The Rise of the
Second Generation

**The role of social capital in the upward
mobility of descendants of immigrants
from Turkey and Morocco**

Sara Rezai

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De opkomst van de tweede generatie

De rol van sociaal kapitaal in de opwaartse mobiliteit van nakomelingen van immigranten uit Turkije en Marokko

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For my uncle Mostafa Sadighinejad

(Tehran, 28 June 1950 – Evin prison, Tehran, autumn 1982),

who gave his life for his ideals.

Baraye dayi Mossi. Hamishe be yadet hastam.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The recent events of Islamic terrorism and the floods of refugees have only worsened the already negative perceptions concerning Muslims since the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. Politicians seem to have made a cultural switch from praising the ideology of multiculturalism to jostling to criticize immigrants and their descendants, in specific Muslims. Now, in the run-up to the Dutch elections, our Prime Minister wrote an open letter urging immigrants and their descendants to either "[a]ct normal or leave" the country. While he states that we should not "tar groups of people with the same brush" (Rutte, 2017), that is exactly what the effect of such statements are. When politicians, media and researchers lay their focus on the negative aspects of migration and integration, the inevitable collateral damage is the generalization of these notions to nearly everyone with a migrant background and some colour on their skin. Immigrants are often treated as a community, as if people merely by their ethnicity are a group of identical clones, and each individual can be held accountable for all others. However, reality is colourful. It is important to also show other aspects of immigration, based on facts derived from scientific research. This thesis sheds light on how descendants of immigrants, against all odds, accomplished remarkable educational and professional pathways. It focuses on how social capital influences their upward social mobility. It is based on in-depth interviews with the European 1.5 and second generation whose origins lie in Turkey and Morocco. My respondents all have a higher-education degree and work in white-collar professions, some even in elite positions. My main goal in this thesis was to gain a deeper understanding of how these children of guest-worker immigrants were able to achieve educational and professional success against all odds.

A tale of social capital

Undoubtedly my fascination with their achievements was instigated by my experiences as a child of Iranian political refugees. I was nine years old when we migrated from Iran. Soon after I enrolled in an

elementary school with many children of migrant background. The majority were children of guest workers from Turkey and Morocco. Most of the others were children of guest workers from Spain and Portugal, children of Surinamese and Cape-Verdean background, and there were a handful of kids of native Dutch heritage. The school was familiar with newcomers who couldn't speak a word of Dutch. The first day my teacher, Mr Ben, assigned one of the girls with the task of keeping an eye on me, a task she took very seriously. I received remedial teaching on grammar and spelling from Mrs Roos, a kind-hearted retired teacher. I made friends quickly and soon could communicate in Dutch without effort. After three years it was time for the transition to high school, and my teachers recommended that I would go to a high school where I could attend a VWO-track but with extra-Dutch language classes. After some months I was transferred to the regular VWO-track. Encouraged by my progress, my parents insisted that the next school year I would attend the Gymnasium-track where Latin and Greek are included in the curriculum. My father claimed this to be crucial for his questionable plan in which I was to follow his footsteps and become a medical doctor. The fact that I would get nauseous at the sight of blood seemed to be a triviality. Changing to Gymnasium meant changing to a new school. The culture shock I hadn't experienced my first years in the Netherlands, I went through at this school. The Rotterdam upper class was concentrated here. The kids didn't have the slightest resemblance to the ones I had grown accustomed to in my previous schools and in my neighbourhood. They talked differently, dressed differently, their haircuts were different, their jokes were different, everything felt different. This school felt like a cold and alien world. And it wasn't just the kids who seemed strangers, the teachers weren't like the ones I was used to either. I found them, with a few exceptions, more distant and cold. It wasn't just socially that I felt alienated, I also found the school books to be more complicated. I remember coming home from school in tears, complaining about not understanding my books. Fortunately, my parents had studied and worked in Germany. Using her German language skills, combined with her knowledge of the subjects, my

mother could understand my school books. The first months she would sit with me and read the assigned texts and explain them to me. And my father would help me with French. They had also quickly established a small network of helpful friends. Whenever they found themselves in the situation of not being able to help me, they would either send me to Mrs Ambrosius, my Dutch grandma, or to Mrs and Mr Toelen, who would occasionally get in an argument while trying to assist me with my homework. With all this support I was able to keep up with the classes. I am convinced that I wouldn't have made it on my own.

When at the beginning of my career as a researcher I started doing research on children of immigrants in higher education, I was primarily struck by how they were able to succeed without the help of higher-educated parents. My parents were also immigrants, yet they were able to provide and mobilize school-related support. Indisputably, these were smart and dedicated kids, but was that enough? How were these children able to pull it off? I thought there must be some sort of a support mechanism that was escaping our attention. So, when Sabine Severiens and Maurice Crul offered me to do a PhD research on the upward mobility of descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, I grabbed the opportunity with both hands.

Minority groups of Turkish and Moroccan descent

Migrants from Turkey and Morocco came to Europe as guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s and while the initial plan of the immigrants as well as of the hosting countries was to move back to the country of origin, many of them stayed. With about four million people, the Turkish comprise the largest immigrant group in Europe. Recently the main factor in the increase of the Turkish immigrant population and their descendants is not immigration – be it guest-worker recruitment, family reunification, or high-skilled expats – but an augmentation of the second and third generations. In fact, in the European OECD countries the largest second-generation group is of Turkish descent

(Liebig & Widmaier, 2010; Loozen, De Valk, & Wobma, 2012). In the Netherlands people of Moroccan descent (356,000) comprise the second largest minority group, after the Turkish minority. Also in their case, the main reason by far for growth is the increase of the second generation. Approximately half of the Moroccan Dutch were born in the Netherlands (Loozen et al., 2012). However, the Turkish and the Moroccan minorities are among the most disadvantaged minority groups in Western Europe in terms of education, access to labour market and occupational attainment (Baysu, 2011; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008). The disadvantaged positions of these two minorities, makes studying the high achievers among them even more relevant. These social climbers set an example for upward mobility within their families, social networks, and even for society at large, and to some extent alter the negative dominant image of Turkish and other minorities (Crul & Heering, 2008; Pott, 2001). Moreover, due to the ageing of the population, knowledge-based economies will need to rely more on children of immigrants in the imminent future (Alba, Sloan, & Sperling, 2011; Euwals & Folmer, 2009; Legewie, 2015). For achieving that we need to develop a more inclusive education system and labour market in which different groups in society have equal opportunities. This dissertation aimed to shed light on the role of social capital by gaining insight into the support mechanisms of high achievers of minority background. This gives us input for finding tools to enhance the social mobility of disadvantaged immigrants.

The upwardly mobile are a hot topic

The lack of scholarly interest in the social mobility of immigrants and their children has been observed before. Almost two decades ago, Andreas Pott (2001) concerning Germany and Maurice Crul (2000) on the Netherlands both pointed out the preoccupation of social scientists with analysing the unequal and disadvantaged lower-class situation of most labour immigrants while ignoring the upward social mobility of a smaller group. Academic debates mainly focused on issues like

"integration and identity problems, exploitation, discrimination and spatial segregation" (Pott, 2001, p. 175). While at that time people of immigrant background residing in Western Europe rarely experienced social mobility processes, today we observe the gradual but constant increase in students of minority background in higher education (see e.g. Crul & Heering, 2008; Loozen et al., 2012; Scheffer & Entzinger, 2012). Though they lag behind the majority group, compared to the immigrant generation the second generation is making substantial advances (Alba & Foner, 2015; Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016; Schneider & Lang, 2014). In France and Sweden more than a third of the Turkish second generation is attending higher education, in Germany one out of ten, and in the Netherlands four out of ten of the Turkish and of the Moroccan second generation is enrolled in a higher-vocational or university study (Central Bureau for Statistics, 2016; Crul, Schnell, Herzog-Punzenberger, Wilmes, Slootman, & Aparicio Gómez, 2012a). Also on the labour market the slow but steady advancement of the second generation is evident. According to Alba & Nee (2003) these high-skilled professionals are 'remaking the mainstream': they are influencing and changing the West-European societies. Lawyers, engineers, businessmen, scientists, politicians are making their way into the labour market, and some have even managed to gain elite positions (Alba & Foner, 2015; Crul, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017a; Crul & Schneider, 2012; Crul, Schneider, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017b; Keskiner & Crul, 2017; Vermeulen & Keskiner, 2017; Konyali, 2017; Pott, 2001; Rezai, 2017; Schneider & Lang, 2014; Waldring, 2017). As a consequence of these societal developments, social scientists are increasingly focusing on the upward social mobility of descendants of immigrants as the increase in the recent number of publications shows (e.g. Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2012b; Keskiner, 2016; Konyali, 2014; Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Santelli, 2013; Schnell, Keskiner, & Crul, 2013; Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2014).

The role of social capital in social mobility

In this dissertation I focus on how the social capital of the children of immigrants has influenced their educational and professional pathways. Who has been able to support them, and how? I pose the central question: *In what ways does social capital play a role in the educational and occupational pathways of the upwardly-mobile European second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent?*

I assume most scholars who study the upward mobility of children of immigrants are intrigued by the same question I was: how have they been able to make it against all odds? Their parents have a migrant history, low levels of education and low socio-economic status. The children grew up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and attended schools with high numbers of pupils with educational difficulties (Baysu & De Valk, 2012; Crul, 2000; Schnell, 2014). How have they been able to achieve upward mobility from this disadvantaged position? Studies on both educational and career mobility show the importance of social capital (see e.g. Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Lin, 1999; Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001; Smith, 2005; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Wolff, 2013). Concerning student achievement, Coleman (1990), argues that certain types of social relations can generate beneficial outcomes and can thus be regarded as 'capital'. He stresses that within bounded networks of parents and other adults values, beliefs and expectations regarding the benefits of education are preserved and passed on to children to contribute to beneficial educational outcomes. Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) argue that it is the combination of both authoritative parents and a significant other that is crucial for the educational success of children of immigrants (see also De Valk & Crul, 2008; Louie, 2012; Wolff, 2013). Scholars studying aspirations and optimism of immigrant parents generally underline the relevance of the emotional support parents provide their children and the emphasis parents put on education as a means to social mobility (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008; Louie, 2012; Portes

& Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008; see also Crul & Schneider, 2010; Nanhoe, 2012; Pásztor, 2010). Significant others have two important characteristics. They notice the young person's abilities and demonstrate the belief that the student can accomplish success (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). Additionally, they take on the role of "institutional agent" (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003, p. 234) by transmitting institutional knowledge, such as information about college enrolment. Their involvement is often incidental rather than continuous, but it can be transformational and have lasting consequences (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). In this dissertation I make use of these theoretical notions and aim to further deepen our insight into what makes these social actors important for the educational mobility of descendants of immigrants.

The literature on the career mobility of highly-skilled employees generally highlights the importance of work-related social relations for professional success. These studies find that having a social network that provides information, resources and career sponsorship enhances an individual's mobility (Bourdieu, 1986; Podolny & Baron, 1997; Seibert et al., 2001). Studies on these topics that focus on ethnic minorities find that compared to the dominant group they are less able to use social relations to benefit their careers (Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Light & Gold, 2000), especially if they have been raised in poor households and communities (Agius Vallejo, 2012). In my dissertation I aim to investigate how social capital influences the careers of the social climbers of ethnic minority background. For shedding light on this, I follow Lin (1999) and Smith (2005) in distinguishing between the access and the activation of social capital. This is consistent with Bourdieu's (1986) definition of 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" (p. 11), since it underlines the "facilitation of [social capital] activation" (Smith, 2005, p. 5). This distinction allows us to deepen our understanding of the relation between network connections and career mobility.

Four studies

This dissertation focusses both on educational (chapter 2 and 3) and professional pathways (chapter 4 and 5). It is based on two research projects. For the chapters on educational pathways I made use of the data from the Pathways to Success project, and for the studies on professional careers I used the data from the international ELITES Project. I will discuss these projects and studies below.

Pathways to Success project

The Pathways to Success Project (PSP) principally aimed at gaining insight into how children of guest-worker immigrants, against all odds, are able to achieve success in education and on the labour market. During 2011/2012 a team of approximately twenty interviewers conducted 114 interviews with descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco living in Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

Respondents had to meet at least one of the following criteria for success: having a higher education degree and working in a job corresponding the obtained educational level; working in a position managing at least five employees; earning a salary exceeding €2000 net monthly. Our definition was aimed at objectifying the concept of success (Waldring et al., 2014). Besides the criteria for success, the respondents had to be of Moroccan or Turkish descent and be born in the Netherlands. Respondents were to live in the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, or in one of the other municipalities of these metropolitan regions. The Pathways to Success Project was funded by the Ministry of Interior Affairs and by the municipalities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

For the studies in this dissertation on educational pathways I selected the participants who were educationally upwardly mobile. The 86 respondents have a BA or MA degree (or both) and have parents who had attended lower levels of education, or had no formal schooling. The respondents were born in the Netherlands, with one or both parents born in the country of origin, thus they are second generation. Their origins lie in Turkey (N=44, 23 female and 21 male)

or Morocco (N=42, 21 female and 21 male). They are between 23 and 43 years old and the vast majority grew up in a disadvantaged neighbourhood with a population of mainly immigrant background. I analysed their answers concerning questions on the support they received during their educational pathway, and on the support they gave to children within their environment of family, friends and acquaintances.

Passing the torch to a new generation

In chapter 2 I aimed to answer three questions: What types of parental support played a role during the educational pathways of the higher-educated second generation of Turkish and Moroccan background? What types of support do they give to the younger generation within their own social environments (younger relatives, children of friends and acquaintances and neighbours)? And can we observe a link between the support they received and the support they provide?

For the interpretation of my data in chapter 2 I developed a social support typology by joining House's (1981) typology together with notions stemming from research on the educational mobility of children of immigrants (see e.g. Coleman, 1990; Louie, 2012; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009). This social support typology can be applied for the educational mobility of children of working-class immigrants. In this chapter I argue that the upwardly-mobile second generation perceived their parents as crucial in their successful educational careers, and illustrate what types of parental support they received. Additionally, I discuss the support types the second generation provided to the younger generation, and drew links with the parental support they received.

All hands on deck

In chapter 3 the following question was central: What are the social support mechanisms of significant others in the educational upward social mobility of the Dutch second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent?

Following Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) and Louie (2012) in this study I argue that it is the combination of support from parents and significant others that is crucial in the educational success of descendants of immigrants. I make use of the social support typology developed in the previous study and present three mechanisms of support, to demonstrate how the support types of parents and significant others complement each other. This chapter allowed me to further refine the social support typology for the educational mobility of children of working-class immigrants.

ELITES Project

The ELITES, Pathways to Success project is an international project and aimed to explore today's upcoming 'elite' who are descendants of migrants from Turkey. It focused on three sectors: the corporate business sector, the corporate law sector and the education sector. A total of 189 interviews were conducted between 2012 and 2014 with professionals of Turkish and native descent who lived in France, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands.

For the selection of interviewees we applied an objective way of defining success by using job status as criterion (Crul, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017a). Applying the EGP class schema we aimed at people working in the top two classes of this schema (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002).[1] This means that our respondents belong to the most successful group of above-average successful people in society (Crul et al., 2017a). While our initial aim was to only interview professionals of migrant background who were second generation, we also interviewed professionals who migrated in their childhood. We realized soon in the fieldwork that age would make it difficult for us to find people who are in leading positions. Most of the second-generation of Turkish heritage are still quite young, often in their thirties, which means that they are still in the early stages of their careers and have not yet had the time to acquire the job statuses we were aiming at (Crul et al., 2017a).

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[1] The Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP, also known as Goldthorpe or CASMIN) class schema consists of eleven classes. It aims to capture differences in employment relations by using employment status and occupation as indicators. This schema, and versions of it, has become widely adopted in social mobility studies since the 1980s (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002).

The ELITES, Pathways to Success project was funded by the European Research Council (ERC).

Chapters 4 and 5 are based on interviews with children of immigrants from Turkey. They all have a Masters' degree, which is in great contrast to their parents' educational level. Chapter 4 is based on interviews with 26 lawyers (12 male, 14 female) who practice corporate law and reside in Stockholm, Paris and Frankfurt. The vast majority are in their thirties and early forties. For chapter 5 I made use of eight interviews with senior managers and executives of corporate businesses working in the field of professional business services in the Netherlands (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002; Konyali, 2017). The participants are in their thirties and forties. Only one of the participants is female, which corresponds to the over-representation of men in high-ranking positions in the field of professional business services (Crul et al., 2017a).

Self-made lawyers?

The central question for chapter 4 was: What is the role of influential actors in the professional pathways of lawyers in France, Germany and Sweden who are children of migrants from Turkey?

To fully comprehend their pathways I not only analysed the role of social capital in their labour market pathways, but also in their youth and their educational trajectories. I presented the narratives of four distinguished lawyers in the form of case-studies to give my participants a face and to illustrate "what it is like to be this person in this situation" (Weiss, 1994, p. 168). I uncovered three mechanisms regarding the role of social capital in career mobility. This study showed how the notion of 'significant others' found in the literature on educational mobility of descendants of immigrants (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008) can be extended to professional pathways. It furthermore added to studies on the theory of minority culture of mobility (Agius Vallejo, 2012; Neckerman, Carter, & Lee, 1999) by showing that becoming familiar with middle-class majority norms and ways in one's youth can help descendants of migrants to successfully incorporate into white-collar professional sectors.

How do they activate social capital?

In chapter 5 I posed the question: What mechanisms of social capital activation do we identify in the professional careers of Dutch-Turkish highly distinguished professionals?

As Lin (1999) and Smith (2005) have done earlier, in this chapter I made the distinction between the access to and the activation of social capital. I showed that the distinguished business professionals possess a combination of three professional characteristics which together create 'likeability' and 'reliability' amongst their valuable network connections, who thereby are instigated to share their resources in the benefit of the social climbers' careers. They convert from network connections into 'ambassadors' and 'coaches'. This chapter deepened our understanding of the relation between network connections and career mobility.

In the final chapter of this dissertation I summarize the main findings of the four conducted studies, discuss the theoretical and practical implications and suggest directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Passing the torch to a new generation: Educational support types and the second generation in the Netherlands*

Abstract

This study is based on 86 in-depth interviews with second-generation people of Turkish and Moroccan background in the Netherlands, who have achieved upward educational mobility. We analyzed their perceptions with respect to received parental educational support and the educational support they provided to the younger generation using an inductive approach. House's (1981) social support typology was applied combined with a body of literature on immigrant aspirations and educational success of children of immigrants. Despite lacking informational support, the interviewees value the received parental support, consisting of emotional and instrumental support. Their higher education, familiarity with the Dutch education system, socialization with the dominant culture, and received parental support influence their giving of support, which mainly consists of informational support.

Introduction

As descendants of immigrant workers, the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are among the most disadvantaged minority groups in the Netherlands in terms of educational attainment (Baysu, 2011; Heath et al., 2008). Scholars often have linked this to parental characteristics, specifically to their migration and low socio-economic background and their low educational level (Baysu & De Valk, 2012; Crul, 2000; Lessard-Phillips & Ross, 2012; Lindo, 2000; Schnell, 2014; Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007). These parents are often unable to assist their children with their homework assignments or to give them guidance concerning educational matters. Growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and attending schools in those same neighbourhoods where generally the number of children with "educational difficulties" is high, are other unfavourable correlates that have frequently been put forward (Crul, 2000; King, Thomson, Fielding, & Warnes, 2004).

However, we can observe a slow but steady increase in their higher education attendance. Recent studies have shown that over a quarter of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands are either enrolled in higher education or have already obtained a higher education degree (Crul et al., 2012a; Loozen et al., 2012). The disadvantaged position of these two largest minorities in the Netherlands, combined with the pioneer position of those of the second generation who are able to achieve higher education against all odds, makes studying those high achievers even more relevant. As the men and women of the second generation reach adulthood, and achieve higher education and occupational statuses, they also become the new nexus of support for young people in their surroundings. The current study aims at answering the following three questions: *what types of parental support played a role during the educational pathways of the higher educated second generation of Turkish and Moroccan background? What types of support do they give to the younger generation within their own social environments (younger relatives, children of friends and acquaintances and neighbours)? And can we*

observe a link between the support they received and the support they provide?

While the support the second generation gives to young people is an understudied field, the body of literature on the educational mobility of the second generation addressing the role of parents is rapidly increasing. This is especially due to American scholars, who focus on the high aspirations of immigrant parents and their optimism regarding the future of their children. They generally underline the relevance of the emotional and moral support parents provide their children and the emphasis parents put on education as a means to avoiding the manual labour of the parents (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008). Also Dutch scholars have studied the factors behind the growing second generation's progress. Keskiner (2013) found that Turkish immigrant parents with a lower educational background were able to provide their children a financial safety net and support them emotionally until graduation, leading to smooth labour market transitions. Crul (2000) showed that the higher educational levels of relatives could be significant for explaining the educational success of children of low-educated immigrants. However, despite the availability of conceptual frameworks for studying types of social support (Malecki & Demaray, 2003), these scholars do not break support down into specified types. Categorizing different forms of support can provide a deeper understanding of support processes (Malecki & Demaray, 2003).

In the following study, we make use of 86 in-depth interviews with upwardly educationally mobile second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent who live in the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. We will combine a conceptual framework developed for studying different types of social support with the body of literature on immigrant and second-generation advantage and immigrant aspirations. Distinguishing different forms of support has enabled us to gain an overview of what types of parental support the second generation received and what types they give to the younger generation.

Theoretical framework

Second generation and support

There is an increasing body of literature discussing the role of immigrant parents and the educational mobility of their children (see Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Keskiner, 2013; Louie, 2012; Meeuwisse, Born, & Severiens, 2011; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). In the Netherlands when guest worker migrants abandoned their return plan to their country of origin and started to become aware of the relevance of educational credentials for achieving upward social mobility, they adjusted their ambitions for their children accordingly. Young marriages and long school routes made room for making full use of the Dutch opportunity structures, such as educational opportunities (Coenen, 2001; Crul, 2009; Pásztor, 2010). As scholars studying aspirations and optimism of immigrant parents in the US have addressed (see Kao & Tienda, 1995; Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández Kelly, 2008; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008), Dutch academics have observed that being supported morally and emotionally by parents has a positive influence on the educational achievements of the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan origin (Crul & Schneider, 2010; Nanhoe, 2012; Pásztor, 2010). According to Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoya-Estrada, and Xiong (2008) high family educational expectations can have encouraging effects that promote positive academic outcomes. Within the bounded networks among parents and other adults surrounding the children the values, beliefs and expectations regarding the benefit of education are preserved and passed on (Bankston, 2004). The particular norms that are being reinforced by those networks contribute to beneficial outcomes for educational attainment (Coleman, 1990). Shoho (1994)[2] shows how parental educational involvement changes throughout generations. The first generation of Japanese Americans in Hawaii were low educated and had an enduring belief in the benefits of education for their children. They provided emotional support and offered a stable and educationally encouraging environment, which

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[2] Kao and Tienda (1995) find that the second generation fares better than the third generation due to optimism of their immigrant parents. See also Kasinitz et al. (2008).

was their most important contribution. Each subsequent generation became more active and more directly involved in their children's education. The second generation's involvement mainly consisted of extracurricular activities, while the third generation – who were more often higher educated – were also academically involved. The study of Shoho (1994) shows many parallels with the outcomes in this paper.

Aside from support offered by parents, a number of studies observe the significance of support from older siblings, extended family members, and other adults for the educational achievements of children of immigrants (Crul, 2000; Crul, 2009; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). The higher educational level of older siblings and of other relatives is sometimes a better predictor of success for children than the low educational level of their parents (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). However, we have been unable to find studies that focus on the types of support the second generation gives to the younger generation within their social environments.

Social support typology

The majority of studies described above examine overall social support and do not specify types of support. In this paper we attempt to categorize different forms of support. The social support typology developed by House (1981) proved to be relevant given the goal of our study. He distinguishes between four types of support: informational, emotional, appraisal, and instrumental support. Informational support encompasses the provision of advice or information to assist one to solve a problem. Emotional support refers to providing care, trust, empathy, and love. Appraisal support consists of providing information that is significant for self-evaluation. Instrumental support involves concrete assistance by dedicating one's time or one's skills, or by offering money or other materials (House, 1981; Malecki & Demaray, 2003). Malecki and Demaray (2003) have applied House's support typology to the educational context. In a quantitative study they examined the types of support adolescent students received from

different sources. They found that emotional support from parents, such as caring and listening, was perceived as most important.

We have made certain adjustments to House's (1981) categorization to realize a better fit to our findings. As we shall see later parsing out the support our respondents received from their migrant parents and the support they give to the younger generation in their social environment, has allowed us to gain a deeper understanding of the support mechanisms and of the relation between these two directions of support.[3]

Methodology

In-depth interviews were held with 86 upwardly educationally mobile children of guest worker migrants living in the two largest Dutch cities, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. All our respondents have a BA or MA degree (or both) and have parents who had attended lower levels of education, or had no formal schooling. The respondents were born in the Netherlands, with one or both parents born in the country of origin, thus they are second generation. Their origins lie in Turkey (N=44, 23 female and 21 male) or Morocco (N=42, 21 female and 21 male). They are between 23 and 43 years old and the vast majority grew up in a disadvantaged neighbourhood with a population of mainly migrant background.

Our interviewees were selected from the respondents of the Pathways to Success Project (PSP) (Waldring et al., 2014), which principally aimed at gaining insight into how children of guest worker migrants, against all odds, are able to achieve success in education and on the labour market. For this project a team of approximately twenty interviewers conducted 114 interviews with descendants of migrants from Turkey and Morocco living in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The interviews mainly took place at the respondents' homes and work

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[3] Categorizing different types of support can provide insight in support processes that might escape a global approach. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that though it is possible to conceptually make distinction between types of support, in practice they are generally related to each other (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

offices. Respondents had to meet at least one of the following criteria for success: having a higher education degree, and working in a job corresponding the obtained educational level; working in a position managing at least five employees; earning a salary exceeding €2000 net monthly. Our definition was aimed at objectifying the concept of success (Waldring et al., 2014). The interviews took approximately 75 minutes, and were both voice recorded and transcribed. They were coded using the qualitative data analysis program 'Kwalitan'.

For this study, we analysed the answers of our 86 respondents concerning questions on the support they received during their educational pathway, and on the support they gave to children within their environment of family, friends and acquaintances. We applied an inductive approach based on an issue-focused analysis (Weiss, 1994). The typology of House (1981) together with research evidence on the educational mobility of the second generation as presented in the theoretical framework were used to analyze our interviewees' experiences, perceptions and emotions concerning received and given support.

Findings

In this section we describe the types of support our respondents perceived to have received from their parents during their educational pathways. We then explain the educational support they perceived to have given to young people within their social environments. We follow with explaining the link between received and given support.

Receiving parental support

Most interviewees underlined the importance their parents placed on (higher) education, mainly as a means to achieving upward social mobility (see also Coenen, 2001; Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010). The different types of support they provide originate from this notion. Generally parental support mainly consisted of emotional support, and to a smaller extent of instrumental support. Informational

support was commonly lacking. House's appraisal support (concerns feedback important for self-evaluation) was not observed as a separate kind of support. Our interviewees commonly mention this support type together with or as part of emotional or informational support. The analyses show that parents often made use of their combined migration and working-class life story for giving emotional support. Below, we will describe each type of received support in further detail.

Receiving informational support

> When we had homework, we couldn't go to my mom or to my dad like: "what does this mean? I don't understand". We really had to do everything on our own. So I also felt like: "when I have kids, I don't want that..." […] But real help from my parents concerning what they could do for me…yes, I did receive support [emotional support, SR], but really helping me with homework and things like that, I never had that. (Verda, woman of Turkish origin)

Informational support includes helping with homework or with preparing for an exam, giving advice on homework planning and study skills and giving advice on important educational decisions. Commonly our interviewees express not having received informational support from their parents. They explain this by relating it to the parents' lack of knowledge of the educational system, their low level of education, and poor Dutch language skills (see also King et al., 2004; Louie, 2012; Nanhoe, 2012). The interviewees emphasize that their parents gave great importance to education but that they could not really grasp what school life entailed. The few cases of support that could be labelled as informational support mostly concern strict rules around doing homework, attending class, or the choice of friends. This is reminiscent of the stern discipline described by Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) in "No margin for Error", where they discuss the role of strong family discipline in the educational pathways of successful children of immigrants in the United States (see also Louie, 2012). Anbar's account illustrates this:

At the time she was pretty strict, actually. She would always pay attention to whether I did my homework. She would always attend teacher meetings and stuff. But she would also take the initiative, just to phone, like: 'how's my daughter doing?'. She would do that a lot, but also, try her best to help me with homework and, … It was just very important to her. And if, for example, I had a 5 on my school report, she would find that really […] horrible. Then I really had to make sure that the period after I would get a good grade. For my mother it was just very important. Yes, and also, just concerning school schedules, my mother always had my schedule. So, go home directly after school, first homework and if you want to go out, then only after you are done. That sort of thing. So, yes, she was actually on top of things. (Anbar, woman of Moroccan origin)

In the Netherlands the most important decisions during an educational career concern choosing an elementary school, choosing a high school, the decision of the secondary education track and choosing the educational direction in higher education.[4] The majority of our interviewees report little assistance from their parents when having to make such decisions. When specifically talking about making their study choices, some of the higher educated second generation explain that their parents had a preference for traditional prestigious professions such as medical doctor, or lawyer (see also Wolff, 2013). According to the respondents what mattered most to the parents was that their children would enter higher education, and that they considered the study choice a decision best left to the children themselves (see also Auerbach, 2006; Louie, 2012). Their parents would explain their attitude by expressing that the children were the ones who eventually would have to work in that type of

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[4] When entering higher education in the Netherlands one has to choose a clear educational direction starting from freshman year, e.g. Law, Psychology, etc. Thus making the right decision at that moment is fundamental since changing direction generally means starting again in the first year. Parental involvement at this stage through informational support (giving advice and helping the student to gather information) can guide one into the right direction.

occupation, thus it would be wise if they would decide themselves what direction they wanted to take. Another explanation why parents do not give advice is that they lack the knowledge due to illiteracy or low educational level, poor Dutch language skills, and little experience with and knowledge of the Dutch education system. Commonly our interviewees demonstrate having a pragmatic attitude towards the lack of informational support from their parents. Although they are very much aware of it, and know or assume that children of middle class native Dutch background can appeal to their parent When entering higher education in the Netherlands one has to choose a clear educational direction starting from freshman year, e.g. Law, Psychology, etc. Thus making the right decision at that moment is fundamental since changing direction generally means starting again in the first year. Parental involvement at this stage through informational support (giving advice and helping the student to gather information) can guide one into the right direction. s for help in such matters, they do not express feelings of resentment. They generally express understanding their parents' attitudes, and state that it was not caused by unwillingness but by lacking capabilities (cf. Louie, 2012).

Receiving emotional support

> Look, my mother is actually illiterate, so she couldn't, for example quiz me. But she could tell me that I was really smart, that I was going to pass that test, like: "You can do it! You can do it!". (Basma, woman of Moroccan origin)

Respondents often underline the relevance of the emotional support they received from their parents. Nader (male respondent of Moroccan origin) talks about his parents motivating him, being involved, showing interest in his school performance, and how they always stood by him. Interviewees further explain that their parents would demonstrate confidence in their abilities, and would encourage them to do their best and to persevere when things got tough. Frequently our interviewees speak of the emotional support they received from parents that consisted of family messages emphasizing

the hardship of their migration and working-class life story. These three family messages functioned as a significant source for motivating and encouraging their children in their educational pathways. The importance of education for accomplishing social mobility is passed on most explicitly via this way (see also Pásztor, 2010).

> My parents would always say: "we'll work till we drop. You kids have to go to college! You just go to college!". (Tara, woman of Turkish origin)

This short quote of Tara illustrates how parents passed on the family message of a joint intergenerational mobility project: working together for the social mobility of the children. The parents will work hard and sacrifice themselves and the children should study hard and achieve social mobility. This "immigrant bargain" (Smith, 2008) refers to the expectation that children redeem the sacrifices made by immigrant parents through accomplishing success (see also Louie, 2012). In a similar vein Tepecik (2009), based on her study on educationally successful women of Turkish descent, considers the migration of many Turkish families to Germany as a "family migration project" intended to achieve upward social mobility. When this aim is not realized by the first generation, the project is passed on to the children. Since the parents consider their children a continuation of their own lives (Rivas, 2008), by accomplishing higher education the parents' migration project can still be considered successful (Tepecik, 2009). As Abad explains, the interviewees can feel obligated to redeem the sacrifices parents have made.

> Look, my father didn't have a very easy youth, and when you see that that man during his whole life went to school for only one year or so, and still learned to read and write two languages and so on. Yes! Then you do start getting a bit of respect for that. And above all, it's like: "okay, you know? If they want it, then it's a small effort to make". (Abad, man of Moroccan origin)

Conversely, the difficulties their parents have been through gives the interviewees the confidence that they – given their much more favourable circumstances – will be able to fulfil their parents' ambitions. As Ikram (woman of Moroccan origin) points out: "for us it's easier, so why not try your best?"

Our interviewees repeatedly emphasize that their parents would often tell them about their low wages and the low prestige of their work while doing physically very demanding work. They would relate this and their unfavourable labour prospects to their lack of education. In this way parents use themselves as negative role models in order to encourage their children to pursue an educational career, and to not end up like them (see also Pásztor, 2010). This second family message resembles Louie's (2012) "shared *immigrant* working-class cultural model of education that is based on moral and emotional support and that conveys, often in ethnic or folkloric terms, the importance of studying hard and deferring gratification to avoid the parents' lives of manual labour" (p. 89). It is also reminiscent of the "motivating fear of failure" described by Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) in which migrant parents bestow their children with the advice that education is the only escape from the circumstances of their parents (see also Coenen, 2001; Pásztor, 2010).

> Yes, school was first priority, because my parents had not been given the opportunity to go to higher education. So at home I was always told: "go to college, otherwise you will end up unemployed like your father". It's a traditional standpoint, but it is true that for me it was the most important reason actually. (Ozan, man of Turkish origin)

According to our respondents, their parents frequently compared the educational opportunities that exist in the Netherlands with those in their country of origin in order to make their children realize and appreciate the advantages they have. They tell their children about the accessibility of the higher educational system in the Netherlands, and repeatedly remind them that in the country of origin such

opportunities are only given to a small section of society. The parents of our respondents underline that they were never given such opportunities, and encourage their children to seize them, in order to assure better employment prospects. Immigrants have a mentality of optimism that originates from using the country of origin as a frame of comparison for evaluating their lives in the new country. Because of this comparison they are even more hopeful about the upward mobility chances of their children (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Louie, 2006). By using their country of origin as a frame of comparison parents provide the children a "dual frame of reference", which creates a sense of optimism about their opportunities and prospects and motivates them to accomplish educational success (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Louie, 2006; Zhou et al., 2008).

Our findings on parental emotional support based on life stories are consistent with explanations of immigrant optimism and aspirations that, in spite of their language barrier and unfamiliarity with the education system, they are able to transmit the importance of education (Louie, 2012; Raleigh & Kao, 2010).

Receiving instrumental support

Parents would give instrumental support to their children by supporting them financially. Another way was by offering goods and services that create a pro-study environment, in general an environment that promotes the performance of school tasks. A way of helping the children with financial resources is to pay for tutoring classes. Dalila:

> When I was younger I did have problems with subjects like Economics and Mathematics. So my parents made sure I could get tutoring. Everything else didn't matter, as long as I could get tutoring. Even if we had to live only on bread! I had to get tutoring because I had to get my degree. (Dalila, woman of Moroccan origin)

Our respondents also explain how their parents would support them financially so they would not have to find a job and thus would have more time for school tasks. This is a striking finding since working in a part-time job is very common among students in the Netherlands and it thus underlines the importance the parents of our respondents give to the educational mobility of their offspring. According to Keskiner (2013) the vast majority of the second generation of Turkish heritage who grew up in a low-income family had to rely on part-time jobs for their financial needs. While our interviewees were enrolled in education the financial situation of most of the parents was precarious. Nevertheless, they commonly prioritized the educational career of their children over other needs.

Parents' priority of education is also reflected in the accounts of respondents on the efforts parents made to create a pro-study environment. The interviewees would tell us about how their parents would make sure it was quiet and calm at home when their child needed to study, for example by not inviting guests. Some interviewees also talk about how their parents would exempt them of household chores. Kamila's account demonstrates these efforts well:

> If I came home and I had exams and I said: "I don't want to hear you for a whole month. I just want to get food, and be left alone". Because I would always get stressed out during exams, well, then I really wouldn't see my parents for a whole month. They would leave me alone in the living room, and they wouldn't watch TV for that matter. And I would hear my mother tell my little brother: "Be quiet! Kamila is studying. Quiet!". […] That my clothes were washed,…that I had peace of mind when I was home. And that is the greatest gift my parents could have ever given me. […] What you learn is: "Hey, I just have got to do this!". […] For myself and also a bit for them. (Kamila, woman of Moroccan origin)

The parents of Kamila tried their best to create the space, time and tranquillity their child asked for to be able to dedicate herself to

her studies. Talha (man of Turkish origin) summarizes the support he received from his parents as follows: "Good food, always taking good care of me, no problems [...] creating conditions, to study". The interviewees interpret such efforts – "the small things", as Kamila calls them – made by their parents as demonstrations of support for their educational progress and of the importance parents give to education. This resembles the finding of Shoho (1994) that first generation parents contribute to their children's educational pathways by providing them a stable and educationally encouraging environment.

Giving support to the younger generation

Nearly all our respondents express giving educational support to young people in their direct environment. Almost all of these respondents mention informational support. This is the support type they scarcely received from their parents, but for which they are very well equipped because of their higher education level and their familiarity with the educational system. These characteristics are also put into use when attending teacher meetings of the children (defined in the current study as giving instrumental support), which they mention doing repeatedly. Moreover they regularly speak of providing emotional support. They have taken over certain family messages that their parents had passed on to them and now transmit these in their own particular way to the youth, which has been influenced by their own life experiences.

Generally, they seem to consider it self-evident to give support when a young person in their environment needs it. The interviewees are aware that they fulfil a task that the parents are often unable to do, which is a motivation for their actions. Lale explains:

> I would always tell her [a younger friend, SR]: "Some things I had to discover on my own. I had to learn the hard way, and I'm sharing this with you, so you won't have to make the same mistakes". And I really felt: "Isn't it great to have someone like that?!" Because I never had anyone who would tell me: pay attention to that, watch for that. So I'm like:

"I will take on that role for her". (Lale, woman of Turkish origin)

When analysing who the young people are that receive support, we observe that they mostly consist of younger siblings, cousins, nephews and nieces. Also children of friends, acquaintances, neighbours or other children in the neighbourhood receive support from our respondents. Giving educational support to the younger generation seems to not be restricted to a certain period in their lives; it generally starts during the second half of high school and continues during higher education and all the way through their working life. They often explain being involved in the educational careers of several children simultaneously. Concerning the frequency of given support, we observe that sometimes it happens on a more regular basis, while other times it is more sporadic. This seems to be related to how busy their schedule is, to the physical distance to the children, to how often they meet in social settings, and to the need for support. Some tell us about intervening at crucial moments, such as when a young person is likely to drop out, or is at risk of being transferred to a lower level.

Giving informational support
Our respondents often help young people with homework and with preparing for exams. Darous (man of Moroccan origin) explains that even though he has moved out of his parental house, his brother still contacts him when he needs help. The interviewees also help and advise the younger generation concerning study and planning skills, for which they rely on their own experiences.

> He had an agenda, but he wasn't using it. He didn't understand how he was supposed to study and how to do his homework. My nephew is sometimes a little slack. His parents ask me to help him. And I give them advice: ask if he has done his homework, and that he should be sitting in a quiet room. Stuff they don't realize themselves. (Dalila, woman of Moroccan origin)

Furthermore, the respondents often explain giving advice on important choices in education, such as with tracking decisions or choosing schools or educational directions in higher education. Based on their accounts, their aim is to motivate the young people to make well-informed choices, and to encourage them to think about what their own capabilities and study interests are. They advise them to not choose a certain study just because a friend did, and to neither be pressured by what parents or other adults desire for them, but to focus on what they themselves want. They also express their desire to not influence the young people too much. The respondents talk about explaining to the youth what certain jobs entail, looking for information on the internet together, accompanying them to information meetings in high school, colleges and universities, or introducing them to an acquaintance who works in or studies for the profession the young person is interested in. They make these efforts to prevent the young people from the risk of making unfortunate choices, which could lead into having to change their educational trajectory or even dropping out of education entirely. Kenza expresses a common view:

> I really feel it would be a shame if after three years they're thinking: "Well, I don't want this after all". Because it happens so often that people don't know what they want and then they just choose something. (Kenza, woman of Moroccan origin)

The respondents are aware of the existence of such risks, be it through own experience or through the experiences of peers. The difference is that many of the second generation had to learn it the hard way. Having had little informational support influences the support they provide to young people. They try to pass on know-how they acquired on how things work in schools, on how to make important decisions, they help the young people with their homework, and pay attention to their Dutch language skills. These are forms of assistance they felt they were missing during their own educational careers.

Giving emotional support

The respondents express showing interest in the school careers of the younger generation, they motivate them to do their best, and encourage them when they are going through difficult times. Lale:

> Lale: My sister-in-law and my brother would say – just when he [the supervisee, SR] was leaving the room, so he could still hear it –: "Oh, he is so smart! He's going to go to university, just like his aunt". And then I would react like: "Yes, for sure, he is really smart. He really studies hard!".
> Interviewer: To try to motivate him?
> Lale: Yes, and it really helped, so to say. He's now in the last year of *VWO* [highest level of High School in the Netherlands, SR]. I have twelve nephews and nieces in total, so…But I, I also ask them: "How are things in school? Are there things you're struggling with?" And I also always look at their school reports. So basically I show interest in their school careers. (Lale, woman of Turkish origin)

This quote of Lale also illustrates how the interviewees set an example with their own achievements and serve as role models. Lale also gives a peek into the extent of the reach a higher educated child of immigrants can have among the younger generation. As explained earlier the respondents are rarely involved in the educational pathway of solely one young individual.

The family messages that the parents of the second generation transmitted to them, using their own guest worker story, are not applied in the same way by the second generation. However, they adopt some of these messages to convey the notion of the relevance of education for obtaining a middle class socio-economic position. An important element that they pass on is their fear of becoming an unskilled worker, which was conveyed to them by their own parents. Seda, being aware of the consequences of dropping out, explains how she and her husband tried to transmit this "motivating fear of failure"

(Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008) to her nephew to motivate him to stay in school.

> We have a nephew who's going through puberty. […] both my husband and I have been very engaged with him. […] He had to double a year. Well, that can happen, but at one point he had to leave school. That's a whole different story. Then you try to encourage him, […]: "You have to persevere! Because you won't make it without a degree!" So at least he doesn't completely drop out! Because then […] they'll end up with a menial job in some grocery store. That's a fact! That's just how things go. (Seda, woman of Turkish origin)

Seda, echoing sentiments expressed by other respondents, pleads for obtaining an educational degree, being it in higher education or in a lower form of tertiary education. The respondents also put into use the joint intergenerational mobility project, when talking about the emotional support they gave to younger siblings. In the narratives of the second generation, they are expected to continue the already achieved upward mobility in order to maintain the success of their parents' "family migration project" (Tepecik, 2009).

> Yesterday, he [younger brother, SR] very proudly showed me his school report. He had an average grade of 8, so he's really trying his best. […] Well, he also has to prove himself to us. After all we're a family with quite a high level of education and he can't stay behind. (Darous, man of Moroccan origin)

In the life story messages they transmit to the younger generation they combine the messages passed on to them by their parents, with their own knowledge of the educational system and their socialization within society. An evident result of this is that they underline the importance of education for obtaining "a decent job, and a good position in society" but at the same time they urge the young people

to "do what you enjoy" (Cem, man of Turkish origin). They encourage the children they mentor to principally consider what their own capacities and study interests are when choosing a study or profession.

Giving instrumental support
We have defined the instrumental support the respondents give as attending teacher meetings because, following the description of House (1981), this is a form of concrete assistance in which one gives tangible aid.

Respondents who accompany parents to children's teacher meetings, explain that they mainly do so because parents feel more secure when they are accompanied by someone who has a better knowledge of the language and the educational system. Concerning meetings about their siblings or other close relatives, another motivation to attend is that they are interested in different issues than the parents. This is how Oumnia describes this discrepancy:

> Yes, my parents always go to parents-teacher meetings, and I always try to be present. Also because I need to translate a bit, but also often I can go deeper into matters which the teacher wants to discuss, for example if we're talking about his socio-emotional development. […] They're kind of like: "That will come in time", and I actually believe it's very important. So I ask his teacher how he's exactly developing in that aspect. My father mostly looks at whether he improved his grades, but stuff like his socio-emotional development, that's the kind of stuff I ask about. (Oumnia, woman Moroccan origin)

Since the respondents have attended school in the Netherlands themselves, they are familiar with the children's developmental aspects that schools pay attention to, and their perceptions of issues that are relevant resemble those of the teachers. They also express their critique of parents in dealing with teachers and schools. They find the parents too passive and indulgent concerning the judgments and

opinions teachers have of the children. This attitude could be because of their negative experiences with study advice given by teachers and with unfortunate educational choices, as Crul (2000) argued, but it could also have been influenced by their familiarity with the education system and their socialization with the dominant culture. Their attitude towards teachers and schools is in fact very similar to that of higher educated people of native Dutch origin. Kenza, a pedagogue and a person very familiar with the education field through her work, accompanied her sister to a teacher meeting about her niece. She is very ambivalent towards the plans the school has for her niece and of the way her sister deals with the situation.

> I had a meeting once with the teacher of my niece because they wanted her to go to special education [this would mean a downgrading in her educational level, SR]. But I couldn't find that in her school report. You can't just send someone to special education. That's something you do after an interview with a psychologist, and then you've got a long list of conditions you've got to meet […]. And my sister, she's very much like: "Well, the school knows best. I'll go along with it". But I'm not like that. I want to see those files. "What do you base that conclusion on? What's your argumentation?" Then it turned out that they didn't have a report. I said: "Well, so how do you want to get that indication?", because you really do need a Psychological Research to get an indication for special education. "Yes, we were going to do that". So I tell them: "First do the PR, and then we'll see". But they didn't do that neither, so now she's still attending regular education. So that was a time that I intervened…but that was more because I felt: "something is wrong here". So I wanted to pursue it because I felt my niece deserved more than that. (Kenza, woman of Moroccan origin)

We do not know what would have happened to her niece if Kenza would not have felt the need to intervene. However, this does show how the higher educated second generation is very much capable of advocating for the young people. Compared to the immigrant parents of the respondents it's a world of difference.

The support the second generation gives to the younger generation has been influenced both by the support they have received from their parents and by the support their parents were unable to provide. It was also influenced by their familiarity with the Dutch education system and with higher education, and by their socialization with the dominant culture. First of all, their motivation for giving support, just as their parents', is their acknowledgement of the relevance of education for socio-economic prospects in society. And like their parents, they give emotional support and also make use of the "motivating fear of failure" and the joint intergenerational family project, passed on to them by their parents. However this is adjusted to their own life experiences, thus creating their own life story messages. They stress the importance of education and at the same time they advocate for following one's dreams. The support they mainly give is informational support, which is in fact the support type their parents were not able to give them. As is illustrated in quotes of Lale and of Verda, they are aware that they missed out on this relevant support type. Consequently, they had neither parental help with doing homework nor parental guidance with making important educational decisions. Nevertheless, the respondents consider their parents as the most important actors in their educational career and do not express feelings of resentment towards their parents for the lack of this support type, because they could not have expected more from their parents.

Conclusion

In this study, we have examined the perceptions of the higher educated second generation with respect to the educational support they received from their guest worker immigrant parents, and to the support they have given to the younger generation. We have interpreted our findings using House's (1981) support typology as well as notions stemming from research on immigrant aspiration and the educational success of children of immigrants. Below the research questions are answered and reflected on, and some suggestions for future research are given.

Parental support, which mainly consisted of emotional support, was considered by respondents to be highly relevant for their educational achievements. Within the framework of emotional support, immigrant parents make use of their immigrant and working-class life story to motivate their children to achieve social mobility through education. This is in line with the literature discussing the aspirations of immigrant parents and the educational success of their children (Crul & Schneider, 2010; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Louie, 2012; Nanhoe, 2012; Pásztor, 2010; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008). They also created an environment that promotes the performance of school tasks and helped their children in financial ways (instrumental support). Providing emotional and instrumental support suggests that they were compensating for their lack of capability to assist their children with homework assignments and important educational decisions (informational support). Future comparative research at the level of educational mobility should examine the types of parental support the second generation received, and the implications of different types of parental support for the second generation's ability to accomplish educational mobility.

Concerning the support the respondents gave, they were almost without exception supporting young people in their educational pursuits. They predominantly provide informational support, which is precisely the support type they missed out on. This implies – and by some respondents it is stated explicitly – their consciousness of the

relevance of this support type for educational success. They reach out to the younger generation, because they know from experience how difficult it is to go through education with little to no information. This is one of the ways in which a link between receiving and giving support was found. They also accompany the parents of the younger generation to parents-teacher meetings (instrumental support). They are familiar with the aspects teachers and schools pay attention to in the development of school children. They criticize the indulging attitude of the young people's parents towards teachers and schools, and are good at advocating for the young people. These practices and attitudes seem to be primarily influenced by their educational experiences. A second finding showing the link between giving and receiving support concerns the application of emotional support. In the emotional support they give the respondents combine messages passed on to them by their parents (the "motivating fear of failure" (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008) and the "family migration project" (Tepecik, 2009) with their life experiences (education and socialization with dominant culture) into their own life story messages. Similar to their parents, they give importance to higher education, which they believe can grant a better socio-economic position in society. The difference in the messages compared to their parents is their belief that it is not only through traditionally prestigious jobs like lawyer or doctor that one can achieve such positions. They believe the young people should also choose the study they feel affinity for. They know that such jobs can also provide for a decent living. Hence, the messages that are preserved within bounded networks do not stop at the second generation, but continue to be passed on to the next generation, but in an adapted way. These findings shed some light on the slow but steady increase in the higher education attendance of (grand)children of migrants of Turkish and Moroccan heritage. Our results point into the direction that the support of the highly educated 1.5 and second generation could provide an important contribution to that success. Further work needs to investigate more closely the role of their support in the steady improvement of the younger generation's educational pathways.

House's (1981) support typology that was developed for the work environment had not yet been applied to the educational support of children of migrants but turned out to be fruitful in this context. Both in receiving and giving support, informational and instrumental support types could be clearly distinguished. However, in this group of respondents, emotional support turned out to be a more complex type compared to the original description. First of all, emotional and appraisal support were often mentioned in conjunction. Secondly, emotional support was often applied using the immigration background in three different ways. Parents would transmit the family message of a joint intergenerational mobility project: parents assist their children in the ways possible to them and the children should bring this project to a success. Parents would also use their own living and labour circumstances as negative examples and relate it to their low educational level. This "motivating fear of failure" (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008) and also the joint migration project would also be applied by the second generation to motivate the younger generation, however in an adapted way. A third family message we have found is how parents make use of "dual frame of reference" (Kao & Tienda, 1995), that is comparing the opportunities in the country of origin with the opportunities in the new country to emphasize the benefits of the latter.

Most Dutch studies focus on parents' low educational level and migration and working-class background, and conclude that they lack in assisting with homework and with educational decisions. We contribute to a recently growing strand of studies that focus on how migrant parents do give their children relevant educational support. Immigrant parents making use of the abilities they have, give emotional and instrumental support to their children who consider them to be the most important actors in their educational careers. Compared to their parents the upwardly mobile second generation is much better equipped to provide educational support; they are socialized in the dominant culture, are highly educated, and know the Dutch education system well. Driven by the significance of education for social mobility transmitted to them by their parents, combined with the relevance

they give to the capacities and affinities of the young people, they give the support types they can, which primarily consists of informational support, and furthermore of instrumental and emotional support. The future will demonstrate whether we will be able to speak of a third-generation advantage.

Chapter 3

All hands on deck: Mechanisms of social support of the educationally mobile second generation in the Netherlands[*]

Abstract

This study centres on support mechanisms for second-generation people of Turkish and Moroccan background in the Netherlands who have achieved upward educational mobility. The majority of this second generation receives support from parents and from significant others. The current article focuses on significant others by illustrating three mechanisms of support, each with their own specific features: school-oriented extended family, school-oriented peer group, and talent-oriented teachers. By applying a social support typology developed in our earlier study (Rezai, Crul, Severiens, & Keskiner, 2015) we found what kinds of support significant others give to the second generation. Connecting these findings with our earlier results on parental support (Rezai et al., 2015), we shed light on how parental support and support from significant others complement each other. These findings add to earlier studies on the role of social actors in the educational pathways of upwardly mobile descendants of migrants (see e.g. Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008).

Introduction

People of Turkish and Moroccan descent belong to the largest minority groups in the Netherlands. They are amongst the most disadvantaged minorities in terms of educational attainment and their position on the labour market (Baysu, 2011; Central Bureau for Statistics, 2016; Heath et al., 2008). Their underprivileged situation has been linked to several factors. They grow up in poor households with parents who have low levels of education. They live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and attend schools with high numbers of children with educational difficulties. They are also subject to prejudice by teachers and peers (Crul et al., 2013). However, a growing number of descendants of Turkish and Moroccan migrants are making their way into higher education and are gaining access to high-skilled jobs (Alba & Nee, 2003; Crul & Schneider, 2012). Today more than a quarter of the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan origin is either enrolled in higher education or has obtained a higher education degree (Central Bureau for Statistics, 2016; Crul et al., 2012a).

This article contributes to the increasing body of literature that sheds light on how the children of low-educated migrants accomplish such educational success (e.g. Crul, 2009; Keskiner, 2015; Legewie, 2015; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009; Zhou et al., 2008). These studies have shown the role of social capital in the educational mobility of children of migrants. Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) stress that it is the combination of both authoritative parents and a significant other that is crucial for the educational success of children of migrants (see also De Valk & Crul, 2008; Louie, 2012; Wolff, 2013). To gain a deeper understanding of what actually makes these social actors important, we focus on the types of support they provide. An earlier analysis on the same participants as in the current article has taught us that the majority of educationally mobile second-generation children of Turkish and Moroccan migrants receives emotional support (encouragement and acknowledgement) and instrumental support (creating an environment that promotes the performance of school tasks, and helping in financial ways) from

their parents, but no informational support (assisting with homework assignments and important educational decisions) (Rezai et al., 2015). To shed light on the types and mechanisms of support from significant others the current article answers the following question: *What are the social support mechanisms of significant others in the educational upward mobility of the Dutch second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent?* Gaining insight into the support mechanisms of high achievers will give us input for finding tools to enhance the social mobility of disadvantaged migrant youth.

In this study we make use of 86 in-depth interviews with upwardly educationally mobile second-generation people of Turkish and Moroccan descent. They live in the two largest Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. We present three mechanisms of support from significant others that emerged from our data: school-oriented extended family support, school-oriented peer group support, and support of talent-oriented teachers. We make use of a support typology developed in an earlier study on the educational pathways of the second generation (Rezai et al., 2015) and combine it with a body of literature on the role of social actors enabling the social mobility of children of migrants (see Crul, 2000; Legewie, 2015; Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008; Wolff, 2013).

Theoretical framework

We will first explain the previously developed social support typology for the upwardly mobile children of migrants and discuss our earlier findings on parental support (Rezai et al., 2015). We will then review the literature on support from extra-parental sources: extended relatives, peers and teachers.

Social support typology
Taking House's (1981) support categorization as starting point, Rezai, Crul, Severiens, and Keskiner (2015) developed a support typology for the educational support of children of migrants

consisting of informational, emotional and instrumental support. *Informational support* consists of helping with school work, giving advice on homework planning and study skills, and giving advice on important educational decisions. *Emotional support* consists of motivating, encouraging, showing interest in school performance and demonstrating confidence in the student's abilities. It also includes transmitting family messages. *Instrumental support* involves concrete assistance in which one gives tangible aid by dedicating time or skills or by offering money or other materials.

Rezai et al. (2015) showed that the Dutch second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent considered the support from their parents as highly important for their educational achievements (see also De Valk & Crul, 2008). This parental support principally consisted of emotional support. An important aspect of this were the family messages that parents constructed and transmitted based on their combined immigrant and working-class life story in order to motivate their children to achieve social mobility through education. Rezai et al. (2015) found three family messages. Parents transmit the family message of joint intergenerational mobility project in which the migration mission of upward mobility is passed on to the children, and in which parents assist them to achieve this mission. Parents also present themselves as examples of how not to become referring to their financial and labour circumstances (family message of negative role models). In a third family message, 'dual frame of reference' (Kao & Tienda, 1995) parents urge their children to seize the educational opportunities in the Netherlands, by comparing these to the less accessible opportunity structures of the country of origin (see also Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009). The parents also provide *instrumental support* by helping their children in financial ways, and by creating an environment that promotes the performance of school tasks by offering goods and services (such as putting the only laptop they had at the child's disposal, or by exempting the child from household chores). However, parents of educationally mobile children give only little or no *informational support*; they are not able to help

with school tasks, to give advice on planning and study skills, nor to give advice on important educational decisions (see also Louie, 2012).

Support from significant others

Besides parental support, studies also underline the importance of extra-parental support for the educational accomplishments of children of migrants (e.g. Crul, 2009; Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Legewie, 2015). According to Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) this support provider is a "really significant other" who "can be a teacher, a counsellor, a friend of the family, or even an older sibling" (p. 26; see also Smith, 2008; Stanton-Salazar, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). They observe a dual role of significant others. These roles resemble the emotional and informational support of the support typology described above. The first part of the significant others' dual role encompasses taking "a keen interest in the child, motivate him or her to graduate from high school and to attend college" (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008, p. 26). The second role focusses on possessing "the necessary knowledge and experience to guide the student in the right direction" (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). The literature discusses three main sources of extra-parental support: extended relatives, peers and teachers.

A literature review of the role of the extended-family environment shows that studies underline two factors that positively influence the educational outcomes of children of migrants: higher educated relatives (see e.g. Crul et al., 2013; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003), and families with a school-oriented attitude (see e.g. Bankston, 2004; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). Siblings can play an essential role by giving informational and emotional support to their younger siblings. Their support is even more effective when they are higher educated (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Crul et al., 2013), which implies a correlation between higher educational credentials and the quality of educational support. Studies find that school-oriented relatives contribute to the educational achievements of children by giving emotional support (including the passing on of family messages, and functioning as role models) (e.g. Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003;

Rezai et al., 2015), giving informational support (e.g. Crul, 2000; Crul & Doomernik, 2003), and by controlling their social networks (e.g. Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). Bounded networks of parents and other adults in which values, beliefs and expectations regarding the benefits of education are preserved and passed on to children contribute to beneficial educational outcomes (Bankston, 2004; Zhou & Bankston, 1994; Coleman, 1990). It benefits pupils' social mobility when relatives, such as grandparents and older siblings, take part in encouraging their academic advancement and controlling their social networks (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008).

Most studies focus on the negative impact of peers on educational outcomes (e.g. Fryer, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Scholars that address the benefits of peers for academic performance observe the relevance of reciprocity (Legewie, 2015; Wolff, 2013) and friendship in peer groups of high achievers (Ream & Rumberger, 2008; Schnell et al., 2013; Wolff, 2013). Moreover, such studies often distinguish between 'school-oriented' peers, defined as academic high achievers, and 'street-oriented' peers, described as academic low achievers (Flores-Gonzalez, 2005). Legewie (2015) observes how high achievers manage their social networks by maintaining their friendship with school-oriented peers and distancing themselves from peers who have an anti-school attitude (see also Louie, 2012). He underlines that it is because of the 'Promotive Narratives' (Legewie, 2015, p. 115) passed on to the youngsters by parents and other adults. High achievers internalize such narratives and evoke them when managing their social networks. Peer groups are characterized by reciprocal relationships in which peers motivate each other, study together and give each other advice (Legewie, 2015; Wolff, 2013). Furthermore, it can be beneficial for educational careers when peers are also friends (Ream & Rumberger, 2008; Schnell et al., 2013; Wolff, 2013; see also Ali & Fokkema, 2015). Wolff (2013) found that students who meet both inside and outside school were more likely to continue higher education.

Some scholars emphasize the neglect by teachers and the low expectations teachers have of pupils of migrant descent (e.g. Louie,

2012; Stevens, Clycq, Timmerman, & Van Houtte, 2011). Other scholars observe the relevance of emotional support which teachers provide to students of migrant background (e.g. Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Wolff, 2013). Emotional support from teachers and good relations with teachers can have a great impact on the academic attainment of children of migrants. When they have a good relation with their teacher, they perform better in that course and are more motivated (Crul, 2000; see also Schnell et al., 2013; Meeuwisse, Severiens, & Born, 2010). Wolff (2013) finds that children of immigrants who drop out of higher education generally have had less positive relations with co-students and with teachers compared to pupils who do not drop out. They would seldom voluntarily approach a counsellor to ask for help, while students still in college would more easily do so. In addition, Crul (2000) observes that students fare better when they feel comfortable asking for assistance. Teachers who notice the academic capacities of children of migrants and communicate their belief that they will succeed, play an important role in their educational achievement (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). Duncan-Andrade (2007) argues that effective teaching is about building relationships. Effective teachers in urban schools earn the trust of students by combining high expectations with care and support (see also Hattie, 2009). They improve the academic performance of their students by aiming to enhance a positive self-identity, a clear sense of purpose for attending school, and the hope that their school success will be recompensed in the broader society.

Methodology

The Pathways to Success Project (PSP)[5] is a qualitative study among the successful second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the two largest Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. From the PSP interviewees we selected the participants who had obtained a

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[5] This project was funded by the Dutch Ministry of Interior Affairs and by the municipalities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

higher education degree, and whose parents had attended lower levels of education, or had no formal schooling. These 86 upwardly-mobile participants between the ages of 23 and 43 comprise the focus of the current article. Our interviewees were born in the Netherlands. Their origins lie in Turkey (44, of which 23 female and 21 male) or Morocco (42, of which 21 female and 21 male) (Rezai et al., 2015).

The research team developed a semi-structured interview protocol consisting of open-ended questions. The questions were piloted with several participants who were similar to those who would be interviewed as research participants. After the pilot interviews the interview protocol was revised. The interview protocol focused on the participants' educational careers, experiences on the labour market, and social activities aiming to understand how they achieved success in these domains, i.e. what strategies and resources they used (Rezai et al., 2015). For the current study the interview material on the educational careers of the participants was used.

The PSP participants were recruited in several ways. Firstly, we contacted people who had participated in a previous study, TIES (The Integration of the European Second generation) (Crul et al., 2012b). Subsequently we used snowball sampling, following certain guidelines to prevent oversampling from the same social networks and backgrounds. A team of approximately twenty interviewers conducted the face-to-face interviews in Dutch, which took approximately 75 minutes. The interviewers voice-recorded and transcribed the interviews verbatim.

In this study an inductive approach, the issue-focused analysis, was applied (Weiss, 1994). After a first codebook based on the questionnaire was developed, the interviews were coded using the qualitative data analysis program 'Kwalitan'. Interview data with the same conceptual codes were then retrieved from Kwalitan and were sub-coded and analyzed in Word and Excel documents. This enabled the organization of the data and the attainment of an overview of the participants' experiences, perceptions and emotions concerning received support. The next step was interpretation, bringing coherence and meaning to our conceptually organized material (Rezai et al.,

2015). Subsequently excerpts from the interviews were selected that best illustrated the mechanisms of support that had emerged from the data.

In the following we present three mechanisms of support, processes by which significant others provide support to pupils. We explain these mechanisms more specifically by making use of the earlier developed social support typology for the educational support provided to children of migrants (Rezai et al., 2015).

Support mechanisms of significant others

The vast majority of the participants received support from parents as well as from significant others. Their parents have a pro-education attitude and transmit a belief in the benefits of education for their children thereby laying a strong fundament for the children's educational aspirations. They provide their children emotional support, including making use of family messages to motivate and encourage their children in their educational pathways. They give them instrumental support by creating a pro-education environment at home, and by making use of financial means such as paying for tutoring. However, most of the parents were not able to help their children with homework and give them advice concerning educational decisions (informational support) (Rezai et al., 2015). Whereas most of our participants perceive the support of their parents as crucial for their educational pathways, the vast majority also had the support of significant others during their educational pathways (see also Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008).

In most cases there was not just one significant other in the lives of our participants, rather there were several significant others who gave them different types of support. Some significant others provided long-term support, such as an uncle who would help with homework and would give advice. Sometimes support came at crucial moments instigating or preventing a turning-point, such as a chance encounter with an old friend who convinced a wavering participant not to drop

out. Sometimes a significant other did not have a big effect at that instant but rather at a later time, such as motivational words which the student remembered and invoked during times of duress (see also Louie, 2012).

In the following we present three mechanisms of extra-parental support that emerged from our data. We illustrate how extended relatives can create a pro-education environment in which higher educated relatives provide the pupils informational and emotional support. We describe the significant role school-focused peer groups can play by giving informational and emotional support. Moreover, we observe how teachers who give emotional support by noticing the talents of pupils and demonstrating their belief in their abilities can make a difference. The emotional support from these significant others differs from the one given by parents. It is an informed emotional support. The significant others are higher educated and most of them have attended school in the Netherlands. Due to that, the motivation, encouragement and acknowledgement they provide the children match better the experiences of the youngsters and the challenges they face during their educational pathways.

School-oriented extended family: a family affair

In this mechanism children find themselves in a family environment in which the education of children is perceived as a matter concerning all relatives. Family members give much relevance to education, and the family includes higher-educated relatives who provide the children informational and informed emotional support, and serve as role models.

This positive influence especially comes to the fore when there is a high level of social cohesion in the extended family and relatives meet on a regular basis. That creates opportunities for relatives to ask how things are going in school, encourage the children, and give informational assistance. For the children it provides the opportunity to ask emotional and informational support. Moreover, within this network of pro-education-minded parents and relatives positive

values, beliefs and expectations regarding the benefits of education are preserved and passed on (Bankston, 2004; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

In Arda's (male of Turkish descent) family they believe in the benefits of higher education and in pursuing one's talents. Arda's parents attended elementary school in Turkey. They gave him emotional support by motivating him and talking about the importance of education. His uncles are higher educated and are successful in their profession. Also most of his cousins are higher educated or are enrolled in higher education. The family members are very close and gather on a weekly basis. They show interest in each other's lives. Higher-educated family members are able to provide informational support (see also Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003), such as helping with homework or giving educational advice. For instance, one of Arda's uncles was very good at mathematics. He would always make time for Arda and for his cousins when they needed help. Besides informational support higher-educated relatives provide emotional support. Since higher-educated relatives are familiar with the education system and knowledgeable of its specific demands the emotional support they give differs from the one parents give. Because it is an informed emotional support it matches better the experiences of the students and the challenges they face. Derwish (male of Moroccan descent) gives a tangible example of the informed emotional support his cousin provided him:

> At one point he [older cousin, sr] gave me a nice poem, a poem about will power. And actually, during my studies I read it several times. What is more, I framed it and hung it above my desk, so whenever my spirits sagged a bit, I would read it and would feel motivated again.

This gesture of Derwish' cousin shows that he is aware that for doing homework and preparing exams, perseverance, discipline and self-motivation are important. By giving Derwish a poem on will power he attempts to give him a tool to help him stay motivated to study.

Higher-educated relatives also have an important part to play as role models (see also Rezai et al., 2015). Emre (male of Turkish descent) had higher-educated uncles in Turkey who transmitted their confidence in his abilities to achieve higher education. He perceived them as role models. Emre identified with them, especially since his parents would often tell him that he resembled his uncles in character and in attitude. His parents and other relatives would employ the resemblance between Emre and his uncles as proof that he too would obtain a higher education degree. Emre started to believe in this proposed resemblance, which gave him the confidence that he would be able to achieve social mobility. Since higher-educated relatives are family, even though more distant than parents, it is easy for the second generation to identify with them. This identification gives the children the assurance that if their relatives were able to achieve social mobility, they can achieve it too. Having higher-educated extended relatives facilitates perceiving higher education and social mobility as a realistic pathway or even as a self-evident one. This function of role models as assurance is even more important because their parents, with their low levels of education or lack of it, are not able to provide it to them.

School-oriented peer group: friendship, reciprocity and conscious choice

The school-oriented peer group mechanism refers to the student belonging to a group of like-minded academically-oriented peers who positively influence each other's school performance by giving each other informational and informed emotional support on a reciprocal basis. By carrying out social activities they strengthen their peer group. Students who are involved in street-oriented peer groups, will have to choose the school-oriented peer group over their neighbourhood friends.

Emre went to a high school with a predominantly native Dutch student population. There he had several friends of Turkish background who were all motivated to get their high school degree. Together they formed a very close group. Their parents, who were factory workers, stressed the importance of education. They had

no higher educated role models in their close environment; 'we only had each other'. They were the first in their families who were doing well in school, while most of their generation was hanging around on the streets. Peer groups of our participants consisting of like-minded academically-oriented friends have a positive influence on educational success (see also Flores-Gonzalez, 2005; Wolff, 2013). Within these social networks peers are able to give each other informational support. They help each other with making homework, preparing for exams and making educational decisions. Emre and his friends had their own informal study group. They would always go to the library to study together, and compete to get the best grades. Besides providing each other informational support they would also give each other emotional support by encouraging each other to do well in school and by transmitting their pro-educational attitudes and beliefs. School-oriented peer groups function on a reciprocal basis; peers help each other back and forth and hence influence each other's school performances (see also Legewie, 2015). Emre's education benefited from this network, and he too contributed to the academic pathways of his friends. However, school-oriented peer groups are not merely focused on school, but also have a social function. This, in turn, makes the social network stronger. Emre and his friends would hang out together, watch movies at home or go out for drinks. Hence, besides school-focused activities they also carried out social activities which resulted in a tight-knit school-oriented group (see also Legewie, 2015; Wolff, 2013).

In his story Emre contrasts the attitude of his school-oriented peers to the kids who would hang around on the streets and not prioritize school. Some of our participants had both types of friendship networks; the 'school kids' and the 'street kids' (Flores-Gonzalez, 2005). Zhor (male of Moroccan descent) explains how at a certain point he purposely distanced himself from the street kids, whom he had known since he was a small boy. Zhor and his neighbourhood friends would hang around on the streets till late at night. While their parents were not bothered much about how they were spending their time, Zhor's parents showed interest in his education, they motivated him to do

well in school and were stricter concerning matters such as what time he had to be home in the evening (see also Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Zhou et al., 2008). The majority of these friends 'drifted off' and at a certain point he detached himself from them. He used them as negative examples which helped him to motivate himself to do well in school. The norms and beliefs that Zhor's parents had transmitted to him influenced how he eventually managed his social contacts by choosing his school-oriented peer group over his street-oriented peers (see also Legewie, 2015).

Talent-oriented teachers: recognizing and acknowledging talent

The mechanism of talent-oriented teachers involves teachers who positively influence the educational achievement of children of migrants by giving them informed emotional support in the form of investing in recognizing and acknowledging their academic capacities.

Teachers who notice the academic capacities of children of migrants and communicate their belief in their abilities to succeed enhance their academic self-belief and thereby play an important role in their educational pathways (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). This role of talent-oriented teachers is important in negative school environments as well as in positive school environments where students are academically stimulated. Hanan's (female of Moroccan descent) high school was such a positive environment. She explains:

> I had a teacher who would just say…, well, not specifically to me, but he would address the whole class, demonstrating his confidence: 'You can do it!'. And: 'I am looking forward to seeing what you will be doing in thirty years from now. Then I would like us to get together, have a reunion, and then you can tell me all about what you have become'. So talking about our prospects.

Teachers would also demonstrate their belief in Hanan's capacities and their high expectations of her on an individual basis (see also

Hattie, 2009). She had several teachers who would tell her that they expected her to become a teacher, a politician or an attorney. With such behavior these teachers would show their acknowledgement of her abilities and enhance her positive self-identity. At the same time they would give her a clear sense of purpose for attending school and give her hope that her efforts would be recompensed in the future (see Duncan-Andrade, 2007). Moreover, while such acknowledgements of their talents benefitted their self-confidence at the time, the students also memorized them and invoked them during times of duress.

The role of teachers who notice students' talents becomes even more crucial in school environments where they are not academically stimulated and where they feel out of place. After secondary education, Hanan enrolled in the program of Business Economics at university. She felt that students and teachers had a sceptical attitude towards her academic abilities. While the population at her high school was a mix of students of immigrant guest-worker background and students of native descent and everybody would get along, at university the vast majority was of native descent. Many fellow students at university had grown up in places with a small or absent immigrant population. Hanan gives several examples of occasions in which students made her feel she did not belong. After the bombings in the London tube in 2005, a student made her feel very upset by making a joke about the threat of her schoolbag exploding. Also teachers made her feel out of place, 'they think: "who are you? What are you doing here? Do you even speak Dutch?"' (see also Crul et al., 2013). There was one teacher, however, who gave her the support she needed and this was sufficient for Hanan. He noticed her talent and communicated this to her. He would always spare a bit of time to chat with her, give her confidence that she would get her degree and tell her that she was one of the best students he had ever had. 'So then you think: okay, he noticed me, and he thinks that I can do it. You always need someone who gives you confidence and creates a safe environment […] for you. Everybody needs that.' She did not need all the teachers to notice her talent, just one whom she appreciated and looked up to was sufficient

for enhancing her sense of belonging at university and her academic self-belief (see Duncan-Andrade, 2007).

Conclusion

In the current study, we have scrutinized the perceptions of 86 higher educated second-generation individuals from Turkish and Moroccan background in the Netherlands with respect to the educational support they received from significant others. We have interpreted our findings by applying the social support typology developed in an earlier study (Rezai et al., 2015) and by making use of notions stemming from studies on the educational success of children of immigrants (e.g. Legewie, 2015; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). Three mechanisms of support of significant others emerged from our data. Each mechanism has its specific features.

In the school-oriented extended family, the first mechanism, children found themselves in a family environment in which education was promoted and considered as a matter that concerns all relatives. It was a family affair. Parents, who had little formal schooling, gave emotional support (encouragement and acknowledgement). Higher-educated relatives provided informational support by helping with school work and giving advice on educational decisions. They provided informed emotional support, which because of their experience with (higher) education matched better the challenges the students face than parental emotional support. The higher-educated relatives also functioned as role models, making it easier for the students to perceive higher education as a realistic pathway. Some studies have discussed the importance of higher educated relatives for the educational outcomes of descendants of migrants (see e.g. Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Other studies have underlined the importance of families with a school-oriented attitude (see e.g. Bankston, 2004). In the current study we have found that the combination of higher-educated relatives within a school-oriented family is an important mechanism in the educational upward mobility of high achievers.

School-oriented peer groups, the second support mechanism, is characterized by finding and maintaining a peer group that is a source of informational and informed emotional support. If the student was also engaged in a street-oriented peer group, he chose the school-oriented over the street-oriented peer group. For maintaining a school-oriented peer group three factors were important: the peers were academically oriented, had matching ideas on reciprocity, and were friends and carried out social activities together. The latter was needed for creating a strong and tight-knit peer group. Most studies on peers focus on their negative impacts on educational achievements (see e.g. Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Our findings resonate with the small strand of literature that centre on the benefits of peers for educational performance (see e.g. Legewie, 2015; Wolff, 2013).

The third mechanism, talent-oriented teachers, consists of teachers who are open to recognizing and acknowledging the talents of students. The informed emotional support these teachers gave to pupils, had a powerful effect on their self-belief and through that on their educational achievement. Similar results have been found by other scholars (see e.g. Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Louie, 2012; Wolff, 2013).

This study allowed us to further develop the social support typology for children of working-class migrants by specifying and adding the informed emotional support. We have defined the emotional support youngsters receive from significant others as being *informed* to distinguish it from parental emotional support. The significant others are higher educated and hence knowledgeable of the education system. Because of their familiarity with the Dutch education system the informed emotional support from significant others matches better the experiences of pupils and the challenges they face. Our in-depth analysis has shown that significant others are also relevant when they only give informed emotional support, and no informational support (giving advice with educational decisions and helping with school tasks). US studies generally find that significant others provide both informational and informed emotional support to children of immigrants (see e.g. Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-

Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008). This discrepancy with US studies could be related to structural differences in the education systems of the US and the Netherlands concerning college entry. US studies that observe informational support from significant others frequently do so by discussing assistance regarding the process of college entry (see e.g. Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008). The entry process is considerably less complex in the Dutch setting than in the US structure, and possibly therefore our participants perceive significant others as important even when they solely provide informed emotional support.

Scholars have argued that it is the combination of parental support and support from significant others that is crucial for the educational attainment of children of migrants (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Louie, 2012). Consistent with such studies, we observe that the vast majority of our participants had both support from parents and from significant others during their educational pathways. By focusing in our previous and current article on the types of support such children receive, we have gained deeper insight into what actually makes these actors important. Parental support predominantly consists of encouraging children to do well in school (emotional support), and creating a study-friendly home environment and if feasible help them financially (instrumental support). However parents were not able to help their child with school tasks and give school related assistance (informational support) (Rezai et al., 2015). In the current article we show that this type of support is provided by significant others. Besides informational support significant others also give informed emotional support. The parents of the social climbers are a constant source of motivation for their children, and significant others complement this with support types which parents are unable to give.

The social support typology for the educational mobility of descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco which was developed here, can be validated by conducting quantitative research, by applying it to examine other migrant groups and by applying it in other countries. Furthermore, the current study is based on perceptions of the recipients of support. Including both recipients and

providers of support in future research on social support will enhance the reliability of research findings.

In reflection on the societal relevance of our findings, we argue that within the education system we should adjust our perception of support from migrant parents and acknowledge the relevance of the emotional and instrumental support they provide their children. At the same time, we need to realize that students benefit mostly when besides parental support they also receive support from significant others. We should encourage the involvement of higher educated relatives in the educational pathways of the youngsters. We should raise teachers' awareness of the powerful effect they can have, and give them possibilities to do so. We should facilitate the establishment and continuation of school-oriented peer groups. The insights from this study can contribute to enhancing the support mechanisms of low achievers and strengthen the mechanisms of high achievers.

Chapter 4

Self-made lawyers?
Pathways of socially mobile
descendants of migrants from
Turkey in Europe[*]

Abstract

This study is based on narratives of successful lawyers in Europe who are descendants of migrants from Turkey. I will discuss the main mechanisms whereby social actors have a significant impact on the professional pathways of these upwardly mobile professionals. The findings provide two insights.

The relevance of significant others found in literature on educational mobility of descendants of migrants can be extended to professional pathways. Some respondents became acquainted with the middle-class culture of the majority group through peers and school during their youth. This was instrumental in adjusting to the specific white-collar professional environments of corporate law firms. Others who grew up and attended schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods had more difficulties adjusting. However, they became accustomed to middle- and upper-class norms and behaviour at university or on the job by observing and learning along the way.

Introduction

Over a decade ago, people from disadvantaged ethnic minority groups in north-western Europe rarely experienced social mobility processes. Today, we can observe their gradual but constant advancement in higher education and on the labour market. Highly skilled professionals are accessing well-paid and socially prestigious occupations, and are even managing to gain elite positions. Whereas they still lag behind the majority group, the second generation is making substantial advances compared to the immigrant generation (Alba & Foner, 2015; Schneider & Lang, 2014). As a consequence of these societal developments, social scientists are increasingly focusing on the upward social mobility of descendants of migrants (e.g. Crul et al., 2012b; Keskiner, 2016; Konyali, 2014; Rezai et al., 2015; Santelli, 2013; Schnell et al., 2013; Waldring et al., 2014).

This paper contributes to gaining insight into the mechanisms of intergenerational upward mobility. It does this by focusing on the role of influential actors in the pathways of lawyers in Europe who are descendants of migrants from Turkey. The central question is: What is the role of influential actors in the professional pathways of lawyers in France, Germany and Sweden who are children of migrants from Turkey? 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 their educational trajectories.

Descendants of migrants from Turkey are part of the largest immigrant group in Europe (about five million). Their parents predominantly came to Europe as guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s and were generally unable to achieve social mobility in their new country. Scholars have often linked the low educational level of these parents and their migrant and low socioeconomic background to the disadvantaged position of the second generation (Crul et al., 2012b). Other scholars have pointed to the fact that they grew up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and attended schools with high numbers of pupils with educational difficulties (Baysu & De Valk, 2012; Rezai et al., 2015; Schnell, 2014). In this article, I will shed light

on what it is like for them to enter and work in a sector with a distinctly different social environment. Even though large corporate law firms and lawyer regulatory authorities have recently made diversity management a priority, the law sector is still dominated by people of native parentage with a middle- or upper-class social background (Van der Raad, 2015). Moreover, the law sector is characterized by its emphasis on proficiency in the national language and excellent social and networking skills (see e.g. Lehmann, 2011).

Studies on educational pathways have shown the significant role that adult actors can play in the upward mobility of children by noticing and believing in their ability to succeed, and by transmitting institutional knowledge to them (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Studies on career mobility of ethnic minorities from a disadvantaged background generally stress their lack of a social network or inability to use their network in a beneficial way (Agius Vallejo, 2012; Bourdieu & Balazs, 1999; Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Light & Gold, 2000). I argue that the concept of significant others found by scholars in educational pathways can be extended to professional pathways. Moreover, I show how the socially mobile are able to successfully navigate the white-collar professional environment of law firms.

Social mobility and significant others

The literature on the career mobility of highly skilled employees generally observes the importance of work-related social relations for professional success. These studies find that having a social network that provides information, resources and career sponsorship enhances an individual's mobility (Bourdieu, 1986; Podolny & Baron, 1997; Seibert et al., 2001). Studies on these topics that focus on ethnic minorities find that compared to the dominant group, they are less able to use social relations to benefit their careers (Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Light & Gold, 2000), especially if they have been raised in poor households and communities (Agius Vallejo, 2012). Agius Vallejo

(2012) finds that Mexican Americans who grew up in middle-class households and neighbourhoods are more comfortable interacting with middle-class whites in professional white-collar environments than are those raised in poor households and neighbourhoods. Those with middle-class parents follow the straight-line assimilation (Gordon, 1964) and experience fewer challenges when incorporating into the dominant middle class. The socially mobile encounter rigid class and ethnic boundaries within white-collar professional spaces, while simultaneously experiencing class boundaries with their less affluent co-ethnics. This leaves them feeling that they are not integrating into the dominant middle class, but that they are achieving a minority middle-class status, as Neckerman, Carter, and Lee's (1999) minority culture of mobility indicates (Agius Vallejo, 2012).

Studies on the role of significant others in the upward social mobility of children of migrants focus on educational pathways. They find that high achievers have access to support from both parents and significant others (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith 2008). Parents play a vital role by utilizing their immigrant optimism and aspirations for intergenerational upward mobility to support their children in their educational pathways. However, unlike parents in middleclass families (of native descent), they lack the tools to help their children achieve their educational aims, for example, by helping them with homework assignments, or by advising them on important educational decisions (Louie, 2012).

The literature observes two important characteristics of significant others. They notice the young person's abilities and demonstrate the belief that the student can accomplish success (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). They also take on the role of "institutional agent" (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003, p. 234) by transmitting institutional knowledge, such as information about college enrolment. Their involvement is often incidental rather than continuous, but it can be transformational and have lasting consequences for children (Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008).

In this article, I will illustrate how socially mobile lawyers of Turkish descent navigate the white-collar professional environment

of the law sector in Europe and how they make use of their ties to significant others along their pathways.

Methodology

This article is based on in-depth interviews with twenty-six lawyers who are children of migrants from Turkey and reside in Stockholm, Paris and Frankfurt (see Table 1). The vast majority are in their thirties and early forties. All of the participants (twelve male, fourteen female) have a law degree and have passed the equivalent of the bar examination in their respective countries. They practise corporate law, sometimes along with other fields of law. The interviews are part of the ELITES, Pathways to Success project that focuses on successful professionals of Turkish descent in Europe (see Crul et al., 2017a).

Table 1: Occupation of lawyers, per city.

	Frankfurt	Paris	Stockholm
Independent lawyer	1	4	-
Lawyer, small firm	3	2*	1
Partner, small firm	–	1**	3***
Lawyer, medium-sized firm	–	2	–
Associate, large firm	4	–	1
Senior associate, large firm	–	–	1
Partner, large firm	1	–	2
Total	**9**	**9**	**8**

* Of which one lawyer works two days per week as an independent lawyer, and three days per week for the firm.
** This partner is the founding and sole partner of the firm.
*** Of these three partners, one is the founding and sole partner of the firm, and two are founding partners together with one other partner.

I have applied an issue-focused analysis method (Weiss, 1994) to study the pathways of my participants and to learn the mechanisms of upward career mobility in which significant others have been of

influence. I will give an overview of these findings in the next section before illustrating the main mechanisms with case studies. I apply case studies to give the participants a face and to illustrate their experiences "within the context of their lives: this is what it is like to be this person in this situation" (p. 168). Since my interest lies in upward mobility, I have selected respondents for the case studies who were particularly successful in their career and whose interviews were rich enough to vividly demonstrate a specific mechanism.

Findings

How can we characterize the lawyers we interviewed? They are bright: often having been overachievers at school. They have perseverance and a strong work ethic. They are go-getters: ambitious, optimistic, confident and resilient. Their well-developed social skills are highly valued in the law sector, as the ability to network and collaborate with colleagues is a vital skill within their profession. However, these lawyers have not walked alone on their journeys.

The vast majority of the twenty-six participants mentioned social actors who played an important role during their educational and professional pathways. I will first give a brief overview of who these actors were and of the role they played in the pathways of the respondents. Subsequently, I will use case studies to illustrate the mechanisms of upward mobility in which significant others were of influence.

Overview of all participants

During their educational pathways, most of the participants had access to both parental support and support from significant others to help them achieve their educational goals. Their parents supported them emotionally and transmitted to them the importance of education as a means to achieving upward social mobility (see also Rezai et al., 2015). Significant others supported them by communicating their belief in their abilities to achieve their educational goals or by transmitting

institutional knowledge. The significant others mentioned by the participants were mainly teachers, university professors, extended relatives, older siblings and peers. In most cases, teachers and professors had been especially important in giving them confidence in their abilities. They did so by acknowledging their talents, thereby helping them to develop a strong belief in themselves. Teachers had also been important for some of the respondents because of the institutional knowledge they had shared, such as advising a student to try to get in to a *grande* écôle (Ivy League school). Extended relatives and older siblings also boosted their self-belief, and in some cases helped them with school work or advised them on important educational decisions. The participants' peers were generally school-oriented peers who also had high educational aspirations and similar ideas about the importance of education (see also Louie, 2012). They were a source of emotional support, assisted them with school work and advised them on educational decisions. Several participants solely or predominantly had friends from a middle-class background of native heritage. This also gave them access to the support that middle-class parents can provide. Besides being able to approach their peers' parents for help with schoolwork and educational decisions, they underline the relevance of these friendships and the access to these homes in adopting the culture (norms, values, beliefs and common ways of conduct) of middle-class people of native origin.

Looking at social support in their labour market pathways, I found that most parents played no important role. All participants, however, described significant others who advised and assisted them as they scaled the professional ladder. At the beginning of their professional careers, these significant others are mainly friends from university or the preparatory period for the bar examination. They help them to find their first internship or job by informing them about a job opening, or by recommending a firm that they had heard good things about. During the first years of their professional career, some 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 wings, provided abundant guidance,

and functioned as role models, to senior colleagues who could be approached for advice on the content of a case or asked to "decode" [Yesim, Frankfurt] requests from partners. The latter is generally part of a firm's policy.

It is also during the initial phase of their careers that they adopt the social rules of law firms. People who grew up attending schools with a middle- and upper-class majority-group population (and found peers there), generally face few challenges when learning the rules of the game. For others, who grew up in more disadvantaged neighbourhoods, this takes more effort. They learn the social rules of the white-collar law sector during law school and the preparatory period for the bar examination, and as professionals, they use their social skills to observe and copy behaviour of colleagues and ask them questions about how and why things are done in certain manners.

Later on in their careers, the networks they have built help them to move up the career ladder. They subsequently find jobs by being recommended to firms – rather than firms being recommended to them as was the case at the beginning of their careers – or because people in their network have obtained hiring positions and are able to offer them interesting career moves. Lawyers who become independent, which is a recurring step for the French lawyers more so than for the others, generally do so by starting a firm or by sharing office space with a former colleague. Having access to a mentor or confidant whom they can approach for advice on important decisions can be vital.

In the following, I will make use of narratives to illustrate the three main mechanisms of how significant others have influenced the professional pathways of my participants.

The case studies

Presenting the educational and professional pathways of three lawyers, I will focus on the role of influential actors. Each case study stresses a different mechanism.

The three lawyers portrayed here all practise corporate law. Eser (forty) works as a partner at a large and prestigious international firm

in Frankfurt. Dilek (thirty-four) has been working as an independent lawyer in Paris for four years, primarily serving medium-sized and large corporations. The Kaldani brothers in Stockholm work at large corporate law firms: Dakan (thirty-seven) as a partner, and Iva (thirty-four and the focus of the narrative) as a senior associate with good prospects of becoming a partner in the near future.

Except for Eser, who was a baby at the time of migration, all were born in the countries where we interviewed them. Their parents migrated to Europe in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. Being Assyrian Christians, the Kaldani family had left Turkey primarily for political reasons. The mother is illiterate and the father attended primary school. Both parents attended Swedish courses for immigrants. In Sweden, the father worked as a locksmith before starting his own restaurant. He ended up running two restaurants together with his wife. Today, he is retired and his wife works at her brother's advertising company. The Kaldani brothers have an older sister. Eser's parents emigrated for financial reasons. His mother is illiterate and his father attended primary school. In Germany, Eser's father started off as a factory worker, and went on to work as a locksmith. He passed away some years ago. Eser's mother worked as an ironing helper until she became incapacitated. Eser has two older brothers and a younger sister. Dilek's parents also emigrated for financial reasons. Her mother attended primary school, and her father attended university for a few months prior to migration. In France, after having worked as a factory worker, he became self-employed, exploring different business areas. Her mother worked in low-skilled jobs. Dilek has three younger siblings.

Below, I illustrate the main mechanisms of support that emerged from my data. The first mechanism stresses a characteristic feature of significant others that has been underlined in the literature on educationally high-achieving children of migrants. It concerns the communication of belief in the children's abilities to accomplish educational success which has a positive effect on their self-belief (see e.g. Louie, 2012). I argue that the self-belief my participants developed during their educational pathways continues throughout their

professional pathways. This mechanism also underlines the relevance of becoming familiar with middle-class majority-group culture. Eser's narrative illustrates how this combination can help someone to develop into a confident professional. The second mechanism concerns the fundamental role that mentors can play in the careers of the lawyers. Dilek's history captures how participants who have become familiar with middle-class culture during their youth can make use of their social skills to find valuable mentors and to maintain this relationship during further phases of their careers in order to access advice and guidance. The story of Iva shows the integration into corporate culture of an upwardly mobile professional who grew up and went to school in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. This third mechanism concerns the role of social actors in becoming acquainted with the social rules of law firms.

The striker and his Mannschaft: building self-belief during one's youth

Eser (forty) is an international advisor at a prestigious law firm. He is known for being one of the main players in the legal practice area of mergers and acquisitions related to Turkey, specifically in the field of technology law.

Growing up and education. As he had not been to kindergarten, Eser could not speak a word of German when he started primary school at the age of seven. After four years of primary school, children go to secondary school, which is split into different streams. This did not give Eser enough time to reach the level required for *Gymnasium*, the pre-university stream. He was advised to go to *Förderstufe*, which gave him two more years to catch up. Eser perceives these two years as being extremely important for his pathway and believes that otherwise he "would not be sitting here today".

Eser's parents took a rather "passive" attitude towards education. They "neither encouraged nor hindered" it. Eser explains this by saying that his parents had their hands full with raising four children "more or less properly". In *Förderstufe*, two teachers noticed his potential,

and gave him the encouragement and recognition he needed to do his best. Recognition has always been important to Eser, as "one wants to be acknowledged". There is a substantial difference between *Förderstufe* and *Gymnasium*, so Eser had to work hard the first year to pull through. At *Gymnasium*, his class teacher and French teacher had a great impact. They encouraged him to be diligent, not by exerting a "tremendously active influence" but by giving him recognition through "very banal things". Eser believes that his migrant background was one reason why his teachers made such an effort to encourage him. As they lived in a small town, his teachers knew his parents, and "someway or other they thought it was great that a child from a migrant family which had difficulties with everyday life, so to say, could develop so well". Eser graduated from *Gymnasium* with an above-average GPA. This had not been a straightforward accomplishment. During the last years of *Gymnasium*, Eser sustained two severe football injuries, which kept him off school for some time. Since he did not "tumble over", this crunch point contributed to Eser's self-confidence. Football also gave Eser's self-esteem an important boost; as one of the best strikers in the region, he was always selected for tournaments.

Besides self-confidence and diligence, Eser believes that his rootedness in German culture contributed to his successful pathway. Being part of a football association was a significant aid to understanding German culture; "when the master butcher coaches the boys at five p.m., that is just marvellous". While growing up, Eser had many friends of native German origin. The mother of his best friend, Jacob, was a teacher and his father was an engineer. Thanks to this friendship, Eser could experience how German middle-class families live. There was often a newspaper on the table and Jacob would read the sports section. It was important to witness such things, and being exposed to them at a relatively young age contributed to Eser's rootedness. He believes that this is an important reason for why he feels German and understands "how Germans function".

Eser worked very hard during his studies. To prepare for the first state exam, he attended a *Repetitorium* for a year.[6] Not only did he pass, he was among the top seven per cent of graduates. By the age of twenty-three, he was already able to start the *Referendariat*, the preparatory period for the bar examination. This smooth pathway "triggered a certain dynamic" within Eser. During his *Referendariat*, one of his professors suggested that Eser do a Ph.D. He was also asked to work as a *Repetitor* at the *Repetitorium*. For three years, during the entire *Referendariat*, he gave classes to law students who were preparing for the first state exam. At the second state exam, he finished among the top ten per cent of graduates.[7]

Entrance to the labour market and further career. During his studies, Eser already knew that he wanted to work for a large corporate law firm; he "wanted to see the big world, the international topics". During the Referendariat, he decided to do an internship in the United States to polish his English. He sent out applications and found a firm in California. Coincidentally, a friend whom he knew from the *Referendariat* was doing an internship at a top international corporate firm in the same city, and convinced Eser to apply for a job at that firm.

By this point, Eser had an impressive CV. At both state exams, he had finished among the top graduates. He had worked as a *Repetitor* for three years, and had almost finished his Ph.D. He was able to take his pick of jobs in the corporate law sector. Back in Frankfurt, he started to work in technology law at the firm recommended to him by his friend from the *Referendariat*. Eser's starting salary was so high that his "father couldn't believe it". Eser's mentor was one of the most important partners in the firm; something "you need […], if you want to make a career there". During the ten years Eser worked at the firm, he quickly climbed the career ladder. After five years, he

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[6] The classical law study in Germany comprises two stages: the academic law study, and a two-year practical training at court, with government authorities, and law firms (Trier University, 2015). Both parts end with a state exam. The first state exam covers the material of the academic law study, but most students attend a *Repetitorium* for about one year to review this material (Jurastudium, 2015). The second state exam is a prerequisite for practising law as a barrister, and for legal professions such as judge, notary and senior civil servant (Trier University, 2015).

[7] For an explanation of the second state exam, see the previous endnote.

made junior partner. However, "that didn't go without effort" and was "bloody exhausting". Eser worked extremely hard, made long hours, and attended many of the firm's social events. This was a very intense period in his life.

Seeing career opportunities in Turkey's position as an emerging market, he changed from the technology department to mergers and acquisitions, while still working predominantly on technology law. Soon after, he made senior partner. Eser underlines the relevance of team work in large firms, especially in mergers and acquisitions: "M&A is a *Mannschaft* exercise". He was put in charge of setting up a Turkish branch for the firm in Istanbul. He was promised a promotion for this, but the partner of the local firm they had merged with feared that Eser would get in his way and wanted to safeguard his own position. Eser could not stomach this deception from his firm: "I didn't want to accept that, I am too good for that [...] there must be some level of mutual trust". Since the *Mannschaft* wanted out and Eser felt treated unfairly, he decided to change firm, taking the entire M&A team to another prestigious firm that was highly committed to recruiting them.

The Parisian lioness and her counsellors: the importance of mentors
Dilek (thirty-four) works as an independent lawyer specialized in corporate law in Paris, mainly working with medium-sized and large corporations.

Growing up and education. Dilek knows her parents were proud of her educational accomplishments "but they never told me, they would tell it to other people. So I always wanted to be the best". Both parents, each in their own way, contributed to Dilek's character: that of a self-confident and independent woman. Dilek describes her mother as the stereotype of a traditional religious Turkish mother with a strict upbringing style. However, she worked outside the home while Dilek was responsible for taking care of her three younger siblings. Dilek believes that this responsibility helped to make her the strong person she is today.

Dilek's mother tried to prevent her from going to university, fearing that it would lead to indiscrete or dishonourable conduct, such as running away with a boy. While understanding his wife's concerns, Dilek's father wanted his daughter to attend higher education. He was more "open-minded than other Turkish men" and Dilek underlines his influential role in her educational pathway. The fact that he had not been able to obtain a university degree was an important motivation for him. Dilek had helped her father from a very young age, becoming familiar with the ins and outs of running a business. This understanding of what it actually means to run a business set her apart from other lawyers. Dilek had no Turkish friends while growing up; instead, she befriended French children and children from other minority backgrounds. She preferred to keep people of Turkish background out of her social life because as a girl she felt that "the community is something that prevents you from living freely".

The first year of law school was difficult for Dilek. Although she had to work harder than her peers, she managed to pass the freshman year. In the sophomore and third year, Dilek finished as the best of her year. Following the advice of the head of the corporate law department who had noticed her talents, she did a master's degree in corporate law and finance.

During an internship, Dilek met Olivier, who was her supervisor and has played a crucial role in her career ever since. She asked his advice concerning her future plans: "I always do the same. I even said I wanted to open my own office. I discussed my project with my boss. I said, 'I want to do this. What do you think about my work?'". Dilek wanted to work in both finance and law but thought that this would be difficult. Olivier told her that she would have to pass the bar examination if she wanted to be a lawyer. This was a very decisive moment for Dilek, because if it were not for this conversation, Dilek might not have become a lawyer. Olivier also told her that in order to find a good position as a financial agent, she would have to enrol into a *grande* écôle business school. Dilek got a master's degree in corporate finance, which was rated as the best course in France. While studying

at business school, she also attended the preparatory course for the bar examination and became a barrister.

Entrance to the labour market and further career. Dilek has been practicing corporate law as an independent lawyer for four years. She has an apprentice and shares office space and facilities with six other independent lawyers. Ever since graduation, it had been Dilek's goal to become independent, "but first I had to learn how to work, how to be a lawyer". That took her five years.

Dilek met Olivier during her first internship. During her master's in corporate law and finance, she had conducted a financial analysis of a large internationally operating company. She decided to apply there for an internship. Because of the analysis, her letter seemed so professional that the CEO had a hard time believing that she had written it herself. She also found both internships during business school by sending out applications. The first was at a French law firm that specialized in capital investment. Since she was not sure whether to accept the offer, she consulted Olivier. She was looking for an internship exclusively in Finance. Olivier made her realize that this internship matched her aim of working in a position that combined finance and law. She did her second internship at a firm that was within the global ranking of the top ten corporate firms, "they are the stars of law".

After the bar examination, Dilek worked at two large American law firms, where she learned the tricks of the trade and refined her skills. She worked in departments related to corporate law, such as mergers and acquisitions, capital markets and banking. At her last firm, Dilek worked for a partner who trusted her with being the sole correspondent for two files, "as if I were a partner". It was here that she learned how to manage the client-lawyer relationship. Having mastered this skill, Dilek decided it was time to do it alone.

One of her American clients had followed her, but this was not enough. Dilek had to build a clientele. She spent the first months in Istanbul to establish a network there. She set up a partnership with a local firm and introduced herself to different chambers of

commerce. After four years of hard work, building a good reputation, and developing her network, Dilek now obtains most of her clients through her network of former study mates and work colleagues, and her Turkish network. Her study mates and colleagues are either lawyers or "very well-placed financial agents in the Parisian scene", the latter group she knows from the *grande* écôle business school she had attended. To develop her Turkish network, she mainly tries to spread her name through Turkish business associations.

Dilek relies on her own instincts when she needs to take important decisions, saying "If I succeed it is because of me, if I fail it is because of me". However, she has three men whom she contacts if she needs to make a big decision regarding her career. Besides Olivier, the other two are a senior associate and a partner from law firms where she had worked previously. "If I have a big file and I need to ask them: 'how can I do this', or something like that, they will reply". This help is also a two-way street, and has been for some time. Dilek had just started her own office when she received a phone call from Olivier: "he said, 'I need your help', and I said, 'OK, what can I do for you?' He replied, 'Someone will call you and you will have to recommend me'". This was a big moment for Dilek: "I was so happy because I was his trainee and now I had to recommend him".

The Kaldani brothers: "the world of the law firms"
Iva (thirty-four) is a senior associate at a large Finnish-based law firm in Stockholm. Together with the head of the real estate department, Iva makes the department's principal decisions. His older brother, Dakan (thirty-seven), is a partner at a large Swedish-based corporate law firm, where he is responsible for the real estate group.

Growing up and education. The Kaldani parents had always made it clear that they wanted their children to attend higher education. They were not able to help them with homework assignments and important educational decisions, but they helped them in other ways, such as financially, so that they only had to focus on their education. Iva expressed his feelings: "I mean, they worked really hard for it, so…you

know the kind of effort they put in just to be able to provide for you. So I am very grateful for that". Conversely, the school environment was demoralizing. Teachers had low academic expectations and pupils had few academic ambitions; "…about maybe two per cent went to university". Iva experienced racist remarks from teachers and describes them as being "tough and cruel". Because of the school environment, both brothers were not planning on going to university. Dakan told his father that he did not see the point and would rather become a restaurant owner. His father agreed:

> he said, "But I want to try you out, so you'll join me for work the entire summer holidays and if you still find it appropriate or a good thing to do, please go ahead. You can drop out of school, no problem." And, of course he knew that I wouldn't like it.

Dakan remembers getting up at five in the morning with his parents and arriving at home late in the evening, working hard, and being obliged to be friendly to customers he did not like. He decided to change his laidback attitude and obtain the grades needed to be admitted to university. While Dakan had to figure things out on his own, Iva had an older brother to help him with his schoolwork. Once at law school, Dakan did his best to get the highest grades he could, because he knew the importance large corporate firms attached to that. Iva seems to share his older brother's determination and ambition. Once he had decided to study law, he wanted to be the best he could be. He describes law school as a highly competitive and extremely grade-focused study, because that is "all you have to show whether or not you are a good student" (Iva). Pursuing the same pathway, the brothers had a sense of fellowship.

Entrance to the labour market and further career. Dakan has played an important role both in Iva's educational pathway and in his professional career. Iva jokingly says that although he would never admit it to his brother, Dakan is his "biggest inspiration and support".

Iva did his first traineeship at a large Swedish-based corporate firm. Dakan had given Iva's résumé to the recruitment office and when Iva was invited for an interview, he knew he was halfway in. Obviously, during the interview, he had to show that he was "worth the time and money they invest in an associate", but he was familiar with how the recruitment system worked. Law firms in Sweden rely greatly on recommendations from employees or business partners to recuperate the time and money they invest in associates. While he understands the rationale behind this practice, Iva – who is now in a position to recruit himself – is critical of it.

> I don't really appreciate the way we do things sometimes. Somebody gets a job because they are connected to someone else at the law firm […]. But that's the way it works. […] So that's why contacts are very important. It's very unfortunate […] I know that with my background, a lot of people are not given the chance due to this system.

While he underlines the relevance of connections for recruitment, Iva found his second job at one of the most prestigious international law firms by submitting an application. At first, he was somewhat hesitant about taking up an offer from such a top international firm, thinking, "Who am I to just start there…?". Dakan convinced him by saying things like: "there is nobody there that is better than you". Iva's further career benefited greatly from this step. After approximately two years, he was headhunted by his current boss. This was at the same firm where Dakan had started his career. After two years, Iva and his boss were asked to set up the real estate department at their current firm, where he has been working for the past two years. Iva considers his boss as a friend. Since he is also from an ethnic minority background, Iva was able to identify with him, and decided to stay with him. "It's not easy to identify with somebody who is 55, Swedish, parents well-educated, et cetera. […] there is not much diversity among the partners but if there is, you need to find them. Just hold onto them."

Self-made lawyers? 93

Iva describes "the world of the law firms" as a male-dominated, conservative business, peopled by middle-aged Swedish men with well-educated parents. Many of the "big lawyer families" have been lawyers for generations, "going back to the nineteenth century. It is not your world. You are not supposed to be in it". But since Iva enjoyed working as a lawyer, he decided to stay. He does not perceive having to adjust to the culture of law firms as a burden, but as a game that "either you play, or you don't". Once he got a grip on how he was supposed to behave, he simply adapted to it. Iva explains:

> That's something you feel, something you learn when you start to work at law firms: this is how it's done, this is how it works. You don't do that, you must do that. After a couple of months at a firm, somebody tells you what to do, what not do to.

He seems to find the large transactions and being part of the global economy (his work was directly affected by the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers) exciting. But he also enjoys hanging out with his childhood friends, with whom he talks about very different matters and who would never be able to comprehend his life as a lawyer. He finds the duality in his life "nurturing" because he receives different inputs from his private and professional life. He combines both worlds, changing roles between them. One way in which he changes roles is his use of language. In his personal life, he uses suburban Swedish. In his professional life, he speaks "law language", characterized by an elite Swedish accent, jargon and a formal way of speaking that is learnt at law school and is similar to the language used in law books. He moves between his professional life, characterized by large transactions, big clients, and colleagues who chat about golf and hunting and his personal life, mixing with childhood friends who own hair salons, run coffee shops and discuss football.

Conclusion

The three mechanisms of influential actors concerning the career mobility of children of disadvantaged migrants that have emerged from my data underline the influence of significant others on professional pathways. They also stress the social skills and network abilities of the upwardly mobile professionals. The first mechanism stresses the combination of encountering significant others who acknowledge one's talents, and becoming acquainted with middle-class majority-group environments during one's youth. Growing up with peers from a middle-class native background and getting to know their families help youngsters to learn and identify with majority norms. Influential social actors who acknowledge one's talents help to build a strong self-belief. Together, these two features help an individual to develop into a confident professional in a white-collar work environment. The professionals make use of their social skills to find valuable mentors and maintain their relationship with them during further phases of their career in order to have access to their advice, guidance and network. This is illustrated by the second mechanism. Others, who grew up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, attending schools where many of the pupils had educational problems, encounter brighter boundaries in the law sector, which is still dominated by people of native heritage from a middle- or upper-class social background. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by the third mechanism, they use their social skills to comprehend the social rules of "the world of the law firms" by observing interactions between colleagues and gaining information from them in order to facilitate their incorporation into the white-collar professional environment of the law sector.

This article contributes to the increasing body of literature on the social mobility of descendants of disadvantaged ethnic minorities. It draws connections between research on the impact of significant others on the educational pathways of upwardly mobile individuals and research on career mobility of descendants of migrants. It has shown that the relevance of significant others found in the literature on educational mobility of descendants of migrants can be extended to

professional pathways. Furthermore, it adds to studies on the minority culture of mobility as observed in an American context (Agius Vallejo, 2012; Neckerman et al., 1999) because it shows that being raised in a middle-class family is not the only way for descendants of migrants to successfully incorporate into white-collar professional sectors. Becoming familiar with middle-class majority norms and ways in one's youth (e.g. through school and peers) can have a similar effect. Additionally, this article showed that having grown up in a disadvantaged environment does not necessarily mean that one cannot be successful in a white-collar professional environment. People learn what conduct is expected of them in the new environment along the way and behave accordingly. However, this does not preclude experiencing feelings of lack of belonging. They can still be unable to associate entirely and comfortably with their colleagues of middle- and upper-class native parentage.

How do they activate social capital?
Steep mobility of descendants of immigrants at the top of the corporate business sector[*]

Abstract

This qualitative study on steep social mobility is based on interviews with descendants of guest-worker immigrants who currently work in highly prestigious positions in the field of professional business services in the Netherlands. The majority of studies on social capital and career mobility is based on quantitative methods which makes it difficult to gain insight into its mechanisms. In line with Lin (1999) and Smith (2005) the current article makes the distinction between the access to and the activation of social capital. By explaining how the professional characteristics of the social climbers triggered their network connections to become 'donors' (Portes, 1998), I attempt to shed light on the mechanisms of social capital activation. For this claim I introduce the concepts of 'likeability' and 'reliability'. Furthermore, I categorize two types of donors that have emerged from my data: 'ambassadors' and 'coaches'. By comprehending how the descendants of migrants activated their social capital, this article gives insight into the mechanisms of their steep social mobility, and it deepens our understanding of the relation between social capital and career mobility.

Introduction

Recently more scholars are seeking to illuminate the mechanisms of the intergenerational upward mobility of descendants of guest-worker migrants in Europe. What often triggers scholars' attention is the question how they made it against all odds. Their parents have a migrant background, low-levels of education and low socio-economic status. They grew up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and attended schools with high numbers of pupils with educational difficulties. How have they been able to achieve upward mobility from this disadvantaged position? The majority of these studies have focused on educational careers, concentrating on individual characteristics (see e.g. Andriessen, Phalet, & Lens, 2006; Van Praag, Agirdag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2016), intra- and extra-family resources (see e.g. Keskiner, 2015; Legewie, 2015; Rezai et al., 2015) and structural factors (see e.g. Crul & Schneider, 2010; Schnell et al., 2013). Now that the children of guest-worker migrants in Europe are becoming older, besides their educational careers, we can observe their gradual but constant advancement on the labour market. Though they lag behind the majority group, compared to the immigrant generation the second generation is making substantial advances. Highly-skilled professionals are occupying well-paid and socially prestigious occupations, and are even managing to gain elite positions (Alba & Foner, 2015; Crul et al, 2017a; Crul et al., 2017b; Keskiner & Crul, 2017; Vermeulen & Keskiner, 2017; Konyali, 2017; Rezai, 2017; Schneider & Lang, 2014; Waldring, 2017).

These developments provide scholars the opportunity to study their upward career mobility. The current article focuses on descendants of Turkish migrants who occupy highly distinguished positions in the field of professional business services in the Netherlands. It centres on how they have made use of their social networks to advance their careers. Hence, the focus does not lie on labour market entry, but on career mobility. The literature on career mobility of highly-skilled professionals largely emphasizes the importance of social networks for professional advancement (Harvey & Maclean, 2008; Lin, 1999;

Podolny & Baron, 1997; Raider & Burt, 1996; Seibert et al., 2001). Scholars observe that social networks provide benefits such as access to information and financial or material resources (Lin, 1999; Harvey & MacIean, 2008; Raider & Burt, 1996). The importance of mentoring and more specifically of career sponsorship for occupational mobility has also been demonstrated (Podolny & Baron, 1997; Seibert et al., 2001). Some studies on upward career mobility focusing on highly-skilled ethnic minorities stress that compared to the dominant group they are less able to use social relations for enhancing their careers (Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Light & Gold, 2000), particularly if they have been raised in poor households and communities (Agius Vallejo, 2012; see also Neckerman et al., 1999). Other scholars have tried to unravel how descendants of migrants succeeded at putting their social networks to good use (Rezai, 2017; Keskiner & Crul, 2017). Rezai (2017) showed how professionally successful descendants of migrants in Europe had significant others within their social networks who positively influenced their occupational careers (see also Morando, 2013). Keskiner & Crul (2017) uncovered how developing forms of capital, such as cultural and social capital, assisted descendants of migrants in accessing leadership positions.

Possessing a social network, even one consisting of influential members, does not guarantee the mobilization of social capital (Smith, 2005). One needs to also activate social capital. Lin (1999) and Smith (2005) make the distinction between access to social capital and activation of social capital. Smith (2005) observes how activation of social capital occurs for the Afro-American working class. Inspired by her approach, in the current article I aim to show how the successful second generation activates their social capital to enhance their upward mobility. I pose the central question: *What mechanisms of social capital activation do we identify in the professional careers of Dutch-Turkish highly distinguished professionals?* This article draws the link between professional characteristics and social capital activation. It illustrates that the professional characteristics of the descendants of migrants led to their network connections to appropriate the resources connected to them in the benefit of the careers of the social climbers. For this

argument the dyadic characteristics 'likeability' and 'reliability' are introduced. By gaining insight in the social capital activation of social climbers, this study sheds light on the mechanisms of their steep social mobility.

Theoretical framework

In his seminal review of the concept of social capital Portes (1998) considers Bourdieu's analysis to be theoretically the most refined. Bourdieu (1986) defines 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" (p. 11). In the current article I follow Bourdieu's description, since it underlines "the facilitation of [social capital] activation" (Smith, 2005, p. 5), and my principal interest lies in how one can activate these 'actual or potential resources' via possessing durable networks. Lin (1999) makes a convincing distinction between the access to and the mobilization of social capital. The access to social capital entails the resources an individual has access to through social connections. Such studies focus on network structure and composition (Smith 2005; see e.g. Boxman, De Graaf, & Flap, 1991; Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1985). The mobilization of social capital refers to the use of social contacts' status and resources provided by contacts (Lin, 1999). Smith (2005) too makes a distinction between the access and mobilization of social capital, which she calls the activation of social capital. She defines social capital activation as "the point at which [the] resources are shared – when one or more actors provides instrumental or expressive aid to others, beginning or continuing a series of nonnegotiated or reciprocal exchanges" (p. 5). Studies on the activation of social capital focus on network contacts' resources being used in an instrumental manner, such as for intra-organizational mobility (Smith, 2005; see e.g. De Graaf & Flap, 1988; Marsden & Hurlbert, 1988; Podolny & Baron, 1997). In her detailed US study on the factors that influence decisions of black urban poor

to assist job-seeking ties, such as friends and relatives, Smith (2005) constructs a multilevel conceptual framework based on social capital theories. Her framework explains social capital activation as a function of individual-level properties such as reputation and status, dyadic properties such as the strength of relationships based on trust and trustworthiness, and properties of the network and community. Her analysis on the urban black poor shows that the job seekers' reputation was of overwhelmingly importance for network contacts' decisions on providing assistance. Also significant, though secondary, was the influence of the strength of relationships. Both properties were important because they provided the network contacts knowledge for assessing the influence the job seekers could have on their own reputation and employment prospects, if for example they would be employed by the same employer. Smith (2005) found little evidence for the importance of network and community properties. Inspired by Smith's (2005) approach, I focus on corporate professionals in prestigious positions, and examine which mechanisms played an important role in activating social capital. Clearly those in high-skilled professions find themselves in social networks that have aided them to advance in their careers by giving them access to information and material resources (Harvey & MacIean, 2008; Lin, 1999; Kadushin, 1995; Podolny & Baron, 1997; Raider & Burt, 1996; Seibert et al., 2001). Yet the question remains how do the newcomers to the field mobilize their social networks and turn them into actual or potential resources, hence how do they activate their social capital.

Many studies on elites of the last decade pointed at the changing nature of the composition of 'the elite' or the high-skilled professionals. Based on her long-term study of the Canadian managerial elite Carroll (2008) argues that the Canadian elite is no longer formed by the old-boys networks but that it is diversified with women and ethnic minority groups. Comparing the networking activities among the business elite in France and the UK, Harvey and Maclean (2008) point at a similar diversification as they talk about the "newcomers" who are of non-elite background. Heemskerk and Fennema (2009) attribute the change of the corporate elite in the Netherlands to education reforms.

The aristocracy dominated the boards of large business corporations until well after the Second World War. The majority of this Dutch corporate elite was related through kinship ties and had a strong sense of "we-ness" (Heemskerk & Fennema 2009, p. 813). Due to education reforms aimed at stimulating social equity in the 1960s and 1970s, higher education became accessible to all social classes (Boekholt & De Booy, 1987). Since the quality and recognition of Dutch pre-university tracks and universities are very comparable, they do not serve as social selection tools in the distinct way of the French *grandes ecôles*, or the British top male-only public schools (Heemskerk & Fennema, 2009; see also Bourdieu, 1996; Hartmann, 2000; Harvey & MacIean, 2008; Keskiner & Crul, 2017). In the Netherlands the absence of such elite institutions has facilitated the access of professionals without an aristocratic background to top corporate positions. Heemskerk and Fennema (2009) argue that while the old elite was a status group with a high degree of endogamy and internal traditional linkages, the new corporate elite is a socioeconomic class consisting of successful individuals who proclaim the relevance of meritocracy and relate success to individual characteristics.

While the white old boys' networks are thinning, social capital continues to be crucial, formerly almost exclusively for attaining social reproduction and today also for achieving upward mobility. Hence it becomes a pressing question to scholars how the social climbers activate the social capital in their networks for their career mobility. In her efforts to sketch a baseline model of social capital activation Smith (2005) underlines the importance of individual-level and dyadic characteristics such as reputation and strength of relationships. Looking at social-capital and social-network studies that focus on corporate professionals in prestigious positions, we find that Harvey and MacIean (2008) argue that the networks of the business elite in the UK largely depend on individuals' social ambition and networking skills. Hartmann (2000) uncovered that candidates for top executive positions in large enterprises in Germany must meet certain skills. They should know and have internalized dress and behaviour codes, appear self-confident and have a sound

general education (see also Friedman, 2013), and have an optimistic attitude and an entrepreneurial way of thinking. Hartmann (2000) also discusses the role of 'trust' in recruiting corporate executives, referring to being able to rely on an individual's absolute discretion and solidarity. The sense of mutual trust, the feeling of communicating on the same wavelength, and having the same frame of reference, makes it possible to view and accept the newcomer as one of their own. 'Trust' has also been approached in a different manner by sociologists who theorize on social capital. In his seminal work, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, James Coleman (1988) explains that the trustworthiness of a social structure "means that obligations will be repaid, and the actual extent of obligations held" (p. S102). Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) use the concept of 'enforceable trust' in a similar vein. Individual members comply with group expectations to gain or sustain the reputation that they are reliable, and through this they gain credits to reciprocity. The reciprocal credits will consist either of the donor anticipating utilities from the recipient, or of the donor yielding "status, honor or approval" (Portes, 1998, p. 9) from the collectivity (see also Portes, 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). These are the two consequences of 'enforceable trust' which apply when both the recipient and the donor are embedded in a common social structure.

To conclude, certain factors come to the fore in understanding the link between network connections and career mobility. Specific individual characteristics are attributed to the corporate elites, such as reputation, self-assurance, optimism, networking skills and entrepreneurial thinking. Also factors attributable to relationships such as compliance with group expectations trust and reliability shed light on the activation of social capital.

Research process

For the current study I made use of interviews conducted within the international ELITES, Pathways to Success project which aimed to gain insight into how the children of immigrants from Turkey accomplishing upward mobility in Europe. For the selection of

interviewees, we applied an objective way of defining success by using job status as criterion (Crul et al., 2017a). Applying the EGP class schema the research team aimed at people working in the top two classes of this schema (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002).[8] This means that the participants belong to the most successful group of above-average successful people in society (Crul et al., 2017a).

The current article focuses on steep social climbers within the field of professional business services in the Netherlands. The research team conducted sixteen interviews with higher-grade professionals, and managers of corporate businesses in the Netherlands (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002; Konyali, 2017). To be able to scrutinize the steep upward mobility of social climbers who are children of immigrants from Turkey I selected the participants who were particularly successful in their career. This resulted in eight senior managers and executives who encompass the focus of the present article. Five are salaried and work for large enterprises, and three are self-employed. Their ages, at the time of interview, range between 33 and 47 years. Only one of the participants is female, which corresponds with the over-representation of men in high-ranking positions in the field of professional business services in the Netherlands (see Table 1) (Crul et al., 2017a). They all have obtained a Masters' degree, which is in great contrast to their parents' educational level. Compared to their parents they show a steep social mobility (see Table 2) (Crul et al., 2017a).

The research group developed semi-structured interview protocols consisting of open-ended questions aiming at gaining insight into their educational and professional pathways. Subsequently, the questions were piloted with a small number of participants who were similar to those who would be interviewed as research participants. Based on the pilot interviews the interview protocols were revised. I transferred the open-ended questions of the interview protocol for the business professionals in the Netherlands into a topic list, since using a topic list enhances the informal sphere of a face-to-face interview.

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[8] The Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP, also known as Goldthorpe or CASMIN) class schema consists of eleven classes. It aims to capture differences in employment relations by using employment status and occupation as indicators. This schema, and versions of it, has become widely adopted in social mobility studies since the 1980s (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002).

Table 1. General background information of participants.

Name*	Highest level of education	Executive career sector	Job description	Size enterprise**	Income (x1000)***	Gender	Age****	Country of birth	Age at migration
Serhat	Master	Information Technology and Services	CEO, self-employed	Large	>10	Male	44	Turkey	3
Kudret	Master	Computer Software	CEO, self-employed	Large	8-10	Male	44	Turkey	3
Omer	Master	Energy	Senior Manager	Large	>10	Male	35	Netherlands	n/a
Cari	Master	Energy	Senior executive	Large	>10	Female	46	Turkey	2
Tabib	Master	Energy	Chief Financial Officer	Large	8-10	Male	46	Turkey	6
Onur	Master	Management Consulting	CEO, self-employed	Micro	6-8	Male	33	Netherlands	n/a
Erdem	Master	Financial Services	Senior Manager	Large	4-6	Male	42	Netherlands	n/a
Selim	Master	Banking	Senior executive	Large	8-10	Male	47	Turkey	11

*Names have been anonymized.
**The classification of size of enterprise is conducted by estimation, and according to EU classification which is based on number of persons employed.
***In euros.
****Age at time of interview.

Table 2. Education and occupation of participants, their partners and their parents.

Name*	Highest level of education	Job description	Partner's highest level of education	Partner's occupation	Mother's highest level of education	Mother's last occupation	Father's highest level of education	Father's last occupation
Serhat	Master	CEO, self-employed	Post-secondary vocational	Financial manager at husband's company	Secondary, not finished	Cleaning lady	Illiterate	Gardener at gardening company
Kudret	Master	CEO, self-employed	Master	CEO of foundation, self-employed	Illiterate	Seamstress at factory	Secondary, not finished	Owner garage
Omer	Master	Senior Manager	Master	Actuary	Secondary	Childcare	Secondary	Administrative job
Cari	Master	Senior executive	Master	Entrepreneur	Illiterate	-	Primary	Scaffolder
Tabib	Master	Chief Financial Officer	Master	Housewife	Primary	-	Secondary	Factory worker
Onur	Master	CEO, self-employed	n/a	n/a	Secondary	Cashier in previous bakery of husband	Secondary	Salesman in European industry
Erdem	Master	Senior Manager	Post-secondary vocational	Housewife	Illiterate	-	Illiterate	Carpet maker at factory
Selim	Master	Senior executive	Bachelor	Housewife	Illiterate	-	Secondary	Factory worker

*Names have been anonymized.

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While our initial aim was to only interview second-generation people, we also interviewed professionals who migrated in their childhood (see table 1). The research team realized soon in the fieldwork that age would make it difficult for finding people who are in leading positions. Most of the second-generation of Turkish heritage are still quite young which means that they are still in the early stages of their careers. We started the fieldwork by making use of our networks and continued with snowball sampling. LinkedIn, a major active business and professional networking website, proved to be especially helpful for snowball methods, and for preparing for interviews since many professionals have detailed CVs on their LinkedIn page. Interviewing higher-educated business professionals in prestigious positions about their occupational careers was hardly a difficult task. They were perceptive, eloquent and sociable Also, it was clear that most of the interview topics were matters they had thought about before and often had very clear ideas and opinions about. The interviews took between one to four hours. Most of the interviews were conducted at the participants' offices. After a short introduction, the in-depth interviews with participants were conducted using a topic list. At the end of each interview a form with background information was filled in. When time was lacking the form was sent to the participant by e-mail with the request to fill it in. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. The interviews were voice recorded and transcribed.

I applied the issue-focused analysis method of Robert S. Weiss (1994) to analyse the pathways of the participants and to comprehend the mechanisms of upward career mobility in which social capital played a role. The mechanisms of social capital activation that emerged from the data have been inductively conceptualized.

Mechanisms of social capital activation

> *Interviewer:* And what would you say is the biggest barrier for professional, successful people with a migrant background?

Selim: I think probably the lack of network, most probably. Look, we are always talking about that it's all about sending job applications – you might find a job opening in *de Volkskrant* [Dutch national newspaper], and you send in an application – but in my experience, if you don't have access to certain contacts, it gets complicated.

[I]it can be utterly important that you move outside your own circles and that you move in the circles that society cares about, so instead of being active at the local mosque – that's nice – but then you should also be active at the Cancer Foundation or something similar, so it can be that simple. So if you do volunteer work, don't do it just in your own corner. And that is a way of thinking, and that should be your approach to life. In this way you make [new] friends and you go to [new] places […] and you don't just go to your friends and drink tea, no, you go to the pub with your colleagues and have a drink there. On Saturdays you go to […] trade meetings, where people who have leading positions come together. (Onur)

As the above quotes underline and as previous research has illustrated (see e.g. Harvey & MacIean, 2008; Kadushin, 1995; Lin, 1999; Podolny & Baron, 1997; Raider & Burt ,1996; Seibert et al., 2001) network contacts are crucial for accessing distinguished positions. The participants have reached prestigious positions and have been able to build and maintain a network of valuable connections throughout the years. Nevertheless, having access to a network of influential individuals per se is insufficient for reaping its fruits. It is also important to activate the actual and potential resources linked to a social network (Lin, 1999; Smith, 2005).
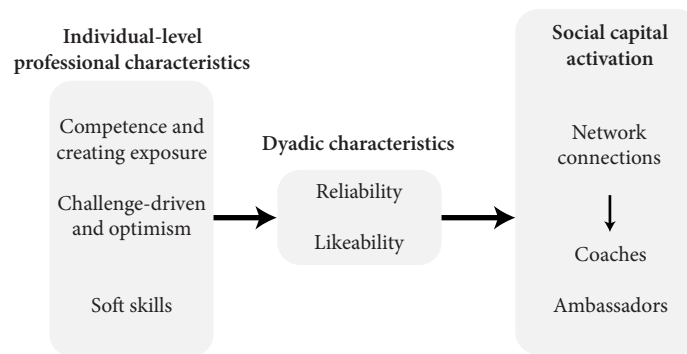
In this section the participants' mechanisms of social capital activation will be unravelled. In the following, I illustrate the individual-level professional characteristics (competence and creating exposure; challenge-driven and optimism; and, soft skills) the participants have in common, which in their perception have helped them to build and

maintain a network of valuable connections who acted in the benefit of their professional careers. Furthermore, I argue that the combination of their professional characteristics has helped to generate the dyadic characteristics 'likeability' and 'reliability', and through that, to convert influential network contacts into what I call 'ambassadors' and 'coaches'. Then I move on to explaining the attributes of ambassadors and coaches, and showing that they functioned as crucial sources in the networks of the participants. Before discussing these findings, I will explain how individual-level professional characteristics, the dyadic characteristics reliability and likeability and the conversion of network connections into ambassadors and coaches are linked to each other.

Reliability and likeability

Based on the analysis I argue that the participants' individual-level professional characteristics helped them to activate social capital (see figure 1). The steep social climbers have in common the combination of specific professional characteristics (competence and creating exposure; challenge-driven and optimism; and, soft skills) which together bring about the dyadic characteristics 'reliability' and 'likeability'. The professional characteristics are recognized by network connections as valuable in the field of professional business services. This recognizing of the relevance of the professional characteristics of the social climbers generates in the perception of the network connections a sense of belief in their qualities, and trust that they will be able to comply with expectations (see also Hartmann, 2000). I have called this dyadic characteristic reliability. The soft skills of the participants in particular create, what I have called, likeability, which is a sense of congeniality. The dyadic characteristics likeability and reliability together pave the ground for converting network connections into ambassadors and coaches. These mechanisms are needed for network contacts to be motivated to act as 'donors' (Portes, 1998). Hence, in this way the social climbers' professional characteristics can help to activate social capital.

Individual-level
professional characteristics

Competence and
creating exposure

Challenge-driven
and optimism

Soft skills

Dyadic characteristics

Reliability

Likeability

Social capital
activation

Network
connections

↓

Coaches

Ambassadors

Figure 1: Mechanism of social capital activation

In the following we have a closer look at what the professional characteristics consist of. While the characteristics of the participants were classified in three categories (competence and creating exposure; challenge-driven and optimism; and, soft skills), they are related to each other, and their strength of activating social capital lies in their combination. The participants possess all categories discussed in this paragraph, however not all participants have all the aspects of the professional characteristics which I explain.

Competence and creating exposure
Having achieved high status positions, the participants have become experts in their field. They stated that they achieved this with their diligence and hard work. Erdem, a senior manager in the field of financial services, explains that he always tries to work longer hours and do his work better than his colleagues. He emphasizes that he puts effort in developing himself, for example by reading in his spare time instead of watching TV.

The participants are not modest (see also Friedman, 2013; Hartman, 2000). Onur, a senior manager in the energy sector, calls himself "self-assured". Omer, also a senior manager in the energy sector, describes himself as "a bit presumptuous". Serhat, who runs his own company in the IT and services field, uses the introduction "[t]hat sounds very arrogant", and continues by explaining how he

possesses the right mentality for becoming successful in any given business. Self-assurance, in some more pronounced than in others, is a characteristic observed in all the participants. And this assists them in promoting their competence, since competence alone is not enough (see Hartmann, 2000). As Erdem says, you need to "show the people around you that you're the best". Omer states that it is important to work hard, but it has no use if it goes unnoticed. One needs to "create exposure", "you work hard, but you also advertise it. You make transparent what you've done […] you need to enforce things in life". Also Cari, the only female participant and a senior executive in the energy sector, emphasizes the relevance of making one's capabilities noticed:

> In my experience, if you are good at what you do, so if you focus in the settings in which you work, if you are confident, if people think 'wow, she really has something interesting to say!', then you build credibility and credits amongst the people whom you work with. That interaction is crucial but it really begins with just being good at what you do. […] I have always worked hard for it, whenever I was on a supervisory board, I had something important to say, I would read all the documents, so that is…I think people build respect for you. (Cari)

In this quote, Cari draws links between expertise, diligence, hard work, self-assurance, exposure, and generating respect, credits and credibility amongst network connections.

Challenge-driven and optimism

Being challenge-driven is an aspect that comes to the fore very strongly with the entrepreneurs who were interviewed. Kudret, active in the field of computer software, expresses his "eager[ness]" for challenge and success and states that he "always need to feel: Yes! This is a challenge!". Onur enjoys diving into solving complex problems for companies, and Serhat's hands start itching when he

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finds organisations to function inefficiently. While less pronounced than in the case of the entrepreneurs, the other business professionals also demonstrate being challenge-driven, or as Hartmann (2000, p. 252) explains it for the top executives he studied, they "display a high degree of entrepreneurial thinking". A need for challenge was the instigator for Cari's big career change which entailed parting from the impressive career she had built and its promising prospects: "I am too young to flatline and sponge off what I already know. I still want to learn new things, spread my wings, meet new people." As we can also see with Erdem, seeking challenges is connected to their ambition for personal development. Erdem explains that he has always had the drive to be the best. When as a young professional Erdem had his first job interview at his current firm, he was asked what position he aspired in five years, he replied: "I will become your first Turkish executive in the country!". The interviewers were very much amused, to which he responded: "Why are you laughing? I am making a very serious statement". It took him a couple years longer than the five years he had prophesized to make it to a high managerial position. While this gives a glimpse into the forms of prejudice professionals of minority background encounter, it also shows Erdem's challenge-driven attitude.

Being challenge-driven is related to being optimistic, another characteristic the participants have in common (see also Hartmann, 2000; Kaniel, Massey & Robinson, 2010). Grabbing an opportunity when they see it, as Onur explains his career mentality. One of the ways in which Serhat tries to gain clients' confidence is by taking evident business risks for them, trusting in that it will be reciprocated in the future. This has resulted in several loyal clients. He gives an example of helping out a client who had a shutdown of the billing system during the weekend. Serhat got a team together and made sure the system was up and running by Monday.

> Do you think that when that person needs something, and I have taken all the risk upon me, to incorporate those people, without contract and without self-interest, that when that

person needs something, that he will phone me or someone else? Obvious, right? Seems to me. I could have also said: 'I need to have financial security first. Flying those people out there, that's a couple of thousand euros. The risks you take for each day…' But those people worked two days and everything was fixed. Well, he still tells me: 'if you hadn't helped me, I hadn't been here anymore'. (Serhat)

Their optimism is marked by buoyancy and perseverance. We can observe Kudret's resilience in how, after a bankruptcy which resulted into a depression, he got back on his feet and built a very successful company. We also observe his perseverance in finding solutions for problems. "It is possible. You just haven't found the solution yet", he often tells his employees, urging them to continue looking for a solution. He continues seeking possibilities when others give up.

[A]lso in my business life, whenever something negative happens…I just inherited it as stock-in-trade. It's such a great stock-in-trade! I see it with entrepreneurs when they are confronted with a setback, then they're destroyed, all is bad, they fall apart, then I say: 'guys!' - the strange thing is that when I have to deal with a setback I just get more energy -, and then I say: 'guys, we're going to be positive now'. So, I can turn negativity into positivity, and this actually is a really beautiful stock-in-trade that I inherited from my youth. (Kudret)

What Kudret explains as the ability to turn negative experiences into positive energy, could also be interpreted as the urge to prove oneself, which is apparent in the accounts of other participants.

Soft skills

Several participants talk about the importance of what participants name "soft skills" (Onur) or "EQ" (Omer) for accessing distinguished positions such as having the ability to easily establish contacts and to comprehend how to behave with whom (see also Hartmann, 2000; Podolny & Baron, 1997; Raider & Burt, 1996). Omer:

> But perhaps also my *Fingerspitzengefühl*, that I know when I speak to people, how I should speak to that person, and what that person wants to hear. I am pretty good at that. That's creepy, but…that also plays a role, you need to have a certain EQ next to your IQ. (Omer)

Omer believes this is a beneficial capacity people with a migrant background often possess. Onur links these soft skills to accessing and activating social capital:

> Well, you definitely need to have good social skills. It's not necessarily about being smart […], well, that's useful and of course it has benefits, but that's not the decisive part, the decisive part is that you're able to establish contacts easily, that people like you and have your best interest at heart. […] you just need to have people who introduce you and push you to the front, and once you are there, that they allow you…, that there not begrudged about you begin there, so to say, that they allow you to stay there. Or even better, that they support you in that position, that they've got your back. (Onur)

Cari explains how her soft skills and other professional characteristics have played a role in building her network and in activating social capital:

> So I have a feeling that the way in which I relate to people – approachable, open-minded, transparent – and

if possible appear as very well-informed, and therefore hard-working – that, I think, has played a role in how my network has developed itself. I think I can say, that I have quite a lot of people who would just take the time to help me with something. A high grant factor. And grant factor you develop by demonstrating expertise and through transparency. Yeah, getting into people's networks, and that people simply find you pleasant and nice, and competent, and are willing to do something for you. (Cari)

The Dutch term *gunfactor*, here translated as 'grant factor' is referred to also by other participants. An individual's grant factor is best described as a set of factors or conditions that cause actors to sense a combination of congeniality and trust concerning the individual, and to wish him well and even to actively support him. Transferred to the current study it would be the combination of likeability and reliability the participants bring about amongst their influential network connections which motivates them to support the social climbers in their professional careers, and by doing so to take on the roles of ambassadors and coaches. The ambassadors and coaches apply their informational, material and social resources to contribute to the upward mobility of the business professionals. Hence, in this way the professional characteristics of the social climbers are transferred into social capital.

Ambassadors and coaches

So now I even have several ambassadors at the level of the Board, and I am very economical with them. Last year, for example, I had a very good offer from the competition and I declined it. You simply cannot compare salary with the network you have, and I especially have that inside the company. I know people at the Board of Directors, whom I visit for a coffee, who want to know how I am, and I must cherish that. (Erdem)

The emphasis on the importance of social capital for professional careers recurs in all the interviews with the business professionals. Influential network contacts yielded "potential or actual resources" (Bourdieu 1986, p. 11) by playing an important role in intra-firm upward mobility, when changing company, and when making important decisions such as becoming independent or making a career change. My qualitative analysis shows that network connections were primarily important in two roles which I define as ambassadors and coaches. Network contacts can take on the role of an ambassador or the role of a coach, or both roles. Below I illustrate ambassadors and coaches as influential network connections who recognize the potential of the social climbers (see also Rezai, 2017; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). These 'donors' (Portes, 1998) have valuable professional knowledge and social resources, and are willing to apply these in the benefit of the career paths of the high achievers (see also De Graaf & Flap, 1988).

Selim, a senior executive in the banking sector, uses the term ambassador. When asked what he means with it, he replies: "[t]hat he says that I'm a good lad". As Selim indicates, the main characteristic of ambassadors is that they recognize the potential of the business professionals and promote them within their networks and thereby are able to open doors for them. Hence, they function as their ambassadors. Like Selim, Erdem, whom I quoted above, has several ambassadors who are influential actors in his firm and promote him within their network. They have proven to be instrumental for his mobility within the firm. Erdem illustrates this with an example. One of his first bosses at the firm didn't find Erdem to be leadership material. Disagreeing, Erdem left to a different department and became the senior executive of one of the provincial branches. Later on, by chance he became acquainted with one of the Board members at the gym and they hit it off. Erdem:

> Erdem: [W]hat happens next? I had left him [former boss], because he didn't want me. […] He [the Board member from the gym] was just doing a regional visit, he would do

that once in a while, so I told him: 'I heard you'll be in the neighbourhood, come and visit me'. So he came […], we went to see a client together, I gave a presentation [for him] at my office on how I do things, how I see things, what else I wanted to do. That gave him a really good impression. Next, he [the Board member] talks to him [former boss], and he sends me a text message the next day: 'I've heard great things about you from Charles. You can always come back and work for me'. That's how it works!

Interviewer: And ten years later he offers you [your current] job?

Erdem: Yeah, funny, right?

Erdem's professional characteristics of soft skills and creating exposure of his competence are markedly detectable here. Also his optimism is apparent in how despite the setback with his former boss, he continues to accomplish intra-firm mobility. Erdem's professional characteristics impressed the Board member and generated likeability and reliability. Recognizing Erdem's talents he promoted him within his network, eventually contributing to his upward mobility.

An ambassador could promote someone out of self-interest, for example to underline his own foresight, as Erdem illustrates: "This man, for example, promoted me very often amongst other people. But it also works the other way around. […] going like: 'and I knew back then that he was good". Since Erdem and the ambassador are embedded in a common social structure, the ambassador is able to profit from the Erdem's success, being reciprocated for his efforts with "status, honor and approval" (Portes 1998, p. 9) by their common network connections.

Coaches are network connections who over time have become reliable confidants. That is their main attribute. Generally, the professionals have built a personal relationship with them and a relationship of trust (see also Podolny & Baron, 1997; Raider & Burt, 1996). In the relationship with coaches the line between professional contacts and friends becomes blurred, and conversations become typically more about personal things

and less about work-related matters. The professionals perceive coaches as reliable and trustworthy, and approach them for advice on matters such as important career decisions. Tabib, a CFO in the energy sector, illustrates:

> I do notice that for example in certain phases of your life, of your career, it is useful to brainstorm together once in a while about: what kind of job do I want next? What direction do I want to take? […] And I still have people like that. A half of dozen people whom you trust, and whom you can ask for advice and guidance without having to immediately…You also really need that, I believe. A number of people who like you and support you. […] who mean well […] if you don't have that, you have a bit too little reflection. You shouldn't get a big head, neither underestimate yourself, and…Find the right balance. And if you have someone who says: 'well, that's realistic, or well….' That helps to put it in a certain context, to validate your thoughts. A small network of confidants, that is really very important. (Tabib)

Tabib explains that it is important that the relationship a coach has with one is not primarily "about self-interest, it is about making time and energy for someone without immediately wanting something in return" (Tabib). For approaching someone for career advice it is fundamental to have built "a relation of trust" (Tabib) in order to be able to rely on honesty and discretion (see also Hartmann, 2000). The social climbers rely on the coaches' judgement because they believe that the coaches have their interest at heart. What is also important for being able to rely on the coaches' judgement is that they know both the professional field and the social climbers well, which allows them to match the professionals' properties with the requirements of the field. When Cari was contemplating on making a big career change, and found herself not being sure what direction to take, she decided to talk to several coaches.

Cari: I then started to approach people in my network very specifically: 'hey, I am quitting, what I really would like is this but how do I go about it, and how does one get there, and whom should I be talking to? So, I had some really good talks with people who brainstormed with me also to focus my own ideas more precisely…'the private sector is very large. What do you want? Financial Services? Do you want Aviation? Do you want Services? Do you want Shipping? So which one is it?' So, while talking, I came up with Energy.

Interviewer: were those people who worked in the private sector?

Cari: also, but in any case, people with whom I had built a relationship of trust. So I didn't just go around talking to people I didn't know: 'hey, can I ask you a question?'. But really people from my own network whom throughout the years I had learned to appreciate and whose judgement…
of whom I really thought 'they know me well, they know, perhaps better than myself…they can assess what type of professions would be appropriate for me.

Cari's likeability and reliability have helped her to convert influential contacts into coaches who are willing to put time and effort into enhancing her career. In this way she activated her social capital for her own benefit.

The major distinction between the roles of ambassadors and coaches is that while the ambassadors' actions are limited to promoting the professionals within their networks, the relationship with coaches is more personal and is based on trust. Ambassadors and coaches also have similarities; they both recognize the potential of the business professionals, and are willing to apply their influential network position in their benefit.

Conclusion

This article focused on the steep social mobility of children of migrants from Turkey who are distinguished professionals in the field of professional business services in the Netherlands. It aimed at unravelling their mechanisms of social capital activation, in order to deepen our understanding of the conditions that have to be met for network connections to provide career-mobility assistance. Following Lin (1999) and Smith (2005), it emphasized the importance of distinguishing between the access and the activation of social capital. For attaining career advancement the access to social capital is not enough, but one also needs to activate social capital. The current study contributes to the strand of literature on social capital activation on several levels.

My analysis has shown that the mechanisms of social capital activation consist of individual-level professional characteristics, dyadic characteristics and of the conversion of network connections into donors. I have identified three groups of professional characteristics: competence and creating exposure; challenge-driven and optimism; and, soft skills. The combination of these individual-level professional characteristics generates the dyadic characteristics 'likeability' and 'reliability'. I have conceptualized reliability as a sense of belief in the professionals' capacities, and trust that they will be able to comply with expectations. The soft skills of the participants in particular effectuate 'likeability'. When influential network connections perceive both likeability and reliability concerning the business professionals, they are motivated to assist them and take on the role of donor, and as a consequence social capital is activated. I observed two types of donors: 'ambassadors', who promote the professionals in their networks, and 'coaches', with whom the professionals have a relationship of trust and can turn to for advice. In this way the professional characteristics of the social climbers helped them to achieve social capital activation. This article showed the importance of professional characteristics in network connections' motivation to act as donors and enhance other individuals' career mobility.

While Smith (2005) has shown how individual-level properties and dyadic characteristics separately influence social capital activation, the

current study has observed the relation between such characteristics. It has given insight into the flow of the mechanisms of social capital activation. It argued that individual-level characteristics lead into dyadic characteristics, which again effectuate network connections to become coaches and ambassadors. Furthermore, while Smith (2005) shows that the urban black poor help job seekers when they find that these ties will not harm their employment positions, the influential network connections of my participants seem to be motivated more by the prospect of enhancing their reputation and position. Donors act because they have instrumental expectations, which can be status or approval of the collectivity, as was shown for ambassadors in the current article. Donors can also be motivated by the anticipation of utilities from the recipient, which implies the necessity for a higher level of trust and resonates with the conceptualization of the role of coaches in the current article. The question remains, what influences actors to take on one of these roles and not the other. Future research should focus on deepening our insight in the motivations of network connections to take on the roles of coaches and ambassadors. A second recommendation for future research is to deepen our understanding of to what extent professional characteristics are applied intentionally in the activation of social capital. Therefore, further studies should not only include the recipients of resources, as in the present study, but also the providers of resources. Moreover, the current study encompassed a small number of participants. Further qualitative research on the mechanisms of social capital activation as found in the present article, can strengthen the reliability of such findings.

The current article deepened our insight into the relation between social capital and career mobility. It shed light on social capital activation by examining the mechanisms of social capital activation and by demonstrating the connections between them. It showed the importance of professional characteristics in network connections' motivation to act as donors and enhance other individuals' career mobility.

Chapter 6

Summary and discussion

It is generally assumed that children of working-class immigrants in the Netherlands do not achieve steep upward social mobility. This is not surprising since public debate and contemporary immigrant research principally focus on problematic issues such as school dropout, unemployment and discrimination. Most of the research on migration and education as well as the labour market observes how immigrants and their children lack relevant social capital or are unable to put it to good use (see e.g. Agius Vallejo, 2012; Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Light & Gold, 2000; Louie, 2012). At the same time an increasing part of the second generation is achieving intergenerational upward social mobility. This has become apparent in the main structural domains, such as labour market, education and housing. By focusing on the role of social capital this dissertation adds to the recently growing literature that sheds light on how the children of low-educated working-class immigrants accomplish upward social mobility (see e.g. Crul, 2000; Keskiner, 2013; Legewie, 2015; Louie, 2012; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Smith, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Within this strand of literature, it is one of the few that concentrates both on educational and professional pathways. The first two studies of this dissertation centre on the educational pathways of higher-educated children of Turkish and Moroccan working-class immigrants from Turkey and Morocco in the Netherlands (chapter 2 and 3). The last two studies focus on the career mobility of children of immigrants from Turkey who occupy distinguished positions in the law and corporate business sector and live in Europe.

So what has this focus on success taught us? My study showed two important matters concerning the social capital of social climbers with ethnic minority background: one, they do have relevant social capital, and two, they are very good at using it. Let us elaborate on these statements by having a closer look at the main findings of this dissertation and its implications for research and practice.

Support from parents and significant others: two studies on social capital and educational mobility

To gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which social capital played a role in educational pathways, I constructed a social support typology to show in a detailed way the forms of support parents (chapter 2) and significant others, such as extended relatives, peers and teachers, (chapter 3) provide. I made use of interviews conducted with higher-educated children of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco who live in the Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The developed social support typology can be applied for gaining insight into the educational mobility of children of working-class immigrants. I will first explain the typology, then discuss the support types that parents and significant others provide.

A social support typology for children of immigrants in educational context

This social support typology was developed inductively, and by joining House's (1981) typology together with notions stemming from research on the educational mobility of children of immigrants (e.g. Bankston, 2004; Coleman, 1990; Legewie, 2015; Louie, 2012; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009). Such studies underline the important role of support in the educational pathways of children of immigrants. House's (1981) typology, which was constructed for the work environment, has been applied by Malecki and Demaray (2003) to the educational context. To date there has been no social support typology which was developed for the educational support of children of immigrants.

The support typology for children of immigrants is grounded in the notion that support providers (parents and significant others) give importance to education and perceive it as a means to achieving upward social mobility (see also Coenen, 2001; Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010). The categorization encompasses three types of support: informational, emotional and instrumental support:

- Informational support includes helping with homework or with preparing for an exam, giving advice on homework planning and study skills and giving advice on important.
- Emotional support on the one hand consists of motivating, showing interest and encouraging, and on the other hand of transmitting family messages of social mobility. Family messages are applied specifically by parents, and to a lesser extent by other relatives. Family messages of social mobility are based on the immigrants' (often being the parents) combined migration and working-class life story. Three forms of family messages emerged from my data:
  - Joint mobility project. For most migrants the mission of the migration venture is to achieve upward social mobility. When parents are not able to fulfil this ambition, the project is passed on to the next generation. Once this ambition has been achieved, e.g. by siblings, the task is to continue the already achieved upward mobility (see also Louie, 2012; Rivas, 2008; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009).
  - Positive and negative role models. Here we can distinguish positive and negative role models, which both have a motivational aim. Higher educated significant others such as relatives can serve as positive role models. In contrary, parents or other social actors can be applied as negative role models: examples of how not to become. Parents also actively present themselves as negative role models by referring to their own labour and financial circumstances (see also Coenen, 2001; Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003).
  - 'Dual frame of reference' (Kao & Tienda, 1995). This family message is only applied by parents. They compare the structural opportunities in the country of origin with those in the new country to emphasize the benefits of the latter and encourage the children to seize the opportunities to improve their prospects on the labour market (see also Kao & Tienda, 1995; Louie, 2006; Zhou et al., 2008).

A sub-type of emotional support which is specifically provided by higher educated significant others is the informed emotional support. I have defined the emotional support significant others give as 'informed' to distinguish it from the parents' emotional support because significant others generally are higher educated and hence familiar with the education system. Their familiarity with the Dutch education system creates a better match between the emotional support they provide and the pupils' experiences and challenges, and therefore coalescing into an informed form of emotional support.

- Instrumental support involves concrete assistance in which one gives tangible aid. This can be financial support, or offering goods and services that create an environment that promotes the performance of school tasks (a pro-study environment), such as providing a quiet place for the pupil to study. I have also interpreted the accompaniment of parents by significant others to parent-teacher meetings as instrumental support, since it is a form of tangible aid.

What types of support do parents and significant others give?

Mistakenly it is a common assumption that lower-educated immigrant parents do not give their children educational support. This is related to the common perception that proper educational support equals informational support (assisting with homework assignments and important educational decisions), while working-class immigrant parents generally do not provide this support type. The types of support immigrant parents do give, emotional and instrumental support, are commonly not valued by schools or go unseen (Louie, 2012). While my participants speak of the lack of informational support from parents, they also perceive them to be the most important social actors in their successful educational careers. The parents of my participants gave much importance to education and perceived it as a means to achieving social mobility. An important emotional support strategy

for parents was to transmit family messages of social mobility based on their migration and working-class life story. However, that same migration and working-class background is a barrier for providing their children informational support. This is where significant others come in.

The vast majority of my participants received both support from parents and from significant others during their educational pathways. Significant others provide the informational support and an *informed* form of emotional support which parents cannot give. Three groups of significant others (higher educated relatives, peers, and teachers) are prominent in the educational careers of my participants. They each have their own specific features. I explain their mechanisms:

- In the school-oriented extended family, the first mechanism, children find themselves in a family environment in which education is promoted and considered as a matter that concerns all relatives. It is a family affair. Parents give emotional support, and higher-educated relatives provide informational and informed emotional support. The higher-educated relatives also function as positive role models. Because of their family ties with these role models it becomes easier for the students to perceive higher education as a realistic pathway.
- School-oriented peer groups, the second support mechanism, is characterized by finding and maintaining a peer group that is a source of informational and informed emotional support. Parents encourage the formation and conservation of these groups. If the student is also engaged in a street-oriented peer group, he or she needs to choose the school-oriented over the street-oriented peer group. For maintaining a school-oriented peer group three factors are important: (1) peers must be academically oriented; (2) they should have matching ideas on reciprocity; and, (3) they also need to be friends and carry out social activities in order to create a strong and tight-knit peer group.
- The third mechanism, talent-oriented teachers, consists of teachers who recognize and acknowledge the talents of students. The informed emotional support these teachers give, can have a powerful

effect on the self-belief of children of immigrants and through that on their educational achievement.

By developing a social support typology this dissertation deepened our understanding of the ways in which social capital plays a role in the educational pathways of the upwardly-mobile second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent. My data showed that while their parents were crucial by transmitting the desire for social mobility and by providing emotional and instrumental support in their educational pathways, their support was not sufficient. They found higher-educated relatives, peers and teachers, who enacted as 'significant others' by providing informational and informed emotional support. The majority of the high achievers I studied, disposed of this combination of support, which was crucial for their prosperous educational pathways. Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2008) made this argument as well and coined the notion of 'significant others', and Louie (2012) emphasized the importance of constellations of support. This dissertation adds to this strand of literature by illustrating how parents and significant others enacted their role as providers of support, and how their roles complemented each other. The developed social support typology has proven to be a valid framework for studying the educational mobility of children of working-class immigrants.

Social capital at work: two studies on the role of social capital in career mobility

The two studies encompassing professional pathways have deepened our insight into the role of social capital in steep upward mobility. In the fourth chapter three mechanisms of the career mobility of newcomers in which social actors are prominent were discussed: building self-belief while young, finding and maintaining mentors as career strategy, and narrowing the cultural gap. Chapter 5 focussed on the activation of social capital, and on explaining how it takes place by turning network connections into coaches and ambassadors. For

chapter 4 interviews were conducted with distinguished lawyers who are children of immigrants from Turkey and live in three super-diverse and vibrant European business cities (Paris, Stockholm, and Frankfurt). Chapter 5 made use of interviews with professionals who occupy prestigious positions in the field of professional business services and are descendants of immigrants from Turkey and live in the Netherlands.

Social capital mechanisms

My study on the professional pathways of lawyers (chapter 4) who have immigrant parents from Turkey coalesced into three mechanisms of the role of social capital in upward mobility:

- Building self-belief while young. Here the emphasis lied on the combination of the socialization with middle-class majority-group norms and ways during one's youth, and significant others who acknowledge one's talents. This had long-lasting effects and helped the social climbers to develop into confident professionals in white-collar professional environments.
- Finding and maintaining mentors as career strategy. The professionals were able to find valuable mentors and to maintain these relationships in order to have access to their advice, guidance and network.
- Narrowing the cultural gap. This mechanism concerned professionals who grew up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and attended schools where many of the pupils had educational problems. Compared to professionals who socialized with middle-class majority-group norms and ways during their youth, they encountered brighter boundaries in the law sector, specifically in large law firms. They used their soft skills to appropriate the social rules in order to narrow the large 'cultural gap' with the white-collar professional environment of the law sector which is populated by colleagues of native heritage from middle- and upper-class social background.

This chapter added to studies on the theory of minority culture of mobility (Agius Vallejo, 2012; Neckerman et al., 1999) as observed in the American context by showing that one can become successful

in white-collar work environments regardless of growing up in middle-class households. The social climbers either familiarized with middle-class norms and ways during their youth, and if not, later on during higher education and during the first years on the labour market. Their well-developed soft skills helped them to activate social capital. However, the ones who did not become familiar with middle-class ways during youth, did struggle with feelings of belonging amongst their colleagues of middle- and upper-class native parentage.

Social capital activation: converting network contacts into ambassadors and coaches

In this study of distinguished business professionals, I elaborated further on the mechanism involving the role of mentors as presented in the previous study (chapter 5). My participants reached prestigious positions in the field of professional business services and built and maintained a network of valuable connections throughout the years. How were they able to use these valuable network connections for their career mobility? For shedding light on what actually made these network connections convert into coaches and ambassadors, I followed Lin (1999) and Smith (2005) in distinguishing between the access and the activation of social capital. This is consistent with Bourdieu's (1986) and Coleman's (1988) definitions of social capital in which they underlined the "facilitation of [social capital] activation" (Smith 2005, p. 5). This approach made it possible to gain insight into the relation between network connections and career mobility. The mechanisms of social capital activation that emerged from the data have been inductively conceptualized. In this chapter I argued that high achievers are able to turn influential network connections into actual resources because of a combination of certain well-developed professional characteristics: being competent at their work and creating exposure for their competence; being challenge-driven and optimistic; and, possessing soft skills. These individual-level professional characteristics are recognized by contacts in their networks as valuable in the field of professional services, and generated, what I called, reliability and likeability amongst their network contacts. I

described the dyadic characteristic reliability as a sense of belief in the professional's qualities, and trust that he or she will be able to comply with expectations (see also Hartmann, 2000). The soft skills, or social skills, of the respondents in particular effectuated likeability, a sense of congeniality. The dyadic characteristics likeability and reliability together pave the ground for turning influential network contacts into valuable donors of resources. I categorized these donors in two roles: as 'ambassadors' (who promote the professionals in their own networks) and as 'coaches' (with whom the professionals have a relationship of trust and can turn to for advice). Both ambassadors and coaches recognize the potential of the social climbers (see also Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008). A network contact can take on the role of an ambassador or the role of a coach, or both roles. In both roles network contacts have valuable professional knowledge and social resources, and are willing to apply these in the benefit of the career paths of the business professionals (see also De Graaf & Flap, 1988).

Besides gaining insight into the mechanisms of social capital, and adding to the literature on social capital activation, these studies showed that high achievers needed different forms of support from different network contacts to be applied in different phases. While the importance of parents for mobility faded away rapidly, classmates and professors lent them a helping hand with entering the labour market, and colleagues were essential for learning the social codes of the white-collar professional environments. Later on, co-workers, supervisors, and (former) colleagues became important in making promotions and finding subsequent jobs. And senior (former) colleagues and supervisors played crucial roles as coaches and ambassadors by giving advice and guidance, and by promoting them within their networks and sharing their networks.

Connecting the results on activating social capital in educational and professional careers

Focusing on both educational and professional pathways provided a long-term perspective on social capital and its development, and made it possible to make observations that would otherwise go unseen. It showed that in both structures social capital was important for obtaining achievements. While in education they could to some extent make use of social capital inherited from parents, i.e. higher educated relatives, on the labour market they needed to build their own social capital. While the notion of Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capitals depicts that social capital is inherited, this dissertation argued that it can be acquired along the way, as Keskiner and Crul (2017) and Crul, Schneider, Keskiner and Lelie (2017) have observed earlier.

Studying social capital in both educational and professional pathways furthermore revealed the continuity of self-belief and of social skills by showing that these were developed during educational pathways and served the mobility of the high achievers on the labour market. Their educational pathways were not only a learning ground for mathematics, languages, and other school subjects, but also a learning ground for developing their self-belief and social skills. We observed how during their educational pathways the social climbers gained and increased their self-belief thanks to their accomplishments and to the acknowledgement and recognition and other forms of support they received from parents and significant others. This had long-lasting effects and helped them to become self-confident professionals on the labour market. Moreover, in their professional pathways we observed the pronounced role of soft skills in how they activated social capital by turning network connections into coaches and ambassadors and in how they learned the social codes in their professional environments. How did they become so skilled at applying social skills? Since their parents were not able to give them all the educational support they needed, they and their parents sought it elsewhere. From a young age they used their social skills to find and activate other types of support to complement their parental support. This practicing, learning

and refining allowed them to develop their soft skills. Out of sheer necessity, with practice and over time, they became very skilled at accessing and activating social capital. By the time they entered the labour market, they had become very agile at applying soft skills. On the labour market they continued to apply and further develop their social agility while they acquired and activated social capital for career mobility. We should not trivialize the importance of their professional competence, their optimism and their drive for achieving mobility and success, however their well-developed soft skills have been a key element in their success. They used their social skills to benefit from their social networks (e.g. by finding their first job through a classmate), to extend their social networks, and to learn the social codes of their professional environments. Because of their social dexterity they were able to know how to behave with whom, how to create likeability, and how to generate exposure of their professional competence. For these high achievers the lack of conveyed social capital led to developing social skills for accessing and activating social capital. It is not despite the lack of social capital, but thanks to it, that they needed to apply and develop their social skills, and consequently to become social climbers. Looking beyond educational and professional pathways, when individuals want to achieve a goal for which they lack the cultural, social or economic capital, they apply their soft skills in order to find social actors who can help them. And this is what the children of immigrants have been practicing since a young age.

Practical implications

The findings of this dissertation have shown the important role that parents and significant others play in the educational pathways of social climbers of minority background, by illustrating the support types they provide (chapter 2 and 3). Parents, higher-educated relatives, peers and teachers all can contribute to educational pathways. School leaders and teachers should become more aware of these support types

and their relevance, since it will contribute to more children becoming high achievers. By seeking pedagogical partnerships with parents and higher-educated relatives they can encourage lower-educated immigrant parents to give their children emotional and instrumental support, and to involve significant others in the education of their children. Parents of low achievers might be unaware of the impact their role can have, and they might even believe that they cannot make a difference. Moreover, schools and teachers can promote and facilitate the establishment and continuation of school-related peer groups. This dissertation also showed the powerful and enduring effects of teachers who recognize and acknowledge the talents of students of ethnic minority descent. It goes without saying that the work pressure that teachers encounter (see e.g. Hooftman et al., 2016) does not make it easier for them to provide informed emotional support to pupils. Policy makers and school leaders should be aware of the importance of this particular role of teachers and enable them to provide such support. On the basis of the results in this dissertation, I want to recommend the implementation of educational policy measures that aim to increase the awareness of school leaders and teachers regarding the importance of the particular role of educational staff in supporting success in the second generation. When all hands are on deck, we increase the chances for more children to become social climbers.

Research in the Netherlands has shown that higher-educated non-western minorities are more often unemployed than individuals of Dutch native descent with a higher education degree (Central Bureau for Statistics, 2016). In contrast, recently we can observe the growing efforts of large organizations, for example in the professional business services but also at Dutch universities, to attract higher-educated professionals of ethnic minority background and to create more inclusive work environments. Nevertheless, it remains unclear how to accomplish such aims. We can see that organizations are incorporating coaching trajectories. This dissertation supports such efforts since it has shown the importance of social capital for the career mobility of social climbers with a minority background (chapter 4 and 5). It demonstrated how network connections played crucial roles in finding

jobs and of climbing the (intra-firm) career ladder. An important way in which they did this was by taking on the roles of ambassadors and coaches. They promoted the professionals in their own networks and provided advice concerning career steps and decisions. Organizations should make coaching trajectories an integral part of human resource departments. They should focus coaching on providing information on the social rules within the organisation. It should also be focused on sharing knowledge on what is expected from employees for climbing the intra-firm career ladder. That encompasses accomplishments and professional capacities, but also more conduct-based characteristics, such as creating exposure and appealing to influential network connections for career advice. Furthermore, based on the interviews with my participants, I believe that 'prejudice' and 'implicit bias' should be at the core of organizations' efforts for diversity and inclusion. Biases against ethnic minorities, which present themselves in clear or hazy comments, questions and attitudes concerning their distinct religion, appearance and cultural ways and norms, are probably part of the main factors for people of minority background to not feel included in their professional environments. I believe two main factors make it difficult to do something about this: one, most people are too ashamed to admit to be biased, while we all are since it simply is the nature of human beings; and two, such prejudiced behaviour is quite often unintentional. Hence, we need to first realize and accept that it is natural to be biased, and secondly, become more aware of how our assumptions and ideas about other people, which are often quite unreal, affect them.

Directions for future research

Recommendations for further research based on the current dissertation concern the developed social support typology, the influence of the second generation on their offspring, the inclusion of both recipients and donors of resources in research on social capital

and social networks, and the focus on soft skills in studies on social capital access and activation.

The social support typology for the educational mobility of descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco which was developed in this dissertation can be validated by doing quantitative research. Questions that should be answered are: what types of support do we find? And, what relations do we observe between the different types of support and educational attainment? We should conduct comparative research across ethnic groups (including people of native descent) in different countries to observe differences and similarities between groups and national contexts. Furthermore, by conducting a comparative study on immigrant parents of lower- and higher-educated children, it will be possible to show whether they provide different types of support. Besides focussing on the parental support the second generation received, the first study in this dissertation centred on the support the second generation provided to the younger generation within their own social environments (younger relatives, children of friends and acquaintances and neighbours) concerning educational pathways. I found that the vast majority of the second generation is involved in the educational careers of the younger generation. The findings of this study point into the direction that the support of the highly educated 1.5 and second generation might be contributing to the increase in the higher-education attendance of descendants of immigrants of Turkish (27% in 2003 and 39% in 2015) and Moroccan heritage (32% in 2003 and 40% in 2015) (Central Bureau for Statisctics, 2016). The question which rises then is: in what ways will this socially-mobile second generation influence the educational pathways of their offspring? Shoho's (1994) study on three generations of Japanese Americans showed that each subsequent generation, while being higher educated than the previous, also became more active and more directly involved in their children's education. In contrast, Kao and Tienda (1995) found that the second generation fared better than their children due to the optimism of their immigrant parents. Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway (2008) observed similar findings. Further research needs to investigate the role of the social

climbers in their children's educational pathways. Moreover, by drawing comparisons with the low-educated second generation we will be able to establish whether inequality in educational opportunities depending on the educational level of parents exists for the third generation.

Furthermore, it will enhance the reliability of research findings, if studies on social networks and social capital encompass data on both recipients and providers of resources. Including both recipients and donors in studies will also shed more light on the effects of trust and reciprocal exchanges on the access and activation of social capital. It will also enable us to better comprehend the motivations of resource providers for taking on such a role.

Lastly, in line with Lin (1990) and Smith (2005) this dissertation has shown that in studies on social capital and social networks it is important to make the distinction between the access to and the activation of social capital. Additionally, this research argued the importance of soft skills in social capital activation. It observed the relevance of the social climbers' social skills in extending their social networks, in benefitting from their social networks, and in learning the social codes of their work environments. An ethnographic study centred on social interaction in different contexts and on learning social codes will further our understanding of the mechanisms of social capital activation. Moreover, it is important that future studies on social capital access and activation include the aspect of soft skills since it allows us to gain deeper insight into the workings of social capital.

Final words

While most of my findings on the role of social capital might be true for all ethnic groups, including the ethnic majority, some are specific for children of (working-class) immigrants. Their parents generally transmit to them motivational family messages that are based on their combined migration and working-class background. The children

also try to find significant others who can provide them support types which their parents are unable to give, for example from higher educated relatives or by forming school-oriented peer groups in their urban schools. Concerning the labour market I find that for lawyers their Turkish background can positively influence their career. The Turkish minority group can serve as clientele, or their work can be related to companies in Turkey or to foreign firms that have business relations in Turkey. Moreover, some of my participants spoke of having encountered prejudices during their educational and professional pathways. They generally had two forms of reaction to that: they either used it as a source of motivation for achieving success, or they explained it away by rationalizing its triviality.

An ancient and still common type of migration is labour migration. People move to economically more developed countries in hopes of improving their standard of living. The parents of my participants are no exception to this. They left Turkey and Morocco to prosper in Europe. However the majority did not achieve the strived social mobility. Since parents consider their children a continuation of their own lives, as Rivas (2008) explains, they passed on their ambitions to their children. Studies on education as well as the labour market have observed how immigrants and their children lack relevant social capital or are unable to put it to good use (see e.g. Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Light & Gold, 2000; Louie, 2012). This dissertation illustrated the ways in which the social capital of these children contributed to their upward mobility, hence arguing the existence and the application of relevant social capital.

Samenvatting
(summary in Dutch)

Het doel van deze dissertatie was om een dieper inzicht te krijgen in hoe het kinderen van laagopgeleide immigranten lukt om tegen de verdrukking in opwaartse sociale mobiliteit te bewerkstelligen. Dit proefschrift is gebaseerd op diepte-interviews met de 1.5 en tweede generatie die van origine uit Turkije en Marokko komen. De respondenten zijn allen hoogopgeleid en zijn werkzaam in overeenkomstige functies.

In algemene zin luidt de probleemstelling van deze dissertatie als volgt: *Op welke wijzen speelt sociaal kapitaal een rol in de onderwijs- en arbeidsmarktloopbanen van de opwaarts mobiele Europese tweede generatie van Turkse en Marokkaanse afkomst?*

Steun van ouders en 'significante anderen': twee studies naar sociaal kapitaal en onderwijsmobiliteit

Om tot een dieper inzicht te komen in de manieren waarop sociaal kapitaal een rol speelt in de onderwijsloopbanen van de tweede generatie, heb ik een sociale steun typologie geconstrueerd. Deze typologie laat zien welke vormen van steun door ouders (hoofdstuk 2) en 'significante anderen' (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008), zoals *extended family*, *peers* en leerkrachten, (hoofdstuk 3) geboden worden. Daarvoor heb ik gebruik gemaakt van interviews met hoogopgeleiden die kinderen van migranten uit Turkije en Marokko zijn en in Rotterdam en Amsterdam wonen. Deze sociale steun typologie kan gebruikt worden voor het krijgen van inzicht in de onderwijsmobiliteit van kinderen van laagopgeleide migranten. Eerst wordt de typologie toegelicht en vervolgens de steun types die ouders en significante anderen bieden.

Een sociale steun typologie voor kinderen van migranten in de onderwijscontext

Deze sociale steun typologie is deels inductief tot stand gekomen, en deels door het samenbrengen van de typologie van House (1981) en literatuur over de onderwijsmobiliteit van kinderen van immigranten (o.a. Bankston, 2004; Coleman, 1990; Legewie, 2015; Louie, 2012; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009). Deze studies benadrukken de belangrijke rol van steun in de onderwijsloopbanen van kinderen van immigranten. De typologie van House (1981) die ontwikkeld was voor de werkomgeving, is eerder door Malecki en Demaray (2003) toegepast in de onderwijscontext. Echter er is niet eerder een sociale steun typologie ontwikkeld voor de onderwijssteun van kinderen van immigranten.

De sociale steun typologie voor kinderen van immigranten heeft als uitgangspunt dat steunbieders (ouders en significante anderen) waarde hechten aan het belang van onderwijs en het zien als een middel tot het bewerkstelligen van opwaartse sociale mobiliteit (zie ook Coenen, 2001; Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010). De categorisatie bestaat uit drie steuntypes: informationele, emotionele en instrumentele steun:

- Informationele steun beslaat het helpen met huiswerk of met het voorbereiden op een toets, het geven van advies over huiswerk-planning en studievaardigheden en het adviseren over belangrijke beslissingen met betrekking tot het onderwijs.
- Emotionele steun bestaat enerzijds uit motiveren, interesse tonen en aanmoedigen, en anderzijds uit het overdragen van familie-boodschappen van sociale mobiliteit. Familieboodschappen worden hoofdzakelijk door ouders toegepast, en in mindere mate door andere familieleden. De familieboodschappen die zij overdragen zijn gebaseerd op hun levensverhalen die een samen-voeging zijn van hun migratie- en arbeidersklasse ervaringen. Uit mijn data kwamen drie vormen van familieboodschappen naar voren:
  - Gezamenlijk mobiliteitsproject. Voor de meeste migranten, en te meer in het geval van gastarbeiders, heeft het migreren

als doel om opwaartse mobiliteit te bewerkstelligen. Als het ouders niet lukt om dit doel te bereiken, wordt het project doorgegeven aan de volgende generatie. Wanneer deze ambitie al bereikt is, bijvoorbeeld door broers of zussen, verandert de taak in het voortzetten van deze behaalde opwaartse mobiliteit (zie ook Louie, 2012; Rivas, 2008; Smith, 2008; Tepecik, 2009).

○ Positieve en negatieve rolmodellen. Beide hebben motivatie als doel. Hoog-opgeleide significante anderen, zoals *extended relatives*, kunnen als positieve rolmodellen dienen. In tegenstelling kunnen ouders of andere sociale actoren aange-wend worden als negatieve rolmodellen, met andere woorden, zij dienen als voorbeelden van hoe je juist niet moet worden. Ouders presenteren zichzelf ook op expliciete wijze als negatieve rolmodellen door te wijzen op hun eigen arbeids- en financiële omstandigheden (zie ook Coenen, 2001; Louie, 2012; Pásztor, 2010; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003).

○ Tweevoudig referentiekader. Deze familieboodschap wordt alleen door ouders toegepast. Ze maken een vergelijking tussen de structurele mogelijkheden in het land van herkomst met die in het nieuwe land. Op deze manier benadrukken zij de voordelen van het nieuwe land en moedigen zij de kinderen aan om de (onderwijs)mogelijkheden te benutten en zodoende hun arbeidsmarktperspectieven te verbeteren (zie ook Kao & Tienda, 1995; Louie, 2006; Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoya-Estrada, & Xiong, 2008).

Een subtype van emotionele steun die specifiek door hoog-opgeleide significante anderen geboden wordt, is geïnformeerde emotionele steun. Significante anderen die hoogopgeleid zijn, zijn bekend met het onderwijssysteem waardoor er een betere match ontstaat tussen de emotionele steun die zij verschaffen en de ervaringen en uitdagingen van de kinderen.

○ Instrumentele steun omvat concrete hulp waarbij tastbare assistentie gegeven wordt. Dat kan financiële hulp zijn, maar ook het bieden van goederen en diensten die een omgeving of sfeer creëren die het uitvoeren van schooltaken aansporen (bijv. het verschaffen van een rustige studieplek).

Wat voor types van steun geven ouders en significante anderen?

Onterecht wordt aangenomen dat laagopgeleide ouders met een migratieachtergrond hun kinderen geen steun bieden op het gebied van onderwijs. Dit heeft te maken met de veronderstelling dat adequate steun gelijk staat aan informationele steun. Echter deze steun type wordt door laagopgeleide ouders met een migratieachtergrond doorgaans niet gegeven. De waarde van de steun types die deze ouders wel geven, emotionele en instrumentele steun, wordt vaak door scholen niet onderkend. Hoewel mijn respondenten vertellen over het gebrek van informationele steun van ouders, vinden zij ook dat hun ouders de belangrijkste sociale actoren in hun succesvolle onderwijsloopbanen waren. De ouders van mijn respondenten hechtten veel waarde aan onderwijs en beschouwden het als een middel om sociale mobiliteit te bereiken. Een belangrijke vorm van emotionele steun die ouders toepasten, was om familieboodschappen van sociale mobiliteit door te geven die gebaseerd zijn op hun migratie- en arbeidersklasse ervaringen. Echter diezelfde migratie- en arbeidersklasse achtergrond vormt een barrière voor het verschaffen van informationele steun. Dat is een rol die significante anderen kunnen vervullen.

De overgrote meerderheid van mijn respondenten heeft tijdens de onderwijsloopbaan zowel steun van ouders als van significante anderen ontvangen. Significante anderen gaven de informationele steun en de geïnformeerde emotionele steun die ouders niet konden bieden. In de onderwijsloopbanen van mijn respondenten waren er drie belangrijke groepen significante anderen: hoogopgeleide *extended relatives, peers* en leerkrachten. Deze hebben ieder hun specifieke kenmerken. In het onderstaande licht ik deze drie mechanismes toe:

- In de school-georiënteerde *extended familiy* bevonden kinderen zich in een familieomgeving waarin onderwijs gepromoot werd en als een gezamenlijke zorg gezien werd. Het gaat de hele familie aan. Ouders gaven emotionele steun, en hoogopgeleide familieleden gaven informationele en geïnformeerde emotionele steun. De hoogopgeleide familieleden functioneerden ook als belangrijke positieve rolmodellen. Vanwege hun familierelatie was het voor de respondenten makkelijker om het hoger onderwijs als een haalbaar doel te beschouwen.
- Bij school-georiënteerde *peer* groep is het van belang dat de student een *peer* groep vindt die een bron is van informationele en geïnformeerde emotionele steun. Ouders stimuleren de formatie en het behoud van deze groepen. Wanneer de student daarnaast ook een straat- georiënteerde *peer* groep heeft, is het van belang dat hij of zij de school-georiënteerde verkiest boven de straat-georiënteerde *peer* groep. Voor het behouden van een school-georiënteerde *peer* groep zijn drie factoren van belang: (1) *peers* moeten school-georiënteerd zijn; (2) ze moeten overeenstemmende ideeën hebben over reciprociteit; en, (3) ze moeten ook vrienden zijn en samen sociale activiteiten ondernemen zodat een hechte *peer* groep kan ontstaan.
- Talent-georiënteerde leerkrachten zijn leerkrachten die oog hebben voor het talent van studenten, en deze herkennen en erkennen. Deze leerkrachten bieden geïnformeerde emotionele steun die een verstrekkend effect kan hebben op het zelfvertrouwen en de onderwijsprestaties van de respondenten.

Portes en Fernández-Kelly (2008) en Louie (2012) benadrukten reeds het belang van het ontvangen van steun van zowel ouders als significante anderen. De in deze dissertatie ontwikkelde sociale steun typologie heeft aan deze lijn van literatuur bijgedragen door te illustreren hoe de sociale actoren hun rol als steunbieders vervullen en hoe ze elkaar aanvullen. De sociale steun typologie bleek een geldig kader te zijn voor de studie naar de sociale mobiliteit van kinderen van laagopgeleide ouders.

Sociaal kapitaal en werk: twee studies naar de rol van sociaal kapitaal en professionele mobiliteit

Door de twee studies naar professionele loopbanen zijn we tot een dieper inzicht gekomen in de rol die sociaal kapitaal speelt in steile opwaartse mobiliteit. Drie mechanismes van de professionele mobiliteit van nieuwkomers waarin sociale actoren een prominente rol spelen, stonden centraal in hoofdstuk 4: het ontwikkelen van zelfvertrouwen tijdens de jeugd; het vinden en behouden van mentoren als carrièrestrategie; en, het versmallen van de culturele kloof. Voor dat hoofdstuk zijn interviews verricht met vooraanstaande advocaten die kinderen van migranten uit Turkije zijn en die in Parijs, Stockholm of Frankfurt wonen. Hoofdstuk 5 richtte zich op het activeren van sociaal kapitaal. Daarin werd uitgelegd hoe netwerkconnecties veranderden in coaches en ambassadeurs, waardoor de activatie van sociaal kapitaal bewerkstelligd werd. Voor die studie werd gebruik gemaakt van interviews met professionals die prestigieuze functies bekleden in de business sector in Nederland. Zij zijn allen kinderen van migranten uit Turkije en wonen in Nederland.

Mechanismes van sociaal kapitaal

Het onderzoek naar de professionele loopbanen van advocaten (hoofdstuk 4) die kinderen zijn van migranten uit Turkije mondde uit in drie mechanismes van de rol van sociaal kapitaal in opwaartse mobiliteit:

- Ontwikkelen van zelfvertrouwen tijdens de jeugd. Bij dit mechanisme lag de nadruk op de combinatie van socialisatie met de normen en waarden van de autochtone middenklasse, en op significante anderen die het talent van het individu erkennen. Dat had langdurige effecten en hielp de sociale klimmers om zich te ontwikkelen tot zelfverzekerde professionals in hoogopgeleide werkomgevingen.
- Vinden en behouden van mentoren als carrièrestrategie. De professionals waren in staat om waardevolle mentoren aan tot zich te binden en zodoende toegang te hebben tot hun advies, begeleiding en netwerk.

- Versmallen van de culturele kloof. Dit mechanisme betreft professionals die in aan-dachtswijken opgegroeid zijn en daar op school gezeten hebben. Vergeleken met professionals die tijdens hun jeugd gesocialiseerd zijn met de normen en waarden van de autochtone middenklasse, ervoeren zij grotere barrières in de advocatuur, met name wanneer zij bij de grote advocatenkantoren werkten. In de advocatuur is een hoge middenklasse cultuur overheersend. Om de culturele kloof met hun autochtone midden- en hoge klasse collega's te verkleinen, maakten de professionals gebruik van hun sociale vaardigheden om de sociale regels van de advocatuursector aan te leren.

Dit hoofdstuk is voornamelijk verhalend opgeschreven met als doel ons begrip te verdiepen van de ervaringen van tweede generatie professionals als nieuwkomers in een overheersend autochtone hoge-middenklasse werkomgeving. Uit deze studie bleek dat sociaal kapitaal een grote rol speelt in het bewerkstelligen van hun professionele mobiliteit, en het verschafte ons inzicht in de manieren waarop dat gebeurt. Dit hoofdstuk droeg daarnaast bij aan de literatuur over de theorie van de minderheidscultuur van mobiliteit (*theory of minority culture of mobility*) (Agius Vallejo, 2012; Neckerman, Carter, & Lee, 1999) door te laten zien dat voor het succesvol zijn in een autochtone middenklasse werkomgeving het niet nodig is om opgegroeid te zijn in een middenklasse gezin. De sociale klimmers hebben zich, tijdens hun jeugd of later in het hoger onderwijs of gedurende de eerste jaren van hun werk, vertrouwd gemaakt met de normen en waarden van de hoogopgeleide middenklasse. Echter, degenen die dat niet tijdens hun jeugd gedaan hebben, bleven meer moeite hebben met het zich thuis voelen tussen hun midden- en hoge klasse collega's.

Activatie van sociaal kapitaal: het omvormen van netwerk-relaties in ambassadeurs en coaches

De respondenten in hoofdstuk 5 hebben prestigieuze posities in de business sector in Nederland bereikt. Ze hebben door de jaren heen een netwerk van waardevolle connecties opgebouwd. Hoe zijn zij

in staat geweest om deze waardevolle relaties in te zetten voor hun professionele mobiliteit? Om inzicht te krijgen in wat ertoe bijgedragen heeft om deze connecties om te zetten in 'coaches' en 'ambassadeurs', is het onderscheid gemaakt tussen de toegang tot en de activatie van sociaal kapitaal (zie ook Lin, 1999; Smith, 2005). Ambassadeurs zijn omschreven als invloedrijke netwerkrelaties die de professionals binnen hun eigen netwerk promoten. Coaches zijn gedefinieerd als invloedrijke netwerkconnecties bij wie de professionals voor advies aankloppen en waarmee de professionals een relatie hebben waarin vertrouwen een belangrijke rol speelt. Het maken van het onderscheid tussen de toegang tot en de activatie van sociaal kapitaal, maakte het mogelijk om inzicht te krijgen in de relatie tussen netwerkconnecties en professionele mobiliteit. In dit hoofdstuk wordt beargumenteerd dat sociale klimmers vanwege de combinatie van bepaalde professionele kenmerken in staat zijn om invloedrijke netwerkrelaties om te vormen tot daadwerkelijke hulpbronnen. Uit het onderzoek kwamen de volgende professionele kenmerken naar voren: sociale klimmers zijn professioneel competent en weten daar exposure voor te creëren; ze zijn optimistisch en worden aangedreven door uitdagingen; en ze zijn sociaal vaardig. Deze individuele professionele kenmerken werden door hun netwerkrelaties als waardevol beschouwd voor de business sector, waardoor 'betrouwbaarheid' en *likeability* gegenereerd werd. Deze relationele kenmerken droegen ertoe bij dat netwerkconnecties omgevormd werden tot coaches en ambassadeurs, die de potentie van de professionals inzagen en hun middelen inzetten omwille van de professionele carrières van de sociale klimmers.

Tot slot

De focus op zowel onderwijs- als arbeidsmarktloopbanen zorgde voor een lange termijn perspectief op sociaal kapitaal waardoor het mogelijk was om observaties te doen die anders onopgemerkt zouden blijven. Deze dissertatie liet zien dat sociaal kapitaal in beide structuren van belang is voor het behalen van prestaties. Terwijl de sociale klimmers binnen het onderwijs nog enigszins gebruik konden maken van het sociaal kapitaal van hun ouders (*extended relatives*), moesten zij op de arbeidsmarkt hun eigen sociaal kapitaal opbouwen. Daar waar Bourdieu (1986) betoogde dat sociaal kapitaal geërfd wordt, liet deze dissertatie zien dat sociaal kapitaal verkregen kan worden (zie ook Keskiner & Crul, 2017; Crul, Schneider, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017a). Door de focus op zowel onderwijs- als arbeidsmarktloopbanen bleek verder dat tijdens hun onderwijsloopbanen de sociale klimmers zelfvertrouwen en sociale vaardigheden ontwikkeld hebben, en dat ze daar op de arbeidsmarkt profijt van hebben gehad. Dat wijst op de continuïteit van zelfvertrouwen en sociale vaardigheden over de twee structuren heen; wat tijdens de onderwijsloopbaan opgebouwd wordt, kan op de arbeidsmarkt toegepast worden. Juist omdat hun ouders niet in staat waren om hen relevant sociaal kapitaal door te geven, hebben zij hun sociale vaardigheden toegepast en verder ontwikkeld voor de toegang tot en de activatie van sociaal kapitaal. Het is zaak om het belang van hun professionele competentie, hun optimisme en gedrevenheid voor het bereiken van mobiliteit en succes niet te bagatelliseren. Bovenal zijn hun goed ontwikkelde sociale vaardigheden een cruciale factor geweest in hun behaalde opwaartse mobiliteit. Door het aspect van sociale vaardigheden werd een dieper inzicht in de werking van sociaal kapitaal verkregen. Om deze reden pleitte deze dissertatie ervoor om in onderzoek naar sociaal kapitaal het aspect van sociale vaardigheden mee te nemen.

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Sara

About the author

Sara Rezai holds a dual bachelor's degree in International Management from Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences and from Münster University of Applied Sciences, Germany. After spending a year in Madrid and learning Spanish, she got her master's degree in Cultural Anthropology from Utrecht University where she specialized in Multiculturalism. For her master's thesis on ethnic identity formation she conducted ethnographic fieldwork amongst the Turkmen of Iran. Sara worked as a researcher for the research institutes Risbo (Erasmus University Rotterdam) and IVO for seven years, in which she mainly conducted research on school success and retention and on integration themes. Sara is specialized in qualitative research methods. Her PhD-research concerns the role that social capital plays in the educational and professional pathways of descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco who have accomplished upward social mobility. Several articles about this research have appeared in international peer-reviewed journals. Over the last years Sara has supervised master's theses of Sociology students and bachelor's theses of Pedagogy students at the Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences. She also taught research skills at the Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences.

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