The capitals and the aims here are not independent of the social context at the operative time. If recourse to the objective-furthering capitals is impeded or unavailable, the objectives will be barely achievable or not achievable at all, as the case may be. In comparison to other groups, consequently, if these other groups are successful in obtaining the capitals necessary for the achievement of the objective, the group that is relatively deprived of access will come off worse than the out-group in terms of the social comparison, particularly with regard to the centrally defined capitals and the degree to which the objective is achieved. Thus perceived discrimination may generally be understood as the perceived impeding of access by individuals and groups to preferred goods/capitals, relative to other individuals or groups, while at the same time the differing achievement prospects as between the groups are regarded by those affected as illegitimate (Banton 1994: 1). So the situation is not one – as defined in the classical concept of deprivation – that merely involves actual or perceived deprivation of preferred material or non-material resources; what it in fact involves is a *discrepancy* – registered through *comparison* with an out-group – between *group-related appetite level* and *perceived achievement* of the preferences. For the present study, accordingly, it matters less whether discrimination actually occurs than whether the individuals concerned define the situation as one involving discrimination. Human action is always preceded by a “definition of the situation”: “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Thomas/Thomas 1928: 572). That means that the young people studied here are reacting not only to the objective facts of a situation, but also (and sometimes principally) to the significance that this situation has for them, or to the interpretations that they impose on the situation

► Discrimination results from a discrepancy between group-related appetite level and perceived achievement of preferred outcomes

(Merton 1995: 399; Thomas/Thomas 1928: 68). Thus the concept of perceived individual and fraternal discrimination focuses on the individual “reflected image”⁷ of possible (structural, collective, individual) discriminations suffered and on the contribution that that image can make to explaining (re)ethnicization.

This discrepancy between preferred material or non-material resources and the actual access achieved to the resources in question results in a threat to social identity that motivates the individuals affected to find security for the personal or social identity under threat, using particular strategies. A conjectured central strategy here for preserving a positive social identity is (re)ethnicization.⁸ In general, (re)ethnicization is here understood as the process of *ethnic framing of a conflict* over access to material and cultural capital assets on grounds of *perceived discrimination* (individual and also group-related). Individuals preferring (re)ethnicization are more apt to retreat to their in-group’s group-specific capital assets, upgrading them relative to those of the “discriminatory” out-group concerned in order to achieve a positive social identity and maintain it in the long term. In this process a point is reached where well-nigh “forgotten” group-specific capital assets attract attention once again or are upgraded in value, and where their value is intended to be recognized in the conflict with the out-group. What is involved is thus primarily the activation of “models” of the self-delimitation and self-autonomization of the group which comes off worse in the social comparison, with (re)ethnicization representing a resource that can be deployed for identity management and resource management. It results from efforts to preserve identity, and associated disappointments, in the context of access sought to social, cultural, political or material resources (Groenemeyer 2003: 24).

► (Re)ethnicization secures or promotes positive social identity

Assumptions arising from this and to be tested in the course of the research project are:

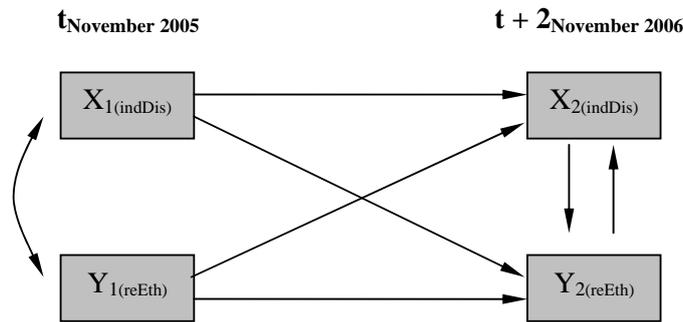
H_{3a}) The stronger the perceived *individual* discrimination in a given young person, the stronger the (re)ethnicization or the reversion to the in-group

H_{3b}) The stronger the perceived *fraternal* discrimination, the stronger the (re)ethnicization or the reversion to the in-group.

⁷ This is a highly promising approach in that the plotting of an “origin or zero point” for the variables that are of interest here – and this has application wider than the fields of discrimination and ethnicization – is methodologically one of the most difficult problems of all. Focusing on the individual’s interpretation of the situation as ‘discrimination’ makes it possible to study how it can contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon, and this is the central aim of the study at hand.

⁸ In addition to this strategy, published research includes studies that propose other inter-group-related strategies: “social creativity”, “social competition”, “realistic competition, re-categorization at a higher level”, and “preferences for temporal comparison” (Tajfel/Turner 1986; Sherif et al. 1961). At this stage it would be an extremely rewarding exercise to design a decision theory model of the choice of a (re)ethnicization strategy in comparison to these other strategies. For that to be possible, however, it would have been necessary for the study to include survey data for the alternatives named, so that the benefit or costs of relevant alternative courses of action vis-à-vis (re)ethnicization could be subjected to a detailed decision theory analysis. But measurement of the alternatives in question was not possible within the scope of the present study. As the data situation would have made any discussion of the action alternatives a largely hypothetical exercise and could not have been accommodated within the study’s present parameters, no decision theory-based modelling was envisaged. It remains the case that a formalized, decision theory-based discussion of the multiplicity of available courses of action (see above), together with appropriate verification on the basis of applicable data, would be desirable, particularly in view of the current state of research.

Fig. 2: Example of “cross-lagged model” between perceived individual discrimination and (re)ethnicization



To test the assumptions, data from two waves – Nov. 2005 and Nov. 2006 – were used to correlate the perceived individual and fraternal discrimination with (re) ethnicization. For this work appropriate “cross-lagged models” are considered valuable.

In Fig. 2 the analytical relationships between the respective waves are illustrated by means of the example of perceived individual discrimination (for further explanation see Section 4.3).

The models to be calculated are further intended to help establish whether the conjectured vicious circle of perceived discrimination, consequent (re)ethnicization, and, in turn again, a reinforced perception of discrimination exists in reality. The following “circle” hypothesis will therefore be tested:

H_{3c}) In the long term a perception of discrimination reinforces the tendency to (re)ethnicization. In both the short and the longer term (re)ethnicization in turn reinforces individual and fraternal discrimination.

2.4 (Re)ethnicization and access to the vocational training and employment markets

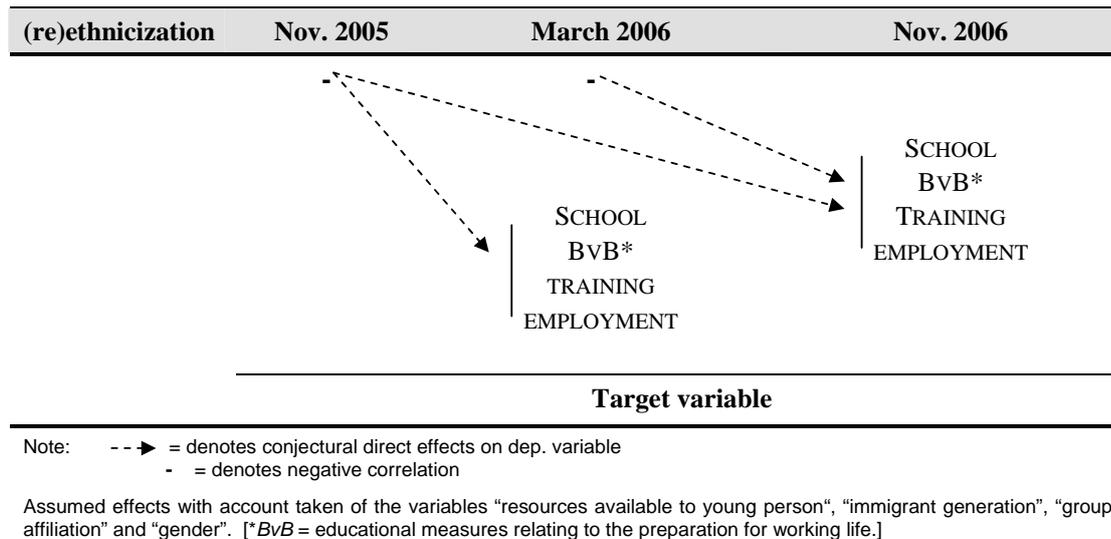
At the time of writing there is still no data-supported research on the reversion to the group of origin and/or its capital assets – i.e. on (re)ethnicization. However, a number of conjectures in circulation start from the premise that the retention and/or use of (origin-)specific capital assets are most likely to lead to further disintegration from target society when such assets are least recognized by the dominant culture (Berry et al. 2006a, 2006b; Esser 1999, 2001). In terms of the research investigation, it was therefore conjectured that (re) ethnicization impedes access to the vocational training and employment markets.

► Assumption: (Re)ethnicization impedes access to the vocational training and employment markets

This can be illustrated fairly readily, using the example of language. Poor language skills in the target country language and corresponding strength in the language of origin lead to major difficulties in acquisition of dominant cultural capital assets specific to the target country, such as school leaving certificates. Inadequate knowledge of German, for instance, has a direct negative effect on the level of school qualifications obtained (Esser 2006: 160). If, as a matter of (re)ethnicization, young people of immigrant origin prefer their language of origin to the target-country language – in the present case, for example, preferring to use Turkish rather than German – their chances of obtaining positions in the training and employment markets will be lower,

because Turkish, as an (origin-)specific capital asset, is in very low demand in those markets. The same problem also affects other aspects of life, such as friendships or marriage within ethnically homogeneous networks, allocation of work as between in-group and out-group, preferences for the norms and the actional and attitudinal schemata of the group of origin, and mobilization of the in-group against the out-group in perceived conflict situations. All these sets of circumstances presumably motivate the drawing of distinctions and boundaries, self-exclusion or exclusion by others from target society capital assets in favour of (origin-)specific capital.

Fig. 3: Conjectural effects of (re)ethnicization on the position attained in the vocational training and employment markets



These aspects are still more important where the training or employment market shows a relatively low degree of ethnic differentiation. The disintegrative role of (re)ethnicization is likely to dwindle – in favour of an integrative role – in proportion to the degree of ethnic differentiation or of generation of niche opportunities for ethnic vocational training and employment. It is in ethnic niches that (origin-)specific capital assets are in demand, or are upgraded in value because of specific demand, so that in this way “ethnic character” itself comes to represent a valuable capital asset. However, as the German vocational training and employment markets show a low level of ethnic differentiation, it is more probable that the negative correlation postulated above will apply.

As Fig. 3 indicates, we assume that (re)ethnicization would probably show a negative correlation with the respective position attained at the relevant time of inquiries. In other words, the stronger a young person’s (re)ethnicization, the less likely s(he) is to achieve, or be occupying, a status such as school, career preparation (educational measures relating to preparation for working life), vocational training, or employment. (S)he is more likely to join the unemployed or those without a training place, and may well remain there. If no correlation, or a positive correlation, is found between (re)ethnicization and the relevant types of status, the following assumption would have been refuted:

H₄) The more thoroughly an immigrant-origin young person (re)ethnicizes, the greater the danger of exclusion from the vocational training or employment market.

2.5 Further determinants of perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization

Conclusions with regard to the role of the degree of integration into the vocational training or employment market can only be drawn when the post-school position is treated as one among a number of theoretically plausible factors to be taken into account – in the same way as in testing for ethnic discrimination. Should a so-called “residual effect” deriving from the nature of the position attained be identified, after due account has been taken of endowed characteristics and familial and socio-demographic characteristics, this would constitute evidence supporting hypotheses H_{2a}, H_{2b} and H_{2c}.

The first step at this point is to take into account the acquired cultural capital assets in the form of school leaving certificates achieved, grades in German and grades in mathematics. In view of the background of patent ethnic inequality in the German Federal Republic’s school system, generally weaker school-leaving attainment and generally lower grades in German and mathematics among young people of immigrant origin could constitute indirect evidence of ethnic discrimination. Thus, for instance, it is beyond dispute that, in the school setting, (origin-)specific capital assets only exceedingly rarely enjoy the same measure of respect as do the capital aspects representative of the dominant culture (language, action and behaviour patterns etc.). On that basis, denial of due recognition to (origin-)specific capital assets would be an aspect of ethnic discrimination. These young people, accordingly, are obliged to fit in with the school’s requirements if they want to be awarded good grades. In the same way, these (collective) experiences at school could tend to promote closer identification with the group of origin, and a strategy such as (re)ethnicization, since very limited access to educational certificates, particularly in a society in which school diplomas are of key importance for the obtaining of positions subsequently, is almost bound to increase the appeal of a retreat into the group of origin or subgroup (**H_{5a}**). It follows that for those who are unable to present the school diplomas and other educational qualifications in demand in the vocational training and employment markets – which tends to apply more particularly to young people of immigrant origin than to their German contemporaries – there is an increased risk of disintegration from these markets. Difficult access – let alone the withholding of access altogether – then also increases the risk of a retreat into the (ethnic) group of origin, as the young people concerned will often find that in this setting there is still open access to (origin-) specific social and cultural capital.

As noted earlier, language and – where applicable – linguistic skills constitute an exceptionally distinctive group-specific capital asset. The more specific a language is, the more difficult it will be to convert it into other capital assets such as school leaving certificates or economic capital (Bourdieu 1983). On this basis it is theoretically plausible that perceived discrimination and associated (re)ethnicization become more likely in inverse proportion to an individual’s ability to speak the requisite target-country-specific language as opposed to the (origin-)specific language (**H_{5b}**).

Independently of the role played by endowed characteristics, familial resources too could have substantive influence on perceived discrimination and ethnicization. If the parents, over a period of time, have found employment only in the lower reaches of the employment market, in other words no upward mobility, the outcome of the placement process could be interpreted as a form of ethnic discrimination and on that basis make (re)ethnicization more likely (**H_{5c}**). Failure to make upwards progress also

stabilizes the bond with the group of origin and may increase the likelihood that those concerned will identify with their group of origin (H_{sd}).

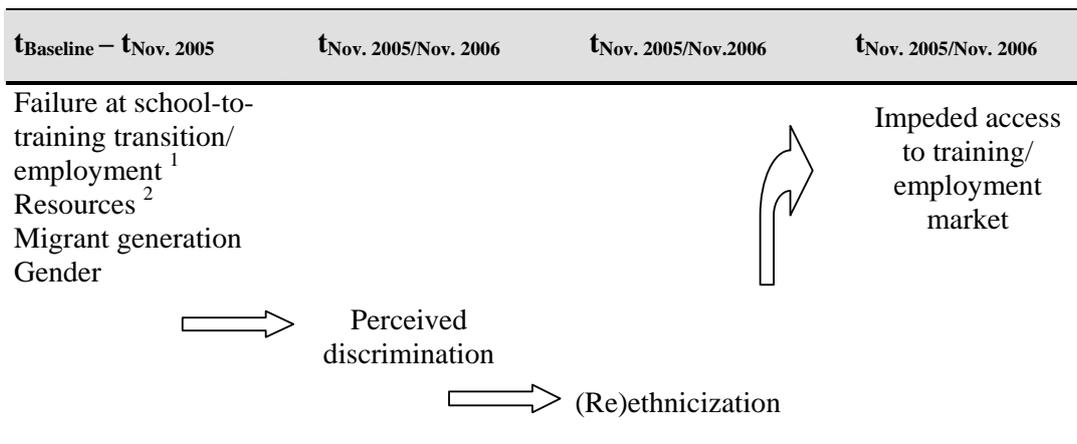
The remaining factors to be taken into account are the type of school attended by the young persons surveyed, the country of birth – Germany – and gender. With regard to the school type, we take the position, in accordance with findings already published (Diefenbach 2003), that attendance at a comprehensive school tends to diminish perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization (H_{se}). With regard to the “country of birth” variable, it may be conjectured that young people born outside Germany, including those who have immigrated into Germany since birth, are less apt to perceive themselves as discriminated against, and tend to be less inclined to identify with the group of origin and to (re)ethnicize, than are young people of immigrant origin who were born in Germany (H_{sf}). Those born in Germany have simply had more time to accumulate negative experiences relating to integration into the target society.

Kommentar [d1]: Positive only
– see German Version p. 16

2.6 The general model

In this section we shall offer a summary overview of the hypotheses and theoretical assumptions discussed hitherto by incorporating them into a comprehensive model. On the left-hand side of Fig. 4, first of all, we show the independent variables – i.e. the causes – for the ethnic variables of “discrimination perception” and “(re)ethnicization”. The right-hand side of the figure shows the effect of these two ethnic variables: impeded access to the vocational training and employment markets.

Fig. 4: General path model for explanation of causes and effects of (re) ethnicization among young immigrants



Note: ¹ Failure includes the nature of the status achieved in the follow-up after leaving school;
² Resources include the school leaving certificate, German and maths grades and the language used in the home

Disadvantage in access to institutionalized cultural capital (in the sense of Bourdieu primarily school leaving certificates and school grades), immigrant generation, and gender directly influence perceived discrimination. In the model proposed here, perceived discrimination then mediates the effects of the independent variables to (re)ethnicization, and (re)ethnicization in turn directly influences subsequent access to the training or employment market.

If the assumptions are correct, then it is likely that the independent variables directly influence perceived discrimination, but have little or no substantive influence on (re)ethnicization, which by the same reckoning would be attributable almost exclusively to the degree of perceived discrimination.

3 Data and methods

3.1 Data set

The basis for the analyses was provided by the Transition Panel of the *Deutsches Jugendinstitut*, which was set up to trace and explain the pathways followed by secondary general school leavers from school towards vocational training and employment. Data taken into account included comprehensive training and occupational histories, social, personal and structural circumstances, and differing regulatory measures affecting access to the vocational training and employment markets.⁹

For the analyses carried out as part of the research project, seven waves have been available to date, covering the period from the middle of the (anticipated) final school year ending in 2004 until autumn 2006, i.e. the autumn of the second year following the first hurdle.

Data collection was by means of a questionnaire to be completed in writing, and took place on a nationwide basis, with participation from 126 *Hauptschulen* (secondary general schools) and *Hauptschulzügen* (secondary general school tracks), involving 254 school classes in all, supplemented by groups of participants from school refusal projects.¹⁰ A final total random sample of N = 3,922 (Baseline) secondary general school students was achieved. In subsequent waves the young people were surveyed by means of telephone interviews (CATI).¹¹

The empirical analyses that follow are based on data from the fifth, sixth, and seventh waves, as it was at these times that the variables of present interest, “perceived discrimination” and “(re)ethnicization”, were surveyed, and on data from the preceding waves, which contain information on self-exclusion, cultural capital, school student history, and immediate post-school position. Responses relating to the discrimination and differentiation variables were supplied exclusively by young people of Turkish immigrant origin:

Definition: *Turkish immigrant origin applies if the young person or the father or mother was born in Turkey and the young person or the father or mother has Turkish citizenship.*

and young resettlers:

Definition: *Young people are categorized as resettlers if they themselves or their father or mother or grandfather/great-grandfather or grandmother/great-grandmother are of German nationality, have migrated from another country to Germany on account of that nationality, and have been accorded Aussiedler (resettler) status.*

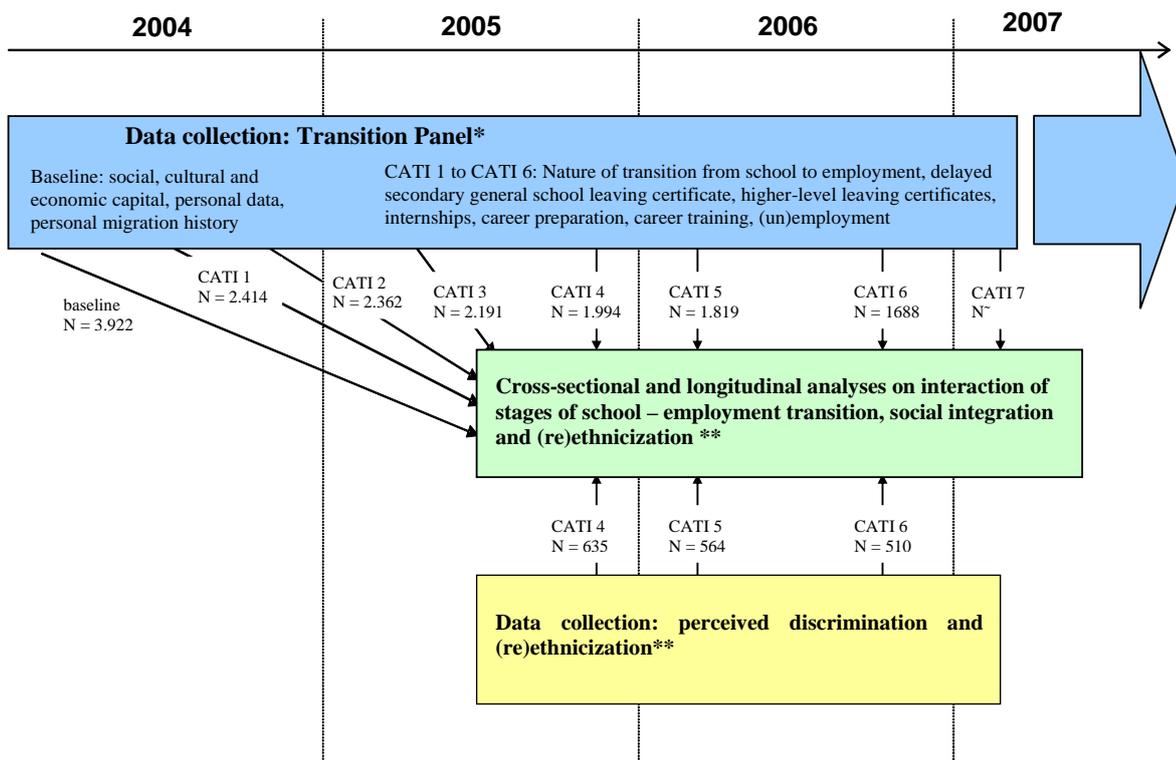
A comprehensive overview of the survey design is provided in Fig. 5.

⁹ A conscious Selection of the survey units was carried out in a number of different ways: that is to say, it is not accidental. In terms of the present study's parameters this is not a problem, because the focus is primarily on the testing of correlation hypotheses, not on gauging parameters for the population as a whole (Diekmann 2004).

¹⁰ The questionnaire was developed in consultation with ZUMA (Centre for Survey Research and Methodology, Mannheim) as external advisers, and tested in advance.

¹¹ At the end of the first survey, the young people concerned were asked for their consent to participation in the subsequent CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) surveys. A total of 2,933 young people gave this consent. This explains much of the dropout between the first and the second wave..

Fig. 5: Survey design for determinants of integration into employment, of social integration, and of ethnically motivated self-exclusion



* funded by the Ministry for Education and Youth

**funded by the Jacobs Foundation

At the start of the telephone interviews, the status of the identified young people of Turkish immigrant origin and of young resettlers (the young persons and both parents) was explicitly re-verified, in order to exclude the risk of classification errors.

Longitudinal survey data being essential for comprehensive testing of process models, the young people selected were surveyed in the fourth and sixth waves on all the variables of the complete module; and in the fifth wave on selected variables. In total, complete responses over all three waves are available for the analyses from 223 young people of Turkish immigrant origin and 263 resettlers. The N achieved in the respective individual waves is shown by Table 1.

Table 1: Participation in (re)ethnicization module, cross-sectional and longitudinal

	Cross-sectional participation			Longitudinal participation in all waves
	Nov. 2005 _{baseline}	March 2006	Nov. 2006	Total
TUR	289	263	234	223
RES	346	301	276	263
N _{overall}	635	564	510	486

3.2 Measurement hypotheses and constructs

In this section the first points of concern are the measurement of the variables and constructs of the (re)ethnicization module and associated aspects of scale construction. The scales constructed for the cohorts of young people of Turkish immigrant origin and of resettlers are tested for equivalence. To this end, confirmatory factor analyses are carried out using LISREL-8.3 (Jöreskog/Sörbom 1993: 98).¹² A second stage of work is concerned with variables needed for testing the thesis of ethnic discrimination.

The thinking here proceeded from the assumption that response behaviour in relation to the manifest items for “(re)ethnicization” and “individual” as well as “group-related discrimination” – taken together with high response equivalence between the two groups – is attributable to relevant latent factors.¹³ The confirmatory LISREL 8.3 factor analysis results of interest here in the context of simultaneous group comparisons are shown in Table 2 (measurement models).

Table 2: Sample-specific fully standardized factor loadings, percent variances accounted for, and reliabilities of relevant model variables for Turks and resettlers

	Ethnic Group	
	TUR	RES
<i>(re)ethnicization</i>		
language	.48	.47
marriage	.51	.70
solidarity in conflicts	.58	.53
employment	.54	.43
chi-square/df – group comparison**		10.67/8
variance accounted for	45.9%	46.3%
Cronbach’s alpha	.61	.61
<i>individual discrimination</i>		
school	.74	.86
youth centres	.95	.99
disco/clubs	.83	.90
officialdom/authorities	.76	.76
chi-square/df – group comparison**		20.00/8
variance accounted for	75.7%	73.1%
Cronbach’s alpha	.89	.88
<i>fraternal discrimination</i>		
school	.65	.70
employment	.59	.56
second class	.60	.53
chi-square/df – group comparison*		3.58/6
variance accounted for	58.4%	56.9%
Cronbach’s alpha	.64	.62

Note on model restrictions: * chi-square/df – group comparison: factor loadings, factor percent variances and measurement errors set as equal for both groups; ** chi-square/df – group comparison: measurement errors vary between groups

¹² The procedure used is not exploratory factor analysis but a procedure for testing measurement hypotheses. It involves assigning the various indicators *a priori* to a latent construct and scrutinizing this theoretically-derived measurement model (Jöreskog 1993: 98).

¹³ If comparison of the two groups reveals no significant differences in the respective factor loadings, we call this an equivalence, i.e. the unstandardized factor loadings, factor variances and measurement errors in the scales do not vary numerically between the cohort of young people of Turkish immigrant origin and that of the resettlers, and have identical signs ($\lambda_{\xi}^{\text{Turks}} = \lambda_{\xi}^{\text{resettlers}}$; $\phi_{\text{Turks}} = \phi_{\text{resettlers}}$; $\theta_{\delta}^{\text{Türken}} = \theta_{\delta}^{\text{resettlers}}$).

Considerations of space preclude any extensive discussion of the results at this stage, e.g. on whether there are content-related/methodological factors behind similarities or differences in the measurement results.

For purposes of depiction of *(re)ethnicization*, a battery of four indicators was evolved, to focus on four group-specific dimensions: “language”, “marriage”, “solidarity in conflicts”, and “employment”. As Table 2 shows, with regard to the analyses only minor differences were found in the levels of the percent variances accounted for and reliabilities of *(re)ethnicization* as well as with regard to the global parameters of the group comparison carried out in conditions of freely varying measurement errors as between the groups studied. The analysis results provided the basis for scaling the indicators concerned¹⁴. For recording *perceived individual discrimination*, four variables measuring young people’s individual experiences of discrimination in the areas of school, leisure, and institutions were taken into account. As anticipated, the results of the confirmatory factor analyses here too, notwithstanding minor differences between the groups, are such as to prompt the construction of a scale. In this sense, the indicators have been combined to create a “perceived individual discrimination” construct.

The *perceived fraternal discrimination* construct was formulated on the basis of three questions directed at the issue of discrimination against Turks/resettlers as a single cohort vis-à-vis Germans and in the areas of school and employment markets. These indicators too were combined to create a scale.

Finally, in accordance with the measurement hypothesis assumptions, testing was carried out to ascertain whether the various indicators did in fact measure the corresponding constructs. It was possible, after all, that the values obtained were empirical manifestations of a single construct – that is, of a general factor. This would have had consequences in particular for the theoretical assumptions with regard to the effect of perceived individual and fraternal discrimination on *(re)ethnicization*. To test for this eventuality, two models were tested against each other: a) a unifactorial model, according to which the correlation matrix of the indicators is best represented by a single factor, and b) a correlated three-factor model. As Table 3 (model comparison) shows, the correlated three-factor model yields the best conformity with the data. This demonstrates that the indicators and the constructs do indeed measure different things and cannot be imputed to a “general factor”.

Table 3: Goodness of Fit Indices for the factor analytical models

Model	χ^2	df	RMSEA	NFI	NNFI	CFI
Model 1 (one-factor)	719.28	44	.156	.774	.735	.788
Model 2 (correlated three-factor)	124.90	41	.057	.948	.953	.965

3.3 Measurement of the theoretical model's independent variables

In addition to the research project’s core variables, described above, further variables were adduced in the relevant sections in order to test the assumptions discussed in the theoretical part.

The immigrant background was compiled from information relating to the country of origin and the citizenship of the young persons’ parents and of the young persons themselves. The criteria for immigrant background are that both parents or one parent or the young person in question were/was born abroad or have/has a

¹⁴ The scale was constructed by adding the indicators and dividing the result by the number of indicators. The same procedure was followed for subsequent scales.

citizenship other than German. An N value sufficient for the analyses was reached for the following ethnic groups: young persons of Turkish (TUR), Italian (ITA), ex-Yugoslav (EX-YUG) immigrant background, and young people from the CIS countries. For theoretical reasons (see above) it was decided to keep the “immigrant background” variable separate from specific capital assets such as language.

For illustrating the position attained at the first hurdle, there were four alternative possibilities: school, career preparation¹⁵, training and apprenticeship, and not employed/not in training¹⁶. These status categories were obtained by means of telephone interviews (CATI) conducted three months after school-leaving.

Of the individual influence factors, the young person’s transition-related preferences and cultural capital were taken into account. Figures showing general choice of where to be after school were used as a simple indicator of preferences. With regard to institutionalized cultural capital, three indicators were used: the young person’s school leaving certificate, for which the response alternatives were: no school leaving certificate (1); “non-qualifying *Hauptschule* certificate” (2); “qualifying *Hauptschule* certificate” (3); “*Realschule* certificate” (4); and German and mathematics grades “1-2” (1), “3” (2), “4” (3), and “5-6” (4).

As indicator for the group-specific capital asset “Language”, information from the young people about the language used at home was recorded. Responses for the young persons to choose from when asked what language was generally used at home were as follows: “German only”; “another language only”; “German and one other language”; “more than one other language”. The formulations “another language only” and “more than one other language” were combined as one category.

For the employment situation of the young persons’ parents, two sets of information were taken into account: statements on the employment-type within which the parents were currently working or had worked, and those for the parents’ current/most recent employment. On the basis of the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (Federal Office of Statistics) job codes and of Blossfeld’s jobs classification (Blossfeld 1985), the information held was recoded: not in employment (1), unskilled employment (2), skilled employment (3), professions (4) and self-employed (5). The “Other” and “No information” categories were discarded.

The structural variables used were a measure of the BMBF (Federal Ministry of Education and Research) for the relationship between supply and demand in training-dependent employment in various sectors with reference to the employment market situation for the time of the survey, a variable for the German *Länder* in which the survey were carried out, and a regional variable for the new (former DDR) and old (former FRG) German states.

4 Results

4.1 Ethnic discrimination on the path to vocational training and employment

Methodology

In the models for prediction of prospects for transition into the vocational training, qualifications and employment markets, only such individuals were taken into account as had provided valid information in the first two waves (just before leaving school) and the third wave (three months after leaving school). The sample remaining consists

¹⁵ This includes primarily the measures (then still in force) aimed at improvement of vocational training and integration prospects (BBE), basic vocational training year (BGJ), attendance by first-year vocational trainees at courses delivering basic vocational training (BVJ), educational measures relating to preparation for working life (BvB) and attendance at institutions teaching domestic economy.

¹⁶ Owing to the heterogeneous nature of the variables, the “Other” category was ignored. Alternatives such as compulsory military service and voluntary social work year were excluded. Owing to insufficient content of cells, the “Employment” category was also discarded.

of 2,362 individuals. While the data under study are not a random sample, this is not problematic in terms of the investigation, as the primary concern at this point is with testing correlation hypotheses, not with estimation of overall parameters. One key advantage of the data set used is that the effect of the “ethnic background” differentiation characteristic among a relatively homogeneous cohort of young people (Hauptschule students) can be examined with due allowance made for other key third variables.

From a decision theory point of view, the multinomial logit model is suitable for modelling the choice of alternatives, as the available alternatives are evaluated simultaneously. This model facilitates study of the influence of the factors discussed above on the nature of the first-hurdle transition. If there are differences in the influence exerted by different factors, they will constitute evidence that the evaluation of the corresponding alternatives is dependent on these factors. In line with assumptions made in the model, it is assumed that for the young persons the possible alternatives during transition – school, career preparation, vocational training/apprenticeship, no follow-up – are in principle equally accessible. As the estimated status probabilities within a multinomial model add up to one, one category of dependent variable is set at zero (reference). Changes in the transition probabilities are predictable by means of simultaneous estimation of coefficients (Andress et al. 1997: 300).

Descriptive presentation

We shall begin with some descriptive results relating to the variables that are to be explained. In the left-hand column of Table 4, the “ethnic background” model variable will be found, and following it the distributions relating to immediate post-school status. The last column contains evidence of a corresponding correlation between immigrant background and the early post-school status achieved.

Table 4: Cohorts sorted by immigrant background and post-school status achieved

Cohorts sorted by immigrant background	Post-school status achieved (outcome)				Phi
	Secondary school	Career preparation	Vocational training/apprenti- ceship	Not in employment/ not in training	
	row-%				
ITA	42	26	22	10	
EX-YUG	31	33	27	9	
CIS	43	30	24	3	
TUR	39	33	19	9	
No imm. backg.	31	21	41	7	.23***
Cohorts by immigrant background or not					
Yes	40	31	22	7	.21***
N	366	272	349	75	
%	(34)	(26)	(33)	(7)	

Note: N = 1,062 based on the valid cases included in the model calculations

Let us first have an overall look at the differences between young persons without and those with immigrant background. It is evident that young persons with an immigrant background proceed more often from school to an *allgemeinbildende Schule* (secondary school) or career preparation and less often to vocational training. In terms of the “no follow-up” status, there is no difference between these two groups.

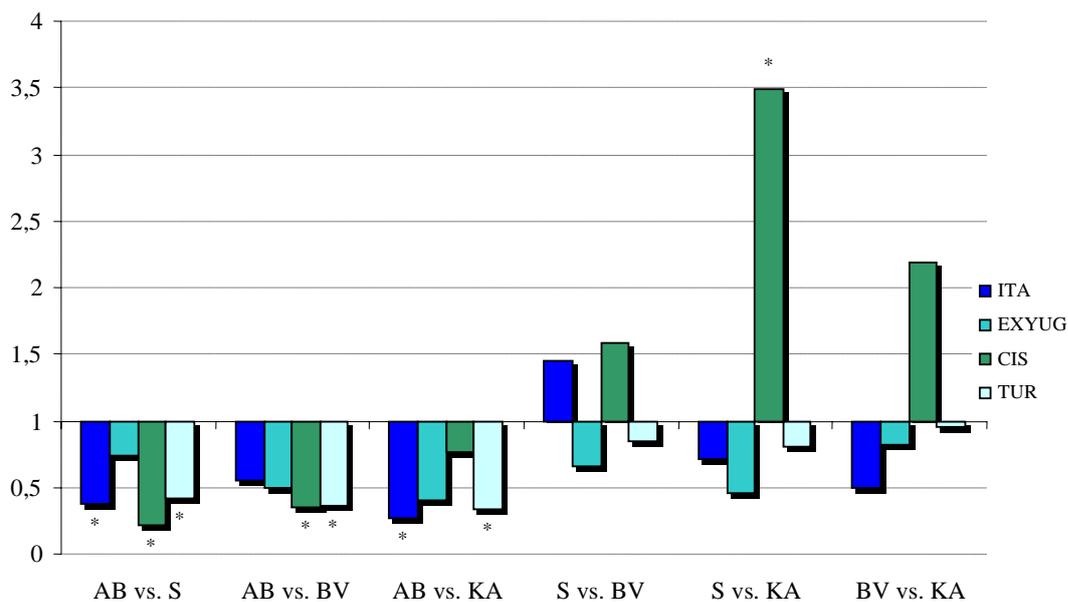
A more differentiated picture results, as expected, from study of the distributions between young persons without any immigrant background and the other groups. In the case of the *allgemeinbildende Schule*, differences are marked in particular between those with no immigrant background and those with Turkish, CIS or Italian background. It is only young people of ex-Yugoslav origin that return the same percentages as those with no immigrant background. There are also differences with regard to career preparation and vocational training and apprenticeship. Young people with immigrant background more frequently enter the former, those without more frequently the latter. The “no follow-up” outcome is relatively rather more frequent among young people with Italian, ex-Yugoslav, and Turkish immigrant background. Least often found in this category are young people from the CIS.

Model testing

Henceforth, the central issue for investigation is how to explain ethnic differences between the groups concerned in terms of achieved status. Evidence of ethnic discrimination during transition – discrimination in the sense that we here propose – would arise if group membership or the language/grade in German of young people with immigrant background influences post-school position after allowance has been made for the other plausible influence factors. As the variable configuration precludes simultaneous factoring-in of immigrant background and language, we shall proceed in two stages. The first stage is to test a model in which, in addition to the other conjectured influence factors, only immigrant background is taken into account. Then the overall model – but this time without the immigrant background factor – is tested exclusively on the level of the group with immigrant background, and taking the language variable into account. If residual effects from the language variable occur, they will constitute evidence that within the cohort of young people of immigrant background the general prospects of attaining a given status correlate with the command of language skills, on the whole independently of the immigrant background.

Fig. 6 shows the results of the multinomial regression analysis for differing status in post-school position achieved at the first hurdle. What is shown is not the initial model but the core model, as for economy in modelling all non-significant variables shown in the initial model were subsequently discarded.

Fig. 6: Relative prospects for the relevant immigrant groups of attaining specific types of status (*reference cohort: young people with no immigrant background; estimation method: multinomial regression*)



<i>N</i>	1026
<i>Model Chi² / df</i>	591,5/93**
McFadden's Pseudo-R ²	,22

Note: Where * $p < .05$ with account taken of cultural capital, preferences relating to vocational training and employment, parents' employment status, German federal state in the core model; the gender, age, East-West and supply/demand ratio variables were discarded as non-significant from the core model; the states of Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen and Lower Saxony were merged into one category because *N* was too low; likewise Berlin and Brandenburg.

In the models, for each of the predictors factored in, six coefficients for the corresponding relative prospects situation (odds ratio) are estimated. In view of the issue involved here (and for greater legibility), this stage of the work is limited to the presentation and interpretation of the effect coefficients of the “immigrant background” variable. A general overview of the model and the coefficients, of the variables factored into the core model, is shown in the appendix to Table 6.

As a first step, let us follow up the issue of the role played by immigrant background – relative to that of the other model variables taken into account – in affecting the prospects of attainment of the various kinds of status at the first hurdle.

When one studies the various models, it is evident that Italian, Turkish, or CIS background (relative to young people with no immigrant background) reduces prospects of vocational training in favour of other alternatives such as school, career preparation, and no follow-up. Italian and Turkish young people and those from the CIS end up in a school as opposed to a training place relatively more often than do young people with no immigrant background. The same applies to young people from the CIS and young people of Turkish immigrant background with regard to career preparation, and for the latter and young people of Italian immigrant background also as regards no follow-up versus vocational training. That means the prospects of securing vocational training immediately after leaving school are less good for the relevant cohorts of young people with immigrant background than for young people without this characteristic. Finally, a CIS origin, relative to young people with no

immigrant background, increases the probability of remaining at school as opposed to no follow-up. In terms of the alternatives school versus career preparation and career preparation versus no follow-up, the issue of immigrant background has no significance. At this stage it can be observed, therefore, that immigrant background plays a substantive role even when further influence factors are taken into account, and that this applies in particular to prospects of vocational training compared with those of other post-school positions such as *weiterführende Schule* (secondary school), career preparation or no follow-up.

Hitherto, except for the account taken of the German grade, there has been no test of whether the language used, as an indirect measure of the linguistic skills of young persons of immigrant background, is significant for the position attained at the first hurdle. In this context it may be conjectured that well-developed use of the German language influences the prospects of attainment of a given status. If this is the case, then it might be evidence of discrimination at the first hurdle on grounds of the young persons' linguistic skills, particularly in instances where young persons making minimal use of the dominant target language, "German", have inferior prospects – for instance with regard to obtaining a training place. To test this point, the core model, excluding the immigrant background variable and including language use, was estimated exclusively for the cohort of young people with immigrant background. In fact the language used in the parental home was not found to have any influence: that is to say, first-hurdle position among young people of immigrant background is not affected by whether the language they use at home is exclusively German, or German and another language, or one or more other languages and no German. The same applies to the language of television watched.

Discussion

The objective of the foregoing analyses was to establish whether it can be demonstrated that prospects with regard to first-hurdle position attained are different as between groups with immigrant background and young Germans once endowed characteristics, familial resources, and contextual restrictions have been taken into account.

The demonstrable ethnic inequalities occurring at the school-to-employment transition give rise to the question of how to explain ethnic differences at the first-hurdle transition. Building on earlier discussion of ethnic inequality, two possible explanations were discussed in detail: a) ethnic inequality resulting from the capital endowments of individuals; and b) ethnic inequality resulting from discrimination practised by individuals, groups and institutions of the target society.

There then followed discussion of the relative general plausibility of "discrimination arguments" as opposed to "endowment arguments" with regard to first-hurdle position attained. It emerged that both lines of explanation of ethnic inequality in position attained – particularly in periods of major over-demand – were potentially valid. On the one hand, those with places to offer – particularly within the dual system – have an interest in filling their courses with the highest-performing young people available. On the other hand, an excess of applicants may increase transactional costs if there is a need to single out the best candidates, thus also increasing the probability that there will be discrimination resulting from the use of ascribed characteristics. Thus ethnic discrimination at the transition from school to vocational training or work cannot be ruled out.

For the purpose of finding evidence of possible ethnic discrimination at the transition, such discrimination was defined as a "residual effect" of the "ethnic origin" characteristic (measured by immigrant background) – an effect that would be

identifiable provided that the endowed and contextual characteristics of the *Hauptschule* students studied were taken into account.

One of the central findings of the analyses presented here is that the young persons' ethnic origin directly affects their prospects of attaining the relevant first-hurdle status. This effect remains present after endowed and contextual characteristics have been taken into account (**H_{1a} confirmed**). Prospects are adversely affected particularly for young persons of Turkish or Italian immigrant background and young persons from the CIS. There are corresponding compensatory effects in that young persons of immigrant background are more likely than those without such background to stay on at school or embark on a career preparation. For young persons with immigrant background, too, there is a higher risk of failing to achieve any follow-up at all in the initial period after leaving school.

► Ethnic origin directly influences *Hauptschule* students' prospects for post-school placement

The findings with regard to linguistic resources are also surprising in this connection: neither the language usage at home nor the linguistic competence in the target country's language, "German", has a significant effect on post-school position – at least among the young people studied here. This weak effect is not reconcilable with the heavy emphasis on language – at least with regard to the topic investigated here – as important for integration into the target society (cf. Esser 2005; Kalter 2005, 2006b: 418; Seibert/Solga 2006: 415).

Finally it should also be noted that, apart from immigrant background, other variables play a central role in determining the nature of next-stage entry at the first hurdle: the young people's preferences with regard to training and transition (**H_{1c} confirmed**), the cultural capital at their disposal (**H_{1b} confirmed**), family resources (**H_{1d} confirmed**) and structural restrictions (**H_{1f} confirmed**). However, as evaluation of these other factors lies beyond the scope of the present study, no sustained interpretation of identifiable effects was attempted in the present context.

► Transition-related preferences, high-grade cultural capital, familial resources, and the employment market at point of entry influence placement prospects.

The study's critics may object that the findings presented are valid, in their view, in the first place only for the population studied here, namely *Hauptschule* students. Nonetheless, this group study has produced initial general indications of *possible* ethnic discrimination at the first hurdle. In spite of this finding, the question remains as to whether these differences in relative prospects are *in fact* attributable to ethnic discrimination or to other factors – factors which it was not possible to investigate here. It seems clear that limitation by way of "residual effects" yields initial findings of "traces of discrimination". Whether these will ultimately lead to a "culpfit", however, remains an open question. It was not possible, for instance, on the basis of the available data, to make accurate allowance for either the ethnic structure of networks or the contextual framework in terms of the respective transition regimes in the various German states and market conditions regarding vocational training and employment. Also, with only a few studies providing an exception, there is a dearth of robust data offering precise insight into – for instance – recruitment practices among providers at the first hurdle. This is precisely why there is a need for research in the field of "first-hurdle transition" to be undertaken on a wider basis (Boos-Nünning 2006; Granato 2003; Granato/Ulrich 2006). In this respect, German transition research is truly still in its infancy.

► Providers' recruitment practices require study.

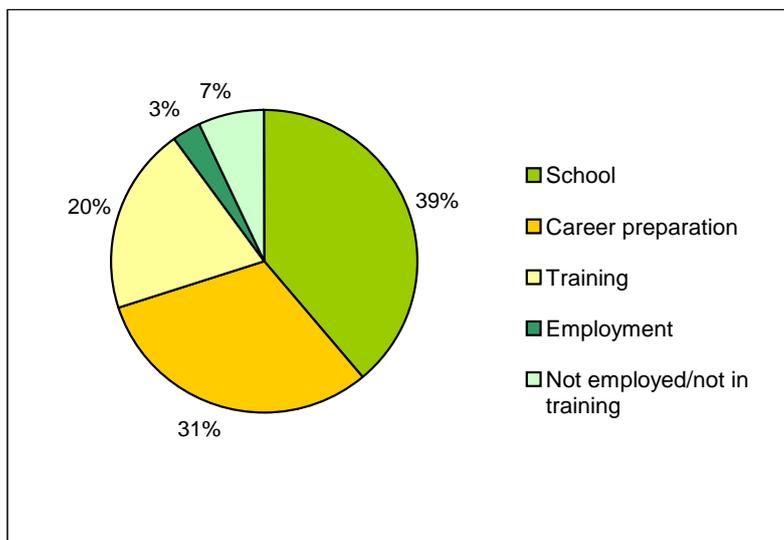
4.2 Failure at the first-hurdle transition as a determinant of perceived discrimination and of (re)ethnicization?

Descriptive presentation

The hypotheses were tested by calculation of multivariate regressions spanning the successive relevant waves. The first topic investigated was the extent to which the nature of the initial post-school position has corresponding effects on the dependent variables. In subsequent steps, the effects of positions following the initial entry status were tested with a view to identifying possible trends.

First, we shall consider the graduated manifestations of the “status attained” variable shortly after leaving school in November 2004 (Fig. 7) and then either two or three years later.

Fig 7: Status attained soon after leaving school (November 2004)

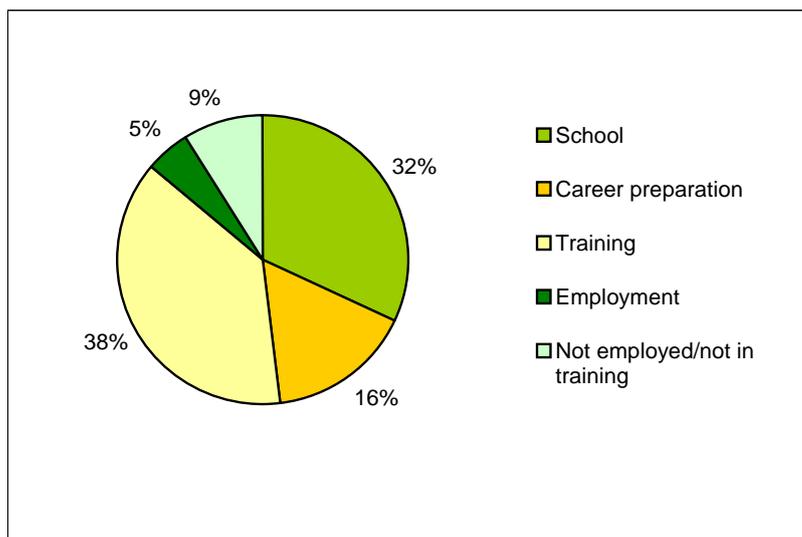


It is clear at a glance that just under 40 % of the young people are attending a *weiterführende Schule*. This is almost certainly attributable to the fact that a large proportion of the young people – and in particular those with an immigrant background – see continued school attendance as the way to upgrade their leaving certificate, or indeed to obtain one for the first time. However, comparison with the preferences shown by the young people in their final school year shows that only a quarter of them then had this aim. Less than a third of the young people pass into a career preparation or career preparation course, even though this is one of the less popular options. Surveyed while still at school, just 16 % of the young people were intending to enter career preparation. Only about 20 % of the young persons surveyed move straight from school to vocational training, although in the final school year there were still 40 % who saw this as their objective. Of the remaining young people, 7 % have no follow-up, and 3 % enter employment.

On an overall view it is striking that a relatively high proportion of the young persons studied here – over 90 % – had a follow-up of some sort within a short time of leaving school. At the same time, however, it emerges that the placement aspirations expressed by the young people while still at school are actually fulfilled only in somewhat more than 50 % of cases. This finding points to a major process of adaptation accomplished by the young persons during the transition from school to employment.

What is the position just over a year after school attendance ends, in Nov. 2005 (Fig. 8)? Here we find a different picture, an unsurprising one in view of the structure of the German transition system and the young people's objectives for next-stage entry. By this time, over a third of them has embarked on vocational training and/or is still in training. This shows that a number of the young persons who entered a different status soon after leaving school in fact mostly see that other status as a halfway house or wait loop from which they will move on, after all, to vocational training. There is a corresponding reduction in the contingent of those still attending school or engaged in career preparation. The striking change with regard to the numbers in this last status is attributable above all to the time limitations imposed on attendance at career preparations. Young persons are generally not allowed more than one year's attendance at career preparation courses, and can repeat them only subject to various specific restrictions.

Fig. 8: Status attained one year after leaving school (November 2005)

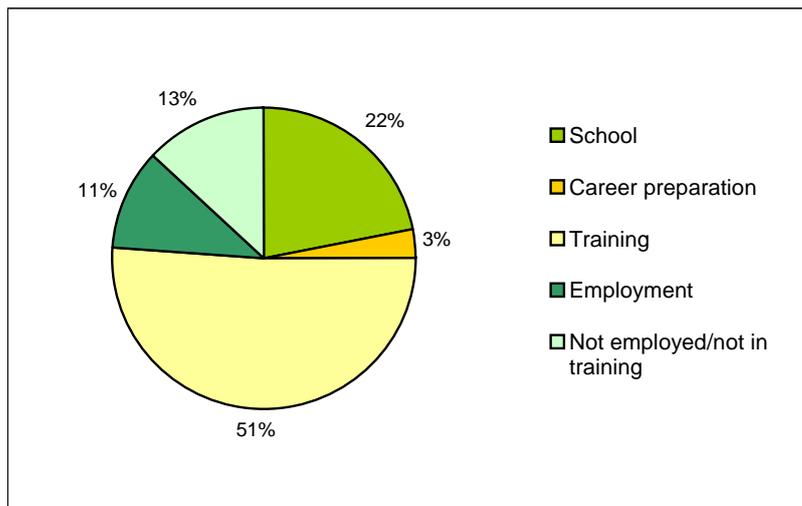


As is to be expected, an increasing proportion of young persons are now either employed or not in employment/not in training.

Finally, let us consider the positions attained slightly over two years after school-leaving, i.e. in November 2006 (Fig. 9).

By now, half of the young people have embarked on vocational training and/or are still in training. Thus there is still a tendency for a large proportion of the young people to seek vocational training. There has been a correspondingly striking reduction in the proportion of those still attending either school or career preparation. The restrictive regulations have ensured a continued sharp fall in career preparation attendance. In contrast, the proportion of young persons in employment or unemployed has risen. Longitudinal analyses omitted here for reasons of space show a further point, namely that up to the date of the most recent survey wave there have been no identifiable stable negative loops among these young people (Kuhnke/Müller/Skrobanek 2007).

Fig. 9: Status attained two years after leaving school (November 2006)



On the evidence, the transition system is enabling young persons to attain one of the various types of status without having to surmount serious obstacles.

However, it remains to be seen from the forthcoming survey waves whether there is a growing proportion of young people who have completed (part-) qualifications or relevant training but are still not gaining access to the employment market.

The theoretical assumptions would necessarily be equally valid for the placement situation one and two years after school-leaving even if no such striking changes had occurred over this time. That not being the case, however, there are probable consequences for the effect exerted by attained status on the dependent variables. The porous nature of the transition system (no consistently stable negative loops) and the associated mobility of young people in terms of access over time to (in most cases) their preferred status could result in the weakening or total disappearance of the assumed correlation between the model variables.

Model testing

We now proceed to the testing of the hypotheses. Here, for each of the dependent variables, two regression models with and without account taken of the remaining control variables were calculated for the Nov. 2004, Nov. 2005 and Nov. 2006 wave, as shown in Fig. 10. The relevant status entries were coded as dummy variables. The reference category is supplied by the “no follow-up or not in employment/not in training” status and thus simultaneously counts as “integration failed”.

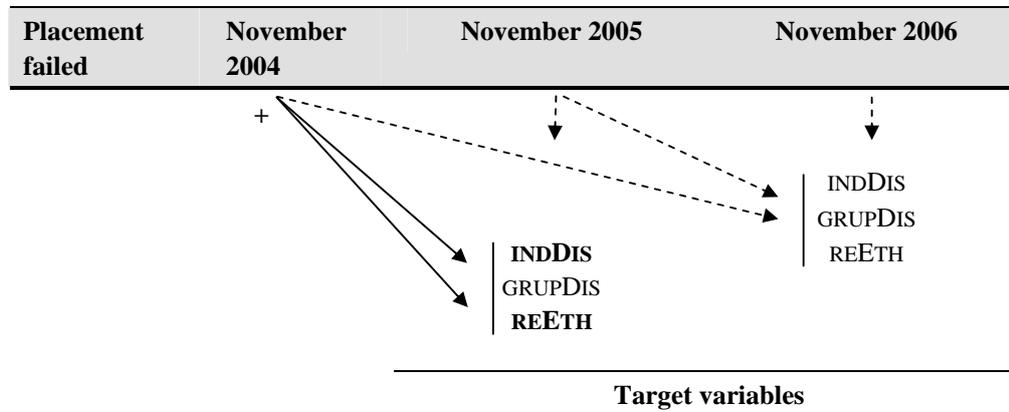
If the assumptions made regarding the effect of the position attained on these three variables are correct, it would follow that effects of the “status attained” variable would be shown in the respective models, subject to the factoring-in of the remaining variables. For the sake of simplicity of illustration, Fig. 10 includes only the substantive effects of the position-attained variables.

It is immediately evident that decisive influence on perceived individual discrimination and (re)ethnicization a full year after school-leaving is exerted solely by the position attained immediately after school-leaving (H_{2a} confirmed / H_{1c} confirmed only for Nov. 2004) (H_{2b} and H_{2c} not confirmed)

The less success the young persons have during this important phase of the transition in securing entry to one of the progress-linked types of status considered, the more likely they are to feel individually discriminated against and to retreat to their

group of origin and/or its resources.¹⁷ The strongest effect exerted by the position attained is on perceived individual discrimination.

Fig. 10: Actual effects of position attained on the dependent variables



Note: Figure shows substantive effects only, with account taken of school leaving certificate, German and maths grades, language, birth in FRG, school type (formerly) attended, gender and dwia group affiliation Turkish/resettler.
 —> = denotes direct effects on dep. variable, minimum $p < .05$
 - -> = denotes conjectural but not confirmed effects on dep. variable
 + = denotes positive correlation

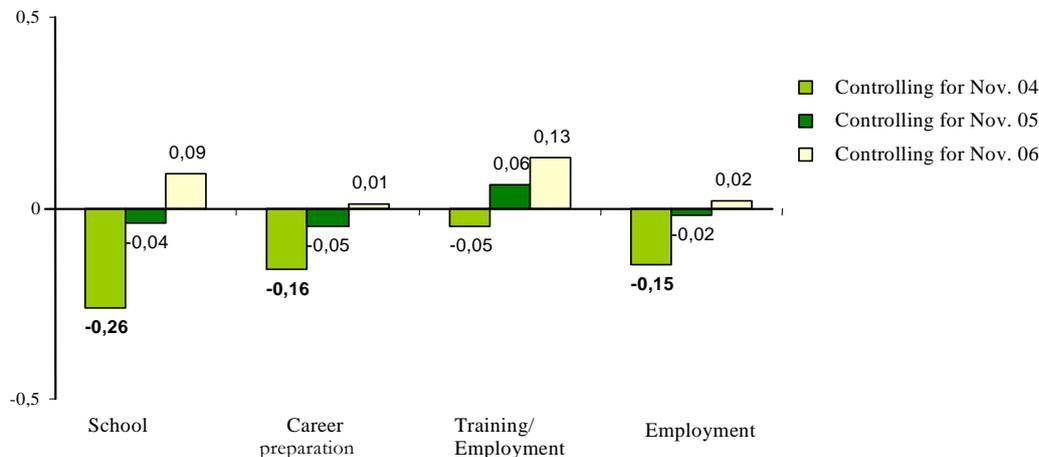
The next diagram, Fig. 11, again illustrates this correlation, with the remaining model variables taken into account for Nov. 2004, Nov. 2005 und Nov. 2006. For the sake of better legibility, only the coefficients of the respective position concerned are shown in the diagram.

With the other model variables taken into account, it is clear that successful placement soon after school-leaving reduces perceived individual discrimination – in all cases as measured by the reference category of “no follow-up”. In Nov. 2004, each type of status attained tends to yield a negative value, the categories of “school”, “career preparation”, and “employment” proving to have particularly significant effects. Young persons who stay on at school, embark on career preparation, or enter employment thus perceive less discrimination than do young people who secure no follow-up. After the lapse of one year (or, where applicable, two years) since school-leaving, the initial position attained has ceased to have any longitudinal or cross-sectional effects on perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization. One principal reason for this is almost certainly the relatively porous nature of the transition system and the associated mobility enjoyed by the young people (cf. Kuhnke/Müller/Skrobanek 2007).

We turn now, finally, to the issue of the influence exerted on the dependent variables by the capital assets endowment, by elements of the school and vocational training history, and by the selected demographic variables. With regard to perceived individual discrimination, it is evident that young persons with higher-level school leaving certificates and a superior grade in German perceive less discrimination against themselves than do young persons with lower-level school qualifications and inferior grades in German. Likewise, young persons are the more apt to perceive themselves as discriminated against, the more they use a language other than German at home and were born in the FRG. On the other hand, the family resources, mathematics grade, type of school attended, and gender have no effect. Regarding the proposed hypotheses, H_{5a} , H_{5b} and H_{5f} are confirmed (H_{5c} , H_{5d} and H_{5e} not confirmed).

¹⁷ In the case of the “group-related perceived discrimination” variable, the effect again operates in the expected direction, but is not significant.

Fig. 11: Effect of immediate post-school follow-up (Nov. 2004) on perceived individual discrimination November 2005/2006 (standardized regression coefficients – reference cat. 'no follow-up')



Notes: substantive effects = **bold**

In contrast to perceived individual discrimination, in group-related perceived discrimination it is exclusively gender and the school leaving certificate that produce an effect. Young women perceive more discrimination, and young people with superior school-leaving certificates perceive less (H_{5a} and H_{5e} confirmed). The remaining variables controlled for at the same time are not significant in explaining the dependent variable.

(Re)ethnicization is influenced over a period of time by the German grade, by language, and by the “born in Germany” variable. Poor grades in German, use at home of languages other than German, and birthplace in Germany correlate positively with the inclination to (re)ethnicization. With regard to the effects of the control variables – and therefore the proposed hypotheses – H_{5a} , H_{5b} and H_{5f} are confirmed (H_{5c} , H_{5d} and H_{5e} not confirmed).

Furthermore a particularly interesting feature here is that second-generation young people – i.e. those born in Germany – perceive more pronounced individual discrimination. This effect is astonishing, as the young persons concerned have grown up since birth in the target society and so have passed through its institutions. There is thus some evidence that contact with the target society institutions, and with the assimilation demands that they communicate, fosters a tendency for young people who have an immigrant background – and the associated (origin-)specific cultural capital assets – to develop a sense of disadvantage.

Discussion

With regard to the hypotheses subjected to testing, it proves that the assumptions relating to a correlation between post-school position and, in particular, perceived individual discrimination and (re)ethnicization are correct, though this applies only to very early post-school position. This initial placement thus seems to play a (longer-term) central role in the development or stabilization of feelings of disadvantage and tendencies to retreat into the group of origin. One possible interpretation of the central

► Placement failure at transition from school to employment fosters perceived individual discrimination and (re)ethnicization

importance of this factor is that the young people often start out with clear expectations regarding their post-school integration into the next stage, only to find out later that their wishes and preferences cannot always be fulfilled. Institutional restrictions, like those associated with the vocational training and employment markets, are often so formidable, especially for *Hauptschule* students of immigrant background that a considerable percentage of the young persons have to accept a period in which they can only mark time, though such periods may very well lead in due course to the desired goal. But these are experiences that have to be lived through.

It is surprising that the nature of the post-school position attained has no influence whatever on perceived fraternal discrimination. What emerges clearly here is that – unlike individual feelings of disadvantage – assessment of the situation of the ethnic group as a whole tends to be dissociated from the day-to-day happenings and perceptions experienced during the transition from school to training or employment.

The results show post-school position and ethnic variables becoming dissociated from each other with the passing of time. One of the possible reasons for this is that access to particular types of status may itself change dramatically over time: in other words, that the young persons succeed in gaining entry to forms of status (e.g. vocational training) from which, in the immediate post-school period, they had seemed to be excluded.

The next great hurdle for the young people studied here will be attainment over the years ahead of a place in the employment market. This will once again demonstrate to what extent access failures influence the relevant variables.

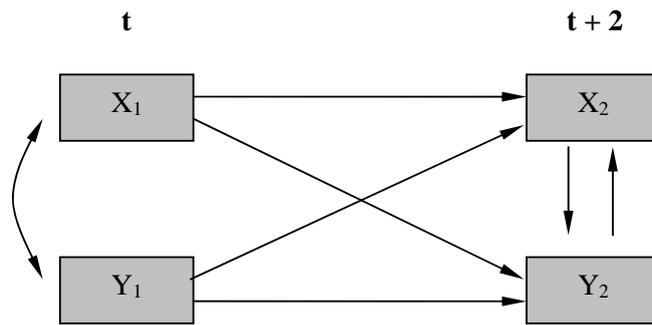
From an overall perspective, a point to note is that some of the assumptions proved correct. To that extent it can be said, with reference to the young persons of Turkish immigrant background and young resettlers studied here, that the more successful the integration of young persons of immigrant background during the transition from school to *weiterführende Schule* or to the qualifications, vocational training and employment markets, the less sense they will have of discrimination against them, and the less they will retreat into their group of origin. Particularly in the current situation of increasing scarcity of attractive positions on offer and the related high level of competition in the vocational training and employment markets – this applies especially to resource-poor groups of individuals, which often include young people of immigrant background – there is an urgent need for action to inhibit (re)ethnicization processes as early as possible.

4.3 Perceived discrimination as a cause of (re)ethnicization?

Methodology

Determining the extent to which perceived individual or fraternal discrimination contributes to (re)ethnicization requires assessment of multiple equation models. So-called “cross-lagged models” were calculated for the purpose. As full data on the variables of interest are available for the waves of November 2005 and November 2006, the essential structure for the models to be tested here comes out as shown below (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12: The general form of the “cross-lagged models” tested



The horizontal arrows here denote the stabilities of the relevant variables, the diagonal arrows the time-lagged effects, and the double arrow denotes the correlation between the error terms for the two exogenous variables X_1 and Y_1 .

“Cross-lagged models” are based on the assumption that no simultaneous or short-term effects are involved. A check with reality, however, shows that effects may well appear after only a short delay. Accordingly we also investigated whether simultaneous effects – and reciprocal effects – occur between the variables in question. The righthand side of Fig. 12, therefore, likewise shows simultaneous or short-term effects and reciprocal effects arising between the variables in question (denoted by the two vertical arrows).

► Cross-lagged models for investigation of causal effects of discrimination on (re)ethnicization

For our own case, what does this mean in concrete terms? We proceeded from the assumption that one major factor influencing (re)ethnicization was likely to be perceived individual and fraternal discrimination: the assumption, that is to say, that the more definitely a person perceives him/herself or the in-group as discriminated against, the more that person will incline to retreat to his or her group of origin and/or its resources. In the short term an effect of this kind could be expected to manifest itself in the form of a simultaneous relationship between discrimination perception and (re)ethnicization. In the long term an effect of this kind means a demonstrable correlation between discrimination perception at one point in time and (re)ethnicization at a subsequent point in time.

To test these assumptions, we first calculated a model with stabilities and time-lagged effects. Then, in stages, all non-significant effects were eliminated. In the following step, simultaneous effects between the variables of the second wave (November 2006) were incorporated in the model. During this process, effects working in the theoretically predicted direction were always tested first. Here too the next step was to eliminate all non-significant variables from the model. The final step was to test all simultaneous effects in the converse direction of effect, so that all possible effects and effect-directions would have been tested. After the non-significant effects had once more, finally, been eliminated, we were left with the final model and the results, an account of which now follows.

Results

In our report of the results, we first present the cross-lagged model for both cohorts together, then that for the cohort of young persons of Turkish immigrant background, and finally that for the cohort of resettlers. The reason for adopting this step-by-step approach is that the overall model (i.e. the two cohorts together) permits the exclusive inferring of correlations which can be interpreted as mean predictions. Structurally

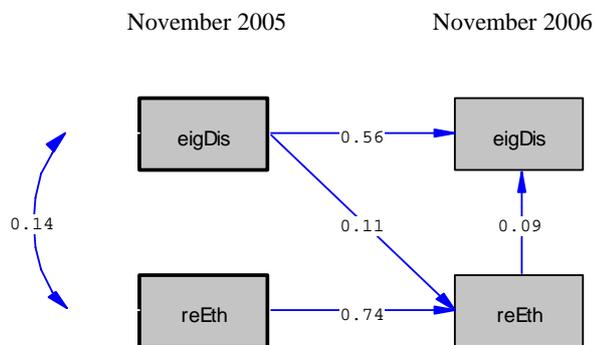
identical propositions at cohort level are possible only if the relevant correlations are tested at cohort level also.

4.3.1 Perceived individual discrimination and (re)ethnicization

We shall first consider the results of the model testing for both cohorts together.

It is immediately clear from the model that a time-lagged effect of perceived individual discrimination on (re)ethnicization and a simultaneous effect of (re) ethnicization on perceived individual discrimination are observable.

Fig. 13: Cross-lagged model for Turks and resettlers together



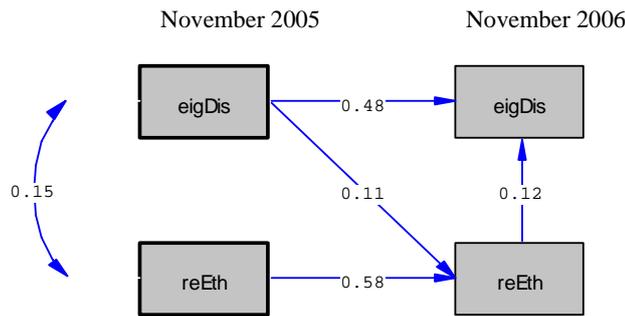
Model-Fit: Chi-Square=0.00, df=1, P-value=1.000, RMSEA=0.000

This amounts to saying that over a period of time, among the young people studied, individual feelings of having suffered discrimination enhance the tendency to revert to ingroup-specific values. In its turn, and in a virtually parallel process, the more pronounced (re)ethnicization thus engendered had the effect of enhancing judgements by those concerned that they had suffered more pronounced personal discrimination. Thus the two variables seem to be linked over both the short and the longer term in a self-aggravating circular relationship. However, at .10 and .09 the effects are not strong. Contrary to expectation, the stabilities prove weaker. A particularly striking feature is that judgements with regard to individual perceived discrimination show striking variation over time, with a stability coefficient of .56.

► Time-lagged effect of perceived discrimination on (re)ethnicization/short-term effect of (re)ethnicization on perceived discrimination

What is the situation at cohort level? We shall first consider the model for young people of Turkish immigrant background. Initially, the model for both cohorts together could be replicated for the cohort of young persons of Turkish immigrant background: the stronger the perceived individual discrimination, the more interesting and/or important the specific resources of the group of origin, and/or the group itself, become for the young persons concerned.

Fig. 14: Cross-lagged model for Turks

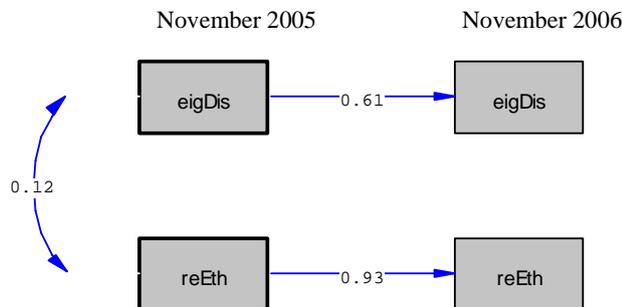


Model-Fit: Chi-Square=0.01, df=1, P-value=0.929, RMSEA=0.000

Increasing (re)ethnicization in turn reinforces perceived individual discrimination. Thus here too there is a “circle” of mutual reinforcement between the variables under consideration. A further striking feature is that the stabilities between the relevant measurement points at November 2005 und November 2006 prove to be relatively lower still than in the preceding model.

What is the situation with the group of young resettlers? In contrast to the preceding models, neither time-lagged nor short-term effects are to be observed between the two variables over time. Also, it is here that the stability coefficients turn out to be highest. A comparably high stability can be observed for (re)ethnicization: that is to say, resettlers who agreed to the indicators in November 2005, for example, were also relatively likely to do the same in November 2006.

Fig. 15: Cross-lagged model for resettlers



Model-Fit: Chi-Square=1.23, df=3, P-value=0.744, RMSEA=0.000

Let us sum up. Of the hypotheses advanced in the theory section, only some could be confirmed. It proved possible to demonstrate that in the cohort of young people of Turkish immigrant background perceived discrimination had a time-delayed effect on (re)ethnicization. Likewise it proved – in line with the conjectures – that (re)ethnicization had a short-term effect on perceived discrimination. Thus among the cohort of Turkish young people there is evidence of a relationship of mutual reinforcement over time between perceived individual discrimination and (re)ethnicization.

► Conjectured effects found only in cohort of young persons of Turkish ethnic background

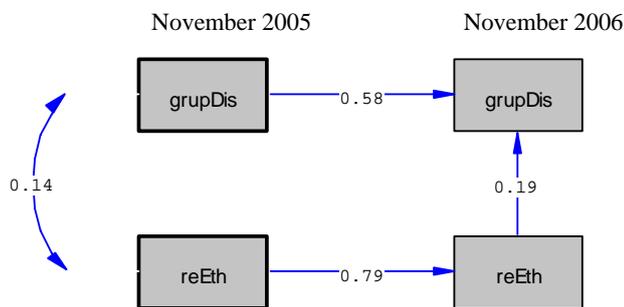
The cohort of young resettlers returned a different result: none of the conjectured effects, but the highest stability between the model variables.

4.3.2 Perceived fraternal discrimination and (re)ethnicization

Here again we shall begin by considering the results from the model testing for the two cohorts taken together.

The final model shown in Fig. 16 was arrived at after step-by-step testing of the various assumptions and various possible relationships. It is clear at first glance that there are no time-delayed effects over the period November 2005 to November 2006 between fraternal discrimination and (re)ethnicization. As conjectured, there is a simultaneous (short-term) effect of (re)ethnicization on perceived fraternal discrimination. The more strongly marked a young person's (re)ethnicization, the more likely that young person is to feel discriminated against by the out-group of the Germans.

Fig. 16: Cross-lagged model for Turks and resettlers together



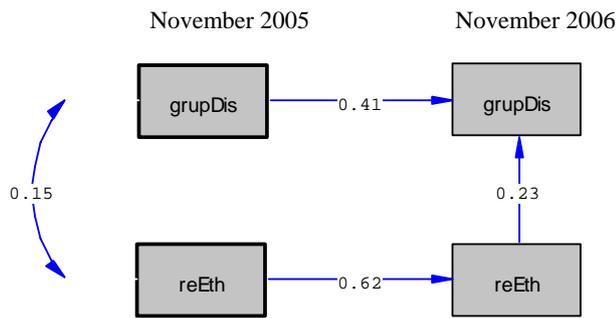
Model-Fit: Chi-Square=0.02, df=2, P-value=0.992, RMSEA=0.000

As regards stability between the variables from November 2005 and November 2006 respectively, the calculations show that changes over a period of time seem more marked in terms of perceived fraternal discrimination than of (re)ethnicization. The final model conforms very well to the data.

The main point of interest here is to what extent these results can be observed to hold good for the respective individual cohorts as well. If identical models come up for both cohorts, this would constitute important evidence for the model's general validity. Fig. 17 shows the cross-lagged model for the cohort of young people of Turkish immigrant background.. Modelled on the calculations for both cohorts together, it proves that on the level of the Turkish cohort, too, an analogous model – analogous in terms of the effect-directions – can be replicated. There are no time-lagged effects here either, but on the other hand a short-term effect of (re)ethnicization on perceived fraternal discrimination is present. Stability as between the survey dates is lower by comparison. This model too conforms very well to the data.

► Short-term effects of (re)ethnicization on perceived fraternal discrimination

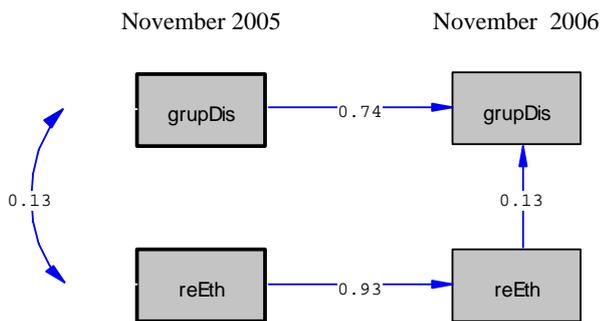
Fig. 17: Cross-lagged model for Turks



Model-Fit: Chi-Square=0.50, df=2, P-value=0.779, RMSEA=0.000

What is the situation with the resettler cohort? Analogously to the two preceding analyses, what emerges here is a further structurally identical model. However, there are visible differences with regard to the coefficient values between the model for the Turks and that for the resettlers. While stability between perceived fraternal discrimination comes out higher in the model for the resettlers, the effect of (re)ethnicization on perceived fraternal discrimination was found to be strikingly smaller.

Fig. 18: Cross-lagged model for resettlers



Model-Fit: Chi-Square=0.86, df=2, P-value=0.649, RMSEA=0.000

Discussion

The question posed at the outset, as to whether perceived individual or fraternal discrimination influences (re)ethnicization, can only be answered in terms of the nature of the perceived discrimination and of the cohort concerned. With regard to the effect of perceived individual discrimination, there was confirmation for the assumptions made with reference to the cohort of young people of Turkish immigrant background: perceived individual discrimination has a direct, time-lagged effect of reinforcing (re)ethnicization tendencies among these young people. In the case of the young resettlers, no such effects were observed.

In the case of perceived fraternal discrimination, there was a rather different picture with regard to any effect on (re)ethnicization. In contrast to individual discrimination, there were no time-lagged effects here, whether on the overall level or the cohort level, but there were – and this was in line with the theoretical model – short-term effects of (re)ethnicization on perceived fraternal discrimination. To this extent the degree of (re)ethnicization influences the degree to which the young people

being studied will perceive themselves individually or their group as being discriminated against: the stronger the tie to the in-group and/or to its specific resources, the more pronounced the perception of discrimination.

How are these results to be interpreted? For a start, the central assumption – that perceived individual or fraternal discrimination reinforces (re)ethnicization directly – will need to be qualified. Only in connection with perceived individual discrimination, and even then only for the cohort of young people of Turkish immigrant background, is a causal effect on (re)ethnicization observable. (Re)ethnicization in its turn has a short-term – and not particularly strong – effect on perceived individual discrimination. It seems to be a case of a vicious circle between the two variables. Young persons who have experienced discrimination personally cope with it – partially, at least – by identifying themselves more strongly with ethnic aspects of their in-group. This enhanced orientation on aspects of the in-group is plausible in terms of the theoretical model proposed, as these young people discover individually that access to certain areas of life is made more difficult for them or withheld altogether. The impediments placed in their way then make it seem rational to them to seek recourse to those capital assets that are part of their own original culture, and thus surely easier of access. On that basis, the assumptions made in the theoretical model are confirmed by the case of young persons of Turkish immigrant background, though for perceived individual discrimination only.

The situation with perceived group-related discrimination is quite different. Contrary to the assumptions – and in both of the cohorts studied – none of the longer-term effects expected to be exerted on (re)ethnicization in fact occurred. On the contrary: there are indications that a converse causal relationship may exist, in other words that perceived fraternal discrimination seems to depend in the short term on the degree of (re)ethnicization. The principle here may be formulated as: the more strongly young people (re)ethnicize, the more strongly they will perceive their in-group as discriminated against. This is a decidedly interesting result, and unexpected. Essentially it indicates that a strategy of the type described, resulting as it does from personal feelings of disadvantage, intensifies perception of unequal treatment at group level.

It remains to be noted in conclusion, then, that the H_{3a} hypotheses are confirmed for the cohort of young people with Turkish immigrant background only, not for the young resettlers; that H_{3b} cannot be confirmed for either cohort; and that H_{3c} is confirmed as regards perceived individual discrimination for young people of Turkish immigrant background only; and as regards perceived fraternal discrimination, for both cohorts.

► Group-specific effects of perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization

4.4 Ethnicization strategies and access to the vocational training and employment markets

A further assumption tested by the research project asserted that (re)ethnicization reduces the prospects of access to the vocational training and employment markets. Young persons of immigrant background who to some extent retreat to their group of origin and/or its resources are at risk of becoming disintegrated from the vocational training and employment markets.

Contrary to this conjecture, the data furnish no support for the correctness of this assumption, and H_4 thus remains unconfirmed.

This result is significant in a number of respects. First, it is evidence that positive preferences for (origin-)specific capital assets and use of them in everyday transactions do not in fact have the widely feared direct negative consequences for access to and/or secure tenure in

► (Re)ethnicization has no direct negative consequences for subsequent vocational training and employment markets

the vocational training or employment markets. Provided that, as here proposed, (re)ethnicization can be understood as a productive strategy for coping with feelings of disadvantage, these identity-threatening situations can be made less confrontational, or even turned to positive benefit, without direct consequential costs in terms of damaged prospects of integration into the vocational training and employment markets. This would be a positive side to (re)ethnicization.

However, results relating to the issue of causal effect also showed that (re)ethnicization directly reinforces perceived individual and fraternal discrimination. Perception of discrimination in turn is clearly shown by the data to have a direct negative correlation with the young persons' language usage. In turn again, their language usage has a direct effect on their prospects of entry to the training and employment markets. Here, it can be seen, there are indications of indirect negative longer-term effects of (re)ethnicization, because it sustains or promotes investment in (origin-)specific capital assets and diminishes investment in the dominant target-country-specific capital assets.

In general, however, care is needed in interpreting the results, particularly with regard to the effects of (re)ethnicization, as the data will not support any really searching investigation of the dependency relationships. There is a need for a comprehensive data set capable of supporting more specific analyses of this issue.

5 Conclusions

The principal results from the research project, taken with the set parameters in mind, can be summarized as four principal points.

The **first** principal result from the analyses presented here is the finding that the ethnic origin of young persons directly influences their prospects of attainment of the relevant types of status at the first hurdle. This effect remains after due allowance has been made for endowed and contextual characteristics. Chances of gaining a vocational training place are diminished in particular for young persons of Italian and Turkish immigrant background as well as for those from the CIS. The central issue here is whether these differences in prospects are in reality attributable to ethnic discrimination as opposed to other factors – factors which it was not possible to review here. Thus for example it was not possible on the basis of the available data to gauge the allowance that would need to be made for the ethnic structure of networks or for contextual conditions in terms of the respective transition regimes in the various German states and of conditions in the vocational training and employment markets. Again, there is a continuing dearth of robust data to underpin detailed study of e.g. the recruitment practices of first-hurdle providers of places. These limitations inherent in the data set also mean that the residual effect cannot be interpreted simply as “ethnic discrimination”, although immigrant background plays a not insignificant role – even with allowance made for a very wide range of other theoretically plausible influence factors – in determining the position attained at the first hurdle.

Second: Notwithstanding allowance made for educational resources, language skills, group affiliation, birthplace in FRG, and gender, the position attained was observed to have substantive effects on, in particular, perceived individual discrimination. Those young people who obtain a position at the first hurdle feel much less individually discriminated against (relative to the “Germans” reference group) than those who fail to achieve any follow-up, and are less inclined to (re)ethnicize. The position attained was not observed to have any influence on the nature of fraternal discrimination and (re)ethnicization. Thus successful integration at the school-to-training/employment transition soon after school-leaving can be seen to play a key role with regard to perceptions of discrimination and to (re)ethnicization. The less

successful the integration, the more probable it is that the young persons concerned will feel individually disadvantaged and inclined to prefer retreat to the group of origin and/or (re)ethnicization. This confirms one of the research project's principal hypotheses. In this connection it also emerged that the accumulation of educational capital assets at school (leaving certificates and German grade), language usage at home, and birthplace in Germany likewise influence ethnic variables directly.

Third: In the end there was no confirmation of the assumption that perceived group-related discrimination – as opposed to perceived individual discrimination – leads to (re)ethnicization. The longitudinal analyses in fact show that for perceived group-related discrimination the converse relationship applies. (Re)ethnicization means the production and reproduction of (origin-)specific capital assets in day-to-day practice, e.g. language. The data show that it is use of the (origin-)specific language that leads to perceived group-related discrimination. This last experience results from the fact that the dominant culture, because of its aspiration to universality, often does not recognize (origin-)specific cultural features – e.g. use of a specific language – as having equal worth. This leaves (origin-)specific capital assets confronted with a conversion problem. Through use made of them it is possible and proper in many cases for non-dominant capital to be worth accumulating in its own right. Groups or individuals possessing well-developed (origin-)specific capital are thus in turn confronted with the tricky task of finding ways and means to convert (origin-)specific capital to dominant capital. The nature and frequency of these conversion problems will be a function of the openness or closedness of attitudes within the dominant culture. Conversion problems in their turn intensify the feeling of perceived discrimination. In this sense we are observing the phenomenon of a dual dynamic involving perceived discrimination on grounds of non-recognition of (origin-)specific capital assets, and (re)ethnicization. This last strategy, in turn again, makes a sense of non-recognition or devaluation more probable, because the dominant group will be unwilling – rare and ideal combinations of circumstances apart – to accord recognition to (origin-)specific capital assets of the out-group without imposing serious impediments to asset conversion. In essence, what happens is that the practice of the (origin-)specific symbolic forms that serve internally to bond the group will lead, via the (dominant) social valuation as experienced, to perceived marginalization.

Fourth: Contrary to conjecture, a tendency to (re)ethnicization does not bring with it disintegration from the vocational training and employment markets. This is an important finding in view of repeated assertions in public discourse that adherence to (origin-)specific culture is one of the prime factors behind the structural disintegration of young people with an immigrant background. Even when young people of immigrant background spontaneously emphasize cultural distinctions and differences of practice vis-à-vis the indigenous population this does not necessarily affect their subsequent structural integration into the target society by way of vocational training or employment. Cultural distinctness is in no way directly responsible for disintegration. What happens is that structural restrictions inherent in the training and employment markets constitute the make-or-break general constraints which will permit or prevent the successful integration of young people of immigrant background. Certainly, the data indicate that indirect effects of the (origin-)specific cultural performance, parallel to the restrictions inherent in the situation, seem to be present. The point acquires particular relevance where minority culture practices are subjected to sanction by the majority culture. Young persons of immigrant background who regularly use their (origin-)specific language or dialects, for instance, may find this attracts sanctions at school, in training or at work. On the one hand, (origin-)specific capital assets may be refused acceptance or viewed negatively, while on the other hand (origin-)specific capital assets will often prove of little practical value in the vocational

training and employment markets. The outcome from both angles may well be that members of the less accepted group become increasingly marginalized. Where the reflex response is a more intense focus on the in-group culture and a consequent distancing of the individual from the dominant culture, the outcome in the long term may indeed be disintegration from the target society. At the same time, however, as this study has clearly shown, the imposition in the school, training or work environment of negative sanctions on (origin-)specific cultural capital does not by any means inevitably result in young people (re)ethnicizing. It can thus be observed in conclusion that there are indeed indications of a vicious circle involving difficulties in school performance and practical language use, (re)ethnicization, discrimination, and prospects of integration into vocational training and employment; however, debate on the issue up to the present time has grossly overestimated the magnitude of its disintegrative and allegedly culture-destroying effects.

6 Unresolved issues

This research project has demonstrated that young people of immigrant background have distinctly poorer prospects of successful integration into the vocational training and employment markets than do young people without that background. A point underlined by the results is that cultural practices and stylizations – i.e. (re)ethnicization – engaged in by the young immigrants are generally only a minor factor in relation to their success in integrating into the training and employment markets. More importance attaches to the young people’s cultural capital, their preferences, their particular immigrant background, or contextual restrictions such as the idiosyncrasies of the regional transition regime or of the supply of places in vocational training and employment. In relation to, in particular, cultural capital, training and employment preferences, and immigrant background, the issues requiring attention are why these factors are crucial for successful integration, and how they relate to (origin-)specific and/or ethnic capital assets.

As regards cultural capital, one could assume at first, on the lines of the Meritocratic Ideology (Helland/Støren 2006: 342), that variation in placement success at the school-to-employment transition to this factor is then obviously not the consequence of ethnic discrimination. Particularly in an environment of keen economic competitiveness and rapid technological change, the argument suggests, non-meritocratic criteria such as ethnic affinities become less significant for the distribution of goods. However, such interpretations or explanations ignore the objection that there are no agreed benchmarks for the assessment of cultural capital (“merit”) (Breen/Goldthorpe 2001). (Origin-)specific capital assets may on occasion very well possess economic value, in the eyes of employers, for example, thus ranking on a par with, or on occasion even higher than, capital assets which the majority culture would deem to be widely acknowledged (Breen/Goldthorpe 2001: 83-84). Breen and Goldthorpe (2001: 84) comment here: “Ascribed attributes, including ones that are linked to class origins, may be regarded by employers as having economic value and as therefore constituting merit from their point of view ...”. From this it can be clearly seen, however, that the effective value of what counts as “merit” or – in different terminology – as acknowledged cultural capital depends on whether it is in fact defined by particular groups within a society as “merit”/“cultural capital”. Seen from this perspective, discrimination is not defined in terms of the specific endowment with and composition of capital, but in terms of the power of groups to define what is capital and thereby place a value on it. If these assumptions are correct, it rapidly becomes

► Which actors determine what is a “merit”, and what is not? Where do their interests lie? What are the consequences for those who lack the appropriate capital assets?

clear that cultural capital represents a category of “for us”, not one of “in itself”, and thus always remains relative to the interests of the groups concerned with exchange (Bourdieu 1996). Inequality of cultural capital assets thus affects the endowment of individuals and the assessment of that endowment on the basis of dominant cultural patterns of classification. If young persons of immigrant background do not have the same access to (cultural) capital assets as their German age-contemporaries, this may therefore be attributable to the fact that specific capital assets – that they possess – are by reason of the definition imposed by one or more dominant groups not suitable assets for accumulation. Before one realizes what is happening, in the context of cultural capital and the non-equivalence of other (origin-) specific capital assets, one finds oneself confronted again with the problem of discrimination. It then, finally, becomes a question of establishing which actors define which capital assets as valuable, why they define these assets as valuable, what methods they use to establish these values, and what consequences all this has for those actors and groups who lack the power to prescribe and enforce value for (specific) capital assets.

With regard to preferences, the situation is similar. At the outset one might argue that ethnic inequality is the result of individual cultural, training-related and work-related preferences on the part of the actors, preferences deriving from a particular characteristic – such as immigrant background. On that basis the factor explaining ethnic inequality would be variation – transcending ethnic group – in qualifications expected, career orientation or preferred occupation. However, in considering this individual-focused explanation, it needs to be borne in mind that preferences always correspond to other characteristics of individuals, such as their capital endowment. A given individual might thus have a specific preference precisely because he or she possesses the (cultural) capital assets required for the fulfilment of the preference. As we saw earlier, the availability and utility of capital assets depend on the prevailing social acceptance and classification patterns. Could ethnic inequality conceivably be the product of the habitual practices of actors concerned and of the corresponding symbolic production of this inequality (Bourdieu 1996)? For young persons of immigrant background that would mean that because of the dominant prevailing symbolic power structure they are actually themselves producing their placement during the period of their transition from school to employment, and are doing so on a basis of the incorporation of their social status and the habitus that that status engenders. On this analysis, the young persons would thus be practising “self-exclusion” as a result of prevailing power distribution and the directly concomitant availability or otherwise of capital: in essence, desiring only the things that are prescribed for them. On the same reasoning, ethnic inequality would become explainable on the basis that the young people’s preferences and interests are the vehicle through which their social class and/or their socio-economic situation reproduce themselves.

Controversy still surrounds the role played by immigrant background with reference to the issue of whether its effects do or do not in fact permit inferences to be drawn about the presence of discrimination. It is generally accepted that while an effect may furnish evidence of possible discrimination, such evidence can ultimately only be considered reliable where all other potential influence factors have been taken into account at the time. In parallel with this mode of identification of possible discrimination by means of so-called residual effects, the other main task for future research lies above all in more intensive study of the employers’ side. Currently this is the area of greatest research deficit. Cultural differences or distinctions may be indirectly relevant if they are subject to social sanction, or negatively valued.

► Is real-world ethnic inequality the product of a symbolic production of inequality?

► There needs to be more intensive research into the employers’ recruitment practices

Admittedly, such processes of negative recognition are not associated only with the existence of cultural differences or a tendency on the part of young people of immigrant background to mark themselves off from the target society and/or its standards.

As can be seen from the results, perceived discrimination is of key significance for our understanding of (re)ethnicization. However, while issues relating to the socio-economic situations of young immigrants have been heavily researched, hardly any work has been published so far on subjective interpretations and interpretative patterns, on the way they are used, or on the resulting cultural practices and stylizations. Here a further question arises: what longer-term role in the further integration of the young people in question should be ascribed to the accumulated sense of social discrimination or to the interpretation of a perceived social placing as discrimination? As has been shown, a perception of disadvantage is not necessarily, on its own, a concomitant of disparateness of paths after school-leaving. It is true that those young people of immigrant background who have failed to attain the preferred kinds of status do initially have a sharper sense of having been discriminated against. And yet no longer-term consequences ensue for their integration as far as vocational training is concerned, surly thanks to the flexibility and porosity of the provision, but also to the strong motivation of young people at the transition between school and career. Thus the data underline the point that a flexible and relatively permissive transition system can have an ameliorating effect in relation to the issue of perceived discrimination and its consequences. A survey of research completed to date, however, shows that an extensive study of this effect has yet to be undertaken. The data presented here also do not suffice to permit a study of how success or failure of integration into the employment market after the conclusion of general or specific vocational training may influence perceptions of disadvantage. The research objective indicated here must be to generate longitudinal data sets permitting analysis of the entire transition from school to employment.

► Causes and effects of perceived discrimination need to be more extensively researched

As the analyses show, (re)ethnicization has no direct effects on the training-context integration of young people after school-leaving. But what functions does (re)ethnicization fulfil for those young people who turn more exclusively to their in-group and/or its resources, thus setting themselves culturally apart? (Re)ethnicization is primarily a matter of activating “models” of voluntary separateness and autonomy. Being strongly associated with feelings of suffered discrimination, it may be conjectured to represent a resource that can be deployed for purposes of identity preservation and resource management in the perceived conflict with an out-group. It is the outcome of endeavours to preserve identity, and associated disappointments, during the process of seeking access to social, cultural, political and material resources (Groenemeyer 2003: 24). In addition to this strategy, published research includes studies that propose further intergroup-related strategies: “social creativity”, “social competition”, “realistic competition, recategorization at a higher level”, and “preferences for temporal comparison” (Tajfel/Turner 1986; Sherif et al. 1961). At this stage it would be an extremely rewarding exercise to design a decision theory model for the choice of a (re)ethnicization strategy in comparison to these other strategies. For that to be possible, however, it would have been necessary for the study to include survey data for the alternatives named, so that the benefit or costs of relevant alternative courses of action vis-à-vis (re)ethnicization could be subjected to a detailed decision theory analysis. But measurement of the alternatives in question was not possible within the

► Decision-theory modelling of the choosing of (re)ethnicization as a strategy has not yet been undertaken

scope of the present study. Formalized decision-theory discussion of the multiplicity of possible courses of action (see above) and a related investigation using appropriate data would indeed be highly desirable, in view of the present state of research.

A further point to emerge clearly from the data is that tendencies to (re)ethnicize should not be over-readily interpreted as a result of reluctance to integrate. What the results indicate is, rather, that (re)ethnicization becomes attractive if problems arise in the course of young persons' ordinary everyday activity over the fulfilment of personal desires and goals.

This can occur anywhere across an extremely wide range of activities, from disco evenings and clubbing to contact with authorities and officialdom. What is a critical question here is the perspective from which the young people define their situation. Do they define their own identity by refusing to adapt to the demands of the German "surrounding world"? Or do they attempt to adapt, only to find they are not accepted by the dominant group, on grounds that they have not adapted sufficiently?

The results demonstrate once again that research carried out to date has still not seriously addressed this complex of social problems. Further and more extensive research on perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicization is necessary, now more than ever, in face of the constantly re-emerging problems surrounding the integration of young people of immigrant background.

► Critical question as to perspective in which young persons define their situation - separateness, or experience of non-recognition?

Table 6 : Influences on position attained at first hurdle (multinomial regression; using the antilogarithm of the regression parameters $Exp(b)$)

		AB vs. S	AB vs. BV	AB vs. NE	S vs. BV	S vs. NE	BV vs. NE
Immigrants [R: non-imm.]	ITA	0.38*	0.55	0.27*	1.45	0.71	0.49
	EX-YUG	0.74	0.48	0.40	0.66	0.54	0.82
	CIS	0.22**	0.35**	0.76	1.59	3.49*	2.19
	TUR	0.42**	0.36**	0.33**	0.85	0.81	0.95
Sch. leaving certif. and grades [R: <i>Hauptschule</i>]	no follow-up	0.31**	0.24**	0.34*	1.84*	2.60	1.41
	qual. <i>Haupts.</i> leav. c.	1.07	1.13	2.03	1.06	1.91	1.79
	<i>Realsch.</i> leaving cert.	2.45**	3.31**	1.39	1.35	0.57	0.42
	maths grade	0.92	0.68**	0.65**	0.74**	0.70*	0.95
	German grade	0.99	0.91	1.27	0.92	0.79	0.86
School: Comprehensive [R: <i>Hauptschule</i>]	0.42*	0.37*	0.36	0.88	0.85	0.97	
Empl., pref. [R: training/appr.]	don't know	0.50	0.48	3.34	0.97	6.66	6.91
	work/casual work	0.85	0.39	0.12**	0.46	0.14*	0.30
	career preparation	0.18**	0.16**	0.34*	0.87	1.84	2.10
	weiterführende Schule	0.03**	0.20**	0.12**	5.94**	3.55**	0.59
	Father empl. [R: .skilled emp.]	unskilled employmt.	1.11	1.14	1.38	1.03	1.25
professions		0.91	3.19**	0.95	3.51*	1.05	0.30*
self-employed		0.66	1.15	0.35	1.75	0.52	0.29
unemployed		0.42	0.54	0.37	1.30	0.88	0.67
Mother empl. [R: unskilled emp.]	unemployed	0.44**	0.53*	0.71	1.19	1.60	1.35
	skilled employment	0.88	0.99	0.79	1.13	0.89	0.79
	professions	1.21	0.94	0.93	0.78	0.76	0.98
	self-employed	14.20*	1.03	2.79	0.10*	0.19	2.70
State [R: Baden-Württemberg]	Hamburg	0.33*	0.78	0.22*	2.32	0.65	0.28*
	Schleswig- Holstein/Bremen/ Lower Saxony	0.48	1.16	2.18	2.41*	4.53*	1.88
	N.-Rh.- Westphalia	0.71	1.21	0.89	1.70	1.25	0.74*
	Hesse	0.56	1.27	2.81	2.25	4.98*	2.22
	Rhineland-Palatin.	0.49	0.60	0.71	1.21	1.43	1.17
	Bavaria	2.41**	1.45	1.72	0.60	0.71	1.18
	Berlin/Brandenburg	0.52	2.12	1.08	4.06*	2.07	0.51
	Saxony	2.08	1.16	1.77	0.56	0.85	1.53
	Thuringia	0.87	1.33	0.40	1.54	0.46	0.29
Constant (b)	2.06**	2.12**	3.91**	0.58	1.84**	1.79**	
N				1.026			
Model χ^2 / df				591.5/93**			
McFadden's Pseudo-R ²				.22			

Note: * p < .05; ** p < .01; Variables gender, age, repeat year, importance parent preference, parental support during transition, East-West and supply-demand relationship excluded in core model because of non-significance; Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen and Lower Saxony merged in single category because N too low, also Berlin and Brandenburg; N = 1,062

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