The Making of the German-Turkish Economic Elite

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Newcastle University Business School

April 2019

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Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the rise to prominence within the German-Turkish community of a distinctive economic elite composed of successful business leaders, lawyers and doctors, established within two generations since 1961 when the large-scale arrival of Turkish workers into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) began. The general objective of the research is to explain the rapid emergence of this newly formed German-Turkish economic elite. Specifically the thesis explores: (1) how a minority of German-Turks have overcome evident social constraints to occupy elite economic positions and the strategies deployed to achieve upward social mobility; (2) the reasons for the virtual confinement of the German-Turkish economic elite to ethnically protected markets; and, (3) the formation of social networks among the German-Turkish economic elite and the ways in which such networks are used to further individual and community interests. The term economic elite refers to men and women who hold high-profile, prestigious positions within the fields of business, law and medicine. In focusing on the social ascension of a minority and consequent stratification within the German-Turkish community, my aim is to add a new layer of complexity and sophistication to the debate over constraints to social mobility within minority communities. The findings presented stem from analysis of 45 in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with German-Turkish business leaders, doctors and lawyers (15 interviews with members of each group). These are analysed first and foremost through the theoretical lens of the French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu and the later conceptual refinements and elaborations of elite theorists, notably Mairi Maclean and Charles Harvey. An important paradox is revealed: upward social mobility *within* the German-Turkish minority community is not matched by the same degree of mobility of German-Turks *across* German society. In other words, there remains a considerable degree of social confinement, exclusion and lack of integration despite the emergence of pronounced social hierarchy within the German-Turkish community itself.

Keywords: Elites, professions, social mobility, migrant communities, German-Turks, Pierre Bourdieu.

Important translation notes

In several cases throughout my thesis I use original German expressions to refer to precise elements or individuals in German society, given that these terms frequently do not have a straight translation into English. The following gives an outline of these terms:

Almanci

Stereotypical definition used in Turkey to address German-Turks living in Germany. The foremost stereotypical images of German-Turks are those of having a contented life in Germany, being wealthy, trailing their Turkish origin and turning more and more German. Furthermore, the word can be considered as an appellation slang which describes Turkish people living in Germany who have been assimilated under German culture and influence but have not become German in all respects.

Ausländer

Translated as 'foreigner', meaning anyone who is not German within the basic law, which is largely based on ownership of German citizenship. However, ironically, people with foreign roots holding German citizenship are still Germans with a migration background and not only '*German*'.

Aussiedler

Known as ethnic Germans who repatriated from the successor states of the Soviet Union.

Deutsche Schulformen – German School Systems

- *Grundschule*

  Elementary school – grades 1 to 4. This generally starts at the age of six and is four years in duration, after which students are divided into three different educational pathways.

- *Sonderschule*

  Special school – grades 1 to 9. These schools usually target slower learners and children with learning difficulties.

- *Hauptschule*

  The lowest educational level of secondary school where students typically spend five years, earning a lower tier qualification. This gives entry into specific apprenticeship positions.

- *Realschule*

  The middle education level, where pupils typically spend six years. Subsequently they are qualified to attend a *'Gymnasium'* or are able to do an apprenticeship.

- *Gymnasium*

  The uppermost educational level after Grundschule, for a total of 12 or 13 years of elementary and secondary education. This is the only track of education that prepares scholars for the Abitur. Students obtain the Abitur after class 12 or 13 which is equivalent to A-Levels or International Baccalaureate (IB). It is teachers who make recommendations on which type of secondary school a child should attend. Also it is beneficial to state that each state in Germany has sovereignty over its own education systems, hence the school years can slightly differ from state to state.

- *Abitur*

  The high school leaving exam – the only diploma that allows for entrance to university. It is a designation used in Germany for final exams that pupils take at the end of their secondary education at the Gymnasium in order to enter university.

- *Ausbildung*

  Post-secondary education, in other words a dual system. An Ausbildung is a form of vocational training or apprenticeship where students attend school and work simultaneously.

Gastarbeiter

The term was used for labour migrants who came to Germany primarily from the countries of the Mediterranean region. They came alone, usually without language skill or occupational skills, to Germany. At the time, labour was scarce in Germany and the German government invited labourers from Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) to come to work in Germany. The assumption was that they would go back to their home countries after a few years. While many did, others stayed on, and some now form the German-Turkish elite I am examining.

Wirtschaftswunder

This describes the rapid reconstruction and development of the economies of West Germany after World War Two. Literal translation – economic wonder.

List of abbreviations

Chief executive officer	CEO
Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software	CAQDAS
Economic and Social Research Council	ESRC
European Union	EU
Federal Republic of Germany	FRG
International Baccalaureate	IB
National Opinion Research Center	NORC
Program for International Student Assessment	PISA
Science Centre Berlin for Social Research	
Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung	WZB
United States of America	USA

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction: **Contextualising the thesis**

In recent decades, European cities have become more diverse than ever, especially as a consequence of immigration (Vertovec, 2007). Since the 1960s, Germany has opened its doors to millions of people around the world, including those from Turkey; Germany – in a sense, is gradually evolving into a larger and more diverse country. Nonetheless, along with consolidation and a new workforce has come a range of new challenges and opportunities (Morawska, 2003). Germany's openness to migrants has long been embedded in its history. In return, this brought not only positive outcomes but also many challenges. Through opening its doors to millions of immigrants, Germany has become one of the most ethnically diverse countries in Europe, with 21% of the population of non-German ethnic origin. Of all the non-ethnic Germans, people of Turkish origin represent the largest ethnic group, with a population of 2.9 million, accounting for 4% of the country's population. Before Turkey developed into a provider of inexpensive labour, Italy delivered manpower to stimulate the German economic 'miracle', the so-called *Wirtschaftswunder*. The era of economic growth elevated West Germany from wartime devastation to one of the most developed nations in modern Europe. In the 1950s, the German administration began to conclude bilateral agreements on labour recruitment with a number of mainly Mediterranean countries: Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964), Morocco (1963), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). This enabled migrants to enter Germany to work (Federal Statistical Office, 2015). While immigrant workers were presumed to return home after their stay, as Chancellor Merkel has also optimistically predicted with regard to the current wave of migrants emanating from countries such as Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan and Eritrea at the time of writing, the majority decided to remain in Germany. Taccidin Yatkin, former president of the Turkish Community in Berlin, addresses this phenomenon and the feelings of most German-Turks: 'Today we are not guest workers and no longer guests, we have come to stay' (Baar, 2002, p. 28).

Nowadays, 50 years later, the FRG is no longer the homogenous ethnic nation it might once have imagined itself to be. A group within the German-Turkish community, which I term throughout this thesis the 'German-Turkish economic elite', has proven its ability to break into professional elite circles and add much value to society as a whole. Although this German-Turkish economic elite represent minorities in their professional fields, these

individuals have successfully generated strategies and mechanisms to enhance upward mobility despite advantages and barriers on their way up. The incorporation of immigrants and their families into all levels of the labour market within the host society is of the utmost importance to social cohesion (Lancee, 2012a). While the purpose, actions and high earnings of members of the economic elite are a source of fascination in everyday dialogue and in journalistic accounts, especially relating to the fate of large shareholders (Aulette, 1991), research into professional elites within societies by social scientists and the role played by immigrants within that society remains deficient (Bloch, 2013; Hartmann, 2002; Penninx and Rossblad, 2000). Despite longstanding institutional and social barriers (Crul et al., 2013, 2013; Heath et al., 2008), a small, emerging group of German-Turkish professionals have entered leading positions in the German labour market and achieved steep upward social mobility (Crul and Schneider, 2009). These include business leaders who have become executive directors or owners of successful businesses in Germany; lawyers who have become partners, set up prestigious law firms or work in legal state bodies; and medical doctors who have made their way into leading hospitals, own privatised clinics or practise as chief medical doctors and surgeons.

Research into elites has long been practised in sociology. The examination of elites has conventionally revolved around studying old boys' networks holding positions of power in establishments with certain social and political objectives (Froud et al., 2006). Recent interest in the field of elites research has been revived by Savage and Williams (2008), who published a special issue in *The Sociological Review* entitled 'Remembering Elites', in which they anticipate a new attitude to researching elites that goes beyond the restrictive concentration on old boys' networks or the power elite. As an alternative, they take a more multifaceted and fluid view of today's economy into consideration. They underline that deviations in institutional structures, particularly in the business sector, have given rise to the emergence of new positions and networks, resulting in new conceptualisations of elites (Savage and Williams, 2008). Also in that special issue, Harvey and Maclean (2008) discuss new and upcoming elites: individuals with parents of lower socio-economic, who gain entry into high-ranking professional occupations. I argue and illustrate in my work that, within this group of new elites, the German-Turkish economic elite deserve more attention as they have to tackle more barriers when moving up to elite positions. For this reason, their mobility patterns, strategies and networks are examined and analysed. This study is exploratory in nature and focuses on the role of strategies, the motives applied in these strategies, and influential actors

and networks in the pathways of German-Turks in leading positions in business, medical and legal fields.

1.2 Definitions and terminology

Before we progress any further, it is vital that some definitions and terminology used throughout this study are elucidated. From the very first author to deal with elites, I define elites as a privileged group of individuals who form the top of society. According to Pareto (1901), an elite is an internally fragmented group of people with the highest index of activity. These individuals gather in three main segments of the elite: political, economic and cultural. According to Baltzell (1958, p. 6), economic elite members are:

> Those individuals who are the most successful and stand at the top of the functional class hierarchy, these individuals are leaders in their chosen occupations or professions.

In accordance, Odendahl and Shaw (2002) believe that the term elite is allied with abstract notions of power and privilege – a sociological group with considerably above the average levels of capital, thus relating to the dominant and influential circles of society. As my research focuses on the German-Turkish economic elite, those people who are operating in business and the professions, I will deal only with this specific segment. In this respect I draw on Figueroa (2008), who primarily defines professional elites as a privileged group of people in the economic sphere who hold ownership of means of production and services and control economic processes, consequently possessing a high concentration of status, economic capital and income in the form of revenues – in other words, men or women who have a functional responsibility in a field with high status in accord with communal values (Welch et al., 2002). The interest is primarily in position holders who carry labels such as chief executive officer (CEO), business owner, managing director, chairman, shareholder, lawyer or medical doctor. It is acknowledged that this definition is relative – nevertheless, the benefit of the definition is twofold. Unlike previous definitions, it is well focused and underlines that economic elites are not essentially confined to senior management positions in large multinationals. The term 'economic elite' is therefore used to describe this group of descendants of migrants from Turkey who have achieved leading positions in professional fields in the business, medical and legal sectors in Germany. The term is consequently employed in a descriptive sense and does not indicate a theoretical position on the notion of elites versus a ruling class. A practical medical doctor is at the top of the healthcare field and the state acknowledges their

qualifications. This also applies to lawyers, who have the authorisation of the German state to enter court and defend their clients, meaning that they also represent the top of the legal field. Equally, this applies to company executives and company owners, who are the strategic decision-makers in their business fields. The reason for investigating in my research the fields of business, law and medicine rather than other fields like politics, government, media/journalism, academia and science is forthright. As my research is about economic elites, my main focus was on individuals who evidently hold high status of power and have commandership over individuals, resulting from their positions, income and titles (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002). Power in relation to elites has been defined in recent research as 'command over resources' (Maclean et al., 2006; Maclean et al., 2010). The rationale for my choice of business, law and medicine lies in the term 'economic elites'. In contrast to politicians, media / journalism, academia and the military, these professions are known for their status and command over resources (Maclean et al., 2006; Maclean et al., 2010). Furthermore, can I certainly define the German-Turkish economic elite as a new upcoming elite, particularly because of its steep upward social mobility. However, compared to definitions used in previous elite studies, most are members of the first generation to have reached such positions and are therefore disjointed and have built parallel structures. My working definition moves away from the power elite and is much more in line with the practical theorist Bourdieu (1984, 1986b, 1990, 1993a, 1996), who draws elites from much lower down the social scale. He thus believes that elites are more extensive than presidents and executives of giant corporations.

To assess the generational dimension in the integration experiences of German-Turks, two concepts in particular need some theoretical clarification: migration and integration. Migration initially appears a rather definite concept. Based on my own translation of the German, Hoffmann-Nowotny, one of the first sociologists in this area, defined it most purely as 'any transformation of an individual's locality' (Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1970, p. 107). Treibel (1999) refers to migration as a movement of people that involves a shift in the centre of life. Common distinctions in migration include temporary as opposed to permanent changes of residence (temporal dimension), internal versus international migration (spatial dimension) and voluntary contrasted with forced movement (causal dimension) (King and Skeldon, 2010). In addition, different legal typologies relate to the channels for entering a certain country – for instance, for employment migration, asylum migration, student migration, family reunification, marriage migration and illegal or irregular migration. In addition to the previously mentioned diverse typologies, there are various indications that the

notion of migration is not a neutral terminology. Instead, it evokes certain normative connotations. Elaborating further on this viewpoint would be beyond the aim and scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, certain evidence demonstrates that migration is paralleled by negative connotations.

The current emphasis on the term 'high-skilled migration', for instance, means that the lack of the attribute high-skilled means the exact opposite. In other words, a 'migrant' usually implies 'low-skilled', and the term 'high-skilled' applies to a narrow group of individuals who have specialist knowledge. Additionally, in line with public discourses in Germany, being a migrant arguably has inheritable characteristics. The term migrant not only applies to individuals who migrated but also to their children and grandchildren, and to upcoming generations. This is particularly reflected in notions of second- and third-generation immigrants. These individuals are born natively, yet are thus far perceived as immigrants in the third generation. Whether this is an appropriate term for the children born and raised in Germany, or those with one native and one migrant parent, remains an unresolved dispute. This thesis aims to make use of the term 'migrant' as neutrally as possible. Connotations referring to diverse typologies, motives for moving to Germany or financial background are therefore not meant to be incorporated in the characterisation of a migrant. An additional frequently used term throughout my thesis is that of 'ethnic groups'. Consistent with Weber (1978), ethnic groups are those:

> Human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration (p. 389).

Another term which is often used throughout my work is 'success', which can have different meanings to different individuals. A busy career with high revenues is certainly not the desired and global definition of success. It is worth emphasising that success is something that everyone perceives and defines contrarily. There is no common measure of success. Neither is there a common definition. Needless to say, the reason for this is the enormous heterogeneity in people's dreams, ambitions and aspirations. However, if we tried to design a standard of success that everybody would agree upon, indicators such as financial freedom and recognition, which is closely linked to professional elites, would represent a common ground. Thus, in this study, career success includes observable career achievements which can be measured, such as pay and promotion rates.

The term 'integration' is also key to my research. This term is one of those social scientific expressions that gives the impression of having lost some meaning and relevance owing to its overuse in civil, scientific and political discourse. As Crul et al. (2013) has suggested, it is essential to underline that integration is, throughout my research, not perceived as a singular objective measurable by, for instance, education results or intermarriage. On one hand, it is a contextually differentiated role relating to structural participation and subjective perspectives on individual progress, and, on the other hand, the individual feelings of belonging to or being part of where the domiciled population's professional and private life is centred (Crul and Schneider, 2009).

When referring in this research to German-Turks, this means people of Turkish descent living as first-, second- or third-generation migrants in Germany. Immigrants who were born in Germany are not automatically German citizens and, even if they obtain a German passport, they are still not categorised as native Germans (Constant et al., 2005). Yet, the term is not restricted to ethnic Turks. Rather, it includes all ethnic and linguistic groups, such as Kurds and all other ethnic minorities from Turkey living in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) (White, 2012). Even though these groups are accepted as quite distinct in many aspects, they can still be grouped within one broad classification, as their common language, country and, to a lesser degree, common heritage, residential preferences, occupational similarities and complementarities unite them with a strong bond in Germany. While a German-Turkish community with a unique identity has been created at one level, at another level there are various subcategories with very divergent views, lifestyles, incomes and horizons. This research does not subdivide German-Turks into differing religions, political views or categories of citizenship. The following classification by Germany's Federal Statistical Office aims to eliminate any confusion and grey areas concerning who is recognised as German, a 'German citizen with a migration background', or a foreigner:

> The population group with a migration background consists of all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all persons born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany (Federal Statistical Office, 2015).

Thus, according to the sample census which is conducted every four years in the FRG, individuals with a migration background are those who immigrated to the present territory of the FRG after 1949. This includes all foreigners born in Germany and all those who are German-born but have at least one immigrant or foreign parent. In addition, a migration

background is assumed for all foreigners as well as those who have been naturalised. A little insight into my roots might shine a light on this. As my parents were born in Turkey, although both own a German passport and migrated to Germany after 1949, I have been defined as German-born with a migration background. An individual whose parents migrated to Germany is therefore, by definition and according to statistics, a German with an immigrant background, even if he or she and his or her parents possess a German passport. Consequently, one concern which arises is as follows: can individuals who have immigrant ancestors ever count as Germans, legally and statistically?

According to Federal Statistical Office (2015), this is feasible, albeit with certain restrictions. As in the example of my own background, the first-generation immigrants (including my grandparents) who came to Germany in 1965 are German citizens by naturalisation. The second generation, in this case my parents, migrated with their parents (my grandparents) to Germany, meaning that they were not born in the FRG. They therefore became Germans by naturalisation. The next and third generation, my generation, is therefore non-ethnic German. The following and fourth generation, any of my future children, would be the first generation that is statistically recognised as German. If my parents had been born in the FRG, I would already have been considered German without a migration background for statistical purposes. Thus, even if one's ancestors have an immigrant background, it is possible to eventually count as German without a migration background. However, if having a migration background is perceived as a mark of stigma, as belonging in some sense to a lesser group than indigenous Germans, it can be seen from the above example that this stigma takes some time to disappear.

1.3 Research motivation and scope

Elites have traditionally been well researched in the social sciences. Yet, over the past three decades, the study of economic elites has been one of the most neglected areas of social science research (Griffiths, et al., 2008; Hartmann, 2000; Maclean et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1992; Savage and Williams, 2008). Hardly any studies have measured German-Turkish progress in moving from their former *Gastarbeiter* status into professional positions of high status, with high levels of recognition from the rest of society. I am very keen to learn more about the German-Turkish economic elite landscape, as I believe in the words of Nader (1972), who calls researchers to redirect their gaze upwards and argues in her often-quoted article:

Studying up as well as down would lead us to ask many common sense questions in reverse. Instead of asking why some people are poor, we would ask why other people are so affluent. (p. 289)

Nader (1972) argues that, in order to understand systems of inequality, attention needs to be paid to those in positions of power and economic privilege. One moral reason for the deficiency of elite research is the conviction that it is not necessary to give a platform to individuals who already have one in society, as, by virtue of being elite members, they are already visible and outspoken (Gallaher, 2012). Although elite voices already have a platform in society from which to be heard, I disagree with the view that they should not be given more attention; instead, I believe that this provides even more reason for these voices to be scrutinised. Furthermore, I believe in the importance and relevance of studying up, as it is vital for researchers to study all sections of society to understand it as a whole. Yet, there are also practical and methodological reasons for this. Elite groups are characterised as being closed and difficult to access (Brown and Jones, 2000; Fitz and Halpin, 1995), but these challenges should not be used as an excuse for not attempting to study up.

The study of elite members, specifically in the context of Germans of Turkish origin, is particularly interesting, first and foremost because the German-Turkish community constitutes the biggest migrant group in Germany, accounting for 4% of the total German population, while only 35% have professional education. In comparison, 75% of immigrants from Eastern Europe have a professional education (Federal Statistical Office, 2016). A closer look at the data report of the Science Centre Berlin for Social Research (WZB), together with that of the Federal Statistical Office, reveals that the gap between rich and poor is not merely between the top and bottom, but also between people with and without migration origin. In numbers, for the 2.9 million inhabitants of Turkish origin, the risk poverty rate is 36%. In other words, every third German-Turk is at risk of poverty. The contrast is particularly great between individuals with Turkish roots and the rest of the population – other immigrant groups have a poverty risk rate of 24%, and the rate for ethnic Germans is 14% (Federal Statistical Office, 2016). Also, the report demonstrates in its findings that Turks in Germany feel more strongly discriminated against than any other large migrant group. Likewise, according to the Berlin Institute for Population and Development, Turks come last in the Institute's integration ranking and the divergence between them and ethnic Germans is the greatest – they are less well educated, paid less and experience a higher rate of unemployment than other immigrant groups (Geletkanycz and Hambrick, 1997; Zaheer et al., 2010). The Berlin Institute for Population and Development (2009) measured the 'integration level

according to place of origin' and concludes that individuals with Turkish origin show the poorest results (please see Appendix 9.1 – Integration levels according to place of origin).

For a long time, Turkish immigrants in Germany have been perceived by the majority of German and Turkish scholars as invisible, no longer Turks and yet not quite Germans (Abadan-Unat, 2001; Pott, 2001). For many years, the Turkish community was not fully recognised. Max Frisch expressed this poignantly with regards to experience with *Gastarbeiters*: 'We called for labour, but human beings came instead' (Seiler 1965, p. 1). Although the statement of Max Frisch referred Italian immigrants who migrated to Switzerland because, it does accurately convey the story of Turkish *Gastarbeiters* in Germany too.

Although German-Turks, including second- or third-generation immigrants, make up an increasing share of the German population and are the biggest immigrant group in the FRG, this group has not received much recognition in research into professional elites. Their position is instead often discussed in light of their competence in scholarly examinations and comparisons of unemployment, family structures and hindrances to integration and crime rates (Martin et al., 2001). According to Riphahn (2002), formal scientific analyses of immigrants in Germany suffer from an insufficiency of data and literature which explores German-Turks' progress into the leading group of the working class. Nevertheless, a noticeable number of German-Turks have managed to beat the odds and achieve remarkable occupational success. They have made it to the top, and they could also be regarded as men and women of substantial power who 'frame other people's lives in countless ways as they conceive, advise, hire, promote, select and allocate' (Lamont, 1992, p. 13). Regardless of the growing number of German-Turkish professional elite members, scientists have chiefly focused on causes of failure rather than mechanisms of achievement (for exceptions, see Crul et al., 2012; Konyali, 2014; Schneider and Lang, 2014; Waldring et al., 2015).

Being born in Germany, with an educational pathway in Switzerland and the United Kingdom, yet having Turkish/Kurdish roots myself, it is important for me to evade an impression that I am searching for my roots. Indeed, I am fascinated by generating answers to questions about whether German-Turks are able to enhance their social mobility and critically examine the strategies German-Turks have used to move up. More about my journey, background information and philosophical underpinnings will be discussed in the methodology chapter.

As an alternative to examining why some individuals are disadvantaged and focusing purely on those from lower social classes, as in the case of many German-Turks, my aim is to

examine whether others may be influential and powerful in some spheres, yet potentially still excluded from some groups in society. Moreover, I am keen to identify factors which have led to the ascension of a minority of German-Turks to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany. How dependent are elite business leaders, doctors and lawyers on the German-Turkish market, and why? Moreover, to what extent do professional German-Turks in the fields of business, medicine and law form networks within the German-Turkish community and with their elite ethnic German counterparts? Might it be the case that a separate, parallel economic and professional elite society of German-Turks has emerged, which these individuals also profoundly encourage and use to their own advantage? I seek answers to all these questions and hopefully, in doing so, my work can be a forerunner for further studies of this nature. The possibility for social mobility among ethnic communities, especially one which has existed in Germany for half a century, is essential for full integration and genuine equality and harmony in what has become a diverse ethnic population (Maclean et al., 2012; Wetherell et al., 2007).

Research questions

As the research proceeded, the quantity of interviews conducted increased and, as preliminary data analysis began to take place, the research questions became more precise and defined, resulting in three principal research questions:

1. How has a minority of German-Turks overcome disadvantage to rise to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany? (covered in CH 5)

2. Why and in what ways do members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets? (covered in CH 6)

3. To what extent and how do members of the German-Turkish economic elite form networks to further their interests? (covered in CH 7)

1.4 Methodology and data

Suitable primary qualitative data are relatively high for a study of this kind. However, academic literature, fieldwork and grey literature will also be used in the context of my research to provide a holistic view on how influential German-Turks are perceived to be by their German peers. Through creative use of positioning, communality and ways of

representation, I encompassed the multifaceted experience of being a German with Turkish roots in Germany.

Throughout the research process, I found that gaining profound insight into individuals' pathways rather than researching quantitative data would add to existing knowledge by generating a more nuanced and larger dataset, divided into three professional economic elite groups, than currently exists. Thus, I decided to utilise a qualitative, exploratory approach and conduct in-depth interviews. I was decisive about this because the research participants' opinions, feelings, reflexivity, views and beliefs are the focus of my research methodology (Maclean et al., 2012a). It therefore rapidly became apparent that qualitative research interviews would be at the heart of my methodology. One of the distinguishing features of this research is that it is based on 45 face-to-face interviews with German-Turkish managing directors, chairpersons, shareholders, medical doctors and lawyers. In my research, I selected the research participants' based on their having executive responsibilities, owning a company or having worked in a senior position with certain expertise for a minimum of five years. In the medical sector, I focused on professionals, including academics, chief medical doctors and surgeons. My research participants' from the legal field had passed all their bar exams, are acknowledged by the German state, and possessed at least five years' experience in a corporate law firm or in legal state bodies. Furthermore, I did not seek a gender balance in my sampling, but this reflected the existing divisions in the sectors. The majority of my research participants' in the business and legal fields were male, while in the medical field there was a gender balance in my sample. A total of 45 interviews were conducted for the study.

The data were collected through face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with members of the economic elite from three distinct professional sectors, namely medical doctors, lawyers and business leaders. The interviews aimed to elucidate how German-Turks entered the German elite broadly defined, i.e. emanating from elite professions as well as from the professional field. Rather than using telephone interviews, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were chosen for their value in generating high communication results, ensuring comprehensive and accurate information flow, enabling the capture of personal anecdotes and stories, and at the same time allowing understanding to be gleaned from bodily dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990). The information gathered from these interviews provides further evidence to be drawn from the findings. The primary data sources were only conducted with German-Turks living in Germany, i.e. not Turks living in a different European country. The interviews were conducted on a few occasions in English but most of them were carried out in German and

Turkish, and even sometimes a mix of both. Additionally, field notes comprising observations made during the interview and on surroundings and non-verbal behaviour were collected during interview recordings. Internal documents, annual reports, investment memos and reports pertaining to the working worlds of interview participants were also accessed whenever available, strengthening the range of data collated in this study.

The secondary data for this research are comprised of mainly qualitative (descriptive) data sources, including journals, library searches and indexing, newspapers, organisational records, interview transcripts, books and other similar periodicals. The secondary data were collected from both national and international sources. In addition, I coded hundreds of pages of interview transcripts as part of my data analysis. The detailed approach is discussed in Chapter 3.7: Data analysis and coding.

1.5 Overview of thesis

The thesis is structured to reflect the research process followed to undertake this work, elaborated in Table 1.

Table 1: Outline of thesis

Chapter 1	Introduction
Chapter 2	Literature review
Chapter 3	Methodology and research design
Chapter 4	The evolving German-Turkish context
Chapter 5	The rise of the German-Turkish economic elite
Chapter 6	The formation of ethnically protected markets
Chapter 7	The functioning of German-Turkish economic elite networks
Chapter 8	Conclusion
	References and appendices

The thesis is composed of eight main chapters. I begin with the purpose and raison d'être of the thesis and the significance of the study, highlighting its research questions, while setting out and clarifying definitions and terms which are used throughout, methodological aspects and the contribution of the study to the literature, government, economic elites and further

research. Subsequently, a review of the relevant literature is carried out, which identifies the conceptual framework. Specifically, the theoretical lens of Bourdieu's capital theory, social mobility and social networks in professional fields were selected as especially relevant to this study. The methodology chapter outlines the philosophical foundations of the study and the research approaches, which have been carefully chosen as the most suitable for investigating the German-Turkish professional economic elite. I will discuss issues of sampling, gaining access, choice of method, construction and use of the interview schedule, the process of analysis and ethical matters. The fourth chapter explores Turkish migration to the FRG and offers comprehensive contextual data concerning the initial migration process from Turkey to Germany, in order to fully demonstrate the roots, origins and contemporary life of German-Turks in Germany. This chapter provides the reader with a background on Germany's and Turkey's country profiles, the migration process and the current German institutional perspective. This is followed by the three core findings and discussion chapters, which are built around three key areas considered fundamental to developing an understanding of economic elites, integration and social stratification in the German-Turkish community. The three findings chapters are developed through cross-analysis of the 45 qualitative research participants and draw on the literature where relevant. The embedded discussion is situated alongside the relevant literature and theory. The final chapter of the thesis comprises discussion of the implications, limitations and final conclusions of the thesis. It recommends future research possibilities relating to German-Turkish economic elite members as a significant but underexplored social and economic phenomenon.

In Chapter 2, I present a review of the literature on economic elites. I discuss existing literature and draw special attention to elite types, social mobility, professionals and the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Furthermore, I discuss the most significant work in the field of economic elites and show how subsequent research and commentary has built on and modified these studies, leading to my contributions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Little research has hitherto been undertaken into an emerging group of German-Turkish economic elites, who manage considerable occupational successes in the professional elite landscape, and their upward social mobility pathways. The idea of social mobility of German-Turks often evokes a personal story. For many, it concerns either immigrant parents or grandparents, or even a personal journey and arrival. In this chapter, I provide a theoretical context to understand and contextualise the empirical findings of my research. The theoretical basis for my research is embedded in four key areas of literature: (1) First, Bourdieusian social theory, with a specific focus on Bourdieu's capital concept and how this can be applied to the German-Turkish context to provide a theoretical foundation for my subsequent explorations; (2) the well-established literature on elites and its historical context; (3) the literature on social mobility with a focus on immigrants' descents and newcomers in the 'game'; and (4) lastly, the significance of social networks for immigrants' labour market integration. In doing this, I describe the often-used division between strong bonding ties with co-ethnics and weak bridging ties with natives, furthermore underlining how I seek to make a contribution to current knowledge – theoretical and practical – to the field of organisation studies.

The limited amount of literature dedicated to the educated and upwardly mobile German-Turkish professionals is the main rationale for this chapter. I argue that the existing literature does not sufficiently incorporate immigrant upwardly mobile pathways of the phenomenon under investigation. In particular, there is a lack of studies into an emerging group of German-Turkish economic elites who manage considerable occupational achievements regardless of their potentially disadvantageous position. To help address these issues, I pay special attention to the ideas of the French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu relating to economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital. I also aim to highlight that research about the upward mobility of German-Turkish economic elites has not been systematically addressed – I aim to address this gap. Bourdieu's theories are certainly a key perspective in my work, but not the only perspective. There is also a core literature on immigrants and social mobility, as well as literature on networks and labour market integration and the advance of upwardly mobile professionals. Each of these areas is discussed in turn to identify what the existing research has added to the academic literature and where there is scope for further investigation.

2.2 Bourdieusian social theory

Over the last two decades, the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has emerged as one of the most pioneering, widespread and influential bodies of theories and research in modern social science and understanding the dynamics of power in society (Robbins, 1991; Swartz, 1997; Harvey et al., 2011). He attracted much attention from organisation theorists (Golsorkhi, et al. 2009; Shaw, 2006; Shaw et al., 2013) for his critical analyses and theories regarding inequality, capitalism and the state. In his home country, France, he was critiqued in particular for depending too heavily on his social origins to lend authority to his research. He was born into a rural family in the region of Béarn, a traditional province in southwestern France. His family had peasant origins and spoke the regional dialect of Gasgogne as well as French. Bourdieu's humble roots made him sensitive to subjects of power and prestige in France, shaping his research interests, social activism and defence of the underprivileged (Reed-Danahay, 2004; Boyne, 1993; Robbins, 1991). With scholarships, he attended Lycée in the regional city of Pau, followed by the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, before entering the Ecole Normale Supérieure, one of the elite institutions in France which is widely considered to be the most selective and most demanding institution of higher education and research in the country. Moreover, Bourdieu lived in the middle of the surroundings of the Algerian war for independence from French colonial rule.

Bourdieu was first widely heard as a sociological critic of the French education system. He started his work motivated by an interest in stratification and elite theory. After his year-long military service, Bourdieu stayed in Algeria as a university lecturer. He then returned to France, where he wrote a series of statistical studies of education and social class reproduction. This work resulted in two volumes co-authored with Jean-Claude Passeron: *Les Héritiers, Les Etudiants et la Culture* (1964) and *La Reproduction: Eléments pour Une Théorie du Système d'Enseignement* (1970). The work was in print just before and after the student and worker uprisings in May 1968 in Paris, where massive confrontations between police and students brought workers out on a general strike and pushed the government nearly to the point of collapse. These books underlined and demonstrated that achievement in education depends on symbolic or cultural capital – a complex set of values, linguistic abilities and world views that is unequally distributed among the population (Brubaker, 1985). Bourdieu made wide use of the concepts of habitus in his research, themes that illustrate much of his later work on a range of topics. His contributions to the study of power in contemporary society have encouraged social theory in new directions, helping shape arguments about

social structure and inequality among the underprivileged (Reed-Danahay, 2004; Robbins, 1991).

According to Bourdieu, there are three fundamental elements of social life: *habitus, field* and *capital* (1986b). Habitus is a well-known term that he used continuously in his work, covering a set of social norms that are paradoxical, both vague and structured. The habitus guides the actions of social agents, who can be individuals, groups of people or even institutions. Moreover, the idea of habitus becomes internalised over time and becomes the widely accepted behaviour and thinking in society. Habitus is multifaceted in its origin because it is shaped by the family, education, overall past and present experiences, and perceptions of individuals. These elements influence an individual's social thinking and actions that are displayed in society (Koopmans, 2010). The *field* is the actual environment where individuals are social agents and where they exhibit their internalised elements of habitus. The third central idea in Bourdieu's theory is *capital.* In my research, I follow Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) in highlighting the importance of undertaking a full view of Bourdieusian examination. However, because of the scope and aim of my work, I concentrate on specific concepts to meet the necessities of my research. In this case, I focus in greater detail on Bourdieu's capital concept.

2.1.1 Capital theory

In his classic text on forms of capital, Bourdieu set out four types of capital − economic, cultural, social, and symbolic − the possession of which bestows power on the holder. Bourdieu (1986b, p. 242) believes that 'the structure of the distribution of capital represents the immanent structure of the social world'. Actors with diminutive capital are repetitively exposed to material and authority insufficiencies, whereas those actors with rich capital are able to occupy and preserve and further upsurge their dominant positions. Before moving on to the four types of capital, there should be an agreement on a generic working definition of capital. According to Bourdieu, capital is 'accumulated labor in the form of matter, either as internalized or incorporated' (2001, p. 131). The significance of the forms of capital is premised on the notion that 'ultimate source of power in society derives from' (Maclean et al., 2010, p. 327). In essence, Maclean et al. (2010) underline that capital is a resource that is used in a field with the intention to establish distinction. Bourdieu offers an analysis of the interplay of economic, social cultural and symbolic capital, as illustrated in Figure 1, which sets up 'the relational world of objects' that describes the social construction and, thus, the sites from which actors take action (Bourdieu, 1993a).

Figure 1: Bourdieu's concept of capital

Economic Capital Financial and tangible assets	**Cultural Capital** Knowledge, tastes and cultural dispositions
Symbolic Capital Titles, honours and reputation	**Social Capital** Family, networks and relationships

Reference: Adapted from Maclean, Harvey, and Press (2006)

Economic capital

To begin with, all types of capital circulate in the processes of investment and conversion from one type to another. Capital can be both invested and converted in its own form and into other forms, which shows how dynamic the whole system is. Yet, other forms of capital 'produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal the fact that economic capital is at their root' (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 252). The initial capital formulation, economic capital, is the master variable, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights. The types of capital – economic, social, cultural and symbolic – are connected to each other in one system and share common features, as suggested by economists, sociologists and political scientists (Becker, 1964; Bourdieu, 1986b; Coleman, 1988). Economic capital is subdivided into physical and financial, even though both types are still related to wealth and/or assets and can be converted into money.

Physical economic capital consists of tangible assets, such as material possessions and properties. On the other hand, financial economic capital incorporates monetary assets, which can be in cash, but also in the form of stocks and shares, for example. In the context of German-Turks who are in the process of migration, economic capital can be utilised for investment purposes, increasing profits and overall mobilisation benefits. Physical and

financial capital is important for migrants, their children and newcomers in the game, because it is their primary source which they can use to convert to other types of capital. In the context of the interviewed German-Turkish economic elites, we already know that they have positively accumulated economic capital. Nonetheless, what is of interest to know is the extent to which other forms of capital were significant in doing so.

Social capital

Social capital is the facet of networks involving individuals and groups, in addition to their engagement in participative communities (Bourdieu, 1986b; Coleman, 1988; Onyx and Bullen, 2000; Paxton, 1999). In 1980, Bourdieu published his first work on social capital in the French journal *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, defining social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 248–249). Hence, for Bourdieu, social capital is an asset that agents or collectives (families, nations and political factions) own by virtue of their connectedness. Social capital comprises a network of connections, which in turn has potential and actual resources that can be of use to social agents. The resources come from the network and are delivered back to it, which creates a dynamic system, intertwining the individual and social purpose of assets in those networks (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). In order for an asset to be considered an element of social capital, it needs to create some social advantage and prove its usefulness. The importance of social networks is therefore influenced by the social class and position that the individual can access.

Moreover, as Bourdieu (1986b) suggests, it is of paramount importance to utilise social capital and transfer it into economic capital, which shows how individuals can benefit economically from social networks. One foremost characteristic in this framework is its function as a multiplier. In other words, the more connected a certain individual is, the more he or she is able to benefit from the economic, cultural and social capital inherent in the total network (Bourdieu, 1986b). Yet, Bourdieu's aspiration was certainly not to capitalise the social by pointing out the significance of people's reflections on their social associations in regard to their plain effectiveness. Indeed, rather than being apprehensive about individual motivations behind the accretion of social capital, for instance, aware or unaware, interested or disinterested, he attempted to highlight the allied structural dynamics and outcomes of social capital ownership on power relations and the reproduction of inequalities. Theories of social capital have predominantly been significant in policy aspects of migration and

integration in receiving societies. Social capital is viewed by researchers and policy-makers as shedding light on, along with other concerns, immigrant attachment to the labour market, social mobility (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga, 2002), educational attainment (Abada and Tenkorang, 2009), migration flows (Nannestad et al., 2008), social cohesion and assimilation (Hooghe, 2007), and community commitment and participation (Bevelander and Pendakur, 2009).

Given this background, Bourdieu emphasises that, in the course of material and symbolic exchanges and interactions within a specific group, the associates incessantly reproduce themselves and shield and protect their boundaries while stabilising their privileged status in opposition to those who do not belong, hence the German-Turks (Bourdieu, 1986). Consistent with Abada and Tenkorang (2009), social capital is even more essential for the development of immigrants, as it symbolises valuable resources that offer key forms of institutional support. Bourdieu underlines that social capital is essentially rooted in economic capital but can never be entirely abridged to an economic form. Social capital therefore remains effectual, as it conceals its connection to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1998). In addition, Bourdieu underlines that the objective formation of the social field only becomes consequential in the course of strategies of classification and divisions. To be precise, social positions are authorised with the support of economic and symbolic capital (Tanasescu and Smart, 2010).

Cultural capital

Another vital 'ace' in the game is the notion of cultural capital. Bourdieu claims that cultural capital consists of acquaintance with the dominant culture in the social order, particularly the capability and skill to recognise and use educated verbal communication, which helps actors to use 'appropriate social energy' (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 46). Cultural capital is perceived as 'the ensemble of embodied dispositions such as learnable skills and abilities which enable individuals to handle the social potentials' of different forms (Honneth, 1986, p. 59). The ownership of cultural capital differs across social classes. However, the education system assumes the possession of cultural capital. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986b) outlines that cultural capital can exist in three forms. The first is the *embodied* state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body. In other words, embodied cultural capital refers to all knowledge incorporated by individuals, including manners, tastes, accent and practices of cultural involvement. This is the form of cultural capital that is most directly associated with Bourdieu's inspiration of habitus (Kraaykamp, 2003; Nagel, 2010), which

cannot be delegated to others and is 'fundamentally linked to the body' (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 49). Second, it can be in the *objectified* state, within material forms such as works of art, furniture or cultural goods such as pictures, paperbacks, lexicons, instruments and machines (Bourdieu, 1986b). Beyond that, the offices occupied by the economic elites, the cars driven by their members and the investments and houses owned by the actors in the field of business, law and medicine would all be illustrations of objectified cultural capital. The third, the *institutionalised* state, mostly comes in the form of objectification, which refers to academic qualifications.

Thus, Bourdieu believes that, 'by doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the education system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture' (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 494). Regardless of the fact that lower class individuals are severely disadvantaged in the competition for educational qualifications, the fallout of this contest is viewed as meritocratic and, consequently, as justifiable. Moreover, Bourdieu argues that social inequalities are legitimated by the educational credentials attained by individuals in privileged positions. This means that the educational structure plays a chief function in upholding the status quo (Boyne, 1993). 'It (education) is in fact one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one' (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 32).

The habitus, as formed by past experiences, family, education and individual perceptions, is largely influenced by the process of migration. Cultural capital, in that sense, transforms and evolves because of new factors and conditions of functioning, which makes it a dynamic concept (Bourdieu, 1990). However, immigrants and their families, who are a minority in the country in which they choose to reside, face different cultural capital which they mix with their own to create a rather unique habitus. For example, an immigrant may have qualifications that are accepted abroad, but may lack native language skills or specific local experience. In other cases, they might have the experience, but lack the local educational requirements for something more specific such as being a teacher, for instance. That is why a job that might appear accessible to anyone, giving equal opportunities to both natives and non-natives, turns out to only be accessible to those who were privileged enough to be born within the respective country. In other words, natives possess 'national capital' (Hage, 1998).

National capital therefore encompasses cultural capital, with an emphasis on the importance of local skills and experiences. Migrants start to internalise national capital in order to blend well with their new environment and increase their chances of gaining access to job positions, but they may still be somewhat marginalised, with little opportunity for upward mobility in their careers.

All in all, Bourdieu's view is that educational credentials facilitate higher class individuals to preserve their class status and legitimate their dominant positions. Naturally, some lower class pupils do well in the education system. Nevertheless, rather than challenging and improving the system, this reinforces it, contributing to the appearance of meritocracy (Radler, 2014). In accordance, professional elites often report their belief in meritocracy. This was identified by Harvey and Maclean (2008) and one of their research participants explained that, 'it matters not where you went to school, it really does not matter as long as you are good enough' (p. 108). Bourdieu can be disapproved in regard to the resources related to higher class homes constituting cultural capital, in addition to how these resources are transformed into educational credentials. Nonetheless, the importance of non-material resources possessed by privileged individuals and groups is appreciated in my work (Brubaker, 1985). We have a clear substantiation that the decrease in material expenses to ancestors of teaching results from educational restructuring in Germany. For instance, the provision of free of charge and obligatory secondary education has not decreased the level of association between origin and educational achievement (Shavit and Blossfeld, 1993; Halsey et al., 1980). This underlines the idea that educational benefits from parents with a financial advantage passed down generations may not be solely caused by economic aspects.

Symbolic capital

The final capital formulation, symbolic capital, relates to both cultural and social capital. Most significantly, symbolic capital refers to the degree of societal acknowledgement of the levels of cultural and social capital from which individuals benefit (Radler, 2014). Thus, symbolic capital underlines the 'work of representation' (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 727), establishing barriers and distinctions between the self and others. These barriers regularly represent obvious noticeable attributes – for instance, with regard to ethnic and racial aspects which embody objective social disparities (Bourdieu, 1985). The notion of symbolic capital is one of the more complex capital forms developed by Bourdieu. He accounted that, 'capital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. To these we must add symbolic capital,

which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Hence, symbolic capital is not what is gained and acknowledged internally, but also what is perceived externally, as the 'prestige and renown attached to a family and a name' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 179) acknowledged by civilisation. Bourdieu believes that symbolic capital is 'the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17).

2.3 Examining the elite landscape

Notwithstanding the work of numerous theorists (Pareto, 1901; Harvey and Maclean, 2008), setting the stage for economic elites is still not a simple task. Adding to its complexity is that elites often do not regard themselves as elites, given that, it is argued, 'elite' is a term of reference rather than of self-reference (Marcus, 1983). The phrase 'economic elite' is certainly not neutral. Indeed, many scholars have uttered the long traditional term, 'elite' (Pettigrew, 1992). Whether as an adjective or a noun, the term can be interpreted in multiple ways. During the 17th Century, it was adjectivally a French expression for limited and luxurious goods. Throughout the 18th Century it was extended to select armed units in the military and upper-class groups claiming communal superiority – in other words, *la crème de la société* (Higley and Pakulski, 2012). Pareto (1901) preserved the term's evaluative meaning to denote those who perform best and get ahead in different life-worlds (artistic, economic, intellectual, military, political), but he also labels as elites those possessing considerable stock for capital, therefore meaning economic elites. Elite is to a certain degree an 'elastic' term. It can be outlined with substantial accuracy by employing recognised positional, reputational, cultural, decisional and sociometric research methods (Higley and Pakulski, 2012). Despite debates over the centuries, scholars have not reached an agreement on who precisely belongs to an elite, or how they are to be evaluated. This can certainly be viewed as a positive aspect, as the comprehensive and elastic nature of the term allows scholars to define it in relation to their specific research topic (Magnat, 2012).

One of the chief concepts is rooted in the early and mid-20th Century, when Pareto (1901) and Mosca (1939) gave momentum to the concept of a single 'power elite'. Clearly, research into elites has a long history in sociology. Classic studies, such as that of Mills (1956), dealt with the *power elite*. According to Mills, there is a power elite in modern societies which controls the resources of the bureaucratic organisations that have come to lead industrial

societies. In contrast, Bourdieu's work focuses on academics, the cultural elite and civil servants, as well as the institutional structures that produce and reproduce elite status (Bourdieu, 1990).

Both Pareto (1901) and Mosca (1939) understood that societies in antiquity were divided into two classes – a class that rules and a class that is ruled. For both, democracies were purely another system of elite rule. According to these scholars, in every society a single cohesive elite exists whose associates originate from a similar social and financial context, have shared morals, outlooks and attitudes, and, additionally, have identical objectives (Goldbeck, 2014). This last point about the power elite emphasises that these groups tend to control authority and influence through interchangeability between top positions in finance, the military and government. A second important elite concept emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, known as the 'functional elite concept', which asserts that in a stable society there are several distinct elites with different, even opposing, goals (Goldbeck, 2014). Instead of assuming the existence of a cohesive ruling elite, the functional elite perspective underlines the presence of distinct and at least partially autonomous subdivisions in every multifaceted society where different elite fields co-exist. Accordingly, Keller (1963, p. 83) articulates, 'in modern society, there is no single comprehensive elite but rather a complex system of specialized elites'. The elite subdivisions embrace top positions within a discrete sphere of social activity, such as finance, culture, religion, science and the intellectual and political sphere. Thus, specialised elites cannot be seen as one single ruling elite, as each sphere has its own or even several particular procedures for the way top positions are attained and sustained, the manner in which they interact with society as a whole and envision their elite position, and the main aims desired by elite adherents. Correspondingly, more contemporary concepts such as the developments of Hoffmann-Lange (1992) and Higley and Lengyel (2000), which attempt to combine the basic assumptions of the two traditional approaches, also acknowledge the presence of several distinct elites in compound societies.

In the mid-1970s, Nader (1972) wanted to redirect the research. The widely known 'studying up', led by Nader, drew attention to the colonisers rather than the colonised, the viewpoint of power rather than the powerless, and the culture of wealth rather than the culture of poverty (Ellersgaard et al., 2013). She argues that a large quantity of literature focuses downwards, directed at the culture of the less privileged. Yet there is a need for, and deficiency in, examination which studies 'up', centred on the framework of the upper class and the large-scale industries that influence aspects of our everyday lives. Studying 'up' seeks to address innovative and largely unanswered questions about affluent and governing cultures. Nader

therefore believes that it is necessary for academics to pay more attention to people in the upper tiers and their surroundings. In addition, she underlines that it is vital to get behind the facelessness of a bureaucratic society to get to the mechanisms of upper-class society and large-scale industries, as these influence aspects of our everyday lives. She emphasises that researchers must study 'down' and 'up' in order to gain the most accurate understanding of a society or culture (Nader, 1972). Thus, as an alternative to enquiring why some people are poor and disadvantaged and focusing purely on those at the bottom, as often is the case for German-Turks, it is valuable to ask why others may be influential and powerful in some spheres but still remain as outsiders. Consistent with Nader (1972), Magnat (2012) believes that, to comprehend the system of inequality, it is vital to pay attention to those in positions of power and fiscal privilege.

Following a long period of disregard, research into elites is currently experiencing a revitalisation (Savage and Williams, 2008; Khan, 2012), fuelled by evidence that the fraction of population at the top is gradually drifting away from the rest of the populace. Numerous recent studies have sought to cross-examine the rich and powerful (Atkinson and Piketty, 2007; Volscho and Kelly, 2012), occupational elites (Lebaron, 2008; Griffiths et al., 2008) and, in particular, a new business elite linked to the professional services sector (Beaverstock et al., 2013; Maclean et al., 2006; Harvey and Maclean, 2008; Maclean et al., 2015; Savage et al., 2013). In these studies, researchers have typically focused on the multidimensional dimensions of elite power, from monetary income and wealth to more opaque forms of cultural privilege and social capital (Bond, 2012). Harvey and Maclean (2008) discuss the notion of upcoming and new elites: young individuals with parents of lower socio-economic status, who gain admission into high-ranking positions of leadership. Notably absent from this recent resurgence in elite research, however, is a focus on immigrants' entrance into the circles of the wealthy and powerful. I argue and illustrate in my work that, within this group of 'new elites', descendants of German-Turkish migrants deserve more attention, as they have to tackle even more barriers when moving up to elite positions. In Germany, for example, despite acute interest in German-Turks' contribution to German society, not much attention has been paid to the German-Turkish economic elite and its making. Existing research is limited to examining the socially disadvantaged in lower income families (Hartmann, 2000; Flemmen, 2012), and how inherited capital may be implicated in the continuing reproduction of privilege and power (Giddens and Stamworth, 1974; Useem and Karabel, 1986; Bourdieu, 1996).

Emergence of elites

Focusing on a universal level overlooks the process involved in the creation of local elite groups and inner circles. Local communities, because of their special surroundings, can define their individual standards of elites and these may not automatically correspond to thoughts held by the broader public (Savage and Williams, 2008). These communities may therefore be distinct from national elites, who are recognised as such by the fiscal and cultural signifiers required by that particular nation. According to Schwartz (1987), individuals who have associations with several corporate boards can be seen as the inner circle of elites. While most directors serve on only one management board, an elite faction of a few individuals, the so-called inner circle – serves on two or more boards. Many companies, frequently financial institutions, therefore populate their management boards with well-connected executives that give the whole organisation a diverse status as hubs of the network (Chu and Davis, 2016). In agreement with Burt (1992), those connected to several different groups are more likely to understand the value of effort in managing production across certain groups, and to know which individuals from the groups need to be involved in the venture. Overall, directors with networks rich in structural holes gain power and authority by building vital bridges between detached fractions of their organisations (Burt et. al., 2000). Arguably, (1) there are qualitative differences among members of an elite as the notion of an inner circle indicates; (2) elites are well networked; and (3) their networks are of value to organisations.

A cross-sectional study evaluating the business elites of France and Britain was carried out by Maclean et al. (2006), which gathered data on the social origins, education, careers, networks, affiliations, distinctions and interests of executive and non-executive directors of the top 100 corporations in France and the UK, in addition to semi-structured interviews with past and present business leaders. The study demonstrates how the business elite reproduces itself and how outsiders can gain acceptance to the faction. Yet, the ways in which significant agents gain dominance in positions of power varies across nations and cultures. Maclean et al. (2006) underline that simply attending an elite institution does not emerge as the ultimate discriminator, as many citizens in France attend the Grandes Écoles, which are highly selective and prestigious institutions, and their alumni every so often govern the private and public sectors of French society (Power, 2017).

> What actually matters is the alliance of social origin and educational attainment, the union of class and meritocracy. Transparently, corporate agents from less well-to-do backgrounds must run harder and faster to acquire the dispositions, skills and know-how to ascend the corporate ladder and break out to accede to the Field of Power. In a meritocracy, the game may be open to all comers, theoretically at least. However, how

games are constructed in the first place forms an important part of the equation and the game is stacked in the favour of the sons and daughters of the rich and powerful (Maclean et al., 2015, p. 27).

The work of Maclean et al. (2015) demonstrates the rise of a small minority of corporate individuals to high office and, for a select few, the power elite. The authors present the extent to which power remains concentrated in the French and British corporate sectors, underlining both parallels and dissimilarities between the two countries. Elites therefore function through governance networks to encourage institutional and organisational objectives. Consistent with this, Bourdieu (1990) argues that it is difficult to be accepted as an outsider to the elite fraction:

> Constitute investment in the collective enterprise of creating symbolic capital, which can only be performed on condition that the logic of functioning of the field remains misrecognized. That is why one cannot enter this magic circle by an instantaneous decision of the will, but only by birth or by slow process of co-option and initiation which equivalent to a second birth (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 68).

The existence of connections and interactions between board members are indisputable. Yet the criticism is strident, as too many studies plainly analyse the existence of relationships. What is more imperative is the difference it actually makes to their behaviour that these fractions all know each other and come from similar backgrounds. Knoke (2010, p. 114) highlights the importance of more studies that provide a deeper insight into such elite networks:

> A new generation of network studies is urgently needed, in which researchers would painstakingly gather information about the subjective meanings, environmental perceptions, and the interpersonal interactions that go on among corporate directors as they meet behind closes doors to decide major policy matters.

Knox et al. (2006) suggest that using more qualitative methods, where opinions, feelings, reflexivity, views and beliefs are the centre of interest in the study, can give different outcomes and assist analysis of how associations and connections are shaped and maintained and how outsiders face hurdles in the network elite. Professional elites are similar to other elite fractions, such as cultural or political, in that they are neither bound nor fixed in the corporate landscape. Rather, their capability to direct and govern depends on interlinks and associations with others in the professional elite, and presumably also stretching beyond other life-worlds. According to Savage and Williams (2008), they exist within networks, meaning that, this way, they are able to further augment and amplify their elite status.

The characteristics, recruiting and network strategies of the members of economic elites have long been of interest. Elite members in the professional world use intermarriage, the old boys' network, social codes and social institutions to maintain solidarity and exercise power and influence (Maclean, 2006). According to Mills (1956), elite members share a common background and often enter into prominent positions in the community through prized qualifications. Nevertheless, he underlines that simply attending a top-ranking university is not enough – the social clubs within each university also serve as instruments of division and elitism, separating the upper and the normal alumni league. Mills argues that those individuals obtain their first invitations to become part of the elite as early as when first going to preparatory schools, which these individuals attend as part of long-lasting family traditions. In this way, the mantle of the elite commonly passes from one generation to another (Woods, 1998; Mills, 1956). While recruitment into this group has a strong preference for upper-class, protestant males, Dye (1986), in contrast, emphasises that elite associations can also be open to those outside the group from the core of society, just as Pareto (1901) and Mosca (1939) have suggested. According to Bottomore (1993), each elite environment is too preoccupied with its own particular interest to look beyond itself. Hence, elite groups are principally self-directed and overlap each other, yet are closed to outsiders (Bottomore, 1993).

According to Savage and Williams (2008), the economic world is certainly not the way it presents itself. Positions lower down the chain of command may perhaps be filled meritocratically. However, those at the top of the hierarchy, those with authority and power, are simply able to justify in this way their position and functions and deflect any direct criticism of unfairness. The world of business is nevertheless eager to present itself as fair, open, meritocratic and applying more overt egalitarian methods of selection and recruitment in a Western world which is assumed to treat individuals equally and with impartiality. Despite this eagerness, the reality, as will be shown in the analysis chapters (Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7), can be very different. Division of top professional positions along ethnic lines has proven to be a longstanding feature of modern societies. Furthermore, it is clearly applicable to different ethnic groups (Bosbach et al., 2003). The widespread misapprehension that the vast majority belong to what Orwell (1937) called the lower upper middle class – a class that can offer its offspring the compensation of education but not much in the way of inborn wealth or social standing – was challenged in 1965, when John Porter published his pioneering study of elites and stratification, *Vertical Mosaic*, a comprehensive examination of Canada's power structure in the 1950s. He underlines in his work that ethnicity is as vital as class in order to gain access to the top level.

Porter (1965) demonstrates that, apart from leaders of the trade union association, members of the various Canadian elite sections were recruited disproportionally from privileged backgrounds. Particularly notable was the business elite, where Porter discovered disparities of income and opportunity among Canadians, where only 6.6% were French Canadians, which was rooted in 183 dominant corporations that controlled the majority of economic activities. Canadians of English origin had retained a chartered status, meaning that they were the dominant group, while Canadians of French origin had difficulties gaining access to these power structures. Influence was held by a primarily Anglo-Saxon business elite of only a few hundred – ethnic origin was the most significant factor in determining membership of the Canadian business elite. From this, Porter (1965) concluded that the talent of individuals from less privileged backgrounds was being wasted and that a system of higher education proved the best means of amplifying the recruitment base of Canadian elites. Even though Porter's work is a product of his time, the study gives us valuable data and awareness that belonging to a minority ethnicity brings possible hurdles and disadvantages in the path of upward social mobility. Porter's original thesis was developed and updated by Clement (1975, p. 125), who concluded that, 'the structure (Canadian) has become increasingly closed, thus making it more difficult for those outside the inner circles of power to break through'. Consequently, the elite division does not reflect the ethnic formation of the country by any means (Clement, 1975).

Similarly, Hartmann (2000) and Bosbach et al. (2003) underline that modern Germany has not yet turned out to be a meritocratic society, given the continued importance of wealth, family connections and university education, which only a privileged few receive. Henning (1978) asserts that the German business elite is largely closed to outsiders and that it became a closed caste, starting from the Imperial German period, which was the historical German nation state that existed before Germany became a federal republic. In particular, he underlines that the business elite was open only to those who came from privileged financial backgrounds because men in Germany from this environment were effortlessly assimilated into a business elite dominated by older business families. However, newer evidence is contradictory in this field, as Bosbach et al. (2003) note that Germany, unlike France and Britain, is moving towards a meritocracy. The unfolding of meritocratic values therefore signals the rise of the bourgeoisie and, moreover, the transformation of German society. Bosbach et al. (2003) conclude that the decline of class society and the rise of professional society has taken place and top-level business careers in Germany are now more open to outsiders, in an economic environment where upward social mobility is a possibility. In the

next section, I discuss the literature on immigrant children's social mobility, social mobility in the German institutional context and newcomers in the game.

2.4 Social mobility of immigrants

The growing number of scholars investigating the narratives of upwardly mobile ethno-racial minorities highlights a minority-specific experience of ascension (Neckerman et al., 1999; Rollock et al., 2011; Vallejo, 2012). Academic interest in research into social mobility and elite formation has grown in recent years, particularly in Germany (Hartmann, 2000, 2007; Pott, 2002). Given the growing power of multinational corporations and privileged groups, the continuously rising social control of these professional elites is one of the grounds for growing academic interest in social mobility and elite formation (Hartmann, 2000). In the words of the historian James (1963), social mobility is not:

> a quality of goods and utility that matter, but movement; not where you are or what you have, but where you come from, where you are going, and the rate at which you are getting there (quoted in Worcester, 1996, p. 212).

The term social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups in a social hierarchy over time – most universally, social mobility points to change in capital and social status. In modern societies, social mobility tends to be measured by career and generational adjustments in the socio-economic levels of individuals or families. According to Schneider and Lang (2014), social mobility belongs to the '*archetypical*' expressions of sociology, as it is interconnected with several key concepts and phenomena in society, such as family, generation, social class and its reproduction over generations, allocation of assets and welfare, configuration of elites and openness and accessibility of social institutions to individual capacity, merit and effort.

The children of immigrants, often referred to as the second and third generation, continue to play a significant part in the academic examination on upward social mobility. Successful upcoming generations, defined in terms of possessing a high professional position, are receiving more and more attention (Crul et al., 2012; Crul, 2013; Keskiner, 2013; Rezai et al., 2015; Santelli, 2013; Schneider and Lang, 2014; Slootman, 2014; Van Praag, 2014). Although they still represent minorities in their communities, the experiences of German-Turkish professional elites provide key information about pathways towards upward mobility. Studying descendants of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands and France, Keskiner (2013) illustrated distinct ways for migrant parents to support their children's success at school, even

though the parents might have low levels of education. Another study conducted in France by Santelli (2013) revealed the importance of family background for Algerian migrating individuals, in terms of their later success. Focusing on descendants of second-generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, Slootman (2014) shows how trajectories of social mobility affect the ethnic identification of minority climbers and reveals the important role of co-ethnic, co-educated peers. While most of these studies have underlined the educational experience levels of descendants of migrants, my analysis augments this area of research by gaining insight into the pathways that led to success against the odds.

The term social mobility, as such, is open in many directions: it can look at mobile individuals, but also entire groups. In my research, it is associated with intergenerational mobility (Schneider et al., 2014). Intergenerational social mobility occurs when children achieve a higher or lower status than their parents. A high level of intergenerational mobility is often perceived as praiseworthy and can be seen as a sign of equality and fairness of opportunity in a society. To facilitate more insights into parity of opportunity within a society and its subgroups, looking at intergenerational mobility can be valuable (Bönke and Neidhöfer, 2014). In other words, if there was no intergenerational mobility, all underprivileged children would become deprived adults and all wealthy children would become prosperous adults. Assuming complete intergenerational mobility (meaning that intergenerational income elasticity was equal to zero), there would be no connection between family background and future income. Hence, the more mobile a society, the less financial outcomes are determined by an individual's parental or social surroundings and, thus, the higher the equality of opportunity (Bönke and Neidhöfer, 2014). A child born into a poor household would have exactly the same probability of high earnings when in adulthood as children born into wealthy families. Corak (2001, p. 2) argues that:

> If we live in a society characterized by a high degree of mobility then low income during childhood may not be an experience that necessarily leaves a scar, pre-ordaining individuals to low income as adults or to less engagement in society. In a society with a low degree of intergenerational mobility this is not the case: where one is going is closely linked to where one has been.

According to Causa et al. (2009), pursuing education leads to higher quality of human capital, which later influences professional success. For example, having a high individual salary and being productive in the workplace are important aspects of professional success. The degree to which a family's financial advantage or disadvantage persists across generations is commonly seen as a key sign of equality and fairness of opportunities. Accordingly, there is a

substantial body of research into intergenerational economic mobility across Europe (Björklund and Jäntti, 2009; Black and Devereux, 2011; Breen, 2004; Solon, 1999). Results from studies where data from more than one country are involved show that intergenerational mobility is lowest in the USA and Germany and highest in the Scandinavian countries (Björklund and Jantti, 2009; Couch and Dunn, 1997). A few other studies have shown that family background is a major contributing factor for an individual's economic success, with a focus on sibling correlations in economic outcomes (Solon, 1999; Björklund and Jantti, 2012).

Immigrants' lack of social mobility can contribute to unemployment and reduced economic performance, resulting in downward mobility, which leads to a hindered integration process (Wong and Wong, 2006). This harmful occurrence can be attributed to a triple glass effect consisting of a glass gate, a glass door and a glass ceiling. While the glass gate denies immigrants access to guarded qualified communities, the glass door prevents immigrants' entry to a professional work environment at high-wage corporations (Wong and Wong, 2006). Moreover, the glass ceiling blocks immigrants from moving up to management board level and privileged positions because of their ethnic and cultural background. The metaphor 'glass ceiling' refers to an invisible barrier that prevents someone from achieving further success. It was introduced in the late 1970s as a way of understanding barriers confronting women in moving up the corporate hierarchy (Wong and Wong, 2006). In the late 1980s the phrase was broadened to include issues of racial discrimination in the workplace. In the next subsection I will discuss the literature on immigrant children's social mobility and analyse the theoretical debate to identify where my work is located and how I intend to contribute to the debate.

2.4.1 The process of moving up

In the USA, research into upward social mobility is mainly focused on Asian-Americans as the new *model minority*, a group whose members are perceived to achieve a higher degree of socio-economic success than other minority groups, and explores the extent to which cultural dynamics are accountable for their achievements. In the academic debate in the USA, there is a prominent focus on Asian-Americans and differences in family resources and other group factors, such as a supportive culture and ethnic capital in the Chinese and Korean communities (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1993). Furthermore, Noam (2014) has undertaken research into Chinese second-generation immigrants and the importance of educational values within those families. Some of these educational beliefs, where families want their children to succeed in school, are considered 'typically Asian' or 'typically

Chinese'. Blau (1956), who is an immigrant from Austria and lives in the USA, examines social climbers and the challenges these people face when moving to another country. He underlines that social climbers need to address the challenges of acculturation and insecurities regarding acceptance in the new society. Only when the new social community acknowledges the socially mobile individual as a full member and allows the individual to merge into his or her new class does the upward mobility process lose its importance. There is a dialectic of downward and upward mobility, meaning that individuals, families and groups in certain classes or class sectors commonly strive for upward mobility and, if it becomes necessary, they struggle against downward mobility (Bourdieu, 1986a). The process of social mobility is difficult because people have to find their place in the social ranking and successfully merge into a new class. Going through acculturation (Blau, 1956) may be difficult because, when moving to a new country, it might be difficult to relate to other families that belong to the same ethnic or cultural minority. This makes it more difficult to establish their own self-identity because of the lack of specific role models associated with their own culture. At the same time, immigrants and their families are more likely to be victims of stereotyping, discrimination and minority prejudice.

In contrast to the American academic debate, there is less focus on model minorities in Europe. Research on successful second generations in Europe started around the 1990s. To begin with, Pott (2001, 2002) was one of the first to examine and study educationally successful second-generation German-Turks. In his research papers, he dealt with the influence of ethnicity, culture and isolation on social mobility processes. As a result of their numbers, and the fact that labour migrants from Turkey are predominantly among the poorest and poorly educated groups, these immigrants and their families have thus faced the greatest challenges in achieving upward social mobility (Schneider and Lang, 2014). Recent comparative research confirms this, as children of migrants from Turkey face greater threats of unemployment, regularly report unfair experiences while job-seeking, and have a lesser amount in professional and executive groups (Lessard-Phillips et al., 2014). Moreover, in Germany, there is a common perception of sociocultural integration shortfalls among German-Turkish generations that are underprivileged in terms of occupation and income levels (Worbs, 2003; Kalter and Granato, 2007).

From a broad perspective, social mobility in immigrant families includes the cultural adaptation that immigrants and their children make to their new surroundings, their acceptance of social norms and attitudes that may diverge far and wide from those in their home nations, and their accumulation of human capital investments such as education, verbal

communication abilities and geographic rearrangement, which improve their monetary status in their new migrated countries (Borjas, 2006; Kristen et al., 2008; Koopmans, 2010; Radler, 2014). Furthermore, children of immigrants are habitually, over generations, evaluated both in collective and individual terms, although they are also contrasted with other ethnic majority peers. Regardless of their communal and academic backgrounds, their ancestors migrated mainly to secure a better future for their children and the next generation, meaning that this can be perceived as satisfying upward mobility ambitions. Yet, it is possible to make two different observations. On one hand, the native-born children of low-skilled migrants often surpass the academic status and professional attainment levels of their parents. On the other hand, this notable intergenerational achievement may still represent little in contrast to the standard levels of schooling of non-migrant children. For instance, Turkish labour migrants in Germany were generally recruited among those who rarely completed more than a few years of primary and lower secondary school and some were even illiterate. Hence, the second and third generation of German-Turks, i.e. the children and grandchildren of the first *Gastarbeiter*, still have a predominantly working-class background with a low family income, in comparison to European standards, and grow up in conditions which many would consider low standard and in neighbourhoods where the majority of students in schools also have a non-German ethnic background.

According to Schneider et al. (2014), this sort of educational deficit is essentially supreme among those of native origin in the same age group as the migrant parents. Achieving a middle educational qualification and undertaking a vocational training degree is thus a big step forward in comparison to their parents. However, it is still far below lower-middle-class social status in most countries. The 2012 report presented by Breen et al. (2012) found that Germany compared to its European neighbours has the lowest levels of social mobility. Children in Germany who are born into a particular social stratum have the least likelihood of experiencing intergenerational mobility. The report states that there are significantly more obstacles to social mobility in today's Germany than in the past because of educational and upbringing insufficiencies in the parental home impeding development in the early years, which differs according to social and ethnic background. The social scientists' report underlines that barriers to upward mobility appear throughout life in Germany – in children's early years, during school, for young individuals and also for adults. The deputy leader of the parliamentary assemblage of the left-wing party, Die Linke, Dr Dietmar Bartsch, stresses that the low level of equal opportunities in Germany was a consequence of social reproduction. He therefore argues that the key element of German society needs to be redistribution of

opportunities in life (Breen et al., 2012). Another study by Hartmann from 2002 discusses the connection between social background and upward mobility in the German business community. The research has highlighted the importance of educational background and career choices for social mobility of migrants. The analyses revealed that graduates from upper social classes had a higher chance of becoming part of the business elite than their colleagues with the exact same educational qualifications but coming from a working- or a middle-class family. In addition, equal educational achievements do not necessarily lead to equal labour market prospects for more leading job positions. Hence, education, skills, abilities, ambitions and effort do not always result in better job opportunities if the social background is not the 'right' one. The position of German-Turkish immigrants in society is, therefore, determined by the intertwining role of both symbolic and cultural capital (Caglar, 1995). As Turkish migrants in Germany have a deficiency in both of these types of capital, their upward mobility strategies can differ.

In comparison, in France, Santelli (2013) focused on Franco-Algerians who had obtained a leading professional position in French society, with the aim of examining how these individuals obtained higher education diplomas despite their parents' low educational backgrounds. In the Netherlands, Crul was one of the first to examine successful second-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants (Crul, 2000; Crul and Doomernik, 2003). Crul highlights the significance of structural factors in the educational system that both prevent and help children of immigrants in prospering. Also, Waldring et al. (2015) researched Turkish and Moroccan second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands who have proven themselves to be socially mobile. The purpose of the research was to find out how these people deal with being segregated in society, as well as the labour market, despite the fact that they have achieved success in their workplace. Social climbers from immigrant families often want to convey 'sameness' in the work setting and be evaluated objectively for their skills and knowledge. On the other hand, social climbers want to exhibit their differences in their personal and overall social lives (Waldring et al., 2015). There is a fine balance between not running away from fundamental ethnic idiosyncrasies and not overemphasising them in the professional setting. The workplace remains the place where an individual can demonstrate skills and knowledge as a leading but not sole part of their identity.

Schneider and Lang (2014) have investigated how social mobility influences the social relationship and lifestyle choices of the individual. Going back to the concept of the *habitus*, as touched upon in Section 2.2 on Bourdieusian social theory, different *habitus* appear as static separated levels of social class with distinct boundaries. They are like a sequence of

steps that social climbers need to go through, leaving one habitus behind before entering the next. In terms of Turkish social climbers, for instance, the prevalent pattern is to keep their social connections with families, a process known as *bridging*. In the literature, bridging social capital generally refers to contact with natives – in my research, native German communities (Lancee, 2010b; Putnam, 2007). Meanwhile, *bonding* is more associated with internal group connections and co-ethnic ties (Saint-Blancat and Zaltron, 2013). At the same time, Turkish social climbers seek new connections by networking in various parts of the world (Schneider and Lang, 2014). Slootman (2014) found that it is often a problem to transform or escape from the stereotype that coming from a low-educated Turkish or Moroccan family means that the children are not going to pursue a better education and career. Children of Turkish or Moroccan labour work immigrants in the Netherlands have managed to use their self-confidence and increasingly positive self-image to break that stigma and achieve upward social mobility (Slootman, 2014).

They are social climbers with different ethnic backgrounds and experiences which they carry as they grow professionally. According to Neckerman et al. (1999), the culture of the dynamic process of mobility within minorities involves three recurring elements for people who want to climb the social class ladder. The first is the distancing moment while the new generation is still young and the second involves sharing insecurities with social climbers going through the same process of mobility. The third element is rediscovery of their own ethnic origins and roots when the individual is proven to be successful, but still remains part of a minority and is even subconsciously segregated. The work of Macmillan (2009) on income mobility has repeatedly demonstrated that those who move into the professional level have lower intensities of both *bridging* and *bonding* social capital compared to those born into this class (Li et al., 2008). These individuals thus have higher status social associates, their networks span a larger distance, they are more implicated in civic associations, and they have higher levels of social trust.

The studies of Daenekindt and Roose (2011) and Friedman (2014) have demonstrated how the upwardly mobile perpetually lack the same cultural capital resources as those born into privileged surroundings. This is acute in terms of cultural disposition and what Bourdieu (1986b) calls *embodied cultural capital*. In other words, the way one chooses to present one's social space to the outside world is an individual's cultural disposition, thus allowing them to depict status and distance themselves from lower groups. Bourdieu particularly underlines that youngsters internalise these characteristics at a premature age and that such dispositions direct children towards their suitable social positions, notably towards behaviours that are

appropriate for them, promoting an aversion towards other behaviours. We can see that there are several ways in which the inheritance of capital may allow intergenerational steady elites to preserve their advantage over incoming ranks. In addition, it is notable that some resources, predominantly certain forms of cultural capital, are difficult to obtain and are inextricably associated with the embodied dispositions inherited by youngsters from elite backgrounds (Friedman and Taylor, 2013).

2.4.2 Social mobility in the German institutional context

Opportunities for the social mobility of migrants, in regard to educational and labour market attainment, are becoming chief policy concerns around the world (Radler, 2014). While in earlier decades labour migrants found employment without difficulty, and indeed were purposely recruited as unskilled or partially skilled employees, economic transformations after the 1970s and the years following the unification of Germany have contributed to a decrease in the number of positions available (Kalter and Granato, 2007). Nonetheless, education is nowadays highly linked to social mobility. Breen (2004) concluded in his examination of the effects of educational development and equalisation in Germany, Britain and Sweden that, in all three nations, educational expansion encouraged greater social mobility. Furthermore, Radler (2014) points out that educational achievement and labour market success are therefore considered priorities by German officials with regards to the incorporation of migrants and individuals with a migration background in the second and third generation. The German national action plan on integration, which was presented in December 2011 by the Federal Representative for Migration, Refugees and Integration, refers to education as fundamental to individual development opportunities in German society and, moreover, highlights that integration into the labour market is an essential task of integration policy (Radler, 2014). According to Söhn and Özcan (2007), employment depends on at least medium-range educational qualifications, and educational achievement is viewed as the 'main prerequisite for the successful socio-economic integration of migrants and for their social mobility' (p. 101).

Despite this importance, the literature on intergenerational mobility grades Germany as a society with little intergenerational educational mobility, both internationally (Woessmann, 2008) and historically (Bauer and Riphahn, 2006). According to Bauer and Riphahn (2006), Hanushek and Woessmann (2006) this is mainly a result of premature school selection in the German education system. The German educational system sorts students into distinct curriculum tracks leading to occupation-related educational credentials. In essence, teachers

decide the future educational fate of a child when they are between nine and ten years old because the German traditional three-tier education system does not really allow for movement between different school types. According to Schneider and Lang (2014), socio-economic status has a direct and fundamental impact on children's work skills development and labour productivity, but also has an indirect impact on their work ethic skills and range of social networks. There is an undeniable connection between the socio-economic status of parents and their children's desire for success in both education and career (Schneider and Lang, 2014). I will explain in more detail the German institutional perspective in Chapter 4.

It is clear among sociologists of education that Western academic institutions are one of the most imperative agencies of class reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Willis, 1977; MacLeod, 1987; Weis, 1990). Instead of acting as a social mobility escalator for talented individuals from ethnic minorities and the working and middle classes, the educational scheme has a strong tendency to reproduce the present social order by failing to recognise the cultural capital of dominated groups (Anderson, 1991). Bourdieu outlines a number of approaches for preservation and upward mobility, such as the reconversion of economic into educational capital by the business elite, protectionism, segregation, discrimination, pretension and imitation. By judging, classifying and tracking scholars from privileged backgrounds on the basis of the alien standards of the dominant, educational institutions therefore perpetuate the existing status hierarchy. Furthermore, educational institutions ensure that their reproductive practices are not recognised, as they make their judgements on fair and meritocratic criteria.

If, as Bourdieu (1984) emphasises, the cultural, educational and linguistic field is a position of struggle over the definition of legitimate knowledge, aesthetic taste and suitable forms of speech (Bourdieu, 1991), then educational institutions are a principal instrument allowing the dominant group to continue their practices. My work uses educational qualifications and occupational positions as common indicators of upward social mobility. In this case, these indicators are applied to second- and third-generation research participants whose narratives and strategies make up the crux of the analysis. Given that all of the research participants come from migrant working-class surroundings, an assessment of their educational and occupational outcomes with respect to their origins aligns with the most comprehensive definition of social mobility as referring to a shift in social position (Radler, 2014). Disparity in social mobility outcomes therefore refers to differentiation in social achievement according to social background (Boudon, 1974). Enhancements in educational qualifications and occupational positions are also frequently used procedures in quantitative literature on social

mobility. According to Breen (2004), differing levels of educational attainment are considered to be a main source of inequality among inhabitants in their chances of occupying a more profitable class position.

2.4.3 Newcomers in the game

As examined in Section 2.5.1, Capital theory, Bourdieu (1986a) emphasises that forms of capital are dynamic processes that necessitate time and can be transformed into another resource. All types of capital tend to produce and reproduce themselves, meaning that economic capital ownership is feasible to build up further economic capital, whereas the possessor of cultural capital also facilitates its additional accumulation. A prominent illustration of this feature is attendance at one of the *Grandes Écoles*. Graduating from an elite institution provides a certificate (cultural capital). Moreover, it can also be transformed into symbolic capital in the form of academic entitlement (Bourdieu, 1996; Draelants and Darchy-Koechlin, 2011). At the same time, this can be converted into social capital in the form of providing access to networks that are crucial to attaining occupational social mobility (Bourdieu, 1996; Kadushin, 1995).

Emirbayer and Williams (2005), however, have explored the notion that, in order for the game to function within the field, all actors should reach agreement on the rules of the game, and these are set primarily by those in dominant positions. This makes subversion strategies more challenging to implement and, consequently, newcomers to the field are more inclined to adjust, safeguard and reproduce the existing norms. Similarly, in their work on high-ranking directors in the corporate business sector in France, Harvey and Maclean (2008) illustrate that, intentionally or unintentionally, the new upcoming business elite reproduces the resources, systems and norms of the conventional elites rather than subverting them. It is clear that, for newcomers, gaining access to the field can be challenging. In my empirical Chapter 5, I aim to add to the current literature and shed light on the experiences of the largely silent upwardly mobile individuals of the German-Turkish professional elite group, highlighting the strategies they used to respond to constraints on their way up. When studying the experiences, strategies and networks of German-Turkish economic elites gaining access to high-status positions, I adopted an alternative stance, applying this theoretical framework to understand upward mobility processes, the alternative routes taken and the motives for this. Additionally, I aim to build upon the theoretical writings of Bourdieu to explore the research participants' perceptions, as their individual strategies are shaped by how they observe the rules of the game and the resources they deem necessary. In the last subsection I touch upon network and

labour market integration and analyse the theoretical debate to identify where my work is located and how I intend to contribute to the debate.

2.5 Network and labour market integration

The value of social networks for labour market integration has been accepted (Granovetter, 1973; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). De Graaf and Flap (1988) have shown that a forceful social network can provide greater admittance to jobs, a better position in the labour market, a better counterpart to a jobseeker's abilities and a hiring employer's expectations, and more individual mobility in the labour market. Even for professional German-Turkish elite members, whose economic integration into the receiving society has already been fulfilled, these networks remain vital, as social networks can provide crucial information that cannot be tapped elsewhere (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Often, for immigrants who are new to the receiving country, social connections transform into strong bonding ties with co-ethnics and fragile bridging ties with people of native origin. I am specifically interested here in whether this is the same with upcoming generations, as it could be expected that these professionals would interact and bridge much more with their native counterparts.

Generally, discussions about strong and weak ties are fundamental to understanding the value of social connections for labour market integration. For illustration, Granovetter (1973) underlines the significance of weak ties in this regard. He believes that weak ties can be described as loose associates – a set of people who are unlikely to know each other well, with whom interaction is less frequent and whose individual features may differ considerably. According to Granovetter (1973), weak ties enhance opportunities to access valuable resources, such as job-related information, principally by serving as a bridge between previously unconnected networks.

Toma (2016) debates the notion that the role and progress of both bonding and bridging networks is formed by the opportunity structures encountered in the country of settlement and the structures of the migrant communities living there. Other scholars argue that, for immigrants, the crucial benefit of involvement in a network with strong ties is the information flow and high degree of ethnic solidarity that this provides (Vermeulen and Keskiner, 2017). There is evidence that strong ties with co-ethnics can lead to segregation, reinforcing a disadvantaged labour market position (Portes, 1998). Having strong ties with co-ethnics, whether or not that has a positive effect on the labour market integration, can be influenced by participating in network organisations. Schrover and Vermeulen (2005) argue that newly arrived groups establish such separate associations because networks provide safe, familiar

environments that make members feel supported within the host society. Yet the gap here relates to whether upcoming generations who have moved higher up the educational ladder also use these network associations for the same reasons, and by what means.

2.5.1 Theoretical gap

As can be seen from the above overview, the issue of second-generation upward mobility was picked up roughly around the same time across northwestern Europe. Cross-professional analysis focusing on elite professional fields, such as the (1) corporate/business field, (2) the legal field and (3) the medical field, are still exceptional. I build on the above and the upcoming literature, but I also introduce new elements. The US research on the second generation shows a persistent blind spot for the importance of factors outside the specific national and cultural context and a lack of cross-professional analysis. Partially because of the immense size of the country, most scholars in the US merely make evaluations within the US context.

In Europe, a research tradition of studying the importance of the national context, institutions and barriers put in place has been established since the 1990s, with growing funding for European comparative research becoming accessible (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Crul, et al., 2012). Existing literature, however, shows little awareness of social mobility of immigrants into higher social professions. Social mobility is a widely discussed topic, yet progression into high-ranking professional fields is still exceptional. While Crul et al. (2012) underline the importance of considering institutional disparities across diverse national contexts with regard to immigrant children, existing approaches to intergenerational social mobility often do not focus on the pathways and mechanisms that lead to personal success against all the odds. Literature on intergenerational social mobility of children with migration backgrounds regularly theorise integration as an accessible endpoint by focusing on educational and professional performances, whereas there is a lack of research that examines the consequences of these subjective experiences and barriers put in place, and the strategies and approaches used to overcome these. I explain 'professional success' in the business sector, the legal sector and the medical field. Rather than highlighting the overrepresentation of children of immigrants in certain negative categories and lower professions compared to the group of native parentage, my research raises the core question of why an emerging group of German-Turkish professionals have succeeded against all the odds and have achieved occupational achievements regardless of their potentially disadvantageous backgrounds.

One particular way I do this is by examining the details of the pathways and strategies which the German-Turkish professional elite have used to make their way up. By analysing their strategies, motives and networks, I examine more precisely how these individuals have managed professional, institutional and social challenges, and have found a way around challenges in order to succeed. I see that successful children of immigrants have often taken alternative strategies or longer routes through education and the labour market. The challenges they face vary, both in different social and institutional contexts and within the three professional fields I studied. I describe their strategies and the reasons for these and highlight the challenges they have faced throughout their careers. What draws my attention is that disadvantages persist up until the labour market, yet at the same time the German-Turkish professional elites reinforce ties between like-minded individuals from similar ethnic backgrounds, which provides a safe and familiar environment where they can support individuals of German-Turkish descent. This results in a parallel network, even though most people managed to obtain higher education diplomas within German institutions. The empirical analysis in the upcoming chapters underscores the importance of network contacts and the vital role of mentors and other significant individuals at an early age, who supported, guided and acquainted these German-Turkish professionals with the rules of the game. Furthermore, I take up the task of breaking fresh ground, making an original contribution to knowledge – where my sample is different from those of Schrover and Vermeulen (2005) and Ryan et al. (2008), since my participants are not newly arrived groups who have established separate associations, but rather are in the second and third generation, born, educated and socialised in Germany. Also, their immigrant network associations, which I will analyse in detail in the empirical findings chapter (Chapter 7), have not, as indicated by Ryan et al. (2008), lost their relevance over time or become disadvantageous because of their redundant nature, as suggested by Ryan et al. (2008).

I am interested in the establishment and development of network organisations of professional German-Turks in Germany as a way to build and expand both strong and weak ties. Also, in the empirical Chapter 7, I describe in detail two different organisational associations' contexts with regard to Turkish migrant descendants. I am particularly interested in the means by which and the extent to which German-Turkish professional elites in the fields of business, medicine and law establish networks within the German-Turkish community. that chapter, I aim to gain new theoretical insights into the complexity, diversity and dynamism of migrant descendants' professional networks. Examining the routes, social mobility process and

network formations of German-Turkish professional elites, I also look at the role of identity formation in the networking activities of this particular group.

2.6 Conclusion

Reviewing the literature has raised a number of issues which I will analyse in the upcoming empirical chapters. It became rapidly clear at the beginning of this chapter that there is no fixed definition of 'elite' and this means that the term is not restrictive (Aguiar and Schneider, 2012). At the same time, it appears that there is a degree of overlap between the different elite spheres, and that there are separate elite groups (Rose, 1967). The extent of any separations and parallels in the German-Turkish professional elite field is an important issue, which this thesis therefore addresses. I have discussed four main fields in my literature review: (1) Bourdieusian social theory, with a focus on Bourdieu's capital concept; (2) elite literature and its historical context; (3) social mobility of immigrants' descendants; and (4) social networks for labour market integration of immigrants. Furthermore, I outlined the areas where I seek to make a contribution to the field of organisation studies.

As a piece of research on a specifically German-Turkish economic elite, a previously under-researched group as this literature review reveals, many questions arise which I will discuss and analyse in the following empirical chapters. How do its members characterise their social mobility and how do they make their way up despite the persistence of barriers to social equality? What factors and strategies led to the ascension of a minority of German-Turks to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany? Why and in what ways do members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets and to what extent are these professionals reliant on their fellow German-Turkish citizens? Moreover, to what extent and how do the economic elite interview participants form networks to further their interests? This self-presentation is the focus of this study, particularly how they explain their motives. I aim to explore the experiences of these economic elites who have achieved leading positions in the corporate, medical and legal sectors in Germany. This highlights the methodological need to actually speak to elite actors (Fenno, 1978). As Knox et al. (2006) and Savage and Williams (2008) have highlighted, I also consider that qualitative methods of enquiry allow for an examination of the participants' subjective meanings and their understandings. In the next chapter, I present a critical account of how I collected the data using the method of in-depth interviews and discuss the issues the methodology has raised.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

After exploring the key studies relating to discourse, the social mobility of immigrants and German-Turks in particular, the networks for labour market integration of immigrants and their families and Bourdieu's key concepts and applications to the German-Turkish context, as well as literature on the elite landscape, the following chapter demonstrates how I have approached the analysis, my methodological choices and the impact of the processes and outcomes of my research. For the purpose of this study, the research paradigm followed was of a qualitative nature, using semi-structured interviews, as discussed later in the chapter.

The chapter is divided into ten sections. Before my thesis stance is introduced, a general discussion of ontology and epistemology is set out. In this way, the landscape of the philosophy of science in my research is set before familiarising my chosen stance. I will then examine the philosophical underpinnings of my research and provide background information on myself. Following the philosophical underpinnings and background overview, I describe the data collection process and justify my chosen technique and, in the third section, I look at the design of the interview schedule adopted. I then move on to describe the research design chosen for this study and the reasons why it was considered appropriate in the context of this topic. The instrument that was used for data collection is also described and the procedures that were followed to carry out this study are included. The sixth section outlines the ethical procedures, norms and principles relating to this research. Section 7 is concerned with the planning and the five stages of the interview procedure. Section 8 attempts to describe the data analysis and coding process. This is followed by further elaborations on the interview surroundings. The chapter concludes with more discussion of the interview surroundings and the limitations I encountered.

3.2 Philosophical underpinnings

Although philosophical views remain largely hidden in research (Slife and Williams, 1995), they still impact the practice of research and thus need to be identified. According to Guba (1990a), all research is directed by the fundamental beliefs of the researcher, in the way he or she perceives reality, which is also referred to as a paradigm. Guba and Lincoln (1994) describe a paradigm as a basic set of beliefs or views that guides research action. This paradigm constitutes the abstract beliefs and principles that shape how a researcher interprets

the world and where the researcher is coming from in order to construct meaning embedded in data (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In other words, it is the lens through which a researcher sees the world and it defines a researcher's philosophical orientation. Guba (1990a, p. 18) states that paradigms can be 'characterized by the way their proponents respond to three basic questions, which can be characterized as the ontological, the epistemological and the methodological questions'. Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1994) believe that a paradigm comprises certain elements – namely, epistemology, ontology and methodology. Before the discussion is pursued on my thesis stance and my insider or outsider approach, these three concepts need to be tackled.

The ancient Greek roots of the concepts can provide a useful way to differentiate the concepts. Epistemology has its roots in the Greek word episteme, which means *knowledge*. The epistemological perspective of the researcher is a broad set of beliefs about how knowledge is acquired, which can also be defined as the relationship between the researcher and reality (Bryman and Bell, 2004), or how this reality is captured or known. In other words, it is used to describe how we know the truth or reality or, as Cooksey and McDonald (2011) describe it, what counts as knowledge within the world. Guba (1990, p.18) formulates the epistemological question as: 'What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the known (or knowable)?' In comparison, ontology is concerned with the nature of reality (Bryman, 2012).

Ontology traces its meaning from the ancient Greek from the participle on which means *to exist.* Slevitch (2011) defines ontology as the study of reality or things that comprise reality. According to Usher (1996), ontology is vital to a paradigm because it provides an understanding of the things that constitute the world (Scott and Usher, 2004). Guba (1990a, p. 18) formulates the ontological question as: 'What is the nature of the knowable, or what is the nature of reality?' In other words, is reality of a neutral nature, or the result of individual cognition? Thus, ontology in the social world is taken to mean the kinds of things that exist (Guba, 1990a). Ontology enables us to examine our underlying belief systems and philosophical assumptions as researchers about the nature of being, existence and reality (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017). Methodology is the comprehensive term used to refer to the research design, methods, approaches and procedures (Keeves, 1997). Guba (1990a, p. 18) formulates the methodological question as: 'How can the inquirer go about finding out the desired knowledge?' In the upcoming sections, I will answer these questions and touch upon my process of data gathering, participants, instruments used and data analysis, which are all parts of the broad field of methodology. All in all, the methodology articulates the rationality

and flow of the systematic processes followed in conducting my thesis, in order to gain knowledge about the research field and its questions (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017).

A number of paradigms have been proposed by researchers. However, Candy (1989) suggests that they can all be assembled into two main dominant taxonomies – positivist and interpretivist. The positivistic approach to ontology asserts that the world is external (Carson et al., 2001) and that there is a solitary objective reality to any research phenomenon or situation irrespective of the researcher's viewpoint or belief. They also preserve a clear division between science and individual experience, and fact and value judgement (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Positivists place emphasis on quantitative methods and hypotheses verification (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Statistical and mathematical methods are dominant in positivist research, which adheres to specifically structured research techniques to discover a single and objective reality (Neuman, 2000). The objective of positivist researchers is to remain isolated from research participants by generating distance between participants and themselves. Hence, as positivist researchers, they aim to use consistently rational and logical approaches (Carson et al., 2001; Hudson and Ozanne, 1988).

In contrast, the interpretivist approach to ontology considers reality as multiple and relative (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). According to Carson et al. (2001), interpretivists sidestep inflexible structural frameworks and implement more personal and elastic research structures which are central to capturing meanings in participants' interface process and helping to make sense of what is perceived as reality (Carson et al., 2001). This approach remains open to new knowledge during the course of the work and lets it progress with the help of participants. Thus, the aim of interpretivist research is to comprehend and interpret the meanings of human behaviour rather than to generalise and forecast motives and effects (Neuman, 2000; Easterby-Smith et al., 2003) through a hermeneutic technique (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Hermeneutics 'is the study of interpretive understanding or meaning' (Guba, 1990a, p. 16). In other words, for an interpretivist researcher it is imperative to comprehend motivations, meanings, causes and other individual experiences which are time- and context-bound (Neuman, 2000; Guba, 1990a).

My work is underpinned by an interpretivist and explorative approach where I am heavily engaged in the studied community and business field. I am producing an answer to a set of research questions and an interpretation of what it is like to be a German-Turkish professional, the obstacles my research participants face and also the opportunities they face in the German context and moreover how strategically and tactically these economic elite members make progress in careers in these circumstances.

In all qualitative research, the researcher is an integral part not only of research design, but also of data collection and analysis – in my case, even more so. The thesis is therefore clearly animated by my personal feelings, as I am not fully distanced from my research participants, and we have a lot in common. For example, if any other PhD student had tried to contact German-Turkish economic elite members, they most likely would have been less successful than me. Access to these individuals would likely have been problematic, if not unmanageable, had I not been a member of the group I was researching. Furthermore, I do not believe that it is neither probable nor desirable to be wholly objective when undertaking interpretivist research, as all scholars, in one way or another, influence their research in numerous ways – for instance, by choosing which data need to be examined and which methods to use when carrying out analysis. In accordance, Gallaher (2012) and Gusterson (1997) believe that work undertaken by a researcher who is personally engaged is more likely to uncover insightful evidence.

Hence, the results of my thesis are based on my interpretations through data analysis, I cannot be fully objective, as the interpretation is based on my own way of my prior knowledge, closeness to this field and understanding of a distinctive economic elite composed of successful business leaders, lawyers and doctors, who rose to prominence within the German-Turkish community. In accordance, Rose (1985, p. 77) believes that, 'there is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing'.

The relationship between me, my participants and the discourse is clearly outlined. The interpretivist and explorative position I have adopted is therefore reasonable, where I assemble facts and make sense of these as well as acknowledging that reality is accessed indirectly through others (Easterby-Smith et al., 2003) and that it is essential to access different viewpoints in order to develop an accurate reflection of reality. Moreover, my adopted position in this study is appropriate as the aim of my thesis is to examine and understand the motives and strategies of economic elite members from their own distinctive personal viewpoints, and, as such, are interpreted differently by each of them. By adopting an interpretivist and explorative position, I also adopt Guba's (1990a) ontological position of relativism. In this way I acknowledge that what is considered to be reality is experienced differently by each individual and thus, 'the permanence and priority of the real world of first-person, is a subjective experience' (Schwandt, 1994; p. 119). By adopting the ontological position of relativism, I distance myself from the positivist position, where reality is observed as one external objective reality. I do not believe that I will be able find the absolute truth with

my research, and this relativistic approach therefore enables me to be open-minded throughout the research process.

3.3 Reflexivity, researcher and research. An insider or outsider role?

More than 20 years after the publication by Headland et al. (1990), discussions about researcher insider versus outsider status remain relevant and alive. After all, research, particularly qualitative research, continues to take various shapes and forms. An explanation of my position is helpful in understanding the issue of access. My research clearly has a very personal dimension. I therefore expected a complete 'insider' perspective – the study of one's own group, where the researcher shares an identity, ethnicity, language and experiential base with the study participants (Asselin, 2003). An 'outsider', meanwhile, is not a member of that group (Gair, 2012). Whether I adopt an insider or an outsider approach is an epistemological matter as my researcher position in relation to the participants has a direct impact on the knowledge that is co-created within me and my participants and is an essential and ever-present aspect of my research (Griffiths, 1998). With an insider approach in particular, certain privileges and challenges arise. Bridges (2001) and Gair (2012) believe that insiders hold a privileged research position when conducting qualitative research, particularly when developing research questions, accessing and engaging with participants, planning interview schedules and undertaking data collection and analysis. However, possible challenges have been identified as well. While data may be richer and deeper because of the shared context of researcher and participants (Adler and Adler, 1987), assumptions of shared understandings can be problematic when collecting data (Kanuha, 2000). Further, the breaking down of the boundaries between researcher and participants may therefore disclose more data relating to the participants than they are comfortable with (Birch and Miller, 2000). Asselin (2003) has pointed out that an insider approach can also result in role confusion, where the researcher analyses data from a standpoint other than that of researcher.

Being born and raised in Germany, then graduating from an American boarding school in Switzerland and completing my entire graduate education in the United Kingdom, yet having Turkish/Kurdish roots, certainly made it easier to gain the trust of high-status professionals in Germany and build an authentic basis for communication. As a German with Turkish/Kurdish roots, whose grandparents were one of the first *Gastarbeiter* in Germany, I have seen my grandparents and family members struggle with job opportunities, economic hardship and integration hurdles and social stratification. While they kept various aspects of their birth country – such as food, traditions and clothing styles – other parts of their lives changed

profoundly as they found new jobs, raised families and took on responsibilities, such as home ownership, German citizenship and civic participation. They were driven to learn new trades. My grandfather was a schoolteacher and subsequently a grocer's shop owner for many years in Germany. My grandmother earned money for many years working in a fish factory packing albacore in cans. Their daughters, my mother and her four siblings are all educated professionals in their respective fields – thriving business owners, members of parliament, medical doctors, financial experts and legal representatives. Similarly, Germany opened its doors to my father and gave him a chance of a peaceful life with human rights. My father succeeded as a well-known businessman, employing hundreds of people in Germany and Turkey, in addition to financially supporting numerous scholarships for unprivileged students, and my younger brother is a law student, by all means a success story of immigration. While my grandparents and parents were successful in their new lives and in raising their children, I have also identified other German-Turkish professionals who have integrated into the German economy very well and have successfully engendered strategies and mechanisms to enhance their upward mobility.

My clear commonality with my participants automatically provided me a high level of trust and openness with them that would likely not have been present otherwise. Every researcher has a starting point that affords access into groups that might otherwise be closed to 'outsiders', especially in elite field research, where openness and its limitations for elite research participants is critical. I further discuss this in Section 3.9.2. My participants were often willing to share their experiences because there was safety, comfort and, moreover, an assumption of understanding and shared distinctiveness: as CC, a lawyer, put it: 'You are one of us and it is us versus them'. In 'them', he referred to the native German community – those on the outside who do not understand. As a qualitative researcher I do not believe that being an insider or outsider makes me a better or worse researcher; it just makes me a different type of researcher. When I was conducting my data analysis, I caught myself using terms such as 'we' and 'us' and 'they' and 'them'. On additional reflection, I comprehended that I occasionally shared experiences, feelings and viewpoints with my German-Turkish economic elite participants, and at other times I did not.

As I have spent over ten years studying and living in Switzerland and the UK, I found many parallels while I was doing my fieldwork. Nonetheless, I was missing much knowledge of everyday references, not only startling me but those around me, especially those in German-Turkish economic elite sectors who had studied in Germany. Thus, it is vital to grasp that the perspective of a complete 'insider', as I expected it, must be used with caution. I clearly

belong to the community in which I conducted my research. I state this intentionally, as it is important for qualitative researchers to situate themselves in the research (Ely et al., 1991). However, my definition of self, my own experiences and my expectations did not firmly position me as a full 'insider', but rather as having a mixture of both perspectives. Being born in Germany with migration roots and having studied my whole life abroad provided me with the opportunity to oscillate between the 'insider' and 'outsider' position. It is a truism that you know yourself through the way others see you. In the same vein, you learn about others via the way they see you. My Turkish links provided me with a source of access, while growing up in international environments outside the German-Turkish community kept me in a position of liminality to a certain degree, allowing me to examine notions of both the insider and outsider. My research participants' perception of me underlines this as well. It brought out issues of what it means to be German-Turkish, problematising integration and social mobility. One of my research participants said that, as a German-Turk in the third generation who has more than only economic capital, 'you are Turkish enough to gain our trust, but not too Turkish, since you studied and lived for a long time abroad and think and act German, which makes you very interesting to more than just one certain group', implying that I am both an insider and somehow an outsider. I believe that I have the advantage of being able to use the ambiguity of my identity to work the insider and outsider angle as appropriate.

3.4 Data collection technique

Justifying the technique

The data for my thesis have been collected through a series of semi-structured face-to-face interviews which, according to Ritchie and Lewis (2006), depend profoundly on the researcher's control and communication skills and allows a rich data collection (Bryman and Bell, 2011). The information will be presented in the form of an interview schedule, which should be useful in responding to the initial research question of this thesis rather than having an interesting interchange with the interviewee (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Additionally, Remenyi (2011) and Mikecz (2012) argue that an academic interview is not about gathering a simple list of facts. Instead, it is supposed to be a co-creation of the researcher and research participants, through what we may call a dialogic encounter (MacIntosh et al., 2012), where questions and data are exchanged between interviewer and interviewee about a topic of mutual relevance (Reissner, 2017). With this in mind, there are numerous benefits of choosing the academic interview method as a data collection technique in this thesis. First, it enables the researcher to initiate a truthful and comfortable communication level by assuring

participants of the sincerity of the research and emphasising that they will remain anonymous. Furthermore, it provides the opportunity to explain to each participant face-to-face the purpose and objectives of the study and why their participation in the interview matters (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015). Moreover, interviews are a useful tool to obtain information pertaining to perception, personal feelings and opinions, which have an enormous bearing on the findings of this thesis (Bryman and Bell, 2004). Hence, interviews are an effective tool to obtain information relating to past events (Fontana and Frey, 1994).

Qualitative interviews

Before embarking on any study, it is imperative to reflect carefully about techniques to use and fieldwork aims. The core aim of my fieldwork was to understand the economic elites and their positions from their own distinctive personal viewpoints. Furthermore, it was important for me to hear about some parts of their careers in their own words but with some direction from me as the researcher. As the research participants' opinions, feelings, reflexivity, views and beliefs are the centre of interest in this research methodology (Maclean et al., 2012), it was instantly clear that qualitative research interviewing would provide me with the right dataset as it offers much better insight into the interviewee's point of view and greater depth of answers (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Such interviews are held face-to-face in the form of an interactive dialogue with the interviewer and aim to interpret and understand the answers and views (Rapley, 2007; Warren, 1988).

The data resulting from qualitative interviews provides in-depth description (Potter and Hepburn, 2012), whereas the success level of the quantitative interview depends on the talent of the interviewer and his or her ability to cope and cooperate with the interviewee (Kvale, 2006). The final decision to employ a semi-structured interview method (versus an unstructured or structured one) was based on the premise that it allows a variety of themes and provides scope for flexibility within a given framework, meaning that specific questions could be adapted during the interview session depending on the answers of the participants (Creswell, 1998; Gartner and Birley, 2002). According to Thomas (1993), Pettigrew (1992) and Maclean et al. (2006), formulating the semi-structured interview schedule in personal terms and showing a keen interest in what the interviewee personally thinks tends to open up elite research participant. This allowed me to structure and direct the interview in a way representing more of a discussion and dialogue instead of an inflexible approach (Schoenberger, 1991).

Aberbach and Rockman (2002) advise in their research to avoid asking elites closed-ended questions as they do not like to be kept to a restricted set of answers and interview settings: 'Elites especially but other highly educated people as well – do not like being put in the straitjacket of closed-ended questions. They prefer to articulate their views, explaining why they think what they think' (p. 674). Similarly, Stephens (2007) underlines the importance of using the semi-structured interview technique with his elite participants, as it 'provide[s] the opportunity to gain an account of the values and experiences of the respondent in terms meaningful to them' (p. 205). All sections of the interview schedule had an open-ended themed question. In addition, all questions were followed by a number of possible prompt questions to ensure the flow of the dialogue. Thus, I wanted to break out of the straitjacket in my project research, as my highly educated participants would not appreciate a tight schedule with closed questions. Throughout all the interviews, the aim for me was to be an active listener, receptive to participants' comments and posing the right questions on time (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002).

3.5 Design of the interview subject areas

In using in-depth and open-ended interviews, some hidden dimensions of mobility, such as the fear of 'betraying' those 'left behind' or not gaining legitimacy and recognition in the new environment, were made explicit. This methodology was also essential to gauge the strategies that my research participants have instilled in their upwardly mobile careers. To gain a deeper sense of my research participants backgrounds and closely document their upward mobility trajectories, the interview schedule was intended to encourage members of the German-Turkish economic elite to express their views regarding their backgrounds, identities, education, career journeys, networks, equal opportunities and potential discrimination they may have experienced and whether they felt that they belonged to the German economic elite. Additionally, I prepared possible follow-up questions, as I was particularly interested in the educational surroundings they had experienced, the neighbourhoods in which they had grown up and the family dynamics that their lives were embedded in. Repeatedly, the interview went in the direction of the successive educational experiences of the participants and, in particular, the various actors involved in their orientation processes. I tried to capture the transition into higher education and the impressions, emotions and thoughts tied to their academic environments. These were often illustrated through multiple anecdotes. My interviews were filled with colourful stories about the difficulties they had faced and the strategies they had used to overcome them, or, in some cases, were continuing to use to come to terms with them.

Subsequently, I was very focused on extra-academic activities, interests and network establishments. Finally, the respondents reflected upon their hopes and dreams for the future and some guidelines for achieving these.

The interview agenda consisted of ten broad topics with two to four possible follow-up questions (please see Section 9.5 – Interview schedule for participants – for the interview schedule and the appendix for the list of detailed questions), which were introduced during the course of the interview as and when appropriate. Furthermore, the design of broad topic areas and prompt questions allowed room for manoeuvre in terms of reacting instinctively when respondents discussed matters prior to their usual place in the sequence of the interview schedule. This created an environment where research participants were able to feel at ease, allowing them to talk freely and without restrictions. The order of the interview questions was constructed so that I could progress from more general questions to more detailed and challenging ones. The grouping of questions into topics provided a clear structure which enhanced the flow of the interview. It also proved beneficial to put questions and prompt questions in a sequence which allowed the participants to elaborate on each of their previous answers. This kept the elite participants focused and encouraged them to share their thoughts.

Table 2: Interview schedule sections

#1 *Background information*	Section 1 of the interview schedule was designed to gather background information about the research participant: their background and family. This consisted of four prompt questions seeking to obtain data regarding the interviewee's cultural background, lifetime in Germany and personal elements, such as reason for migration and reasons for choosing their pathway. This part of the interview agenda dealt with the backgrounds and roots of the respondents. According to Denzin (1989, p. 29), 'belong not just to persons, but also to larger social collectivities'. In this sense, learning about the pathways of economic elite members of the German-Turkish community will offer insights into the wider group.
#2 **Identity**	Section 2 aimed to collect data regarding identity and individuality. The topic entailed three prompt questions relating to identity issues in Germany and their family's identity. The prompt questions were chosen so that I could uncover the importance of the perceived identity of German-Turkish elite members and their own views of their identities, as well as the role of this group in the German economic elite.
#3 **Education**	Germany offers a school system where an individual's career path is effectively decided at an early stage. It was therefore vital to cover the topic of education with three important subquestions. The discussion then moved to ethnic differences in the education system, the importance of education on the way up and whether the FRG education system filters out potential members of the future economic elite at an

	early age. The primary aim of Section 3 of the interview schedule was to understand whether the FRG education system serves as a 'filter' or a 'channel' to membership of the German economic elite, fostering exclusivity or, alternatively, inclusivity (Kanno and Norton, 2003).
#4 *Career journey*	Section 4 of the interview schedule attempted to explore how the participants have built successful businesses and reached executive positions. There were four possible prompt questions included in the schedule concerning individual achievement, to determine the relationship between the interviewee's career success and his or her roots, and the possible influences of these roots upon career success. The participants were asked in this section about particular strengths and strategies they might have utilised in the course of their career journey.
#5 *Networks*	Section 5 was concerned with networks and their importance for the economic elite. The prompt questions in this area included 'with whom and in what ways do research participants' network?' This question was included to gain an understanding of whether networking takes place only within the Turkish community or on a more universal basis, including among native German members of the elite. This question allowed me to gain insights into the participants' networks and the social and business circles.
#6 *Equal opportunities*	The existence or lack of equal opportunities is a vital topic as it provides some understanding of whether a person's background can be a limitation to their career. The main question included in the schedule was designed to elicit a view concerning equal opportunities in Germany. Prompt questions aimed to encourage the interviewee to disclose whether he/she had ever experienced the denial of opportunity when seeking to climb up.
#7 *Discrimination*	Closely related to equal opportunities is the topic of discrimination. Section 7 was designed to collect information relating to discrimination faced when seeking to access top business positions. Two additional subquestions sought to gather information on whether discrimination can also occur within top professional positions, at the elevated level.
#8 *Economic elite*	Building on the above two questions, Section 8 explored the research participants' views on whether Germans of Turkish origin have been able to join the German economic elites. The purpose of this section was to investigate the observations of high-profile businessmen/women working in leadership positions and understand whether they feel part of the German professional elite, or if they have perhaps created a parallel economic elite society of German-Turks.
#9 *Experience and evaluation*	Section 9 explored the experience and evaluation of the research participants'. The biggest obstacles, in particular the degree of proficiency in the German language, as well as participants' views on the rising number of German-Turkish businessmen/women, lawyers and medical doctors, were discussed.
#10 *Concluding questions*	The last section was designed to allow the interviewees to make final remarks and recommendations. Additionally, it allowed space for the interviewer to ask if participants could recommend their colleagues and business partners to take part in this study, adopting a snowballing technique.

3.5.1 Language

I carried out three pilot interviews with my family members to assure the clarity of the questions and the appropriateness of language used. Furthermore, I was careful not to use any vocabulary that would create an image of society or was designed to elicit particular answers from research participants, instead using open-ended questions about respondents' views. According to Bryman and Bell (2004), it is an advantage to interview respondents in their own language to ensure that their ability to communicate effectively is not impaired by having to express themselves in an unfamiliar language. As Bryman and Bell (2004) emphasise that research participants might be more expansive, forthcoming and revealing about their pathways when using their preferred language, it was decided that three sets of interview questions in English, German and Turkish would be provided. All interview sets have the same phrasing, wording and sequence, only the language is different. Nonetheless, language differences play an increasingly important role in research. Hence, language can rarely be translated by just substituting words. Language is a carrier of culturally coded meaning, meaning that translation between languages involves interpretation as well (Van Nes et al., 2010). The message communicated in the source language has been interpreted by me and translated into the target language in such a way that the receiver of the message understands what was meant. Being multilingual made it easier for me to make decisions about the cultural meanings that language carries and evaluate the degree to which the two different worlds they inhibit are 'the same' (Simon, 1996). Using preferred languages, in most cases German and Turkish, was a 'key' to 'unlock' more expansive personality and character. Language – the 'mother tongue' – can be associated with identity.

3.5.2 Access and sampling

The interview participants consisted of 45 German-Turkish professionals split evenly across the three fields: businessmen or women, high-ranking lawyers and medical doctors. All research participants have Turkish roots – either Turks who were born in Germany and hold a German passport or who had lived in the FRG for at least 30 years. Further detail is outlined in Table 3.2 – Overview of sample. These high-status professionals were identified through my own knowledge of the area, alongside references and recommendations from research participants and professional associates who had already been interviewed, using a snowball technique of personal recommendations – one respondent suggests another and the momentum leads to more and more contacts. My interest is principally in position holders such as CEOs, business owners, chairmen and chairwomen, shareholders, lawyers and

medical doctors. Given that occupational status is one component of socio-economic status, the power, income and educational requirements associated with various positions in the occupational structure have also been taken into account. The list of prestige occupations assembled by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) was used in the study. This data collection contains the prestige ratings that respondents to the 1989 General Social Survey assigned to various occupations, where legal professionals, medical practitioners and managers, directors, chief executives and senior officials are listed with the highest prestige scores (Davis and Smith, 1992). The aim was to progress the benchmark study of occupational prestige conducted by Hodge et al. in 1964, while increasing the quantity of rated professions. The choice of these three particular areas of professions also resulted from the members' high standing and status in society.

It became quickly apparent in my work that economic elites like to talk about their stories and their professions, as these are aspects which they feel passionate about. Once the first hurdle was overcome – the first contact, the first mail, the purpose statement – involvement then seemed quite appealing to more than half of the participants I contacted and they essentially responded to my request positively and willingly, with responses such as 'your assignment sounds really interesting!' (AÜ) and 'I would be glad to help, enlighten and be a part of this research' (HI). In accordance with Zuckerman (1972), elites are busy people and habitually reply in very short correspondence. I therefore made sure that further communication was comparatively brief and concise. This was clearly demonstrated in another email response to my request for an interview where all that was replied was, 'Dogus, happy to chat to you and support. Regards' (NA).

My supervisors supported me at every stage of my research and are well-known and respected researchers in the field of elites, yet I had to use my own social connections, as my fieldwork took place in Germany and was specifically about German-Turks. As well as making use of all imaginable networks, it was also important to be in the types of places where members of my sample were – for instance by attending events, which could be used for developing contacts and observing group dynamics (Goldstein, 2002). Attending conferences organised by the Turkish-German Chamber of Commerce, held in September each year, gave me integrity and were beneficial to reference in the initial access letter or in the course of the interview to ingratiate myself with the interviewee. At the time of my fieldwork this conference was held in Düsseldorf. This business forum event takes place every year and sees high-ranking German-Turkish professionals come together. The forum fosters international understanding and initiates new projects and channels of communication. Welch et al. (2002)

advise researchers on elites to draw attention to their institutional association, make good use of these and seek to obtain some influential sponsors whose endorsement of the research would guarantee the collaboration of other possible participants in the field. In accordance with this view, one researcher stated on elites that: 'you get in and get useful data from them (i.e. elites) if you know others that they know and respect' (Ostrander, 1993, p. 12). The difficulties of power balance and gaining open access to elite participants is discussed in more detail in Section 3.8 – Limitations and its settings. Preliminary contact was mainly carried out by mail and a general template was used for each (please refer to the appendix list in Section 9.3 - Template used for the initial contact letter). I also incorporated an information sheet (please refer to the appendix list in Section 9.4 – Research participant information document) and consent form (9.2 – Consent form for participation in interview research) as I felt that these were essential for me to define the aim of my paper and the level of contribution from each participant. 9.4 – Research participant information document – aims to explain to participants the nature of the research to which they are contributing and inform them about their role within the research (Remenyi, 2011). The questions and answers were designed to guide and support research participants while ensuring that potential questions and uncertainties that might arise were covered in an informative and enlightening manner. The document consists of 14 questions and clarifying answers relating to the benefits, purpose and confidentiality of the study. In accordance with Lilleker (2003), I considered this stage carefully and implemented it clearly to make a good first impression.

On a number of occasions, telephone calls and pre-meetings were held to introduce myself to the individuals and to finalise the dates and times of interviews. However, a handful of introductions took place by virtue of the generosity and prestige of the first eight participants. The access mode of the so-called snowball technique, where existing study subjects suggest future subjects from among their connections, worked very well for me, providing me with sponsorship and references from members of the research population, which greatly facilitated further links in the chain of respondents.

The interview sample initially started with the support of eight business leaders, lawyers and doctors who were remarkably well known in the German-Turkish society and had a global profile. These participants effectively served as the sponsor contributors, also called gatekeepers, to my research and displayed a keen interest in the focus of the research topic, offering to make recommendations and references to individuals in related industries within their network. This led to direct introductions with high-status members of all three sectors, some of whom were willing to contribute to the research and share their experiences with me.

Of these eight, two helped me locate a further three individuals to interview. Another participant was my 'magic key' who provided me with seven interviewees by recommending their names during our interview and then giving me approval to use her name and reference her. Occasionally, I was repeatedly rescheduled and then finally ignored. Regardless of this, I am confident that even though my sample is of a medium size, it appears that it includes the most prominent members of the German-Turkish economic elite. This is indicated by two core observations. First, when asking whether the research participants could endorse any other participants in their network, the research participant frequently began to name the same individuals and occasionally even those I had already talked to. Second, once the number of interviews increased, I started to identify parallel themes where participants used similar devices in their responses to describe their actions, strategies and emotions.

3.5.3 Piloting the interviews

According to Altman et al. (2006, p. 1), a 'good research strategy requires careful planning and an experimental study will often be a part of this strategy. A test study was therefore of substantial importance and the pilot of the interview schedule was personally delivered to the supervisor and several postgraduate students at the University of Exeter to obtain their opinions and comments on the interview design, order, clarity and phrasing of the questions as put forward in existing literature. A test study is a small assessment designed to gather information prior to a larger investigation with the intention of enhancing the main study's quality and efficiency (Altman, 1991).

Even though a test study has a relatively limited scope in comparison with a pilot study or the main investigation, it can have a positive impact by highlighting deficiencies in the design of the planned research before time and input are extended. Undertaking a test study enabled me to gain an insight into whether staff members and academic associates understood the interview questions in the way that they were intended. Moreover, it allowed me to perform a critical analysis of all aspects of the interview schedule, such as phrasing, language, type and order, before the actual interviews took place. For example, one of my test participants, another PhD student, emailed me as follows:

> Certainly I would be pleased to talk to you about the issues set out in your title. On one condition: you tell me why you chose to do a PhD on this topic and where you see your future going.

He later advised me to always introduce my aim, where my interest in the research comes from and my determination in more detail. He recommended that I provide a detailed

understanding of the possible interview beforehand to generate the best interview setting. Following the review, these recommendations and remarks were taken into account. It was initially anticipated that six test study interviews would be conducted – three with male respondents and three with female respondents. However, in reality, only three were realised, two with male participants and one with a female participant. I felt that my competence had already been successfully tested and that the test research participants had served their purpose and had adequately benefited the research process. Additionally, a discussion with my supervisors was held to approve and ratify the important elements of the schedule. Accordingly, the interview design and questions were revised, and improved schedules were presented to the research participants. It was quickly apparent from the test study experience that research participants should be able to tell their story and the interviewer should feel free to vary questions as the discussion progresses, so that the schedule does not necessarily stick to a 'script' or set of agreed questions.

3.6 Ethical procedures

The pledge of ethical research is a particularly vital subject to which a great deal of attention has been paid in conducting this research. There are imperative reasons why I adhered to ethical norms in this thesis. First and foremost, ethically minded research promotes the aims of the study, which include furthering knowledge, promoting truth and ensuring the prevention of errors and misrepresentations (Bulger et al., 2002), thus avoiding inaccuracies and distorting and misleading data. Furthermore, such terms encourage values that are essential for a collaborative working climate. Elliott (2005) states that one of the strengths of social research is the context and depth of detail. He underlines that imaginative rebuilding and a compassionate approach are essential for the researcher to make sense of the data collected, thereby laying the foundations for a competent thesis. The need for ethical attentiveness is therefore deemed fundamental. As a result of the limited size of the population studied and my own relationship to it, I placed particular emphasis upon informed consent and discretion. Abiding by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Framework for Research ethical guidelines (2018), I took all necessary measures that the ESRC Framework expects to ensure that confidentiality was of high priority. As this research involved a considerable degree of cooperation and coordination between the researcher and the research participant, values such as trust, accountability and fairness were essential to achieving a respectful working environment (Dunscombe and Jessop, 2002). The consent form and research participant information document provided, assuring anonymity, were of

critical importance in guaranteeing ethical procedures. As presented below, I have taken four I have taken into consideration in this research.

3.6.1 Informed consent

The consent form, which was given personally to all research participants prior to the start of the interview, as recommended by existing literature (Bulger et al., 2002), is part of the researcher's responsibility in ensuring that all research participants agree to participate in the research of their own free will. Additionally, it ensures that collecting and processing of their personal data is carried out without putting pressure on or influencing the research participants in any way, and that they have been informed about these procedures. Furthermore, I informed every participant before each interview that they were entirely free to refuse to answer any questions and could withdraw from the interview process at any time without needing to provide a reason. In such a case, the information provided would not be used for further research and any records relating to the research participants' contribution would be instantly destroyed. To keep the research robust, each interviewee was entitled to request a transcript of the interview, a copy of the interview recording and a debriefing session, so that the protocol could be reformed or adjusted at any time. I continually acted to protect my research participants and obeyed the University of Exeter's ethical guidelines. My research ethics approval was granted by the University of Exeter and my research was conducted in accordance with what was approved. The reason for obtaining this approval form from the University of Exeter was that I initially started my PhD research there before I switched to Newcastle Business School.

Moreover, I also provided both an English and Turkish consent form. I was aware that conducting research with some German-Turks who prefer speaking Turkish instead of English or German meant that I also needed to have the informed consent form professionally translated into Turkish.

3.6.2 Confidentiality of data

The pledge of research participants' confidentiality is a particularly important issue. The intention of the confidentiality requirement is to ensure that no harm comes to the participant on account of his or her involvement in the research and that the researcher takes steps to protect their identity from being discovered by others (Kaiser, 2009). Confidentiality in my research relates to the research participants' opinions and beliefs, which the research

participant has the right to keep private. To ensure confidentiality throughout the entire research process, all respondents were given a pseudonym, as suggested in existing literature, to safeguard their privacy (Wiles et al., 2008). When presenting or quoting individual cases and responses, only code names were used. Within the thesis, the name and family name of each interviewee has been coded. When the thesis is archived, all names and business information will therefore be redacted to protect participants' identities. The nature of the research could certainly, to a degree, be seen as intrusive and personal – participants were at times engaged with in depth and often at their place of work. Also, all questions were thought through carefully in advance so as not to cause any form of disruption to the participant's personal life. Accordingly, this research has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Officer at the University of Exeter and permission for this research to commence has been granted.

3.6.3 Harm to subjects and researcher

I highlighted that all respondents have the right to extract their contribution at any time. They also may ask to end the interview at any time with permission to be withdrawn even if previously granted. On occasion, where participants allowed audio records to take place, the information provided and records relating to the contribution must be instantly destroyed after my transcription has taken place.

3.6.4 Honesty in research

Semi-structured interview schedules with open-ended questions naturally raise certain concerns regarding the sincerity and reliability of the data gathered. Throughout the whole research process, all research participants were informed that it is imperative to conduct the work responsibly and in light of the moral and legal order of the society in which it was practised, since social research should remain of benefit to society and the groups and individuals within it (Jeffrey, 2001). Openness and honesty with participants have been preserved throughout and at no point have methods of examination been employed in a manner anticipated to deceive or lead the research subjects.

Once they understood that my aim was to look deeper than other commentaries, which typically might ask them what they earned and how they have reached their point of success, it was explained that, instead, my research aimed to explore how they have succeeded in climbing the career ladder in Germany, difficulties they have faced along the way and how they have developed strategies to surmount these. Further, it analyses how networks and other

key actors played an important role in this, so the discussion often shifted to become much more in-depth, authentic and sincere. It might be of use to note that it is not unusual in Germany to know what certain sectors earn, which is often communicated proactively by the media. In the United Kingdom, people would be astounded about this and would perceive it as brashness (Dexter, 2006). On matters where independent evidence concerning their educational pathway, wealth and income was available, via cross-checking, no errors or inauthentic responses were identified by the researcher. Throughout my research, I abided by the Newcastle University guiding principles for ethical research and did my utmost to avoid potential misconduct and harm to the very best of my knowledge and ability. It goes without saying that all research participants contributed voluntarily in the research and received no compensation for their time, which is, of course, usually very limited. As all interviews were anonymous, none of the participants were able to profit from publicly reporting their views or the image they presented at interview.

3.7 Five stages of the interview procedure

Locating economic elites might seem moderately straightforward and effortless because of their high visibility. However, this is not the case in practice: getting a foot in the door and obtaining their first-hand accounts of personal events can be exceptionally demanding (Laurila, 1997; Welch et al., 2002). Obtaining access to elites is difficult enough – gaining their commitment and building a relationship with them is even more challenging. Once rapport is established, another challenge is to maintain a critical distance. My interview protocol was therefore divided into six different stages as follows: (a) arriving and starting the interview, (b) recording and transcription, (c) verifying the transcript, (d) end of the interview and, lastly, (e) preparing the field notes (Mikecz, 2012).

3.7.1 Arriving and starting the interview

On first meeting the participant, the objective was to establish a warm but, at the same time, formal bond by shaking hands and thanking the research subject for agreeing to participate in the interview. Before moving on it was vital that I briefly introduced myself and provided the research participant with some details such as my name, occupation and the specialisation of the degree pursued. Occasionally, I did not have to introduce myself, as I knew some of the research participants beforehand. The objective of the visit, the research focus and the questions were clarified, and, frequently, there arose a small exchange of views. It was deemed important to create a rapport with participants, striving to engender a trusting

ambiance so as to inspire them to express their views and perceptions without the anxiety of facing negative consequences. With the help of the information sheet I briefly explained to each research participant the importance of his/her contribution to this research and by what means he/she was chosen to be a participant. Accordingly, I was able to build up trust and confidence. Establishing trust and building rapport is not a linear process, and the roles need to be continuously evaluated and adapted. The following issues arise in rapport building: occurrence of multiple roles, problems of 'faking friendship' and discrepancies in understanding the purpose of rapport between the researcher and research participant (Hays and Singh, 2011). In accordance with this, de Laine (2000) cautioned, 'the fieldworker is sometimes required to perform a delicate balancing act to meet the obligations and responsibilities owed to various parties, and still promote their own research' (p. 119). According to Bryman and Bell (2003), in qualitative interviewing there is regularly a certain extent of variation in the amount of time each interview takes. It was therefore communicated in advance that the interview would last approximately 60 minutes, but there could be a small amount of variation in the length of the interview. The interviews were on average 70 minutes long. The shortest was 50 minutes and the longest lasted for 85 minutes.

The distribution in Table 3 – Overview of sample – was made according to gender, age, professional field, venue of the interview, date of the interview, length and whether an audio recording took place. In total, 32 male and 13 female research participants', with ages ranging from 37 to 64, were interviewed. 15 businessmen and women, 15 medical doctors and 15 lawyers were consulted. In the business sector, respondents were professionals with organisational, managerial or employee responsibilities within a company, as well as professionals occupying CEO or owner positions. In the legal sector, I included lawyers who worked as associates or partners in corporate law firms and lawyers who worked independently or for the big corporate law firms. Finally, the respondents in the medical field were drawn from various professional positions with medical responsibilities, including chief medical doctors in hospitals and medical doctors who worked independently in their own firms or operated around the world.

Table 3: Overview of Sample

Interviewee pseudonym	Gender	Age	Field	Venue and location	Date	Length	Audio recorded
# 1 AE	Male	50 – 59	Business	Office/Turkey	18.04.2013	85 min.	Yes
# 2 LZ	Female	40 – 49	Business	Office/Germany	28.04.2013	80 min.	No
# 3 YB	Male	40 – 49	Business	Office/Germany	30.04.2013	75 min.	No
# 4 NA	Male	50 – 59	Business	Office/Germany	21.05.2013	80 min.	No
# 5 HB	Male	40 – 49	Business	Office/Germany	07.08.2013	70 min.	No
# 6 AÜ	Male	50 – 59	Business	Office/Germany	12.11.2013	80 min.	Yes
# 7 OS	Male	60 – 69	Business	Home/Germany	02.12.2013	85 min.	No
# 8 HA	Female	40 – 49	Business	Office/Germany	07.02.2014	65 min.	No
# 9 ES	Male	30 – 39	Business	Office/Germany	03.03.2014	80 min.	No
# 10 AA	Male	50 – 59	Business	Office/Germany	10.04.2014	85 min.	No
# 11 OY	Female	Unknown	Business	Coffee shop/Germany	24.04.2014	75 min.	No
# 12 BU	Male	60 – 69	Business	Office/Germany	12.05.2014	80 min.	No
# 13 CB	Male	50 – 59	Business	Office/Germany	28.05.2014	70 min.	Yes
# 14 OI	Male	40 – 49	Business	Office/Germany	10.06.2014	75 min.	No
# 15 MS	Male	40 – 49	Business	Office/Germany	25.06.2014	65 min.	No
# 16 NM	Male	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	16.04.2013	75 min.	Yes
# 17 OY	Male	30 – 39	Law	Lunch/Germany	07.05.2013	80 min.	No
# 18 NT	Male	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	23.09.2013	75 min.	No
# 19 GK	Male	50 – 59	Law	Office/Germany	30.09.2013	75 min.	No
# 20 KA	Female	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	10.10.2013	50 min.	No
# 21 CC	Male	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	18.10.2013	75 min.	No
# 22 FA	Female	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	04.11.2013	70 min.	No
# 23 BN	Female	30 – 39	Law	Coffee shop/Germany	05.12.2013	75 min.	No
# 24 AE	Male	40 – 49	Law	Lunch/Germany	19.12.2013	75 min.	No
# 25 KD	Male	30 – 39	Law	Office/Germany	10.01.2014	65 min.	Yes
# 26 MH	Male	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	22.03.2014	70 min.	No
# 27 EV	Male	30 – 39	Law	Office/Germany	04.04.2014	60 min.	No
# 28 MA	Male	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	07.05.2014	70 min.	No
# 29 CT	Male	50 – 59	Law	Coffee shop/Germany	28.05.2014	70 min.	No
# 30 DK	Female	40 – 49	Law	Office/Germany	09.10.2015	75 min.	No
# 31 DM	Female	50 – 59	Medicine	Office/Germany	22.04.2013	70 min.	Yes
# 32 HI	Male	50 – 59	Medicine	Office/Germany	10.05.2013	80 min.	No
# 33 SU	Female	40 – 49	Medicine	Office/Germany	04.07.2013	75 min.	No
# 34 AÜ	Male	50 – 59	Medicine	Office/Germany	19.09.2013	75 min.	No
# 35 ÖI	Female	50 – 59	Medicine	Home/Germany	18.10.2013	70 min.	No
# 36 TK	Male	60 - 69	Medicine	Clinic/Germany	29.10.2013	70 min.	No
# 37 AN	Male	40 – 49	Medicine	Clinic/Germany	11.11.2013	75 min.	No
# 38 AC	Male	Unknown	Medicine	Lunch/Germany	13.12.2013	75 min.	No
# 39 RK	Female	50 – 59	Medicine	Office/Germany	23.01.2014	70 min.	No
# 40 FK	Female	40 – 49	Medicine	Office/Germany	25.02.2014	70 min.	Yes
# 41 EZ	Male	40 – 49	Medicine	Office/Germany	26.04.2014	70 min.	Yes
# 42 HY	Male	50 – 59	Medicine	Clinic/Germany	05.05.2014	75 min.	No
# 43 MK	Male	60 – 69	Medicine	Office/Germany	15.05.2014	60 min.	No
# 44 SW	Female	Unknown	Medicine	Clinic/Germany	27.05.2014	75 min.	No
# 45 IK	Male	40 – 49	Medicine	Lunch/Germany	02.06.2014	70 min.	No

It would be false to say that I was not in some way attached to my research participants, in the same way as any researcher becomes involved with their participants. I am greatly appreciative of their willingness to speak to me, as I have worked with our dialogues in my head for a very long time. Nonetheless, I have tried to preserve a critical distance throughout my interpretivist and exploratory approach. I constantly tried to maintain a detached, observational attitude, even towards participants whom I respect and look up to, seeking to keep research commitments somewhat separate from personal attachments. At the arriving and starting stage, I specifically asked again if the respondent was ready to proceed to the final part, to check if there were any other questions which had arisen in the meantime. The next step before asking any of the questions in the interview schedule was to complete the requirements of the ethics committee standards. This involved handing over the research participant information documents, briefly clarifying the direction of the research and how the collected data would be used. In addition, the informed consent letter was given to the interviewee to be read through and signed by him or her, confirming that the whole procedure had been understood. The fact that the interview was going to be recorded was also mentioned and this is explained in more detail in the next section. It was clearly communicated and often emphasised that all answers and views provided by the research participant would be kept entirely safe, locked away and stored on an anonymous basis by the researcher. Afterwards, participants were given five to ten minutes to read both documents and ask any questions regarding the methodology. Furthermore, it was stressed that the interviewee was entitled to ask at any time for a pause. Participants could also ask for a copy of the interview recording (if this was permitted by the interviewee) at any time. As the time of these economic elites is habitually limited, it was important that these interviews were well planned and organised. Also, Zuckerman (1972) and Harvey (2011) underline the significance of detailed preparation and concentration throughout the interview process. This lessens status imbalance in particular by stressing how sincerely the interviewer takes the dialogue and by foretelling a 'positive image in order to gain their respect' (Harvey, 2011, p. 434).

3.7.2 Recording and transcription

As the objective of an interview is to acquire data which will then be used to answer the research questions, recording the interview plays a vital role when verbal evidence needs to be accurately captured (Remenyi, 2011). It is very common and highly recommended that the researcher uses audio recording in a qualitative research project.

It is in the interest of every researcher not to be distracted and to concentrate on taking notes down while carrying out the interview process, while engaging with the interviewee. Consequently, it is essential that the researcher is highly attentive to what is being discussed in the interview, which means following up on interesting points touched upon, probing and asking prompt questions where appropriate and necessary, and paying attention to any possible inconsistencies which might arise in the participant's answers (Bryman and Bell, 2003). To ensure these conditions, a recording device was used which significantly facilitates the subsequent creation of an interview transcript.

Each interviewee was asked for permission to be audio recorded and authorisation was given when signing the informed consent letter form. In addition, it was emphasised that the voice recording would be stored on an anonymous basis and, once the research was completed, it would be destroyed. Despite my efforts at establishing rapport, less than one fifth of the participants agreed with my request for the interview to be audio recorded. The majority of my participants expressed the wish not to be audio recorded because of the personal nature of the questions. In these instances where the research participants showed discomfort with being audio recorded, the recording device was switched off and notes were taken throughout the interview. Moreover, the question of why they preferred not to be recorded is interesting, suggesting that, with the audio recorder switched off, the research participants felt more able to be open in their interview, meaning that the data they provided often proved to be especially valuable. Furthermore, two participants asked me to turn off the audio recording while the interview was underway. It was also noticeable that when audio recording did not take place, more pauses and breaks in proceedings arose, as I had to take more detailed notes. This did not tend to disrupt the interview process – rather, it slowed down the process slightly. A further element which transpired during the first interview is that, as soon as the recording device was switched off, the participant unexpectedly reflected on the interview and the question schedule. In this instance it would have been inappropriate to switch on the device again, so notes and remarks were recorded on paper. As participants sometimes tended to open up at the end of the dialogue, I offered to keep the device switched on, given that some of the most valuable insights are shared at the end of the interview. Additional notes from both recorded and unrecorded interviews, including information on observations made during the interview, the surroundings and non-verbal behaviour, were written down shortly after each interview. The intention was to avoid difficulties and incompleteness when remarks had been scribbled down in haste because of the pace of the interview, sometimes making them difficult to read. Furthermore, all fresh thoughts and ideas vanish after some time.

Although I am multilingual and fluent in three different languages – German, English and Turkish – this may not always be enough to satisfactorily capture the meanings of all answers. A professional, experienced multilingual translator was therefore consulted where meanings were unclear, with the intention of avoiding errors and misinterpretations where a full understanding of the transcript was not possible. Assigning the necessary transcription and translation process to a culturally sensitive transcriber/translator enabled me to focus on the interview, participants' remarks, notes and the evaluation (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). Even for qualified multilingual researchers, misinterpretations can creep in. Consequently, the quality and exactness of any uncertainty was immediately double-checked with a translator. However, the transcription is not the end product itself but rather provides the information required for the analytical chapters of the study (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The transcript was produced in two stages. First, the 'raw material' was gathered in the form of notes, remarks and the taped recording. Second, two recordings at a time were sent via email to the culturally sensitive qualified transcriber/translator and transcribed within a week of their receipt. Subsequently, all notes concerning respondents' intonations and hesitations, which were taken throughout the interview, were drawn together with the transcript into a document providing all the data obtained from each interview, as suggested by McEvoy (2006).

3.7.3 Verifying the transcript

The last step in creating the transcript, before the data are analysed, is to verify the transcript and provide a debriefing opportunity to all research participants. All participants were informed that a fully written-up transcript of the findings could be emailed or posted to each of them, so as to authenticate a fair reflection of their views. This process was fortunately very straightforward, as most participants said there was no need for further authorisation and adjustments. A small number asked for a transcript to be sent via email. In such cases, research participants' were able to read the interview transcript and state whether their answers were a good reflection of their viewpoint. In a few cases, the interviewee requested small amendments to be made to improve accuracy and understanding. For instance, KD, a lawyer, asked for a transcript to double-check that everything was appropriately interpreted.

Once I received the revised version, I understood that they had added a couple of sentences to make their points robust. Gathering data through interviews can certainly cause complications of a very time-consuming nature. It is not unusual in research that researchers have to wait for the interviewee's company lawyer to read over the transcript before confirming it. However, it was often emphasised that data collection was confidential and, presumably for this reason, no

participants required a third party to read over their transcript. However, a few follow-ups took place. Such follow-up correspondence with participants is a beneficial tool to enhance the quality of the research project. Post-interview interactions with participants can provide further useful insights, particularly when research participants' are willing to engage directly in the process of factual verification of the findings (Thomas, 1993).

3.7.4 End of the interview

At the end of each interview, I thanked the participants once again for the time contributed towards this research. Subsequently, a brief summary of the research, together with an opportunity to discuss the data supplied, was also given. This provided the participants with a chance to see whether their input was correctly characterised by the synopsis (Mikecz, 2012). According to Remenyi (2011), this represents another vital 'debriefing' feature of the interview. The precise summaries at the end of each interview arguably led to less of a demand from participants for written-up transcripts. A short summary of the main points discussed in the interview and how they were interpreted helped me to avoid such misunderstandings.

At this stage the snowball technique was referred to, and the interviewees were asked to recommend associates and business partners who might also be approached in pursuing the research study. This method was certainly fruitful and achieved more than a convoluted and often unproductive series of faxes and telephone calls to secretaries or assistants of potential research participants. Snowballing for my work began with the key nodes of the social networks of German-Turks. I started by interviewing individuals who occupy central positions in the social hierarchy of Turkish migrant communities and who are not only knowledgeable and financially privileged in these communities but also greatly respected by their members. Such individuals can both formally and informally smooth the progress of the admission of researchers to the research population, and thus are elementary for reaching respondents who are otherwise not easily approachable (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006). Ending the interview with an open-ended discussion was also a useful way to check the completeness of the information acquired. If asking prompt questions was not suitable, I would then usually repeat the participant's own words as a question, or read back the notes I had taken, usually leading to further details and elucidation. Afterwards, I regularly discussed my observations with my participants in informal conversations, attaining deeper insights and perspectives. The final valuable request before leaving the interviewee's office was to ask for approval to

interact with the interviewee again should there be a need for further questions and explanations.

3.7.5 Field notes

At first glance, writing field notes appears deceptively straightforward – interview the participant, see what happens, then write it down. Nonetheless, a greater understanding of these dynamics is inevitable as note taking at this juncture of the research process may have a profound impact on the final outcomes (Wolfinger, 2002). Part of taking field notes involves capturing the impression, attitude and answer formulation of interviewees and the environment in which the dialogue has taken place. Field notes can be written down at any time throughout the interview with the aim of aiding the researcher in remembering aspects of the meeting which may have been tangential to the formal interview itself (Emerson et al., 2001). Another aspect of compiling field notes is to write down and evaluate how well the interview went and whether any lessons were learned from it and improvements made as a consequence. Equally, where positive elements were identified, these were also recorded, to utilise and capitalise on these positive aspects in further interviews. Yet, when researchers type up and analyse their field notes, they unavoidably make judgements concerning the order in which they document what occurred in the field. As the majority of the research participants in my fieldwork did not want to be audio recorded, and, at the same time, my interview numbers increased, I realised how vital the structure of my field notes was. Noticeably, there are no rules on how research field notes should be accumulated, yet my prime consideration was to find a format and style to fit with the needs of my research project, found to be workable and useful once data were transcribed and analysed. I therefore quickly figured out that a manual system involving colouring important sentences, writing down my answers in structured sheets and asking for a pause between each question which would allow me to take my notes accurately was the most effective method for me.

I prepared a sheet before each interview which would allow me to take notes effectively and in a quick manner. In addition, field notes were taken during recording sessions on observations made during the interview, the surroundings and non-verbal behaviour in particular. This certainly does not mean that audio recorded interviews were more useful, but it gave me additional time to read through the lines of responses, discussion and rhetoric. I ended up with three pages of field notes on average. I subsequently used them to analyse and interpret my data, first using a manual organising system, where I broke down the data into three themes which arose the most. I will touch upon these in the following Section 3.8 – Data

analysis and coding. Notes from both the recorded and unrecorded interviews were transcribed soon after, with the intention of getting all fresh thoughts, impressions and follow-ups quickly onto paper. Coding the data into themes, topics, phrases and keywords allowed me to review the data, make comparisons and identify any patterns that required further investigation. Further detail will follow in the subsequent section. Overall, the field notes assisted me in reflecting on my own interview practice, enabling me to become more sensitised to the interview surroundings each time.

3.8 Data analysis and coding

'You should get this right. It will be exciting to see what you come up with' (AC)

According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), data analysis is focused on techniques and processes that enable the scientist to organise, structure and interpret data that have been gathered. The data analysis in my work was an iterative process, starting from the time of data collection and lasting throughout the research. This aligns with Miles and Huberman (1994), who believe that robust data analysis is best undertaken from the early stages of data collection and throughout the research project. The data analysis was an ongoing iterative process that became noticeably more structured and organised through the employment of both the organisational software tool NVivo and the manual technique I employed myself. My analysis involved transcribing the interviews and analysing the 45 transcripts, in addition to cross-referencing the data with further sources. Examination of the fieldwork data exposed diverse observations on the same event, and substantiation with secondary sources therefore helped to support and contextualise their standpoints (Lilleker, 2003). In addition, this represented proof that there is no single reality. Coding is one of the main steps taken during data collection and analysis to organise and make sense of textual data. Codes serve to label, compile and organise data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In other words, codes are tags for allocating units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. The core notion of coding is that the texts containing the raw data are indexed. Codes – keywords, phrases or mnemonics – that indicate the occurrence of specific information are assigned to segments of the transcript. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 56) define codes as:

> Tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes usually are attached to 'chunks' of varying size – words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting.

I decided to start with the coding method preferred by Miles and Huberman (1994), which creates a provisional start list of codes prior to the fieldwork. My main influences have been Miles and Huberman (1994), Miles et al. (2014) and Silverman (2000; 2016). Really what I was interested in was systematic classification and categorisations of themes and I have tried to be systematic to derive categories and constructs from both the literature and where relevant from my own research. I have also tried to be systematic with my definitions, with my classifications and with the categories I have used and I have tried to be as exacting as possible. I have also aimed throughout my thesis to map the data systematically to these constructs, to get the relevant headings, quotes and coding list. This initial list derived from my interview subject areas, problem areas and key variables. During the early stages of analysis, it became apparent that considering my findings in three broad categories would be useful and make the management of my data more practicable. This involved data relating to three strategies: the mobility patterns and strategies of the interview participants; the predominant motives across the occupational fields and why the professional elite members are reliant on their local German-Turkish communities; and, finally, the motives of networking with like-minded individuals from similar backgrounds. Afterwards, I went through all my textual data (interview transcripts, direct notes, field observations, etc.) in a systematic way. The ideas, concepts and themes were subsequently coded to fit the categories. In accordance with Seidel and Kelle (1995), I view the role of coding in my fieldwork as noticing relevant phenomena, collecting examples of these occurrences, and analysing these to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures. This allowed me to compare categories across the data, to change or drop categories and to make a hierarchical order of codes.

Although I gained familiarity in using the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) package NVivo, I deliberately chose to use both NVivo and the manual data analysis method using a simple Microsoft Word processing package. This was mainly because of my own individual preference for working with verses that are on a page in front of me. I could straightforwardly make handwritten notes owing to the relatively small scope of my interview sample, which evidently was vital to make this style of analysis feasible and possible. Additionally, I used the NVivo qualitative software package to help manage the large volume of data. Undoubtedly, using NVivo had its benefits, as I employed it as a data analysis support to provide an accurate frequency of the mention of words and the density of coverage of particular themes, which I took notice of while doing my manual analysis. I believe that pre-use of NVivo gave me a comprehensive understanding of the significance of

emergent themes relative to the entire data corpus and, hence, made the coding and segmenting more robust.

It is a fallacy to claim that the NVivo tool actually does any analysis, as every researcher must create categories, undertake segmenting and coding and decide what to retrieve and collect. For this reason, I decided to print out every single interview transcript, with three piles for each interviewee group, the business leaders, medical doctors and lawyers, and subsequently highlighted passages using different coloured pens. In this manner I used thematic analysis, where I gave labels to the files. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis, through its theoretical freedom, provides a highly flexible approach that can be adjusted for the essentials of many studies, providing a rich and detailed account of data. Braun and Clarke (2006) and King (2004) also argue that thematic analysis is a beneficial method for researching and analysing the viewpoints of different research participants, emphasising parallels and differences. Passages were therefore frequently highlighted in more than one colour, as elite participants were able to express more than one idea in a sentence. Consequently, I switched each time to the laptop and copied each colour into its own manuscript, providing each colour with a title based on its theme, and, lastly, printed these documents all over again. Likewise, I ensured that I always had the original transcripts readily to hand to make sure that I kept track of the tone and overall impact of the interview. Accordingly, in the course of the analysis, I completed various evaluations of each text and continuously worked through the transcript over and over again, observing further themes, overlaps and also disagreement, not only between interviews but also between the different elite groups.

Coding allowed me to summarise and synthesise what had materialised in my fieldwork. In linking data assemblage and interpreting the data, coding became the basis for developing my analysis chapters. Nonetheless, it is vital to understand that coding and analysis are not synonymous – instead, coding is a vital aspect of analysis. Moreover, qualitative data analysis was not a distinct route taken at the final stages of my research, but rather an all-encompassing activity that endures throughout the thesis (Basit, 2003).

3.9 Limitations and its settings

There was variation in the interview settings. For example, I met medical doctors in their lunchbreak rooms, lawyers in court cafés and businesspeople in directors' suites on rooftops and sometimes even at participants' homes. Being flexible with times, dates and locations

enabled me to provide research participants with as comfortable an interview setting as possible.

Arguably, gaining access to elite individuals and surroundings is much more complex than studying non-elites (Pettigrew, 1992). Securing research access to elites is observed as particularly complicated as they, by their very nature, 'establish barriers that set their members apart from the rest of society' (Hertz and Imber, 1993, p. 3). Securing access to elites therefore requires far more persistence, meaning that the procedure can be more protracted, multifaceted and time-consuming than conducting research in the field of non-elites. Yet, as discussed in Section 3.3.5, I managed to gain access to some elite members, especially through networks and the snowball technique. However, the interview settings did raise concerns and possible limitations.

3.9.1 Power imbalance: 'You don't need to turn that thing on' (ES, 39)

The above quote was told to me before one of my interviews. In fact, I did not in this case have the chance to ask the participant whether I could record our interview, as he was simply faster to reach the subject than me. He dictated this to me, in the same way that he had decided the setting of the interview. He chose a room in his office where many other employees were sitting as well. This would not have been my first choice of venue because of the volume of background noise, which made writing field notes and interviewing at the same time additionally challenging. He had slotted me in to his busy schedule. He makes the guidelines. Indeed, both the interview participant and I use power, but in this respect I felt powerless. Through this empirical instance, I shall illustrate actions through which power was variously exercised during the interview stage, indicating ways in which I as a researcher had become less powerful within the interview process and therefore limited in fully questioning the scope of my interview schedule. I am aware that the association between me as a researcher and the interview participants can be viewed as a power relation (Kvale, 2006), one that comprises developing togetherness and establishing differences (Ikonen and Ojala, 2007). When I mention power here I refer to undertakings of my interview participants which are directed towards controlling the situation and influencing my actions and enquiries. If, indeed, he does construct the guidelines, then the extent to which this is compatible with the research process, when I as a researcher must exercise some degree of control over the interview to obtain the quality of data that I require to draw valid conclusions must be established (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2013). Commonly, the researcher in social science is believed to be in the dominant position of power and so enjoys obvious advantages (Lipsig, 2006; Kvale

2006), yet the issue of power played a key role throughout the entire interview process. In spite of everything, I set the agenda, wrote the schedule and, crucially, analysed the data. This unevenness of power raises more than a few practical and ethical issues for any research. The balance in favour of those being interviewed, aiming for a bond that is characterised by shared respect and devoid of any exploitation, is a concern in any project. However, the notion of exclusive power relating to my economic elite interview participants is only partly true. The concerns are therefore slightly different when the participants being studied are elites, and this raises its own set of particular issues. Elites are diverse for a number of reasons, and these individualities make them of interest to me as a researcher. Elites are powerful as they can claim to be intelligent knowledgeable and self-reliant (Stephens, 2007). According to Nader (1972), individuals holding such power can limit the researcher and present a unique set of challenges. Cochrane (1998) advises awareness of the danger that researchers can become reliant on research participants.

I was aware of the risk as I was paying attention not to suspend my judgement and challenge members of the economic elites. This allowed me to gain a truthful representation of their world, rather than only a limited and partial view. The power imbalance between the researcher and the participants can also endanger their working relationship (Maclean et al., 2015; Welch et al., 2002). Often in the researcher–participant relationship, the researcher is of relatively privileged standing as an academic, while the research participant is often of a lower status. In such situations, the researcher often provides the main energy behind the interview, whereas research undertaken with elite participants is often diametrically opposed to this, with the research participant of significantly higher social status than the researcher. In such situations, elite members may simply dictate the dialogue process as skilled and experienced interview participants (Maclean et al., 2012). In another interview setting, I acknowledged a situation in which the participants took charge, through instructing and questioning me. While the relationships between interview participants are contextually situated, it became apparent that they are nonetheless influenced by the identities and positions of the researchers and participants as well as the interview settings. Thus, the degree of control implemented by interview participants can be linked to the type of interview (Fontana and Frey, 2005). As I have chosen a semi-structured interview approach, I have intentionally given research participants more control over the course of the interview than they would have had in a structured interview setting (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2013).

The power asymmetry goes back to the access phase. Physical setting aspects such as sitting on a smaller chair while the interviewee sits at a big desk and being a guest on someone else's

'territory' can further emphasise the power imbalance between the research participant and the researcher. The researcher is therefore, from the point of the first handshake, a 'requester', having to adopt the demeanour of being respectfully appreciative to obtain an interview (Cochrane, 1998; Thomas, 1993). Desmond (2004, p. 265) states that 'with elite interviewees, the [relationship] is inevitably asymmetrical regardless of the research strategies deployed'. According to England (2002), studying up is no different and the interactions will remain inevitably asymmetrical. In such cases, where physical power was present, I found that power-related events were often interwoven with the interview participants' individualities. For instance, MA, a senior lawyer, continued to use his power by foregrounding his age and achievements, whereas he repeatedly highlighted my young age which he though is an age where individuals, including myself were unwise and should listen more instead of asking too many questions. I was hardly able to ask my questions as he repeatedly interrupted them. In these kinds of situations, interviewers are fairly powerless. However, when such occasions materialised, I responded passively, as I was aware of certain limitations that could happen during the research with elite professionals and acted to minimise it whenever possible, because, as I was undertaking a qualitative piece of research, it was obligatory for me to have constructive and positive interactions with my research participants.

3.9.2 Openness of elite research participants

The degree of openness of elite interview participants is another aspect of possible limitation to which the researcher needs to pay attention. According to Fitz and Halpin (1995), elite members exhibit significant differences in openness compared to regular interview candidates, as they are often regarded as more practised in impression management and are at the same time strongly bound by organisational guidelines (Brown and Jones, 2000). The fact that only one fifth of the participants accepted that the interview be audio recorded certainly gives us an indication that openness and frankness have not always been fully granted. As the majority of the first research participants refused to be audio recorded, I was, at an early stage, prepared for participants not wanting to be recorded and aware of consequent potential limitations of honesty and openness. Anxieties such as 'would the respondents have replied in the same manner under different circumstances?' or 'are the views honest answers' might form part of reasonable criticisms (Fidler, 1981). Yet, interviews are always an artificially created interaction that is deeply situational. Presumably, some of the answers and views given would have varied if the time and occasion had been different (Potter and Hepburn, 2012). According to Ostrander (1993), researchers should expect elite research participants to

be talented in dealing with challenging and inquisitive questions and often welcome the opportunity to respond in a straightforward manner to any criticism that may have been made of their organisation or of themselves as individuals. Elites are in the habit of being the focus of attention. They have the ability to converse easily and enter into monologues instead of answering on inconvenient subjects. Moreover, elite members are often trained in how to represent and conform to their self-image and business before outsiders (Mikecz, 2012; Welch et al., 2002). However, I was not interested in the 'public relations' version of events but in the more deeply held personal accounts of events. The German-Turkish economic elites I spoke to were very articulate and intelligent, and thus easily presented themselves to me, the researcher, in a good light, though perhaps not entirely authentically at times. Cross-cultural differentiations in verbal and non-verbal dialogues, in manners, morals, ethics, norms and value systems, can without doubt lead to misinterpretations. The fact that both interviewer and interviewee were German-Turks in this case reduced such misinterpretations but did not eliminate them entirely, given the different backgrounds and experiences involved.

3.10 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has described and justified the qualitative methodology chosen for the study. The chapter began by making explicit the philosophical underpinnings of this study and suggested that these have direct methodological implications. The chapter focused on the methodology used in this study. Furthermore, I highlighted the sample selection, described the procedure used in designing the instrument and collecting the data, and provided an explanation of the chosen methods. The literature review has assisted me in the choice of methodology type in the study. In this chapter, I attempted to show some of the issues, methodologies and limitations of my research. In the next chapter, I will explore the migratory process in the FRG. The following chapter will give the reader a better grasp of how it came about that the Turks became *Gastarbeiter* in Germany in the first place.

Chapter 4: The evolving German-Turkish context

4.1 Introduction

'There are no foreigners in Germany, Germany turns individuals and groups into foreigners'. One of my research participants, DK, a lawyer, made this declaration to me after an aggravating incident when a German citizen asked her when she would return to her *Heimat* [homeland]. When she replied that her *Heimat* was here [in Germany], the person responded that the question was not where her *Gastheimat* [guest home] is but rather her actual *Heimat*. Having lived and worked in Germany for over 35 years and having married and raised a family in Germany and built a successful business, she certainly regarded Germany as her *Heimat*. The individual who asked the question was motivated by her Turkish appearance and thought that she did not belong in Germany. As an indigenous population can feel nervous and confused by large-scale migration, such incidents remind individuals, even after so many years, that some fellow citizens still consider my participants as foreigners – people whose homes are elsewhere and who should be looking to go back there.

Mabogunje (1970) suggested that exploring and studying migration as a dynamic process that involves and transforms the state of origin, as well as the region of destination and individuals' feelings and pathways, is indispensable to understanding how immigrants and their families function and feel in their new countries of residence. Examining migration simply from the perspective of either the sending or receiving region does not allow for a comprehensive study of the subject (Boyd, 1989; Zlotnik, 1992). As individuals are 'the product of history' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 136), an analysis of the historical context and background, noting how local dynamics contribute to elite formation, underscores an observation by Shore and Nugent (2002, p. 12) that 'elites can only meaningfully be understood in their wider historical context'. One of the underlying ideas that I will explore in this chapter involves the country profiles of both Germany and Turkey and, furthermore, Turkish migration to the FRG, in order to fully demonstrate the roots, origins and contemporary lives of German-Turks in Germany. The objective of this chapter is to provide the reader with background into Germany's and Turkey's country profiles, and to offer comprehensive contextual data concerning the initial migration process from Turkey to Germany. This will help the reader to understand the reasons behind migration from Turkey to Germany. To contextualise the current day situation of second- and third-generation citizens of Turkish descent and the limits of social mobility in Germany, this chapter first presents an overview of the history of migration to Germany and outlines the expectations of

the German administration about the nature and scope of *Gastarbeiter* migration. The term *Gastarbeiter* in itself needs consideration and underlines the complexities of the present debate.

Moreover, I aim to provide information on the circumstances in which German-Turks decided to migrate to Germany. The overriding purpose and primary focus of this chapter is to enable the reader to better grasp how Turks became *Gastarbeiter* in Germany in the first place. Only after examining the narratives of migration and the thoughts that surrounded the recruitment of *Gastarbeiter* can one contextualise present debates about social mobility, integration and social stratification in Germany. German-Turkish population size and composition, migration policies and the selection processes of Turkish migrants in the FRG are explored. In addition, a timeline is constructed to neatly outline developments which took place between 1961 and 2012, showing the evolution and story of Turkish immigration into Germany; providing information on legislation, volumes of immigration, and showing how other nationalities were involved. Last of all, the German institutional perspective is touched upon, as education is evidently a central building block for social mobility and integration among German-Turks (Mayer, 2000). In essence, I argue that German-Turks have had a rough ride throughout the generations – from those living with packed suitcases under their bed for years, never quite ready to settle, to those caught between two cultures and struggling through schooling. However, I also show there is another group that has managed move upwards and form an economic elite, which is the primary focus of my study.

4.2 Country profiles

As the dominant economy and most populous nation in the European Union (EU), the FRG is a significant player in the world's economic, administrative and defence organisations (Hauschild and Warneken, 2002; Herzog and Gilman, 2001). According to the Federal Statistical Office (2015), the German population at present stands at 81.4 million. Germans account for 91.5% of the population, Turks c.2.4% and others, made up largely of Greeks, Serbo-Croatians, Russians and Italians make up c.6.1% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). However, it should be noted that 2.4% of ethnic Turks significantly underestimate the size of the German-Turkish population, as some Germans are second- or third-generation Turks, and were actually born in Germany (as in my case – a German passport holding third-generation child whose parents were born in Turkey). I am therefore included in the official 91.5% statistic of native German, yet distinguished and stated as a German with migration background. Further details are given in subsection 4.3.1 – Population size and composition.

Figure 2: Geographical location of Germany and Turkey

Reference: http://mapsof.net/map/germany-turkey-locator

Despite attempts to enhance mobility, labour migration within Germany is relatively low, as it is usually hindered by cultural differences between individual federal states and other aspects, such as the decentralised education structure which features a different syllabus for institutions of each federal state (Hensel, 2004). However, there is still a certain volume of migration within Germany itself, mostly from east to west, although this shift is decreasing as living costs and standards in the eastern part of Germany are converging with those of Western Germany (Ruppenthal et al., 2006). The FRG's positive economic environment is further supported by fiscal policy which strengthens investor and consumer confidence and thus bolsters the groundwork for sustainable growth, a tough tax revenue system, cumulative disposable income and high employment rates (Schäuble, 2013). Outflow prioritisation and growth-friendly expenditures in, for example, the education system, research and development projects and infrastructure, are crucial in this context (Siebert, 2004). Targeted immigration, improved day-care facilities for children, support for unemployed citizens and high investment into the education system are crucial to Germany's strategy of safeguarding the supply of skilled labour (Lechner et al., 2007). The governing ideology of Germany from most of the period after Second World War is certainly social democratic, a belief in blending of the state with private enterprise in a very regulated well-known systematic way. The balance of forces is vital. Government intervention in Germany's industry is very limited in its scope, as the state's role consists predominantly of mounting a regulatory context *(Ordnungspolitik)* to safeguard symmetry in the market and social justice (Trouille, 2014). Moreover, Germany is also home to a wide range of religions, yet the majority of Germany's

inhabitants are Christian, which also forms an important part of the country's culture. It can be said that Germany is a religious country where a deep Christian sensibility exists.

In contrast, Turkey, the former centre of the Ottoman Empire, and nowadays the Republic of Turkey, was established in the 1920s by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a revolutionary statesman, Turkish army officer in the Ottoman military and the first President of Turkey (Mango, 2013). Serving as a bridge to both Asia and Europe, the strategically vital location makes the Republic of Turkey an increasingly important economic and diplomatic country in the region (Düzgit, 2013). According to Turkstat (National Official Turkish Statistical Institute), the Turkish population at present stands at 80.8 million people (Turkstat, 2014). About 70–75% of the population are Turks, followed by Kurds, who make up 18%. Arabs, Circassians, Greeks and other ethnic minorities account for roughly 7–12% of the population. Historically, Turkey has tended to rely on developed economies for a significant portion of its trade and investment. Turkey is classified as a middle-income country and, despite some progress, hyperinflation rates, a shift towards an Islamic authoritarian government (Butler, 2018) and decreasing export revenues remain key issues (Heinemann, 2014).

4.3 Turkish migration to Germany

Throughout World War Two, the Allied Powers devastated most of Nazi Germany's infrastructure. The male workforce, entire industries, numerous cities and transportation structures were significantly destroyed. Reconstruction and rebuilding were needed in Germany. Roughly 3 million native Germans from the Eastern bloc previously controlled by the Nazis under the Third Reich returned to Germany in 1945. Even though these native Germans were not predominantly trained or well skilled, because of labour shortages they were quickly brought into the economy (Akkoyunlu and Siliverstovs, 2009). Even though economic reconstruction was on the rise, by the end of the 1950s, the FRG suffered an extensive worker deficit in its emerging industries. As soon as the Berlin Wall was erected in August 1961, labour movement within Germany also stopped and the workforce deficiency gap increased even more (Abadan-Unat, 1995). The reasons for this labour shortage understandably included the consequences of the war in terms of loss of civilians and soldiers, increased retirements and decreased birth rates.

On the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the Red Cross published the combined German military and civilian war dead statistics of 7.4 million, including ethnic Germans outside Germany (Kammerer and Kammerer, 2005). The shortages were exacerbated by the fact that young people in Germany favoured spending many years in

education in order to obtain a skilled profession. Additionally, in 1956, the working week was reduced to 45 hours following pressures from trade unions, while the formation of the new West German Army, which increased the number of army members from 125,000 to 450,000, was another feature that endorsed the necessity of a foreign workforce (Akgündüz, 2008). According to Rist (1978), a combination of the heavy losses incurred during the war, declining working hours and more time spent in education makes it clear why the foreign workforce undeniably became the saviour and protagonist of the system. The history of Germany's colonial empire is not as distinct or on the same level as that of either Britain or France, which meant that the FRG had no other option than to recruit labour from countries which had an excess of labour and a relatively good alliance with Germany (Ulku, 2012). Hence, Germany signed the first bilateral labour recruitment agreement with Italy for 100,000 Italian workers in 1955. Many other labour agreements followed with countries that had labour surpluses, including Turkey.

Only a few years later, labour migration from Turkey began, which started a process that would – over the next few decades – create significant non-native German immigrant communities in urban centres. On 30 October 1961 the main phase of labour migration from Turkey to Germany was initiated, with bilateral labour recruitment agreements between the nations (Sezgin, 2008). The migration movement from Turkey to Europe, in particular to Germany, in the second half of the 20th Century led to a significant number of Turkish people living in Europe and, in particular, in the FRG. The *Gastarbeiter* programme was initially set up with a time limit of two years for migrants to stay in Germany. The Federal Ministry and German business owners felt that a two-year limitation was not sufficiently useful to the German economy and pushed for this limitation to be removed in negotiations on the second labour recruitment agreement signed in 1964 (Bicen, 2006). The fear was that the limited residency of two years was not adequate to gain the most out of the workforce. Moreover, corporations were concerned that the new employees' home nations would use the two-year residency limit to their own advantage (Hunn, 2005).

In order to prevent losing sufficiently skilled workers and leaving Germany with a labour shortage once more, no explicit phrase in the bilateral labour agreements specified that migration was to be short-lived. It was simply more lucrative for businesses to maintain a foreign workforce instead of training new individuals at repeat intervals after only two years. The elimination of the residency limit opened the doors for the widely held assumption that migrant workers would voluntarily return to their home countries as soon as economic growth decelerated and the demand for cheap labour diminished. The pull factors for Germany are at

this stage quite clear, but what were the motives for Turkey to send so many labour migrants to Germany?

Turkey has traditionally been characterised by emigration and has been a central source of migrant labour to Europe since the 1960s, with Germany being the most popular destination of Turkish migrants (Holzmann et al., 2005; Sari, 2003). The demographic pressures resulting from the rapidly growing population and inadequate employment opportunities for the labour supply were key reasons. The Turkish government developed a five-year plan to enhance economic development and industrialisation, improve workers' skills and knowledge through migration returnees and decrease the chronic unemployment level. With the intention of solving the unemployment problem and the expectation of socio-economic returns to their home country, the plan was destined to export an unskilled labour force (O'Brien, 1996). This plan was well matched with the continually growing labour force in West Germany (Sari, 2003). Abadan-Unat (1995) stated that poverty, economic underdevelopment, demographic pressures and high unemployment rates were the main push factors for Turkey to agree on the migration flow to Western European countries.

4.3.1 Population size and composition

According to Abadan-Unat (1995) and Akgündüz (2008), Turkish migration to Germany, which has no colonial roots, can be divided into three main phases as I have outlined below.

Table 4: Turkish Migration Movement to Germany

Phase	Year	Background
1st phase	1961	Working class
2nd phase	1970	Family reunification of the 1st phase
3rd phase	1980	Political refugees

The first major immigration movement after World War Two reached its peak after the Labour Recruitment Agreement was signed with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968), and was sustained up until the global recession in the mid-1970s. The second phase began before the first wave had truly reached an end and involved, primarily, family reunification of the first labour wave. It remains until this day, and it is not unusual for third-generation German-Turks to marry a Turkish citizen for family reunification and end up living in Germany

(Abadan-Unat, 1995). The third wave of migration started at the beginning of the 1980s and consisted of political refugees and asylum seekers who had escaped the military coups of Kenan Evran (Bartsch et al., 2010).

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014), the FRG is one of the world's highest immigrant accommodating states. Hossman and Karsch (2011) note that, because of the high birth rates in immigrant communities, one in every three children under the age of five in Germany now has a non-German ethnic background. Official figures from Germany's Federal Statistical Office (2015) state that, at the end of 2015, the FRG had 81.4 million residents, of which 17.1 million were non-ethnic German individuals. In Germany, every fifth person therefore has a migration background. According to the most recent statistics of Germany's Federal Statistical Office, 17.1 million people in Germany can be characterised as having a 'migrant background', defined as individuals born abroad or whose parents were born abroad, equalling 21% of the overall population. Of these, 11.5% are German passport holders and 9.5% are foreign passport holders as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Population with a migration background. In absolute terms, percentage of total population as of 2015
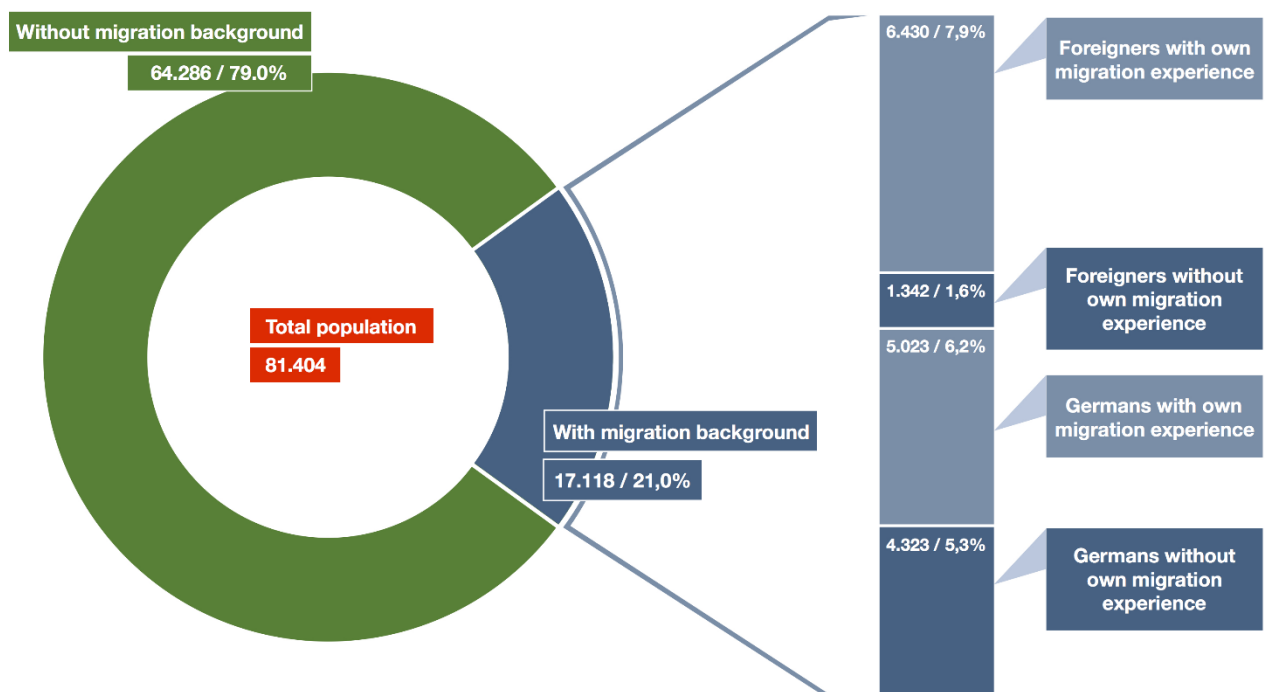
Source: Federal Statistical Office, Microcensus 2015

More significantly in the context of my research, about 2.9 million citizens in Germany are of Turkish origin (Federal Statistical Office, 2015; please see Table 5). Of these, 1.4 million have a Turkish passport, amounting to 47.8% of the German-Turkish population in Germany. The 52.2% who do not have a direct migration past, but who are German passport holders and were born in Germany, are equivalent to 1.5 million citizens. 1.5 million German-Turks without their own migration experience are thus statistically considered as Germans with a migration background, as one of their parents was not born in Germany. Being a German is therefore more obscure – someone with a German passport may not be seen as German but 'German with a migration background'. As a result of decades of strict *ius sanguinis* (right of blood or parentage), based on naturalisation laws, it is not rare in Germany that a 40-year-old second-generation German-Turk, born in Germany, still only holds a Turkish passport, even without a migration background, as their parents do. This begs a wider question of what an individual has to do to be 'German' and the extent to which someone's non-German roots may prevent them from ever becoming fully German. Some of these individuals are born, socialised and educated in Germany, yet are still perceived as immigrants or 'Germans with a migration background'. I discuss this matter in the analysis chapters, where my respondents speak from their standpoint.

Table 5: Individuals with a migration background by country of origin (with or without migration experience) as of 2015, in thousands

Country of origin	With own migration experience		Without own migration experience		Total
	absolute	In %	absolute	In %	
EU-28	4.309	72.0	1.675	28.0	5.984
Bulgaria	146	86.4	23	13.6	169
Greece	257	62.4	155	37.6	412
Italy	442	57.0	334	43.0	776
Croatia	255	62.7	152	37.3	407
Netherlands	137	64.9	74	35.1	211
Austria	191	65.4	101	34.6	292
Poland	1.334	78.4	368	21.6	1.702
Romania	547	83.3	110	16.7	657
Other EU	3.569	60.9	2.290	39.1	5.859
Bosnia Herzegovina	165	66.5	83	33.5	248
Kosovo	202	62.5	121	37.5	323
Russia	957	78.3	265	21.7	1.222
Serbia	183	65.1	98	34.9	281
Turkey	1.364	47.8	1.487	52.2	2.851
Ukraine	212	84.8	38	15.2	250
EU total	7.878	66.5	3.966	33.5	11.844
Africa	405	64.2	226	35.8	631
Morocco	98	57.3	73	42.7	171
Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia	84	62.2	51	37.8	135
America	269	71.0	110	29.0	379
Asia, Australia, and Oceania	2.133	74.1	746	25.9	2.879
Middle East	1.386	75.7	446	24.3	1.832
Iraq	107	73.8	38	26.2	145
Iran	119	77.8	34	22.2	153
Kazakhstan	737	77.9	209	22.1	946
Syria	143	83.1	29	16.9	172
South and Southeast Asia	725	71.4	291	28.6	1.016
Afghanistan	114	73.1	42	26.9	156
Vietnam	109	61.9	67	38.1	176
Without indication	769	55.5	617	44.5	1.386
Total number of persons with a migration background	11.453	66.9	5.665	33.1	17.118
Foreigners	6.430	82.7	1.342	17.3	7.772
German	5.023	53.7	4.323	46.3	9.346

Reference: Federal Statistical Office, Microcensus 2015

German-Turks make up the largest community with a migrant background, followed by the Polish community with a population rate of 1.7 million. The third biggest migrant community are the Russians with 1.2 million, followed by the Kazakhs with 946,000. Foreigners from Italy and Romania represent the fifth and sixth largest non-indigenous population in the FRG with populations of 776,000 and 657,000 respectively (Federal Statistical Office, 2015). A republic with a total non-German ethnic background population of 21% has long denied its status as an immigrant country and only started to change its attitude towards migrants after the 20th Century (Brown and Humphreys, 2002). Nowadays, government officials and a majority of the German public acknowledge that immigrants and German passport holders from diverse ethnic backgrounds are indeed part of Germany. The Turkish migration sequence of events is touched upon in the next section.

4.3.2 Chronology of migration to Germany

The timeline of events depicted in Table 6 provides facts about legislation concerning Turkish immigration into Germany and the volumes of immigration from the mid-1950s until the present day. These major historical events concerning Turkish *Gastarbeiter* are presented in chronological order, providing a sequence of past events which had a significant bearing on the German-Turkish community. The timeline was adapted by the author from the following sources: Akkoyunlu and Siliverstovs (2009); Ergener (2002); Horrocks et al. (1999); Sezgin (2008).

Table 6: Migration timetable

Year	Event
1961	• On 30 October, the main phase of labour migration from Turkey to Germany is initiated with bilateral labour recruitment agreements between the two governments.
1964	• A monthly newspaper is founded by the International Committee for Information and Social Action called Anadolu – a newspaper for Turks living in Germany. At the same time, another recruitment agreement is signed with Morocco, meaning immigrant inflows are rising.
1964	• Turkey and West Germany renew the Gastarbeiter agreement. The West German Radio (WDR) station starts to broadcast a programme in the Turkish language. On 10 September the millionth Gastarbeiter at Cologne is welcomed.

1965
- First recruitment agreement is signed with Tunisia. Moreover, in April, West Germany passes the Foreign Act which allows Gastarbeiter who have been employed in West Germany for five years to receive an automatic five-year renewal of their work permit.

1969
- A total of 2 million foreigners live in West Germany.

1970
- Immigration continues and around 1 million Gastarbeiter come to Germany during this year. Most Gastarbeiter are employed in the food service, mining, automative, construction, steel and metalworking industries.

1973
- Around 2.6 million Gastarbeiter live throughout West Germany. A total of 14 million Gastarbeit worked between 1955 and 1973 in West Germany and 11.4 million returned home. A military putsch in Turkey increases the number of asylum applications by political opponents of the regime.

1981
- The immigrant population in West Germany is 7.5% of the total German population. Around 135,000 Polish residents seek asylum in West Germany. West Germany restricts immigration from EU states.

1982
- Xenophobia and racism grows throughout Germany. The reason for this is the growing unemployment and housing shortages in the FRG, which means that migrant workers are increasingly seen by the German-born society as competitors for work and housing.

1982
- Semra Ertan sets herself on fire in Hamburg, North Germany in protest about drastically increasing racism and xenophobia. The Asylum Procedure Act comes into effect. It contains regulations to speed up asylum applications.

1982
- Helmut Kohl is inaugurated as chancellor. He is seen later as the 'unification leader of Germany' and remains in charge until 1998. The new Foreign Act of Germany comes into effect, meaning visas are required for citizens of non-EU countries.

1983
- Cemal Altun, an asylum applicant, jumps out of the window in a West Berlin administrative court to avoid deportation to Turkey, where he was expecting torture and blackmail. The highest post-war unemployment numbers are reached, with 2.3 million unemployed citizens. This leads to widespread judgments that 'too many foreigners steal our jobs and houses'.

1983
- The new 'Return Assistance Act' promotes voluntary return home. It offers unemployed Gastarbeiter 10,500 Deutsche Mark and 1,500 Deutsche Mark per child to return to their countries of origin. 150,000 foreigners make use of this incentive package.

1985
- Civil War in Sri Lanka leads to an increase in Tamil refugee political asylum applications in West Germany. Around 30,000 Iranian political refugees seek political asylum in West Germany and flee from the Iraq-Iran war which took place between 1980–1988.

1986
- East Germany also has a need for Gastarbeiter and signs an accord with China for contract workers.

1988
- 4.5 million foreign citizens live in West Germany, which is a total of 7.3% of the current German population. In 1988, the number accounts for around 203,000 people. Around 60,000 are Gastarbeiter from communist countries such as Mozambique, North Vietnam and Angola.

1989
- East Germany deports roughly 55,000 of its 90,000 contract workers, primarily from Mozambique, North Vietnam and Angola. On 9 November, East Germany's border police opens the wall. Between 1989 and 1993, around 1.4 million people move from East to West Germany.

1990
- Around 5 million foreign citizens live in West Germany, which accounts for 8% of the population. After Chancellor Helmut Kohl receives full assurance from the Soviet Union that it tolerates the reunification of Germany, 200,000 Russian Jews are given special asylum status.

1990
- A new Foreigner Act is passed, reaffirming the principle of *ius sanguinis*. Only those of German 'blood' heritage, meaning children born with at least one German parent receive citizenship. Dual citizenship is rejected, but naturalisation procedures become easier.

1990
- On 3 October, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany with 16.3 million citizens) is dissolved into the FRG. The final collapse of the Soviet Union leads to an inflow of 2 million ethnic Germans.

1991
- Emine Sevgi Özdamar, a writer of Turkish origin, wins the Bachmann prize for quality of German literature. Xenophobia and racism continues to grow throughout Germany. An attack in the eastern part of Germany injures 30 asylum seekers.

1992
- Peak level of immigration – 1.2 million new admissions take place. 230,000 ethnic Germans enter the country from Eastern European countries. Asylum seekers' and contract workers' homes are attacked in Rostock, while bystanders in the neighbourhood applaud and watch.

1993
- On 29 May, five family members who lived in Germany for 23 years die in an arson attack in Sollingen. On 30 June, a new Foreign Act gives those who have lived at least 15 years in Germany the right to naturalisation. With the 'asylum compromise', the right of asylum is changed. The number of applications from asylum seekers sinks considerably to 112,000.

1994
- Cem Özdemir and Leyla Onur become the first elected national Partliament representatives of Turkish origin.

1995
- Roughly 7 million foreigners live in Germany.

1997
- With the new Foreign Act, the status of living in Germany is improved. The department of the Federal Commissioner for Foreigners is first enshrined in law.

2000
- With a new law introduced, children of foreign parents who are born in Germany receive German citizenship as long as one parent has lived in Germany for eight years. At the age of 23, a child must select one citizenship, either German or that of their parents. Around 2 million of these residents are Turkish nationals. Of these, 750,000 are born in Germany.

2000	•The current chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, announces an exception to the ban in the recruitment of foreign labour. 20,000 foreign workers are targeted, yet only 17,000 computer specialists are recruited to fill the gaps in domestic expertise. Attacks of German right-wing parties continue.
2000	•A ban against the pro-Nazi extremist right-wing party the NPD is announced. The ban is repudiated as the court discovers that several members of the party were undercover agents of the German secret service. Pro-Nazi groups kill Alberto Adriano, who has lived in the FRG for 20 years.
2004	•7 out of 16 German states acknowledge the headscarf as a religious symbol and therefore forbid public institution teachers from wearing the scarf while they work. Around 3.5 million Muslims live in Germany, 4% of the German population.

2004	•After the death of two teenagers who were killed by the police in France, major riots and protests by immigrant children throughout low-income areas in France lead to a debate on whether similar incidents could happen in Germany.
2006	•Chancellor Merkel arranges the first integration conference. Migrants become equal dialogue partners in the integration policy. The 'Charter of Diversity' starts. It requires companies to actively promote employees from a migration background.
2007	•The second integration conference takes place. The National Integration Plan is presented, which contains more than 400 commitments from all parties to promote integration. The first youth integration conference takes place in the chancellor's office.

2007	•The amendment to the Immigration Act specifies that the age of foreign spouses needs to be at least 18. Furthermore, they must also demonstrate basic German language skills before entering the country.
2008	•Introduction of citizenship tests. Basic knowledge of German history, culture, law and everyday life in Germany is obligatory to obtain German citizenship.
2008	•Chancellor Merkel welcomes 200 foreign Gastarbeiter of the first generation to the Federal Chancellery. The event 'Germany Says Thank You' is an event on the highest government level where Gastarbeiter are honoured for their hard work for Germany's economy after the 1960s.

2010	•Chancellor Merkel claims the country's attempts to create a multicultural society have utterly failed. Merkel expresses that the idea of people from different cultural backgrounds living happily side by side in Germany did not work.
2010	•Merkel further underlines that one must not only promote migrants, but also demand that migrants integrate. According to Merkel, the onus lies on immigrants to do more to integrate into German society.
2012	•Merkel calls for more tolerance towards the 4 million Muslims living in Germany. The Chancellor asserts that Islam is part of the Federal Republic. She calls for greater differentiation between peaceful Islam and radical Islamism.

4.3.3 Migration policy and foreign laws

According to Joppke (1999), the West German foreigner migration policy was evidently labour market-oriented. The immigration policy was established in 1938 and was valid until the new Foreign Law was introduced in 1965. The new Immigration Law was reformed in 1991. With regard to creating migration policies, the core deliberation concerned the preservation of West Germany's own benefits. According to Akgündüz (2008), the major principles and constraints of the FRG's immigration policies and foreigner laws are as follows:

a. The interest of Germany is indubitably the only propriety. If the country's interest commands it, any foreigner or *Gastarbeiter* can be exiled at any time.

b. All relations between Germany and its *Gastarbeiter* should serve Germany's interest, not the foreigner's or the countries exporting these workforces.

c. All party political rights are earmarked for German citizens only. Germany was obligated to protect merely ethnic German inhabitants.

In addition to this, Cesarani and Fullbrook (1996) underlines that foreign laws were intended purely for Germany's socio-economic interest and at no point for migrant workers' rights. Evidently, the widespread perception that Germany is not an immigration country lies in these policies. Until very recently, Germany strove to fulfil the cultural and social necessities of being an ethnically homogenous country, meaning that institutions and customs and a common language and ideas were the key principles. The intention to return *Gastarbeiter* home, in conjunction with the perception that Germany is not a land of immigration, meant that the challenges and difficulties of integration were simply deferred to the following decades (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou, 2009). Throughout the 1960s, 1970s and mid-1980s, migrants were isolated from German mainstream society, with the intention that this would result in the eventual return of migrants to their nations of origin (Akgündüz, 2008). The term *Gastarbeiter* were predominantly used, indicating that it was expected that these people would one day return to their home countries (Sirkeci, 2003). As more *Gastarbeiter* arrived in Germany, more of their family members accompanied or joined them later (Sirkeci, 2003). The reunification of families, the increase of new immigrant workers and the growth in the numbers who eventually decided to stay in the FRG led to a new phenomenon that challenged German society (Kilicli, 2003). Towards the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s and the beginning of the new century, a change of tack saw naturalisation become the basis of an assimilation policy (Zincone et al., 2011; O'Brien, 1996). In the multidimensional model of acculturation, integration is defined as an equal commitment to the heritage and host society's

culture, whereas assimilation represents a transition from one's ancestral culture to the culture of the receiving society (Hochman and Davidov, 2012).

The approach of the German integration policy towards its migrants was completely different to that of most other Western European countries such as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Denmark (Joppke, 1999). To a certain extent, this also applied in the UK, France and Netherlands, directed towards people from former colonies (Akgündüz, 2008). However, there was a significant difference in approaches, with British immigration policy particularly considerate regarding foreign identities and cultures. This can be attributed to the fact that Britain has a long history of colonial and imperial power, meaning that it came into contact with foreign cultures and identities much earlier (Argun, 2003; Zincone et al., 2011).

According to my research participant, DK, a lawyer, 'turning individuals and groups into foreigners' is a consequence of a perspective of Germanness and belonging, based on the *ius sanguinis*; in other words, on the basis of ethnic lineage or blood (Yurdakul, 2009), which, until the year 2000, decided citizenship in Germany. It took several years for German officials and the media to comprehend that, eventually, the law from 1913, which defined German citizenship by means of blood lineage, should be repealed and modified to one that puts emphasis on length of residency (*jus soli*). This had to happen to allow at least second- and third-generation foreigners to claim German citizenship and be considered full members of German society (Yurdakul, 2009).

4.3.4 Selection of migrants

The first wave of immigrants went through a scrupulous selection procedure. The German Federal Labour Bureau and the Unemployment Association were represented in Turkey by the German Liaison Office in Istanbul, which carried out the entire selection process. Each day, Turkish and German medical specialists helped West German representatives in Istanbul select hundreds of workers to be sent to Germany (Abadan-Unat, 2011). Besides a physical health test, special skills and talents had to match the required expectations of potential employers in Germany (Abramitzky et al., 2012). The medical doctors checked the physical health of the immigrants, particularly their bones and teeth (White, 2012). Moreover, candidates were told to take off their underwear, which not only led to a perception of abuse, but also created the notion among immigrants that they were seen as animals for a sacrificial ceremony (Abadan-Unat, 2011). If a candidate had a criminal record, had already been denied entry to Germany or was above 35, the labour request was instantly rejected. Likewise, women who were pregnant had their applications rejected. Migrants were expected solely to

work and not to burden the economy, community and healthcare facilities. Generally, the tendency was for young men to migrate first and bring their families whenever they felt secure.

The process for importing migrants was purely in the economic interests of Germany and was changed and adopted whenever this interest shifted. For instance, the charges which companies had to pay the government for recruitment expenses per person in the 1960s were around 165 Deutsche Mark, nowadays equivalent to EUR 82.5. Once the desperate need for foreign workers was alleviated, the recruitment fee per person paid by employers increased to 1,000 DM (EUR 511) in order to discourage businesses from recruiting more foreign workers (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Martin et al., 2001). Interestingly, migration was initially encouraged and later politically discouraged by the West German authorities (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou, 2009; Sari, 2003). Yet, from the mid-1970s onwards, the procedures became more transparent and more compassionate.

Even though these events were shaped by the conventions of the time, it must also be said that the West German state and its social services had been functioning very well throughout this time. Regardless of numerous socio-economic problems, the opportunity to live in a stable, prosperous country was sufficiently attractive to Turkish families and benefited both countries in the long run, even though this also brought identity and social problems (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou, 2009).

4.3.5 Identity struggle and social effects for upcoming generations

The initial motivation of Turkish migrants moving to West Germany was to work, save as much money as possible, and then return home (Escobar et al., 2006). Turkish immigrants were commonly viewed as having a low level of education, hailing from a country characterised by high unemployment, high birth rates and comparatively low per capita earnings (Argun, 2003). Turkish migrant workers' availability for undesirable and low-paid jobs created an ostensible underclass within German society. They were also paid unequal wages for the same work. Educated German construction employees earned between 22 Deutsche Mark (EUR 11) and 33 Deutsche Mark (EUR 17) per hour. In contrast, Turks received a quarter of this, 5.50 Deutsche Mark (EUR 2.80) or less. German corporations were mainly interested in semi-skilled or unskilled workforces (Akgündüz, 2008). The Turkish workforce was required to take up mostly industrial occupations in unclean and unhealthy environments – plastic and rubber fumes, high temperatures and quarried minerals are all examples of conditions faced (Adelson, 2000). As a result, immigrants performing such jobs

were perceived as lower class within the social hierarchy. This also clearly affected the children of immigrants, the second upcoming generation.

An issue which had an immense impact on upcoming generations and my research participants was the frequently delayed return home. The economic situation was uncertain in Turkey, where an unstable economy and military coups were present. Yet, many *Gastarbeiter* still believed that they would ultimately return home. Many families kept packed belongings and suitcases under the bed for more than ten years, so they could leave at a moment's notice. This evidently created not only uncertainty among the parents, but also serious issues of identity and belonging for the second generation, their children (Bartsch et al., 2010; Bauman, 2004). The problem transpired as a result of German immigration policy and uncertainty, as immigrants were left on their own with the expectation that they would soon return. As a result, most Turkish immigrants from the first wave were hardly able to read or write, meaning that they were not able to support their children with their education and career, which clearly made it even tougher to take part in German society in any meaningful way (Côte and Schwartz, 2002).

In addition, educational policies during the 1970s and 1980s discouraged the use of the Turkish language and made it difficult for Turkish migrant children to enter formal education without having acquired an adequate knowledge of German. The result was a new generation of bilingual illiterates, who were fluent in neither the language of their parents nor that of their German peers. Consequently, their employment prospects became even worse. These children's parents, the first wave of immigrants, came from rural areas of Turkey with a low level of education and therefore clung stubbornly to their own culture and language (Joppke, 1999). The fact that their parents were not integrated into German society evidently made it more difficult for the second generation to be part of German society. Language barriers with ethnic Germans led to increased interaction among foreigners and isolated them from other societies. Additionally, it was a powerful insecurity for these youngsters that they were neither Turks nor Germans. Overall, the FRG's educational policies made it problematic for the children of migrant workers to enter schools without speaking adequate German. Early learning classes, extra classes or bilingual schools, as we see nowadays, were a distant prospect in those days. The attitude towards foreign languages, particularly the Turkish language, was rather discouraging. The offspring of migrant workers were encouraged to adopt an identity consistent with that of the host nation. This led to integration merely from an assimilation and segregationist point of view, instead of a dual diversity and heterogeneous identity policy approach where schools and communities consider cultural upbringing and

social values (Horrocks et al., 1999). The approach certainly failed, as Turkish migrants repelled it and maintained their diverse Turkish individuality (Bauman, 2004; Brown and Humphreys, 2002; Martin et al., 2001).

Immigrant children therefore experienced fundamental difficulties when trying to marry their Turkish and German identities (Beech, 2011). Education is clearly a fundamental building block for social mobility and integration, as differences with regard to salary prospects, attaining social status and job security in their career are related to educational and vocational paths (Mayer, 2000). Likewise, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), an intergovernmental economic organisation with 35 member nations which was founded in 1961 to encourage economic progress and world trade, has indicated that 'if we don't help immigrant children to succeed in school, then we impose on them a penalty that will stay with them for the rest of their lives' (Keeley, 2009, p. 73). I consider the German school system and institutional perspective in greater detail in the following section.

4.4 The German institutional perspective

In Germany, children start school aged six and at the age of ten they enter the public education system. On the recommendation of the teacher and occasionally the preference of the parents, students enrolled in German schools are sorted into a three-tier secondary system based on their perceived academic capability: *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium,* as explained in the translation notes on page vi.

The first tier covers nine years of education and students graduate with a minimum qualification (*Hauptschule*). Here, there is less emphasis on academic quality – instead, it provides a foundation for apprenticeships and workforce preparation in manual jobs.

The second tier lasts ten years and students receive a medium-level qualification (*Realschule*), which prepares students to enter into clerical, mid-level careers. Through additional qualifications, these students are eligible for tertiary education and can even enter institutions of higher education. The highest and third tier (*Gymnasium*) is advanced university preparation, placing emphasis on second and third language acquisition and a broad, liberal, arts-based curriculum. Upon graduating, students are entitled to apply to universities (Kristen and Granato 2007). Given the European and German context of German-Turkish integration, several scholars have emphasised the role of rigid and formal school tracking systems in reproducing inequality (Alba et al., 1994; Werfhorst and Mijs, 2010; Auernheimer, 2006; Holdaway et al., 2009). For instance, Alba (2005) found that this rigid immobility between

tiers and the stratified educational credentials of school systems greatly affects schooling, as social sorting takes place early on. Fundamentally, the authors dispute that the parents of immigrant-born children lack the cultural and social capital to direct and assist in early school years.

Overall, research indicates the lower educational achievement of German-Turkish individuals in comparison to other immigrants, both in Germany and in other European countries which have a similar socio-economic status (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003). In regard to the three paths of secondary schooling discussed above, according to Söhn and Özcan (2007), most German-Turkish students attended the minimum qualification first track called the *Hauptschule*. In terms of percentages, 56.6% attended *Hauptschule*, 19.3% attended *Realschule* and 10.2% attended *Gymnasium*. Meanwhile, for students whose parents were born in Germany, 23.6% attended *Hauptschule*, 34.5% *Realschule*, and 32.5% *Gymnasium*. The percentages show that students who are not in migrant families have higher educational achievements, even though they have similar socio-economic backgrounds. The microcensus conducted by the German Statistical Office (2015) finds that, whether in the first generation or the second generation, German-Turks are less likely to attain a secondary school qualification than their peers. Werfhorst and Mijs (2010) also argue that categorising immigrants into low schools 'may not meet societies' and individuals' needs for advanced skills' and will possibly provide an obstacle to migrant mobility (p. 264).

Similarly, a report by the Berlin Institute for Population and Development (2009) showed that German-Turks are also less successful than immigrants from other countries in securing a job in Germany. The report's evaluation is grounded on results from numerous criteria, comprising education, integration into society and employment. On a sliding scale of one (poorly integrated) to eight (well integrated), the report shows that Turkish immigrants came last with a score of 2.4, despite being the largest immigrant group in the country. They finished bottom of the table behind immigrants from the former Yugoslavia region and Africa (3.2), the Middle East (4.1), southern Europe (4.4) and the Far East (4.6). The most integrated groups in Germany, according to the Berlin Institute, are immigrants from other EU countries, who score 5.5 on the Institute's index, and *Aussiedler*, ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Overall, the report concluded that a high percentage of German-Turks still live in a parallel world with poor prospects of a decent education and career advancement.

There is an undeniable social connection between school achievement and later career prospects (Kristen and Granato, 2007). This is valid not only in Germany, but throughout all

countries that welcome migrants who experience the process of social mobility. Often, the extent to which a person has attained educational achievements and seized successful job opportunities leads to social inequalities across a few generations. Those who have been lucky enough to grow up in a family belonging to the upper social classes are likely to continue the trend of good education and jobs. Those who were born and raised in families that could not afford quality education and have lower class jobs are also less likely to move up in social classes. According to Kristen and Granato (2007), Germany has a stronger link between education and job positions than other countries.

The German educational system has the specific characteristic of enhancing social inequalities in following generations instead of reducing them, which has a negative impact on the educational social mobility of the newer generation (Söhn and Özcan, 2007). The socio-economic status and educational achievement of immigrant parents are taken into serious consideration when it comes to the future of their children. Parents' background is a strong predictor of children's education level, as it is relatively rare for children to surpass the educational qualifications of the previous generation (Söhn and Özcan, 2007).

Regardless of the fact that apprentices of the second and third German-Turkish generation tend to attain better academic results than the first generation, they still experience substantial disadvantages in comparison to their native German peers (Kristen and Granato, 2007). According to Kristen and Granato (2007), the procedures that individuals instigate and experience with the intention of increasing their levels of capital are formed and influenced by personal acts of discrimination, the effect of state policies and institutional arrangements and, in addition, how subjects react to them. This suggests that there must be further mechanisms operating in this context that serve to exclude migrants and Germans with a migration background. Thus, this study seeks to expand on some of the factors that operate at the microlevel which are exclusionary to German-Turks in their educational and labour market trajectories, therefore impacting their upward social mobility and opportunities. Furthermore, it will examine how the social mobility processes that the German-Turks adopt are used to counter these institutional factors.

The large population of ethnic Turks in Germany is therefore a perfect example of a transnational community, yet also a diaspora. The two concepts refer to diverse, yet overlapping, social progressions. Transnationalism specifies the relations that migrants maintain with their country of origin, which enables them to establish new lives in the receiving culture but, at the same time, maintain strong identity bonds with the sending society (Bicen, 2006). As a result of the emergence of modern technology, further systematic

use of such ties allows individuals to maintain them much longer than in previous decades (Portes et al., 1999).

In contrast, diaspora is a reaction to either assimilation or discrimination in the receiving society. Host countries and homeland ties therefore play a fundamental role in migrants' daily lives. Argun (2003) argues that, because of the diaspora, ethnic identities are practised to a greater degree in the receiving country, in this case Germany, rather than the sending country, Turkey. Yet it is vital to point out that the Turkish authorities make the best use of these circumstances, as they systematically urge Turks not to become too German and to preserve their heritage and origins. The fear of losing one's ties to the homeland of one's grandparents is exacerbated by Turkish state policies and a most welcome propaganda tool used by the current pro-Islamic nationalist, President Tayip Erdogan (Gezer and Reimann, 2011). The lack of a sense of belonging should not only be viewed from one side, as some parts of the German-Turkish community contribute significantly to shortcomings and the sensation of not belonging. Simply attributing all the failings to the German side is not enough. First-generation migrants entering Germany felt heavily influenced by legislation in Turkey, and hence were more focused on Turkey's domestic legislation than Germany's. Yet, more than 50 years later, there is still a community within the German-Turkish population who do not live according to our constitutional law and norms.

In contrast, there are parts of the German-Turkish community who are maturing within German society and have little exposure to Turkey, with children having to take extra Turkish classes to understand their grandparents (Goldberg et al., 2001). They also show little inclination to return to a nation and culture with which they are increasingly unfamiliar and instead feel at home in Germany (White, 2012). Integration and participation requires effort, not only from the government and institutions, but also from those who are to become integrated and full members of German society. As the German government notes, 'integration is a long-term process', where the aim is to include everyone in society who lives in Germany on a permanent and legal basis. Accordingly, their responsibility is to learn German and to respect and abide by the constitution and its laws. This raises fundamental questions. Does speaking German and respecting and abiding by the constitution and its laws mean that integration has succeeded? Is anyone who is integrated a full member of German society? In response, does this mean that everyone who is integrated has the opportunity to participate fully in all areas of society on an equal standing? I explore these matters in detail in the analysis chapters.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have focused my attention on how Turks became *Gastarbeiter* in Germany in the first place. Naturally, some individuals adapt less easily than others. Cultural heritage, family bonds, religion and social background leave profound marks on individual personalities and identities. Especially in the Mediterranean region, where psychological ties to home countries are the strongest, intrinsic characteristics, cultural backgrounds, history and their collective memory do not simply vanish with change of residence. Immigration is a part of human history which can positively affect the cultural, political and economic situations of countries. However, as clearly stated above, the outcomes are profoundly influenced by the host state's attitude and policies towards immigrants. While the current public debate tends to emphasise questions of how many and what kinds of non-citizens should be admitted into Germany, who is German and who is a German with a migration background, the challenges of migration continue to take place in Germany.

The German administration refused for too long to recognise that Germany had turned out to be an immigration country a long time ago, holding on to strategies and thoughts about 'return-migrants' until it could no longer reject the reality. Regardless of the intended provisional nature of the period of residence and the incentives to return to their nations of origin, time proved that this was not the case. The challenges and problems of integration were effectively set aside for a couple of decades, yet they did not completely fade away. *Gastarbeiter* stayed, built families, acquired properties, started enterprises and became a permanent element of German society. *Gastarbeiters'* descendants, current war zone refugees, migrants motivated by poverty, a workforce from the new eastern EU member countries and highly skilled technical labour are part of today's German labour market.

As analysed in this chapter, German integration policy, its long-closed approach towards plurality in society and its school system have contributed significantly to this quandary. A significant proportion of the German-Turkish minority is becoming part of a parallel society, reinforced by restricted educational achievements and low socio-economic status and acceptance (Breen at al., 2012; Alba et al., 1994). Yet, at the same time, other groups of immigrants, such as the *Aussiedler*, ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and EU immigrants, have been able to eke out a place for themselves in society. Regardless of adverse circumstances, German-Turks still evidently struggle and separate themselves. This indicates that low education levels and the fact that German-Turks are disproportionately low waged and more frequently unemployed are not the only reasons explaining why German-Turks built parallel societies. Regardless of adverse circumstances,

my participants have proven that it is possible to break into professional circles, yet it seems that parallel structures are not entirely connected to poor education levels and low wage surroundings. Other reasons play a fundamental role as well, such as the individuals' own contribution and outside factors, as my economic elite research participants certainly do not lack education or receive a low salary. In the following chapter, I look at the experiences of individuals who entered leading positions in the German labour market, regardless of the persistence of institutional and social barriers (Crul, et al., 2012; Heath, et al., 2008), with a focus on the factors and strategies that led to the ascension of a minority of German-Turks to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany.

Chapter 5: The rise of the German-Turkish economic elite

5.1 Introduction

Although scholars have repeatedly researched descendants of migrants in terms of their educational and occupational shortcomings (Blanden et al., 2004; Crul and Schneider, 2009; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Heath et al., 2008; Radler, 2014; Schneider and Lang, 2014; Schneider et al., 2014; Söhn and Özcan, 2007; Worbs, 2003), there is a lack of studies on the achievements of a small, yet nonetheless emerging group of professionals of German-Turkish origin. Namely, previous research has insufficiently addressed the forms of capital and strategies that are considered significant for German-Turks attaining leadership positions in professional fields. There has been extensive research on educational pathways, which shows the importance of adult actors in children's upward mobility. This significance is established through the transmission of institutional knowledge to children, who are encouraged to identify and believe in their ability to succeed (Louie, 2012; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly, 2008). Likewise, research into the career mobility of ethnic minorities from a disadvantaged upbringing mostly underlines their lack of a social network or incapability of using their network in a beneficial way (Bourdieu and Balazs, 1999; Light and Gold, 2000; Vallejo, 2012). The concepts of field, habitus and forms of capital, which were coined by Bourdieu (1986b), help understand the mechanisms of social reproduction. When studying the experiences and strategies of German-Turkish professionals in gaining access to high-status positions, I adopted an alternative stance by analysing certain forms of capital, strategies and their underlying mechanisms, which are significant in the fields of business, legal law and medicine. Still, upward mobility of immigrants and their descendants into professional fields is an area that has not received the attention it deserves (Friedman, 2014).

When examining and attempting to understand inequalities in the labour market, a variety of different theories are at one's disposal, such as those of Becker (1964), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995). Regardless of some promising steps by many authors, according to Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), organisational analysis has thus far not managed to fully exploit the theoretical and empirical possibilities inherent in the workings of Pierre Bourdieu's theories. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to contribute to Bourdieu's work on capital theory, as illustrated in Section 2.2 on Bourdieusian social theory, by demonstrating how upwardly mobile German-Turkish economic elites use strategies to minimise the differences between their cultural and social capital and those of people with higher socio-economic status. I argue

that existing research on social mobility can be expanded further and applied to professional pathways and strategies that help individuals from immigrant families climb the ladder. This can be done by focusing on the role of influential actors and strategies in the pathways of German-Turks in leading positions in business, medical and legal fields. The central question is: how has a minority of German-Turks overcome disadvantage to rise to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany? To fully comprehend their pathways, I not only analyse the role of influential actors in their labour market pathways, but also in their youth and educational trajectories. I am particularly interested in highlighting the pathways to mobility among members of the German-Turkish economic elite, identifying strategies and their underlying key mechanisms affecting the choices they make in pursuit of success, and explaining how specific choices were essential in determining the outcomes of their careers. I am keen to understand how they make their way up despite the persistence of barriers to social equality. What has facilitated the rise of a minority of German-Turks to occupy high-status jobs? In other words, how does the process of turning initial disadvantages (Blanden et al., 2004; Söhn and Özcan, 2007) into advantages come about?

In the following section, I examine the contextual barriers to social mobility among my research participants. I then move on to explore the three key strategies and their underlying mechanisms in accessing social mobility. In order to understand how the upwardly mobile German-Turks succeed, despite challenging hurdles, in pursuing their careers, I aim to analyse their mobility patterns and how they broke through the rules of the game using their own strategies. This will help to explain what enabled a minority of German-Turkish professionals to succeed, by what means they have tapped into extra resources in their journey to get ahead, and, moreover, which institutional and social factors have aided their elite ascension. Individual strategies are shaped by how the actors perceive the rules of the game and the resources they consider necessary.

5.2 'Foreignness in the face': Contextual barriers to social mobility among immigrants

German-Turks are a model for *Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund* [German with migration background]. While this relatively new German term used is perhaps meant to be inclusive, it is representative of a discourse that refuses to make allowance for its structural racism. It is vital to underline that the ascension of the German-Turkish economic elite needs to be seen against this background. The term tries to describe those residents who were not born German, or those whose parents migrated to Germany after 1949, but at the same time it denies full inclusion by implying that particular Germans are not part of the nation and its

history. Terms such as *multiculturalism* and *integration* are worthless in a discourse that fails to recognise institutionalised racism and discrimination, while casually using words such as *Mischlingskind* [mixed blood children] and *Deutsche/r mit Migrationhintergrund* [German with migration background] to communicate to those who are supposed to, in one way or another, participate and be equal members of German society, constantly suggests that they are not equal members and cannot become so. In fact, in daily life, the term becomes yet more awkward, as the majority of society, including the grandchildren of the initial immigrants themselves, apply the term to those who, as Stolcke (1995, p. 8) describes, 'carry their foreignness in their faces'.

Apparently, one does not need to be a new immigrant to carry 'foreignness in their face'. According to OCA, a lawyer: 'In Germany, being an *Ausländer* [foreigner] is hereditary'. According to studies on migration and education, differences in education and contextual barriers between immigrant children and native children can be evaluated and discussed in depth. There are two key groups of explanatory approaches. The first group points out features of migrants, as well as their cultural distance in relation to the receiving society (Diefenbach, 2002; Worbs, 2003). As a result of the lower level of educational achievement of the parents, as well as limited information, ability to integrate, time and possibilities for financial investment in the children's education, children do not often have an equal start or a successful school experience (Diefenbach, 2002; Worbs, 2003). Meanwhile, the second group of researchers emphasises the lack of equality of conditions in the German education system for migrant children, both on an individual and institutional level (Gomolla and Radtke, 2007). According to Gomolla and Radtke's study (2007), social stratification in the work environment is reinforced by both direct and indirect institutional discriminatory practices. Direct discrimination is easy to spot and happens when decisions or viewpoints are not based on merit or ability but on factors such as sex, race or religion, while, according to Lippert-Rasmussen (2006, p.170), indirect discrimination arises 'whenever an individual, institution, or practice acts in such a way that the interests of some individuals are systematically favoured'. Meier (2010) emphasises the fact that, in Germany, children are streamed in segregated school types from the fifth grade typically at the age of 10 to 11, aggravating social stratification as children are not given adequate time to mature their linguistic skills before they are streamed.

Accordingly, DM, a female medical doctor and KD, a senior lawyer, noted:

> I truly believe racism and social stratification is built into Germany's education system which creates many barriers in early years for children of immigrant ancestors (DM, medical doctor).

> Barriers towards us [German-Turks] was from a part of the institutions and their actor's [teachers] widely perceptible (OS, businessman).

Some major social institutions, such as schools, enhance the inequalities that migrants from ethnic minorities face. For example, at school, students may often be subject to favouritism by teachers. The curriculum and cultural styles may be more accessible to students from the upper middle classes, while children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds can be more marginalised (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982). Likewise, FA, a lawyer, underlines early obstacles which she faced and, to some degree, are even faced by her children at the present time:

> How can the formation of elites be non-discriminatory if the elementary education system is not? At the end of the day, professional elites are to a certain degree the outcome of the education system. Through skill in connecting with diverse cultural backgrounds, interests and personalities we can allow a multicultural awareness, eliminating all obstacles to immigrant children, where all people living in Germany are perceived equal (FA, lawyer).

The national institutional context plays a role at different stages in the career development of descendants of migrants from Turkey (Crul, et al., 2012; Kristen, 2002). According to the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the OECD, students with Turkish roots who are second- or third-generation migrant children have significantly lower school achievements than native German students. For instance, only 19% of the population of migrant students can attend the *Gymnasium*, with an even smaller percentage for Turkish migrant students. *Abitur*, is the leaving qualification of the type of school called *Gymnasium* that is required to enter university, is only be attained by less than 10% of Turkish students. In comparison, the percentage for the same qualification among native German students is around 26% (Schierup et al., 2006). The disadvantaged position of children from a migration background appears to be a consequence of the German trajectory school system, with the relatively early ramifications that have a robust influence on migrant families (Kristen, 2002; Fernandez-Kelly, 2012). Another domain for comparison is the attendance rate at the preparatory school for vocational training, the lowest degree, the *Hauptschule*. Native German students make up about 21% of attendees, compared to migrant students who make up about 50%. Crul and Schneider (2009) argue that Germany's model of integration is a model of 'differential exclusion', where Germany has long emphasised avoiding

heterogeneity. Meanwhile, other European countries, such as the Netherlands, incorporate a multicultural model based on the acceptance of multiculturalism (Castles and Miller, 1993). Castles and Miller (1993) believe that these different models of integration will also have a significant outcome on the socio-economic position of immigrants and their children, because these approaches to integration transmit 'national' notions, norms and values shaping the interface with newcomers and their descents.

In a similar research project, Ortloff (2009) studied 58 German social science teachers and their attitudes towards foreign students at a *Realschule* and *Hauptschule*. The study showed that a majority of teachers often believe that students from Turkish migrant families can never be 'real' Germans, despite their linguistic proficiency, classroom performance, shared guilt and even place of birth. A number of teachers even claimed that Russian-German children were considered exemplars of 'Germanness', while German-Turkish children could never be considered 'real Germans' because 'it cannot work like that' and the 'best hope for them is that they can live between both cultures' (Ortloff, 2009, p. 196). Even though the state has a multicultural requirement for diversity in education, these teachers rejected the concept (Ortloff, 2009), because they personally do not believe in it.

The early obstacles described by my participants echo the fact that growing up in Germany, despite many advantages, has been a problem for the children of incoming immigrants, who have now become adults and are an integral part of German society. Institutes of education always played a predominantly important part in youth socialisation, with school being in many cases the initial and most significant contact area for native Germans and German-Turks. Several experiences of research participants demonstrate that most institutional agents such as teachers did not put much effort into creating a sense of belonging among the children of Turkish immigrants. An illustration is provided by OI, a medical doctor, from his school years in the late 1970s:

> My teacher advised my parents to register me for the *Realschule* since the chance of me going back to Turkey is high anyway. Graduating from there would have not given me the chance to study and become a senior doctor specialising in cardiology. The system needs to be fair from the bottom level. What does it help if it's fair on top but at the bottom it's not? (OI, medical doctor)

Likewise, research by Kristen (2002) demonstrates that in Germany a disproportionately high number of German-Turkish children receive a recommendation for the lowest level of secondary education. Indeed, in the past, teachers formed special classes to avoid what was officially labelled the *consolidation of sojourn* (Kristen, 2002) to prepare the youngsters for

returning to *their* home country. In line, Bourdieu argues that social inequalities and limits on outsiders are legitimated by the educational credentials and institutions (Boyne, 1993). This means that the education structure plays a chief function in upholding unfair practices (Sullivan, 2001) as I have discussed in more detail in Section 2.4.2 – Social mobility through the German institutional context. When recruitment of the first foreign employees started, it was assumed that they would return to their countries of origin, meaning that immigration was considered a temporary phenomenon and, as a consequence, a comprehensive integration policy, including at the educational level, was not deemed necessary (Fernandez-Kelly, 2012). After the recruitment of foreign labour was concluded by the federal government, it followed a policy of 'consolidation of the employment of foreigners'. The aim was to encourage foreign employees to return to their home countries (Motte, 1999). Research shows that the government has not turned a blind eye to social problems in this region (Sonnenberger, 2003). The majority of *Gastarbeiter* were therefore expected to ultimately return home at some point, and the same was expected to happen with their children. Regularly, neither school authorities nor parents considered it essential or even desirable to offer second-generation immigrants more than the obligatory period of education – the nine years of the *Hauptschule* (Crul and Schneider, 2009).

Moreover, Söhn and Özcan (2007) argue that the German school system guides students into different pathways of secondary education much earlier than school systems in other countries. Such important life choices have a significant impact on the future of every child, as it is hardly reversible at a later stage in a child's school career or in adulthood. Furthermore, the authors highlight that children and grandchildren of Turkish immigrants find themselves in unfavourable positions throughout the different stages of school education, and their academic competencies. The scores that German-Turkish children obtain from educational achievements are, PISA studies demonstrate, disturbingly below the average expectations for their age. According to Fernandez-Kelly (2012), such results can be attributed to a mix of factors: the lack of social and cultural capital of their parents' generation, a limited education system that does not foster the educational progress of children from disadvantaged families, the high significance of school degrees for better opportunities in the vocational training system and the labour market in general, the institutional discrimination evident in both educational and work environments, a narrower German education system, the lower socio-economic status of immigrant families and, finally, the potential German language deficits of an average Turkish student. Thus, Fernandez-Kelly (2012) believes that poor educational achievement and low levels of upward mobility cannot

simply be clarified by the dispute that immigrant descendants lack the necessary sociocultural capital for educational achievement. She emphasises that the result of discrimination against certain clusters, characterised by racial, ethnic and religious indicators in Germany, plays a vital role in the high levels of downward mobility. On the other hand, several professional elite members also underscored, despite negative and discrimination experiences, the positive impact of institutional agents, social actors and significant others in their pathways. In Section 5.3.2 – Strategy 2 – Willingness to recognise significant others as available resources – I will discuss and analyse this topic in further detail. Evidently, the second generation started with hurdles that were clearly noticeable later on. The words of KD, a lawyer, fit here quite well:

> It seems that we are persistently running behind. It's a struggle, since the competition gets tighter. The gap is closing but you are still somehow behind as the initial start was just too weak and the native Germans try to keep me out of the game (KD, lawyer).

There is a struggle in each field between 'the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out the competition' (Bourdieu, 1993b, p. 72). Likewise, HI, a medical doctor, explicitly mentioned the role of unequal conditions caused by more structural constraints:

> The school I was supposed to attend to do my *Abitur* did not accept me because I did not live within the radius. The odd thing is that our neighbours' child, literally next door neighbours, was able to attend the school. He was as you would have thought native German (HI, medical doctor).

Hence, for many of the research participants, their early education was partly associated with social exclusion experiences. Similarly, RK, a medical doctor, recalls that solving a biochemistry task at the classroom's board was an exercise she was always nervous of, as it gave her professor the opportunity to tease her in front of her peers. Allusions to the belittling image of the unqualified German-Turk woman through such comments as 'attention people, now a Turkish girl is showing you how to do it!' were frequent, heightening RK's perceived outsider status, which Horvat and Antonio (1999), for example, also examined in their research about African American girls in an elite high school and the importance of habitus. These recollections, which remind German-Turks that they are easily identified as outsiders, corroborate the analysis by Hughes (1945, p. 357) on the complications that upwardly mobile individuals of minority groups face in their efforts to establish a socially valued master status. Another shared experience was colleagues addressing the research participants' as 'different'. They frequently needed to share their credentials when no one else had to share theirs. Often the second- and third-generation German-Turks are presumed to be the representatives of

their whole community, who then need to account for the behaviour of others, with whom they are most often associated only because they come from the same ethnic or religious background. Stories like the one shared by OC, a lawyer, are shared frequently:

> I am commonly asked 'what country are you from' – I was born in Hamburg, so my answer is always Germany. 'You are so different' – aren't we all? I've also been asked whether I surely went to law school (I did) or how I was accepted – I simply applied. Besides, I've been asked to serve the beverages at a client meeting despite being there to hold the meeting (OC, lawyer).

OC, lawyer and HA, business leader and employer of hundreds of people, managed to enter the *Gymnasium* with the help of their parents. This follows the first PISA study, which found that children whose parents are active in the education process have a better chance of reversing teachers' recommendations of secondary schools than those who have few educational qualifications (Becker, 2011). For OI, HA and OC, as for many other children of Turkish parents who migrated to Germany, growing up in Germany and following the German school system was a confusing and not always pleasant experience of belonging. The pathways in this section show that these professional elites are not only affected by disadvantageous structural contexts that function during their upwardly mobile career trajectory, but also by their individual backgrounds. The differences in educational opportunities between native German children and children from Turkish migrant families can be traced to a combination of factors. A weighting of one single factor would be clearly incorrect. Evidently, the educational disparities result from both the individual characteristics of Turkish migrant families as well as the stereotypical discriminatory attitudes of German educational institutions (Crul and Schneider, 2009; Gomolla and Radtke, 2007; Kirsten, 2002; Fernandez-Kelly, 2012).

On the one hand, there are the unfavourable surroundings of the migrant families, with an educational system which largely fails in its efforts to offer youngsters with different prerequisites the same prospects for achievement. Individuals, such as teachers, and institutional mechanisms of discrimination undoubtedly play a role as well, even though it sometimes seems problematic to prove individual and indirect discriminations. Individuals were confronted with barely disguised prejudice from teachers, neighbours, colleagues, classmates or communal officials (Söhn and Özcan, 2007; van Dijk, 2005), which meant that feelings of belonging to German society were difficult to develop.

On the one hand, the German school system opened doors to education and possibilities for personal development that would be unattainable in rural Turkey, as the majority of the first

wave of Turks arriving in Germany were from rural regions where the level of education was low (Crul and Schneider, 2009). There are clearly institutional and societal barriers to social mobility among German-Turks in Germany. These are well established in the literature and have been experienced by my research participants. Evidently, most of my research participants have not been immune to prejudice and discrimination, yet they have still succeeded. Despite barriers to their upward social mobility, individuals, like LA, HA and OC, German-Turkish professionals, turned these obstacles into opportunities and focused on making an impact at work, rather than worrying about the perceptions of others. In the following section, I primarily focus on the central question – what strategies did future business leaders, medical doctors and lawyers of German-Turkish descent use to succeed in the German labour market?

5.3 Strategies and mechanisms in accessing social mobility

Over a decade ago, individuals from disadvantaged ethnic minority groups in Europe, including Germany, rarely experienced social mobility (Rezai et al., 2015). Nowadays, we can observe their steady advancement in higher education and labour markets. Skilled professionals are accessing well-paid and socially prestigious occupations and reach prominent positions. Although they still represent minorities within their communities, highly educated descendants of Turkish migrants have accessed pathways towards upward social mobility (Alba, 2005; Schneider and Lang, 2014). As a consequence of these social developments, researchers are increasingly focusing on the upward social mobility of descendants of migrants across Europe (Keskiner, 2015, Santelli, 2013; Schneider and Lang, 2014).

Bourdieu (1985) has defined a field as a group of stakes and interests. In order for a field to function properly, there must therefore be role players who are endowed with a certain habitus and who embody the knowledge and recognition of the laws that define the field, as well as have some forms of capital. The forms of capital can be metaphorically compared to the winning cards in a game, because the players who have them hold the power and have an advantage in the game. Bourdieu's approach to the forms of capital and role players (as discussed in Section 2.2 Bourdieusian social theory) helps us understand and study individual pathways within various professional sectors (Keskiner and Crul, 2017). People of higher social status can be considered dominant role players in the field (Savage and Williams, 2008), whereas children from lower educational backgrounds migrating from Turkey are disadvantaged newcomers in the field. Having entered the field, the new agents, the German-

Turks, need to catch up with the set expectations, the rules of the game and resources required, which in turn shape their strategies in the struggle and their upward mobility (Keskiner and Crul, 2017). Whereas those in the dominant position try to dominate their specific form of capital and are inclined towards strategies that preserve their assets and positions, the German-Turkish professional elite newcomers 'are inclined towards subversion strategies' (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 74).

According to Bourdieu (1993b), through subversion strategies, the newcomers target to break through the rules of the game and the valued forms of capital in the field, which is also materialised in my data. I discuss this in relation to the following three strategies used by the research participants. Emirbayer and Williams (2005) have noted that the "game" cannot function within the field if all "players" do not reach a consensus about the "rules". The "rules" are predetermined by the dominant group of players, which makes it a struggle to use subversion strategies. This makes subversion strategies more challenging to embrace, meaning that the newcomers are more likely to adapt and abide by the existing system of rules. Through an examination of my respondents' mobility experiences, and, in particular, an analysis of the strategies and mechanisms they associate with 'making it', in accordance with the central research question of this chapter, the following analytical sections present three strategies German-Turkish professional elite members use to experience upward social mobility: (1) refusal of victimhood with key themes being self-belief, resilience and clarity about professional identity; (2) significant others with key themes being support by parents/family, support by native German friends and support by mentors including teachers; (3) becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies and building a transnational profile. As forms of capital and strategies are field-specific, this in turn means that the research findings are in the context of the concrete professional field. The resources that participants found significant for accessing higher status positions of influence and leadership provided information about what they believe is important and what strategies can be built from these resources. The concluding subsection compares the findings with the results of other studies and the forms of capital that were discussed. This chapter, overall, aims to shed light on the experiences of the largely silent upwardly mobile individuals of a stigmatised minority group, highlighting the strategies and their underlying mechanism used to respond to the constraints on their mobility.

5.3.1 Strategy 1 – Refusal of victimhood

This subsection discusses the first strategy with three underlying mechanisms, through which research participants seek to deal with: (1) Resilience and self-belief among research participants; (2) emphasis of their professional identity. All participants refused to be victims, meaning that the mechanisms I identify are common, pointing towards self-belief, resilience and professional identity. The motion they share is, 'I am a doctor, I am a business leader, I am a lawyer and I am socialised into this profession'. They therefore believe that they adhere to professional standards and it does not matter what their names sound like and what they look like – they are members of that profession. The mechanism here draws on the resources that a professional identity gives them in socialisation into a profession. They also use professional trades – 'I am good, I can do this' – which comes out below in several quotes from my participants. The third is making use of others. They are very active in obtaining all the support they can seek, and they seem all very hungry for success.

Resilience and self-belief among research participants

Only a few of the research participants claim to have experienced discrimination in the work environment, while almost all mention that they have received subtle remarks and experienced identity issues in the workplace because of their ethnicity. Respondents appeared reluctant to label their experiences in the labour market as discrimination. According to Schaafsma (2006), this could happen because respondents ignore this fact purposely, as they do not want to be viewed as claiming the mantle of victimhood. Whenever discrimination was explicitly mentioned at all, the overall tendency is that this act should be recognised, yet should not distract your path.

> Make sure you also use this for your own path. You have to be aware that discrimination, even if it's indirect will always be there, on all levels not only in German society. It is second nature to humans, so yes, you have to take notice and it occurs, it is happening on a daily basis but I do not play along with it. I do not have to become a victim (OY, businesswoman).

> Discrimination always seems to appear on my level, how to say *durch die Blume sagen* [to say something in a roundabout way]. But I stood above this. I should not have become a lawyer if I cannot defend myself (FA, lawyer).

Likewise, van Dijk (2005) found in his elite discourse and institutional racism research that negative discourses and discrimination in the elite circles in which professional German-Turks move are often quite subtle and indirect, and need to be distinguished from the overt and blatant racism of the extreme right. Indirect, subtle or open, the discourses which are

ongoing in German society and the effects they have on each level of the workplace, including elites, can turn into a serious hindrance for part of the community and, moreover, the organisation one belongs to (van Laer and Janssens, 2011). Most respondents are thus reluctant to label discrimination and bypass the term explicitly:

> Yes there are comments and a constant need to justify yourself. I don't think you can call it discrimination, since it's so subtle and nifty. It's a grey zone you cannot evidence; nonetheless you do not feel good about it (AC, medical doctor).

Acknowledging that there might be some evidence for the existence of discrimination, most see individual obligation as the key dynamic behind success and failure. Research participants clearly refuse to take discriminatory remarks seriously enough to prevent them from achieving their aims. Almost all respondents deal with identity issues and experiences of discrimination in different ways. Some of the respondents decide to position themselves above such remarks and look for the discourse to prove them wrong:

> [….] I felt something trickier and more subtle. There was no overt racism, just lots of subtle things that would occur. I was never invited to participate in any of the networking groups that were of an informative nature. My tactic was to show them all I can do it. If you do not grant me the same opportunities, I'll go out and get them myself (AE, businessman).

Many of the participants used the word subtle when referring to racism. Other respondents choose to confront people in a very direct manner and set paths to follow. Respondents mentioned problematic phases, particularly in their early educational time, as well as when entering the labour market. Coming of age, they learned to deal with difficult situations. They openly confronted their colleagues about the stereotypical nature of their remarks. They debate issues, questioning the status quo:

> It's all about resilience. I have faced prejudice, yet this will not stop me. If a German put a stone on my path, there were at least two other native Germans who have cleared away this stone again. If a teacher was injudicious, there were others who supported me. And if a neighbour behaved wrongly, there were always neighbours who proved him right and rebuked him. I do not let the bad experiences overshadow the good ones, I particularly reject unethical treatment (AC, medical doctor).

> I had difficulty finishing my speech in East Germany due to intolerant and sneaky hidden prejudiced remarks from the audience. I did not stop; I answered professionally and underlined the importance of the fundamental law of our Federal Republic of Germany. On this level [economic elite level] there is no space for giving up. Amusingly, now, one of my children is invited to a health conference in East Germany to speak about multi-ethnic Germany and its importance on all levels. It is vital that we

shape the German society, speak up, work and be good enough and move up (LZ, businesswoman).

Nonetheless, LZ adapted herself to the specificities of national institutional arrangements that potentially reinforced her group disadvantage. She perceives these situations as being extremely important for her pathway and believes that otherwise she 'would not be sitting here today'. These professional elite individuals make the most of their opportunities at this organisational level, rejecting unethical treatment, where resilience, confidence and personal trades are key characteristics. They often highlight that, at this point in their careers, there is no space for capitulation or any other sign of weakness. She attributes her success to the outlook to refuse to give up and her resilience. Rather than thinking about her German-Turkish roots as a hindrance the emphasis is placed on hard work and diligence. This device of emphasising the significance of hard work and being good enough is also shared among other elite researchers (Harvey and Maclean, 2008). Their individual strategy is to defend what is important to them and also to change their colleagues' attitudes and behaviour concerning the importance of a multicultural Germany at all levels of society.

Above all, respondents are very cautious about describing incidents as ethnically motivated discrimination. They often stress that they are not sure how to describe the odd feeling and the remarks. Most of them did experience issues because of their roots, but only a few linked these to discrimination. These successful individuals seem to be aware that labelling every dispute simply as discrimination resulting in clashes is too simplistic and therefore choose to be active against these attitudes. They often choose to confront such people directly, discuss their prejudice or prove them wrong, thus positioning themselves in diverse reactions as active individuals, refusing to be victimised (Wimmer, 2008). Their response to discrimination is of a subtle nature, whereby they work even harder to achieve their goals. In other words, they simply strive towards their aims expecting their efforts to pay off in the future, as they recognise that their qualities are acknowledged, even if it takes additional determination than for contemporaries of a native background.

Professional identity

Another mechanism for overcoming victimhood is through emphasising professional identity. According to Neary (2014, p. 14) professional identity is 'the concept which describes how we perceive ourselves within our occupational context and how we communicate this to others'. The tendency of German-Turkish professionals to underscore difference as something valuable is also reflected in their approach to dealing with potentially prejudiced encounters,

believing that there is a significance in discourse and regularly enlightening oneself to people, instead of being offended straight away. Resistance by clients, colleagues and the close community is frequently overcome as soon as they recognise that stereotypes and prejudice are not applicable to individuals:

> Once they understand that you are a medical doctor, moreover one which has made considerable contribution to this field, people look at you differently. It is of great value to dialogue instead of blocking and being offended (SU, medical doctor).

Furthermore, they also reject predetermined roles – the so-called *Quotentürke* state [Token German-Turk], where they are only playing limited and caricatured roles in the system (Sökefeld, 2006). Consistent with Konyali (2014), the attitude towards stereotypical roles comes through isolation from their ethnic group – moreover, through finding mutual ground with the German majority group based on their professions. According to van Laer and Janssens (2011), members of the German-Turkish elite continuously risk being seen as an exception. Accordingly, several research participants explicitly underlined the importance of their being highly experienced lawyers, businesswomen and medical doctors who have obtained some of the most prominent posts in Germany through hard work and dedication. Yet, several respondents are also fed up with the constant references to their migrant background. OI, a medical doctor, for example, puts it this way:

> [….] as a matter of fact, I am German. I come from Hamburg. In any case, all this fuss about ethnicity merely demonstrates to me that many individuals still do not find a biography such as mine usual. Sooner or later cultural diversity will be the reality on all levels in German society (SA, medical doctor).

The fact that the hospital of the earlier quoted chief medical doctor, SA, mentions neither the participant's cultural background nor her family roots in her online CV shows that immigration is no longer such a big issue on this level, at least for this medical health company. Moreover, professional identity is key here. On the other hand, a wide range of companies and lawyers offer products and services tailored to Turkish customers as they seem to form a worthwhile target group. These groups are not regularly targeted by their German counterparts. This naturally raises the question of whether certain business sectors are more dependent on German-Turks than others. I will discuss and analyse this in detail in Chapter 6.

There are German-Turkish economic elites who feel that they belong to German society. It is undoubtedly still not always an easy relationship – nonetheless SA, a medical doctor, and his generational peers do not allow space for doubts about their Germanness. Even though their

concerns are similar to those of earlier generations, particularly in connection with ongoing dominant stereotyping of Turks and issues of citizenship and identity, they are no longer fighting against the grain of social forces. They simply use a strategy of moving on and focusing on making an impact in the society they belong to, the German society and its professional surroundings. They have resisted those who have stereotyped them merely as *Gastarbeiter* or migrants who are supposed to 'go back to where they came from'. They precisely responded to those individuals self-confidently that they are also German, that they help in shaping the country, participate in society, help mould Germany, that it is also their society, and that they feel at home in Germany. Recognition and refusals of victimhood in the workplace for German-Turks can thus be accomplished by showing that their competences as leaders, lawyers and medical doctors are no different from those of their colleagues native to Germany or of any other parentage. They stress the comparability of the competences to weaken the obsession with disparity and they become accepted by their peers, sooner or later, through focusing on the quality of their professional contribution, even if this means biting the bullet at the beginning as the validation comes over time. Despite these hurdles, the intergenerational drive to achieve success plays a vital role here, which is discussed in the next section. Nevertheless, German-Turkish elite members continuously run the risk of being seen as exceptions, while prejudgments about others remain (van Laer and Janssens, 2011).

5.3.2 Strategy 2 – Willingness to recognise significant others as available resources

When refusing victimhood and re-positioning through higher education represent a valuable strategy, moving one's own position within a hierarchical system of ethnic categories linked to the support of others embodies an attractive approach. The vast majority of the 45 participants also mentioned social actors who played an important role during their professional pathways: these not only included parents, family and peer supports, but, unexpectedly, institutional agents. Evidently, these professionals have not walked alone on their journeys. The participants also repeatedly relate to their occupational pathways as a continuation of their parents' intentions to migrate, which was primarily driven by the desire to improve life prospects. In the following section, I focus on descriptions of the interviews, which describe the way acceptance and support mechanisms are vital in the professional pathways of the participants.

Self-belief and family support – 'I did not walk alone on my successful journey'

The first underlying mechanism that I am going to discuss focuses on the distinguishing

characteristic of significant others, which has also been highlighted as important in previous research on migrant students who have higher educational achievements (Louie, 2012; Portes and Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Rezai, et al., 2015). It concerns the communication of belief in youngsters' capabilities to accomplish educational success which has a positive effect on their self-belief, similar to the research of Louie (2012). I argue that support from significant others, combined with self-belief that has accumulated throughout their educational experience, helps the participants in this study in their future careers and moreover also continues in their professional environments. Such a mechanism also highlights the relevance of becoming familiar with middle-class, majority group culture.

In the interviews, I observe that significant others and the attitude towards these individuals played a crucial role in the successful pathways of these economic elites. Significant others is a notion sociologists use to describe individuals who have a profound impact on someone's thoughts and actions (Haller and Woelfel, 1972). Throughout their educational experiences, most of the research participants had support from their parents and significant others, which helped them achieve their goals. Their parents supported them emotionally and transmitted to them the significance of education as a means of attaining upward social mobility. It has been documented that the parents of my interview participants put high ambitions and aspirations on the education pathways of the professional elites. In addition, significant others supported the students by expressing belief in their success and ability to reach educational goals (Rezai et. al, 2016). The significant others stated by the participants were mainly teachers, university professors, extended relatives, older siblings and peers. Sometimes teachers and professors have had a significant role in establishing participants' self-confidence and belief in their success, as well as acknowledging their talents. Teachers have a lot of institutional knowledge, such as guiding students on the process of getting into a *Gymnasium* and what kind of certificates are required by higher education institutions for admission. Such information is also considered valuable for many of the participants. In addition, extended family members and older siblings help reinforce participants' self-confidence and belief in their educational abilities. Often, these people are the next available source of advice for school work and major educational decisions.

The literature observes two important characteristics of significant others. First, they notice the young person's abilities and demonstrate the belief that the student can accomplish educational success (Portes and Fernández-Kelly, 2008). Second, significant others become 'institutional agents' for the migrant students because of the transfer of institutional information (Stanton-Salazar and Spina, 2003). Remarkably, almost all participants described

a positive attitude towards significant others who advised and assisted them as they scaled the professional ladder, including teachers and professors. At the onset of their professional pathways, the group of significant others comprises mostly university friends and other peers they studied with. These were the people that provided support in finding their first internship or job position, as they told them about a job opening or advised them about a specific company with a good reputation. For instance, EZ, a medical doctor, experienced discriminatory remarks from teachers and described them as being 'tough and cruel', but he also received vital support from his class teacher which had a great impact on him. She encouraged him to be diligent, by giving him recognition through 'small stuff'. Recognition has always been important to EZ, as 'one wants to be acknowledged'. Besides persistence, EZ, a lawyer, considers his rootedness in German culture donated to his positive trail. Being part of the hockey team was an important assistance to understanding German culture: 'it's simply great when the police officer coaches his team after work'. Some of my participants experienced support and mentoring in an educational setting whereas others really experienced this in leisure activities, which is less about significant others than 'rootedness' in German culture and society. Recognising these as a resource and taking it up at an early age is what these professional elites were seeking that makes them different from others. At a time when they might have been quite insecure and vulnerable as is normal in puberty and any other lessons, they recognised these resources as vital.

Native friends

The peers that the participants identified were mostly school friends or university friends who also had high educational aspirations to succeed and agreed upon the importance of education (Louie, 2012; Rezai, et al., 2015). Peers provided emotional support, helped with school assignments and advised on major educational decisions for the future. A few participants had mostly friends of middle-class native heritage. That is why these people had better access to a support system originating from middle-class parents. As an example, MH was a lawyer who had many German friends as he was growing up. His best friends' parents were successful in their careers. MH could have had a better idea about the native German lifestyle because of the access she had to a family representative of that culture. Routines such as reading the newspaper, looking at the health sections because of her mother's profession and having this exposure were important for MH's adjustment to German culture. These friendships therefore embody a source of social capital, where these early bonds can function as role models (Cole and Omari, 2003). MH, a lawyer, is confident that such a friendship helped her feel more

German and grasp in greater detail 'how German family's and structures work'. Besides being able to approach their peers' parents for help with coursework and educational choices, research participants underline the relevance of these bonds and the access to these homes in adopting the culture, such as the norms, values, beliefs and conduct of successful professional individuals of native origin. This is also true of the ethical capital hypothesis. Bull et al. (2010) describes how being in a particular ethnic environment can help a migrant child acquire ethnic capital and become more adjusted to that ethnic group. In other words, ethnic capital is like a magnet – attracting MH, a lawyer, towards the socio-economic outcomes experienced by a typical person in the particular ethnic group (Borjas, 1995, 2006). Evidently, the combination of encountering significant others who give credit to a person's skills and knowledge, together with the process of adjusting to the local culture of the middle class when exposed to that environment, can be highly beneficial for a migrant during his or her younger years and later in adulthood.

Having friends and peers from a family which belongs to the German native group helps migrant children internalise the norms, beliefs and traditions of that culture. First, there are significant others from a German-Turkish background, such as family members and family friends who show beliefs in the person's ability and support their educational and career choices. Second, there are connections to native Germans, which help with socialisation into German culture and society and, essentially, help the person understand the rules of the game. Peers and significant others become influential social actors enhancing the self-confidence and strength of the descendants of migrants. These characteristics transfer later in adulthood and help build up a successful professional in a working environment. For instance, LZ's parents always made it clear that they wanted their children to obtain higher education. The fact that he had not been able to obtain a university degree was an important motivation for them. They were not able to assist with homework assignments and central educational decisions, but they helped in other ways, such as financially, so that they only had to focus on their education. LZ and KB expressed their feelings as follows:

> I have parents who always worked hard […] All they wanted is that we do not step in their footsteps of low-paid workers. This was the grounds for my success in my profession (LZ, businesswoman).

> I simply had to make it. I always wanted to be able to defend my parents and my whole family. This and the determination of my parents played a crucial role in my desire to get up. The ultimate goal of my parents behind their so difficult migration was that their children have it better in life than they did (KD, lawyer).

> We had to make them proud, and show them that their rocky road to Germany was worthwhile (DK, lawyer).

Equally, research into the role of significant others in the upward social mobility of children of migrants places emphasis on educational pathways. Researchers find that high achievers have access to support from significant others, both parents and native friends, which can also be a strategy that is chosen by the professional intentionally – meaningfully networking and socialising with people they can learn from and actively seeking the support of others (Louie, 2012; Portes and Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Rezai, et al., 2015). Likewise, research on Dominican and Colombian newcomers focused on the children of migrants who had high academic achievements, only one generation after their families moved to their new homes (Louie, 2012). Louie (2012) analysed how children of working-class immigrants could achieve greater upward mobility in their new society. The parents of these children were devoted to, and involved in, the social and educational progress of their children. Sometimes the parents could not meet the exact expectations set by the schools, but at the same time the students possessed a great degree of self-motivation. Another important factor is the access that migrant children have to institutional networks of support, such as communicating with teachers, peers and mentors, as well as attending extracurricular activities. I found that parents play a vital role by utilising their immigrant optimism and aspirations for intergenerational upward mobility to support their children in their educational pathways. Still, parents do not have enough resources to help children with their educational goals – it is more difficult to help them with their homework or advise them about major educational decisions, in the way that native German families could (Louie, 2012; Rezai, et al., 2015). Following the second underlying mechanism of making use of significant others, the third mechanism concerns the essential role that mentors can play in the careers of German-Turkish professionals and how these elites made effective use of them.

Mentors from a professional context

The participants highlight the importance of understanding the culture of native friends and their families during their young years and how they can use their social skills to establish a connection with valuable mentors, who can guide and advise them throughout their growth into adulthood. In addition, this mechanism concerns how social actors become acquainted with the social rules of professional organisations and their environment. Throughout the early years of their professional occupations, a number of my participants had one or several senior colleagues or supervisors who took on a mentoring role. This varied from supervisors

who took a young lawyer under their wing as a guiding figure to chief medical doctors who provided guidance and techniques and functioned as role models and business partners who showed professional elite members 'how to play the game'. CB, one of my participants, now a well-known business leader, had a mentor who was one of the most important partners in the firm; something 'you need […], if you want to make a career here'. CB was a business mentor who had one of the leading roles in the company. Over a period of 15 years, CB managed to climb up the career ladder bit by bit, while working at a consulting firm. He is currently in a partner position, which is the highest position in the sector, which he fought for and was 'hardcore'. CB worked with devotion, stayed late and attended many corporate social events. Ever since graduation, it had been CB's goal to make it in the 'Big Four, but first I had to learn how to work in this game, how to be a professional in circles where I never have been before, there was an immense learning cost I paid'. The 'Big Four' are the four largest professional services networks in the world, offering audit services, advice on taxation, management consulting, advisory services and legal services. CB, a businessman, had to learn skills that would help him enhance his career and this had a big learning cost for him. He highlights the major role that the mentor had during the onset of his career:

> I learned a lot from my mentor. He opened doors for me, which are locked for many others who come from the same background as I do. I believe that for us these mentors are even more important, so once I felt there was someone who backed me up and showed me how things work here, I proved to him that he had invested in the right person (CB, businessman).

Successful newcomer managing partners in this game acquire diverse types of capital which can be compared to 'aces in a game of cards, are powers which define the chances of profit in a given field' (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 196). The capability to recognise themselves as newcomers in the field essentially aided some of the professionals to progress in their careers and to acquire their current positions by making use of the resources and the support they can get. The medical doctor, SW, had a similar experience. SW met her supervisor, Stephan, during an internship. He became her mentor and had a fundamental role in her career, as she sought his advice on future work-related plans. He advised her to specialise in cardiology if she wanted to pursue her career goals. If SW had not had this conversation with her mentor, chances are she might not have ended up as head of cardiology at the biggest hospital in northern Germany. This would support her application for a leading medical doctor position. While she studied at the medical school, she did a PhD in cardiology. Mentoring helped her discover her talent, boost her confidence in her skills and improve her education (Wright and Wright, 1987). Studies often focus on the benefits to the company, the mentor and the person being

mentored. This process of holding on to a mentor and his/her advice is very powerful in terms of understanding the culture and rules of an organisation, with its resources for informal and formal social networking, and its opportunities for professional development for all members (Boice, 1992). SW, a chief medical doctor, made use of her social skills to find valuable mentors and maintain a relationship with them during subsequent phases of her career, in order to have access to their advice, guidance and networks.

Furthermore, my findings here add to studies on the minority culture of mobility, as observed by researchers (Vallejo, 2012; Neckerman et al., 1999), as I demonstrate that having cultural capital is not the only way for descendants of migrants to successfully enter into 'white-collar' professional sectors. Becoming familiar with middle-class majority norms and ways in one's youth, through school and peers, can have a similar effect. Additionally, I argue that growing up in a disadvantaged environment does not necessarily mean that one cannot be successful in a native professional environment. German-Turkish professional elites learn what conduct is expected of them in the new environment and act accordingly. However, this does not preclude undergoing feelings of lack of belonging.

5.3.3 Strategy 3 – Becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies and building a transnational profile

The third strategy involves exploring alternatives to mobility in the light of barriers to becoming independent from corporate hierarchies and building transnational profiles. The sections above underlined that having professional expertise, suitable credentials, soft skills and significant others' support are key factors in corporate settings. In these cases, success and top positions come from self-awareness and very resourceful individuals who are very good in pointing out barriers and how to pass around them by refusing victimhood and being willing to recognise significant others as available resources. However, success and upward mobility can also come about by pursuing new opportunities in the case of blocked ones. Self-business ownership – becoming independent from professional hierarches and building an international profile – can therefore be an effective route to upward mobility for individuals who are confronted with limited prospects.

Self-business ownership
Evidently, from my participants' career paths, self-business ownership can result in substantial economic mobility (Sanders and Nee, 1996). Furthermore, it can also be a means of coming to terms with the hindrance and discontent that German-Turkish group members

might experience in corporate settings. According to Heilman and Chen (2003), they often become independent in order to make up for a lack of recognition and appreciation, as they face barriers to their advancement. Certainly, analysing my interview respondents, they often link the plan to become autonomous from professional hierarches to the experience of blocked opportunities. On the one hand, these obstacles are a generic aspect of hierarchies in the corporate environment. On the other hand, respondents also associate obstacles with their ethnic backgrounds and the resulting group disadvantage. This is illustrated by DK, a lawyer, and AZ, a businessman:

> You must adapt to the existing culture, here in Germany that is just the dominant German culture. And if you do not follow or if you have troubles with it, even if unintentional, since there were times, although it has never been my intention, when I just had difficulties integrating (KD, lawyer).

> I am certainly opposed with a reduced amount of rejection being self-employed or working as an autonomous consultant than as an employee within a corporate hierarchy. I am freer and the clients definitely accept me (AZ, businessman).

Self-business ownership is recurrent as an alternative strategy in the respondents' career paths. Several participants in my sample had taken such an approach at different stages of their careers. While some professionals were very successful in executive sites at corporate organisations before starting their own businesses, others used self-employment as a stepping stone to prove themselves on the labour market, before transferring to upper levels of larger corporations. Self-business ownership involves setting up as an independent corporate instead of working for an employer, which brings both advantages and disadvantages. It means that one is solely responsible for how the business performs, which also involves a definite degree of risk owing to the freedom it provides with regards to structuring one's own work and environment (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Sanders and Nee, 1987a). German-Turkish economic elites who choose the independent business option, often involve their family in the business:

> The willingness of my family to work long hours, something that never bothers good businesspeople, our combination of being a healthcare provider and at the same time shareholders of the property is unique and a great alternative to typical professional corporates (LZ, businesswoman).

> The family is key in our culture. I broke out of the dominant German culture, but without the family it wouldn't have worked (DK, lawyer).

This strategy also exemplifies how, even for those respondents who managed to establish themselves in commercial organisations, leaving for better opportunities is always an option:

> In three to five years, I might have my own company. I have to have the feeling that I am being rewarded fairly and getting fair chances to continue my upward mobility. The best choice for people like us seems to be becoming self-employed and hence breaking out of this dominant German working culture (HY, medical doctor).

Raijman and Tienda (2000) and Sanders and Nee (1996) argue in their research that self-employment is often used as a last resort by low-income immigrants and their descendants. Alternatively, I find that German-Turkish professional elite members use this strategy as well, just with different methods, which also leads to a parallel German-Turkish professional elite who explicitly make use of bonding social capital, which I will discuss in further detail in the upcoming chapter. Further research signposts that professional prestige and privilege can be denied to individuals with stigmatised identities (Slay and Delmonize, 2011).

Building a transnational profile

Stigmatised identities are socially devalued, with negative stereotypes and beliefs attached to identity (Crocker et al., 1998). As I noted in Section 5.2 – Foreignness in the face: contextual barriers to social mobility among immigrants – social structure can limit individual access to economic success through institutionalised means (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982). However, by pursuing goals using new and alternative strategies, I find that my participants bypassed structural constraints that decreased the likelihood of their success. Their ability to transform their ethnic capital into a valuable professional international resource is a key strategy in their upward mobility. MA, a lawyer, therefore believes that his developed capital is 'worldwide accepted and often more appreciated abroad than at home'. Similarly, Favell et Al. (2007, p. 21) argue that, 'non-spatially located forms of capital have essentially interchangeable values in different locations'. These forms of capital occasionally turn into tools of resilience for individual performances when an individual has been exposed to factors that put this performance at risk, such as discrimination or educational barriers and unfair practices (Hall and Lamont, 2013; Hartmann, 2016a). This creates prospects particularly for those individuals who experienced disadvantages within a national context because of their personal background. In general, professionals highlighted that having migrant parents equipped them with skills that helped them succeed in a professional context. In some cases, the use of ethnic resources was only significant in a transitional period of their career – for others, it has never stopped.

> My skills and social background were not always favoured in Germany. I therefore used these valuable tools in a more international environment. Growing up in a

multilingual environment with two cultures has shaped and aided me fundamentally (ES, businessman).

ES, a businessman, points out that being rooted in two cultures makes German-Turks more open to other cultures, meaning that corporate trading between individuals from different nations becomes easier. This creates opportunities, particularly for those individuals who experienced disadvantages within a national context owing to their individual backgrounds. ES, a businessman, and AA, a lawyer, view this synergy between the two cultures as an advantage. ES and AA demonstrate that, in order to dominate or monopolise a field, one needs to possess the right form of capital in sufficient quantities (Bourdieu, 1984). This provides them with a supplementary repertory for establishing themselves in a high-status position. Many participants argue that they take features from both cultures. Being punctual, structured, thinking two steps ahead and being disciplined are all positive aspects of a German upbringing. On the other hand, in Turkish communities, one is more flexible and impulsive, more absorbed in getting to know other individuals and more customer-oriented. In other words, 'instead of grumbling that we are not at home in either country' (OC, lawyer), German-Turks recognise initial disadvantages, such as their social origin as genuine advantages and use a strategy whereby the synergy between the two cultures becomes an advantage. Often, the best way to overcome national conditions was to work for an internationally operating organisation or to push for an agenda at work that enabled them to build an international profile. Many research participants tried to find work in an international context early on in their careers. They stated that the climate is different in these organisations, as people are simply more used to cultural differences in transnationally operating companies. They also observed that hierarchies are less rigid and more flexible, thus offering more opportunities for individual development:

> The hospital I work for works quite differently, they have an open culture, which is influence by the new American shareholders. The new board makes much more use of the different backgrounds each individual has to offer (TK, medical doctor).

Another respondent, NA, is a businessman who developed an international profile early in his career by spending a major period of his studies abroad, at a time when it was not common to do so in Germany. This made it easier for him to enter the labour market in an international company, which simplified subsequent professional application procedures: 'you then move in a certain circle, where your origins are not so relevant anymore. This was my approach to overcome the dominant German culture within national enterprises'. The German-Turkish professional elite's international profile literally seems capable of moving them beyond

national conditions. They can rationalise their situation by overcoming obstacles experienced within a restrictive national context, but, then again, they also persisted and 'made it' on an international level; in other words, they also juggle sameness and difference. Building a transnationally recognised profile is evidently a successful strategy to pass through and beyond national career impediments.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter paid particular attention to how a minority of German-Turkish professionals has overcome disadvantage to rise to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany. Striking similarities across the three fields provide evidence for increasing standardisation of the fields, while variation lies in the individual responses to structural barriers and how they overcame them. I identified three strategies with several underlying mechanisms in the careers paths of these economic elites that led to the rise of a German-Turkish professional elite. My findings indicate that achievement and failure are not solely opposites, but rather should be viewed as a continuum. Evidently, German-Turks who have attained high-status positions experienced hurdles and national conditions that at some stage in their path impeded their prospects. Hitherto, all participants have overcome this through the application of strategies and their underlying mechanisms. The first feature that the participants all had in common is that these professionals with exceptional achievements stepped away from victimhood and consequently did not want to be viewed as passive victims in the face of discriminatory practices. On the one hand, they consider their work quality and professional identity to be at the same level as their native German counterparts. On the other hand, they want to be recognised as culturally and ethnically distinct. Their rejection often marks their professional position in the labour market as vulnerable, yet, on the other hand, it offers to many a valuable advantage in the business market. Managing sameness and difference is an individual and situational balancing act based on an awareness that obstacles and unfair practices exist, but these require the right approach. Their rejection to entirely assimilate makes their professional position in the labour market a vulnerable one.

Second, I find further evidence that upwardly mobile German-Turks present their own success pathways as a continuance of their parents' migration mission and the role of significant others, who played a fundamental role in their upwardly mobile careers. Accomplishment is therefore not only connected to who they are, but is caused by self-conception combined with an adaptive and enthusiastic stance towards barriers and boundaries that they experience. In any country, educational success cannot be limited to a single set of factors, yet it is

noticeable that respondents particularly emphasise the lack of resources and equal opportunities in the primary years of their education. Once, however, they bypass the structural hurdles caused by national and local contexts, they themselves grow into an industrial context where the principal discourse is formed by an achievement philosophy which seems rather similar across the professional elites.

Third, these professional elites often experience several transitional career stages. When looking at single cases, one can therefore see that various elements of the different strategies are interconnected and overlap. For instance, the 'independent' path might eventually be considered just another way of 'turning disadvantages into joule advantages' by entering a position that enables one to build an international profile or balance between the German and Turkish sites. I have therefore come up with promoting the idea that the research participants convert a disadvantage into a joule advantage, the key to which is reflexivity and understanding the social world. Personal expressions and pathways are certainly never typical for entire professional groups; nonetheless, they may be prototypical in the sense that they are referential to discourses and perceptions in the wider society. The interview extracts chosen in this chapter are prototypical in the sense that they stand for themselves in many aspects, but they also share references and common narratives. Future research – including with a group of respondents from comparable professional positions, as well as other elite fractions, such as the political elite or reasons for entering Germany and the correlation to the status quo – might further our knowledge of the role of barriers in individual career trajectories and upward mobility among German-Turkish professional elites.

Chapter 6: The formation of ethnically protected markets

6.1 Introduction

German migration procedures have come a long way in the last two decades. The major paradigm shift has been away from migrants as temporary guests to essential, appreciated and long-term contributors to society (Rietig and Müller, 2016). Yet, in Germany, concerns about German-Turks have triggered a debate about the existence of a *Parallelgesellschaft* [parallel society], comprised of German-Turks living in a parallel world detached from wider German society, its norms and communities (Reimann and Elger, 2010). The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, has officially acknowledged that multiculturalism has failed in Germany (Weaver, 2010). Such statements have led to claims that sections of Turkish communities, who have lived in Germany for more than 50 years, are not integrated and form their own communities (Crul and Schneider, 2013). Although the German-Turkish community has long been part of Germany's social and business landscape, its members have largely remained absent from the highest positions in the German economic elite (Ögelman et al., 2002).

Regardless, a group within the German-Turkish community has proven that it is possible to break into professional elite circles, as analysed in the previous chapter. Although they still represent minorities in their professional fields, these German-Turkish economic elite members have managed to integrate into the German economy very well and have effectively generated strategies and mechanisms to enhance upward mobility. It is apparent that my research participants were not in any way advantaged. They have had the same struggles as millions of others who have made it. They believed in themselves, they were resilient, they did not give up and they tapped into extra resources, where they made use of the resources they had from significant others around them and, overall, they found viable routes if they found their path blocked. Thus, one would automatically assume that they do something different from those who do not make it to the elite. We expect these people to do something very different and exciting, which in a sense I argued in the previous chapter, where I touched upon the different strategies and underlying mechanisms and trades which helped these professional elites to achieve what they have achieved. Yet what also becomes clear in the following section is that my research participants use equivalent mechanisms and similar motives to their ancestors for their upward social mobility.

In this chapter, I explore the experiences of these economic elites who have achieved leading positions in the corporate, medical and legal sectors in Germany. I examine how they situate themselves within German society and use their social capital to enter a moderately protected market, which gives them a degree of monopolistic power in a parallel society. In order to explore how this is achieved and articulated, I begin by identifying bridging and bonding social capital, touching upon the importance of the ethnic enclave economy to individuals with immigrant roots. This chapter is not about a conservative or nostalgic attachment to German-Turkish society structures, but rather an original analysis which aims to examine how leading German-Turkish professionals have set themselves apart from the majority, using their experiences and social capital to become prominent in their respective fields. The central question that this chapter aims to answer is: Why and in what ways do members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely within what are known as ethnically protected markets? In other words, how dependent are businesspeople, lawyers and medical doctors on the ethnic enclave economy and the necessary social capital associated with it?

6.2 Bridging and bonding social capital

One of the main challenges facing Germany is how to deal with increasing numbers of immigrants and their descendants (Alba, 2005). In 2015, with over 17.1 million, more people in Germany had a migration background than ever before. As reported by the Federal Statistical Office (2015), this corresponds to an increase of 4.4% on the previous year. The share of the population with a migration background within the total population reached 21%. The incorporation of immigrants and their family members into the labour market is of paramount importance for their social integration within the host community. One framework that can help provide an explanation for the labour market outcomes of immigrant family members is social capital theory (Flap and Völker, 2004). Social capital can be defined in multiple ways, as there is still no unified definition that researchers agree upon. Bourdieu (1986b) has defined social capital as a resource available to a social group. It is a collection of available and potential resources proportional to having a strong social network of institutionalised relationships that involve knowing and recognising each other. In other words, a group can provide each member with the support of the collectively owned resources, which in turn is social capital that entitles group members to credit (pp. 248–249). According to Lancee (2010b), social capital encompasses the readily available resources in a social group or network. It is a capital that can lead to actual returns that improve the overall economic well-being of the network. In this research, I have used Lin's (1999b, p. 30)

definition of social capital, which is an 'investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns'. As a result, a social network can be treated as a form of capital (Flap and Völker, 2004). Similarly, Maclean et al. (2010) refers to social capital as group membership, social ties and networks.

Research evidence that connects the social capital of immigrant family members with economic returns is limited but expanding. Some topics covered include employment (Aguilera, 2002; Lancee, 2010b), income (Aguilera and Massey, 2003), self-employment (Kanas and Van Tubergen, 2009) and occupational status (Sanders and Nee, 1996). Based on this research, it can be concluded that social capital is a key element for the entry of immigrant descendants into the labour market. There is debate over whether social capital reflects social ties or social values, yet the question also arises as to whether social capital might encompass both social ties and social values. Social capital encompasses many characteristics, such as social structure, ties, networks, collective resources, credentials, and norms and values, such as loyalty and reciprocity. According to Putnam (1993), social capital mostly incorporates the characteristics of social organisations, including loyalty, trust, norms and networks. Trust seems to be of upmost importance, as it is also impacted by reciprocity and civic engagement social networks. Reciprocity and engagement have an effect on social trust, which in turn impacts the overall well-being of citizens. Other researchers, though, have come to the conclusion that social networks are the backbone of social capital, and that these networks lead to an increasing sense of trust (Burt, 2001; Granovetter, 1973). Furthermore, the popularity of the concept of social capital has rekindled interest in how social bonds can be transformed into effective resources for social actors (Li, 2004). Recent debates on social capital distinguish between 'bridging' and 'bonding' (Burt, 2001; Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital involves establishing connections among heterogeneous groups (Lancee, 2010b) or, in the words of Putnam (2007, p. 143), as bridges to individuals 'unlike you in some important way'. In that way, some important culturally relevant information and opportunities can arise for immigrant family members who can benefit from these cross-community ties (Haug, 2007; Portes, 1998).

In contrast, bonding social capital is more related to internal group connections. Network closure is the fundamental guiding principle for this type of social capital (Burt, 2001; Coleman, 1988), which was discussed in more detail in Section 2.5 – Network and labour market integration. If there is a closure of the network, all participants within the network are connected to each other. For the purposes of my research, another way of observing these two differences is that *bonding* refers to co-ethnic ties within close-knit immigrant groups (Saint-

Blancat and Zaltron, 2013). The clearest case of a network with a high degree of closure is, according to Coleman (1988), the family. Yet, one could classify all ties with co-ethnics as contributing to a dense network with a high degree of closure (Sanders et al., 2002). According to Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), there are two sources of social capital. The first is 'bounded solidarity', which incorporates the idea of group solidarity in the face of a real or perceived threat to a group. The second is 'enforceable trust', which is the monitoring and sanctioning capacity of a network. As Sanders et al. (2002, p. 348) have noted, studies leave little doubt about the significance of social capital explained through 'ethnic networks in promoting economic action'. Bonding social capital is henceforth linked to bonds with co-ethnics and as asset ties within extended families (Lancee, 2012a). Regarding its returns, bonding social capital has two potential outcomes – better labour market possibilities resulting from high benefits of closure within a network and a high degree of solidarity, and co-ethnic connections that may benefit from ethnic solidarity (Sanders et al., 2002). That is why more closure in a social network is more likely to result in greater availability of resources for the members of the community (Lin, 2001).

The conclusions drawn by researchers on the connection between immigrant family members' social capital and labour market outcomes are somewhat conflicting. Even though researchers such as Aguilera and Massey (2003) emphasise the importance of interpersonal ties as positive and supporting, other studies have found that such networks can be an obstacle to upward social mobility (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Aguilera and Massey (2003) convey the idea that immigrants with greater social capital are more prone to utilise personal networks and contacts, because relying on internal ethnic networks increases the chances of formal sector employment. Livingston (2006) suggests that access to interpersonal connections during the job hunt process increases the chances of finding a position in the formal sector. Further research has demonstrated that the presence of social connections and ethnic markets can result in better economic products for migrant workers, because many cannot easily utilise the human capital from their home countries in host country labour markets (Borjas, 1994; Kanas and Van Tubergen, 2009). Overall, the researchers above found that ethnic social networks were important in terms of the economic value of immigrants and their descendants' job market positions.

In comparison, Drever and Hoffmeister (2008) researched the social capital of immigrants and suggested that newcomers who utilised markets with ethnic characteristics somehow became part of working environments of lesser quality. A study by Kanas and Van Tubergen (2009) into immigrants in the second and third generation living in the Netherlands demonstrated that

bonding social capital does not affect labour market outcomes. Instead, they found that bridging social capital does connect with the native population of the Netherlands, as it significantly increases the chances for self-employment (Kanas and Van Tubergen, 2009). Similarly, Lancee (2012) conducted research based on panel data about the role of ethnic networks in Germany. The findings were in accordance with the findings of Kanas and Van Tubergen (2009), noting that co-ethnic friendships and family connections do not affect job position or labour market consequences.

The dichotomous theory of bonding and bridging social capital is further considered in Kanas and Van Tubergen's research (2009). As discussed previously, they suggest that more profitable and fulfilling jobs are located outside the ethnic enclave economy, which means that it is very important to have a connection with the native population of the host country. Such connections can help immigrants advance economically. It therefore remains rather unclear whether immigrant social networks can help German-Turks integrate within hosting environments (Kalter, 2006). Whether ethnic social capital has constructive or undesirable labour market consequences or not, one aspect is certain: when given limited access to marketable human capital in the host society, German-Turks actively build, uphold and make use of ethnicity-based social networks in their economic adaptation (Anthias and Cederberg, 2009). In the following section, I aim to analyse the extent to which my research participants, German-Turkish economic elites, cater predominantly for their native ethnic groups in a protected ethnic enclave economy market. Overall, I am interested in the make-up of the ethnic enclave economy, the extent to which my participants rely on this, and, in particular, their motives for doing so.

6.3 Protected ethnic enclave economy

Reviewing the empirical literature on social capital, it quickly becomes apparent that the advantage of social capital for immigrant family members is often associated with lower quality jobs (Aguilera, 2005; Elliott, 2005; Kazemipur, 2006), lower wages (Green et al., 1999), and individuals who lack educational credentials or technical skills. Moreover, Lancee (2012a) believes that co-ethnic networks are beneficial to immigrant family members who have recently established themselves in the host society. In contrast, I argue that interethnic ties are important at all levels of the labour market, including to educated second- or third-generation German-Turkish professional elites who are reliant on their fellow German-Turkish citizens and the ethnic enclave economy. The extant literature on ethnic enclaves has been narrowly focused on the simple question of whether immigrant workers benefit from an

ethnic enclave economy (Sanders and Nee, 1987a; Wilson and Portes, 1980). In contrast, I am more interested in whether German-Turkish professional elites profit from these ethnic enclave economies and why and in what ways German-Turkish economic elites operate largely in those ethnically protected markets.

I aim to demonstrate that German-Turkish professional elite members use ethnic networks and their social capital in a protected market in order to extract certain market and economic benefits, as their ancestors did. The central point of attention of utility-focused approaches to social capital in my analysis is the fungibility of social capital to economic capital – the potential for individuals to extract economic benefits from ethnic networks. Social capital is occasionally also referred to as 'investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace' (Lin, 2001, p. 19). In accordance with Bourdieu (1986b), the most obvious and substantial benefit of the utilisation of resources provided by social capital is that they can be used to accumulate economic capital. The first generation of German-Turks fits into this cluster of low-educated and low-paid workers, who were mostly from rural areas of Turkey and migrated in the early 1960s to Germany. This generation lives nowadays in a state of inequality with the German social order, which it generally accepts – a situation often called 'harmonious inequality' (Horrocks and Kolinsky, 1996). Second- and third-generation migrants have a different approach towards existing inequality. These descendants of the first generation challenge their disadvantaged status and, although limited in size, German-Turkish economic elites have grown and continue to develop (Horrocks and Kolinsky, 1996). These economic elites do not fit with the idea that social capital is predominantly of importance for lower quality jobs, lower wages and for individuals who lack educational credentials or technical skills. For example, the fashion group Santex, which belongs to the Sahinler Group, was established by a young Turkish immigrant named Kemal Sahin, who started his business in 1982 with a German-Turkish gift shop on a busy commercial street in Aachen selling traditional Turkish gifts. The Sahinler Group, with its European headquarters in Aachen, Germany, currently employs 11,500 people in 27 subsidiaries scattered across 15 countries, including the United States (Steinborn, 2013). Moreover, individuals such as Ahmet Alagün, the first German-Turkish constitutional court judge, HA, Head of Surgery Operations at northern Germany's biggest state hospital and MH, owner of a law and advisory company which operates worldwide, with a €12 million annual revenue, are part of this growing economic elite. Medical doctors, lawyers, financial service providers and business consultants have established themselves in many competitive sectors throughout Germany. According to a study which was developed in collaboration with the consulting firm KPMG and the

Association of Turkish Entrepreneurs and Industrialists in Europe in 1997, concludes that the number of German-Turkish businesses operating in Germany by 2015 will rise to 120,000 German-Turkish businesses, employing and creating a total of 720,000 jobs. The capital invested in these enterprises in 2015 was over 66.5 billion euros. Over half a century since the first *Gastarbeiter* arrived, professionals of German-Turkish origin with high-status positions are growing in numbers and have started to play a vital role in Germany's economic success (Mandel, 2008).

The numerous success stories among the German-Turks I interviewed point to a protected market in an ethnic enclave economy within a parallel community. Wilson and Portes (1980) coined ethnic enclave economy theory, which states that an immigrant-based economy can succeed by being separate and protected. It is a unified system where ethnic commonalities, as well as a shared language, support the success of immigrant businesses. In addition, ethnic enclave economy theory highlights the importance of ethnic solidarity with a somewhat weaker emphasis on transferred cultural values and organisation and a stronger emphasis on the internal structure and social networks of immigrant enclaves (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Armstrong (2008) believes that German-Turks have a vastly different culture to native Germans. Ethnic immigrants tend to establish their own communities within the host country. These parallel communities construct demand for ethnic-oriented businesses and services, known as the ethnic enclave economy, where bonding social capital is valuable elementary. I therefore argue that distinguishing between different forms of social capital, such as between 'bonding' and 'bridging', is especially useful with regard to German-Turks and their position in the labour market, as many German-Turkish professional elite fields are still heavily dependent on the German-Turkish market and experience upward mobility in a similar way to their ancestors. These professional elites have mostly moved away from the classic sectors in which their ancestors were doing business. Nevertheless, what is novel and exciting is that their standing has not completely transformed, as their upward mobility progression is linked to equivalent approaches, which their ancestors already used in the ethnic enclave economy. Consequently, I show that my research participants, against all expectations, use similar mechanisms and motives to their ancestors. The following serves to contribute to the existing debate on the economic role of immigrant networks by shifting the focus to motives, with regard to bridging and bonding social capital, and German-Turkish economic elites in the fields of business, medicine and law. In the following section, I focus on the equivalent approaches to social mobility and the reasons given by my research participants for serving the German-Turkish community. Some of my research participants claim that it is a strategic

business move, while others claim that it is down to discrimination, and others still almost take an identity-based stance showing loyalty to the German-Turkish ethnic community.

6.4. Social mobility with equivalent approaches

The first generation played the initial role in the emergence of the Turkish protected market The original incentive for the emergence of shops with regional products was driven by migrant demand. The first generation's business activities mainly relied on their fellow immigrants' needs, with products aimed at specific ethnic groups, thus generating a 'protected market'. Alternatively, they capitalised on sectors of the economy that were abandoned by German native entrepreneurs because of their low-skilled and low-paid working conditions, such as the classic examples of grocery stores, restaurants, snack bars and newsagents (Pecoud, 2002).

The approach taken by the second and third generations has been expanded and professionalised. The interview participants are active in various economic fields, often with an international profile, as discussed in the previous chapter, with wide transnational networks, yet predominantly serve the ethnic protected economy of the German-Turkish community. This sounds partly counterintuitive, as indicated in Chapter 5, yet it is not really a contradiction at all, as my participants have chosen to operate partly outside traditional German hierarchies. They have built transnational profiles, recognised significant others as available resources and drawn attention to their professional identities with resilience and a refusal to give up, as they felt there were ways to overcome barriers and enhance upward mobility. This chapter explores the extent to which these professional elites are reliant on their local German-Turkish communities and why individuals use these strategies. I demonstrated in Chapter 5, in a more focused way, that there are very good reasons why my participants use similar approaches for upward mobility. My participants have chosen elite occupations, which have especially helped them to make that step forward, but what they are making on the ground is pretty much the same. My research participants are very resourceful and very self-aware. At the same time, they are astute and have agency and are probably much more proactive and open to opportunities than some of their native peers. This is where the notion of reflexivity also comes in – they are very aware of what is happening around them and how to make use of their assets. These German-Turks mostly have significantly better language skills and education; nonetheless, they make use of the 'protected market, yet under different circumstances' (OC, lawyer). Portes (1995, p. 8) describes such networks as circles of 'recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, cultural, or affective

ties' and, furthermore, underlines that these are some of the core strategies that embrace economic transactions. The focus here is on three themes to demonstrate why the vast majority of my research participants cater for the German-Turkish community. In my research, I interviewed participants who claim that this is because of (1) strategic moves to exploit a valuable market niche, (2) discrimination, and (3) loyalty to the German-Turkish community as detailed in the following section.

6.4.1 Business strategic move – exploiting market niches

The first motive behind these professional elite members catering for the German-Turkish community is to carve out a niche by providing services to a specific clientele or taking over accountabilities relating to Turkey. Making use of background resources, such as their knowledge, culture and language in the protected ethnic enclave economy to build a diverse and pro German-Turkish profile was an important part of their strategies. In the following quote, one of my research participants working in the legal field explains how she moved her company to focus more on Turkish-speaking clients. Partly by making use of her 'ethnic capital' and corresponding vision of expansion, she was able to grow as a person and, at the same time, the business has grown immeasurably within recent years.

> […] these people [German-Turks] will more likely be coming to your clinic or working with you than with your ethnic German counterparts. My concept was to serve in Turkish. I believe when you are trying to work with Turks, it is important to be able to conduct the service in their mother tongue, so as to demonstrate to them that you share common values. More than 80% of my customer base has migration roots; similar statistics for the number of employees in my company appear (AA, lawyer).

Similarly, business leaders have been able to move their careers forward by actively forging ahead with the 'Turkish' agenda and, more generally, the international agenda of their companies. Accordingly, CB, a businessman, believes that the disadvantages of being of Turkish origin were hurtful experiences, yet he understood how to use his Turkish background to his business advantage:

> Turks are very practical folks, able to solve things immediately, whereas Germans are disciplined with good planning and groundwork. Being a German-Turkish company with 24 spoken languages can be a good combination of creativity and planning. It is a treasure to have these two cultures in you. That is the basis of my success (CB, businessman).

In my analysis, I find that many of the participants saw the combination of German and Turkish characteristics as an advantage and fundamental to their own achievements. Reluctant

to accept any inferior status in society based on an underprivileged group identity (Schneider and Lang, 2014; Sürig and Wilmes, 2015), the participants even attribute a number of their accomplishments to it. Some of them essentially make professional use of their perceived differences, turning these to their advantage. There are those social climbers among German-Turks whose social mobility and job performance is closely connected to the use of ethnic differences. Difference becomes an asset in the workplace, particularly when the clientele also come from an ethnic minority background:

> Offering healthcare services in high migration population districts with 14 spoken languages is one of our core business principles and gives us an advantage over our competitors. We intentionally target these communities and customer bases, which our competitors, mostly German-owned businesses, find problematic. Despite the growth of my business, I will always balance both sides, and not betray the Turkish immigrant community, since this is my starting point. Nonetheless, this business needs to move on, grow and also step into other social worlds (LZ, businesswomen).

Members of the German-Turkish professional elite use a strategy where they actively recognise sameness and difference and therefore circumvent boundaries by turning disadvantages into advantages. Others make use of their alleged differences by taking over corporate tasks that are, for instance, associated with Turkey or the German-Turkish community, or are related to the migration context in general to build a clientele. For instance, CV, a lawyer responsible for Turkish-speaking clients, finds it beneficial that there is no one like him in the law company. His multilingual and cultural background grants him a considerable advantage in the organisation.

> Being able to speak Turkish and having expertise and deep knowledge about the German-Turkish community in such a prestige company I am part of, is certainly a big advantage and a value added to this workplace. Also being the only one who has that, certainly does not make my chances less likely to climb up further here (CV, lawyer).

Nearly all respondents highlighted that perceived difference can be considered a valuable feature that one can make use of workwise. They recognise their difference as a privilege of authenticity; where others perceived the disgrace of minority status, they felt delighted by both their German and foreign influences. In this sense, these elite members regularly and strategically mobilise their ethnicity, in terms of their bilingualism and their cultural competence. Rather than treating ethnicity as a hindrance, these individuals clearly use ethnicity as a valuable tool for their upward mobility. With this approach, similar to what has been noted by Alba (2005), German-Turkish professional elite members circumvent boundary crossing, with the inherent threat of losing the connection with the ethnic group of their

parents or grandparents, while never truly being recognised by the German ethnic majority group. Although the participants are significantly less dependent on ethnic networks for the accumulation of economic capital, as they have more alternatives (Evergeti and Zontini, 2006), this is still the same approach towards the market as their ancestors used to take, which these participants noticeably regularly choose. Frequently, though, market positioning pushes them towards this strategy. AZ, a medical doctor, clearly illustrated this situation in his account as follows:

> My father opened his first shop to target German-Turks' grocery needs. The Germans did not run these kinds of shops due to the long opening hours and hard work. I somehow use the same niche market, with a different position. My medical surgery company targets mostly Turks across Europe, with over 100 employees, since my competitors are not flexible enough for this clientele or simply do not find them attractive enough. The frame conditions have changed; my work is no longer physically hard, underestimated, and I have more choices, nonetheless the strategy stayed the same (AZ, medical doctor).

What once constituted a forced alternative strategy for first-generation Turkish immigrants has now become a profitable pathway of their descendants. The origins of business success for the family of AZ, a medical doctor, were similar to many of the first immigrant businesses, in that they focused on the Turkish community in Germany. The first self-employed German-Turks provided their neighbours with products from Turkey, not easily available in their new host country (Pecoud, 2002).

Comfortable with its own niche, the first generation did not try to enter other markets. However, this has changed in recent years with the emergence of German-Turkish economic elites. One participant described the situation as follows:

> I broke out of the physical work, yet I make use of the same methods as my father and uncle did. Their lives have influenced me immensely. They analysed a market niche, where they sold Turkish grocery products to members of the same ethnic group. I have qualified in my profession, other than that I do the same. I serve the market niche in the law sector with over 50 employees defending predominantly German-Turkish customers (CC, lawyer).

Company owner, lawyer, and investor, CC, believes that his ancestors did not choose this strategy purposely, but had no other choice. He, in turn, chose the strategy to serve his local community intentionally, as this is where he sees his competitive advantage and a niche he can fill. Instead of being restricted by cultural and language limitations, ethnic affinity and cultural uniqueness helps to build the foundation of labour recruitment for employers of immigrants. This ensures privileged access to the labour market for immigrants, but also to an

ethnically based consumer market. The enclave economy does not therefore deprive its members, but rather it provides them with new possibilities and alternative mobility (Wilson and Martin, 1982). Before the ethnic enclave economy theory developed, there was a keen interest in understanding why, despite hindrances, some ethnic minorities manage to be more economically successful than others. Light and Gold (2000) researched ethnic enterprise in North America before World War Two and focused on immigrants and their capability to use trust and ethnic markets to form rotating credit associations to pool resources for business assets while access to mainstream financial foundations was limited for racial minorities. Reliance on a co-ethnic community clientele is apparent, both in my participants' pathways and the literature, yet it is important not to paint a single picture of German-Turkish economic elite members as a group who survive solely by catering to the needs of local, co-ethnic customers. For example, AN, a lawyer, used the ethnic enclave economies' trust as a strategic door opener to get started, as indicated here:

> My first customers were co-ethnic. The trust and my social capital within this community helped me enormously. Subsequently, this base opened the door to the wider community, including native Germans (AN, lawyer).

One third of the participants in this research also compete in foreign markets and have established business links with other countries. They have thereby tried to utilise their social networks and knowledge of two cultures in order to succeed. Despite growing business activities and part internationalisation, all the economic elite members interviewed explicitly underline that, despite holding prominent positions, they still draw on co-ethnic networks for access to information, which is crucial for business success. According to Parekh (2000), increased diversity is often rooted in an integration and exclusion problem. Do these professional elite members simply find the niche market attractive and lucrative, or are there other reasons, such as exclusion, for not exploiting their strength outside the German-Turkish community? I will answer this question in the following subsection.

6.4.2 Discrimination – forced alternative route

Various studies have documented that descendants of migrants from Turkey living in Europe have to cope with the consequences of group disadvantage when entering the labour market. In France, descendants of migrants from Turkey are segregated in specific industrial fields and females in particular do not hold high-status occupations (Silberman et al., 2007). In Sweden, children whose parents were born in Turkey are less likely to find a profession that fits their qualifications than their native peers (Behtoui, 2013). Similar research in the

Netherlands emphasises the complications and disadvantages experienced when trying to gain access to the labour market, by portraying the subtle discrimination throughout the job application process for second-generation Turkish professionals (Waldring et al., 2015).

In Germany, the level of disadvantage, compared to other European states, does not look very different. There, children of migrants from Turkey have lower returns from education with regards to occupational attainment (Fernandez-Kelly, 2012; Kalter and Granato, 2007).

According to Kalter and Granato (2007), German-Turks have been subjected to pronounced discrimination practices across various social domains, particularly ethnic inequalities in the German school system because of social origin (Alba et al., 1994; Fernandez-Kelly, 2012) and in the labour market (Kristen, 2005). Professional members of minority ethnic groups in modern society usually do not attain equal levels of career success, in terms of salary and promotions, compared to similarly educated members of native ethnic groups (Avery, 2011; Carton and Rosette, 2011). According to Heath et al. (2008), for minority ethnic professionals in Germany, patterns of cumulative career disadvantage have been observed. They find cumulative patterns of disadvantage in their educational attainment, after controlling for educational level. In the research of Heath et al. (2008), German-Turks are moreover disadvantaged in obtaining jobs, and those who obtain jobs are disadvantaged in accessing higher level professional and managerial positions. Against the backdrop of a negative discursive context and in spite of their disadvantageous German-Turkish background (Crul et al., 2012; Heath, et al., 2008), my participants have made considerable achievements in the German labour markets. Overall, the literature shows that, despite substantial intergenerational progress, German-Turks still experience disadvantages in terms of employment and income (Kalter and Granato, 2007; Worbs, 2003).

These findings suggest that the participants who have experienced steep upward mobility are an exception to the rule. Despite the fact that German-Turks cope with disadvantages from an early stage, a minority, but emerging, group has been able to put all these hurdles aside and turn their migration status into an advantage. However, not all respondents felt that they could replace their social disadvantages with advantages and use these as a business strategy. Obstacles and frustration resulting from being perceived as an 'outsider' play a prominent role in medical doctor MH's reflections on why he chose to serve and be reliant on the German-Turkish community. He sees a glass ceiling (Wong and Wong, 2006) that kept him from moving further up as a medical doctor:

> We speak the same language, have the same diploma, the same profession, even the same passport, pay the same taxes, yet these people do not see me as a part of their community and hinder my improvement. At this stage, I do not want to be a part of these people [native community] any more. The enclave market protects me from this nonsense (MH, lawyer).

> Being confronted on a daily basis with discrimination, barriers, and unfair practices, such as in the job application process or when it came to moving up the ladder in a company, the community of my parents was the only option I could grow and develop my business with (HB, businessman).

Both participants emphasise that individuals like them move in their careers towards the top but are then left out of the wider professional field because of their backgrounds. This parallel economic elite is an attempt to escape discrimination and negative perceptions of their host country. In line with this, Van der Raad (2015) and Ashley and Empson (2013) believe that the law sector is still dominated by people of native parentage, even though many large German corporate law firms and legal regulatory authorities have recently made diversity management a priority. Similarly, Wong and Ng (1998) suggested that business leaders who, for various reasons, are unable to penetrate the market of the host society will remain with the co-ethnic market to find protection there. The enclave labour market partially shelters ethnic group members from competition from other social groups, from discrimination and abuse on account of their ethnic origins, and from government surveillance and regulation. In many respects these boundaries around the enclave provide tangible benefits to group members and seem to offer a positive alternative to assimilation (Portes and Jensen, 1987a; Zhou and Logan, 1989).

The accounts given by respondents were quite diverse. On the one hand, the respondents were delighted with their success given their backgrounds and difference. On the other hand, regardless of their evident social mobility, their narratives spoke of continued exclusion resulting from their ethnic and lower socio-economic class backgrounds. Similar themes emerge from previous studies of upward mobility (Friedman, 2014; Keskiner and Crul, 2017). Moreover, NA, a business leader, negates the widespread belief that upwardly mobile people are always content with their current status; instead he displays feelings of being excluded.

> I am certainly not a German economic elite member, yet a German-Turkish one, since they do not let most of us into their tight business structures. In Turkey I am a German, here in Germany, my home country, I am the German-Turk and outsider. I tried to collaborate, but they [native German circles] simply won't let me join. This is the ugly truth, and it frustrates me (NA, businessman).

In comparison, for six participants the mobilisation of ethnicity is irrelevant. For the socio-economic positions and jobs of these elite members, ethnic categories and topics are unimportant. Throughout the analysis it can be observed that professionals in the business and law sectors with broader managerial functions, which include regular interpersonal encounters, can profit from an ascribed cultural competence, since they emphasise the significance of showing empathy towards their clients' problems. The medical doctors interviewed also appear less likely to recognise their background as advantageous. Their underlying assumption is that, in the medical field, the growing focus lies more on their professional competencies than on their personal background. When inquiring about perceived differences as a valuable attribute, 87% of business leaders said they viewed it as a potential advantage to have a different ethnic background, compared to 93% of the lawyer respondents and 67% of those active in the medical sector, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7: Perceived differences considered a valuable attribute? In per cent (number of research participants in parentheses)

	Business leader		Lawyer		Medical doctor	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Advantage	86.7	13.3	93.3	6.7	66.7	33.4
	(13)	(2)	(14)	(1)	(10)	(5)

The lower numbers in the medical field of Table 7 can be related to the words of DM, a medical doctor:

> Playing the 'perceived difference as a valuable attribute' card is much more beneficial for my husband, who is a successful businessman, or my sister, who is a lawyer, who constantly turns our Turkish heritage into her advantage. But with me it's different. Simply because in my profession, the humanistic side stands in [the] foreground, instead of the personal background and other attributes (DM, medical doctor).

Other respondents, however, acknowledging their reliance on the German-Turkish community, expressed frustration at the situation. Despite the fact that they have been successful in their work environment and found effective strategies to enjoy upward mobility, which I have touched upon in the previous chapter, they feel that they are left with no other

choice than to concentrate on their local communities. MS, owner of a renowned plastic surgery, for instance, believes that he is part of the professional elite, yet he considers this a sort of parallel elite, called the German-Turkish elite:

> We are up there, however, on a parallel site. Just as the Turkish butcher serves an ethnic community, so do I, as a medical doctor. The profit changes as you get higher up the educational ladder, but the market you serve stays the same. I mean it's been 60 years since we came here, yet you won't find a single Turkish-sounding name in the largest and most profitable 20 German corporations (AC, medical doctor).

This claim is bold. I therefore decided to dig deeper and check this. According to the Forbes list of 2015, all the boards of Germany's top 20 most successful companies consisted of PhD holders, medical doctors, engineers, lawyers, economists and finance experts, but none of them had a Turkish-sounding name. With the hope of proving this claim wrong, I also looked for mixed-race Turkish individuals. I explicitly checked both the first name and surname. Apart from Dr Kemal Malik, a British citizen of Turkish origin, who has been a member of the management board at Bayer AG since February, I found no other individuals of Turkish origin. It turned out that the statement of AC was, to a large extent, true.

Throughout my data analysis it became apparent that the strategy to serve a niche market to gain economic capital is also driven by the fact that their links, shared values and understandings of German society enable individuals and groups to trust each other and work together. In other words, their social capital within wider German society is perceived as inadequate, so individuals turn to the German-Turkish community where they are respected in their fields. This generates the deployment of individual-based strategies. Two of my respondents commented on this issue in the following ways:

> The niche market is certainly attractive and profitable. Yet, this is not the only reason why so many successful German-Turks turn to their local community. The ugly truth is simply different. I believe it's an outcome of the phenomenon of exclusion of certain circles, which started early in my career. […] Using the strategy of ethnic networks, serving our local communities is the only loophole for successful individuals like me (BU, businessman).

> It is what it is, and I am proud of it, none of us German-Turkish professionals will ever be accepted as native Germans, because will we ever forget our roots and hide our social and ethnic background (AC, medical doctor).

These words are in line with studies by Drever and Hoffmeister (2008) and Mouw (2002), who note in their research that migrants often make use of ethnic networks because of discrimination and exclusion. This subsection demonstrates that the forced alternative route

for social mobility has been accompanied by a range of discrimination experiences and led to what some scholars describe as a process of 'habitus dislocation' (Bourdieu, 1989). Yet the statement by AC, medical doctor, adds a different dimension to my argument, drawing attention to the question of loyalty to the German-Turkish community.

6.4.3 Loyalty to the German-Turkish ethnic community

Individuals evidently adapt to dominant social structures by carving out an ethnic niche as a career path towards labour market integration. What is novel with my participants, and in contrast to much research in the field of upwardly mobile experiences, is that the upwardly mobile habitually try to pass as 'normals' (Goffman, 1963, p. 15) by concealing their social background and mimicking the styles of their native class peers (Rollock et al., 2011). However, this approach, which consists of 'making it by faking it' (Granfield, 1991, p. 340), is not common among my respondents. German-Turkish professionals entered the labour market with a great deal of ethnic pride and without hiding their background. This sense of pride is reflected in the fact that a significantly larger proportion of my respondents reported entering their profession for the purpose of contributing to social change, without assimilating and giving up their identity. The different ethnic roots and identities as such of the research participants therefore contribute to social change. That these professional elites entered their respective fields with the desire to help other unprivileged German-Turks suggests that they identified with their Turkish kin. My research participants also feel particularly loyal to the German-Turkish community. They believe in respecting their roots in not pretending to be people they are not. Indeed, professionals often credited their ethnic backgrounds and their parents' pathways as motivating factors in their decision to pursue careers in their respective fields. MS, a businessman whose father was a construction worker, recalled his parental influence as follows:

> I was affected by my father, a construction worker. My father believes that construction and real estate companies have no decency. My community networks and ties, largely contributed to the formation, maintenance, and success of my real estate businesses, which are today profitable across Germany (MS, businessman).

A lawyer, CT, said that she was influenced by the oppressed and helpless in regard to all the experiences her father endured as a grocery shop owner. Not only the negative aspects influenced her – her interethnic contacts, trust and links to her father's grocery shop also influenced her positively. Indeed, she decided to move away from almost all aspects of her father's job, except the ethnic enclave economy:

> My parents always wanted us to move away from physical hard work and the Turkish community, since they always saw this as a temporary solution, never a desirable one. A social justice career seemed to be of good value for somebody who desired to leave this world a little better than they found it. I did move away from both, the physical hard-working part and the work which has no future, yet I stood with the German-Turkish community. I can't just betray them. This community backs me up, they trust and understand me, and so do I. I need to show solidarity (CT, lawyer).

Trust and solidarity are often perceived as fundamental elements of social capital (Fukuyama, 1995; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Putnam, 1993). According to Brisson and Usher (2005; 2007), bonding social capital can be related to trust and social cohesion when it comes to the neighbourhood and immediate environment. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggested that bounded solidarity and enforceable trust are the central elements of social capital in a migrant community. This formation and approach are the result of overcoming obstacles, exclusionary rules and structures imposed by established groups. Also, FA, a lawyer, believes that the German-Turkish economic elite are somewhat a result of exclusion, and members are essentially pushed towards being a parallel economic elite. FA is a senior partner at a large American-based law firm in Hamburg. She, together with the head of the advisory department, makes the company's principal decisions in Hamburg. She emphasises that, just as the lower skilled German-Turks had built a parallel society, the professionals did the same at the economic elite level by concentrating on the ethnic market. For instance, she underlines that law firms in Germany rely heavily on references from staff or business partners when they recruit new staff to recuperate the time and money invested in associates. Since the majority of German-Turks are not networked with these people [German professional natives], it is twice as hard to get in. While she understands the rationale behind this practice, FA − who is now in a position to recruit – still fears these processes, yet she is a part of it.

> I don't like our working attitude here. You get a contract for the reason that you are connected to someone else at the law firm but that is the technique here, our clients simply will not accept individuals from a lower cultural capital background. The client is king rule is undisputable existing. It is very disastrous since I know that with my Turkish background a lot of German-Turkish lawyers are not given the chance to compete in this league due to this system and therefore they built their own league. Overall, I can say I feel like an exception here (FA, lawyer).

The emergence of a 'client as king' attitude creates observable tension. She also points out that effective strategies and a mentor were vital to her, yet she also feels guilty about supporting a system which is unfair. FA, a lawyer, is aware of the negative implications for social exclusion where her firm highly values relatively scarce cultural capital of new

employees – she regrets this and does not like it, yet she legitimises the practice because the clients will not accept people from a lower cultural capital background, even though she herself has made it, and this creates a sense of guilt and understanding of why her German-Turkish peers turn away from these circles and create their own domestic elites. This confirms the findings of Ashley and Empson (2016), who examined social exclusion in elite professional service firms through a qualitative study of six legal, accounting, investment banking and consulting firms. FA suggests that exclusion in those fields is primarily an organisational strategy, which helps to legitimise the social exclusion position of firms within the field of elite professional companies. She believes that many of her German-Turkish peers break into domestic professional circles. Consequently, they see the Turkish community as a resource and work within their own league. They can therefore present themselves as possessing an inherent competence by doing business with German-Turkish clients within corporate settings, thereby taking on leading positions and high-status business responsibilities. FA sought to escape her German-Turkish background yet could neither embrace her group nor let it go completely. Such ambivalence and guilt are often felt by working professionals who attain upward mobility into the professional managerial class (Steinitz and Solomon, 1996). Many experience the 'stranger in paradise' or, in the words of FA, an exception in which these German-Turkish professionals feel like virtual outsiders in their new occupations (Ryan and Sackrey, 1984).

The professional elites in my sample typically experience this conflict on their upward climb. Not only did they feel deceptive in their adjustment strategies and their new environments, but many felt the additional burden of believing they had 'sold out' their own class and were letting their group down. Like other stigmatised individuals who gain acceptance among dominant groups (Goffman, 1963), these professional elites often felt they were letting down their own group by representing elite interests. AI, a medical doctor, expressed similar reservations about his impending career in medicine:

> I was upset about the fact that my patients are only really wealthy people and predominantly Germans from certain backgrounds. I did not feel good about it. I wanted to go back to my roots, yet with more knowledge and skills compared to my father, who owned a bakery shop in the district where I opened my new clinic. I opened a clinic in the Turkish neighbourhood where I grew up and hence also serve my ethnic community and people who are not so fortunate (AA, medical doctor).

> We should not have a persistent focus on merely social mobility but a much stronger emphasis on achieving greater social and economic equality. My individual success is no solution to the wider social problem of growing inequalities in our country. We

have to concentrate to bind our resources together to supporting and valuing the much larger group of those German-Turks who are left behind (OCY, lawyer).

This loyalty was often visible among my participants, which Neckerman et al. (1999) posits as the minority culture of mobility. This refers to the process where successful minority members maintain a strong sense of a collective identity and define their self-worth by the extent to which they give back financially and socially to less fortunate members of their group. Similarly, Vallejo and Lee (2009) have found this to be the case among second-generation professional Mexicans in the United States. Vermeulen and Keskiner (2017) find in their research that successful Turkish immigrants of the second generation do not simply exchange one identity (the old ethnic identity) for another (the new social professional identity). Instead, they tend to construct a social identity that taps into various subcultures, in any case one which prominently features their Turkish migrant backgrounds. Similarly, LZ, a businesswoman, set up a healthcare company in the early 1990s, which provides services to a multicultural customer base living in Germany. Her company is authorised by the German healthcare system to provide health treatments. Additionally, she also provides day-care services and assisted accommodation with over 100 employees. Yet, at the beginning of her career, LZ's healthcare service was unrecognised because of its foreign-sounding name and the owner's background. LZ focused on emphasising her Turkish roots in the labour market, since she believed that these communities are not adequately served in the healthcare sector. After the business grew commercially, and contact with members of native dominant German groups intensified, LZ feared what scholars have uncovered as the sense of estrangement of one's own heritage and roots that upwardly mobile individuals experience (Bourdieu, 1989; Friedman, 2014).

While the respondents adjust to a large extent to their new environment's codes, they often never fully unlearn dispositions that bear traces of their background. This sense of being 'torn by contradiction and internal division' (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 161) is consequently a fundamental element of the upwardly mobile individual's 'divided habitus' (Bourdieu, 1989), which is a divided inner life of individuals who feel they are, in their personhood, becoming something different from other members of their family. Notably, with my research participants, the resulting tensions and confusion of one's own overall appearance appears to be one of the personal costs of upward social mobility. Additionally, feelings of 'class betrayal' often co-exist within my respondents, leading to moral predicaments among these 'class transfuges' (Bourdieu, 1989, 2004; Eribon, 2013; Lahire, 2011, p. 38), referred to individuals who trans(form) from one class to another – in the case of my research

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participants, from immigrants' children from working-class backgrounds to professional elite members operating in the field of business, law and medicine. Climbing up the social ladder gives rise to a sense of 'double absence' among upwardly mobile German-Turks, which Saada (2000) sees as a form of diminished presence in two societies at once, with regards to the wounds of immigrants' descendants and upward mobility: never entirely acknowledged within their society of destination nor legitimate within their society of origin, the upwardly mobile, like German-Turkish professional elites, oscillate between two irreconcilable social worlds of the ones who 'made it' and the others who did not. Bourdieu (2004), Saada (2000) and Eribon (2013) further illustrate this point – both authors emphasise the psychological toll that has coincided with their ascension. As in the previous example, AA, a medical doctor, and LY, a businesswoman, experienced a form of self-alienation as a result of their ambivalence:

> I always had this inner division. A little pain that I am turning away from my own community. So I simply had to make sure that these people of my own community also receive adequate service (LZ, businesswomen).

> My roots had a huge impact on my career. I raised into a higher socioeconomic environment, but not without cost. This inner conflict and feeling of success yet at the same time guilt of turning away from my own community was always with me. I therefore decided to work closer to my own community, where I also felt I fit in better in (AA, medical doctor).

Participants often experience a sense of guilt as they transcend their German-Turkish backgrounds. The divided habitus of the research participants, internal conflict and loyalty traits still govern their actions in the course of upward social mobility. Nonetheless, both participants also believe that the formation of such ethnic elites, going back to communities where their parents once served their co-ethnics, is not only the result of exclusionary rules and structures imposed by established groups aiming to carve out their professional niche and potential markets, but is also the escape route of absent social capital skills, which are more appreciated in the German-Turkish community, leading to the emergence of parallel elite formations.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter contributes to the existing debate on migrant communities and the making of the German-Turkish elite by shifting the focus to a bridging and bonding social capital, the protected ethnic enclave economy and the social mobility approaches of my participants. Using the interview data, this chapter examined two distinct forms of social capital (bonding

and bridging) with the main objective of identifying the extent to which professional elite members are reliant on their local German-Turkish communities and, in particular, their motives.

It appears that there are three predominant motives across the occupational fields: (1) business strategic moves to exploit a market niche; (2) discrimination and unfair practices; and finally (3) loyalty to the German-Turkish ethnic community. I find evidence that respondents serve the ethnic enclave economy because of strategic business motives. They recognise their difference as a privilege of authenticity. I find evidence that German-Turkish professional elites employ an approach of creating a profile of sameness and difference during their careers to deal with work-related and communal obstacles, thus recognising initial disadvantages as genuine advantages and turning these businesswise to their advantage. Through applying these strategies, they have seemingly overcome barriers that are in place from an early age. I argue that, rather than using a method in which the professional elites cross ethnic boundaries or completely move against them, they evade boundaries by being competent in dealing with the limitations they impose, through which they juggle sameness and difference and, with their expertise, serve a market niche. Likewise, their cultural competence is a significant mechanism that they use to their advantage. Children of former *Gastarbeiter* living in Germany make use of their ethnicity and somehow not only other people segregate them, but they reaffirm this process by themselves, especially with a business attitude. Yet, despite the fact that many participants find the niche market attractive and lucrative, I find evidence that there is clearly also discrimination and motives for these professional elites depending on their co-ethnic communities. Third, there is the loyalty position, which explains why professional elites are also reliant on the co-ethnic market. The economic elites feel that this is a strong bond with historical association and infinity through having common dispositions, common feelings and shared understandings. My findings additionally point to strategies aimed at giving back to members of their minority groups who have failed to make it, therefore outlining continued forms of solidarities and attachments framed in the German-Turkish background. The risks associated with seeking acceptance from a dominant group that discriminates, while potentially facing accusations of disloyalty from their group of origin, which perceives itself as an oppressed minority, are threatening for almost all participants. They therefore aim not to turn their backs on their roots, to resist assimilation and yet to experience upward mobility in their chosen professional fields.

Chapter 7: The functioning of German-Turkish economic elite networks

7.1 Introduction

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in the role of networks in facilitating transnational migration (Faist and Özveren, 2004). Networks are progressively perceived as essential to understanding patterns of migration, settlement, occupation and links with native and co-ethnic communities (Castles and Miller, 2003; Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). The process of network building depends on, and in turn reinforces, associations across space, linking co-migrants and non-migrants and their identities (Boyd, 1989). These associations and contacts may influence decisions to migrate, engage in professional activities, enhance job opportunities and provide information and emotional support (Boyd, 1989). Thus, networks may be a key component in facilitating community and business formation (Portes, 1995). Networks have always played a remarkably prominent role in processes of German-Turkish migration; nonetheless, they have received little academic attention to date (Haug, 2003). Also, a majority of research into immigrant family members networking examines only lower skilled workers (Bagchi, 2001). Given the increase in German-Turkish professionals, past studies appear inadequate in addressing the networking experiences of all immigrants and their descendants.

Having explored in Chapter 5 elite ascension within the German-Turkish community, and subsequently in chapter 6 why and in what ways members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets and the necessary social capital associated with it. I aim in this chapter to analyse to what extent and how members of the German-Turkish economic elite form networks to further their interests. In order to explore how this is achieved and articulated, I look at how second- and third-generation Turks debate and think about the perceived discrepancy between their identities, and how they position themselves. Additionally, I explore how these economic elite members network with their co-ethnic group and elite ethnic German counterparts. The term *network* is not a concept that I forced on them, rather a term that they instinctively used by themselves through the research interviews. The focus on both identity and networks in this chapter allows me to stress how the professional participants' identities are shaped through shared points of commonality that are grounded in the networking of German-Turkish economic elite members. The networks that my participants describe do not happen spontaneously, but rather are kept active through participation. How the art of networking is characterised, at once overlapping but also fragmented in nature, is discussed before I turn my attention to how belonging to the network

benefits its members, in what ways these connections are put to use and how this functions. This chapter therefore aims to provide a comprehensive exploratory analysis of this very important but so far overlooked aspect of German-Turkish networks. Hence, insufficient attention has been paid in the literature to whether German-Turkish professionals access existing networks of native German peers or establish new ties in the *host* society. This chapter intends to answer the following research question: Why, by what means, and to what extent do elite German-Turks in the fields of business, medicine and law network within the German-Turkish community and with their elite ethnic German counterparts? In this chapter I aim to gain new theoretical insights into the complexity, diversity and dynamism of migrants' professional networks.

7.2 'And then I realised how Germany has actually shaped me' – experiences of identity hybridity

> We are the second and third generation, we were born here and grew up here, and this country belongs to us just as it belongs to anyone. I belong here, yet I have also roots that shape me. My native German friends occasionally don't understand this feeling, I guess you have to have a German-Turkish background to entirely comprehend (KD, lawyer).

KD, a lawyer, and other participants made similar statements. They considered that only someone with a German-Turkish identity would fully understand the context of KD's quote, or rather they would understand straight away without requiring a long explanation. As the above quote indicates, the participants use the term German-Turks not as a deficiency, but to show awareness of a specific individual and shared experience that creates a community. Using German-Turkish background as a self-description portrays an understanding of a fragmented German-Turkish identity. It dynamically combines the fragments of two static concepts. The definition of being German-Turk is dependent on combining Turkish roots with a German present, creating a community of shared experience and understanding that transcends a German-Turkish background, and that of Turkish parents and grandparents. As second- and third-generation German-Turks, my research participants clearly do not have a Turkish past in the same way as their parents or grandparents had, as most of their lived time has been outside Turkey. My interview with KD, a well-known lawyer and entrepreneur from Hamburg, illustrates this point. KD and I were looking for German-Turkish identity.

Used to the constant experience of participants being othered, being the *Ausländer* or carrying foreignness in the face as OCA, a lawyer, puts it in chapter 5 has led to an expectation of

visual difference, based on the knowledge that his ancestors migrated from Turkey. The knowledge that the majority society identified him as a German-Turk which to a certain degree he does himself as well, likewise served as a shared basis of experience when I interviewed him about members of the majority society and networking among German-Turkish economic elites.

KD said that he thought it was funny and sometimes even annoying when others did not recognise him as German, but almost in the same breath shifted position and recounted how he claimed to be Turkish while he studied and worked abroad in the US, South Africa and Great Britain to make himself more interesting and set himself apart from other Germans, and so as not to offend other people who connect Germany to World War Two. Identification seemed like a choice to him, depending on his position, how he desired to represent himself and what was most advantageous at the time. At the same time, the expectation that elders would become dismayed and irritated with him for identifying as German signposted to me that Germanness played a role in his self-identification. However, when I asked him how he would describe himself and how he feels, he replied, 'a bit of both, in other words, German-Turkish'. KD's approach to identity was inclusive. Notably, he did not say German or Turkish or use any form of self-description that dichotomises a single category, but used the words 'both' and 'German-Turkish'. He neither identified fully with one nor in equal parts with both. However, he left leeway to shift his position as he pleased.

In line with this, Lévi-Strauss (1962a) believes that identities are good to contemplate, as we use identity and diverse identities as categories to organise our lives, and, depending on the surroundings, prioritise one form of identity over another. Identity is derived from the Latin 'idem', which means 'being the same [person]'. Researchers approach this 'powerful construct' (Vignoles et al., 2011, p. 2) in different ways, yet as Berger and Luckmann (1991) indicated, identity is variously understood as a self-image, as something shaped by habit, as a social attribution or role, a performance or a constructed narrative. According to Parker (1995, p. 173), identities are a relational category of practices, which are frequently renegotiated and shaped in two ways: 'as narratives of self-production, and through defences against unwelcome attributions made by others'. Identities permanently need to be linked with the environment in which they are lived, and hence are dynamic in formation (Edensor, 2002), combining 'internal self-definition and one's ascription by others' (Jenkins, 1996, p. 20).

To fully understand the multifaceted processes of identity negotiation in the German-Turkish economic elite context, it is essential to also examine the *German* aspect of participants' German-Turkish identity, which sets them aside from their ancestors' generations and adds

another characteristic that is unique to upcoming professional generations. Central to this German aspect are experiences of my research participants of visiting Turkey, the home country of their parents, and the apprehension that this is deficient as an essentialised point of identification. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001), the process of ethnic self-identification of second- and third-generation children is 'more complex and often entails the juggling of competing allegiances and attachments' (p. 150). These individuals must learn to identify themselves in relation to a number of reference groups and 'to the classification into which they are placed by their native peers, schools, the ethnic community, and the larger society' (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 150). Warner and Strole (citied in Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 45) presented their study of an American city as 'part of the magnificent story of adjustment of ethnic groups to American life' and predict that 'oncoming generations of new ethnics … will climb to the same heights'. They believe that foreign minorities eventually come to terms with their new social environments and are sooner or later absorbed into the mainstream of the host society.

In reality, the process is neither as simple nor as inevitable as Warner and Strole portray within the American context. To begin with, both the Turkish population and the host society, the Germans, are heterogeneous. The complexity and the transition of the German-Turkish identity depends on numerous factors. German-Turks, even those of the same ethnicity, are frequently divided by their socio-economic background, the timing of their arrival and their generation. Feelings towards visiting Turkey shed light on the complexity the descendants' experience. These quotes highlight the experience of 'difference' resulting from the questions about belonging, after the expectation of belonging in Turkey did not come true. SU, a medical doctor, talked about the first time she visited Turkey, when she was 12 years old:

> I remember that the first thing I thought was, wow the girls look all like me and are even as bubbly as me. Black hair, brown eyes, you know what I mean, the Turkish look. I thought that was cool. Meeting my relatives was really electrifying as well. I had only ever heard about them, and all the stories about Turkey from my grandparents, as it used to be. It was nice to visit, it wasn't my homeland though, and it was nice to come to my home where I belong (SU, medical doctor).

The understanding that Turkey was not as the elder generation relayed to my participants is plain in the above statement. The 'homeland' of her imagination, and indeed her parents' and grandparents' stories, somehow did not exist, and she did not feel that she fitted in. Another participant, CV, a lawyer, said:

I visited Turkey quite often, at some point I felt the need to go there [Turkey] and see where my roots are from. Yet it's been a while since I went last time. It doesn't really draw me back there [Turkey], although I still have family there. I speak decent Turkish and as long as I keep quiet, I can pass as a Turk in Turkey, however, once I speak people tell me how different, how very different I was. They act differently, and even though I acted more Turkish, than I do here [in Germany], I was still different (CV, lawyer).

My participant had expected to fit in seamlessly, but instead experienced a degree of alienation. The experience of the ancestral homeland became a confrontation with culture. Origins combine *there* and *here*. The children of migrants who at some point return to the country of their ancestors as a touchstone in the construction of their identity (Fortier, 2000) quickly realise that they belong somewhere else.

Since both worlds, the German and the Turkish, influence me, it was important for me to see my roots, yet, after going to Turkey and also working there for a while, I felt even that I don't belong there, I belong here, and I belong home. It wasn't what I expected (CV, lawyer).

Migrants and particularly their descendants are then exposed to a series of negotiations and (de)constructions of the nation that ultimately leads to a (re)definition of their own identities. Christou (2006, p. 147), with regard to Greek immigrants who had lived in the US for many generations, states: 'In a sense, their own personal plan of action, that is, the return to the ancestral homeland as a triadic project of identification (locating the self), closure (transplanting home) and belonging (eradicating migrancy), becomes a plan unfeasible to implement, a mission impossible and a life story incomplete'. The experiences my participants shared with me were not about a desire to reposition or move back to Turkey, more about an expectancy to fit into the first generations' Turkey that they knew from home. The result, however, was similar to what Christou (2006) termed a life story incomplete. Not incomplete as deficient, I argue, but the understanding of another facet to my participants' life story. Another research participant said:

Growing up, I thought it was exciting to explore both the German and Turkish side. I was curious about Turkey, and hence worked for a while in Turkey. I was in constant conflict with the way things were structured. When I moved back to Germany, I started working for a well-known deep-rooted German consultancy company, yet this wasn't for me either. I decided to move to a company which had headquarters in Germany, had German structures, yet was working internationally, including Turkey. And this is exactly where I fit in, in both worlds, hence I am now for over ten years with this company, as a head of an international advisory for the Middle East, yet having my base in Germany. I realised how Germany has actually shaped me, yet I still need the Turkish community around me (NA, businessman).

Rather than feeling incomplete, my research participant personal experiences of visiting Turkey did not meet their expectations. Essentialised German and Turkish discourses of identity are not broad and flexible enough to accommodate the experience of being German-Turkish. RK, a medical doctor, had a slightly different experience:

> I've always been interested in Turkey, and enjoyed visiting. It's fascinating, and I never felt I had any problems fitting in. I think with Turkish parents, patterns of behaviour are intuitive. You know what to do, how to do it, and when. But I wouldn't want to live there. It's different. I can't really explain. Maybe, it's because I'm a tourist. But when I am home [Germany] I still feel connected to the German-Turkish community. So neither completely to the native Germans, nor to the Turks in Turkey, but somehow to the German-Turks. I am not Turkish, nor am I German – I am German-Turkish I believe (RK, medical doctor).

RK, who did not expect a sense of belonging in Turkey, nonetheless enjoyed her visits as momentary stays and acknowledged familiar patterns of behaviour. She situated herself as a visitor, finding both the outlandish and the familiar. As a visitor, she felt she fitted in, but home was Germany. What all these experiences of my participants have in common is the realisation of hybridity and the desire for co-ethnics – hence, German-Turks. Parental forms of identification are insufficient for professionals who all socialise and work in Germany and live their lives within a German context. Both the parental Turkish, if it existed, and present-day Turkish, which they knew from home and their own experiences, are too narrow as sole origins of identity. Nevertheless, the parental home retains a strong effect on lives lived in Germany. In other words, this is a mixture and influence of both worlds, which is also reflected in my research participants' networking acts, which I will explore in the next section.

7.3 Networks

My interview participants belong to professional networks. As individuals they are involved in the business, legal and medical fields in Germany. This participation includes paid employment, self-ownership, board membership and being part of the audience – usually all of these for any one person at any one time. As a result, they frequently come into contact with one another in the course of their professional lives, with limitations across professions, and repeatedly during their social lives. These events and meetings, in both formal and informal fields, shows me that they form a group with shared interests and aims, as often seen historically within local business communities (McGovern and McLean, 2013).

Figure 4 illustrates this point, showing how each participant is connected to other individuals in the network. This mostly results from employment at the same organisation or in the same field as one another. However, it is also apparent in Figure 4 that there are individuals who are very well connected, not only in their own fields, but also to multiple other fields. I have highlighted the red circles as female research participants and the blue circles as male research participants. Having membership of multiple professional fields, network associations or management boards creates a number of points of intersection in the network, which serves to strengthen it through personal connections. The everyday reality of this is that my participants know people in a variety of different contexts, fields and roles. A particularly salient example of this is that HI, the head medical doctor, sat on an association board which had NA, a businessman, as a member, but, simultaneously, he was chair of another board of which HI was a member, as social networks comprise actors and their relations (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005).

The actors and their relations are indicated in Figure 4 as nodes while ties bind those nodes that have a relationship. In the case of my research, the communication flow between professionals (nodes) is indicated by ties (links) between those nodes that communicate. The network is the combination of a series of ties between professional and a set of relations between them (Haythornthwaite, 2005). The network centrality and network density are granted special attention in my research. Network centrality measures the importance of professionals within a network and shows which actors are in the centre. It presents how influential or significant a node is within the overall network (Borgatti and Foster, 2003). Commonly, the higher an actor's number of ties is, the more imperative and powerful he or she is. The actor with the highest degree centrality can be said to be the most active actor in each field. On seeing the network for each field, the network centrality values I found are for the business field (41%) and for the legal field the highest (56%), while the medical field shows the lowest number (20%). The professionals' degree centrality scores were examined according to three fields, and centrality was arguably not available in the business and medical field. However, in the law field, it is evident that interviews numbered 2, 5, 9 and 12 are central stars.

Figure 4: Mapping 'Who Knows Who'
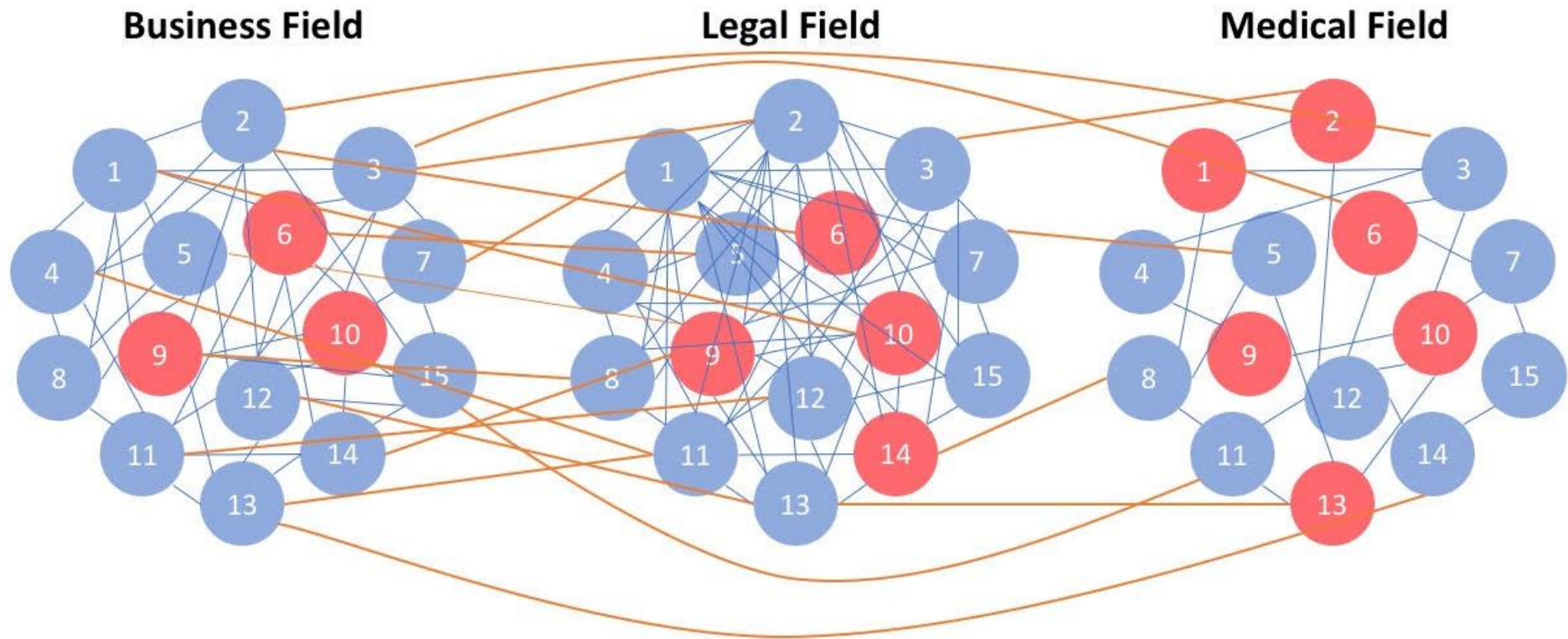
Additionally, I am interested in the network density of my participants, which is defined as the proportion of ties existing in the social network to all probable ties (Borgatti and Foster, 2003). The density of a network measures how highly connected each field network is (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005). Figure 5 measures network density (Wasserman and Faust, 1994).

Figure 5: Network density measurement

$$\textbf{Potential Connections} \qquad \textbf{Network Density}$$

$$PC = \frac{n * (n-1)}{2} \qquad \frac{\text{Actual Connections}}{\text{Potential Connections}}$$

Where n*(n−1) is the total number of ties possible and n is the relation under study (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). The density of a network is calculated by dividing the quantity of ties in the network into the probable number of ties accessible in case the network is a full network (Gürsakal, 2009). This results in values between 0 and 1. The 0 value demonstrates that there are no ties between the professionals in each field whereas the 1 value presents a dense network. The density of the professional fields was calculated according to Figure 6.

Figure 6: Field density measurement

$$\textbf{Business Field} \qquad \textbf{Legal Field} \qquad \textbf{Medical Field}$$

$$\frac{43}{105} = 0,41 \qquad \frac{59}{105} = 0,56 \qquad \frac{21}{105} = 0,20$$

The density for the business field was the second highest (0.43). It is evident that the density of communication is at a middle degree. Meanwhile, the legal field shows the highest density among network connections (0.56). It is remarkable that the links between the fields are very high, yet, at the same time, outside the fields, compared to the others, relatively weak. In contrast, the medical field (0.20) shows the lowest density of all three fields. Density measurement and network centrality provides a prediction of the diffusion rate of networks

and communication between actors. Martino and Spoto (2006) point out that high density is an indication of homogeneity of the group and actors' engagements to each other. Most of my research participants identify that they belong to a network. The concept of a network is a term that was instinctively used by my participants throughout the interviews – for example, 'I also belong to that network' (AU, medical doctor), or ES, a businessman, 'once you're involved in this circle of networks, you benefit your whole life'. The diverse organisations with which they are involved form part of a bigger picture in their minds. One reason that they can so readily recognise belonging to a network is because they see the professional world that they inhabit as relatively small:

> I think the German-Turkish business community in north Germany is small in size anyway. So professionals of high profile and power with a German-Turkish background are rare, hence people that I would label in that way are obvious and I believe if you asked any one of them they would give you a similar list (NM, lawyer).

The associates of the German-Turkish professional elite are 'obvious' to anyone who has some experience of the network, and clarifying it as a self-referencing network further reiterates its compact environment. The point about the size of the network is made frequently: 'it is a very, very small world' (MK, medical doctor) and a 'very tiny field' (LY, businesswoman). This is perceived as true for the German-Turkish professional elite landscape, just as it is for Paris, which was likened to a 'village' by the business elite who live, work and socialise there (Kadushin, 1995). The diagram shows that some professionals have more lines and therefore contacts and connections than others, and so are at the heart of the network. While I have made a distinction between male and female research participants (red circles are female participants and blue are male), there is no other pattern based on gender. It is vital to underline that Figure 4 only provides evidence about my participants and their network connections, meaning that the array and frequency of connections will no doubt rise and become much more complex if I add other professionals to the diagram who I did not have a chance to interview, but who are also part of the network (Monaghan et al., 2017). Also, social network analysis maps membership to networks in a much more rigorous and formal way than I have presented here, including where they develop visual images of relationships and flows, which is an effective method available today for visualising and evaluating group connectivity. It is commonly used to examine and analyse the social connections between people or groups of people. These maps help to identify influential people or groups, illustrate patterns or examine network relationships and interactions (Hawe

and Ghali, 2008). However, what was important to me was to highlight 'who knows who' and show the points of overlap within a network and where these are strongest and weakest.

In studies of professional elites, this small core, which typically consists of people who have membership of two, three or more corporate boards, is described as the 'inner circle' (Useem, 1982; Swartz, 1985; Kadushin, 1995). I come to diverse conclusions. My participants are not categorised as an 'elite within an elite', as Dye (1986) also calls these inner circles. Rather, there are certain players in each field who are more connected to others, meaning that the network is not described, understood and experienced by my research participants in a straightforward way. It is not the case that you are either in the network or not, or that some are in the centre and others are around it. Rather, the network is made up of a complex array of relationships which creates a multitude of distinct groups within the wider network. These 'overlapping circles' (AY, businessman) co-exist with one another and frequently intersect, as people can connect different segments by simultaneously belonging to different parts. Certain sections of this network are harder to gain access to than others. There are therefore ideas of 'several cliques' (AC, medical doctor), 'certain crowds in different fields' (AU, businessman) and 'quite a tight group' (EV, lawyer), but nevertheless I could not discover an elite within an elite. Also, some participants particularly denied that there were inner circles – rather, these individuals consider themselves a parallel elite to their native ethnic German counterparts:

> There is no inner circle and outsiders, since we are a parallel network anyway, yet there are individuals who are solidly in it, most probably these professionals also had certain capitals, such as economic or social capital, before they migrated to Germany. What all connects us is our shared ethnicity, and the shared identities (EV, lawyer).

> The classic core and periphery phenomena, as with other professional elite circles, does not exist within our networks. Rather, I believe there is a parallel elite to our professional ethnic German counterparts. There are certainly active and less active members, yet since we are so small in numbers, there is no inner and outsider circles I believe. This might be the case with our descendants, since we are the first anyway who moved outside the guest worker status and climbed up (MS, businessman).

On the one hand, my research participants emphasise the importance of networking with other German-Turks, but, on the other, there is recognition that they are in a parallel society. However, it becomes evident that the presence of such co-ethnic networks reinforces the existence of such parallel network societies. HY, a medical doctor, describes the double standard as follows:

> Our co-ethnic networks are valuable in several ways, yet at the same time they enhance the already present existence of a parallel society, in a way they are a door

opener to it. Or let me put it this way, the parallel society, in this case the door was already opened. We as a network open this door even further. It is strange, on one side we complain that the parable society is a forced one on us, on the other side we endorse with our networks towards this phenomenon (HY, medical doctor).

These personal understandings of the network and the 'subjective meanings' (Knoke, 2010, p. 114) of my interview participants play an important role in the following subsection. In this, I explore the act of networking and analyse the two network associations of which my participants are members. How this is talked about further highlights the existence of strong bonding networks and illustrates how German-Turkish professional elite members network, operate and survive in the German-Turkish community and with their elite ethnic German counterparts. In the following section, I explore how and why my participants in the fields of business, medicine and law network within the German-Turkish community and with their co-ethnic professionals, but before that their network associations will be discussed and briefly analysed.

7.4 The act of networking

Networks have been demonstrated to be fundamental to achievement in the labour markets. These social components help people connect to employers, as they can gain access to a variety of opportunities. Research has also shown that the professional networks of migrants and their descendants are more homogenous and inadequate in scope than those of their native counterparts (Lancee, 2012a). Nonetheless, German-Turkish professionals have begun to address this issue by creating network organisations for individuals with similar ethnic backgrounds. Located in Germany, 80% of my participants also belong to these kinds of networks that strengthen bonding through social capital, cultivating a safe, familiar environment, yet focus on professional events with the aim of improving professional ties and connecting members to help others. The two organisations – 1) Prof Networks and 2) Comm Networks – upon which I will focus in this chapter are both professionally oriented, as they encourage work-related activities and new potential connections with other professionals in the sector. The recruitment process of both associations' is very close, yet they differ slightly from each other. The Comm Network stands for community network, where communal values, social responsibility and approachable, supportive, and familiar ties play a central role for German-Turkish economic elite members. The Prof Networks compared stands for professional networks, this associations focuses more and professional themes and finance related issues, hence the members are divided into departments, also called clubs, where each club, focuses on its particular business background, such as business, law or medicine.

In addition, both organisations ensure a strong and safe environment within the organisations and across other organisations, so that individuals can focus on developing their work skills. The two network organisations were the ones mentioned most often to me by my participants. Nevertheless, there were several other small networks not only based on professional development, but also on political, ethnic and spiritual foundations.

I focus on the perceptions held by professionals of German-Turkish descent who belong to these kinds of network organisations. I am especially interested in the extent to which they recognise their organisations' dual capacity to bond with the German-Turkish professional community and bridge with their elite ethnic German counterparts to further their interests more. These explorations inform my third overarching research question, which I focus on in this chapter: to what extent and how do members of the German-Turkish economic elite form networks to further their interests? I also seek to learn if these network organisations operate as bonding or bridging networks. The networks highlighted by my participants do not just merely exist or come into being. They are shaped and sustained through acts of networking. Without this interaction of events and the performance of other activities, there would be no network. My participants define their networks in two distinct ways. These can be obvious – in other words, classic networking approaches that are used in the professional sector in formal network associations and meetings – or more subtle, such as social networks, which involve attending cultural or sporting events.

7.4.1 Network organisations

Comm Network

The network association of which HI, a medical doctor, is a part was established in 1995 by a small group of German-Turkish professionals who initially wanted to keep meeting up after they graduated. At the time of my research, the organisation had about 95 active members, 13 of whom I interviewed. The main target of the first founders, as also defined in the network association's stated aim, was to support each other in pursuing successful professions. Many of its members, including the ones I was able to interview, now hold respected occupations in medicine, academia, the press, business and politics. The recruitment process is very tight. New recruits can only join by invitation from a panel, which first conducts an interview to check whether the candidate will be an asset to the network, and after that the new member introduces himself or herself to the whole network and gives a short speech. Once the new member has been identified as someone who is a beneficial asset to the organisation, they are invited to join, with the aim that they will make useful contributions. This network association

is not affiliated with a specific political ideology or religion. One of its board members, who is also a participant in my research, explained to me how they value socio-political diversity, which is particularly substantial in the highly polarised German-Turkish community.

> We are totally autonomous, open to all people from the German-Turkish community. (NA, businessman).

According to the member, he also believes in the social responsibility they hold as an organisation. Another active member and participant in my research, OY, explained that he aimed to fulfil both social and societal functions from the beginning.

> Our main idea is for successful German-Turks with an important position in the labour market to do things together for us but also for others. We mainly focus on German society, with an awareness of our Turkish and Kurdish roots, as all members have parents or grandparents who migrated from Turkey (OY, lawyer).

Another aim takes the form of outreach, which involves members visiting suburban youths, especially those from deprived backgrounds, and giving those youngsters messages of encouragement. By voluntarily 'giving back' to society, economic capital holders demonstrate that their network formation, through wise associations, has potential to deliver public benefit (Harvey et al., 2011). The network organisation, which comprised highly educated people who have achieved both professional and academic success, encourages its members to serve as role models for young people from a low socio-economic German-Turkish background. The second aim, which was also stated in their association goals, is their objective to support the younger German-Turkish generation by providing networks to assist their entry into the labour market. This particularly underlines my findings in Chapter 6, where I analysed three themes relating to why the vast majority of my research participants cater for the German-Turkish community. One point was their loyalty to the German-Turkish ethnic community, where German-Turkish professional elite members maintain a strong sense of collective identity and serve businesswise and socially to less fortunate members of the community.

> What really is key for me is the interchange with others, what we can bring each other and our society. Nowadays, in order to advance, and be heard, you need a network. I remember when I was at law school, only some German and Jewish students had their own network. They all had fathers or mothers, sometimes even both, who worked in that world, they were in the same associations together and we were there kind of alone. It gives me immense pleasure and satisfaction when I have the chance to speak to students who eventually can say 'thank you', since they have found their support and motivation (MA, lawyer).

When we from our organisation speak to young German-Turks, sometimes I see their eyes light up because they hear about us and see how many similarities they have, people just like them – who grew up like them, who have similar parents with similar generation and integration problems – who have succeeded, and that motivates them to continue and keep their hard work up (DM, medical doctor).

Regardless of the emphasis on its professional dimension, the association members I interviewed also stressed how it has attracted them and other members, thereby creating and developing a surrounding that fosters not only professional, but also approachable, supportive, and familiar ties to each other, but also to less privileged German-Turkish youngsters. These participants also emphasised that the network association they belong to was one of just a few that united German-Turks who were highly educated and employed in elite professional sectors. In my research I came across another German-Turkish professional network organisation, whose founders clearly aimed to build a professional association where members could share expertise and contacts, yet this group paid comparably more attention to informal subtle network events.

Prof Network

The second association I will explore, which I term Prof Network, was founded in Hamburg by German-Turkish professionals. From its launch in 2002, its objective was to form an alliance for social networks in today's economy. It makes explicit reference to members who are active in the law, engineering, medicine and business sectors, and emphasises the importance of associations for individuals' upward mobility. It supports associates to foster professional networks by providing an environment where they can endorse themselves and further their skills. Another major feature is its positioning towards Germany and its professional environment. This mostly takes the form of talks and seminars on German issues, though the topic of German-Turkish relations is also popular. Additionally, the organisation values its relations with prominent figures in German politics, and has several German-Turks in high-ranking professionals, who are also part of my research, as active members in the network organisation.

To further its aims, the second organisation operates via departments, known as clubs. Each club concentrates on a particular subject, such as engineering, business and finance, law or medicine. Members organise activities and events through the clubs. For instance, I attended a dinner that the business and finance club hosted to encourage members to network internally. They also invited a German-Turkish politician and a guest speaker from a corporate establishment, who, however, only spoke about German-Turkish ties and not about profits

and trade at his corporation. Also, the law club arranged a get together one week after I interviewed a couple of lawyers. However, I could not attend this event, as the founders thought it was very important for me to come from the same background, and the business and finance field therefore suited me better than the law event. All events, including the one I attended, even for the business and finance field, are advertised and held in German, which is also the language used at the meetings. While the founders of the association are German-Turks, the organisation emphasises that it is open to all groups and people of all ethnic origins. However, after attending the business and finance club events, I quickly realised that there were no native German members – all were German-Turks. Furthermore, I expected lots of business cards to be swapped and lots of business talk, statistics and records to come across. However, I rapidly understood that this event is not where this takes place, but is a form of subtle networking. One member, ES, a businessman who also attended the event, told me that in order to do the subtle networking and be part of the network here, a person needs to be visible at such events. Here, the more subtle and indirect forms of networking take place. These are not appropriate settings for obvious strategies, such as swapping business cards:

> At this event you wouldn't swap business cards, you might renew business links and that might encourage you to catch up and to take next steps. My visibility is substantial here (ES, businessman).

> Your presence and recognition value is key at such meetings, especially at the beginning, you need to show much interest, best way to do this is via attendance. It's your own responsivity. Once people recognise your face, they will remember and bounce back to you at some point, which is one of the biggest benefits of attending. You are simply valued, recognised, and also fulfil your own ambitions, yet you also build trust, which in return benefits the whole network (BU, businessman).

He believes that building an informal network among members is crucial as it increases trust and reciprocity. Hence, greater trust allows data streams to travel through the network, enabling members' acquisition of labour market information (Bagchi, 2001). The onus is on the individuals to network. They must make use of activities such as sport and other social events that their clubs hold, in order to fulfil their own social ambitions. Harvey and Maclean (2008), for instance, argue that this is reflected in the large number of directors in the UK who belong to London clubs and participate in sport or attend high-profile sporting events in order to increase social bonding (p. 115). These events provide them with the opportunities to network. IV, a medical doctor, puts this in similar words:

> These events held by the club I belong to, give me the chance to build bonds with co-ethnics and share expertise and contacts (IV, medical doctor).

My participants suggest that the benefit of belonging to the network is that it means there is a familiar face to other people in the network association, and this is important to be a true part of it. This is where attending these events becomes so significant – it is a place where professionals can hone their talents, build their standing, make their presence visible and be tried out by other professional members (Mosca, 1939). FK, a medical doctor, puts this in similar words:

> I always thought to myself, how can I belong there if I wasn't born in it? These events held by my associations gave me the chance to prove my skills and benefit to the organisation. My face is well known and I can say that this is also where I belong, the minds and ideas fit my lifestyle very well (FK, medical doctor).

Attendance gives professional visibility in the network and an occasion to talk to other like-minded associations that they may not have seen for a while. It forms a space where professionals with similar backgrounds, attitudes, 'lifestyles' and an appreciation of certain values can come together, which then expands their circle of friends and contacts. Simply the act of interacting with others allows individuals to gather valuable information about the current corporate or political landscape (Useem, 1982). This can be beneficial to them in their different roles and may help business relations. The conversations that take place at such events are informal in nature and it is not socially acceptable to actually talk business on these occasions.

> Very often you see friends who have that shared interest at these events, the social aspects, but the last thing you do here is talk about business. You're more likely to be recollecting about how people have been, or how their families are doing, that sort of thing. You periodically refresh your networks on such occasions, share memories, which later on possibly will bounce back (ES, businessman).

This emphasises the significance of holding these networks over time. Cultural and social characteristics of the network, including shared memories with other members of the social network, reinforce the bonds and increases opportunities for personal connections. If an individual understands the social norms of the network they belong to, they are going to behave accordingly in different social situations. As a result, the individual is likely to succeed socially and professionally. Opening ceremonies of events, for instance, seem less advantageous for any obvious forms of networking:

> It would be deliberated as very anti-social and uncultured to pass business cards at this sort of event, it's not something you should do here. It's an unwritten law, you should simply know this if you attend this kind of event (OI, businessman).

The participants in my research prefer a non-invasive, simpler form of social networking which is more about being seen in a subtle way. Even though it sounds like a simple practice, it is more complicated than at first glance. It takes a set of skills to be able to present an individual in a subtle way, as they have to find the right balance between others registering their presence and acting with a degree of social moderation and self-discipline. Having strong interpersonal skills is as important as 'the ability to charm, cajole, conciliate and coordinate people' (Putnam, 1976, p. 58), so they:

> Permanently speak and treat your associates the way you want them to treat you. Well mannered, being polite and self-confidence is key. I always try to listen to people and also remember them. Usually I come across them again at some point in life and also businesswise, and then they might be able to help me (AN, lawyer).

In addition, my participants mentioned skills, such as sociability, self-confidence and language fluency in both German and Turkish. Social networking skills are fundamental for many of the research participants, as they defined their own ideas of a successful professional.

MH, a lawyer and politician, simply stated: 'I'm quite good at networking. It is lots about the ability'. Similarly, TK, a medical doctor, noted: 'I was fortunate to have sociability which opened the door for networking'. HA, a particularly well-connected businesswoman, remarked that her friends and family humorously call her 'the master of networking'. Yet she also adds that accessing and passing on information is fundamental for the dynamic sphere of business and finance in the labour market. Professionals who have access to important information, skills and contacts are more popular among colleagues in the sector. She continued:

> I have got much more access to information, so it makes me more interesting to people you're talking to. One reason is also because I am willing to share my networks and information (HA, businesswoman).

According to Ryan (2011), the significance of professional networking is partly based on the voluntary desire to share information with others. Participants have underscored the sharing process as a basic element of social network belonging. Sharing information helps achieve organisational gains and an overall improvement in economic development (Dyer and Nobeoka, 2000). Sharing, passing on and transferring knowledge and skills across various groups and organisations are all important for the aforementioned development (Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998; Ritter, et al., 2004). DK, a lawyer, asserted that more contacts in her professional network were associated with more information sharing. This in turn increased

her individual professional ranking. As a member of her law network group, she believes that professional elite members of the same group need to openly demonstrate their skills and potential and show they can deliver.

> People are not stupid, you know. They bring you into certain circles if you have something to offer, right? If you've just come here to take from them without any input given, it won't work. It's a give-and-take game here. It's a very thin balancing act, an act of art I would call it (DK, lawyer).

The art of networking is characterised as being about exchanges, and not merely always demanding. The network therefore counts on the involvement of all its members. The act of networking is not only a performance and furthermore needs a high degree of skilfulness, so it can be said that there is an art to it.

Furthermore, it became clear that members need to be highly visible in order to be an instrumental member of the network. Cultivating contacts, building bonds and increasing their profile necessitates these individuals to be active and visible networkers. While my participants stress the subtlety of these performances of networking acts, they are simultaneously stating their calibre as fellows of the German-Turkish economic elite, as they have grasped the balancing art of networking.

7.5 Co-ethnic ties

Using the data from my interview transcripts, I aim to examine capacity of network associations to increase labour market opportunities for members and the type of contacts and networks they enhance – bonding networks, where the focus lies on internal group connections to other German-Turks, or bridging networks to native German professionals. In the previous chapter, in Section 6.2, I examined bridging and bonding social capital. In total, 36 out of 45 participants were active in a professional network association. Overall, 13 of my participants were part of the first network association and 16 of my participants were part of the second network association which clusters its subtle events into clubs, which I was invited to attend. Three members were active in both the Comm Network and the Prof Network. Seven members networked in several other small groups and, overall, nine participants did not participate in any network associations at all. I primarily tried to identify what kind of contacts my participants had formed. One participant involved in business, AY, described in greater detail the importance of bonding networks. He explained that faith in the power of social communities was a result of ethnicity, as well as being part of a minority in a bigger society such as the German labour market:

> I think that you are more powerful to deliver a positive contribution to the society you live in if your own ethnic group is a strong minority. I will never accept any sort of discrimination, I want to shape this community and help my co-ethnics to be successful professionals with high-ranking positions. In turn they will do the same, for other people of Turkish origin, so we will get stronger (AY, businessman).

Another participant, GK, a lawyer, explained why it was meaningful to participate in the German-Turkish network organisation.

> We founded this Turkish organisation to show German society that Turkish migrants can be high professional position holders. This could have been for instance also a German-Italian organisation, however for practical purposes and to be strong and observable, we focus on people from a Turkish upbringing (GK, lawyer).

One of the board members of the Prof Network described how his network organisation unites people of similar descent.

> The organisation has succeeded to link prosperous and highly educated people like ourselves. Overall the organisation has certainly proven to be a network of like-minded individuals. All our members understand that the awareness of social contact is vital nowadays (SW, medical doctor).

She also adds that, now, there is a more explicit acknowledgement of the significance of networking and the awareness of social contacts as a form of social capital. In contrast, according to Haug (2007), there are some negative effects potentially resulting from ethnic social capital. Successful upward mobility may decline because of social duties, pressure to conform or 'downward levelling norms' when part of ethnic networks (Portes, 1998). This in turn results in ethnic differentiation or 'downward assimilation' (Portes, 1995). In other words, lack of contact with the host society may hamper integration and occupational success (Haug, 2007). My research clearly finds different outcomes. Despite predominantly bonding with co-ethnics and less with native German professionals, the professional elite members I interviewed have proven that they did integrate very well and shaped this country on many different levels. My participants tend to come together to share experiences, both professional and social. Yet the research participants also suggest that it is necessary to differentiate between different forms of bonding networks. Members feel that it is imperative that the organisation links them with like-minded people who have other shared characteristics as well. The words of NM, a lawyer, are consistent with Table 8:

> I used to be in a network, where mostly Germans and a few east European associates were active. They centralized a lot of attention to the fact that we come from similar professions. I left this network association shortly. The German-Turkish network I am

now part of, has other central aspects it considers as important, such as having a similar education and economic level. Not to forget the importance of the alike ethnicity (NM, lawyer).

In Table 8 it is apparent that the associations provide strong bonding social networks that connect professional German-Turks with individuals of similar sociocultural characteristics.

Table 8: To what degree does the network association you belong to link you to individuals of similar educational, professional and ethnic level? In per cent (number of research participants in parentheses)

Networks	Education level	Yes	No	Total
Comm Network		92.3 (12)	7.7 (1)	100 (13)
Prof Network		100 (16)	0 (0)	100 (16)
Other associations		71.4 (5)	28.6 (2)	100 (7)
No association		-	-	100 (9)
Total				**100 (45)**
Networks	**Professional level**	**Yes**	**No**	**Total**
Comm Network		30.8 (4)	69.2 (9)	100 (13)
Prof Network		75.0 (12)	25.0 (4)	100 (16)
Other associations		57.2 (4)	42.8 (3)	100 (7)
No association		-	-	100 (9)
Total				**100 (45)**
Networks	**Ethnic background**	**Yes**	**No**	**Total**
Comm Network		100 (13)	0 (0)	100 (13)
Prof Network		100 (16)	0 (0)	100 (16)
Other associations		85.7 (6)	14.3 (1)	100 (7)
No association		-	-	100 (9)
Total				**100 (45)**

Similarly, the majority of respondents stated that their network organisation's focus was to link them to individuals of a similar educational level and ethnicity was also listed as of high importance. Hence, 35 out of 36 German-Turkish economic elites who are a part of a network organisation believe that the linkage to other professionals of the same ethnic background is of high significance. Linking people of similar professional orientation was not listed as a primary motivation in the Comm Network. However, in the Prof Network the focus was

higher, partly because professional events were organised by clubs. The Comm Network organisations therefore connect people in similar occupational fields to a lesser extent than the Prof Network, a trait often observed in more charitable professional network organisations recruiting members from diverse professional sectors. As one participant stated, some individuals also find other motives to invest work and dynamism in the network organisation.

> The work I do for my associations is not all vital profession wise, even though our organisation's statement is oriented towards economic advantages and advancement. It has a broader context to me, also social relevance wise. I must admit that I am financially in a very comfortable position. I am sure that there are other network organisations, possibly also the ones which are more diverse, where more German natives are members that could possibly be more beneficial for my work, but I just do not found these kinds of networks stimulating (AA, businessman).

> I am finally on the safe side. I have been successful workwise and therefore I am very different to many other German-Turks. In view of my own achievements, I desired to help others from the same ethnic background (OY, lawyer).

How the different types of networking are described exemplifies how the network is constructed in terms of active and barely active members and those who do not participate at all:

> I turn against the concept of co-ethnic networking. I dislike the idea of networking, the word and notion makes my stomach hurt and the importance will decrease sooner or later (MK, medical doctor).

While some individuals believe that the importance of bonding networks will decrease over the years or object to it in principle, others dislike it because it is seen as an obligation:

> It is something that I have to determinedly think that I need to do rather than want to do, it should be a choice to me, but not an obligation, especially the ethnicity of members should not be a decision-maker to this (IK, medical doctor).

Migration studies (Boyd, 1989; Putnam, 2000) suggest that initial migration is often facilitated by bonding networks, whereas progressively over time the descendants of migrants begin to establish more bridging links to diverse people. Henceforth, bridging is often associated with high social mobility and good integration (Nannestad et al., 2008). Nonetheless, such networking research with regard to immigrants and their descendants is based on the experiences of economically and educationally disadvantaged migrants and their children (Bagchi, 2001); the extent to which this model may apply to German-Turkish professionals can therefore be questioned. My research contributes to the discussion the

notion that the German-Turkish professionals are certainly more diverse and open to the native population and other migrants' descendants, yet their networks are still very traditional, with a focus on bonding networks, which primarily involve co-ethnics and provide safe, familiar environments that make members feel supported and accepted. My participants' networking differentiates from traditional professional network organisations, which usually provide weak ties with beneficial professional purposes. The professional aspect matters, yet the social component, the feeling of fitting and belonging to these networks, is also of great importance.

7.6 Network benefits

In the final section of this chapter, I explore why being well connected in the network is valuable to its members and in what ways these networks are put to use. Being a member of the network assists individuals in attaining further roles, social responsibility and employment. Doing one thing often leads to being asked to do another:

> It's true, the more you participate and construct the organisation, the more you get asked to get involved (TK, medical doctor).

There are other further illustrations of this:

> It's usually the same people, with different hats on. Our organisation is not that big, so sooner or later your turn will come to take responsibility (FA, lawyer).

> My four years as the chairman of our organisation came to an end, soon after there was another free position about a year later. A representative had passed away, and I was invited back, and I've been there since. My reputations and visibility across the network probably helped with this as well I had to do this favour to them, I simply could not have denied. (EZ, medical doctor).

EZ, a medical doctor, was someone already known to the networks board. Through his earlier appointment as chairman of another organisation, he became trusted and an obvious candidate for the network position when another place in the organisation became accessible. This was favoured to the alternative method of interviewing or considering somebody else, or even enrolling a new member to the organisation. This form of narrow staffing is also clearly observable in my participants' network organisations. These links serve to keep the network tight and closed (van Apeldoorn and De Graaff, 2015). Visibility on a larger scale includes cultivating a valued and esteemed profile and repute across the entire network. Being a

member of professional network organisations and holding a high-status professional position motivated some of my participants to attain this:

> Being professionally successful and at the same time being a member of such network organisations gives you a certain degree of profile …you're constantly asked to reference and share your views, often to be photographed and interviewed and share your thoughts on business, political, but also integration topics (AA, businessman).

Already existing in the network and being engaged within it helps professionals to achieve further awareness and sometimes even higher jobs and higher status, as belonging in this way serves as a lengthy route, occasionally even as a pre-checking mechanism.

> I applied for plenty of jobs and often I was not even invited. Even though my PhD profile, my law profession, my work experience and my status were ideal for the position. There was this one job, where the interview took roughly less than an hour, which is very short for the position I applied, I suppose, because I was pretty well known to one individual who was questioning me. This was my jackpot (MA, lawyer).

When I followed up on this, MA added that he knew one person on the interview panel from his German-Turkish network events, which underlines the importance of having personal contacts in the network. This meant that they knew him and the job was consequently a 'jackpot' to him. Furthermore, the network also enables individuals to assemble information about others from other associates in the network:

> It's more worth knowing people and knowing about them by a person you trust and appreciate, the real record matters. No one networks to get straight a better job, but networking is like a boomerang, at some point it will come back and benefit you. You have to put effort in and not take it for granted. Either these people know you personally and it will benefit you sooner or later, or they know you over someone they trust and can get knowledge about you (OZ, medical doctor).

The network is described as a boomerang (OZ, medical doctor) and something which should not be taken for granted, which will eventually benefit later, and at the same time is described as a checking system. Similarly, far from taking networks for granted, Bourdieu (1990) argues that networking requires effort and the investment of time and resources. Even supposing a professional does not have direct knowledge of what a candidate is like, they can seek advice from other members of the network, individuals that they 'trust', to assist them in making their choices. It opens up lines of communication as they can call on trusted individuals for their opinions or bring it up as a subject of discussion at network events.

> When you are well known and well linked, you are halfway through (NM, lawyer).

Knowing somebody and their outlooks, approaches and prejudices diminishes the apparent distance between individuals (King, 2008), such that they are commendably already 'halfway through', as NM puts it, when it comes to endorsing a view or requesting something. As another participant states, having connections and a good reputation gives a person:

> A lead, so that they already know what you do, who you are and possibly also why you are asking for something. It's a matter of trust, once you have this, which comes with time, you are on the safe side (YB, businessman).

Knowing other members opens up channels of communication and enables confidential conversations about mutual benefits. These, as earlier, can be characterised as friendly and informal, and therefore give space for the use of favours. As with EZ, when he explained that he could not deny the position he was offered, this was likened to them doing a favour for the organisation, even though he had already served for four years as a chairman. My participants underline that, in order for a system of favours and compromises to effectively function, the network must be reciprocal in nature:

> Most of my input has been beneficial to the association. I always try hard to be valuable to them, at the same time they are obviously beneficial me. Trust and respect is central in the circles I operate in. It's a cooperative commitment (ES, businessman).

Being well connected in the network means that other people can ask things of them. However, in return, this also then makes it easier for them to ask things of other associates. The relatively closed and personal nature of professional networks enables this as it increases the numbers of potential exchanges and makes the system of favours and promises easier to administer. The system of 'give-and-take and favours' is dependent on a sense of commitment to other members in the network and to the network itself. Nonetheless, it is also reliant on trust and being on the 'safe side', as YB calls it. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) describe this as enforceable trust where the level of trustworthiness of each individual professional member increases over time. Building a trusted and respected reputation requires time, but brings its own rewards. It is a central asset for professional elites to have, as they count on enlightening an image of reliability and a good reputation (Mintz and Schwartz, 1988), which is essential when commercial agreements and know-how are exchanged (Kadushin, 1995).

7.7 Conclusion

The two organisations examined in my research, Comm Network and Prof Network, function as bonding networks which reinforce bonds amid like-minded professionals with similar

professional desires, socio-economic status and educational pathways and shared feelings of loyalty towards the German-Turkish community. Although the network organisations and their associates set out to build professional networks for the German-Turkish community, my findings suggest that the respondents did not simply focus on the added value to their professional careers. Instead, they also use these networks to reinforce bonding ties with like-minded individuals from the same ethnic upbringing. These contacts not only enhance their status, which sooner or later will come back like a boomerang, to benefit them, they also encourage others to endure in their professional journey, while increasing chances for others who are less privileged. These networks deliver in return valuable resources to enhance their positions in the high-status contexts in which they work. Conceivably even more substantial, though, are the prospects they present for supporting others and sharing their knowledge to show others the right pathway.

In other words, they encourage the collective shaping of the German-Turkish professional community, giving voice and a positive image to social and professional identities. Both network associations offer a cushioning function, bonding German-Turkish ties in order to improve labour market positions and awareness. Even though associations adopt a much more open attitude to other social groups, their inner core is somehow focused on bonding networks with co-ethnics and establishing strong ties. Regarding the comparative design of the study, I found bonding to be the strongest objective of both network associations studied. Almost all participants, even those who do not network in professional clusters, tend to primarily connect with compatible individuals who have a comparable German-Turkish background and ambition. Furthermore, the two biggest associations in which my participants were active, both have a similar focus on social issues, whereby members develop shared responsibilities to give back to those in less fortunate circumstances. While bonding with co-ethnics is an imperative motivation to almost all networkers, a few participants also stress the belief that co-ethnic networks will slowly lose its significance, as, to upcoming generations, roots will be less central. Instead, education, habits and socio-economic matters will move to the fore as in other classic elite network organisations. The German-Turkish economic elites form an established group that is growing slowly and is well informed about labour market conditions. Its members consequently have more potential to provide valuable evidence on networking among their professional network organisations and approaches. Future studies of German-Turkish professional elite members and their networks will reveal whether such ties will continue to be bonding, centred on co-ethnics and isolating for the German-Turkish elite in the long run, or alternatively bridging and a source of cohesiveness in German society.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction: Overview of the thesis

This thesis has explored the factors and strategies that led to the rise of a minority of German-Turks to elite positions within the fields of business, law and medicine in Germany, the motives behind the strategies applied and in what ways members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets. Finally, it explored the extent to which and how members of the German-Turkish economic elite form networks to further their interests using analysis of data gathered from in-depth semi-structured interviews.

I began by arguing that while the topic of elite groups within society has generally been well researched in the social sciences (Bloch, 2013; Maclean et al., 2012; Hartmann, 2002; Penninx and Rossblad, 2000), it is particularly the case that German-Turkish elite professionals in the fields of business, medicine and law have not been systematically studied, even though its small size allows explorations of upward social mobility strategies and networks. In Chapter 2, the literature review examined Bourdieu's concept of capital and how this can be applied to the German-Turkish context. I considered the literature on the key debates concerning professional elite groups, definitions of the term 'elite' and the extent of cohesion among the top sections of society. I then examined the importance of social mobility for immigrants and German-Turks, how this has been researched and the main conclusions that have been drawn. I also explored the often-used division between strong bonding ties with co-ethnics and weak bridging ties with natives. In Chapter 3, I presented a critical and reflexive account of how I gathered the data, with a specific emphasis on how the interview is a social interaction in which care needs to be given to the unique power dynamics inherent within it. With the aim of fully demonstrating the roots, origins and contemporary life of German-Turks in Germany, Chapter 4 explored Turkish migration to Germany and offered comprehensive contextual data on the initial migration process and the current German institutional perspective. Three empirical chapters followed, where the data were presented and organised around the themes of how the research participants choose their strategies, which are perceived to be required in order to qualify as a true member of the German-Turkish economic elite, and the reasons for German-Turkish economic elites largely targeting their co-ethnic communities. Third, the study sought to understand how German-Turkish professional elite members network within the German-Turkish professional community.

Through focusing on the issues that formed the basis of the research questions of the study, the phenomenon of German-Turkish elite members is better understood in the wider context of upward social mobility and integration in the German-Turkish community. The study focused on exploring key issues reflected in the research questions of the study, which are considered fundamental to developing an understanding of German-Turkish economic elites. In these three empirical chapters, I answered the following research questions:
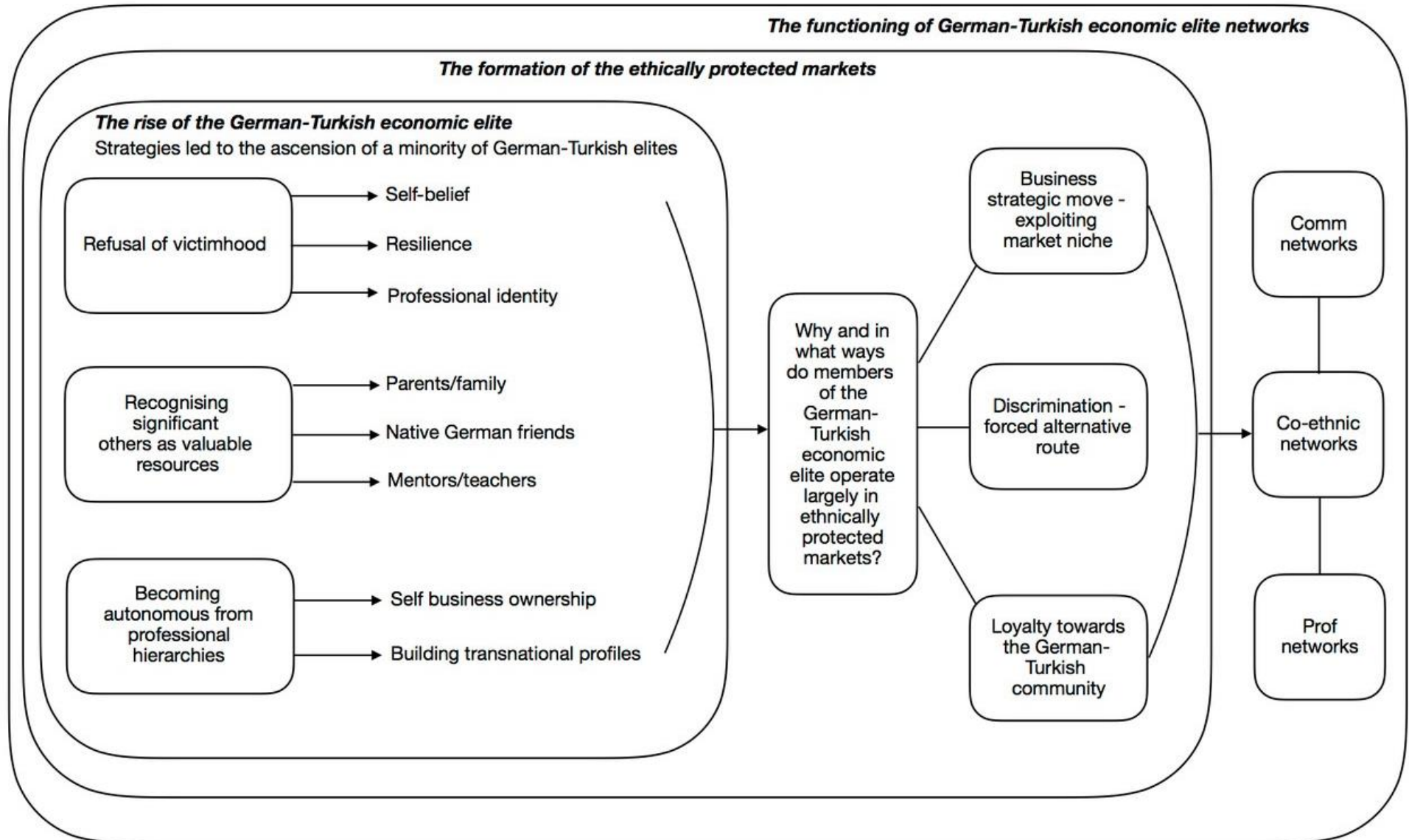
1. How has a minority of German-Turks overcome disadvantage to rise to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany?

2. Why and in what ways do members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets?

3. To what extent and how do members of the German-Turkish economic elite form networks to further their interests?

This concluding chapter explores each of these questions in turn, drawing together the key themes and findings presented in the empirical analysis. I will summarise these by bringing together the findings from all three empirical chapters and by underlining the overlapping themes and key arguments. I continue by summarising the contributions to academic literature and practice. The chapter then concludes by identifying and discussing the limitations of my research, further research opportunities in this area, in addition to my final thoughts.

8.2 Key findings of the thesis

With the aim of this study being to bring clarity to the phenomenon of German-Turkish economic elite members, three areas of findings have emerged which are captured in Figure 7 and, additionally, summarised in the section below. The findings of my analysis point to new patterns of upward social mobility in the German-Turkish professional community. I use the term 'new' in two ways. First, the social mobility pathways I scrutinised point to the use of alternative routes to achieving a successful position. This is not only true for the entrance to the labour market of my respondents, but also to how they are climbing up the ladder and the strategies used to do so. Moreover, the social mobility pattern is new, as these German-Turkish descendants are moving into a social world that their ancestors have never inhabited before. Consequently, they have to deal with disadvantages, often being unaware of certain dominant cultural codes, resulting in an emerging parallel economic elite, where their habitus and interests tally with other German-Turkish professional elites.

Figure 7: Findings overview

The functioning of German-Turkish economic elite networks

The formation of the ethically protected markets

The rise of the German-Turkish economic elite
Strategies led to the ascension of a minority of German-Turkish elites

- Refusal of victimhood
  - Self-belief
  - Resilience
  - Professional identity

- Recognising significant others as valuable resources
  - Parents/family
  - Native German friends
  - Mentors/teachers

- Becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies
  - Self business ownership
  - Building transnational profiles

Why and in what ways do members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets?

- Business strategic move - exploiting market niche
- Discrimination - forced alternative route
- Loyalty towards the German-Turkish community

- Comm networks
- Co-ethnic networks
- Prof networks

My research participants have striven to overcome this disadvantage by learning along the way during their upward climb, through refusal of victimhood, recognising others as valuable resources and becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies. The findings of my work point out that German-Turkish professionals are not only 'in-between' in terms of identities and work attachments but are also mediating between habitus and reflexivity. A significant proportion of the German-Turkish professional elite members I interviewed are becoming part of a parallel economic elite society reinforced by strategic business interests, discrimination and their own loyalty towards German-Turkish society. Their network approaches underline these findings.

8.2.1 The rise of the German-Turkish economic elite

The study found that three factors with several underlying mechanisms lead to the ascension of German-Turkish professional elites in the fields of business, law and medicine. These include: (1) refusal of victimhood; (2) recognition of significant others as valuable resources; and (3) becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies.

<u>(1) Refusal of victimhood</u>

The first feature that all my participants mutually shared was negation of victimhood, demonstrating resilience and, accordingly, that they did not want to be viewed as passive victims in the face of intolerant practices, furthermore, emphasising their professional identity. Most of the respondents were reluctant to label the unfair practices they came across as discrimination and, thus, bypassed the term explicitly. Most of them did experience identity issues. Nonetheless, only a few associated these with discrimination. The coding and analysis of subtle discrimination were therefore quite puzzling. Although some participants recognised that there is some evidence for the existence of discrimination, all see individual responsibility as the fundamental element behind achievement or underachievement. They refuse to catalogue every dispute simply as discrimination and therefore chose to be active against any possible subtle remarks. Some of the respondents decided to position themselves above such remarks and look for the dialogue to prove them wrong, while others refused to take subtle discriminatory comments seriously enough to prevent them from achieving their career aims. My participants emphasise that there is no space for capitulation or any other sign of weakness. Rather than thinking about their origins and experiences as a hindrance, the focus is placed on hard work, diligence and positioning their professional identity. Refusing

victimhood and placing emphasis on professional identity represents a valuable strategy. Self-belief and family support, native friends and mentors from a professional context, alongside the support of significant others, represent another attractive approach. In my findings, I observe that significant others and attitudes towards these individuals played a crucial role in the successful pathways of my participants.

<u>(2) Recognition of significant others as valuable resources</u>

I find evidence that support from significant others, comprising family members, combined with self-belief that has accumulated throughout my participants' education, has helped them to achieve their goals and, in particular, contributed to their upwardly mobile journey. I find further evidence that parents play a vital role in the form of utilising their immigrant optimism and their high aspirations for intergenerational upward mobility to support their children in their educational pathways. German-Turkish professionals exist in their own elite positions as a continuation of their parents' migration mission. Furthermore, there is an indication that associates of native Germans help with socialisation into German culture and society and, essentially, help individuals understand the rules of the game. I add to the work of Rezai (2017), who examined narratives and impacts on the successful pathways of lawyers in Europe. When looking at social support in the labour market pathways of my participants I found that, in addition to peers and teachers, parents also played an important role in the upward mobility of German-Turkish professionals. I found that my participants have access to support from both parents and significant others, which can also be a strategy deliberately chosen by German-Turkish economic elites, where they network and socialise with individuals from whom they can absorb information. Another important factor that has become clear from my analysis is that the German-Turkish elite members have recognised the valuable resource of mentors from a professional context and the effective use of these. It becomes apparent that, throughout the premature existence of their professional career, a great number of my participants had supervisors who took on a mentoring character and showed them 'how to play the game'. In addition to the refusal of victimhood and the recognition of significant others as valuable resources, I find a third strategy that involves exploring alternatives to upward mobility in the light of barriers to becoming autonomous from corporate hierarchies by means of self-business ownership and building international profiles.

<u>(3) Becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies</u>

Self-business ownership is evidently an alternative strategy in the respondents' career paths which results in substantial economic mobility. Having analysed my respondents' pathways and strategies, I find evidence that the experience of blocked opportunities is linked to becoming autonomous from professional hierarchies. Having analysed the third strategy, this signposted for the first time the presence of a parallel German-Turkish professional elite who clearly make use of bonding social capital, which I will touch upon in the next findings section, the formation of ethnically protected markets. By pursuing alternative strategies, I find that my participants bypassed structural constraints (Crul, et al., 2012; Kristen, 2002) that decreased the prospect of their upward social mobility. For the professionals who managed to move up into leading positions, the national context played a significant role at the beginning of their profession and was central during their educational careers. Most participants argued that the ongoing internationalisation and globalisation of the field works in their favour. Their fundamental assumption was that, in an international field, the emphasis would lie more on their professional competencies than on their individual background. Part of the key to the success of my participants is understanding the social world and self-consciously devising strategies and tactics for overcoming disadvantages, which is, in other words, overcoming habitus. Their trajectories also show parallels with slight variances across contexts. In all three professions, respondents had to cope with a group disadvantage, yet they are aware of this when they talk about their exceptional careers. They particularly stress how they managed to overcome these hindrances by embracing adaptive attitudes as part of their overall perseverance in seeking adequate strategies as opportunities. They found a way of overcoming barriers, and through their intelligence and social awareness they know how to overcome these hindrances. They work out how to enter into the social world of the establishment, but they remain strongly bonded to their heritage. What we are getting here is a dual advantage. They both fraternise with their business, legal and medical professions and form bonds of associations, which may not be strong ties, but they are sufficient ties. At the same time, they have a special affinity with their own community, because they understand their problems and issues.

According to Konyali (2014), Turkish social climbers who work in European cities such as Frankfurt, Paris, and Stockholm evaluate their own business success as exceptional and are not worried about their ethnic roots being a disadvantage. Similarly, my findings underline that members of the German-Turkish economic elite perceive their origin as an asset of ethnic

and social significance, which means that they exhibit higher self-awareness of their differences than non-immigrant business worker reflexivity (Maclean et al., 2012). These elite members are proven successful negotiators and the process of social mobility helps them establish a good position for themselves in the new social division. These elites are therefore turning a disadvantage into a dual advantage. The key to that is reflexivity, social understanding and social awareness. In the next subsection, I recapitulate my findings on why and in what ways members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets.

8.2.2 The formation of ethnically protected markets

In Chapter 6, I identified the extent to which my participants are reliant on their local German-Turkish communities and, in particular, their motives. Throughout my analysis I identified three predominant motives across the occupational fields: (1) strategic business moves with the aim of finding a market niche; (2) discrimination and unfair practices; and, lastly, (3) loyalty and devotion towards the German-Turkish ethnic community. The first motive is solely a strategic business move. My respondents serve the ethnic enclave economy because of financial advantages. They perceive their origin as an asset of ethnic and social significance, where they make use of their background resources and turn these into beneficial business activities. According to Armstrong (2008), German-Turkish migrants have very different cultural beliefs and traditions to the host country. Thus, the ethnic immigrant populace tends to create their own communities within the host country. Such parallel communities increase the need for ethnic-oriented businesses and services for the ethnic enclave economy, to which my participants pay attention. They recognise their difference as a professional privilege and make use of their authenticity and their perceived differences to their business advantage. These elite professionals eagerly recognise differences between their ethnic German counterparts and consequently circumvent their potential disadvantages into advantages. This is achieved by taking over corporate tasks that are, for instance, associated with Turkey or the German-Turkish community. These are related to the migration context in general or business concepts which explicitly serve the diverse German-Turkish community, where they offer products and services tailored to Turkish customers because they seem to form a worthwhile target group.

<u>(1) Business strategic move – exploiting market niches</u>

I find evidence that German-Turkish professional elite members use ethnic networks and their bonding social capital in a protected market in order to extract certain market and economic benefits, as their ancestors did. Hence, their upward social mobility is achieved using similar approaches to their ancestors, only these have been expanded and professionalised. There is ample evidence to suggest that bonding social capital is 'to get by', whereas bridging social capital is 'to get ahead' (Lancee, 2010b; Putnam, 2000, p. 23; Kanas, et al., 2009). Conversely, in my analysis I find evidence that bonding social capital enables professional German-Turkish elite members not only to *get by,* but also to *get ahead* within the ethnic enclave economy. My findings confirm prior work of Crul and Keskiner (2017) who focused on descendants of migrants from Turkey born in France and living in Paris and its surroundings, who demonstrated that upward mobility can be achieved through developing significant forms of capital in the given fields. While I found that social capital was a central resource in all my studied economic fields, Crul and Keskiner (2017) argued that in the law field social capital was more of value than in the other two sectors studied, the education and business sectors. My findings also complement their found strategies, where their research participants focused on the Turkish community in France and utilised the economic relations between Turkey and France to create their own niche market. However, there is also another side of the coin. Not all professionals among my research participants find the niche market attractive and lucrative; discrimination and unfair practices represent another motive for not exploiting their strength outside the German-Turkish community.

<u>(2) Discrimination – forced alternative route</u>

Discrimination and frustration resulting from being perceived as a constant outsider played a prominent role in why participants chose to serve and be reliant on the German-Turkish community. Consequently, this is an attempt to escape discrimination and negative perceptions, and, because of the difficulties of entering the market of the host society (Crul et al., 2012; Sullivan, 2001; Fernandez-Kelly, 2012), they remain with the co-ethnic market to find protection there. Regardless of their evident social mobility, continual feelings of exclusion by some participants resulting from their ethnic and lower socio-economic backgrounds underlined the falsity of the widespread belief that upwardly mobile individuals are pleased with their current status. Similar mixed feelings of being split between two worlds were recognised in the study of Friedman (2014), who negates in his research the notion that

rethinking of social mobility needs to take place, as upwardly mobile people often pay a price for their success. The second motive is clearly not voluntary but rather a forced alternative route.

(3) Loyalty to the German-Turkish ethnic community

Third, my participants rely on and serve the German-Turkish community because of their sense of duty to their local community and the humble origins they derive from. The fear of class betrayal is present and co-exists within my respondents (Bourdieu, 1989, 2004; Eribon, 2013; Lahire, 2011), meaning that they maintain a strong sense of collective identity and give back fiscally and socially to less fortunate members of their ethnic group. The making of the German-Turkish elite landscape, where professional elites use alternative routes similar to those of their parents, who once served their co-ethnics, is not only the result of exclusionary rules and structures imposed by established groups aiming to carve out their professional niche and potential markets but is also a result of the loyalty they feel towards their community. At the same time, it is an alternative route for their social capital skills, which are more appreciated in the German-Turkish community, leading to the emergence of parallel elite formations or 'subversion strategies', as Bourdieu (1993b, p. 74) labels them. If I take the established elites as the dominant role players in each field (Savage and Williams, 2008), German-Turkish professionals move in the field as newcomers in the game. When newcomers enter the field, new agents, in my case German-Turkish economic elites, become acquainted with the rules of the game and assets required, which in turn characterises their strategies in the struggle (Keskiner and Crul, 2017). While those in the dominant position try to shield their specific form of capital and are inclined towards safeguarding strategies to reproduce and at the same time preserve their resources and positions, newcomers 'are inclined towards subversion strategies' (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 74).

In the following section, I summarise my third and final findings chapter with a focus on why, by what means and to what extent elite German-Turks in the fields of business, medicine and law network to further their interests.

8.2.3 The functioning of German-Turkish economic elite networks

The existence of networks was born out of my analysis of secondary sources, which was undertaken in order to analyse the strategies that German-Turkish professional elite members use to respond to constraints on their upward mobility. This also allowed me to locate my sample and develop my interview schedules, which were specific to each individual's

biography and networks. Located in Germany, 80% of my participants belong to network organisations for individuals with similar ethnic backgrounds, which reinforce bonding through social capital and promote a safe, familiar setting, centring professional activities with the objective of linking German-Turkish professionals. I analysed two major German-Turkish elite network organisations. Other small networks, which were based not only on professional development but also on political, ethnic and spiritual foundations were not taken into account. Both organisations' dual capacity to bond with the German-Turkish community was high, and yet the bridging with their elite ethnic German counterparts was rather weak.

Recent research into upward mobility for ethnic minorities often emphasises the deficiency of networks and predominantly the inability to use these to their favour (Bourdieu and Balazs, 1999; Light and Gold, 2000). I find that my research participants tended to prefer to share experiences, both professional and social, with their German-Turkish networks and at the same time use these to their advantage. In doing so, they produce strong bonding social networks, constructing and reinventing identities that allow them to better their social position and help others to succeed, yet at the same time they are very well integrated and shape German society on several levels. The network organisations bring like-minded professionals together, who identify strongly with the minority group from which their parents originated and migrated to Germany. They emphasise this collective identity on their own terms in order to reinforce the group and others with similar backgrounds, which is also reflected in their professional and social interactions. The network organisations principally encompass co-ethnics and aim to provide a safe surrounding that makes members feel reinforced and acknowledged. As Bourdieu (1990) argues, it is enormously challenging to be accepted by the elite as an outsider and so it can only happen 'by birth or by a slow process of co-option and initiates which is equivalent to a second birth' (pp. 67–8). I find that acceptance and active networking with native German professionals' counterparts remains weak and therefore a lengthy process, which helps to explain why German-Turkish professional elites build their own networks with a focus on bonding approaches, which, as with native German network organisations, remain tight and closed. Asserting that having connections in the network is a benefit in the professional landscape is a patently obvious statement, yet not always financially motivated, as examined with my research participants. Although the professional elite members indicated that their involvement had some degree of positive outcome on their professional career, evidently, other positive effects of membership were accountable for them remaining in the network organisation. The social aspect also seems quite strong.

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Assembling like-minded individuals fosters their progress and collectively enables them to create a group that will provide a safe, supportive environment for others.

Ryan et al. (2008) underline in their study on upwardly mobile Polish immigrants that bonding ties with co-ethnics is temporal nature. The network approach I found in my data challenges this and proves that networking with co-ethnics is not a short-term alternative, rather a long-term intentionally used route for German-Turkish economic elites. They look for safe surroundings in which they are not discriminated against, where they can develop strategies and keep their mixed identities with peers that help them to be effective and simultaneously remain linked to their community of origin. The need to belong is an added aspect that needs to be considered. Most of my participants cannot define themselves as either German or Turkish, surrounded by the dominant German culture in the elite landscape. The identity formation of these professionals in their struggle among two worlds also has a noteworthy influence on their networking approaches. Only a small number of my participants are connected to native German professionals and for them ethnic identity is a matter of personal choice. To the majority of my participants, ethnicity is a source of strength – they worked their way up, socially and economically, on the basis of their own German-Turkish community's networks and resources.

8.3 Research contribution

8.3.1 Contribution to theory

The findings of this research have implications for the study of German-Turkish professional elites. The theoretical contribution of this study is the development of new knowledge on the phenomenon of German-Turkish professional elite members in the fields of business, medicine and law that furthers our understanding. There is clearly a shortage of data and information about German-Turks' ability to penetrate the upper levels of the German professional elite. My research adds awareness to national and international literature on the subject of upward social mobility, stratification and immigration, a particularly relevant topic in the current climate, particularly in relation to the identity of the largest immigrant group in Germany, the German-Turks, and their progress towards social recognition and social upward mobility within the professional elite.

Firstly, the study makes a contribution to the literature on professional elites, more specifically literature concerned with the German professional elite (Hartmann, 2000, 2002,

2007). First, it highlights and analyses how German-Turkish elite members have tapped into extra resources in their journey to get ahead and which institutional and social factors have aided their elite ascension, to show how descendants of Turkish immigrants create new cultural capital and validation mechanisms. Further, it evaluates and probes the pathways of German-Turks from different backgrounds (law, medicine and business) in order to capture insights into their individual experiences of social mobility, exploring the difficulties and barriers they may have had to overcome on their way up to top positions in Germany's business environment (Maclean et al., 2012). Second, the study moves beyond existing upward social mobility discourse of immigrants and explores the experiences of professional elites who have achieved leading positions in the corporate, medical and legal sectors in Germany. It identifies the importance of how they situate themselves within German society and use their social capital to enter a moderately protected market, which gives them a degree of monopolistic power in a German-Turkish community which in its self is becoming stratified.

Third, the thesis contributes to our understanding of how German-Turkish professional elites view and situate their identities and make use of networks, both within the German-Turkish community and with their elite ethnic German counterparts. Furthermore, I promote the idea of converting a disadvantage into a dual advantage, the key to which is reflexivity and understanding the social situation. Additionally, this research added to the existing literature that lacks focus on an emerging group of German-Turkish professionals who manage considerable occupational achievements, regardless of their potentially disadvantageous position. Another important theoretical contribution of this study is the extension of Bourdieu's capital theory (1986b), illustrating how upwardly mobile German-Turkish professional elites use strategies to minimise the differences between their cultural and social capital and those of people with higher socio-economic status. Existing research on social mobility is expanded further and applied to professional pathways and strategies that help professional individuals reach further levels of social status. It does this by focusing on the role of influential actors, strategies and networks in the pathways of German-Turks in leading positions in business, medical and legal fields.

8.3.2 Contribution to practice

In addition to making a contribution to the academic literature, this research is also of practical value to a variety of parties, including government institutions and professionals,

especially as Germany struggles to accommodate a new wave of migrants at the time of writing, despite opposition from some parties, highlighting lessons which may be learned from the German-Turkish experience. As Schluchter (1963) underlined five decades ago, 'in essence, the nature of the elites reflects on the nature of society'. He concludes that only an analysis of the elites can show 'whether industrial society can justifiably be considered a meritocracy in the real sense of the world at all' (p. 249, translation by Hartmann, 2000). The German government arguably needs such research in order to recognise weak regulation concerning the protection of social equality, despite the existence of the General Equal Treatment Act (ACC), commonly known as the antidiscrimination law, which aims to prevent discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, race, religion and beliefs (Wetherell et al., 2007). Furthermore, it may enable the government to extract from the research those analyses, results, conclusions and recommendations that might be adopted in order to prevent unequal education opportunities and other social inequalities. In a society such as Germany, endowed with a stratified education system, key aspects of future labour market achievements are determined early in life. As formal educational diplomas are entry requirements to vocational and higher academic university institutions, it is reasonable to assume that the educational system should provide equal opportunities from the very beginning for everyone, including immigrant children (Riphahn, 2002). At a time when the immigrant topic issue has become particularly widely discussed in Europe, especially in Germany, an investigation into the mobility prospects and experiences of a migrant community who have lived and worked in Germany for more than 50 years is especially valuable. This may in turn provoke further reflection not just on the issue of elitism itself, but also on the behaviour of elites towards outsiders. By offering new and valuable knowledge with a conceptual contribution in this research, I aim not only to contribute to the literature but also to influence, if possible, the design of improved policies vis-à-vis immigration, immigrants and the offspring of immigrants. Explicitly these concern policy implications regarding the integration of German-Turks, but the implications also apply to immigrants and their families more generally, since I found helpful lesson that people might take on board for making progress, particularly regarding social mobility into the largest professional and corporate fields.

Additionally, the practical outcomes of my work informs how individuals conduct themselves and how community groups organise. Considering the overall situation of the Turkish minority, which is still characterised as a difficult and unwilling community to integrate, with the prevalent social inequalities, the role of the successful upwardly mobile German-Turkish

individuals is of great importance. The German-Turkish economic elite members I interviewed clearly have certain affinities and are a sub community with a community, but they are a fluent group, a group that appreciates and values Germanness and the differences in others and how to relate to others. This is improving their interactions, the way they relate to others and not just to themselves. Although they still represent minorities in their communities, the experiences of German-Turkish economic elites not only serve as a spearhead for mobility processes and successful strategies of immigrant descendants in general and set an example for both the Turkish minority and the German majority, they are also in a much more influential position than other minority members to forcefully pursue German-Turkish and immigrant minority interests in Germany.

8.4 Limitations and further research

In the previous section, I outlined several important contributions of the thesis to academic and practical professional knowledge. However, all research, including my work, has its limitations and its need for further research. By acknowledging the limitations, these areas can be examined in detail in future research, so in this section I present my potential limitations and ideas for possible directions of future research.

The vexed issue of terminology remains in my work. Some scholars refer to immigrant children, some to immigrants and others to ethnic minorities. Strictly speaking, the groups acknowledged in most of the literature are not ethnic minorities but groups that share national origins. We need to remember that most German-Turks, if not all, have a diverse heritage. Sirkeci (2000a) and Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003), for example, suggest that in Germany only around two thirds of individuals from Turkey are actually ethnic Muslim Turks – the others identify themselves as Kurdish, Alevis and members of other ethnic groups, such as the Christian minorities of the Armenians and Aramaeans. My practice in this review is simply to refer to the German-Turks without acknowledging the multiple ethnicities and religious diversity within the homogeneous German-Turkish population. In many other countries this ethnic diversity is also present – e.g. between English, Welsh and Scottish in Britain or Flemish and Walloon in Belgium. Grouping together all these ethnic groups under a single German-Turkish diaspora is therefore a potential limitation.

Another element that raises concerns about the validity of the present research is the language used in the interviews. In social anthropological research, scholars commonly call attention to

the challenges and potential limitations of collecting data in one language and presenting the findings in another (Regmi et al., 2010; Rallis and Rossman, 2012; Temple and Young, 2004). My work is concerned with qualitative interviews where the data are collected in more than one language and the research process, at a certain stage, involves acts of translation between languages. Even though the interviews were mostly held in German and English, there were some parts of each interview that were in Turkish, and sometimes both mixed up. Both the researcher and the participants were therefore 'fully and fluently bilingual – they slip between the two languages during the interview' (Rallis and Rossman, 2012, p.161). The switching between three languages, often using more than one at a time, occurred naturally, as my participants speak in three languages throughout their daily lives. That said, there are inevitably limitation concerns. In particular, these include hierarchies of language power, situated language epistemologies of researchers and issues around interviewing someone with more than one question and translating it. The central question is whether and how translation within the research process potentially introduces bias and how to ensure agreement on the translation of source data. According to Temple and Young (2004), researchers within a qualitative reflexive paradigm who ignore issues involved in translating across languages implicitly disregard limitations that can arise. If data are presented as if the research participants were fluent English speakers or as if the language they used is irrelevant, the research is exposed to further limitations. Being multilingual may not always be enough to adequately capture the meaning of the interview transcripts. Thus, I consulted an experienced professional German-Turkish multilingual translator where meanings were unclear, with the intention of avoiding errors and misinterpretations. Through validity in terms of precise interpretations, register, ethics, matching of social characteristics and neutral stances, objectivity is achieved in the research process. Foremost, I aimed to reduce any language difficulties and concerns and provide information on the research process in the source language, yet the act of translation and use of more than one language cannot simply be considered as irrelevant. This can therefore be seen as an additional limitation. Another limitation of the study may be that I did not present the findings of the professional field members separately. In the analysis and quotations, all member fields were mixed and one argument was developed. Had divided foundations been included in the study (Crul and Keskiner, 2017), it may have allowed for a wider comparison between the fields to be undertaken.

Although I answer the research questions within my study, many questions remain which go beyond the scope of my research and give space for further research. This study has revealed the possibilities for carrying out research in the German-Turkish professional field, which focuses the attention of the social scientist 'upwards'. For instance, a very similar study to this one, still focusing on members of the professional elite, yet with a focus on Turkish migration descendants from different European nations, could also be carried out, where the results would show whether other Turkish immigrants' descendants from Switzerland, Austria or the UK use similar upward social mobility strategies and networks as in Germany. For instance, I found during the fieldwork that there are other Turkish groups in European cities, such as Turkish descendants from Switzerland, Austria and the UK, who are emerging into elite professions. Central to this suggestion would be that, across the countries, similar professional fields are used in order to draw good comparisons. Fieldwork launched in the future could include interviews with European-Turkish professional elites, to explore the extent to which a possible separate European-Turkish professional network exists, and whether this functions in a similar way to the one outlined in my current research.

The respondents in this research represented a range of professional backgrounds and, although their discussions presented coherence across the corpus on the themes discussed, there is undoubtedly scope to consider how, for example, the background of their parents, whether their parents migrated to Germany with some sort of capital and which immigration wave they belonged to, contributed to the enactment of their roles as professionals.

This could be further expanded in highlighting the potential benefits of a deeper and more ethnographic approach. This might reveal further dynamics about the German-Turkish communities and its three immigrations waves and how these shaped future generations. Given that most of my participants came from the 2nd generation backgrounds, it would be interesting to see how findings change when studying the 3rd generation and what aspects of their experiences may be similar or diverse?

The research participants in this thesis were both male and female. There is also scope to consider how their gender roles contribute to the enactment of their roles as members of the German-Turkish economic elite. Also, this could be further developed in considering how successful female gender roles actually help us to understand the current context of discussions about the role of women in Islam and the gender pay gap in Europe.

Furthermore, future research could be a comparative study, whereby research focuses on German professional elite members from different backgrounds – for example, Germans with Greek, Persian, Italian and Spanish origins or with Polish or Russian ancestries. Tracing people's backgrounds alongside their community involvement could explore whether and in what ways the German-Turkish community is different from other immigrant communities. This would provide further insight into how immigrant communities' network, chose strategies and how upward social mobility function within these minority groups and whether the experience of the German-Turkish economic elite members is unique or perhaps a widespread phenomenon among immigrant children who experience upward social mobility. Considering and exploring more on the role of religion in immigrant communities' involvement and networking, might reveal further remarkable dynamics.

Future research should also give consideration to investigating the aspects of 'giving back' of those interviewed research participants. The German-Turkish economic elites have formed these networks, where they have elevated themselves within these German-Turkish communities. Aspects of 'giving back' to those communities have emerged, which takes us to *philanthropy*. As the German-Turkish community is maturing, the successful professionals want to help others which could be of interest for further research.

In conclusion, I am keen to underline the need for the social sciences to pay devotion to all segments of society, particularly with regards to the German-Turkish community, rather than being preoccupied with integration glitches. Listening to the voices of members of the German-Turkish economic elite allows for a greater understanding of the whole diverse German community. Attentiveness to the attitudes and approaches of those who enhance upward mobility and overcome disadvantage to rise to elite positions is therefore even more important nowadays. I acknowledge that I was fortunate to be researching an area which was appealing to many German-Turkish professionals. This was a topic they quickly felt interested about and somehow connected to. Moreover, I claim that taking part in my research was an additional method through which the participants performed their roles as German-Turkish elite members. It was an opportunity for them to showcase their success and career pathway, their organisations, chambers and clinics, and their loyalty to the German-Turkish community and upcoming generations.

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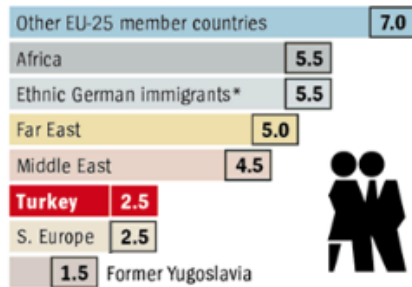
Appendix 9.1: Integration Levels According to Place of Origin

Integration levels according to place of origin

On a scale of 1.0 (=failed integration) to 8.0 (=successful integration)

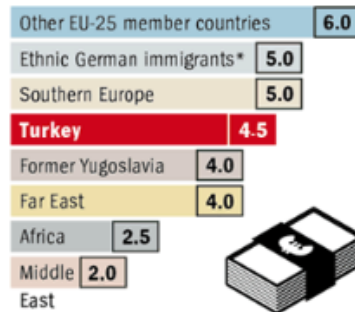## Assimilation
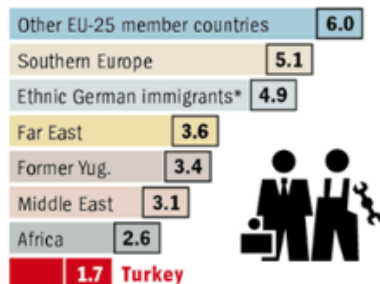
INDICATORS: German citizenship, bicultural marriages

Other EU-25 member countries	7.0
Africa	5.5
Ethnic German immigrants*	5.5
Far East	5.0
Middle East	4.5
Turkey	2.5
S. Europe	2.5
Former Yugoslavia	1.5

Financial Security

INDICATORS: Dependence on public benefits, individual earnings

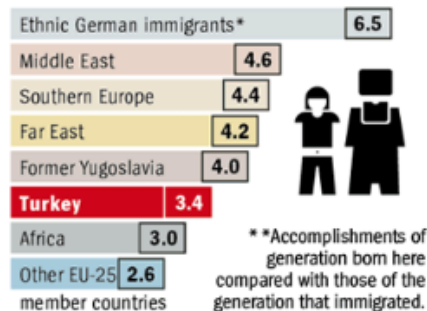|	
Other EU-25 member countries	6.0
Ethnic German immigrants*	5.0
Southern Europe	5.0
Turkey	4.5
Former Yugoslavia	4.0
Far East	4.0
Africa	2.5
Middle East	2.0

Gainful Employment

INDICATORS: Statistics for unemployment, youth unemployment and self-employment, proportion of housewives, number of people working in public service and professional jobs
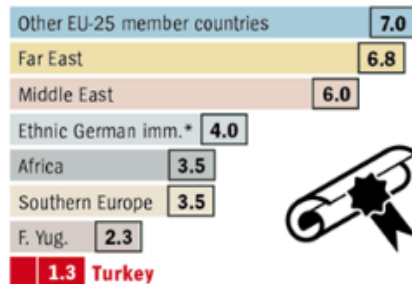
Other EU-25 member countries	6.0
Southern Europe	5.1
Ethnic German immigrants*	4.9
Far East	3.6
Former Yug.	3.4
Middle East	3.1
Africa	2.6
Turkey	1.7

Dynamism**

INDICATORS: German citizenship, bicultural marriages, educational achievement, unemployment rates, dependence on public benefits

Ethnic German immigrants*	6.5
Middle East	4.6
Southern Europe	4.4
Far East	4.2
Former Yugoslavia	4.0
Turkey	3.4
Africa	3.0
Other EU-25 member countries	2.6

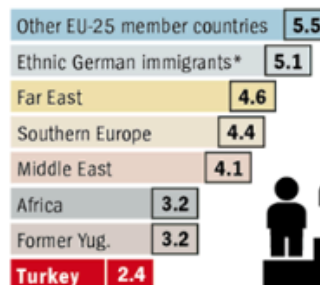**Accomplishments of generation born here compared with those of the generation that immigrated.

Education

INDICATORS: Percentage of uncompleted degrees, level of educational achievement, number of high school seniors, number of academics

Other EU-25 member countries	7.0
Far East	6.8
Middle East	6.0
Ethnic German imm.*	4.0
Africa	3.5
Southern Europe	3.5
F. Yug.	2.3
Turkey	1.3

Final results

Overall evaluation

Other EU-25 member countries	5.5
Ethnic German immigrants*	5.1
Far East	4.6
Southern Europe	4.4
Middle East	4.1
Africa	3.2
Former Yug.	3.2
Turkey	2.4

* Ethnic German immigrants mainly from eastern Europe

Source: Berlin Institute for Population and Development, 2009: Untapped potential. The state of integration in Germany.

Appendix 9.2: Consent Form for Participation in Interview Research

The making of German-Turkish economic elites

Dogus Yagbasan - Supervisor Prof. Mairi Maclean

I am a PhD student at the University of Exeter. As part of my PhD thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Mairi Maclean.

The general objective of the research is to explain the rapid emergence of the newly formed German-Turkish economic elites. I am interested in how German-Turks, who are involved with important institutions and organisations in Germany, see their roles and path within contemporary German society. All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous unless permission is given by the interviewee to the interviewer for a specific context. The results of this study will be presented collectively and no individual participants will be identified without their permission.

I volunteer to participate in this research project conducted by Dogus Yagbasan from the University of Exeter. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about the German economic elite and German-Turks. I will be one of approximately 45 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without a given reason. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

2. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. I understand that the interview will be audio taped or digitally recorded and then transcribed.

3. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. The information which I provided will not be used for any other purpose.

4. I understand that I am entitled to ask for a de-briefing session, transcript or a recording copy of the research at the end of the interview.

5. I have been informed that I can withdraw from the research at any time without giving a reason and that my provided information will not be used for further research and any records linking to my contribution will be destroyed.

6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Dogus Yagbasan via phone +49 162 200 26 36 or, e-mail dogusyagbasan@gmail.com . This research has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Board of the University of Exeter. If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, you may contact the University.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 9.3: Template used for the initial contact email/letter

Dear _____

My name is Dogus Yagbasan and I am a PhD student at the University of Exeter. As part of my PhD thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Mairi Maclean.

The general objective of the research is to explain the rapid emergence of the newly formed German-Turkish economic elites. I am interested in how German-Turks, who are involved with important institutions and organisations in Germany, see their roles and path within contemporary German society.

_____ has taken part in my project and he/she passed me your contact details. Due to the number of high profile roles that you hold, your viewpoint would be invaluable to my research. I would like to arrange an interview with you which will take approximately 60-90 minutes of your time, I would be happy to schedule the meeting at your own convenience.

I have enclosed an information sheet and consent form to this email/letter which gives you more details about my research. Furthermore I would like to underline that all information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous unless permission is given by the interviewee to the interviewer for a specific context. The results of this study will be presented collectively and no individual participants will be identified without their permission.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Many thanks in advance and kind regards

Dogus Yagbasan
PhD Candidate
https://www.linkedin.com/in/dogus-yagbasan-b4108265

Appendix 9.4: Research Participant Information Document

The making of German-Turkish economic elites

Dogus Yagbasan - Supervisor Prof. Mairi Maclean

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project which explores German-Turkish economic elites. This Research Participant Information Document will give you an overview of the project including why it is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information fully in order to make an informed decision to take part in my research. Please feel free to contact me and ask me any questions you might have.

#	Question	Clarification
1.	**Name of Researcher**	Dogus Yagbasan
	Contact Details	Am Inselpark 14
		21107 Hamburg/Germany
		dogusyagbasan@gmail.com
		+49 (0) 1622002636
	Name of Professor	Prof. Dr. Mairi Maclean
		+44 (0) 191 208 1584
2.	**Title of research thesis**	The making of German-Turkish economic elites.
3.	**Purpose of the study**	The general objective of the research is to explain the rapid emergence of the newly formed German-Turkish economic elites. I am interested in how German- Turks, who are involved with important institutions and organisations in Germany, see their roles and path within contemporary German society.
4.	**Length of my research**	5 years
5.	**What does the scope of the interview look like and how long will it take?**	Respondents will be asked ten questions with possible prompt questions.
		It is your choice if you wish to be recorded or not. The duration of the interview is approximately 60 minutes

6.	**Why have you been asked to participate in this research?**	I am inviting you to participate in this study due to your German-Turkish roots, because I know that you occupy key roles in high-status business professions.
7.	**What happens to the materials which will be given by the participants?**	The entire material will be held in a private manner while the research is being gathered. Transcripts, supplementary follow-ups and recordings will be kept under lock and key.
8.	**What will be done with the interview responses?**	All information provided by the respondent will be reported in the findings sections. This will be assuredly done in an absolutely anonymous manner. All interviewees will be given a pseudonym in order to protect their discretion.
9.	**What are the possible drawbacks for the participant?**	There are no minuses and disadvantages associated with your participation and contribution in this research.
10.	**In what waz will the research be advantageous and to whom?**	The research will be expected to be of factual value to a variety of parties, such as, the German government, the German economic elite and to researchers in relevant fields.
11.	**Who has revised this study to confirm that it fulfils all the ethical standards of the University?**	The Research Ethics Board of the University of Exeter Business School has approved the research proposal and granted approval for the research to commence.
12.	**Is the respondent allowed to refuse to answer certain questions?**	Yes certainly. It is a voluntary decision to take part in this study and you will be asked to provide your written consent. The respondent has the right to answer/refuse any question at any time without giving a reason. You do not have to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with. Anything that involves any third parties will be treated in the strictest confidence. Furthermore, all recording can be turned off at any time.
13.	**Does the respondent get a transcript of their answers?**	The interviewee is entitled to ask for a transcription, a copy of the interview

		recording and a de-briefing session so the protocol can be reformed or adjusted at any time.
14.	**Can permission be withdrawn having previously been granted?**	Yes, all respondents have the right to extract their contribution at any time. They also may ask to end the interview at any time.

If you would like more information about the research project, please feel free to contact me and I will be happy to answer all your questions.

Dogus Yagbasan
PhD Candidate
https://www.linkedin.com/in/dogus-yagbasan-b4108265

Appendix 9.5: Interview schedule for participants

The making of German-Turkish economic elites

Dogus Yagbasan – Supervisor Prof. Mairi Maclean

Interview #

☐	Businessmen/Businesswomen – Name
☐	Lawyer – Name
☐	Medical doctor – Name

The layout of the interview will be a semi-structured method which may be varied from time to time at my discretion if I believe it is necessary to draw out related and valuable information from the interviewee. At the beginning of the interview I will underline once again the aim and objectives of the research and give all interviewees a brief summary about myself in order to focus and make the interviewee feel comfortable. For this research 60 people from three different economic sectors will be interviewed.

The research questions of my project are the following.

4. How has a minority of German-Turks overcome disadvantage to rise to elite positions within the fields of business, medicine and law in Germany?

5. Why and in what ways do members of the German-Turkish economic elite operate largely in ethnically protected markets?

6. To what extent and how do members of the German-Turkish economic elite form networks to further their interests?

The interviews will be divided into ten parts with several prompt and secondary questions. Examples, anecdotes and personal stories will be asked for as well. The semi structured interviews will be only conducted with German-Turks living in Germany. All the data from the interview will be kept confidential, including the names and surnames. Every interviewee will stay anonymous, therefore please feel free and assured to share your work, life experience, personal stories, feelings and inspirations.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Dogus Yagbasan via phone +49 172 275 40 29 or, e-mail dogusyagbasan@gmail.com. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Board of the University of Exeter. If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, you may contact the University.

Topic	Standard Question
	Possible secondary Questions

1. Background	**Can you please tell me about your family background and your roots?**
Family	- For how long have you been living in the Federal Republic of Germany? - It seems as if you grew up in two cultures. Can you tell us how your upbringing influenced your view of the world? - Can you tell us a little bit about who you are and the work you do? - Could we continue by having you tell us for a few minutes on a personal level about how you got to where you are?

2. Identity	**Can you please tell me more about your identity?**
Roots Individuality	- What do you consider yourself as? Turk born in Germany, Turk with German passport, German – Turk, German migrant in second/third generation or German of Turkish origin? - Now you are a first-/second-/third generation German with Turkish origin, living in Germany. How does this shape the identity of your family? - Did you ever have any identity issues in the Republic of Germany due to your roots?

3. Education	**Were you privileged enough to get higher education?**
Education	- Are there ethnic differences in education? - How important do you think education is in the process of getting up? - Does the German education system filter potential professional elite members out too early?

4. Career journey	**What career path have you taken and why did you so?**
Industry success and power	- How do you explain your industry success? - Is there a link between your roots and your economic success? - Do you consider yourself powerful enough to make decisions in the Turkish environment due to your status and financial power? - Did your roots ever influence your career?

5. Networks	**Do you consider networking in the economic elite as vital?**
	• Who do you network with? Germans? German-Turks or internationally? • Can you explain the impact, if any, that social networking has made on your business career or you personally? • Can you please give me the occupations and nationality of five close friends/business partners?

6. Equal opportunities	**Can you please tell me what you think about equal opportunities in Germany?**
	• Have you had equal opportunities when climbing up the career path? • Have you ever felt like a second-class citizen?

7. Discrimination	**Does discrimination occur in the German business environment and especially in a top position career?**
	• Does discrimination exist in the working environment? • Have you ever been discriminated on your ladder to the economic elite?

8. Economic elite	**Do you believe you/Germans of Turkish origin have been able to penetrate into the German economic elite?**
German economic Elite German – Turk Business Elite	• How would you characterise the German business class as a community? • Where do the German-Turks fit into that whole picture economically? Are they part of that German economic elite? • Do you consider yourself as a German economic elite member? • If so, what difficulties did you face to entering into this field? • Or more as a German-Turkish economic elite member? • Do you have a sense of how the German-Turkish business class feel about the whole German economic elite?

9. Experience and evaluation	What have been your biggest obstacles and how did you overcome them?
	• What role do you think German proficiency played in your adoption to the German business world? • Do you believe your parent's education level played a role as well? • How do you view the increasing number of German-Turkish businessmen/lawyers/doctors?

10. Concluding questions	Final queries
	• What are a few details you would recommend to someone looking to gain insight into the German-Turkish professional elite? • Is there anything else you would like to provide to support your interview answers? • What is the best piece of advice you would give a young doctoral student like me? • Is there anyone else you can recommend that I can interview?

Appendix 9.6: ESRC Framework for Research Ethical Guidelines

Principles and Expectations for Ethical Research

There are six core principles of ethical research that the ESRC Framework expects to be addressed:

• Research participants should take part voluntarily, free from any coercion or undue influence, and their rights, dignity and (when possible) autonomy should be respected and appropriately protected.

• Research should be worthwhile and provide value that outweighs any risk or harm. Researchers should aim to maximise the benefit of the research and minimise potential risk of harm to participants and researchers. All potential risk and harm should be mitigated by robust precautions.

•Research staff and participants should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.

• Individual research participants and group preferences regarding anonymity should be respected and participant requirements concerning the confidential nature of information and personal data should be respected.

• Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured.

•The independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit.

Reference

https://esrc.ukri.org/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/our-core-principles/