Discursive constructions of professional identities

Talking to immigrant graduates in Germany

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State of academic conduct

I hereby certify that the research described in this dissertation has not already been submitted for any other degree. I certify that to the best of my knowledge all sources used and any help received in the preparation of this thesis have been acknowledged. For this research project, ethics approval has been obtained according to the requirements of the University of Duisburg-Essen in Germany.

Schmidt

Eva Schmidt

April 26, 2017

Eigenständigkeitserklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbstständig verfasst habe. Ich habe keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt. Alle Stellen der Arbeit, die dem Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach anderen Werken entnommen worden sind, wurden durch Angabe der Quelle kenntlich gemacht. Dazu zählen auch Internetquellen. Ich bestätige außerdem, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit nach den Richtlinien des Cotutelle-Abkommens zwischen Universität Duisburg-Essen und der Macquarie University Sydney verfasst habe. Außerhalb dieses Abkommens habe ich die Dissertation in keinem anderen Promotionsverfahren eingereicht.

Schmidt

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26. April 2017

Abstract (in English)

Germany is a country of immigration. This has de facto been the case since the beginning of 'guest worker' recruitments in the 1950s, but Germany only legally acknowledged that it was incorrect to maintain that 'Germany is not a country of immigration' ('*Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*') only 16 years ago, with a shift in migration policy that affected both the political and the social discourse on immigration and integration. Since 2000, a new Citizenship Act has granted citizenship based on place of birth ('*Ius Soli*') rather than on descent only ('*Ius Sanguini*'). In 2005, a new Immigration Act took effect and addressed matters of integration at the federal level (Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010: 25).

Debates on successful integration became prevalent in the political discourse, and a national action plan on integration ('*Nationaler Integrationsplan*' 2006, 2007; *'Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration'* 2012) declared measures to improve the situation of migrants in Germany. Among other issues, the plan aims to ease the entrance of highly skilled migrants to the German labour market (National Action Plan on Integration 2012: 20).

Through the 2005 Immigration Act, Germany started to foster immigration of highly skilled migrants for the first time since the end of 'guest worker' recruitments in 1973, a series of contracts that encouraged migration to post-war Germany. 'Guest workers' helped to rebuild the German economy and formed the first big migration wave to Germany in the 20th century (Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010), but they were expected to leave after a short period of work and their integration did not form part of the 'guest worker' recruitment. Besides, few of them worked in the highly skilled sector. With the implementation of the new Immigration Act, Germany now invests in the acquisition of knowledge via immigration (Act on the Residence, Economic Activity and Integration of Foreigners in the Federal Territory, Sections 19, 19a & 21), and thereby tries to address the skills shortage (The Federal Government 2014).

However, many highly skilled migrants living in Germany did not immigrate as part of the initiative to reduce the skills shortage, but came as refugees, ethnic German repatriates[1] or for family reunification. Although there have been recent initiatives to improve the acknowl-

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[1] By definition of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, Ethnic German repatriates are ethnic Germans 'from the successive states of the former Soviet Union and other eastern bloc states'. They have 'special justification for living in Germany': http://www.bamf.de/EN/Service/Left/Glossary/ _function/glossar.html?lv3=1504296&lv2=1450778 [7/3/2017].

edgement of their degrees and certificates, various studies prove that their professional potential is not tapped, and that they too often face deskilling (Henkelmann 2012; Nohl, Ofner & Thomsen 2010). This is contrary to research that finds professional integration a relevant criterion for satisfactory integration into society (Peirce 1995; Nohl, Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2014; Pätzold 2010; Brizić 2013).

Despite increasing skills shortages in fields such as engineering (e.g. The Association of German Engineers VDI 2016), the knowledge and qualifications of highly skilled migrants seem to have lost significance on the German labour market (Flam 2007: 118). This situation frames the qualitative study at hand. To reveal perspectives on professional skills and career paths after migration to Germany, 17 semi-structured interviews were conducted with immigrant graduates who participated in a requalification project. As part of the project, all participants had enrolled at the University of Duisburg-Essen to obtain a German university degree with a view to enhancing their chances on the labour market. Since they had migrated to Germany 2–20 years before, none of the participants had been able to work in the fields they obtained their degrees in.

Experiences of immigrant graduates in the context of their 'insufficient incorporation' (Nohl, Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2014: 4) into the German labour market have been subject to recent studies (e.g. Nohl, Ofner & Thomsen 2007; Ofner 2011; Henkelmann 2012; Nohl, Schittenhelm, Schmidtke & Weiß 2014; Jacoby 2011), but more research is required on how participation in professional communities is assessed by migrant graduates in the context of their de-skilling. Through examining how ideas on professional participation and agency are verbalised in interviews, the study at hand addresses this desideratum.

'Agency' and 'participation' are main factors in the analysis of the data presented in this thesis, and their definition builds on the assumption that '"doing" is at the heart of identity formation', linking action to processes of identity formation (Pratt 2012: 26). The present study suggests that expressions of agency and participation reveal how professional identities are discursively constructed in interviews. This leads to two research questions:

1. What kind of strategies did the interviewees use to support the discursive construction of their professional identities?
2. How did the respondents demonstrate agency in discursive constructions of professional identities?

To analyse the data for strategies of identity construction, a qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2010, 2014; Kuckartz 2014, 2014; Schreier 2012) was carried out. Thus, the data was structured according to the aforementioned research questions (Mayring 2010). This was achieved by assigning text units to categories that were formed deductively from research about the notion of professional identity and its construction (Turner 1991; Pratt 2012; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark & Fugate 2007; Caza & Creary 2016), as well as inductively from interview data. Hence, the result of the coding procedure was a number of text units that were filtered with the help of categories and that showed different types of strategies for the construction of professional identities. The filtered text units were then examined according to how agency was demonstrated within them. The analysis showed that various types of discursive strategies were located. These strategies helped to construct, deconstruct or maintain professional identities. The strategies involved agency to different extents. Whereas resigning and adapting strategies showed only little or no agency on the part of the interviewees, regaining and disclosing strategies involved more agency in the construction of professional identities.

These findings are discussed with regards to two aspects. The first aspect is how the typology of discursive strategies relates to the theoretical framework of the study. It can be shown that participation in professional communities increases agency and supports the construction of professional identities, while unsatisfactory participation is reflected in a lack of identification as a professional. The construction of professional identities is clearly linked to participation in actual or imagined professional communities. The validation of these actions contributes to the construction of confident professional identities (Pratt 2012: 26). Moreover, comparing and contrasting (Kelle & Kluge 2010) discursive strategy types shows how metaphorical references to power (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) support the processes of constructions of professional identities. The second aspect is the validity of the findings. It will be demonstrated that although the qualitative approach of this research project includes the subjective perspective of the researcher, there are certain quality criteria such as the transparency of the analysis process and a second analysis procedure at a different point of time that ensure a satisfactory level of internal validity (Malterud 2001: 484).

The transferability of the findings to other contexts is outlined in the conclusion. More specifically, the findings can be transferred and applied to further research in two different ways. Firstly, a similar analysis should be conducted with the same participants at a different point

of time. The hypothesis that professional participation enhances the construction of professional identities could then be re-evaluated after a longer period of employment in the field of graduation. Secondly, this hypothesis could be transferred to a different migration setting, for instance to Australia, to test whether the construction of professional identities changes according to the context of another immigration country.

Abstract (in German)

Deutschland ist ein Einwanderungsland. Faktisch ist es das seit Beginn der Anwerbung von sogenannten „Gastarbeitern" in den 50er Jahren. Juristisch gesehen ist die Aussage, Deutschland sei kein Einwanderungsland, erst vor 16 Jahren durch eine Veränderung der Migrationspolitik wiederlegt worden. Die Auswirkungen dieser Veränderung betrafen sowohl den politischen als auch den gesellschaftlichen Diskurs um Migration und Integration. Nach dem neuen Einbürgerungsgesetz aus dem Jahr 2000 wird die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft nun unabhängig von der Staatsangehörigkeit der Eltern an Kinder vor allem aufgrund des Geburtsorts verliehen *(„Ius Soli")*, und nicht mehr ausschließlich basierend auf Abstammung *(„Ius Sanguini")*. Die Verabschiedung eines neuen Einwanderungsgesetzes im Jahr 2005 bedeutet gleichzeitig die erstmalige Verwendung des Begriffs *Integration* auf Gesetzesebene und die Einführung des Diskurses darum auf Bundesebene (Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010: 25).

Damit wurde im politischen Diskurs die Debatte um erfolgreiche Integration vorrangig, und in der Folge wurden in einem Nationalen Aktionsplan Integration (2012) bzw. dem Nationalen Integrationsplan (2006) Vereinbarungen zur Verbesserung der Situation der Migranten in Deutschland erklärt (Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration: 2012).

Durch das neue Einwanderungsgesetz begann Deutschland zum ersten Mal seit dem Ende des Anwerbungsstopps der „Gastarbeiter" 1973, gezielt Fachkräfte anzuwerben. Die Anwerbung der „Gastarbeiter" war durch eine Reihe von Anwerbeverträgen erfolgt, die zur Migration in das Nachkriegsdeutschland motivierten. Die „Gastarbeiter" trugen dort maßgeblich zum Wiederaufbau der deutschen Wirtschaft bei und formten damit die erste große Einwanderungswelle, die Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert erreichte (Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010). Nichtsdestotrotz wurde erwartet, dass sie nach einer kurzen Arbeitsphase das Land wieder verließen, weshalb nur wenig zu ihrer Integration beigetragen wurde. Außerdem arbeiteten sie zumeist nicht im Hochqualifiziertensektor. Mit der Verabschiedung des neuen Einwanderungsgesetzes investiert Deutschland nun erstmalig gezielt in die Anwerbung von *Wissen* durch Einwanderung (Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet, §§ 19, 19a & 21), und begegnet damit dem Fachkräftemangel (Die Bundesregierung 2014).

Viele hochqualifizierte Migrantinnen und Migranten, die in Deutschland leben, sind jedoch nicht im Rahmen der Initiative zur Reduzierung des Fachkräftemangels, sondern als Flüchtlinge, Spätaussiedler oder aufgrund einer Familienzusammenführung eingewandert. Obwohl

es seit einiger Zeit Bemühungen zur verbesserten Anerkennung ihrer Abschlüsse und Zertifikate gibt, belegen zahlreiche Studien, dass die beruflichen Potenziale von Migrantinnen und Migranten nicht ausgeschöpft werden, und dass sie sich oft der Dequalifizierung ausgesetzt sehen (Henkelmann 2012; Nohl, Ofner & Thomsen 2007). Dies konterkariert Erkenntnisse, die darlegen, dass berufliche Integration maßgeblich zu einer erfolgreichen Integration in die Gesellschaft beiträgt.

Trotz des steigenden Fachkräftemangels beispielsweise in den ingenieurwissenschaftlichen Bereichen (vgl. Verband deutscher Ingenieure VDI 2016) scheinen das Wissen und die Fertigkeiten von hochqualifizierten Migranten auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt an Bedeutung zu verlieren (Flam 2007: 118). Dies bildet den situativen Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit. Zur Darlegung verschiedener Perspektiven wurden 17 Interviews mit eingewanderten Akademikerinnen und Akademikern über deren wahrgenommene berufliche Fertigkeiten und Karrierewege nach ihrer Migration nach Deutschland geführt. Alle Interviewteilnehmenden waren gleichzeitig Stipendiaten eines Nachqualifizierungsprojektes. Im Rahmen dieses Projektes hatten sich alle Teilnehmenden an der Universität Duisburg-Essen eingeschrieben, um einen deutschen Universitätsabschluss zu erwerben und damit einen besseren Einstieg auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zu erwirken. Seit ihrer Einwanderung, die zwischen zwei und zwanzig Jahren zurücklag, war es keinem der Teilnehmenden möglich gewesen, in ihrem Fachbereich eine entsprechende Anstellung zu finden.

„Handlungsfähigkeit" und „Teilhabe" werden deshalb in der Analyse der vorliegenden Arbeit als Hauptfaktoren betrachtet, die auf Basis der Annahme „doing is at the heart of identity formation" (Pratt 2006: 26) definiert sind, und somit den Prozess der Identitätsbildung mit konkreten Handlungsmöglichkeiten verbinden. Die vorliegende Forschungsarbeit geht davon aus, dass Äußerungen zu Handlungsfähigkeit und Teilhabe darlegen, wie professionelle Identitäten diskursiv in Interviews gestaltet werden. Das führt zu zwei Forschungsfragen:

1. Welche Strategien wurden von den Interviewteilnehmenden eingesetzt, um die diskursive Konstruktion ihrer professionellen Identitäten zu unterstützen?
2. Wie haben die Interviewteilnehmenden ihre Handlungsfähigkeit innerhalb ihrer diskursiven Konstruktion beruflicher Identitäten dargestellt?

Um die Interviewdaten mit Blick auf Strategien von Identitätskonstruktionen angemessen auswerten zu können, wurde eine Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse (Mayring 2010, 2014; Kuckartz 2014, 2014; Schreier 2012) durchgeführt. Somit konnten die Daten mit Bezug auf die genannten Forschungsfragen strukturiert werden. Bei diesem Schritt wurden Textbestandteile

Kategorien zugeordnet (Mayring 2010), die sowohl deduktiv von Forschungen zu beruflicher Identität und ihrer Konstruktion (vgl. Turner 1991 Pratt 2000; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark & Fugate 200; Caza & Creary 2016), als auch induktiv aus dem Interviewmaterial heraus entwickelt wurden. Aus der Kodierung ergaben sich eine Reihe von Textstellen, die durch die Anwendung der Kategorien aus den Interviews herausgefiltert worden waren und die verschiedene Strategietypen zur Konstruktion von professionellen Identitäten aufwiesen. Diese herausgefilterten Textstellen wurden dann in Bezug auf die Darstellung von „agency" untersucht. Es konnten verschiedene Strategietypen lokalisiert werden, die zur Konstruktion, dem Verwerfen und dem Aufrechterhalten von professionellen Identitäten dienten. „Agency" wurde hierbei in unterschiedlicher Ausprägung gezeigt. So war „agency" in resignierenden und anpassenden Strategietypen gar nicht oder nur in sehr geringem Maße repräsentiert, während die aufdeckenden und aufholenden Strategietypen einen deutlich höheren Anteil von „agency" an der Konstruktion professioneller Identitäten seitens der Interviewteilnehmenden aufwiesen.

Diese Ergebnisse werden mit Blick auf zwei Aspekte diskutiert. Der erste Aspekt betrifft den theoretischen Rahmen der Arbeit und die Frage, wie dieser sich in deren empirischen Ergebnissen wiederfindet. Es wird deutlich, dass die Teilhabe in professionellen communities den Faktor „agency" erhöht damit die Konstruktion professioneller Identitäten unterstützt, während sich unzureichende Teilhabe in einem Mangel an professioneller Identität wiederspiegelt. Damit ist die Konstruktion professioneller Identitäten klar an Teilhabe in tatsächlichen oder imaginären professionellen communities gebunden. Die Bestätigung solcher Teilhabe trägt ebenfalls eindeutig zur Konstruktion selbstbewusster professioneller Identitäten bei (Pratt 2012: 26). Darüber hinaus zeigt der Vergleich und die Gegenüberstellung der diskursiven Strategietypen (Kelle & Kluge 2010), wie metaphorische Verweise Machtverhältnisse (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) die Konstruktionsprozesse professioneller Identitäten unterstützen. Der zweite Aspekt ist die Validität der Forschungsergebnisse. Es wird gezeigt werden, dass obwohl die qualitative Ausrichtung des Forschungsvorhabens die Subjektivität der Forscherin in den Forschungsprozess mit einbezieht, ein zufriedenstellendes Maß an Validität innerhalb der Arbeit (Malterud 2001: 484). Durch die Anwendung verschiedener Qualitätskriterien wie der Offenlegung des Analyseprozesses und einem zweiten, zeitlich verschobenen Kodiervorgang erreicht werden konnte.

Die Übertragbarkeit der Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Studie in einen anderen Kontext wird im Schlussteil der Arbeit aufgezeigt werden. Die Ergebnisse können mit Blick auf zukünftige Forschungsvorhaben vor allem in zweierlei Hinsicht übertragen werden: Zunächst kann

eine Analyse mit einem ähnlichen Kodierrahmen von Strategietypen anhand von Interviews mit den gleichen Teilnehmenden zeigen, ob die Hypothese der professionellen Teilhabe als konstituierender Teil der professionellen Identitätsbildung bestätigt werden kann, wenn bereits eine längere Beschäftigung auf Niveau des Hochschulabschlusses besteht. Des Weiteren kann diese Hypothese auf andere Migrationssettings übertragen werden. Ein Vergleich beispielsweise mit Australien könnte darlegen, ob die Konstruktion professioneller Identitäten in anderen Einwanderungsländern divergiert.

Acknowledgements

Finally, I cordially thank all participants of ProSALAMANDER. Without their contribution, my research project would never have been realised. I have learnt a lot from them, and their strength and incredible motivation will continue to inspire me.

1 Introduction and structural outline

How do professionals think of themselves after not being recognised as sufficiently skilled for several years? This question will be examined by analysing how a group of immigrant graduates constructs professional identities in interviews. To do so, this thesis develops a case study on the basis of 17 interviews with immigrant academics whose degrees had de facto not been recognised on the German labour market. The thesis is structured from the general to the specific, from the theoretical background to the empirical data. The theoretical framework of the present thesis is based on recent discourse on highly skilled immigration, and on research in the field of professional identity. Germany has been a country of immigration since the 1950s, and its process to an official statement of this status has been distinguished by several steps both politically as well as socially. In fact, Germany officially denied being a country of immigration until the early 1990s (Kohl 1991), and only since the year 2000 have legal shifts towards flexible citizenship laws and a new Immigration Act in 2005 framed the fact that, in practice, immigration had been a major contribution to society for more than 50 years (Bade 1994; Mecheril et al. 2010). Chapter 2 of this thesis defines the context of Germany as a country of migration and its relevance for the present thesis. Accordingly, section 2.1 focuses on highly skilled migration from the 1950s until today. It also explains Germany's shift towards officially becoming a country of migration, and the legal changes that announced the transformation. As indicated above, it took Germany quite a long time to state what had already been reality. And yet, there are still societal changes that lie ahead, although the situation of immigrants in Germany has already improved since they were recruited as so-called 'guest workers'. Section 2.2 of this thesis outlines the most prominent developments in public discourse on highly skilled migration that have also framed the context of the interviews.

The group that was interviewed for this thesis is one example of many settled immigrant academics whose degrees are not recognised in Germany. There is a discrepancy between the fact that these graduates have qualifications that are in demand, and that they are at the same time not employed in qualified jobs. The question how this discrepancy affects their professional self-image is discussed based on this group. In order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the construction of professional identities, section 3.1 introduces the approach of symbolic interactionism and its understanding of the formation of meanings as a result of the reciprocal relation of the individual to institutional structures and communities. It is argued that interactions serve as a discursive practice to construct meaning—and

identities—and to achieve validation for these meanings. On this basis, the notion of professional identity is examined in further detail and with regards to relevant research (section 3.2), which highlights how professional identities can be adapted to, or shaped, as a response to the discursive ascription of professional roles. This becomes even more evident for professional communities and their significance for the construction of professional identities (section 3.3). As professional communities consist of members that can validate professional performance, the belonging to or exclusion from professional communities is a crucial part of professional identity construction. In this context, it is noticeable that even imagined professional communities serve as a reference point to form professional identities in a period of transition to participation in actual professional communities (section 3.3). Section 3.4 reviews several studies that have applied the approach of symbolic interactionism in the field of organisational studies and that illustrate how professional communities contribute to the construction of professional identities in various ways.

The interviewees in this thesis serve as a sample that represents many immigrant graduates in Germany. Chapter 4 elucidates why they had been living in Germany without being able to work in their field, and why transitioning into the German labour market presented various challenges to them (Breckner 2009; Henkelmann 2012).

These challenges are even more prominent in the Ruhr district in Germany (section 4.1), which is distinguished by a population with diverse qualifications and cultural backgrounds, while it still struggles to offer equal opportunities to immigrants on the local labour market (Ofner 2011). The underlying data emerged from a project with settled immigrant academics in the dilemma between a proclaimed skills shortage and their insufficient employment in the fields of demand. The project aimed to better the participants' situation by supporting them in obtaining a German university degree. This was considered necessary because their degrees had de facto not been recognised on the labour market (section 4.2). In the course of the project, subject-specific requalification prepared the participants for an enhanced positioning on the labour market in their field of graduation (section 4.2.1). In addition, language trainings and specific workshops (section 4.2.2) offered a participant-specific extension of existing skills and knowledge. Work-related training (section 4.2.3) aimed to encourage the immigrant graduates to reclaim their expertise on the basis of professional discourse. During these trainings, the project participants exchanged domain-specific knowledge with other professionals in order to regain professional participation.

After having described the structure of the requalification project, section 4.3 gives an overview over the project participants and their specific backgrounds. Section 4.4 reflects on the limitations of the project with regards to its feasibility in the light of university-specific regulations such as compulsory courses of study. In the course of the requalification trainings and workshops, it became apparent that the versatile skills and expertise they had obtained before migration were not referred to by the project participants. Their identification as professionals seemed to be strongly related to their (lack of) participation in professional communities. Their interaction was influenced by the positions that others took, for example the employment office, the labour market, their social surroundings and media. That became even more obvious when it came to the discussion about whether or not foreign degrees should be considered valuable. As much as the participants had expected to become a member of a professional community, they were confronted with and had to adapt to expectations that others had about their foreign degrees. Accordingly, this thesis examines the strategies with which professional identities can be reclaimed in the discursive practice of interviews. The most suitable methodology to identify these strategies was a type-building content analysis.

As this approach is a qualitative one, some basic assumptions on qualitative research are summarised in section 5.1. The researcher's role as an important position within qualitative research projects is given special consideration in section 5.1.1. The characteristics of interview research as a discursive practice are analysed in section 5.1.2, as they form the basis of the data collection whose context is outlined in section 5.1.3. On the basis of these assumptions, the key characteristics of Qualitative Content Analysis (section 5.2) are explained, and its suitability for this research project is presented. A detailed description of the research design of this thesis and the procedural steps distinct for Qualitative Content Analysis is given in section 5.3.

Because the interviews suggested that the participants had developed various strategies to construct their professional identities, section 5.4 argues for a type formation of these strategies in order to form typologies that specifically occur in this thesis. To analyse the professional agency of the interviewees in greater depth, an analysis of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) was added to the methodology (section 5.5). This extension of the methodological framework proved to be an outstanding way to comprehend the constructions of the interviewees' professional identities in a way that suited their multilingual and diverse cultural backgrounds. Section 5.6 explains in further detail how metaphors serve as

means of reference to abstract concepts in everyday life and thus enabled the interviewees to broach the issues of regaining of, disclosing and adapting to professional identities as well as the resigning from professional expertise as a consequence of exclusion from professional communities.

The detailed analysis of Lya's case (chapter 6) serves as an example as to how this thesis explores constructions of professional identities. To discuss Lya's interview, the discursive strategy types are described in detail concerning the dimensions that characterise them (section 6.2). In a next step, the typology underlying the analysis is formed to distinguish between adapting, disclosing, regaining and resigning strategy types to construct professional identities in discursive practice. Lya's case is then discussed with the help of the typology model (section 6.4). It is argued that Lya predominantly used regaining strategies to claim her professional identities in comparison to others and through involvement within professional communities. She proved to be caught in a dilemma between the declared skills shortage on the one hand and her potential on the other hand, which shows the high relevance of this thesis and its adaptability to future concepts of transitioning foreign expertise into local labour markets. To test the validity of the analysis, its results are scrutinised by means of specific quality criteria, as described in section 6.6.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by outlining its relevance on three levels. Its short-term output might lead to further research to be conducted within the same participant group[2], in order to examine their positioning on the highly skilled labour market after graduation from a German university. The mid-term consequences of this research lie in its contribution to the desideratum of comparative studies of the recognition of international credentials, while the long-term relevance of this thesis is to challenge the perspectives on international degrees and skills. By aiming for a change on the labour market towards a more open-minded perspective on the recognition of cultural capital as a beneficial value, this thesis contributes to the equality of opportunities for immigrant graduates on the German labour market.

In chapter 8, the findings of this thesis are discussed in terms of their applicability to two other settings. In the first setting, the findings could be retested within the same group at a different point of time. For this purpose, further interviews would be conducted with the interviewees with regards to their constructions of professional identities after a period of participation in professional communities. The hypothesis of this thesis can therefore be

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[2] The feasibility of such a research project will be discussed in Chapter 8.

evaluated and further specified, for example by analysing which ways of participation enhance the constructions of professional identities in comparison to others. In addition, the typology model that resulted from this thesis could be validated regarding its stability, and, if necessary, extended to further types of strategies that construct professional identities.

In the second setting, the findings of this thesis would be compared to a different migration context. This means that the typology model could be tested in the analysis of interviews conducted in a different country of immigration, such as Australia. The results should then be compared to the findings of this thesis to evaluate how different migration settings influence the constructions of professional identities. Furthermore, the interviews that are conducted in different migrant societies can be analysed regarding the use of conceptual metaphors, and whether different migration settings affect the topical structure of conceptual metaphors that refer to the recognition of international degrees and the value of international expertise in post-migrant societies.

1.1 Relevance of the study

By presenting a case study based on 17 interviews, I approach the research question in an exploratory manner, following the interpretivist research paradigm (Bryman 1988; Mackenzie and Knipe 2006) of qualitative studies. The thesis crosses into the fields of sociolinguistics and sociology. It aims to provide insights into the ways immigrant graduates think about themselves as professionals after years of unemployment or unskilled employment. It contributes to current discussions about the recognition of foreign degrees and the skills shortage in Germany, and general issues of integration as a bilateral effort. This is timely because of the lack of integration of immigrant graduates into the labour market and society. As German society is undergoing structural demographic changes, the professional expertise of highly qualified employees in technical and engineering fields is urgently needed. Settled immigrant graduates could fill that gap, but they will often only be employed below their expectations regarding their academic degrees. This situation is contrary to findings that demonstrate how professional integration is an important and relevant criterion for satisfactory and successful integration into a society (Nohl, Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2014; Sackmann 2004: 71).

1.2 Limitations of the study

This thesis is in the field of sociolinguistics, and so my interest was in what kind of mechanisms the participants would use to identify themselves as professionals, or with their profession. All interviews were conducted in German upon the request of the interviewees. The

thesis focusses on the co-construction of meaning within the discursive situation of interviews. All quotes relevant for this thesis have been translated by me, and a summary of the interviews can be found in the appendix. I am aware of the fact that responses are not in native languages and that sometimes, these responses offer different ways of interpretation. Therefore, I decided against research on a micro-linguistic level, which would require a deeper analysis on the level of small units of meaning.

It must be pointed out that the interviewees' voices might have been affected by my translation, and that some original intentions and hints might have been lost in the process of translation. Although the translations help to display the interviewees' attitudes to non-German-speaking readers, they certainly add my own perspective into the process of analysis and interpretation. Therefore, I give special consideration to my role and perspective as a researcher in section 5.1.1 of this thesis. The urge to understand the unknown in qualitative research results from the hermeneutical process of which the researcher's perspective is a vital part (Kruse 2011). The awareness of the other thus starts from the awareness of one's own perspective and background. For Habermas (1984), there is no neutral position for one researcher to understand another. In a symbolic-interactionist approach, the researcher becomes part of the interaction with the field, and as the context of interaction varies, so does its content (1984: 124). Rather than aiming for a neutral perspective on the field of research, as quantitative enquiries do, the qualitative approach of this thesis encompasses the strength of the subjective voice of the researcher and the researched. Understandably, my translations of the interviews might be regarded as a limitation of this study, however, the interviewees' lines of argumentation about their situations is in the focus of the analysis. This thesis therefore introduces a combination of metaphor analysis (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) with a type-building content analysis (Kluge 2000; Kelle & Kluge 2010; Mayring 2014). I consider it important to empower the interviewees' voices by locating metaphors of power in the analysis of their professional identity constructions. These metaphors are means of everyday communication (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), and they support the interviewees in their line of argumentation. Metaphors relate to abstract phenomena and display them in a physical way (ibid.). Hence, the metaphors used by the interviewees are not analysed by means of linguistic style, but as a concrete form of expression for complex experiences. Metaphors help speakers to communicate complex phenomena (Camp 2006), and even with my translations, they remain a reference to what the interviewees wanted to communicate in the interviews.

The issue of immigrant academics whose foreign degrees are neither recognised by employers nor by the society they live in is not only a German one, and neither is the fact that international expertise remains underused. The current global scope of migration indicates that the topic of this thesis is not exclusive to a German context. It is, at least, a European one (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training 2015) and there are various conclusions to draw from the German case.

In addition, this thesis cannot be separated from the context it emanated from—a bi-national doctoral agreement that joins two scientific contexts: the German and the Australian one. This synthesis of academic traditions has accompanied my research process and made me grow as a researcher. Above all, it has largely influenced the direction of this thesis, as the topic is not only examined in a local context, but is brought to international attention. While the interviews were conducted in Germany, the actual analysis was carried out during a research period in Australia. Therefore, it looks at data of a specific context through an international perspective. Furthermore, my position as a researcher has played an important role in this qualitative research project. Therefore, this thesis is written in English to present and compare its outcomes in the international context, even though it might be limited by its abstraction of the original interviews through translations.

Moreover, the hypotheses and conclusions in this thesis emanated from a qualitative research project. Instead of aiming for the distant, neutral style of quantitative research projects, I felt encouraged to use first person singular to address my research in the context of my assumptions, knowing that the meanings I attach to my findings might very well be discussed in other contexts. I do not claim universal validity of my findings, but I encourage the discussion of my findings. Nonetheless I applied several quality checks to aim for validity of my research (section 6.6). By meeting the scholarly standards of two countries, my research project therefore faced its limitations in the best possible way.

2   Germany as a country of migration

Germany is a country of immigration. This has been the case since the beginning of 'guest worker' recruitments of West Germany in the 1950s, and it has formed part of a larger European phenomenon that occurred not only, but specifically after World War II. Yet German law only relinquished the stance that 'Germany is not a country of immigration' *('Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland')*, as stated in the government declaration of the former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1991,[3] about 16 years ago with a shift in migration policy (Mecheril 2010: 7) that affected both the political and the social discourse on immigration and integration. Since 2000, a new Citizenship Act has granted citizenship based on place of birth *('Ius Soli')* rather than on descent only *('Ius Sanguini')*, although strict conditions still require that one parent must have been a permanent resident for at least eight years. The new citizenship policy introduces naturalisation as a key factor of integration policy developments, thus bringing Germany in line with most OECD countries (OECD 2016: 61). In 2005, the new Immigration Act (2005) took effect and raised matters of integration at the federal level (Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010: 25).

Recent developments in worldwide migration have affected Germany remarkably and underline its status as a country of immigration. With the number of new permanent entries in 2015, 'Germany stood at comparable immigration levels to the United States, if not higher' (OECD 2016: 15). Debates on successful integration became prevalent in the political discourse, and Chancellor Merkel appointed a Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration. Also, a National Action Plan on Integration ('Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration' 2012, 'Nationaler Integrationsplan' 2006) outlined measures to improve the situation of migrants in Germany.

Resulting from the first Integration Summit ('*Deutscher Integrationsgipfel*')[4] in Germany in 2006, the National Plan on Integration was presented by Chancellor Angela Merkel during

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[3]   http://helmut-kohl.kas.de/index.php?menu_sel=17&menu_sel2=&menu_sel3=&menu_sel4=&msg=609 [20/09/2016].

[4]   https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/nap/integrationsgipfel/_node.html [1/12/2017].

the second Integration Summit in 2007,[5] and evaluated in 2008[6] on the basis of commitments and measures to improve the integration of those migrants already living in Germany. The former National Plan on Integration was transformed into a National *Action* Plan on Integration in 2012, and was presented at the fifth Integration Summit with a special focus on language and integration classes, professional training and the aim to increase the number of migrant employees in civil services.[7] This plan aims, among other things, to ease the path of highly skilled migrants onto the German labour market (National Action Plan on Integration 2012: 20). It underlines that the integration of highly skilled migrants in Germany had priority, as they represented a domestic potential that needed to be made accessible in order to retain their expertise and fight skills shortage (2012: 115). While the National Action Plan on Integration is still in effect, the ninth Integration Summit, addressing participation and belonging in migrant societies, took place in 2016.[8] Correspondingly, the OECD (2016: 61) stated that interventions to support early integration were increasingly accommodated to the needs of both migrants and receiving communities, including specific efforts to establish 'more efficient and transparent qualification recognition processes, including for those without proof of their qualifications'. In addition to the Integration Summit, a Youth Integration Summit ('*Jugendintegrationsgipfel*'),[9] hosted by the Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, was launched to discuss concepts of diversity and integration with 80 adolescents from diverse backgrounds to discuss ideas about language, education, integration, and cultural diversity (Faas 2008: 108). Its results[10] were discussed with Chancellor Merkel and the German Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, Maria Böhmer, who agreed to incorporate the ideas presented in the National Plan on Integration (The Federal Government 2007).

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[5] https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Archiv16/Artikel/2007/07/Anlage/2007-07-12-nationaler-integrationsplan.pdf;jsessionid=05D0FD62DD695A78F25064C09BEFEB69.s6t1?__blob=publication-File&v=3 [1/11/2017].

[6] https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/Anlagen/nationaler-integrationsplan-fortschrittsbericht.pdf;jsessionid=05D0FD62DD695A78F25064C09BEFEB69.s6t1?__blob=publication-File&v=5 [1/11/2017].

[7] https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/IB/2012-01-31-nap-gesamt-barrierefrei.pdf?__blob =publicationFile&v=5 [1/11/2017].

[8] https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2016/11_en/2016-11-11-integrationsgipfel_en.html [1/11/2017].

[9] https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/nap/integrationsgipfel/jugendintegrationsgipfel/_node.html [1/12/2017].

[10] https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/IB/Artikel/Jugend/2007-05-08-jugendintegrationsgipfel-vorschlaege-jugendliche.html [4/4/17].

The establishment of an Integration Summit that regularly discusses education, language learning, and equal opportunities in education and on the labour market, demonstrates the changes in politics and society that have recently taken place and are still slowly taking effect, reflecting the country's struggle to legally and officially confirm the reality of its status as a country of immigration. Legislation now grants citizenship to the children of migrants (Nationality Act, Section 29) and in 2001, former Bundestag president Rita Süssmuth emphasised the urgency of both recruiting more skilled immigrants to Germany and enhancing the integration of those who had already settled (Jacoby 2011: 9). Furthermore, a conference on Islam[11] *('Deutsche Islamkonferenz')* was initiated in 2016 to enhance the discourse on religion, law, moral values and equal opportunities.

Although the legal and social shift described in Chapter 2 facilitates highly-skilled migration to Germany and fosters integration of settled immigrant graduates on the highly-skilled labour market, there is still evidence that settled immigrants who have been living in Germany a number of years face unemployment more often than native Germans and that they are less likely employed on the level of their qualifications (International Migration Outlook 2014; Engelmann & Mueller 2007). A survey by the German Socio-Economic Panel in 2009 shows that employment of highly-skilled migrants had dropped down to 40% within one year after their arrival in Germany (Jungwirth 2012: 10). While the German population is ageing, its efforts to specifically recruit graduates of fields in demand, such as engineering and technology, are not comparable to structured recruiting programs of countries like Australia, where a points-based skilled migration programme awards extra points to accelerate permanent residency (OECD 2016: 46). Since the 1990s, migration from other European countries forms the main source (Federal Statistical Office: 2015) for immigration to Germany (Figure 1). While the conditions to grant citizenship have changed and are now largely based on place of birth, it is quite remarkable that some statistics in Germany still identify migrants as such when they are descendants of the 2nd or 3rd generation. For instance, Eurostat (2016) points at specific employment conditions for first and second-generation immigrants[12]. This terminology points to the peculiarity of Germany's unassertive identification as a migration country, and will be discussed along with other specific constructs in section 2.2. Generally, people with a "migration background" are defined as "all who migrated after 1949 to the

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[11] http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/DIK/DE/Startseite/startseite-node.html [1/12/17].

[12] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/First_and_second-generation_immigrants_-_statistics_on_employment_conditions [27/3/17]

present territory of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as all foreigners born in Germany and all those who were born German in Germany with at least one parent being migrant or a foreigner born in Germany" (Federal Statistical Office 2013, translated by the author). The differentiation between migrant generations can for instance be seen in the analysis of the German census in 2011, when it was stated that although migrants of the first generation only represented about 7% of the total population, their group formed a large part of the unemployed population and low skilled workers[13].

As the results of each census have an impact on both a communal and federal level, it was found more adequate to distinguish according to the 'migration background' than based on citizenship only. Along with the new Immigration Act that took effect in 2005, the census asked for a 'migration background' in the same year for the first time, and this information has since become an important source of facts about migrant population on a national level (Urban Statistic 2013). In comparison, Australia in its 2011 Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012) distinguished between the Australian population been born overseas (26%), and having at least one overseas-born parent (20%)[14]. In the same year, the representative National Household Survey (NHS) in Canada analysed the Canadian population based on identifying citizens as people being first, second or third generation[15]

Population by migration background	1st generation	2nd and 3rd generation
Total	11,453	17,118
Europe	7,878	11,844
EU-28	4,309	5,954
Other European countries	3,569	5,859
Africa	405	631
North Africa	182	306
Other African countries	223	324
America	269	379
North America	105	156
Central America and the Caribbean	72	51
South America	112	152
Asia	2,111	2,849
Middle East	1,356	1,832
East Asia	177	223
South and South East Asia	548	793
Australia and Oceania	22	30

Figure 1: Germany's Population by migration background refering to 1,000, based on Microcensus 2015.

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[13]http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61649/migrationshintergrund-ii [7/3/17]

[14] http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2071.0main+features902012-2013 [27/3/17]

[15] http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011003_2-eng.cfm [27/3/17]

Due to the latest political developments, migration from Middle Eastern countries to Europe has increased, however the majority of the 17.1 million migrants, including Germans with a parent or grandparent with a different citizenship (figures according to Microcensus 2015, Figure 1), are from European Union member states. Free movement ('*Freizügigkeit*') of individuals and labour allows European citizens and their relatives to live and work in any other member country of the European Union. Germany has become the second most popular country of immigration (OECD 2014: 1), and the above table does not include the migration of refugees who have arrived in the country since 2015. Germany is also home to many academics who have immigrated for the purpose of family reunification, rather than due to international recruitment (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2015: 54). These immigrants arrive as refugees or as ethnic German repatriates from eastern bloc states, including the former Soviet Union. This group of immigrant graduates has established a living in Germany, and are considered to be 'settled migrants' (OECD 2016: 60) if they have been living in the country for longer than five years. They have, however, only slowly gained more attention in research and politics (Nohl 2010; Englmann & Müller 2007). Studies show that although they hold expertise and skills that form valuable potential for German employers (e.g. Englmann & Müller 2007; Henkelmann 2012), their experiences mostly remain irrelevant for the local labour market. In 2010, a representative survey of The Statistics Portal among 1,000 respondents showed that 68% were against the support of skilled migration in the fields of engineering to Germany (Statista 2017).[16] Henkelmann (2012: 26), for example, argues that immigrant graduates' degrees and qualifications are not always recognised or are mistrusted as a consequence of prejudice against certain countries and educational systems. In addition, migration and integration are continuous processes that do not cease upon arrival in a destination country. It is quite likely that migrants encounter various difficulties while they are trying to settle in, and their success on the labour market might very well be interrupted or delayed as a consequence. Without anticipating the description of the sample given in chapter 4, it should be pointed out here that the abovementioned difficulties and consequences were explicitly articulated by the immigrant graduates who were interviewed for this study. They were not employed in the field of their studies, and had been living in the country for at least two years. As such, they represent an example for the general research context as outlined in this chapter. Although they had either obtained German citizenship or possessed residence titles and were thus technically entitled to the same rights on the labour

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[16] https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/162894/umfrage/meinung-zur-diskutierten-foerderung-der-einwanderung-von-auslaendischen-fachkraeften/ [11/17/17]

market as native Germans, they had neither benefited from the commitments of the National Action Plan on Integration, nor had they been regarded as professionals with valuable skills. Although it can also take local graduates more time to find employment after graduation than expected, this is even more the case if graduates move countries. The time that it takes for a graduate to find a job in his or her vocational field is significantly slowed down by the process of migration and settlement. The failure to find work in a vocational field often results in stratification and excludes migrants of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd generation from educational participation (Nohl, Schittenhelm & Schmidtke 2014: 10). At the same time, private or family commitments, associated with settlement and the beginning of a new life in the country of immigration, can stand in the way of migrants pursuing their career in the way they had intended to (Thomsen 2009). According to the results of the census in 2014,[17] 43.7 per cent of 'recent migrants' (OECD 2016: 60) who had arrived in Germany since 2011 held a university degree, compared to 18.1 per cent of immigrants who had arrived before 1990. These statistics show that the number of highly skilled immigrants in Germany continues to rise, and the question of whether they will be able to position themselves on the labour market is more urgent than ever. In the past, the country had 'invited' many so-called 'guest workers', but failed to recognise and integrate them (Bade 1983: 120). More recently, extensive changes as affected for instance by the National Action Plan on Integration foster the positioning of highly skilled workers on the German labour market.

This section has shown that the processes of positioning oneself on the labour market and of achieving professional integration are still unsatisfactory. There is a gap between the supply of settled immigrant graduates in Germany and the demand of the labour market for a highly skilled workforce. As there has been evidence that a lack of membership in a group has negative impact on the individual's self-esteem (Phinney 1991), it must also be asked whether denial of professional membership has a negative impact on the professional self-esteem of immigrant graduates. Therefore, it is very important to conduct further studies with immigrant graduates whose potential has so far remained idle. The following section explains how the research undertaken within the participant group will help to gain further insights into the discrepancy between the presence of expertise and the absence of its recognition by others.

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[17] https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2015/08/PD15_277_122.html [2/19/17].

2.1 Skilled migration to Germany

Veränderung

ein Gastarbeiter besteht aus vier Teilen
dem Ausländergesetz[18]
der Aufenthaltserlaubnis
der Arbeitserlaubnis

und
einem Ausländer
(Gino Chiellino 1984:13)[19]

The poem by Gino Chiellino was written before Germany officially declared that it was in fact a migration country. It depicts the notion of migration in the light of regulations and laws that dehumanise immigrants, rendering them objects that need to be regulated, regardless of the skills, potential and cultures they bring and add to the receiving country. Bade (1983) noted this conceptualisation of migrants and, in the light of immigration numbers, criticised Germany's slow awakening to the 'immigration question' ('*Einwanderungsfrage*', 1985: 12), and the late recognition that measures were necessary to handle continuous migration and to foster the integration of migrants. Migration is not a phenomenon that developed in Germany only recently. It has long been a component of the country's culture and society, as elsewhere in Europe (Bade 2002: 17; Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010: 23). Bade (1994) coined the term '*homo migrans*', with which he tries to overcome the tension between the contradictory concepts of 'foreigner' *('der Fremde')* and 'native' ('*der Einheimische*', 1994: 11), arguing for stronger public efforts to assist migrants with both coming to and living in Germany. He calls for legal, social and political changes to foster immigration and change the official attitude towards it. Although more recent political changes have initiated a rather structured immigration of skilled workers to Germany, immigration ironically developed with only a few controls after the end of guest-worker recruitment in 1973. Germany negotiated recruitment agreements with several southern European countries, beginning with Italy in 1955, followed by Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964) and Yugoslavia (1968). Additionally, the Federal Expellee Act was passed in 1953 to grant citizenship to expellees after World War II. Agreements with Tunisia and Morocco in 1965 had no significant effect on the numbers of incoming migrants. After the war, Germany was

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[18] The Alien Act ('*Ausländergesetz*', AuslG: http://germanlawarchive.iuscomp.org/?p=274) was changed to the Residence Act in 2004.

[19] Transformation: A guest worker consists of four parts – the Aliens Act – the residence permit – the employment permit – and – a foreigner (translated by the author).

largely destroyed, and Europe faced overseas emigration. However, the country became a popular destination for European immigrants, and yet ten years after the war's end and the liberation of forced labourers, the booming economy faced a labour deficit that could not be filled with Displaced Persons repatriated from the former Soviet Union or refugees from the German Democratic Republic. Encouraged by the labour market, recruitment agreements were signed, and the country fostered immigration from the 1960s until the 1970s to cover its demand for labour. Before this, contracts structured the immigration of mostly low-skilled workers to post-war Germany, which at that time urgently needed labour for the country's economic recovery. This demand was supported by the sending countries, which motivated unemployed citizens to emigrate and work in Germany. By the beginning of the 1970s, 14 million so-called 'guest workers' *('Gastarbeiter')* had arrived, of whom three million stayed and settled down. Additionally, 4.5 million ethnic German repatriates came to Germany from the successive states of the former Soviet Union and former Eastern Bloc (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2015).

Migrants came and brought with them expertise, experiences and languages, but instead of regarding them as protagonists shaping a new society, as an engine supporting relevant social changes and modernisations (Mecheril 2010: 8), they remained 'guest workers'. Their contracts worked on a rotation principle *('Rotationsprinzip')* and they were replaced after a few years; it was never intended that they would be joined by their families or settle down permanently. 'Guest workers' accepted a high work load, overtime hours and separation from their families in order to ensure financial security in their home countries. They would support their families back home or save money for the time after their return to their home country. However, employers often were not satisfied with the rotation principle, as they wanted to avoid time-consuming job training every couple of years. In addition, workers were encouraged to migrate from home countries with high unemployment rates. Therefore, the duration of time away began to extend, and families followed and moved to Germany. 'Guest workers' lived permanently in Germany, although plans for their settlement were never made (Bade 1994). With the beginning of an economic recession in 1966, the recruitment of 'guest workers' decreased, and all recruitments were finally banned when the oil crisis in 1973 led to a downturn of the German economy.

More than two decades ago, Bade (1994: 18) described it as paradoxical that politicians refused to label Germany an immigration country, and that immigrants had to live with the status of being de jure foreigners, de facto migrants *('de jure Ausländer, de facto Einwan-*

derer') (ibid.). Unfortunately, the tendency to regard immigration as a disruption to an operating system has been dominant for a long time, and is only slowly changing (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977: 225; Mecheril 2004: 7; Mecheril 2010: 8; Treibel 2011: 129). Germany did not consider itself as a country of immigration. This grand delusion (Bade 1994) led to a misinterpretation of the situation of post-war migrants in Germany, and continues to result in problematic decisions regarding participation of migrants in society today.

After the end of 'guest worker' recruitment in 1973 and the denial of work permits for family members in 1974, the political and public opinion that Germany was *not* an immigration country did not change. The "guest worker" recruitments did, however, foster a change of thought in the academic world, as the situation of foreigners in Germany became the object of research in the field of social sciences for the first time (Seifert 1995: 13). The new Immigration Act took effect in 2005, documenting a change in the official attitude (Möllering 2010: 146). The Immigration Act does not, however, use in its original title the term '*Einwanderung'* (immigration), but the linguistic compromise of *'Zuwanderung',* which avoids the prefix *'ein'* (in) and uses *'zu',* which implies the context of "additional" or "extra" with regards to people migrating to Germany. Since the implementation of the new Immigration Act, Germany has invested in the acquisition of knowledge via immigration (Act on the Residence, Economic Activity and Integration of Foreigners in the Federal Territory 2013: sections 19–21) and addressed skills shortage (Federal Press Office 2010).

The new Immigration Act replaced a Green Card that Germany had initiated as a program between 2000 and 2004 to alleviate an IT skills shortage. The Green Card was intended as a reform of the present immigration practice. The program was debated with regards to its success (Kolb 2005) and Germany's credibility as a country of migration, as the Green Card only granted a residence permit for five years. Thus, it provoked discussions on the necessity of recruiting highly skilled workers, and the reform was generally welcomed by economists while condemned by conservatives who favoured educating more Germans in the IT field to meet the skills shortage (Schutt & Florak 2002: 40). Kruse et al. (2003) argue that the Green Card marked an important change in German immigration politics, as it took up the public change of attitude towards a more open-minded immigration policy. The Green Card gave agency to companies who could apply for the cards directly in order to meet their demands. The initially desired quota of 20,000 Green Card holders (Meyer 2000) was not however met, as only 17,177 Green Cards were handed out to IT experts (Federal Statistical Office 2011). The reasons for the low demand of the Green Card were divergent estimations of the actual number of vacant positions in the field, the limitation of residency and a contraction

of the economy in the IT sector shortly after the Green Card initiative was launched (Wester-hoff 2007). Although it was mainly smaller companies that applied for the Green Cards (Kolb 2005), the initiative nonetheless initiated a discussion on the need for migration to Germany due both to skills shortages in certain fields and an ageing population. In 2005, the new Immigration Act, which then granted permanent residency, replaced the Green Card. In addition, a European Blue Card[20] regulates the immigration of highly skilled non-European citizens to Europe. The EU Blue Card for Germany is a residency title that is contingent on a university degree and a contract to work in a field that faces a skills shortage (scientists, mathematics, engineers, doctors, IT specialists) and grants residency for a maximum of four years. After 33 months, the cardholder can apply for permanent residency, a time period which is shortened if the applicant has an intermediate level of language knowledge.[21] The EU Blue Card for Germany is regulated in section 19a of the German Residence Act.[22]

When the legislation passed in 2004, it aimed to open the German labour market for an easier processing of highly skilled immigration, but was discussed as being too restrictive in terms of migration in general (Henkelmann 2012: 21). Alongside renewals of the Freedom of Movement Act for EU citizens and the Act on Residence for non-EU citizens, the Immigration Act used the term 'integration' in the context of migration law for the first time (Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010: 25) and thus raised integration to a legal duty at federal level. This step marks Germany's official recognition of its status as an immigration country over 50 years after the 'guest worker' recruitments in the 1950s and 1960s. As a consequence, people's migration *backgrounds* are starting to come to the *fore* (Mavruk 2016: 11, in print; Nieswand & Drotbohm 2014).

2.2 The public discourse on skilled migration to Germany

As indicated in the previous section, migration has heavily influenced Germany in the past years, initiating various discourses with regards to legal, financial, economic and, most importantly, socio-cultural questions. The discourse about skilled migration and the integration of professionals reflects the country's attempt to adjust to a post-migrant state (Brubaker 2001). Its national and collective identities are now constructed in retrospect on its official

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[20] http://www.bluecard-eu.de/eu-blue-card-germany/ [2/18/17].

[21] The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) describes foreign language proficiency on the six levels of beginner (A1, A2), intermediate (B1, B2) and advanced (C1, C2). The intermediate level required for a residency application is B1. This level is reached when the "independent user" can understand standard basic input, produce simple texts and describe experiences based on every-day life: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf [3/9/17]

[22] https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_aufenthg/englisch_aufenthg.html [2/18/17].

commitment to being a country of immigration. The question whether Germany became a post-migrant society that managed to overcome the othering of migrants is renegotiated in the light of recent migration developments (El-Tayeb 2016). But even in the late 1990s, the official debate on whether Germany was a country of migration was reflected in public discourse, such as the controversy around the disputed term '*Ausländer'* (foreigner). Then, as well as in the mid 1980s, studies in the fields of second and foreign language acquisition still used this terminology, for example in 'Foreign children learn German' *('Ausländische Kinder lernen Deutsch'*, Glumpler & Apeltauer 1997) or 'Modeltest Foreigner Pedagogy' *('Modellversuch Ausänderpädagogik'*, Akademie für Lehrerfortbildung Dillingen 1984). They focused on weaknesses rather than strengths and potential (Auernheimer 2003; Mecheril 2010). Only slowly did the discourse on foreigners ('*Ausländer*') shift towards one on people with a so-called migration background (Mamnitz & Schneider 2014). While the terminology used to describe migrants always takes a perspective on difference to Germany and implies a dominant relation between a majority and minority ethnic communities, the legal situation reflects a more patronising stance. The situation for children of migrants changed only recently in 2014 through the abolition of the 'obligation to opt' for one nationality *('Optionspflicht')*, when the Second Law Amending the Nationality Act entered into force. Since then, those who are born in Germany to non-German parents no longer have to choose between their parents' nationality and German nationality. For people migrating to Germany, another way of naturalization is granted after eight years of legal residency in Germany, and after proving adequate knowledge of German and passing an integration course. It is questionable whether a change of terminology results in a change of minds. It suggests that everyone with a so-called migration background forms part of one big group, facing similar problems and presenting similar challenges to the society they live in (Mecheril, 2010: 17). Yet there is no term that does not imply exclusion. In this thesis, I therefore use the terms 'migrant' and 'immigrant graduate', being well aware of the fact that my terminology contributes to a dominant perspective on minority ethnic communities in Germany. The thesis does, however, provide a multifaceted understanding of the skills, potential and expertise that immigrant graduates possess. Hence, it strives to reflect on the problems of focusing on differences and weaknesses and to include a critical reflection of the researcher's perspective in the data analysis. The following section gives an overview of the discourse on skilled migration to Germany, as it frames the context to which the interviewees of this study related to during their interviews.

2.2.1 International potential and the need for 'human capital'

Since Germany started supporting skilled migration for the first time after the ban on recruiting 'guest workers' in 1973, economists and politicians have often pointed out that the country needs immigrants. When introducing the National Action Plan on Integration ('*Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration*'), Angela Merkel stated that immigrants have important potential for the social cohesion and the economic future of the country ('*Potenziale, die wichtig für den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt und die wirtschaftliche Zukunft unseres Landes sind*', Nationaler Integrationsplan 2007: 7). Obtaining recognition of a foreign qualification is obtained by a formal procedure that evaluates and confirms the qualifications. The recognition is advised by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. For regulated professions, such as doctors, engineers and school teachers, recognition is mandatory.[23] Since 2012, a Federal Recognition Act is supposed to simplify procedures of recognition (Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2017). As much as this has been facilitated by the aforementioned legal changes in citizenship and immigration laws and the implementation of a law to recognise foreign professional qualifications, there still seems to be a gap between the demand for highly skilled workers and those highly skilled immigrants who are already living in Germany. Although the question whether there really is a skills shortage has been consistently discussed in the media[24] for the past few years, employers claimed a lack of skilled workers. For example, the Cologne Institute for Economic Research (*Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln*) stated that at the end of 2015, Germany still had a need for almost 57000 engineering graduates.[25] The Federal Agency for Civic Education (*Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*) asserted that even though there might not be statistical evidence for a skills shortage,[26] it is likely that there is a shortage in certain fields, especially those of mathematics, IT, sciences and engineering.[27] Interestingly, another reason for a reported skills shortage may be that announced vacancies and available qualifications do not match. For instance, employment agencies define a skills shortage as existing in situations where it takes 40 per cent and 10 days longer to find a suitable candidate for an advertised position than in the year of reference.[28]

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[23] https://www.anerkennung-in-deutschland.de/html/en/professional_recognition.php [28/09/16].

[24] http://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2016-03/fachkraeftemangel-als-phantom [25/09/2016].

[25] https://www.iwd.de/artikel/es-tut-sich-was-246041 [14/09/2016].

[26] http://www.bpb.de/politik/innenpolitik/arbeitsmarktpolitik/178757/fachkraeftemangel?p=all

[27] http://www.bpb.de/politik/innenpolitik/arbeitsmarktpolitik/178757/fachkraeftemangel?p=all [14/09/2016].

[28] https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de [14/09/2016].

In this context, the term 'human capital' reflects how migrants are looked at from an economic perspective. 'Human capital' *('Humankapital')* in Germany was voted 'non-word of the year' *('Unwort des Jahres')* in 2004, arguing that it would degrade humans to 'factors that would only economically be relevant' *('zu nur noch ökonomisch interssanten Größen').*[29] The term incorporates the tie between the individual (human) and assets (capital) and adds human skills and knowledge to the income-producing factors. In this way, skills are considered a type of capital in addition to 'real capital' (Creutz, 2004: 2). Although 'human capital' is often related to Adam Smith's (Spengler 1977) concept of capital as acquisition of talents, it became popular in the field of economics with Mincer's (1958) research on investment in and distribution of human capital. In this context, the concept defines the accumulation of all skills in a labour force, and it assumes that the investment in knowledge and education enhances economic growth (Goldin 2016: 3). From this perspective, the term should not be understood as a degradation of humans. On the contrary, it recognises an individual's potential, which in its complexity and diversity is not only valuable for the economy, but also worth supporting and developing. This stance becomes more comprehensible in the light of Germany's decreasing population and the lack of graduates in the fields of engineering, mathematics and sciences. The population growth has not remarkably increased over the last years, while at the same time small- and medium-sized enterprises in Germany see skills shortages as the biggest threats to their companies' growth (SME barometer 2016: 11). Long-term projections in fact predict an ongoing decline of Germany's population by 2060, that due to the growing birth deficit cannot even be compensated by a recent increase of immigration to Germany (Federal Statistical Office: 2015). This actually suggests that Germany's openness towards immigration, both more recently as well as with regards to the developments described in this chapter, is related to its negative population growth.

The skills and knowledge of immigrant graduates are considered to contribute remarkably to the economic stability and growth of Germany (Plünnecke 2004: 2). Yet there have recently been claims in the fields of migration research that, particularly with regards to highly skilled immigrants, the term 'human capital' is less adequate than Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (Henkelmann 2012: 81). The main reason for this is that Bourdieu (1986: 47) differentiated between general assets (economic capital) and an individual's knowledge, skills and education (cultural capital). University degrees and professional expertise thus become part of the cultural capital and are bound to the individual possessing them. For this

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[29] http://www.unwortdesjahres.net/index.php?id=18 [1/12/2016].

thesis, the question about acknowledgement of skills and degrees has been of major impact, as it formed the basis for the research question about professional identity after years of lacking recognition of foreign credentials. The value of cultural capital is negotiated in the context of the local labour market and the societal discourse on the demand for, or fear of, highly skilled migration. Thus, cultural capital is related to the society in the country of migration (Nohl 2010: 10). Within the paradigm of symbolic interactionism (chapter 3) that acts on the assumption of the negotiation of meaning in human interaction, the term 'cultural capital' is also used in this thesis. It is, nonetheless, worth noting that 'human capital' originates from a modern proposal to consider knowledge as an important contribution to economic prosperity, and that investments in it would strengthen expansion and success.

In 2010, the minister of state Maria Böhmer (2010) explained that alongside the professional skills of international university graduates, their language skills and their migration experiences would be of benefit for German companies. Nonetheless, immigrant graduates rarely manage to obtain employment in their field of graduation (Nohl, Ofner & Thomsen 2007; Henkelmann 2010), and often take a long time to do so even if they are successful (Brück-Klingberg et al. 2007; Pethe 2006). The OECD confirms that although skills, expertise and individual talents play an important role when it comes to the economic growth of a country, recognition and acknowledgement of individual professional qualifications still present difficulties for immigrant graduates (Keely 2009: 88). Even if immigrant graduates are technically on an equal footing with native Germans on the highly skilled labour market, practically, recognition for foreign qualifications is not always granted, and the numbers of degrees recognised by the Federal Government's Recognition Act are still low (Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2012). Often, immigrant graduates do not apply for recognition for their credentials, as they feel that bureaucratic barriers are too high or they might not have the necessary documentation of their studies. In addition, non-European citizens face greater difficulties during the processes of recognition (Englmann & Müller 2007: 202). The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, BAMF (2011: 47) points out that migrant engineers, for example, were less dependent on the actual recognition of their credentials, but more on the attitude and open-mindedness of employers. Consequently, immigrant graduates often work below their level of qualification in jobs that they find through their social network, that do not require their graduate expertise, or that restrict them to their context of origin. To employers, foreign degrees are not necessarily comparable to degrees obtained in Germany. Due to immigration processes, there is a time gap between graduation in the country of origin and the attempts to enter the German labour market. Those who try to reach

employment consistent with their level of education compete with other applicants much later after their graduation than they probably would in the country of their graduation. In this way, cultural capital remains undetected and idle.

2.2.2   The German discourse on the concept of a dominant European culture

The change in political climate towards the acknowledgement of Germany's status as a country of immigration (section 2.2) led to a turn in the discourse on immigration and integration (Stevenson & Schanze 2009: 88). It became a "modern" country of immigration, that relied on immigrants to maintain existing structures in the light of an ageing population (Bade & Oltmer 2004). At the same time, these structures are based on a nation state that promotes cohesion through a national education system. Within that system, a shared culture is developed and maintained, and language use and common values define the belonging to a nation (Wright 2004: 42). The status of belonging to a nation in general, and to a community in particular, is therefore bound to a status that comes with the community. That means, the community holds statuses that those who want to belong to the community aim for. Those, who already do belong to the community, identify themselves with these conditions, and represent them to others. The rather homogenous idea of a nation state endorses perceptions of identity and belonging (Brass 1991) that foster a cohesion of diverse groups, ideologies and cultures. In this way, the nation state of the 21st century is less bound to geographical borders and more based on core values. This becomes evident in discussions of a European nation state and the understanding of nation as an identity-constructing cultural value (Techau: 2012). While migration becomes a strong feature globally, the modern nation state discusses its core values as an identifier of belonging, and as an agreement on shared values. On that basis, perceptions of who belongs to a community, and who does not, promote those who are "in" as oppositional to those who are "out" of the community that is defined by the dominant insiders. Recent political developments in Europe and the rise of more extreme political parties demonstrate a strong focus on core values and homogeneity.

The controversies about dominant values that should be agreed on in the processes of integration are reflected in the discussion of the concept of a dominant European culture *('europäische Leitkultur')* introduced by Bassam Tibi (1998) in his book 'Europe without identity' ('*Europa ohne Identität*'). This led to a discussion when the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* picked up the concept of a dominant culture and claimed that integration would partly mean assimilation to a dominant *German* culture *('deutsche Leitkultur').* In 1998, the term 'Leitkultur' was first used by the publisher Theo Sommer of the weekly newspaper '*Die*

Zeit' to state that integration was not a one-way street ('*Einbahnstraße*'), but would require at least a partial 'assimilation' to the core values of a dominant German culture.[30] In 2000, Sommer defended his idea that he had built on the basis of the American ideal of society as a mosaic (Etzioni 2001), stating that Germany was a country of immigration and that immigrants enriched society, but that they would have to assimilate to the majority in the country.[31] Only two weeks earlier, journalist Tobias Dürr had explained that when Tibi introduced his concept of a dominant culture, he had not conceptualised cultural aspects, but constitutional ideas of western societies, such as democracy, human rights or laicism.[32]

Since then, the concept of a dominant culture has been debated constantly, especially with respect to the question of the extent to which, if at all, integration or even assimilation to that culture would be crucial. While the process of assimilation was coined by Gordon (1964) as a procedure from adaption to a host culture towards the entry into the society of the country of immigration, this view has defined these processes as mainly being within the migrants' responsibility (Alba & Nee 1997). It affected the perspective on immigrants in Germany, demanding a merging into the receiving culture (Esser 2001: 21). During the last years, it has been emphasised that, contrary to assimilation, integration is also, if not to a larger extent, within the responsibility of the receiving culture (Sackmann 2004; Castro Varela & Mecheril 2010). Integration was not to be delivered by the immigrants only *('Bringschuld'),* and not a unilateral requirement (Mecheril, Dirim et al. 2010), as it had long been suggested through labels such as the 'refusal' or 'willingless' to integrate (Brubaker 2001). The idea of a one-way-street of integration had led to the perception of the efforts of migrants being rewarded by granting citizenship and by providing "proof that s/he subscribes to this national identity by acquiring German language skills" (Möllering 2010: 160). With the legal changes around the new Immigration Law, the discussions on integration in Germany were resumed, as "the new legislation laid down core principles on the requirements for granting residents rights and citizenship" (Stevenson & Schanze 2009: 94). The idea of "core principles" became a measure to approve the "capacity for integration" (2009: 92) of migrants. This test is mandatory for the naturalisation of immigrants in Germany and therefore passing it forms an essential part of acquiring German citizenship. It assesses "core principles" via 33 multiple-choice questions in a time period of 60 minutes to prove whether the applicants will to

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[30] http://www.zeit.de/1998/30/199830.auslaender_.xml [21/09/16].

[31] http://pdf.zeit.de/2000/47/200047_leitkultur.xml.pdf [21/09/16].

[32] http://www.zeit.de/2000/45/200045_bassam_tibi.xml [21/09/16].

integrate was sufficient enough[33]. Passing this standard examination together with the German language test for immigrants is required for naturalisation and aims to demonstrate the immigrants' knowledge of the "legal and social system" (Federal Office for Migrants and Refugees: 2017). Although Germany does not require inhabitants to obtain naturalisation, Wright (2010: 256) argues that there is an inconsistency between those "on the inside, protected by the rights guaranteed by the state [and] (…) others outside, not within this protection". And even though citizenship is not related to the quality of a foreign degree, it seems as if the country in which a degree has been obtained plays an important role when it comes to the actual recognition of foreign qualifications. While other countries of immigration require immigrants to pass similar tests in order to obtain naturalisation (see e.g. the Australian Citizenship Test[34] and the American Civics Test[35] with 20 questions each), the factual perception of migrants in Germany is still challenging. Immigrants are often perceived as outsiders to a cultural entity (Wright 2004: 19) that is based on the homogenous idea of a nation state. This is also applicable to rather homogenous concepts on the quality of university degrees, which permit access to specialised professional communities. Therefore, immigrants face difficulties when it comes to recognising their foreign degrees which have been obtained under the conditions of other curricular frameworks, and to finding qualified work in Germany. The fact that the capacity to integrate is assessed by an examination as described above shows that integration is not only a result of an individual's effort (a one-way-street), but also subject to validation by others. The discussion of a dominant culture as described above, both with regard to a dominant German culture and a dominant European culture, might not have come to an end yet in the light of global migration and recent developments of immigration to Germany. Despite, or especially in the light of globalisation, concepts of dominant core values seem to have transitioned to the labour market and its understanding of recognisable international skills. During the past years, the desire for definitions of core values seem to have expanded from socio-cultural to educational contexts (Rindisbacher 2013: 49), and Tibi's (1998) suggestion of shared European values therefore remains a vital part of the discussion on the value of immigrant graduate's cultural capital.

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[33] http://www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/Integrationskurse/Abschlusspruefung/LebenInDeutschland/lebenindeutschland-node.html" [29/3/17]

[34] https://www.border.gov.au/Trav/Citi/pathways-processes/Citizenship-test [29/3/17]

[35] https://my.uscis.gov/prep/test/civics [29/3/17]

2.3 Summary

Considering the statistics of immigration to Germany, it becomes clear that the country has been a country of immigration for over 60 years. Amendments of the legal situation of migrants aim to improve their situation, although the actual benefit is often doubted. Society reacts to immigration in different ways, and the public discourse on immigration is reflected in the responses of this research study's participants. Germany is still facing challenges when it comes to heralding a change in society and on the labour market, while participation in society and commitments in professional communities are urgently needed. Because participation in professional communities allows professionals to demonstrate their skills and expertise to others, it represents a necessary factor in the construction of confident professional identities. This chapter has shown that there is a discussion about whether the use of the term 'human capital' is appropriate, and that 'cultural capital' is preferred. At the same time, neither approach doubts the necessity of individual skills for economic prosperity. Thus, there is agreement on the existence of cultural capital and its value for enterprises and society. Nonetheless this chapter has also shown that cultural capital often remains idle on the labour market (The Federal Ministry of the Interior 2015; The Statistics Portal 2010), although the same labour market states that the skills shortage might negatively affect the growth of enterprises, particularly small- and medium-sized ones. In other words, immigrant graduates do not seem to be employed in their fields to the same extent local graduates are, although their expertise would prevent further skills shortage.

The question whether immigrant graduates adapt to a lack of recognition of their cultural capital and whether they have opportunities to present it, has significant influence on their self-image as a professional. It is, in a way, the new conflict of either remaining a 'guest', or being regarded at eye level in the society which they migrated to. Chapter 3 therefore focuses on how professional identity is influenced by, and nurtured through, participation in professional communities.

3 Constructions of professional identity

'Being musician was great. I'll never regret it. I'll understand things that
squares never will.'

(Becker 1963: 87)

In the quotation above, a jazz musician interviewed by Harold S. Becker (1963) in his study on 'Outsiders', refers to the audience as 'squares', describing them as characters opposed to the group of jazz musicians the interviewee is part of. Being a member of the group defines the identity of the jazz musician. The being, thinking and behaviour of 'squares' is contrary to how the group of professional jazz musicians understand themselves.

This group of jazz musicians forms an important network that protects its members from a begrudging audience and enables employment by recommendation to organisers of functions. Yet during these engagements, the musicians cannot usually play jazz, but have to perform popular songs that are easier to dance to. Therefore, they feel misunderstood as they perform entertaining dance music, but not the jazz music they specialise in. They do not see themselves as being part of the same society as the audience and their musical taste. While performing dance music as they are told to, they segregate themselves from the audience by arranging the instruments on the stage by way of a barrier. The musicians stand behind the barrier of instruments and play to the audience that neither appreciates nor asks to hear jazz music (Becker 1963: 96). This example shows how, in Becker's study, identity as a professional musician is defined by difference from those who do not belong to the group, and simultaneously by the sameness as those who are members of the group. His interviewees construct identities of jazz musicians that are similar within the group, referring to their community, and differentiating themselves from those outside the group.

The study of Ashforth et al. (1999) on professionals whose occupations had low prestige in the eyes of others provides a similar example. These professionals belonging to 'tainted' occupations (1999: 151) defined themselves as outsiders. From their outsiders' perspective, they compared themselves with others who do not belong to the professional community. Just as with the musician quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the comparison to others served as a reference to describe oneself as a professional, and to cope with those who did not acknowledge their profession. As a result, a strengthened professional identification was developed that protected the professionals against the negative feedback of outsiders. Membership in groups and roles that we take in a certain context defines identity as much as

features that we claim for ourselves (Burke & Stets 2009: 3). The studies of Becker (1963) and Ashforth et al. (1999) show that communities and membership in them, or exclusion from them, influence the ways in which professionals see themselves. The professionals in their studies form identities in comparison to other individuals. Others are therefore a vital factor in the processes of identity construction. Only the presence of others enables a discursive practice of face-to-face interactions (Young 2009) in which professional identities are negotiated. That means individuals become part of the discursive practices in which their identities are approved or challenged (Baxter 2016). Hence, discursive practice bears opportunities for the professionals in the aforementioned studies to construct and shape their professional identities. In the interviews, they develop strategies that help to construct their professional identities. Hence, identity construction arises from interaction.

The previous paragraph introduces the concept of identity as it underlies this thesis: it is formed in the discursive practice of interactions between individuals. The understanding of identity formation thus follows a symbolic-interactionist approach that 'identity is a set of meanings' (Burke & Stets 2009: 3), which is formed by the interaction between individuals and society. Frequently repeated individual interactions in their sum constitute social interactions (Berger & Luckmann 1967: 71). Each participant of an interaction acts out a role related to the other participants (1967: 90), internalising the concepts that are displayed by roles. The institutionalisation of such roles makes them available to a society (1967: 92) and this society then shares concepts as a commonly and socially constructed reality. Each interaction has a contextual frame, so that context and the social interactions mutually constitute and reassure each other. Thus, meanings are created through social interaction. The mutual relation of social interaction and meaning therefore forms the basis on which the notion of identity is to be understood in the context of this thesis. Hence, the following section introduces the notion of symbolic interactionism and its relevance for the findings in the present thesis.

3.1 Symbolic interactionism

This chapter examines how identity is shaped through the perspective of symbolic interactionism, a sociological approach that developed in the specific context of industrialisation in, and immigration to, the United States around the beginning of the twentieth century (Musolf 2003: 1). Symbolic interactionism focuses on human interaction and argues that through these interactions, meanings are created and changed (Fine 1993: 64). That means, reality is

socially created in interaction, and the interaction affects others. The activity of the individual thus 'lies within the social process' (Mead 2015: 6),[36] which is why self and society are seen in a mutual, influencing relationship to each other. As the individual is involved in creating a social world, they are not only influenced by it, but also have influence on it. The way in which individuals construct a reality is by naming objects, or 'stimuli' (Musolf 2003: 72), and thus attaching meaning to them. Objects that we name become symbols that we can respond to in different ways, by means of language, which is a part of social behaviour (Mead 2015: 13) and at the same time constitutes it. Language, or 'vocal gesture' (2015: 61) is fundamental in the human interaction. It constitutes reality by attaching meaning to symbols and by negotiating a consensus on that meaning, and it empowers individuals to conceal or reveal reality. Through language, individual positions and stances are expressed in a way that shapes the interaction. Disagreement or consensus is displayed through language, and it confirms or negotiates identities resulting from interactions. That means that identities are constructed discursively, not only between individuals, but also in a reciprocal relationship with society (Stryker 1980). The process of identity construction results from the phenomenon that social meanings are linked to, and displayed in, linguistic forms (Bucholtz & Hall 2010: 21). In language, linguistic forms refer to a context outside of the actual speech situation. Using personal pronouns or certain adjectives to describe oneself as a certain professional, for example, contributes to the construction of identity. A speaker can introduce oneself with linguistic means to positively evaluate a role, position oneself and convince others to agree to that stance. On the micro-level, the interaction, the indexical connection (Ochs 1992), is related to an identity that is shown in the interaction. At the macro-level, the identity relates to a social reality. As social reality is defined by and interpreted through language, society has an effect on language. The jazz musician in the example outlined above does not feel appreciated for his work, and constructs his professional identity by reflecting and comparing his role to others.

Identities are, however, not only created by presenting oneself in a certain role, but also through consideration of counterparts in an interaction. A role can be ascribed (Giddens 1991), adapted to or created, involving different levels of agency and agreement within the

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[36] I quote G.H. Mead from the complemented edition of Mead, G., Morris, C. W., Huebner, D. R., & Joas, H. (2015): *Mind, self, & society* / George Herbert Mead; edited by Charles W. Morris; annotated edition by Daniel R. Huebner and Hans Joas. (The definitive ed.). This complemented edition is based on the posthumously published first edition of his work by his scholars in 1934.

interaction. In addition to the negotiation of a consensus between the participants of an interaction, however, there is also an agreement with the presence of others in the interaction. They take an active part in the creation and acting out of roles, as their opinion on and validation of these roles is an essential contribution to the construction of identities. In a conversation, this agreement leads to an anticipation of responses during the utterance. While something is expressed, a reaction to it is expected. Mead assumes the actor 'arouses' a 'tendency' (2015: 67) by initiating a spoken interaction, both in the counterpart of the interaction (to respond), and within her- or himself (the expectation regarding the response). This process allows the one who acts to predict the reaction, and thus to take on the role or the attitude of the other (2015: 73).

This assumption is of relevance for the present study, as it indicates the mutual influence of the attitudes of participants of discursive interactions on each other. Attitudes during an interview situation are, in other words, not only situational in terms of their origin and circumstances (section 5.2.3), but also about how the interviewees influence responses. The setting of an interview reflects not only relations between the interviewer and the interviewee, but also links to the social and institutional context embedding the interviews. It is necessary to take a comprehensive perspective on individuals and how their life is influenced, and constrained, by institutional structures. The demand for the more comprehensive approach of symbolic interactionism has led to a shift from the micro-level perspective on social interaction towards an understanding of society as interwoven with institutional and hierarchical structures on a macro-level (Meltzer et al. 1975). While the individual has agency in the way that they create social reality in interaction (on a micro-level), manifestations of power dominate the structural relation between institutions and the individual (Hall & Wing 2000: 317).

Goffman (1959: xi) uses the metaphor of theatre to analyse how actors, i.e. human beings, present themselves both consciously and unconsciously in life. Yet he does not presume the taking of roles as manipulation, but finds that interaction provokes presentations of roles that serve expressions and impressions (1959: 2). Goffman argues that because interaction is addressed to at least one other person, the impression is automatically addressed to the other as well, thereby generating the process of role-taking and acting (1959: 6). The acting of a role in the presence of others is sometimes calculated, and sometimes not, and it is influenced by the standards that are attached to the expectations of a role. The reactions to the impressions that are intended can in turn meet expectations or cause misunderstandings. In both ways, 'the individual projects a definition of the situation when he appears before others'

(1959: 9). Goffman, however, understands the acting in interaction not as unilateral, but as bilateral. The acting individual is not just aware of the others and addresses a role to them, but also 'give[s] consideration to others' (Williams 1988: 67). In this way, the individual makes the interaction successful and meets the standards that define it (Goffman 1959: 10), for example in a work-related context. In these situations, there is the societal structure that frames the interaction. Within the structure, each individual takes a role according to it, and in turn these roles help to maintain the social structure. In the structural setting of a work place, for example, several roles can be taken that in the end help to maintain, and develop, the institutional frame of the work place. In an interaction, the individual level is linked to the societal structure, and the social order frames the interaction order (Powell 2013: 18). Through this 'metapower' (Hall 1997: 398), reality is created on institutional and organisational levels for others to act in. The way metapower is represented in everyday life is by agreeing on its conventions and values. Daily living and repetition of these conventions frames the common understanding that these are right and should be complied to. Under these conditions, agency is taken away from those who act within the conditions and given to those who create them. Those who create reality shape meaning, and they also dominate conditions in which conversations take place (Molotch & Boden 1985: 273). In this light, 'conversational procedures become mechanisms for reifying certain versions of reality at the expense of others' (ibid.).

Symbolic Interactionism, however, understands power not only as a result of interaction, but as existing because of the joint participation in interactions. Thus, it discloses turn-taking points and redefinitions of power (Musolf 2003: 111). It is this perspective that accounts for the relevance of Symbolic Interactionism for this thesis. The versions of reality that were made 'at the expense of others' evoke agency of those others. Through agency, they claim interpretations of meanings in that reality, and they act according to them and redefine structures. The question about whether the individual holds power within an interaction, and whether identities are adapted to or actively shaped thus is of importance for the analysis of identity construction. If the discourse on highly skilled migration and integration of professionals into society is, above all, also regulated by institutions and their practices, how much control do immigrant graduates have to contribute to or resist this discourse (Baxter 2016)? This thesis therefore examines how, within the discursive situation of interviews, immigrant graduates demonstrate that they have choices and take them, despite circumstances that negatively influence their professional situation. If the group of immigrant graduates constructs

professional identities that have agency, then it should be examined whether agency influences the identity constructions. This is relevant for a better understanding of how professionals evaluate their cultural capital and might help to close the gap between the existence of international cultural capital on the one hand, and the demand for this capital on the other. Therefore, it needs to be examined how self-confident professional identities differ from those that disengage with previously obtained knowledge and expertise. To gain a better understanding on the notion of professional identities, the following section introduces its relevance for and definition in this thesis.

3.2   The notion of professional identity

The previous section shows the importance of social structures in interaction, as they frame the setting in which meanings about who one is become an identity. Meaning according to Goffman (1959) presents impressions through the interaction with others. Hence, meaning is communicated, agreed to, discussed and thus confirms the performance of an individual in interaction, which forms a vital part of an identity. The understanding of identity as roles within groups, institutions and society is important in the context of this thesis. As there are many groups individuals are members of, there are also many possibilities to take and shape roles within these groups. Consequently, the individual has more than one identity, and all of them are dynamic and influenced by participation in groups (Stryker & Burke 2000: 286; Burke & Stets 2009: 12). While the concept of identity has frequently been discussed and reflected on (Stryker & Burke 2000: 284),[37] this thesis focuses on professional identities. That means, the understanding of professional identity in this thesis is on the basis of two assumptions. First, there is an institutional structure (e.g. university, work, employment office), that frames the setting in which individuals act in a role that suits the setting, for example as a student at university, or an engineer in a company. These structures hold power and organise interactions.

In the aforementioned example, identity as a musician is created and maintained through interaction with this group. Thus, the professional identity of the jazz musicians results from how they are regarded within their community (Horowitz 2012: 7). Support and reward from this community manifest identity and enhance self-esteem as much as the person's engagement with the community does (ibid.). The group of jazz musicians support each other, so that their belonging to that group becomes an important factor of their identity as a musician

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[37]   For an overview on Identity Theory, see e.g. Burke & Stets 2009; and on Language and Identities see e.g. Llamas & Watt 2010.

in opposition to the non-musicians of the audience. They feel that 'squares' usually judge them differently and, at the same time, they judge the behaviour of the squares who, because they do not possess the 'mysterious artistic gift' (Becker 1963: 85), will always be apart from jazz musicians. By naming and thus also interpreting the world, the social reality in which the musicians act is created. With language, the social order within that reality is strengthened. The individual has agency to take, reject or change a role, and express this with language. This is done by using symbols (Blumer 1969), objects and other individuals to interpret social reality.

Mead's (20151934) understanding of the individual in a mutual relationship with society and Goffman's (1959) approach to identities as a result of role performances in various groups and settings have been pointed out as essential for the present thesis. Both perspectives were extended to work-related roles and interactions in the research of Stryker & Burke (2000). They demonstrate that professional identity is linked to the performance, expectations and approval of roles in a work-related situation (2000: 289). Consequently, approved work-related roles enable participation in 'specialised networks' (2000: 286). This means that, if the performance of a role in a work-related context meets or outreaches the expectations that were associated with that role, it is approved and enhances the construction of professional identity. Approval does not necessarily only have to be given by others, but also by oneself, as individuals are aware of the expectations that others have of them. Deriving from Stryker & Burke's (2000) extension of symbolic interactionism to work-related roles and professional identities, it can be concluded that professional identities comprise expectations that are attached to a role, for example within a professional community or network. These expectations can address professional skills, communicative and linguistic skills or more vague presuppositions, such as speculations about culture or the origin of a graduate degree.

Work-related roles enable participation in professional communities, which is important for the construction, negotiation and verification of professional identities. This participation, however, can be extended from actual professional communities to future ones, as Ibarra (1999) demonstrates in her interview study on young professionals transitioning to senior roles. Ibarra (1999: 782) examines how both adaptation to present work roles and negotiation of future work roles influence constructions of professional identities. Furthermore, she suggests that constructions of future professional identities are a result of subjective standards

and feedback from others (ibid.). As she shows, professional communities that serve as reference points for professional identities do not have to exist in the actual moment, but forthcoming participation in them can also be aimed at. The participants in Ibarra's study are described as not having 'fully elaborated professional identities', as their roles will change while adapting to new positions (1999: 766). In the following section, I link Ibarra's assumption that forthcoming participation is an influential part of professional identity construction to the concept of imagined communities (Anderson 2006). Both perspectives on the influence on and construction of identities are of high relevance for this thesis, yet they need to be extended to the notion of professional identities and imagined professional communities.

3.3   The importance of participation in (imagined) professional communities

The previous sections show that participation in professional communities contributes to the construction of professional identities. It influences the behaviour towards other group members and towards the organisational level of the group itself (Bergami & Bagozzi 2000; Fine 1996). Dutton et al. (1994) suggest that a perceived positive external image of the professional group, for example a company or an occupational area with a high reputation, consolidates and enhances professional identities. In turn, the exclusion from such groups leads to a lack of sources for positive self-image and high levels of self-esteem. If membership in professional groups is absent, personal growth at work can be negatively affected (Roberts 2005; Kramer et al. 1996). In sum, professional communities are a platform for professional participation and validation of professional performance, and a source for confident professional identities. Professional identities thus can be seen as depending on participation in professional communities.

These communities, however, do not necessarily need to be present at the point of time at which they are referred to. In his influential work on 'Imagined Communities', Anderson (2006) describes the European nation as a result of the rise of nationalism. He points out the 'formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept' (2006: 5). More importantly, he argues that not all members of the same nationality or nation know each other personally. They do, however, know about each other and thus understand themselves as members of an imagined, wider community. Such communities are represented in the individuals' minds, and their members believe they share common aspects that distinguish them from other groups. De Cillia et al. (1999) apply Anderson's concept of imagined communities to imagined *national* communities. In their Critical Discourse Analysis of 'The discursive construction of national identities', they analyse how 'national sameness and uniqueness on the one

hand, and differences to other national collectives on the other hand' are constructed (1999: 149). Concepts of Austrian nation and identity are examined with a focus on sameness (rather than difference) as a key factor underlying the concept of national identities. Therefore, they direct their analysis on how their participants relate to an imagined Austrian community they can identify with and that distinguishes Austria as a legal concept based on both citizenship and democracy, and on various cultural concepts of Austria and the '*homo austriacus*' (1999: 189). These are concepts that the participants believe they belong to and can identify themselves with, and the authors demonstrate how national identities are negotiated in the discursive practice of interviews and group discussions.

The concept of imagined national communities offers the opportunity to relate individual identity construction to the existence of larger, imagined communities. The discursive practice takes place between the interviewee and the interviewer on the one hand, and between the interviewee and the imagined community on the other hand. By referring to imagined communities, identities are constructed in comparison or contrast to these communities. De Cillia et al. (1999) therefore widen the frame in which participation in communities is achievable to participation in imagined communities.

As the interviewees in this thesis mostly did not have a chance to perform as professionals, and therefore in the discursive practice of the interview could not refer to their professional participation in the German context, I would like to apply the concept of imagined communities to imagined *professional* communities. In that way, the interviewees' transition into future professional roles can be regarded as contributing to their construction of professional identities. Caza & Creary (2016), for example, found that the sense of group belonging plays an important part in the process of professional identity construction. They argue that professional identification forms part of the 'individual's self-hierarchy' (2016: 8) and point out that groups influence self-characterisation. They come to the conclusion that globalisation has led to employment being defined as 'who one is when one is finding ways to contribute meaningfully to society' (2016: 31). In this respect, work-related groups become an important point of reference. Accordingly, identification with them enhances self-esteem. Such communities become important because the individual's professional participation in them legitimates members as professionals. All members of a professional community are perceived as professionals, and their expertise is validated through their belonging in a community.

Hence, participation in imagined professional communities enhances self-esteem and contributes to confident professional identities, because individuals consider themselves as future members of imagined professional communities. If they express this in interactions with others, they can construct provisional professional identities, rather than describing themselves as not belonging to a professional community at all.

The previous paragraphs have shown that it is crucial for the construction of confident professional identities that positive meaning is attached to oneself through membership in professional communities. As Dutton et al. (2010: 267) have pointed out, a positive professional identity has positive consequences, including resilience, knowledge and creativity. They all result from an appreciative evaluation of a work role through oneself and others. The exclusion from participation in professional communities negatively influences the construction of professional identities (Roberts 2005; Cast & Burke 2002). Consequently, the absence of imagined professional communities, or the low expectations of ever belonging to a professional community in the future would develop a less positive professional identity. Accordingly, the identification with a professional community is influenced by the qualities that characterise a profession and its community. Also, the individual's identification with a profession simultaneously is expressed by beliefs and intentions, and it is related to the qualities that characterise the professional person (Slay & Smith 2011: 86). The construction of professional identities has been the subject of various studies, mainly in the fields of organisational studies, focusing on the interdependence of individuals in work-related situations, and the mutual influence of these interactions with organisations and professional structures. Their findings are discussed in the following section.

3.4 The application of symbolic interactionism in Organisational Studies

The demand for a field that has only recently been named Organisational Studies developed in the early twentieth century from the industrial growth and emerging questions related to new organisational structures. Ever since, the field has been enriched by various influences from philosophy, social theory, humanities, and arts, becoming a stream of interdisciplinary perspectives and approaches (Clegg & Bailey 2008). Organisational studies examine the interaction of institutions and people. The symbolic-interactionist influence is notable, as organisational studies find a mutual influence between the construction of institutional structures and individual processes (ibid.). In fact, symbolic interactionism has partly evolved from the interest in the influence of institutional structures on individuals and their agency within them (Goffman 1961).

In the following, I give an overview on research in the field of organisational studies that is strongly related to an interactionist approach and that focuses on how companies contribute to the processes of constructing professional identities in a dynamic context. The context is dynamic due to fluctuations and changes within companies and in their surroundings, adding in clients and stakeholders. Furthermore, feedback on and validation of work performance is considered to affect how professionals think about themselves. On the one hand, organisations provide enduring support in processes of identity construction, for example through organisational infrastructures and resources. On the other hand, their multifaceted stimuli, such as changes in responsibilities, teams and scopes, enhance the dynamic identity construction processes (Pratt 2012).

In organisational studies, social interaction and professional socialisation are a focal point. Hall (1987) defines a career as a continuous experience of socialisation, shaped by the various roles a person takes on during a work life (1987: 301). Section 3.1 above demonstrates how, in the symbolic-interactionist approach, social structures affect identity constructions. Section 3.2 introduced the assumption that professionals take roles and shape them, and that their performance is validated by relevant others. As the validation is a contribution to the construction of professional identities, the participation in professional groups that consist of relevant others to validate individual performance has a high influence on the identity construction processes (sections 3.2 and 3.3). Pratt et al. (2006), however, found that professional identity construction was more complex. In their semi-structured interviews with medical residents, they demonstrate how their participants developed processes to customise professional identity whenever they had to bridge discrepancies between their work performances and their perceived competencies (2006: 235) by using either enriching, patching or splinting tactics to construct professional identities. These tactics were dependent on whether the understanding of a professional identity was deepened, shifted or adopted to maintain a positive self-image. Furthermore, they argue that work and professional identities 'reinforce each other' (2006: 259), and that identity customisations change over time according to work conditions.

Tomer & Mishra (2016) support a similar view of the processes of identity constructions, as they explore how software engineering students construct professional identities, using the mechanism of 'identity morphing' (2016: 146) to resolve conflicts that occur in the identity construction processes. This was achieved through modifications of professional identities whenever conflicts between the students' sense of professional identity and their actual tasks

during professional training were faced (2016: 156). Comparable mechanisms were discovered when research participants faced discrepancies between expectations related to a profession and the individuals' understanding of a satisfactory performance. Kreiner et al. (2006) argue that stigma results in negative low self-esteem or even in disidentification (2006: 619). Examining how stigmas are dealt with in certain professional communities, they found that their participants had developed strategies to overcome negative attribution of their professions. This has also been demonstrated by Slay & Smith (2011), who in their qualitative interviews with African-American journalists found contradictions between the prestigious profession of journalists and the 'stigmatised cultural identity' (2011: 85). They came to the conclusion that the African-American journalists they had interviewed redefined their identities. Rather than adapting to identities that were ascribed to them by others, they actively shaped their professional and cultural identities and redefined stigma to construct professional identity (Slay & Smith, 2011: 104). In a similar way, Dutton et al. (2010: 270) located four types of professional identities that used tactics to face situations of devaluation of their professional identities. By restoring and maintaining 'positive self-evaluations', they could thus maintain their positive professional self-image. Kreiner et al. (2006: 623) also determined the three cognitive states of identification, disidentification, and ambivalent identification to respond to stigmatisation by others.

The construction of a positive or self-confident professional identity is interrupted if expectations are greater than achievements (section 3.2). Self-esteem enhances stamina at work and is enhanced through relationships or identification with organisations and work places (Cast & Burke 2002; Fine 1996). As work-related groups work as sources that provide validation and verification of professional identities, a decrease in or lack of validation through relevant groups leads to a lowering of self-esteem. Ashforth et al. (2007: 160) suggest that groups support overcoming negative feedback. Richard (2007), however, found that athletic failures affected football players' self-esteem and thus disrupted their identity construction processes in the context of prestigious sports. He identifies twelve 'identity dimensions' (2007: 9) that not only reflect athletic attributes, but also contribute to identity construction. In return, verification of identities to increase self-esteem demands energy, particularly if resources or reasons for the successful verification of professional identities are not present (Burke & Stets 2009: 82). The effort to increase self-esteem is worth it, as 'it allows us to continue in situations in which we are not very successful with identity-verification. In this way, we can continue searching for ways to be successful' (ibid.).

Research also shows how positive professional identities are enhanced by the validation of language proficiency in the specific work environment. In a professional context, linguistic and communicative skills are strong indicators of belonging to a professional community. Through the use of these skills, specific professional groups distinguish themselves from others. Within the group, the appropriate application of specific communicative skills validates group members (Niederhaus 2011). Specific groups and fields require the use of specific linguistic systems (Bucholtz & Hall 2010: 21), and one can be identified by the use of these language systems. In addition, there is not only a variety of linguistic systems, each of which is appropriate to use in a certain field and situation, but there are also expectations of members of professional groups regarding the use of specific language. These expectations are complied with throughout organisational structures and cultural values, and they address how speakers should use language in specific contexts (ibid.). Consequently, communicative skills become an important factor for the membership in a professional community. If the skills meet the community's requirements, a professional is regarded as a member of this community. If, on the other hand, these communicative and linguistic skills are questioned, other skills become less important or might not be acknowledged at all (Henkelmann 2012). As language is an important factor to identify potential members of professional communities, it is also used by members of professional communities to claim their membership and to shape their professional identities in relation to a professional community.

To recapitulate, the previous studies found that rather than adapting to a professional identity, participants created and shaped professional identities that were more suitable to them. This served as a source of positive and self-protective energy, and identified members of professional communities.

3.5   Summary

The previous paragraphs give an overview of the notion of identity and professional identity. They show that the construction of professional identities results from interaction within a social, specifically a professional, community. In turn, the community that acts according to meanings and attitudes is influenced by interactions that constitute these meanings that are attached to professional roles. Through participation in professional communities, these roles are validated and internalised. Professional communities therefore play an important role for the construction of professional identities. With regards to the context of this thesis, participation in professional communities is relevant in three different settings: immigrant

graduates actually participate in a professional community, they imagine a professional community in which to participate in the future, or they are excluded from participation and thus performance of a professional role.

If the community is present in face-to-face interactions, feedback and evaluation is vital for the processes of identity construction, because it confirms the acting out of a professional role as according to the professional community. Furthermore, validation of belonging to professional communities enhances the understanding of oneself as a meaningful contributor to society (Caza & Creary 2016). In transition to a future occupation in the field of graduation, the imagined professional community has a positive effect on identity construction as well, as it enables the participants of this thesis' discursive interview situation to widen the context of the conversation from the absence of professional participation to future participation and provisional confirmation of professional roles. Limited access to professional communities, however, suggests fewer opportunities to validate professional skills through practice (Roberts 2005; Cast & Burke 2002). The distance to, or exclusion from, professional communities impedes identification with a profession and as a professional. Thus, a lower identification with a profession could result in less confident constructions of professional identities, if not in the absence of a professional identity at all.

This is of high relevance in the context of this study. As indicated in chapter 2, there is a skills shortage, and immigrant graduates want to and can address the demand for expertise in the fields they graduated in. The participants of this thesis graduated in the fields of economics and engineering, which were facing skills shortage in recent years (see for example The Association of German Engineers: 2010). This chapter outlines how participation in professional communities supports and enhances the construction of professional identities, which then result in a more profound integration of immigrant graduates and encourages their commitment within society. Moreover, society grows and prospers through the experiences that are brought by immigrant graduates (Zimmermann, Bonin, Fahr & Hinte 2007). Yet it is questionable, whether the cultural capital (for example degrees, expertise, working experience and language skills) immigrant graduates bring is recognised by their receiving communities if the dominant discourse in a receiving community is that foreign credentials are not as valuable to society as the domestic ones. The question is whether graduates still think of themselves as graduates if they are repetitively exposed to the opinion that their degrees do not correspond to the local highly skilled labour market. If they stop perceiving their expertise as valuable, there might be different consequences: resigning from pursuing

a career in the field of graduation, adapting to the existing discourse and societal structures, regaining identity as a professional by reclaiming participation in (imagined) professional communities and disclosing professional expertise to prove specific skills. These are ways to deal with situations in which cultural capital is, or is not, acknowledged and recognised. While the next chapter introduces the participant group that represents the group of immigrant graduates whose degrees have not been recognised by the highly skilled labour market in Germany, the analysis in chapter 6 refers to resigning from, regaining of, disclosing of and adapting to professional identities within the post-migrant society and in the light of the skills shortage in Germany.

The participants of this study have all experienced long periods of unemployment and exclusion from professional communities. Considering the influence that professional communities, imagined or actual, have on the construction of professional identity, I argue that in the case of the participants in this study, the exclusion from professional participation results in a low level of professional self-esteem and in less confident professional identities. As they have not been able to shape their professional role within a community that validates their professional performance, this situation has not fostered their identification as professionals. Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, I propose that the participants' unemployment or employment in a field unrelated to their actual degree impedes the professional identification processes. Thus, they have fewer opportunities to develop and present self-confident professional identities in discursive practice. Therefore, the participants of this study are in the following introduced with regards to their professional background and their experiences since their migration to Germany. They are also described in the light of an academic requalification project they participated in. This is considered relevant to the findings of this thesis as the interviewees only pursued their studies because of this project, and in order to obtain a German university degree that they hoped would increase their chances in the fields they had already graduated in and that also fits in with the list of professions affected by the skills shortage.

4   Specific research context: immigrant graduates at university

The present study focuses on a group that arrived in Germany mostly around the time of the legal and social shift towards the official recognition of Germany as a country of immigration (section 2.1). The study's participants' professional careers since migration had, in fact, never benefited from the new promotion of integration in Germany. The centrepiece of this study is the analysis of 17 interviews with those immigrant graduates, because they represent the larger group of settled immigrant graduates that are not employed in their field in Germany. Therefore, this chapter introduces the group of participants of this thesis. They belong to a rather under-researched group of graduates: highly qualified immigrants whose foreign university degrees are de facto not recognised on the labour market.[38] Although they had diverse reasons for migrating to Germany, they all shared one similar experience: they held a university degree at the time of their migration, and they were exposed to unemployment or employment below their qualifications despite their university degree. The previous chapter has already given an overview on the public discourse on migration and its perceived and actual effects on society, and this chapter describes the ProSALAMANDER project in further detail. Inadequate recognition of foreign degrees is often a result of practices on the labour market for highly skilled professionals in Germany, where domestic degrees of those seeking work are more common and thus easier to relate to requirements of vacant positions. In addition, the successful integration into the labour market is still difficult despite an official recognition of the degree by German authorities, which entitles an immigrant to hold a corresponding job title in German. Although the participants wanted to find a job corresponding to their actual degree, all of them were employed below these expectations for years, and were not recognised by their social environment as a professional within their field of graduation.

Nohl et al. (2010) have shown correlations between identifying oneself as a part of a society and as a qualified employee within that society. The more one identifies with a professional community and the role within that community, the higher the commitment to society. Living in Germany for many years, many graduates interviewed for this study did not immigrate because of a job opportunity, but as a consequence of private decisions such as marriage or

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[38]   For recent studies on immigrant graduates in Germany with a focus on cultural capital and language in the process of professional integration, see Nohl et al. (2007) and Henkelmann (2012) respectively; or Hanft et al. (2016) with a focus on the institutional organisation of lifelong learning.

family reunion. However, their skills in the fields of engineering and economics are in demand (section 2.1), and while they have a strong wish to continue their professional careers, they have not had the opportunity to follow this path continuously after their graduation from a foreign university. In general, organising a living in the new home country many times becomes a main issue and pushes career wishes aside (Henkelmann 2012). In the case of some participants of this study, career planning was also not the most important issue and remained unfulfilled, rather than being the main goal after graduating from university. In opposition to graduates who achieved professional goals after their graduation, for this study's participants, migration became the main issue in their life for a number of years. Arriving, establishing a new life and participation in it took over for a relatively long time (Breckner 2009: 404), a time that was not used for individual professional development. In this way, the time between the arrival in Germany and the decision to focus on a career again was sometimes long and made it even harder for the interviewees to find a way back into highly skilled professional life. They described the experience that their applications for employment often remain unanswered, and that they found employment offices challenged with matching immigrant graduates to occupations suiting their degrees and experience. Particularly the German labour market and its application standards, which follow strict conventions of demanding complete CVs and standardised certificates, was seen by the interviewees as a prohibitive factor when trying to compete within the local employment market. Overdue invitations to job interviews and occupational retrainings arranged by employment offices were frequently quoted consequences.

To enhance the chances of this study's participant group on the current labour market, ProSALAMANDER started in 2012 as a pilot project that aimed to expand the cultural capital of a group of immigrant graduates living in Germany. The project participants distinguished themselves by having obtained university degrees on the level of bachelor's and master's degrees, as well as an extremely high motivation for further professional development. However, many found themselves without a chance to at least present their professional skills properly. The specific structure of the project and its participants are described in the following sections.

4.1   Highly skilled immigration to the Ruhr district

Although the legal and social shift described in Chapter 2 facilitates highly skilled migration to Germany and fosters integration of settled immigrant graduates on the highly skilled labour market, there is still evidence that settled immigrants who have been living in Germany

for a number of years face unemployment more often than native Germans and that they are less likely employed on the level of their qualifications (OECD, 2014; Englmann & Müller 2007). A survey by the German Socio-Economic Panel in 2009 shows that employment of highly skilled migrants had dropped down to 40 per cent within one year after their arrival in Germany (Jungwirth 2012: 10).[39] While the German population is ageing, efforts to specifically recruit graduates of fields in demand, such as engineering and technology, are not comparable to structured recruiting programs of countries like Australia, where a points-based skilled migration program awards extra points to accelerate permanent residency (OECD 2016: 46). With about 26 per cent (Federal Statistical Office 2015), the Ruhr district has a relatively high share of migrant population. Among them, about 24 per cent female and 28 per cent male migrants are highly skilled (Ministry of Labour, Integration and Social Affairs 2016: 12). In an interview study with highly skilled migrants in the Ruhr district, Ofner (2011: 47) stated that while diversity appeared to be a positive feature of the Ruhr district and was described by the interviewees as a normal part of everyday life, it seemed that with regards to equal opportunities on the labour market, the stigma of 'migration background' *('Migrationshintergrund')* is yet to be overcome. In this context, the University of Duisburg-Essen encourages the enrolment of a diverse range of students, such as professionals who decide to do academic training or migrants of the first or second generation. In this way, the university tries to widen societal participation and balance the 'barriers' that some feel between their community and university. It is located on two campuses in the cities of Duisburg and Essen in the southern part of the Ruhr district. Re-established from two individual universities in 2003, it is part of the University Alliance Metropolis Ruhr and understands diversity and heterogeneity 'as a contribution to educational equality and academic excellence' (University of Duisburg-Essen 2016). It has 39,000 total enrolments, of which about 20 per cent are migrants according to the university are migrants, but without being further specified (Wolff-Bendik & Schmidt 2011). The university promotes various programs to foster diversity and heterogeneity. Among those, ProSALAMANDER was the pilot project within which all interviews for the present thesis were conducted. The following section describes the project and its participants in more detail.

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[39] http://www.interkultureller-rat.de/wp-content/uploads/arbeitsmarktintegration_hochqualifizierter_migrantinnen.pdf [1/12/2017].

4.2 ProSALAMANDER at the University of Duisburg-Essen

The ProSALAMANDER-project was conducted at two German universities: the University of Duisburg-Essen (federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia) and University of Regensburg (federal state of Bavaria). During the conceptualisation of the project around 2010, the total number of immigrant students had decreased in Germany, but not in North Rhine-Westphalia (Federal Statistical Office, 2010). Around the same time, small- and medium-sized enterprises expressed worry as they did not find themselves competitive against larger companies in the light of the skills shortage (Kalina & Weinkopf, 2009). While extrapolations at that time estimated an increasing demand for graduates in fields like engineering, the numbers of deregistrations of engineering students were still relatively high at around 25 per cent (Biersack et al. 2008; Triadafilopoulos 2013). In 2010, the Cologne Institute for Economic Research stated that about half of the degrees that were obtained by immigrant graduates in Germany had not been officially recognised (idw 2010a), despite the existing legal framework that encouraged people to obtain recognition of their qualifications after migration to Germany (chapter 2). A project that would further qualify economists and engineers and enhance their chances to position themselves on the highly skilled labour market was thus considered timely and at the same time a valuable opportunity to evaluate best-practice models for a better integration of immigrant graduates, and for focusing society in general and employees in particular on their valuable qualifications.

The project at the University of Duisburg-Essen started advertising its requalification program in employment offices, community centres and via local newspapers and broadcasting companies in early 2012, and then took applications for the start of studies in October 2012, and for the second cohort to start in October 2013. The University of Duisburg-Essen started with an equal share of female and male unemployed graduates while the University of Regensburg started with a predominant group of female unemployed participants, due to the different socio-economic context of Bavaria.

In Germany, the responsibility for the education system, including universities and their individual courses and programs, is mostly in the hands of the states. This federal structure resulted in two different ways of how to execute the program within each university's legal framework. Students who have obtained a foreign degree need to obtain recognition for their certificates from the university they plan to enrol in. Whereas the University of Regensburg applied a general process of recognition of foreign credits, the University of Duisburg-Essen looked at each participant's individually performed curriculum contents. In the first case, all

participants were automatically credited several curriculum contents against the require-
ments of the degree they wanted to obtain of the University of Regensburg. In the second
case, the University of Duisburg-Essen aimed for a participant-built study plan which used
each participant's knowledge to design their curriculum according to their needs and de-
mands. The two universities hold expertise in second- and foreign-language research and in
the development and implementation of concepts for diverse and heterogeneous student
groups[40].

The data underlying this thesis was collected between 2012 and 2015 from the project in
Duisburg-Essen and its faculty of German as a Second and Foreign Language. The project
aimed to find best-practice that could be transferred to other universities and that would help
to mitigate skills shortage by offering the qualifications that were considered missing by the
local labour market. Moreover, its goal was to address discrimination in the education sys-
tem and encourage discussions on the importance of cultural capital. By offering scholar-
ships in collaboration with the independent private foundation *Stiftung Mercator*,[41] the pro-
ject was designed to support two cohorts of immigrants with a 3–4 semester scholarship. It
later turned out that the duration of study was usually longer than the intended three semes-
ters, due to the high workloads regarding the duties of family, part-time work to support a
family and time to invest in learning. However, the demand for ProSALAMANDER in
North Rhine-Westphalia was extremely high and led to an extension of the program without
scholarship for a third cohort. The program is now carried on for a slightly different target
group under the name of onTOP.[42]

Previous research has shown that further education does not necessarily lead to an improve-
ment of the current employment situation, particularly if those who enrol in education pro-
grams are not already employed in a field related to their degree, but are instead unemployed
or employed in unskilled labour (Nohl, 2008: 50). The project of ProSALAMANDER, how-
ever, specifically focused on those who were not employed in their field, as their requalifi-
cation led to German degrees, which de facto enjoy greater acceptance on the German labour
market (section 2.2). The project was designed to improve the participants' cultural capital
on three levels (Figure 2): through a subject-specific requalification in the field of study,

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[40] University of Duisburg-Essen: https://www.uni-due.de/daz-daf; University of Regensburg: http://www.uni-
regensburg.de/sprache-literatur-kultur/germanistik-daz/index.html

[41] https://www.stiftung-mercator.de/en/ [5/1/17].

[42] For further information, see https://www.uni-due.de/ontop [5/1/17].

through language preparation, and through work-related preparation of academic and professional skills. The subject-specific requalification enabled the participants to expand their professional knowledge and to combine their expertise with insights into the German scientific context. In this way, previously gained knowledge was complemented with the content taught in subject-specific lectures and classes of the fields of engineering and economics. At the same time, language preparation classes aimed to support the participants with their use of scientific and subject-related German, while the work-related preparation provided socio-cultural, academic and occupational guidance in preparation for professional practice.
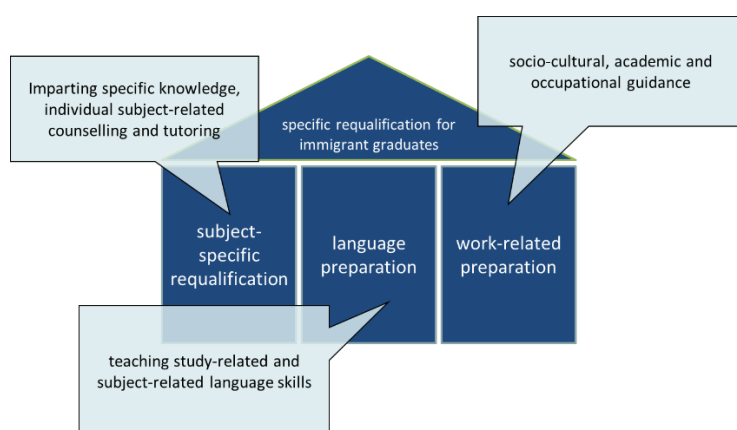
Figure 2: The qualification model of ProSALAMANDER (Jacob et al. 2014)

As a result of the demand on the labour market, the professional background of the participants was either in the fields of engineering or economics, and so was the field of study they enrolled in at the University of Duisburg-Essen. The project was partly included in the regular course system of the university, and partly designed to the specific background of its participants. The interlocking of regular lectures, specifically designed language classes and additional counselling are described in the following.

4.2.1 Subject-specific requalification

The subject-specific requalification took the form of regular lectures and seminars that were offered as part of the normal course plan by the university for all students enrolled in the fields of engineering and economics. In this part of the project, the participants shared the same study experiences that other students had, and they would, for example, be asked to join a study group that did not only consist of ProSALAMANDER participants. In other words, the project participants followed the course plans of their course of study like any other student had to. This was mostly regarded as a positive experience by the interviewees, as for example stated by Adil (826–832):

> I didn't know that there is something like that. Well, I had heard that different people from different countries can talk with each other, can have discussions, but I thought, that everyone has their own mentality. Back then I realised that we are all one, that earth is our home country. We are all one. We read from one book and no matter which language, knowledge is knowledge, nature is nature, and that was a good feeling.

Adil describes situations in which he had discussed contents of his subject with other students of the same subject, but from different countries. He emphasises that knowledge is more important than a cultural background and picks up the intention of ProSALAMANDER to address inequality with regards to educational and cultural backgrounds of settled immigrant graduates in Germany. Adil, like all other project participants, obtained recognition for his foreign credentials from the University of Duisburg-Essen before he enrolled in those courses that were considered necessary to complete before graduation from a German university. In addition to these courses, all participants took part in subject-related counselling and tutoring. The counselling was developed to address challenges with the background of ProSALAMANDER participants. They found pursuing a degree sometimes more difficult because they had family obligations that restricted the time to focus on learning solely, as for example expressed by Vladyslav (337–338):

> In the evenings when the children go to bed, we sit at our computers with books and study.

Other participants expressed concerns because they had obtained their first degree several years ago, and in a different cultural background or language setting. Learning strategies differed from peers who, with fewer familial obligations, were able to spend more time on studying and organising learning groups and meetings. To comfort participants in this situation, interdisciplinary counselling[43] was established. It was held as a weekly consultation as well as upon request in various locations throughout the campus to be easily accessible. The counselling took place with tutors from the fields of German as a Foreign Language and from economics and engineering. Thus, matters of language proficiency or language-related skills such as writing essays or holding presentations were covered at the same time as questions regarding study contents. This core concept of interdisciplinary counselling is based on findings that language learning is most successful if it is not separated from the acquisition subject-specific contents; a concept the university has worked on extensively around teacher trainings as well as second and foreign language research in Germany.[44] To prepare for special situations like exams, tutors from disciplines the exams were held in supported

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[43] For a detailed description of the interdisciplinary tutoring, see Jacob, Hermann & Schmidt (2014).

[44] Further information on teacher training and language awareness in schools can be found at https://www.uni-due.de/prodaz/ [14/3/17].

the counselling by providing additional training that helped the participants to become accustomed to testing and exam formats.

Participation in counselling and tutoring was voluntary, and differed between the participants. Several of them chose to participate regularly, while others participated more infrequently and according to their schedules and upcoming exams.

4.2.2 Studies and work-related language preparation

While education in economics or engineering formed part of the regular study schedules at the university, the training in languages and academic and professional skills was especially designed for the individual demands of the participants (section 4.4). Although language skills do not necessarily play an important role for a successful integration into the labour market (Nohl 2008: 6), the specific language use in a professional context is a major indicator to identify professionals in their community (section 3.4). Language is a medium for social interaction (Lüdi 2008: 138). In a professional context, language marks its users as professionals when they use the specific language required in their field. Regarding professional purposes, language has different levels of specification (Fluck 1996; Hoffmann et al. n.d.) depending on the context of communication. Two professionals might communicate on higher levels of specific language than one professional who speaks to someone not belonging to the professional context. The appropriate use of language skills for specific purposes contributes to the reputation of a professional (Ohm 2014: 8). While the University of Duisburg-Essen does offer a wide range of language-learning classes, the individual needs of the project participants were considered to be an essential part of it. Therefore, a subproject for further qualification in language for academic and professional purposes in combination with job trainings and personal coaching was established. During the process of the project, it became evident that participants did not ascribe professional expertise or skills that they clearly had gained in their career before migration to themselves. For this reason, trainings that enhanced academic and professional language levels (Fluck, 1996; Ohm, et al. 2007) formed the core of the language subproject. Language training was offered in three different formats: individual consultation, regular classes, and workshops. These training modalities were complemented by the addition of research groups and writing groups. Whereas the individual consultation allowed a more sensitive way to talk about the diverse needs and concerns that emerged during studies, language classes offered the opportunity to learn together and exchange experiences within the group. Topics of the language classes, which

were usually held in the format of intensive workshops, covered preparations for job applications and interviews as well as presentation skills for university. In addition to the intensive workshops, an online platform was created as a sustainable learning tool that was designed to extend the opportunities for students to practise writing skills and listening comprehension. During the longer session breaks, intensive courses were offered as opportunities for students to improve their use of German grammar, German for academic purposes, and English as a foreign language. Finally, a group to practise research and thesis writing skills was created to support the final months of the study.

4.2.3 Work-related training

The work-related training in ProSALAMANDER was designed to prepare the participants for a better positioning on the labour market with regards to their previous careers and expertise. In contrast to the subject-specific requalification that aimed to impart additional knowledge, the work-related training built on the cultural capital the participants brought and aimed to encourage them to disclose their expertise to other professionals. Because the participants had already graduated and often also worked in their fields of study before their migration, establishing a relationship with the field of degree was considered to be particularly important. It has been shown these networks support immigrants in the receiving community (Nohl et al. 2010: 274). As the participants of ProSALAMANDER were mostly excluded from professional networks in their field. Therefore, external professionals were invited to talk about project management and engineering and to discuss their experiences with the participant group. Through this, the participants were recognised as experienced professionals and were encouraged to engage with peer professionals. To foster a change of perspective, an additional, voluntary coaching was organised. With the help of a certified coach, the participants reflected on their own value concepts in the context of migration, and verbalised perceived expectations of the labour market. They were motivated to remember their own resources and how to use them for their studies and job applications.

4.3 Project participants

All project participants were settled immigrant graduates who had either been unemployed or employed in a job that did not correspond with their actual degree. Out of all 30 project participants (9 in a first cohort and 21 in a second cohort), 17 agreed to be interviewed for this thesis after a verbal recruitment accouncement through academic staff of ProSALA-MANDER. The recruitment was carried out verbally as project participants had stated earlier

that they were more comfortable in speaking than in writing German. To minimise the pressure for them to participate, academic staff of ProSALAMANDER that was not related to the present thesis initiated the recruitment. The reasons for the remaining 13 project participants not to participate in the interviews were time constraints due to family responsibilities, work obligations or commitments to their studies. Of these 17 interviewees, four had arrived before the year 2000, and three before 2005. That means, 41 per cent of the interview participants were living in Germany before legal chances affected citizenship and migration laws and thus initiated a change in the public discourse on integration (chapter 2). As a consequence, these earlier arrivals had not been able to benefit from the National Action Plan on Integration to the same extent as later arrivals. The project started with the first cohort of nine participants in 2012, covering nationalities from Kazakhstan, Ukraine, China, Egypt, Brazil, Russia, Greece, Lithuania and Turkey. In 2013, the second cohort of 21 participants from India, Chile, Russia, Egypt, Kazakhstan, Syria, Poland, Iraq, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Bosnia, Greece and Guinea followed. All participants were multilingual and learned German as a foreign language either in their native country or after migrating to Germany.

The participant group was heterogeneous regarding their biographies, and some had spent a remarkably longer time in Germany than others and their first graduation dated back many years. However, all had an exceptionally high motivation to achieve a German university degree and find an appropriate job on the highly skilled labour market. None of the participants had experienced a valued recognition of their foreign academic degrees in Germany. They had not considered gaining another degree after migration; in fact, they had all hoped to start working in a field related to their degree. This had not come true for anyone of them, and this led to their decision to apply for participation in the ProSALAMANDER project. In order to attract as many potential participants as possible, the project designed the application process to be as encouraging as possible. Interested persons who called to find out more about the project were invited for personal consultations and were assisted during the process of enrolment at the University of Duisburg-Essen.

The participants' previous study documentation turned out to be a challenge during the application process. Often, transcripts of records or module manuals that described the content of each completed course were not available. Most of the times reasons for that were either language issues (the records existed in a language other than German or English and had not been translated) or the fact that previous universities simply did not provide descriptions of curriculum contents. In fact, ProSALAMANDER had to let go of more than one participant

during the application process because the proof of study contents and the subject of study in Germany did not match.

In each of the two cohorts, one participant left the project for personal reasons before graduating. They nonetheless agreed to participate in the interview study for this thesis. By February 2017, 14 participants had graduated successfully. Three of them were employed at the university after they graduated. Altogether, 16 of the 30 participants of both cohorts have children, and two participants gave birth during the last weeks of their graduation process. Table 1 gives an overview of the interviewees. The information presented is structured according to each interviewee's studies and their career. In particular, it indicates the country in which the interviewee graduated first, as well as the field of study they were enrolled in while they obtained their first degree. The first graduation refers to the graduation that was obtained before migration to Germany and before enrolling in the ProSALAMANDER project. Furthermore, the tables indicate the occupation(s) the interviewees had before and after their migration. This information is considered relevant because it gives an overview of the structure of the group of interviewees in terms of their diverse working experiences and the cultural capital they brought to Germany. The degrees and fields of studies show that all interviewees hold Bachelor's or Master's degrees, or, if they studied before the Bologna reform,[45] that they hold a degree that is equivalent regarding the contents and the duration of study. Table 1 also gives an overview of the nationalities of the interviewees. The names used are pseudonyms and will be used throughout this thesis.

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[45] http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process_en. [20/12/16]

Table 1: General information about the interviewees

Name	Nationality	Country of first graduation	Field of study (first graduation)[46]	Year of migration to Germany	Occupation in Germany since migration	Occupation before migration to Germany
Adil	Syrian	Russia	Engineering (Diploma), Management and Organisation (postgraduate studies)	2011	Shop assistant, warehouse manager	Self-employed IT Engineer
Andrej	Kazakh	Kazakhstan	Economics (Diploma)	2003	Warehouse assistant, assistant to cargo dispatching at the airport	Contract acquisition in Asia, Russia, Europe
Christos	Greek	Greece	Economics (Master)	2013	Order picker	Assistant to sales department (made redundant after four months because of the financial crisis, then migrated to Germany)
Dimitros	Greek	Greece	Civil Engineering (Diploma)	2012	Architectural draughtsman	Civil engineer
Iannis	Greek	Greece	International Economy (B. Sc.)	Born in Germany, re-migrated in 2011	Office assistant, temporarily unemployed	Purchasing agent in an international department
Kamile	Lithuanian	Lithuania	Business Administration (B. Sc.)	1996	Helper for migrant families in local community, mother	Assistant to an executive management in a hospital

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[46] Diploma=equivalent to a degree after 4–5 years of full-time studying on campus.

Table 1 (cont.): General information about the interviewees

Name	Nationality	Country of first graduation	Field of study (first graduation)	Year of migration to Germany	Occupation in Germany since migration	Occupation before migration to Germany
Lya	Iraqi	Iraq	Water science (B. Sc.)	2008	Mother	Never worked in Iraq
Maria	Russian	Russia	Electrical engineer (Diploma), Business Sciences (Diploma)	2008	Unemployed, mother	Head of the computing centre (University of St. Petersburg), academic lecturer for financial mathematics and computer sciences (University of St. Petersburg), network administrator
Meryem[47]	Turkish	Turkey Germany	Economics (B. Sc.) Child care (two-year professional job training, certified)	1980 (mostly went to schools in Germany, only went to primary school in Turkey for a period of 4 years)	Childcare worker	Never worked in Turkey, spent most of her life in Germany
Natascha[48]	Russian	Russia	Metallurgy (Diploma) Administration (Diploma)	n/a	Unemployed	Childcare worker, sales assistant utility company

Table 1 (cont.): General information about the interviewees

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[47] Meryem quit the program after two years of participation. The interview was conducted after she dropped out, however she gave oral and written consent to the use of the data obtained from her.

[48] Natascha quit the program after two years of participation. The interview was conducted after she dropped out, however she gave oral and written consent to the use of the data obtained from her.

Name	Nationality	Country of first graduation	Field of study (first graduation)[49]	Year of migration to Germany	Occupation in Germany since migration	Occupation before migration to Germany
Olga	Russian	Russia	Economics (Diploma), Law (Diploma)	2011	Unemployed	Economist
Ulyana	Ukrainian	Ukraine	Economics (Master)	2002	Unemployed	Not specified, employed on a level that required a Master of Business Administration Master of Business Administration
Rustam	Uzbek	Uzbekistan	Business and Regional Sciences (B. Sc.)	2004	Office help	Teacher for economy, sales division manager
Seherzada	Bosnian	Bosnia	Economics (Diploma)	1993	Cleaning lady	Head of HR
Sunita	Indian	India	Business Sciences (Master)	1999	Consultant for a municipal integration project to teach immigrant parents	Primary school teacher
Vladyslav	Ukrainian	Ukraine	Transportation Technology (Diploma); Law (B. Sc.)	2007	Office assistant, temporarily unemployed	Executive engineer in a city council
Yaqub	Egyptian	Egypt	Bachelor of Commerce	2009	Temporary job in a launderette, bus driver	Credit assessment in a financial institute

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[49] Diploma=equivalent to a degree after 4–5 years of full-time studying on campus.

4.4   Project challenges

After enrolling at the University of Duisburg-Essen, the participants started their studies in October 2012 (first cohort) and October 2013 (second cohort). For most 'regular' students, the course of study was structured by the level of the lectures and seminars: introductory courses usually took place in the first two semesters and built up the basis for intermediate and advanced classes in the specific field. However, as the idea of the academic requalification project was to provide training in fields that had changed since the participants had last studied them or that had not been studied so far, each transcript of record was looked at individually and timetables were specifically made based on these records.

The challenge that came with individually composed timetables detached from institutionally suggested timetables was the overlapping of hours of classes. Participants could compose their study plan in line with their needs and, by doing this, could enrol in courses from semesters higher than the first one. They were no longer expected to follow a certain study path, but the general schedules of each field of study had not changed, so a course of the first semester took place at the same time as one of the second or third semester. Both the 'freedom' to choose from a selection of different courses and the challenge of finding the right courses was new to the participants, who had mostly studied in countries where universities were highly structured (see Table 1). This affected the interdisciplinary counselling of the project: often, concerns that arose during the consultations covered issues of how to choose the right course with regards to language level and contents, and how to decide whether to change this choice again.[50] However, some participants of ProSALAMANDER could not enrol in all the suggested and mandatory classes that took place at the same time. Thus, it took them longer than the originally intended duration of four semesters to obtain their degree.

All participants took part in final exams. Interestingly, the specialised content of the exams never seems to have been perceived as a problem. Instead, worries of not having enough time to answer in the jargon appropriate in the field of study are described as well as the concern of not understanding the exam tasks properly. These issues sometimes led to a fail in the first round of the exam.

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[50] It is quite common at German universities to attend the first one or two lessons of a class before deciding to stay or to change to a different class.

In the final report of the project (Niederhaus & Schmidt 2015, unpublished), it is argued that there is a demand for a pre-emptive approach to the accessibility of exams for so-called new target groups at German universities and, in fact, new programs give special attention to that.[51] Despite the aforementioned limitations of the project, it had a signal effect on the German higher education landscape. Several universities have claimed they wanted to open their doors and minds for new target groups.[52] In 2013, ProSALAMANDER was awarded the most innovative diversity project in Germany.[53] As a consequence, the division *Open University ('Bereich Offene Hochschule')* at the University of Duisburg-Essen now aims to enhance the transition from university to labour markets for so-called non-traditional target groups.[54] However, the daily practice of teaching, learning and testing at universities still needs a change of minds towards formats that for example allow extra time for non-native speakers to build synergies of their native and foreign languages as well as their professional knowledge. Once adapted to testing concepts that focused on subject-related contents but required a high proficiency of field-related jargon, the participants of the study succeeded in the actual exams. Therefore, a pre-emptive move towards educational justice in practice is desirable.

4.5   Summary

ProSALAMANDER was designed for a group of participants that mostly did not intend to take up further studies after their migration to Germany. Many of them considered their participation in the project as a last opportunity to find their way back to the highly skilled labour market: 'Because that is a great chance, for me that is the very last opportunity' (Kamile 143–144). Furthermore, they felt that the cultural capital they had obtained before migration was starting to regain recognition and supported their study success in certain courses. Being back at university, they were planning their studies efficiently and pragmatically. They experienced their studies both as enriching and as frustrating when it came to unexpected delays, such as the failure of a test or the overlapping of two classes they planned to enrol in. The participants were also frustrated that, many times, credits of their first degree

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[51]   The qualification initiative *Promotion through education: open universities ('Aufstieg durch Bildung: offene Hochschulen'*) is funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and, among other things, aims to support the supply of highly skilled professionals and to promote unemployed graduates: https://de.offene-hochschulen.de/ [21/10/2016].

[52]   For a documentation of a life-long learning project for non-traditional target groups at university see, for example, Hanft et al.: 2016.

[53]   http://diversity-preis.de/preistraeger/ [14/3/17].

[54]   https://www.uni-due.de/offene-hochschule/ [21/10/2016].

were not recognised in a way they had hoped for, and that they had to enrol in classes covering topics of their previous studies. At the same time, all participants described a value that their aspired German degree symbolised for them. The participants' experience of employers more likely relying on degrees from German universities was often discussed in the interviews. They felt disadvantaged and insecure in their self-image as professionals. In summarising this chapter, it becomes clear that the participants of ProSALAMANDER and those of them who were interviewed for this thesis, are in the situation of settled immigrant graduates as outlined in chapter 2. They have all settled in Germany, within a society that claims skills shortage, while at the same time their degrees are not recognised. They face difficulties in positioning themselves on the same labour market that announced a demand for their skills, as exemplified by Iannis (103–110):

> I never, never had an interview, a job interview with someone from HR. Never. Also in the employment office, my counsellor said to me, she saw all my qualifications and she said to me, with a foreign diploma from university it would be particularly difficult for me to find a job in my field. Your employer has to be particularly open-minded to give you a chance.

Iannis and the other interviewees in this thesis struggled to find open-minded employers to accept their foreign university diplomas. Thus, they so far did not get access to professional communities since their migration to Germany. This is important with regards to their professional identities. In section 3.3, I have suggested that participation in professional communities enhances the construction of professional identities, and that immigrant graduates who have agency in these communities show larger commitment within them, and in within society in general (Caza & Creary 2016). In their interviews, the participant group of this study tried to reclaim their agency and engage, or disengage, with their professional identities by using the discursive practice of the interviews and developing strategies that allowed them to refer to their cultural capital. Their attempts to disclose their expertise led to the assumption that their (hindered) professional participation does contribute to or impede the construction of their professional identities. Therefore, the participant group of this thesis is considered representative to examine the strategies that are used to construct professional identities in more detail. To do so will help understand the gap between international expertise and qualifications present in Germany and the skills shortage affecting the German society. Therefore, two research questions are applied to the interviews conducted for this thesis:

1. What kind of strategies did the interviewees use to support the discursive construction of their professional identities?
2. How did the respondents demonstrate agency in discursive constructions of professional identities?

Based on the societal context of this thesis as outlined in chapter 2, and its theoretical framework developed in chapter 3, the focus of both research questions was to analyse and discuss data from immigrant graduates. The next chapter substantiates the theoretical approach of this thesis with a suitable methodological approach that helps to locate the strategies that construct the interviewees' professional identities and relate them to the theoretical context of the research project.

5   Methodological Framework

The present study explores how professional identity is constructed discursively. The data underlying this project was collected from semi-structured interviews. The study follows an interpretivist research paradigm (Bryman 1988; Mackenzie and Knipe 2006). Ontologically, research in the interpretivist paradigm is based on the understanding that reality is co-constructed in human interaction, in contrast to research in the positivist paradigm which assumes that there is an objective reality. The interpretivist research paradigm is strongly related to symbolic interactionism, because it considers social interaction as constitutive of the way in which individuals interpret social reality (chapter 3). Meanings are 'social products' (Blumer 1969: 5) that create reality. Epistemologically, the researcher and the object of research are both linked to each other through their understanding of themselves and their reality. Consequently, the research process cannot be separated from the researcher's perspectives. Research developed in an interpretivist research paradigm does not claim there is an objective reality, but understands the context and situation of the research as influential and unique with regards to design and findings. The researcher's position is reflected on and involved in the research process, from which all findings emerge (Cohen & Crabtree 2006). Methodologically, research in the interpretivist research paradigm employs instruments that foster a dialogue between the field and the researcher. This means that qualitative research methods such as interviews or observations are favourable for interpretivist research projects (Angen 2000).

For this thesis, I used semi-structured interviews as the instrument to collect data. They offer a space in which subjective meanings are co-constructed. These meanings are influenced by the specific context of imminent unemployment, migration and recognition of foreign degrees as described in chapter 2. They also reflect particular contradictions between the interviewee's life situation before and since their re-entry into university (chapter 4). As the interviews are linked to their context (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 64), they might very likely have had different results if only one relevant factor had changed, such as the country that they were conducted in. Within the context of insufficient recognition of foreign degrees and a skills shortage in the fields of engineering and economics, the interview participant group of immigrant graduates presents and negotiates their views on their profession since migration. Hence, they discursively construct professional identities, which reflect the cultural and professional norms in their lives.

Therefore, the interactional situation of the interviews motivates the choice of a method that allows both flexibility in diversity of the data, and structure in the amount of the data. The participants' view of their situation and their context-related experiences are essential to the study (Crotty 1998). The interviews give access to the interviewees' knowledge and the world they live in. Through questions and responses, '[i]nterview knowledge is socially constructed in the interaction of interviewer and interviewee', continuously being produced in the transcription and analysis of the interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 63). For this reason, the present study requires a methodology that displays various aspects of this knowledge and its construction, and that allows for comparisons between different types of responses. That is why all interviews are analysed with the help of a Qualitative Content Analysis (Bortz & Döring 2016; Mayring 2010, 2014; Schreier 2012; Kuckartz 2014).[55] Qualitative Content Analysis was developed from quantitative approaches and has been applied in various disciplines. A recent volume on its use in, and contribution to, different fields in psychology and pedagogy can be found in Mayring 2008. The methodology has proven to be amenable to the dynamic character of identity constructions in this thesis, and at the same time helped to organise the amount of data derived from the interviews. Before introducing Qualitative Content Analysis, I provide some general thoughts on qualitative research in the following section.

5.1   Some thoughts on qualitative research

Qualitative research is often a 'journey with an undetermined destination' due to its exploratory character (Benitt 2014: 86). For a long time, qualitative research methods were considered oppositional to quantitative methodologies (Bucchi 2004), resulting from the tensions between positivist and interpretivist research paradigms. There has been a development from the dominant quantitative paradigm in many fields of social sciences (Fielding & Schreier 2001: 188) towards '[m]odern hermeneutical approaches [which] try to formulate rules of interpretation', resulting in an increase of objectivity within a research project (Mayring 2014: 8). Qualitative Content Analysis adds to these modern hermeneutical approaches, as I demonstrate in section 5.2. Following the interpretivist paradigm, qualitative research 'focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live' (Holloway 1997: 2). That means that in contrast to quantitative

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[55]   For a better understanding, I refer to Mayring's English edition 'Qualitative Content Analysis' (2014) if the reference can be found in both the German (1st edition 1982, 11th edition 2011) and the English (2014) edition.

research, qualitative research is exploratory and situational. Although the immanent subjectivity of qualitative research has been regarded as troubling and placing in question its validity and the reliability of its findings (Berelson 1971), qualitative research points out that findings which integrate subjective views 'can provide unique and highly valuable insights' (Benitt 2014: 86). Qualitative research emerges from, and can be found in, various disciplines that study social phenomena, incorporating several methods that provide insights into the field (Denzin & Lincoln 2011).

As a response to positivist research, which aimed to test theory in order to obtain objective facts, Glaser & Strauss (1967/2005) argued for an approach that would generate theory from data. Their methodology of Grounded Theory thus marks an important change in the field of sociology, because '[s]ince verification has primacy on the current sociological scene, the desire to generate theory often becomes secondary, if not totally lost' (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 2). The development of theory after the data collection, and not beforehand, represented an alternative approach that resulted in different perspectives on data, researcher and methods (Miethe 2012). Subsequently, Grounded Theory developed the methodological approach of data collection and analysis as an alternating process. The present thesis is clearly within an interpretivist research paradigm, following the understanding that data emerges from social interaction, and that theories discovered from data match empirical situations (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 1). The methodological approach of Qualitative Content Analysis is slightly different to Grounded Theory, as it combines theoretical and empirical knowledge in the process of the analysis (section 5.2.1). Glaser and Strauss's earlier advice to 'ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas' (1967: 37) has long been modified (Corbin 2008; Strauss 2004). It is now conventional wisdom in qualitative research that data cannot be approached without assumptions of a theoretical background (Goldman, Graesser & van den Broeck 1999; Kelle & Kluge 2010). Mayring (2014: 59), however, states that 'among those who favour the qualitative approach there is a negative attitude towards theory, which repeatedly asserts itself. It is frequently alleged that theories distort the material'. In addition to the situational notion of the study, the circumstances of data collection, the participants' backgrounds and the motives of the researcher must not only be reflected on, but also contribute to locating research outcomes in a wider framework. This is true for the present thesis in three ways. First, the data collection took place in a pilot project that originated from a specific political and social context. This context led to the research question, which guided the research process and is thus not separable from the data

collection and analysis. Second, the impetus for conducting this study was widely influenced by my work in the examined field, and my proximity to the field allowed for unique insights (section 5.1.1). Third, I located my research in the frame of symbolic-interactionist tradition, which allowed me to reflect on my role as a researcher as well as on the intertwining of my perspectives, and on the interviewees' positions. Thus, I was able to integrate theory into the subjective, qualitative approach of my research. This positive attitude towards theory has largely contributed to the findings of my thesis.

The researcher's perspective on data, the hypotheses emerging from it, and the theoretical background that frames a research project, influence each other. They also affect further decisions in the research process, such as the method of analysis. Individual preconceptions influence the understanding of the data, and at the same time hypotheses derived from the data further direct theoretical assumptions. This hermeneutic circle of preconception, under-standing, elaborated preconception and further understanding (Danner 2006: 57) thus forms an important part of qualitative research.

In most cases, a theoretical background that builds on a literature review or a previous re-search project, for example, is present at the beginning of the data collection. However, open-mindedness is strived for to gain new insights and hypotheses from the data, although Schreier (2012: 20) supposes that '[m]oreover, it is often not possible to exactly pin down the meaning of symbolic material, nor do qualitative researchers necessarily want to do so'. Understanding becomes a process, and 'interpretation is at the heart of the research process' (ibid.).

There are various methods in qualitative research, all sharing the common hallmarks of re-latedness to the analysed case, authenticity, openness towards new hypotheses and holism (Flick, 2009). All methods allow access to social reality (von Kardoff 1995: 4). A 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of holistic cases within their context embeds the researcher within that reality and reflects on their role as part of the research setting. The following section reflects on the researcher's role in general, and also on my role in the research design and process of writing the thesis at hand.

5.1.1 The researcher's role

A researcher's subjectivity is apparent when conducting qualitative research. It demands a reflection on the researcher's role as a quality criterion (Mayring 2014: 111; Kuckartz 2014) and as an important factor that affects both the realisation and outcomes of a research project

(Lamnek 2016: 95). The reflection of the researcher on their role in the examined field contributes to the findings, as it does not neutralise the researcher, but includes their subjective perspective, the emergence of the research interest, choice of methodology and traditions of the area of research in the study. Moreover, qualitative research takes advantage of the researcher's proximity to the field, because the 'insider perspective' (Dörnyei & Ushioda 2009: 38) allows unique insights. On the other hand, the idea of the researcher being a participant in a research project (Rallis & Rossmann 2009: 272) needs particular awareness of the fact that there are 'real' participants in the study, and in that sense the researcher will always remain in an outsider position (Benitt 2014: 98). The researcher in qualitative research however is a 'central figure'. The researcher decides on the research design, sample and implementation of the study. It might very well be that 'another researcher in a different relationship will unfold a different story' (Finlay 2002: 531). The position and subjectivity of the researcher main characteristics of qualitative research, which stand out as an advantage for studies within the tradition of symbolic interactionism, and at the same time require quality standards to ensure stability of the findings (section 6.6). The researcher's role is, however, no longer a point of criticism, but contributes to the quality of the research project (Freeman 2009). I believe that 'identifying a potential researcher bias' (Dörnyei & Ushioda 2009: 60) contributes to the integrity of my study, and in the following I explain my position towards the sample, and lay out the expectations that might have biased the data collection when it began. Finally, I conclude with a critical reflection on my expectations.

I conducted the interviews with immigrant graduates in the fields of engineering and economics while I worked as a member of the research staff in the ProSALAMANDER project at the University of Duisburg-Essen, as described in chapter 4. For their subject-specific and work-related preparation, several teaching and counselling components were organised (section 4.2). Through my involvement in the project prior to the conduct of the interviews, I could build up relationships with the interviewees that enhanced the atmosphere of the interviews, as I documented in the postscripts that I completed after each interview (appendix A7/A8). Some participants also stated that they had never talked about the issues raised in the interviews before, which is exemplified by the following quote of an interview participant: 'You know there are these psychotherapists, or however they are called. Today you are mine ((laughing)).' (Maria 895–897). The frequency of contact with each participant varied, and not everyone who took part in the ProSALAMANDER project could later participate in my data collection (see section 5.3.1.2 for the definition of the sample). Thus, I saw several participants in the project on a regular basis throughout the semester, while I met others only

once or twice during their course of study. This has, however, not influenced my selection of the sample for the present study.

My role as a teacher and tutor within the project included various topics such as language training, workshops on presentation skills and preparations for job interviews, but it did not allow an opportunity for the project participants to reflect on their careers before migration and on their perceptions of professional roles. These topics were explored for the first time when the project participants became interviewees for my thesis. Thus, I gained insights into the field of research through my proximity to the interviewees. This proximity was based on the relationship that I had as a teacher to the participants of the project. They became participants because they were already professionals and thus formed the target group of the project (section 4.2), but during the project, needed to have additional training, which they partly received from me as a teacher. In these situations, I often took the active role in our interactions by default, and the participants took the passive role as students. Research in the tradition of symbolic interactionism concerns the 'asymmetrical relationship' (Musolf 2003: 98) of interactions and in the ways that identity and authority are negotiated within these relationships (section 3.1). Through the empowerment of the interviewees (Mishler 1986: 170), the asymmetry was reduced in favour of the interviewees. During the interviews, the participants were addressed as professionals and asked about their career paths. They were also aware that the success of my interview study would entirely depend on their collaboration, based on ethical standards (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015, Rallis & Rossmann 2009) such as confidentiality agreements. Therefore, the interviews were accompanied with a shift of my role from teacher to interviewer. In other words, the expertise was no longer attached to my role, but to those of the interviewees who came as professionals to speak about their careers in fields that I have no expertise in. In the interview postscripts, I note several times the remarkable influence of the interviewees' regaining of expertise, which resulted in a stronger oral fluency, amongst other things. The focus had shifted from training language skills to asking about professional skills, which I did not myself possess, and thus the notion of competence and professional skill was taken away from my role and given to the interview participants. Thus, my role as a researcher had an internal (with regards to the interactional situation) and an external (with regards to institutional standards) facet. With regards to the former, I benefited from the relationship that I had built up with the interviewees, and I became a participant in my own interviews. Regarding the latter, I was aware of my responsibility to maintain scientific quality standards and meet institutional ethics requirements.

To summarise, the literature shows that the researcher is an active and responsible part of the research (Lettau & Breuer 2007), which I found true for my own research process. The interview guide, the way the interviews were conducted, and the methodology of analysis reflect my background, influences and perspective on the data. The authenticity of my research project is enhanced through transparency with regards to the design and methods (section 5.2) as well as through the reflection on my role as a researcher in this section.

5.1.2   The interview: a journey through stories

Generally, one distinguishes between three groups of interviews: structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Dörnyei & Ushioda 2009; Richards 2009). Within these categories, the aims and methods of research can lead to further specifications such as problem-centred or narrative (Friebertshäuser et al. 2013; Nohl 2012). For the study at hand, 17 semi-structured interviews were conducted, and the main topics were *studies and career before migration*, *career since migration* and *current studies at the University of Duisburg-Essen with regards to expertise and language skills*. The order of questions was not followed in a strict way. Semi-structured interviews compromise between structuring the flow of the interview with questions on the one hand, and allowing for enough flexibility of questions and topics on the other hand. Thus, answers remain comparable, but the interviewee is free to choose, change or add topics and thus lead the interview (Dörnyei & Ushioda 2009; Richards 2009).

As described above, the interview guide stimulated narratives and helped to structure them with regards to the total number of interviews. Narrative interviews 'center on the stories the subjects tell, on the plots and structures of their accounts' (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 178). Mishler (1986: 79) claims that narratives are part of everyday conversations, and that they recount personal experiences. These natural forms of organising and expressing opinions and beliefs constitute narrative interviews. However, in the study at hand both the interviewee and the interviewer played an active role in the interview, which thus became a collaborative achievement (Talmy 2011: 28) of the interviewer and the interviewee. Rather than focusing on the production of data, the interview offers a space to construct identity, for example through the distinction between self and others (ibid.: 40). Interviews reflect authentic feelings, beliefs and attitudes (Kvale & Flick 2007; Richards 2009; Talmy 2011; Benitt 2014), and they are conducted to study phenomena in their context. The term 'context' must be understood as fluid here. At a macro-level, the context of the interview can be understood as consisting of the culture, or cultures, and society, or societies, which influence

both interviewee and interviewer. At a micro-level the context of the interview can also be constructed more narrowly to mean the actual setting and situation of the interview. In either case, the interview itself forms part of the context in which knowledge is formed, discussed, negotiated and agreed on (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 103).

For the present study, it is important to distinguish the 'interview as a research instrument' from the 'research interview as social practice' (Talmy 2011: 27). While the former understands the interview in the sense of the 'instrument' that collects data, the latter represents a social reality that is co-constructed between the interviewer and the interviewee. As the present study is in the field of applied linguistics, and examines the discursive practice of identity constructions, it did not use the interview as a mere instrument, but integrated its process-oriented character into the analysis. Viewing the interviewer as a 'traveller', who actively explores and co-constructs whatever content the process of the interview offers, the interview becomes a 'journey [that] may not only lead to new knowledge; the traveller might change as well' (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 58).

5.1.3   Context of the data collection

Richards (2009: 187) suggests that there are four basic steps for preparing, organising, conducting and following up data collection through interviews. Similarly, Mayring (2014: 58) argues for an 'exact' description of the circumstances of the data collection. In the following, I outline these circumstances of my research process.

Firstly, the interviews need to be prepared, deciding on their overall aim and on the topics, that need to be covered in order to reach this aim. Although I was part of a project that offered additional qualification for immigrant graduates, I knew little about how they thought of themselves as professionals. Therefore, the interview guide covered experiences as a professional before and after migration. In addition, I was looking for reflections on (the lack of) recognition of professional skills and expertise during the studies at the University of Duisburg-Essen.

The interview guide was phrased with great attention to its purpose (Kruse 2011). Therefore, it consisted of open questions and several alternative questions to maintain the flow of the conversation. The interviews were conducted with great awareness of non-verbal communication and pauses, as they are considered a natural part of conversation and interviews (Gläser & Laudel 2006: 168). As all interviews were conducted during my stay at the Uni-

versity of Duisburg-Essen, Germany, the interview guide meets the local ethical requirements to ensure that the interviewees' participation was entirely voluntary and did not affect them in any negative way. Furthermore, all questions were discussed with my supervisors, as well as in regular scientific colloquiums, as suggested by Richards (2009: 187). Before being finalised, the interview guide was then piloted with 3 interviews (= 17.65 per cent) of the overall number of 17 interviews and considered suitable, as it included several options for alternative questions that varied for each interview situation.

My proximity to the field (section 5.1.1.) not only allowed for a unique insight into it, but also actively involved my researcher role in joint constructions of identity (Mishler 1986: 52). The possibility of a power imbalance between the interviewees and me demanded particular attention to the wellbeing of the interviewees. At the same time, the course of the interviews needed to be controlled with regards to the flow of conversation and relevant topics. Despite using the same semi-structured interview guide for all interviews, they varied each time, as the participants were encouraged to add or change topics if they preferred. As I had organised several workshops and regular tutoring for the participants of the ProSAL-AMANDER project (section 4.5), my motivation for conducting interviews within that group was to find out more about how the interview subjects thought about themselves as professionals after migration and particularly since resuming their studies; and why their skills remained idle on the highly skilled labour market. These questions, which had not been raised in class or during tutoring and counselling, then formed the basis for further research about migration to Germany and professional identity construction. Ultimately, they led to the key research questions concerning discursive constructions of professional identities.

Subsequently, the interviews were organised with regards to possible participants, dates, locations and duration of each interview (Richards 2009: 189). Initially, all participants of the ProSALAMANDER-project had been asked for their help with my research, and 17 of the participants agreed to participate in the study (sections 4.3 & 5.3.1.2). Those were then asked to choose a date and location for the interview. The project took place on two different campuses, and all interviewees suggested meeting on one of these campuses, in an office that I was able to use exclusively for the interview. The duration of each interview was determined by the interviewees' commitment. They were all informed that they could pause or stop the interview, or even withdraw from it at any time. However, no one took this option and the interviews took an hour on average, which is regarded as a reasonable duration (Richards 2009: 189). With regards to the condition of the interview it was important to record them

for transcription (see section 5.3.2 for the quality standards of transcription and appendix A13/A14 for the transcription guidelines) and for further analysis. To ensure that ethical standards were met, and the participants' consent was obtained under greatest consideration of their voluntary participation in the interview, all interviewees were given sufficient time to consider issues of participation and transcription before signing a consent form.

The next step was '[g]etting the interaction right' (Richards 2009: 189), e.g. creating a positive and attentive atmosphere, that helped to develop the interview 'as naturally as possible' (ibid.) I paid great attention to avoiding leading questions and being too familiar with the interview guide. As I had already conducted a pre-study with questionnaires and a pilot to test the interview guide (section 5.3.1.1), I was able to focus on the interviewee, without being distracted by the order of the questions or by taking too many notes and losing eye contact. Friebertshäuser at al. (2013: 377) suggests that flaws should be included in the interview situation in the research process, in order that they can be used as an opportunity to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen methodology.

Coming back to Brinkmann & Kvale's metaphor of the interview as a journey (2015: 57), I found that during my research process, the interview was not finished when the last question was answered. In fact, each interview situation determined the direction of my journey in between the interviews. Immediately afterwards, the participant's feedback on the interview, a postscript (appendix A7/A8) and a final conversation with the interviewee helped to both follow up with the interview that had just been conducted and to prepare the next interview. All this is summarised under Richards' fourth step to 'guide further data collection' (2009: 191). The final question of the interview asked the interviewee for feedback on the interview. The aim of this last question was to encourage a comment on how the interview went from the perspective of the interviewee, to ask if there was anything else that should be mentioned, and to ensure that the interviewee had the right to authorise the transcript, get a copy of the interview or withdraw from participation in the study. After the recording of the interview had stopped, a post-interview conversation contributed to the atmosphere and assured the participant of my genuine interest in them, and not just in their stories. Many participants used that post-interaction (Kruse 2011: 113) to ask about my further research and expectations with regards to the findings. In addition, a postscript of each interview[56] helped to reflect on aspects of the non-verbal communication, my expectations before the interview

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[56] A translation of an example postscript can be found in the appendix.

started, my impression of it afterwards and my memory of any unexpected incidents (Gläser & Laudel 2006: 186; Kruse 2011: 114).

As indicated in the previous paragraphs, conducting interviews is a dynamic process of interaction between the researcher and the interviewee, and requires practice as well as self-awareness to create the best possible interview situation. It seems impossible 'for an interview to go exactly according to the plan' (Benitt 2014: 106). In the context of the symbolic-interactionist orientation of the present thesis, allowing for a dynamic co-construction of meaning contributed significantly to the depth of the interviews. I decided on a Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) because it is applicable to data that emerges from situational co-constructions, as in the present case of my interviews. It allows for inductive theorising emanating from the empirical interview data (Glaser & Strauss 2005). At the same time, it reflects deductive propositions that link the structural and institutional context of this thesis to its inductive findings. The context of highly skilled migration to Germany and its recognition of foreign university degrees formed the frame for the project from which this thesis emanated. The general question of why highly skilled potential is present but not used on the labour market led to the research interest in whether graduate academics still see themselves as highly skilled professionals after years of unemployment in their field of graduation. From the general research interest, two research questions were specified to determine strategies of professional identity constructions (section 4.5). These research questions were framed at the beginning of the research process and thus formed the starting point for the analysis (Kuckartz 2014: 21). Hence, the methodology allowed me to relate my conclusions to the research question and to interpret the interview data in its context (Mayring 2014: 39). Both the rule-bound procedure of QCA and the semi-structured layout of the interview guide support a certain comparability of the interview cases. The interviews contained many descriptions of past, present and future positions in professional communities, and were therefore strongly related to the societal (chapter 2) and theoretical (chapter 3) context of the present research project. I wanted to focus on the explicit meaning of the utterances—on what was actually said—and at the same time relate it to the context of the interview (Mayring 2014; Kuckartz 2014). The methodology of QCA proved to meet all the aforementioned requirements. The following section gives an overview of its key characteristics. It introduces the emergence of QCA in the light of predominant quantitative research methods and points out why the analysis of the data underlying this thesis could best be carried out with the instruments of a Qualitative Content Analyis.

5.2 Key Characteristics of Qualitative Content Analysis

As described in the preceding section, the present thesis explores discursive constructions of professional identities and applies a Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) to structure interview data and to form types that reflect different aspects of the research question in relation to the construction of professional identities. The following section provides a short overview of the emergence of QCA before summarising key characteristics of its design and process. In order to apprehend the characteristics of QCA, I will then compare its central modus operandi of coding to Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Corbin & Strauss 1990).

5.2.1 Overview: the emergence of Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative Content Analysis emerged from Content Analysis as a quantitative methodology to display the frequency of specific key words in texts. According to Dovring (1955), the earliest application of this method dates back to the analysis of frequently used religious terms in Swedish hymns during the late eighteenth century. It is generally agreed that propaganda analysis during World War II 'marked the beginning of a period of methodological reflection on content analysis as a research method' (Kuckartz 2014: 27; Mayring 2014: 19; Schreier 2012: 11), and the methodology of content analysis was established in the empirical social sciences (ibid.).

Content analysis thus developed from a quantity-based method (Berelson 1971), which aimed to identify word frequency. In the 1950s, it was extended from empirical social research to other disciplines, including psychology and sociology. It gradually drew attention away from frequency descriptions towards the conclusions that could be drawn from such frequencies (Mayring 2014: 19). It also aimed for a more contextual understanding of the material, leading to the demand that QCA provide greater benefits (Kracauer 1953: 631). In addition, quality standards such as a coder agreement were implemented and variations of content analyses, e.g. the readability analysis or the contingency analysis, evolved through their application in different disciplines (Schreier 2012: 12). QCA has nevertheless not been a popular research method in English-speaking countries until recently (ibid.), which is why this thesis contributes to the transfer of QCA to a broader scientific community. In the following, the key characteristics of a QCA process are described in more detail.

5.2.2 Qualitative Content Analysis: framing inductive findings with deductive premises

QCA analyses select aspects of rich data, such as interviews (Schreier 2012; Mayring 2014),[57] wherein the researcher scans all of the data—in this case the transcripts of all interviews—with the help of a coding frame. This coding frame consists of categories that reflect aspects of the research question. Only data that can be related to one of these categories will be analysed further. Like Grounded Theory, QCA codes interview transcripts by assigning categories to them, but because it only considers particular aspects of the transcripts, coding in QCA reduces the amount of data before it is interpreted (Schreier 2012: 5). In QCA, the coding frame is an instrument to structure data with regards to all aspects of the research question. Thus, '[t]he coding frame acts like a filter: material that is not covered by the main categories will no longer be visible once you have conducted your analysis, nor will distinctions in your material that are not covered by your subcategories' (Schreier 2012: 61). As the interviews of the present thesis were rich, meaning that they contained a multiplicity of interesting topics, I sometimes found it quite challenging not to get lost in the data, and to find my way back to those text units that were relevant to the research question. The systematic approach of QCA helped to maintain a distant perspective after intensive readings of the transcripts. After I listened to the recordings and read all transcripts intensively, I decided that the hermeneutic notion of qualitative research (section 5.1) would best be reflected in a mixture of theory- and data-driven strategy types. My preconceptions based on reviewed research (chapters 2 and 3), together with my understanding of the interviews, led to an elaborated preconception enriched by the interview data.

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[57] For QCA and expert interviews, see e.g. Gläser & Laudel 2004; for QCA as part of a mixed methods approach see e.g. Odağ 2007.
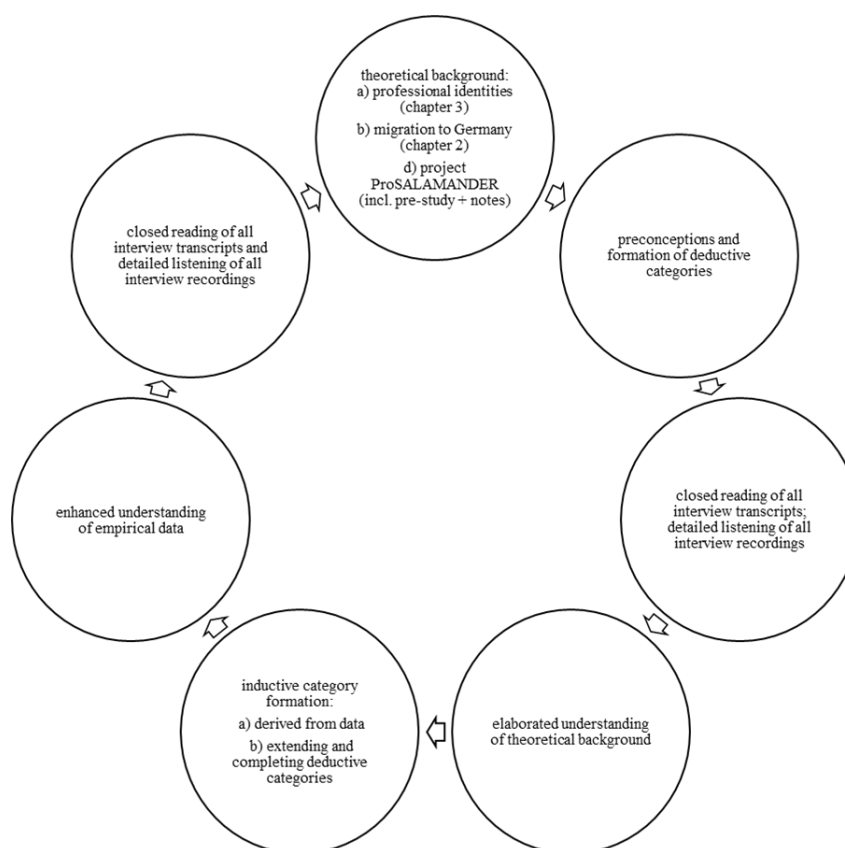
Figure 3: Hermeneutic approach to the category formation in this thesis

As displayed in Figure 3, I had started this research project with the review of its theoretical foundation in the fields of migration research and identity theory within an interpretivist research paradigm, and empirical assumptions emanating from the re-qualification project ProSALAMANDER. I was then able to conceptualise deductive categories that would help to code the interviews conducted for this study. After several close readings of all interview transcripts and detailed listening of all recordings, I gained an elaborated understanding of the theoretical foundation that was reflected in the empirical data. At this point, the formation of inductive categories that were derived from the data extended and completed the deductive categories that had already been developed. A review of the deductive approach allowed for an enhanced understanding of the empirical data as well. A better understanding of both the theoretical background and the empirical data was therefore enabled by my hermeneutic-cyclic approach to their reciprocal relation. From this basis, I conducted all following steps of the analysis, keeping in mind the theoretical conceptualisation of this research project and its empirical findings. In contrast to Grounded Theory, QCA follows a linear procedure of several steps that lead from the definition of the material to the interpretation of it (Mayring 2014: 54; Kuckartz 2014: 50; Schreier 2012: 6). These steps may vary slightly depending on the means of analysis. For example, while the techniques of summarising content analysis

and the inductive category formation reduce material, the technique of explication enriches material to explain its context (Mayring 2014: 88). A type building content analysis, the technique chosen for this thesis, requires certain decisions that are unique to the procedure of type formation and its processes (Kuckartz 2014: 124; Mayring 2014: 106). I explain these decisions in chapter 6. All techniques in QCA are, however, carried out with the help of categories that are assigned to text units. Whilst in Grounded Theory categories are data-driven, emerging directly from the empirical data, categories in QCA can be both inductively data-driven *and* deducted from a theoretical framework that relates to the research question. In Grounded Theory, however, coding starts with categories that are not mutually exclusive. This means that one text unit can be assigned to more than one category, which later will be divided into subcategories, whereas in QCA, coding is done on the level of subcategories, which are mutually exclusive. One text unit can only be assigned to one category, which is why the coding frame is set concisely and cannot be changed after piloting a certain amount of the data (section 6.6.1). In other words, coding in QCA has the advantage of offering a more structured and rule-guided analytical frame than Grounded Theory does.

There has, however, been criticism of coding in general, suggesting that it is problematic that the 'voice' in qualitative interviews is considered as the only data source (St. Pierre 2008: 319) and claiming, 'that qualitative researchers "find" stories in their data and call that work analysis' (2008: 325). Despite that criticism, QCA proves to be the suitable methodological choice for this thesis, as it gives voice to both empirical *and* theoretical data: it applies quality criteria that serve to ensure high standards of validity and reliability in qualitative research (section 6.6), and, critically, includes the researcher's personal reflection on the research process. Thereby, the researcher's voice does contribute to the findings, but at the same time is balanced by the theoretical framework that QCA purposefully includes in the analysis process. Furthermore, the researcher's perspective on data and findings become important for the research because it is critically reflected on. In conclusion, my reflection on my role as a researcher in the present research project (section 5.5.1) and as a teacher in the project the data were collected in (section 4.2) and the application of specific content-analytical quality criteria to this thesis (section 6.6) modifies St. Pierre's criticism on the researcher's bias in the best possible way. The advantage of QCA—combining inductive findings and theoretical background without neglecting the subjectivity of the researcher's perspective or compromising on objective quality standards—makes it the most suitable methodology for this thesis. Its procedure is outlined in the following section.

5.3   Research design and procedure

The present research project uses general procedural models (Mayring 2014: 53) that define each step of the project in advance. These ensure the quality standards of this project, and make the research process transparent. At the core of QCA is the research question, and the coding frame reflects aspects of this research question. Because the coding frame is the instrument with which the data is coded, all data in turn is coded with regards to the research question. In the following, I describe the steps that set the general design of my research project and frame the direction of the analysis. These steps include the definition of the material, its origin, the circumstances of data collection, the direction of the analysis and how the research question relates to the material. Decisions that were made later in the research process and influenced the formation of a typology are presented in the analysis in chapter 6, together with a discussion of the findings in regards to quality criteria.

5.3.1   Definition of the data material

Firstly, the material must be assessed in terms of its volume, representativeness and the definition of the sample (Mayring 2014: 56). The material of the present study consists of 17 interview transcripts. In addition, a pre-study which I conducted prior to the interviews, notes from counselling sessions (section 4.2), and interview postscripts, add to the data context underlying this research project. During its piloting, the interview guide was furthermore compared to the outcomes of an external project evaluation that was undertaken at that time as part of the funding contract with the independent private foundation *Stiftung Mercator* (section 4.2). In the following, I describe the material in more detail.

5.3.1.1   Additional material: pre-study, evaluation and additional notes

The pre-study was part of the present research project and done prior to the interviews, approximately a month after the first nine participants of the ProSALAMANDER project had taken up their studies in the fields of engineering or economics in 2012. It was conducted in the form of a questionnaire that inquired about work load, and the learning motivations and strategies of the participants of the ProSALAMANDER project (appendix A9/A10). The questionnaires had a return run of 100 per cent with a total number of nine questionnaires. Hence, 52.94 per cent of the interviewees participated in the pre-study. In the questionnaire, I asked the following questions:

- How often and how many hours do you study for your subject?
- Do you also do your assignments during the time you have indicated? If no, how often do you currently have to hand in assignments and how many hours do you need

to do them? If so, what proportion (%) are the assignments of the time you spend studying?

- How often and how many hours do you study for your German class?
- Do you also do your assignments for your German class during the time you have indicated? If no, how often do you currently have to hand in assignments for your German class and how many hours do you need to do them? If so, what proportion (%) are the assignments for your German class of the time you spend studying?
- Where do you study, and do your assignments for your subject and for your German class (please indicate the location, e.g. library, cafeteria, living room, …)?
- What kind of resources do you use for studying and doing assignments in your subject?
- What kind of resources do you use for studying and doing your assignments for your German class?
- Which strategies (e.g. memorising, taking notes, …) do you use to study for your subject and for your German class?
- Do you use your native language(s) or other language(s) when you study?
- Do you use different languages to study different things, e.g. definitions, formulae, …?
- Do you study in groups? If so, did you look for a group or were you assigned to one?
- Do you like learning in study groups? Why (not)?
- Did you enrol in classes additionally to your course of study, e.g. other languages?
- Do you study in other institutions than university, e.g. in language schools?
- What do you find challenging when you study?
- How can we support your studies?

The results of the pre-study showed, that the actual work-load of the project participants was much higher than the curriculum intended. This result formed part of question no. 6 in the interview guide ("You have already studied in another country. I would like to know how you feel about your current studies in comparison to the one before", appendix A2), to give the interviewees a chance to speak about work-load related changes with regard to family life and their study skills. Furthermore, the pre-study also indicated very high learning motivations accompanied by effective time management techniques and learning strategies that aimed for holistic and profound understanding of the subjects. In response to question no. 7 ("Would you say there are differences between your fellow students and you and how would

you describe them?", appendix A2), many interviewees got back to their learning strategies and time management skills as an advantage in comparison to other students at university. The pre-study also correlated with responses in the interviews of the main study that described how the interviewees showed extensive time management skills to adapt to their new schedules at university, while at the same time supporting their families and/or having part time jobs. Vladyslav (337–338), for example, describes how he and his wife learn in the evenings, after their children went to bed, while Kamile (487–489) explains how she makes use of every minute of her day. It can therefore be concluded from the pre-study that although the participants were managing obligations and duties in addition to their studies, they were very efficient at studying. The interview guide thus did not repeat questions that focused on the interviewee's time management abilities. Rather than comparing the time that the interviewees spent with their studies and with their lives outside of university, the interview guide for this thesis asked the participants to compare their former studying experiences to their current one. Accordingly, the pre-study helped to structure the interview guide in a more suitable way, as it provided useful pre-knowledge. Both the pre-study and the interview-guide served as methods of data collection that were most suitable with regard to the research questions framed in the beginning of the research process. Through the pre-study and the interviews, the data generated was in the scope of the research interest, and at the same time allowed for further findings. Therefore, the means of data collection was in the sense of the hermeneutic approach (section 5.1) as intended by the research questions.

As the project was funded by the independent private foundation *Stiftung Mercator* (section 4.2), it was subject to an external evaluation by *uzbonn*, a professional academic consulting and evaluation service.[58] Their evaluation was not published, but was available to the academic staff of the project in 2013, after the first year of academic requalification. As the evaluation was presented just after I had conducted the first three interviews for my thesis, I could compare the outcomes of the evaluation to the structure of the interview guide with regards to its content. Thus, the evaluation of *uzbonn* was included in piloting my interview guide. The results of the evaluation showed that all participants were satisfied or more than satisfied with their course of studies, and that combining the tutoring for language learning and studies in the field (section 4.2.1) was appreciated. These results correspond with several parts in the piloted interviews. Firstly, it underlines the increase of identification with a profession since the interviewees had taken up their studies (section 6.4.1.2), and secondly, the

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[58] https://www.uzbonn.de/ [2/15/17].

comprehensive tutoring model encouraged the interviewees to speak about all aspects of their studies instead of separating language issues from experiences in the particular field. Furthermore, the evaluation through *uzbonn* showed that none of the participants felt unable to cope with the contents of their studies. This is a relevant finding which is confirmed by the responses of the interviews that I conducted, as no interviewee found the actual course contents too difficult. Dimitros (459–462), for example, states that his former studies and work experiences were beneficial when it comes to understanding specific contents, while Sunita (64–65) points out that there are issues regarding the time frame of tests, but not the required knowledge. The results of the pre-study and the evaluation show that the semi-structured interview guide did not show major deviations, and that it was solidly based on the preceding inquiry and the accompanying evaluation. However, the interview guide was discussed regarding its composition with academic staff who are not involved in this thesis.[59] The interview guide was then considered suitable for the interviews, which was confirmed by the average duration of the interviews of one hour. Nonetheless, I had prepared a slightly different interview guide for Natascha and Meryem, who at the time of the interviews had dropped out of the program and left university to find work. Both agreed to be interviewed, however I changed the questions slightly towards their plans for the future and their experiences during their studies. This interview guide was shorter and did not directly address the participants' reasons to leave university to avoid a confronting situation. Yet both interviewees independently addressed this topic and provided reasons for their decision. As the main topics of the interview guide had not changed, and there were still sufficient responses with regards to previous experiences at university and in professional life, both interviews were coded together with the other interviews.

Since the structure of the project included regularly voluntary counselling for the participants (section 4.2), many informal notes were generated on various occasions during these appointments. The appointments usually began with introductory questions about the current situation of the participant. Counselling would start from a conversation about a specific issue regarding the studies, for example an upcoming assignment or the question whether to enrol in a particular course. Very soon we would then move on to more general topics like the participants' overall impression of their studies, their well-being and how they coped with their other obligations and their course plan. The notes were kept confidential according

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to ethical requirements; they have nonetheless contributed to the composition of the inter-view guide, as they reflected project participants' opinions on the relevant topics of recog-nition of foreign credentials, learning strategies and experiences of study.

5.3.1.2 Interviews and postscripts

From a total number of 30 project participants, 17 agreed to take part in the interviews (sec-tions 4.3 & 5.1.3). Although this might be seen as a small sample compared to the total number of all immigrant graduates who currently live in Germany and are unemployed, Brinkmann & Kvale (2015: 141) convincingly demonstrate the advantage of small N-stud-ies, stating that they were more 'thorough', as they allow for more detailed and in-depth presentation of the cases, and at the same time facilitate conclusions about their societal context. The sample for this thesis was selected for a preferably balanced representation of one half each of female and male interviewees and a proportional representation that re-flected the total number of degrees in engineering and economics in the project from 2012 to 2015. Furthermore, the sample represents a wide variety of countries of origin and pro-fessional experiences (Table 1). The 17 interview participants represent a proportion of 52.94 per cent female and 47.06 per cent male interviewees. Of the 11 interviewees who were enrolled in economics, one interviewee held an additional certificate of professional training in the field of child care. Of the six interviewees who were enrolled in engineering, three held a second degree in economics. Of the total number of 38 project participants from 2012 to 2015, 25 enrolled in economics, 12 enrolled in engineering and one had enrolled in social work.

Table 2: Representation of the interviewees in ratio to the total number of participants of the ProSALAMAN-DER project

Ratio	Nationalities represented	Participants		Enrolment at time of interview		
		Female	Male	Economics	Engineering	Other fields of study
ProSALAMANDER project	17	25	13	25	12	1
Interviews	12	9	8	11 (+ 1 addi-tional certi-fied profes-sional train-ing)	6 (+ 3 second degrees in economics)	0

All participants had graduated with engineering or economics degrees from universities out-side of Germany, and none of them were employed in these fields. At the time of the inter-views, all participants were studying in their field to obtain a German university degree,

which they hoped would be recognised in the highly skilled labour market (section 4.3). The interviewees originated from 12 different countries. In the ProSALAMANDER project as a whole, 17 nationalities were represented. On the basis of the above displayed information about the group of interviewees in proportion to the total number of project participants, the sample size was considered sufficient with regards to representativeness (Mayring 2010: 53) and significance in relation to the total number of immigrant graduates available for the present thesis.

Kruse (2011: 114) recommends post-scripts to capture the impression the interviewer has about the interview just after it is finished. Once the interviewee has left, the interviewer should document those phenomena that cannot be recorded. For this thesis, I completed a post-script after each interview. Besides information about time and place of the interview, I noted my impression of myself and the interview situation in general. I found the former important to critically engage with my role as an interviewer, and for example, I would mention if I had been nervous because it was my first interview or if I felt confident conducting it. The general impression of the interview situation just required a brief note on whether I thought the atmosphere had been open-minded or relaxed. I also took notes on the subjects of conversations before and after the actual interview, for example about upcoming exams. Furthermore, I mentioned the non-verbal aspects I had realised during the interview, such as intensive gestures or little eye contact. The interviewee's focus on topics was documented as well as what I perceived as conspicuous features of the interview. Finally, I summarised the post-script and tried to interpret my observations and my reasons for noting these specific observations. Therefore, I included my role as a researcher and interviewer into my research process and took into account the fact that interviews produce more data than the actual speech that is recorded during its process (Kruse 2011).

5.3.2 Formal characteristics of the data

Participation in the interviews was voluntary and interviewees signed a consent form (appendix A5/A6) prior to their interview. All interviews were conducted in offices on campus, recorded and later transcribed using the GAT2 system (Selting et al. 2009).[60] This 'Conversation Analytic Transcription System' ('*Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem*') is widely used in German-speaking countries, especially for qualitative-oriented interview research (Mayring 2014: 46). Like the Jefferson transcript system (Jefferson 2004), it uses special characters to describe the non-verbal aspects of language, because these non-verbal

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[60] The rules of GAT and an example transcription can be found in the appendix.

aspects are also part of the discursive constructions of meanings, but are not represented in the recordings (Jefferson 2004: 23). So, a GAT2 transcript displays intonations and pauses, thus giving a better retrospective understanding of the interview situation.

The transcription of the interview conveys in written form the interaction that had taken place between the interviewee and me (Ong 2002: 11). But as transcripts translate oral language into written language, an ethical issue arises: how much interpretation is added to the transcript? To meet the requirements of reliability and validity for transcription in qualitative interview research (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 212), the following set of criteria (Kuckartz 2014: 167) was deployed (Table 3):

Table 3 Implementation of quality criteria for transcripts

Quality criteria for transcription (Kuckartz 2014)	Implementation of quality criteria for transcription in this thesis
Data recording	All interviews were audio recorded after signing a consent form
Use of transcription rules	GAT2 transcription rules were used. The comprehensive transcripts of all interviews did not summarise or select passages and tried to be true to original as far as possible
Procedure of transcription	The audio recordings were transcribed by a third person to maintain a more neutral perspective on the data
Transcription software	F4 for qualitative research projects[61]
Accessibility/transparency of transcription guidelines	The transcription guidelines were discussed with the third person who transcribed the interviews. These guidelines are also attached in the appendix
Correspondence of oral language and transcript	All transcripts were discussed with regards to the recording. If in doubt, words were left untranscribed and marked as not comprehensible

These guidelines ensured that the inevitable degree of subjectivity entailed through the transcription process was kept to a minimum. In addition, my analysis does not focus on a micro-linguistic level of speech, but focuses instead on the general aspects of conversation strategies, meaning that highlights such as intonation helped to better understand the transcripts prior to the formation of categories for the coding process.

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[61] https://www.audiotranskription.de/english/f4-analyse [01/07/2017].

5.3.3 Indentation of data and theory: differentiation of the research interest and direction of analysis

Benitt (2014: 94) argues that research questions are the 'constant companions of the researcher', guiding the process of research and focusing the exploration of the field in relation to the theoretical background underlying each research project. Proposing criteria for research from an interpretivist perspective, Angen (2000: 387) notes that the research question must be considered carefully and that the self-reflection of the researcher on the background and influences of the study contributes to its validation (2000: 390). In applying the structured methodology of QCA the researcher carries out each step of the analysis with regards to the pre-formulated research question (Mayring 2014; Kuckartz 2014; Schreier 2012). Mayring (2014: 10) argues that without a 'specification [of the research question], the research process remains arbitrary'. It can be argued that in a qualitative research process, the preformulation of a specific research question and related hypotheses is difficult as the explorative nature of a qualitative research project requires a commitment to the discovery of both new insights and unexpected findings. However, a precise research question does not exclude the researcher's openness, but instead focuses it and challenges preformulated assumptions about the data. A self-reflective approach to these challenges and an emphasis on whether or not the researcher's expectations were met, contradicted or expanded will significantly contribute to the validity of a research project.

Although the aforementioned openness of the researcher is a key factor in any qualitative research project, theoretical assumptions are not only inevitable (how else would a research interest in a certain phenomenon arise?), but also necessary in order to direct the research project towards a certain kind of data collection. In the case of this thesis, various tutoring sessions with the participants of the requalification project ProSALAMANDER (section 4.5) contributed to my assumption that an ongoing lack of acknowledgement of foreign university degrees had resulted in an absence of a confident professional identity on the part of the interviewees.

The data for this study are derived from interviews about professional lives before and after migration to Germany. Nohl et al. (2014: 4) have argued that 'the insufficient incorporation of highly skilled migrants into key institutions … has cast a dark shadow on the promises of equal opportunities for newcomers and minorities', which suggests that the discourse on skills shortage and the recognition of foreign degrees would be reflected in the interviews. It is therefore of crucial interest to explore the experiences of immigrant graduates in the light of their 'insufficient incorporation' into the German labour market. By the time of the

interviews, I was already aware of the general context of migration to Germany and the skills shortage in the fields of engineering and economics, and my opinions about the experienced lack of recognition of foreign degrees in Germany were shaped by the daily practice of my work in the project. Furthermore, the question of belonging to, or being excluded from a professional community, seemed to influence the way in which the interviewees thought about themselves as professionals (Slay & Smith 2011). As described in section 4.5, two research questions emerged from my research interest described above:

1.   What kind of strategies did the interviewees use to support the discursive construction of their professional identities?

2.   How did the respondents demonstrate agency in discursive constructions of professional identities?

All interviewees were encouraged to report on their current situation as a student with a professional background, and as an immigrant graduate in Germany. The main focus was how they felt about not being employed in the field they qualified for. In the analysis of this thesis, I describe and compare strategies demonstrated by the respondents to construct a professional identity. Therefore, I elected to use type-building content analysis as this is the most suitable analytical tool for the aim of this study.

5.3.4   Type-building in interview cases

There are various definitions and applications of the terms *type* and *case* (source). For instance, both *type* and *case* can mean a person, or an aspect of an interview with this person, for example, reflected in one answer. Whether a case study focuses on one person (see for example Lamnek 2016 for the interpretation and reconstruction of biographies), a situation (Baacke 1995: 45 for case studies in pedagogy) or a company (see Akca, Bruns, Fromen & Zelewski 2012 in the field of economics), it usually consists of observation, presentation and analysis of cases, aiming for an understanding of the individual case in relation to others (Binneberger 1985; Baacke 1995). In this thesis, I refer to the terminology of case as one interview. In the analysis, I discuss the case of Lya in further detail (section 6.4), meaning that Lya's interview is analysed in depth, and is compared to other cases of interviews conducted for this study.

The term *case* originates in the research approach of case studies, which in general can imply various methods and examines cases contextually. Case studies can describe the field or help to generate a theoretical concept based on the study (Hussy et al. 2013: 199), depending on

their specific purposes and the fields of study, for example economics, sociology, psychology or politics. In his book, *Case study research methods*, Gillham (2000) describes four attributes that characterise a case. These attributes are quoted in Table 4, with examples pertinent to this study.

Table 4 Attributes of the case study at hand (see Gillham 2000)

Attributes that characterise a case (Gillham, 2000: 1)	Attributes that characterise the case in the study at hand
A unit of human activity embedded in the real world	17 immigrant graduates in a requalification project at the University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany
Unit can only be studied or understood in context	Interview participants had to join the project to better their chances on the highly skilled labour market, as they had been unemployed in the field of their studies since migrating to Germany. At the same time, there is a public discourse about skills shortage
Unit merges with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw	The interviewees cope with their current situation in different ways; the construction of confident professional identities varies according to migration and employment context

Within one interview case however, the interviewees developed various strategies to construct professional identity. These strategies are referred to as strategy *types*. This means that the term *type* stands for a kind of strategy that is used as verbal means within the discursive interaction of the interview. Contrary to a *case*, a *type* in this thesis is not a type of person (Kelle & Kluge 2010: 86). It describes a type of strategy that one person develops or uses. The interviews exhibited a variety of responses, hence one interview case consisted of multiple strategy types of interaction (Kelle & Kluge 2010: 86). Within Lya's interview for example, a certain strategy type was coded nine times. This strategy type is the one that displays hindered intentions to develop agency, and the conclusion of the repetitive occurrence of this type in Lya's case will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Because the interview cases in this thesis showed many different types of strategies to construct professional identities, a type-forming content analysis (Kuckartz 2014: 118) was considered best to reflect the diversity and depth of the different types. By building types, I was able to explore and organise the hypotheses (Kelle & Kluge 2010: 10) that were generated inductively from the interview data and deductively with regards to the research context. The type formation was undertaken to explain phenomena that I came across in my research, and its processes are explained below.

5.4 Type-building content analysis

Type-building (e.g. Kuckartz 2014; Mayring 2014) or type formation (Kelle & Kluge 2010, Kluge 2000)) allows both a comparative description and detailed analysis of representative or outstanding types. An established representative of a type formation is that of Jahoda, Lazarsfeld & Zeisel (1975), whose 1931 'Marienthal study' involved unique and extensive fieldwork to study unemployment in the community of Marienthal in Austria.[62] The study analysed ethnographic and statistical data as well as questionnaires, interviews, action research and tests, and as a result the researchers formed four types of families which dealt with unemployment and its varied impact on their lives, namely: the unbroken, the resigned, the despairing, and the apathetic (1975: 73), and the different ways in which they dealt with unemployment. Constructing a typology was largely introduced by Max Weber (1988: 191), whose 'ideal type' *('Idealtypus')* accentuated certain characteristics of ideal behaviour as a representation of social reality. Alfred Schütz (1971) assumed that we see the typical aspects of our world in everyday life, and claimed type-building processes to be an immanent component of social interaction that would help individuals form their own particular world views. In Qualitative Content Analysis, typologies are constructed to condense results of scientific research (Kuckartz 2014; Schreier 2012). Typologies consist of types, and types are formed on the basis of homogenous attributes. One type exists of several homogenous attributes, which are exclusive to one type and will not be assigned to another type. All attributes of one type describe it, and make it different to other types. That means that types are homogenous within themselves, but heterogeneous towards other types. Hence, different types can be contrasted to and compared with each other (Kuckartz 2014: 118; Mayring 2014: 106; Kelle & Kluge 2010: 85). In this thesis, the typology consists of four types (section 6.3), which link the understanding of a singular case—one interview—to larger sociological structures underlying it (Kuckartz 2014: 118).

The type-building content analysis is a mixed procedure in QCA, combining the two basic procedures of inductive and deductive data analysis (Mayring 2014: 105). Its aim is to illustrate different aspects or dimensions of one type that has been identified with the help of a coding process. The identification, description and comparison of discursive strategies of identity constructions requires a typology that consists of types that are both sufficient and well-defined, such that the contrasting of different strategy types reflects the majority of the

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[62] Further information on the study can be found in the Archives for the History of Sociology in Austria http://agso.uni-graz.at/marienthal/e/study/00.htm [2/15/17].

interview participants. At the same time, rare strategies need to be considered as well, as they can still be an important contribution to the analysis. Therefore, the typology of the study at hand aims for variation in data and heterogeneity of types (Kluge 2000). Generally, Kuckartz (2014: 120) distinguishes between the three typologies of homogeneity, reducibility and heterogeneity, stating that the first two are more artificially formed from theoretical attributes, whereas the third one emanates directly from empirical data (2014: 122). Hence, the typology in this thesis is empirically grounded (Kluge 2000).

I have described the aim of the typology as one that should consist of sufficient heterogeneous types to grasp various discursive strategies within one interview and across all interviews. Accordingly, all relevant parts of the interviews were coded under this aspect. In the coding process, the type-building content analysis helped to identify strategies that were used by the interviewees to support their discursive constructions of professional identities. To this effect, the coding frame directly responded to the first aspect of my research question concerning the kind of strategies my interviewees used to support the discursive construction of their professional identities. As the second aspect of my research question addressed the manner in which agency was demonstrated in my respondents' constructions of professional identities, I chose to extend the typology of strategy types and locate metaphors that displayed the interviewees' agency. I had already realised very early in the interview process that metaphors helped to illustrate certain responses, and after the close readings of all interview transcripts it became obvious that a fair number of these metaphors related to obstacles, success, adaption and feelings of regaining self-esteem. They are therefore closely connected to the typology and its four strategy types of adapting, resigning, disclosing and regaining strategy types. After I had defined the attributes of each type (section 6.2) and coded all transcripts according to these attributes, I formed the typology of four types that were scientifically interesting, because they relate to the situational context of immigrant graduates in Germany (section 4.2), and they all correlate with the symbolic-interactionist approach to how larger social structures and individuals mutually influence the co-construction of reality (section 3.1). After a further dimensionalisation of the types that were represented in the coding frame, the typology was redefined with regards to further empirical findings. Figure 4 displays these steps and illustrates that the metaphors that occurred in the interviews became vital for the detailed description of the typology and the discussion of the findings (section 6.4).
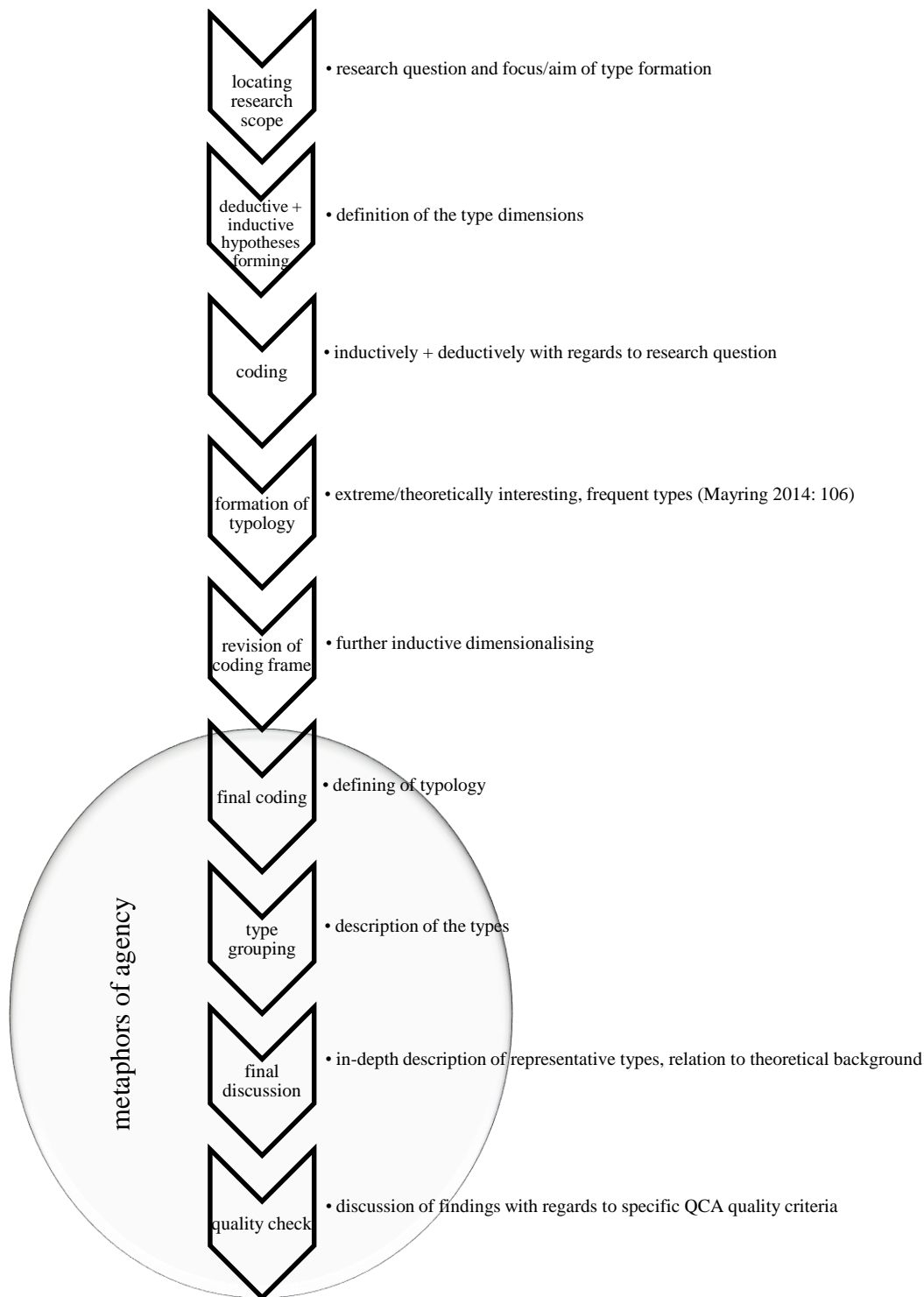
Figure 4: Type formation process in the present thesis

On the basis of the symbolic-interactionist approach that understands social reality as co-constructed in interaction, I have deduced the theoretical differentiation of my research interest (5.3.3) and assumed that professional identity is discursively constructed within the interviews, and that these identity constructions at the same time reflect the situational context they are located in. This assumption has substantiated my choice for QCA as a method-

ology, because it combines both inductive findings (emanating from the discursive interaction) and theoretical background (derived from the context that frames the interview situation). QCA has then served to locate strategies of discursive constructions of professional identities. To approach the second aspect of my research interest, which is how my respondents demonstrated agency in discursive constructions of professional identities, the strategy types are examined with regards to metaphors of agency.

The approach to metaphors underlying this thesis is that of Lakoff & Johnson (1980): 'metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but in thought and action' (1980: 3). As such, metaphors are not a linguistic means, but represent concepts of everyday thinking and acting, which is why they are conceptual metaphors. Following an interactionist approach to metaphors (Black 1954), Lakoff & Johnson argue in their Conceptual Metaphor Theory that metaphors are not only cognitive means that enhance understanding of things, but that experiences in everyday life influence concepts that we have and that are then represented in conceptual metaphors (1980: 5). Metaphors not only create meaning, but are influenced by meaning that was created in interaction (Hausman 1991: 25). They refer to co-constructed meanings to explain abstract concepts. Hence, conceptual metaphor theory is based on an interactionist practice of co-constructed meaning as described in chapter 3 in this thesis. It therefore complements the theoretical framework and the methodology of a type-building content analysis. In the following section, I give an overview of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

5.5   Conceptual metaphors

Conceptual metaphors consist of two conceptual domains, where one conceptual domain is used to understand the other (Kövesces & Benczes 2010: 23). Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 454) use the examples of 'argument is war' to demonstrate how conceptual metaphors are reflected in everyday language by similar expressions that all are within this concept. Their examples 'I've never won an argument with him' and 'Your claims are indefensible' are from a multitude of expressions that belong to the conceptual metaphor 'argument is war' (ibid.). Lakoff & Johnson point out that arguments are often structured like 'war' to refer to what is actually done with the argument, such as losing it, or winning it (1980: 455). They furthermore argue that it is our culture that has developed the conceptual metaphor of war as an argument, that a different culture could use different conceptual metaphors in terms of arguing and that the conceptual metaphors around defending and attacking one's own or

other's arguments has become a part of everyday life in our culture (ibid.), which is why often conceptual metaphors are not perceived as stylistic means in language.

The source and the target domain of metaphors are not interchangeable (Kövesces & Benczes 2010: 28), as the more tangible concept explains the abstract one. Lakoff & Johnson's war-related idea of attacking someone else's weak point in an argument (1980: 454) refers to the way in which contradictory arguments are structured, and that in a discussion one tries to find the 'weak point', which is then be 'attacked' in order to convince or criticise. The source domains 'attack' and 'weak point' can explain the target domain of the argument, because they are paired through a set of mappings. Mappings are correspondences between elements that constitute concepts of the target domain and the source domain (Kövesces & Benczes 2010: 29). Corresponding elements between 'attacking', 'weak point' and 'argument' are that not very solid structured arguments or unconvincing aspects of them are easier to point at, which makes them easier to contradict. These aspects of an argument can be attacked, or contradicted, with better and stronger arguments, so that finally an argument is 'lost', like a battle. Because 'attack' and 'weak point' refer to a set of parameters that are not related to the linguistic aspect of the word, but to its concept in reality, the metaphor is a conceptual one. The parameters that describe a battle, for instance, can be related to time and space (Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen 2007), e.g. the intensity with which the weak point is attacked and where within the argument it is located. Thus, the source domains 'attack' and 'weak point' are related experiences. Mappings are often conventional and metaphors emanate from everyday language use (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 139). Therefore, Feldman & Narayanan (2004) have suggested that as conceptual mappings are based on common perceptions of reality, there are neural mappings located in the brain, which are similar to these conceptual mappings. This means that many metaphors are actually based on concepts that are similar across cultures. Lakoff & Wehling (2009: 16), for example, argue that we describe prices as *rising*, because the multiplication of quantities is related to height, a common concept, which they find valid for most cultures. Metaphors become means of everyday language and help to support individual points of view. For this reason, I consider Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the most suitable approach to examine how the participants of my study refer to agency in order to construct professional identities. Conceptual metaphors become a way of expressing abstract experiences in a more direct way. Contrary to phenomena of unemployment, underemployment, lack of participation and recognition, metaphorical expressions are more precise (Kövesces & Benczes 2010: 38) and enable the speaker to emphasize their point. This is an important factor, as the interviewees, who chose to answer the

interviews in German, were non-native speakers. Conceptual metaphors not only enabled the interviewees to explain 'their inner world' (Kram at al. 2012: 311), but more importantly supported the narration of their experiences and served as a means of argumentation (Pielenz 1993). Furthermore, metaphors can enable a change of perspectives (Lindemann & Rosenbohm 2012) on a shared experience. Trying to convince someone of a different point of view is an experience that many share, not everyone – or every culture – might characterise this experience as "war". In this way, "attacking" a "weak point" does not only metaphorically explain the abstract target domain of reasoning itself, but also allows to see with which perspective, in this case a war-related one, a discussion is perceived.

In the following section, I introduce the means of orientational metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14) and personification as particularly relevant for the display of agency in discursive constructions of professional identities.

5.6 Displaying agency through metaphors and personification

Orientational metaphors organise 'a whole system of concepts with respect to one another' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14). In contrast to structural metaphors, which structure single concepts (1980: 10), they are more abstract and sometimes vary across cultures, as 'future', for example, can be in front of us, but in some cultures, it is behind (1980: 14). This means that orientational metaphors are strongly related to physical and cultural experiences and context. In this thesis, professional success, participation and knowledge are concepts that have been experienced similarly by the interviewees. In chapter 3, I defined agency and participation as well as the recognition and validation of professional skills as crucial for the construction of professional identities. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 15) suggest certain special orientations that correspond to experiences of participation and agency. I will explicate them with regards to their relevance for the present thesis and relate them to metaphors used by my respondents.

Good is up; bad is down

This metaphorical concept involves expressions that are understood as good, for example happiness, wellbeing, a positive attitude in life, a positive notion of control, and success. They are conceptualised as 'up' or elevated in contrast to those concepts that relate to negative experiences. Mappings of the latter as 'down' or low explain pessimistic emotions, as exemplified by Andrej (302–303):

> 'Then I thought: it's starting now. But it all went downhill. Therefore, I couldn't move up.'

Having control or force is up; being subject to control or force is down

Metaphors of force or control in this thesis express experiences of power and agency. Typically, these experiences relate to situations of involvement, to intentions that are motivated through, and to situations in which the interviewees describe how they took a choice in favour or against something. Also, feelings of regaining control are expressed with orientational metaphors that correlate with height. In contrast, experiences of a lack of choice or participation are described through metaphors that represent lowliness. These experiences occurred in situations in which the interviewees were confronted with their agency being hindered, or their involvement being low. In these instances, social interaction is perceived as asymmetric, and imbalanced (Pielenz 1993).

> "[…] when I come here, people people treat me at eye level" („[...] wenn ich hier hinkomme, behandeln die Menschen mich auf einer Augenhöhe." Kamile: 208)

High status is up; low status is down

Because of the insufficient recognition of foreign degrees on the labour market as described in chapter 2, most of the interviewees had perceived their individual skills as inadequate. Therefore, they used metaphors describing their individual status or knowledge as either 'up' or 'down', increasing or decreasing. Skills and degrees were mostly displayed as high when they referred to those obtained in Germany, whereas their foreign degrees and unrecognised skills were presented as low. This is exemplified by Sunita (223–225):

> 'Because here you are set to zero, you start from zero. Nobody knows what you have done and also nobody knows what you can do and what you cannot do.'

Although orientational metaphors are considered as a 'rich basis' for grasping concepts (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 25), experiences are often referred to in a more physical understanding of entities. Thus, more abstract feelings and experiences are encompassed in a concrete physical representation that is traceable. Personifications are an obvious way to refer to abstract phenomena by seeing them as human beings (1980: 33). For example, Iannis (56–60) states that after having left Germany with his parents to move back to Greece, 'now, well history brings us, fate brings us back here again'. His personification turns both history and fate into an animate being that determined his return to Germany. Instead of stating that the financial crisis was his reason to come back to Germany, he demonstrates how this crisis acted towards him. He understands history and fate as those who brought him back and thus

explains the complexity of the crisis and its consequences in a way that is understandable for him and—in the discursive interview situation—his counterpart.

The aforementioned examples show how metaphorical means help to locate individual agency and participation in the context of the interviews. They help to gain access to a further layer in the discursive constructions of professional identities.

5.7   Summary

In this chapter, the considerations and conclusions that preceded and determined the research process, particularly the data interpretation, have been introduced. I have provided an overview of the strengths of a qualitative research project, showing that, although the study was 'limited' to 17 participants, I reached saturation, and modified the research instrument of a semi-structured interview guide with the help of a pre-study. The main characteristics of Qualitative Content Analysis have been introduced, and furthermore, I have explained my motives for choosing this methodology that focuses on aspects of a research question that had been set at the beginning of the coding process. Moreover, the reasons for a type-building content analysis and the steps involved in it have been presented. On this basis, I have argued for the inclusion of an analysis of orientational metaphors that display agency and participation as a professional. The metaphorical level of identity constructions will be discussed in the example of Lya's case. Her use of metaphors supports the location of narrations of agency and professional participation within the individual strategy types of professional identity construction. Thus, they add depth and breadth to the typology, which is introduced in the following chapter.

6 Data analysis

The analysis of the interviews conducted for this study was carried out in several steps, following the procedure of a type-building content analysis. The purpose of the type formation was to find similarities and contrasts in strategy types that were used discursively, in the interviews, to construct professional identity. In addition to about 15 interview hours, postscripts (appendix A7/A8) and various notes were taken during the study and the career counselling appointments I had with several of the interview participants (section 4.5).

The interviews form the core of this study, and they were all coded with the computer-based text analysis program QCAmap[63] (Mayring 2014: 117) based on the techniques of Qualitative Content Analysis (section 5.2.1) and including a validity check of all findings by testing the stability of the coding frame which was applied to the data. Because re-testing reliability is an important requirement of qualitative research, chapter 6 will describe this step in detail.

QCAmap is described as distinct from other content analytical computer programs as it assists the researcher with each step of the analysis. QCA is rule-bound and systematic (Schreier 2012: 5), and it is crucial to the success of the analysis that each step is followed in sequence. QCAmap builds on the systematic nature of QCA, and assists the researcher to clarify each step of the analysis process. It does so by asking the researcher to set the research question first, then define the extension of text units to be coded, followed by requiring a definition of categories and their level of abstraction. The coding process of the project cannot start if any of the preparatory steps have not been accomplished (Mayring 2014: 117).[64] The preparatory steps that I set for my project were the following (Figure 6):

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[63] https://www.qcamap.org/ [4/4/17]

[64] An overview over the basic procedures of QCAmap can also be found in the introductory slides: http://www.qualitative-content-analysis.org/software/ [17/2/17].

Figure 5: Preparatory steps prior to the coding

As the methodology aims to reduce data with regards to the research interest, only those text units relevant to the research question are available for analysis after the coding process. This process helped to develop a distant perspective and choose the relevant text passages for the analysis. I review the methodological steps that prepare the analysis in section 6.1.

In the first step of the type-building content analysis, I examined all coded text units and the frequency of each strategy type. Based on the frequency analysis, I grouped several strategy types together and described their dimensions and limitations. This step is explained in section 6.2. In the next step, I developed a typology that shows how strategy types can serve four different purposes in a discursive interaction. The typology is described in section 6.3. Subsequently, section 6.4 characterises individual cases of interviewees and compares and contrasts strategy types used to construct professional identities. They serve as representatives and will be regarded in the context of the other interviews. The results of the analysis, a quadrivalent typology of co-constructed professional identities, are discussed with reference to quality criteria in section 6.6. A condensed overview of all interviews, including additional information derived from counselling protocols is included in appendix A12. In section 6.4, Lya's case is discussed in more depth as an example. Unfortunately, not all cases can be discussed with regards to the manifold insights they offered and topics that were raised. Further research will be dedicated to the various aspects that do not lie within the scope of the research question structuring this thesis. The Qualitative Content Analysis was

carried out to describe different types of professional identity constructions (section 5.4). The aim of the typology is to give a multifaceted demonstration of strategies that help to construct professional identities discursively. In the following, I review how the strategy types and their dimensions relate to the research question. I also provide a rationale for the selection of the text units that proved to be relevant for the research question.

6.1 Linking research question and type formation

In the research process of the study at hand, the research interest in how immigrant graduates discursively construct professional identities was differentiated into two 'sub-components' (Mayring 2014: 59), as described in section 5.3.3:

1. What kind of strategies did the interviewees use to support the discursive construction of their professional identities?

2. How did the respondents demonstrate agency in discursive constructions of professional identities?

While the first differentiation focuses on the sort of strategy that supports discursive constructions of professional identities, the second question assumes that agency is related to these constructions. In chapter 3, I defined agency and professional participation as fundamentally important for a self-confident construction of professional identities in the case of my interview participants. Hence, the second question locates expressions of agency and participation displayed within the construction of professional identity. The theoretical differentiation of the first component of my research interest emanates from studies on mechanisms that helped professionals to manage expectations related to their professional roles (section 3.3). As described in chapter 3, constructions of professional identities develop in, and are influenced by, interactions within professional communities. These interactions also serve as validation for professional identities through others and by oneself. In these processes, strategies that help to construct, maintain, alter or deconstruct professional identities manage gaps between conceptions of a professional and their actual performance.

The theoretical differentiation of the second component of my research interest focuses on agency in terms of participation in professional communities (section 3.2), and its impact on constructions of professional identities. As the participants of the present study have mostly not had the opportunity to participate in professional communities in Germany, demonstrations of hindered and prospective participation should be identified as well.

Both components of the research question were defined before I started the coding, according to the general procedural rules of QCA (Mayring 2014: 53). As outlined in section 5.2.1, the research question in QCA and its theoretical differentiations are reflected in the coding frame, which is applied to the interviews to find text units that are relevant to answer the research question. This procedure is called coding, and it is done in proximity to the actual text. While reading the transcripts, text units are marked and then assigned to categories. Each category is an attribute that will later be bundled in a strategy type together with similar attributes. The step of marking a text unit and assigning a category to it is exemplified by the following response of Lya. Only a part of it, which was relevant to the research questions, was coded.

> For example, when I, there are some modules, they have several numbers at our department, for example '2, 3, 4', and they always have something to do with each other. Yes, there is always a correlation between them. And then now for example I'm doing 'Siwawi' [note E.S.: abbreviation for sanitary environmental engineering, *'Siedlungswasserwirtschaft'*], I already did 'Siwawi 3' and now we have 'Siwawi 4'. There is not much correlation between them. **But when I need that, I know where to find it.** (Lya 334–340)

I highlighted the last sentence of the response, which was coded under the category *I ask if I need help/I know where to get help*, whereas the rest of the response was not coded and was therefore not considered in the analysis. The category *I ask if I need help/I know where to get help* is the first level of abstraction from the transcript. It was defined inductively while I used the open-source program QCAmap to code the interview transcripts. Once the process of coding has been finalised, all categories are assigned to main categories. While the terminology in QCAmap is congruent to content analytical methods in defining categories as the labels assigned to text units and main categories as the main label several categories can be grouped within, in this thesis I use a slightly different terminology that corresponds with the *type-building* content analysis I carried out. This is not to contradict the terminology suggested in QCAmap, but to adapt it to the purposes of a type formation, and demonstrate the flexibility of the methodology of QCA and the way in which it supports the process of a type-building content analysis. In Table 5, I transformed the terminology used in QCAmap to a terminology that suits the aspects of typology. The table shows the procedures of a type-building content analysis and a coding in QCAmap with regards to the level of abstraction. The level of abstraction in this table refers to the level to which the actual transcript of the interview is still vital for the type-building and coding. On a low level of abstraction, the transcript is the basis of defining a strategy type, or a category. If the strategy type or the

category are read in the transcript, this text unit is coded to the category and the strategy type respectively. On a medium level of abstraction, the categories and attributes that have been coded in the preceding step are grouped under a strategy type, or a main category. Thus, one strategy type consists of several attributes and one main category consists of several categories. On a high level of abstraction, a typology is developed on the basis of strategy types. The actual text unit in the transcript does not have a high relevance here. In QCAmap, this is a level in which the procedure proceeds to the analysis of the coding. Table 5 uses the example of one attribute (*I ask if I need help/I know where to get help*) to illustrate how it was grouped under the strategy type *Involvement*, that later formed part of the typology of regaining strategies.

Table 5: System of categories and types

Level of abstraction from transcripts	Procedure in type-building content analysis	Comparable to	Procedure of coding in QCAmap	Example	→	Aim
High level of abstraction	Typology	→	Procedure of analysis	Grouping of regaining strategies	→	Structures data
Medium level of abstraction	Strategy type	→	Main category	Involvement	→	Reflects theoretical data and empirical data
Low level of abstraction	Attribute of strategy type	→	Category	I ask if I need help/I know where to get help	→	Finds relevant text units in the interviews

To summarise, I refer to main categories in this thesis as strategy types that construct professional identities. All categories are attributes that describe strategy types and characterise their dimension. That means that in the case of the abovementioned example, the category *I ask if I need help/I know where to get help* becomes an attribute that describes the strategy type *Involvement*.

In the coding process of the present study, several strategy types were developed deductively from the theoretical basis of this thesis (Figure 3) and then applied to the transcribed interviews. During the same process, the coding frame was extended and enriched with strategy types that originated from the empirical data (Mayring 2014: 106). Thus, the coding frame reflects the data and its context in a multilayered way, as it holds a bottom-up approach from the data and a top-down perspective from the theoretical background of the research project. Assumptions could be specified by findings from the actual data, which corresponds with the dynamic nature of interviews and reflects the hermeneutical approach to empirical data

in qualitative research (section 5.1). This circular perception of data follows a process of theoretical preconception and elaborated preconception based on the understanding of the empirical data, which leads to a more holistic further understanding (Danner 2006: 57) and thus adds objectivity to the qualitative analysis (Mayring 2014).

6.2   Discursive strategy types and their dimensions

In the following, all strategy types of professional identity constructions in this thesis are presented. They were formed deductively from theory about the notion of professional identity (section 3.2), from findings about its constructions (section 3.4), and also inductively in a data-driven process. Each strategy type is displayed together with its dimensions. The dimension of one type is all its attributes. To relate the attributes to the interviews they were coded in, they are exemplified with quotes. Some strategy types occurred very frequently in the interviews, while other strategy types and their attributes were not used as frequently. They are, however, relevant to the analysis, as this thesis does not aim for a frequency description, but for a holistic understanding of the interviews in their context. This holistic understanding is only possible if the analysis of frequently used discursive strategy types includes the consequences drawn from the infrequent use of discursive strategies types (Kracauer 1953). The table below gives an overview of the average use of strategy types in the interviews. It is a complete list of all strategy types coded in all 17 interviews. A more detailed presentation of absolute and relative frequencies and the second coding that was carried out as a quality check can be found in appendix A11.

Table 6: Overview over the average occurrence of strategy types and the frequency of their attributes in the total number of 17 interviews. Duplicates have later been added up, their percentage has not changed (appendix A11).

Strategy type	Attribute	% of 17 interviews
appreciation		52.9%
	I appreciate myself	76.5%
	Others appreciate me	29.4%
choices		41.2%
	I look after myself now	17.6%
	I make choices	76.5%
	I make choices	29.4%
disparate comparison		20.6%
	I am not...	35.3%
	I am just a ...	5.9%
duties		32.4%
	I had/have duties in my family	29.4%
	My duties limit me	35.3%
hindered intentions		35.3%
	I planned my career but something stopped it	58.8%
	I cannot express myself in German/English appropriately	29.4%
	I feel/felt lost	29.4%
	I did not have any option	23.5%
intentions		31.4%
	I (want to) learn English	5.9%
	I use strategies to become better	64.7%
	I received something and I want to give it back	11.8%
	I would like to work as.../ I hope to have chances in...	76.5%
	I want a German diploma	17.6%
	I (want to) learn English	11.8%
involvement		33.3%
	others do not learn/speak enough German/English	23.5%
	I ask if I need help/I know where to get help	52.9%
	I help others	23.5%
language learning and practice		20.6%
	I use German/English	23.5%
	I understand English/a third foreign language	17.6%
	I use German/English	11.8%
	I use German/English	5.9%
	I learned German/English	17.6%
	I learned German/English	47.1%
external influences		27.1%
	I have to prove myself to earn respect from others	5.9%
	The rythm/structure of my life has been changed	11.8%
	A chance was offered to me	41.2%
	The rythm/structure of my life has been changed	47.1%
	someone's choice changed my situation	29.4%
studies and career		58.8%
	This is what I studied before I came to Germany	82.4%
	I worked before I came to Germany	76.5%
	I do/did an internship/part-time job related to my field of studies	17.6%

In the following section, the strategy types are discussed according to their order in Table 6. All tables that display the strategy types are structured similarly: they give information about the name of the strategy type and its dimension, and whether the dimensions have been formed deductively (theory-driven) or inductively (data-driven). Then, all attributes of the strategy type are defined and exemplified with quotes from the interviews.

6.2.1 Appreciation

This strategy type is coded for text units that express appreciation or validation from others (externally) or from oneself (internally). The dimension of *Appreciation* ranges from *I appreciate myself* to *Others appreciate me*. Its definition is influenced by Pratt's (2012) findings on how feedback on work performance and validation of work roles is considered to

affect the identity constructions of professionals. While the strategy type *Appreciation* occurred in more than half of the interviews on average (52.9 per cent), its attribute *I appreciate myself* was used more than twice as much (76.5 per cent)[65] as the attribute *Others appreciate me* (29.4 per cent). I consider distinguishing between self-appreciation and external appreciation to be important, because some interviews had a high occurrence of external appreciation, and a relatively low corresponding occurrence of inner appreciation. On other occasions, both attributes were clearly related to each other and occurred to a corresponding extent. In other words, external and internal validation did not necessarily always occur together and thus were coded with two different attributes.

Table 7: Strategy type *Appreciation*

Strategy type	
Appreciation	
Dimension	
I appreciate myself	Others appreciate me
Deductive	Deductive
Attributes	
- expressions in the line of regarding oneself with pride, feeling better than before, recognising a success and telling others about studying again - text units in which the interviewee described enjoying what he or she was doing	- expressions of how others let the interviewee know that what they do is appreciated - descriptions of how the interviewees feel that others take them more seriously - examples of positive feedback from friends, family, colleagues, students, professors, or strangers
Examples	
'I feel so powerful and so happy. And more valuable, you can say. And simply that I have the opportunity to do all that. A couple of years ago, I was the same person. But I did not have such an opportunity. And with this opportunity, I'm worth more and I have this feeling that you can do everything and achieve everything.'	'And he said: No, no, no, not, that's good. I would have done the same. I also studied when I was forty years old. I worked as a nurse and then he studied, and therefore I think, well, why not?'
Source	
Seherzada 387–392	Rustam 506–510

6.2.2 Choices

The conception of this strategy type was used in 41.2 per cent of all interviews and is inspired by my working and tutoring experience in the ProSALAMANDER project, and then defined by research on strategies that deal with expectations attached by others. Thus, the strategy type *Choices* is a counterpart to the above-described strategy type *Hindered intentions*. Rather than adapting to the expectations, those strategies help to create and shape own interpretations of roles at work (Pratt et al. 2006; Slay & Smith 2011; Tomer & Mishra 2016). I

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[65] 82.4 per cent after the second coding.

understand these findings as indicating that by recognising and taking choices, the interview participants involved agency and thus created a self-image that was less dependent on other people or circumstances. Instead, they knew about options and chose between them both in private as well as in a professional context.

An example for how my work experience influenced the formation of the strategy type *Choices* is the notes that I took during the counselling of participants who were arranging their timetables (section 4.4). Because they had mostly graduated in education systems that did not encourage a free choice of university subjects (Table 1), this was experienced as challenging in the beginning, but quickly turned into what most described as an advantage. Vladyslav's appreciation for his choices serves as an example for similar text units coded under this attribute (Table 8).

Another example for the attribute *I make choices* is the choice against an opportunity. After the interviewees took up their studies, some started looking for part-time jobs or apprentice-ships, to support their studies or to gain practical knowledge in addition to their studies. In fact, internships are encouraged by the university and promoted on its website.[66] In some cases, however, the participants decided against a job opportunity because it was not com-patible with their course of studies or their timetables. With regards to findings that immi-grant graduates face difficulties obtaining employment in their field of graduation (section 2.2), and that it often takes time to re-enter the labour market (Nohl, Ofner & Thomsen 2007; Henkelmann 2010, 2012), the decision to decline a job offer suggests a strong identification with their studies and the aspired degree and was therefore added to the attribute of *I make choices*.

After a closer study of the transcripts, the dimension of the strategy type *Choices* was com-pleted by the attribute *I look after myself now*, which, although it was a less dominant attrib-ute (17.6 per cent appearance within the strategy type *Choices*), was considered to be im-portant as it adds a personal level to *Choices*. Especially when familial duties were involved, the years after migration meant standing back from personal career plans for some of the interview participants (section 4). Coordinating and establishing life after migration (Breck-ner 2009) delayed professional development and interrupted the positioning on the highly skilled labour market (Henkelmann 2012). Therefore, I *look after myself now* rounds the

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[66] https://www.uni-due.de/en/job_offers.php [4/4/17].

dimension of the strategy type *Choices*, as it focuses less on an actual choice and more on a self-esteem that was enhanced through participation in the academic re-qualification project.

Table 8: Strategy type *Choices*

Strategy type	
Choices	
Dimension	
I look after myself now	I make choices
Inductive	Deductive
Attributes	
• descriptions of how participants consider their own wishes and needs • follow-up of (career) plans • text units contain personal pronoun in first person singular (I/me/ myself)	• all descriptions of choices for or against options at university or in a work situation, or in a private situation related to university or work • active mood of a verb, e.g. to make, to choose • expressions of clear agreement or disagreement and thus choosing for or against an option
Examples	
'My children are number one for me, I have done a lot for them. My children's success is also my success. And now these studies, this is something only for me, that I can do something only for myself.'	Example 1: 'Political science for example. I studied political science at the Technical University and at the University of Law. But for engineers, many of these subjects were not relevant for the job. Therefore, I lost a lot of time during my studies. In Germany, you can choose, I like that.' Example 2: 'Then I said, No, I can't do that. I can only invest two days. And then I was told that it was about staff and that I had to stay. That means, I have to be there from Monday to Friday, forty hours a week. Then I said, No, I'm sorry. I don't want to lose six months.'
Source	
Seherzada 323–326	Example 1: Vladyslav 648–653 Example 2: Andrej 444–448

6.2.3 Disparate comparison

The strategy type of *Disparate comparisons* was added to the coding frame inductively. During the interviews, participants compared themselves to others in a way that made them look inferior. Disparate comparisons occurred in an average of 20.6 per cent of all interviews. Within this distribution, the major percentage (35.3 per cent) was covered by the negation *I am not…* All comparisons were used for self-descriptions, and are thus regarded as important for the way the interviewees influenced images of themselves. The comparisons were related to the interviewees' former studies and occupations, and sometimes to current studies or future job perspectives as well. Self-descriptions were made in a limiting way, sometimes reflecting the social discourse about skilled migration (section 2.2). As the total

population in Germany only slightly increased by the end of 2015 after decreasing for a decade (Federal Statistical Office 2016), knowledge and skills embodied in the immigrant graduates' degrees can add to the economic stability and growth of Germany (Plünnecke 2004). While making a *disparate comparison* between themselves and others, the interviewees refer to a social structure of a professional community (section 3.2), but do not claim to be part of it, which is considered an important part of professional socialisation (Hall 1987).

Table 9: Strategy type *Disparate comparison*

Strategy type	
Disparate comparisons	
Dimension	
I am not…	I am just a…
Inductive	Inductive
Attributes	
• negative descriptions in comparison or without comparison • mentioning of lack regarding own studies or occupation • 'not' is mentioned	• self-descriptions in a limiting way • information about profession exists, but is restricted
Examples	
'Let me put it like this. I am not an engineer. Neither am I a computer scientist.'	'I'm an engineer, but I'm a Ukrainian engineer.'
Source	
Andrej 379–380	Vladyslav 156–158

6.2.4 Duties

Duties is a strategy type that was used in an average of 32.4 per cent of the interviews to express that the effort that participants wanted to dedicate to their studies was affected by other factors. These were private obligations within the family (29.4 per cent) or other duties (35.3 per cent), for example responsibilities at work. The interviewees did not have to specify their duties, some however mentioned they felt at a disadvantage in comparison to younger students who were freer, both in their minds and in terms of their availability. The timetables at university added a challenge to the time management of most participants, who simultaneously did not want to disregard their responsibilities, but also felt particularly committed to the obligation that came with their chance to study again. Compulsory attendance was handled individually by each department, but the participants wanted to dedicate as much time as possible to their studies regardless of regulations. The strategy type *Duties* was added inductively to the coding frame.

Table 10: Strategy type *Duties*

Strategy type	
Duties	
Dimension	
I have/had duties in my family	My duties limit me
Inductive	Inductive
Attributes	
• any obligations related to the family of the interviewee	• descriptions of how interviewee manages time for studies, work and family • descriptions of how interviewees split attention between studies and family and/or work • interviewee mentions that she/he has to adjust to the new schedule
Examples	
'I've got two young children at home and I should also spend time with my family.'	'So, until Christmas I didn't have a private life. Anyway, there's sometimes days, when I was at work on a Sunday, too. Because there were things that I needed to do.'
Source	
Vladyslav 279–281	Iannis 589–591

6.2.5 Hindered intentions

Hindered intentions is a strategy type with which plans are described that have not been carried out. A reason for this does not have to be mentioned. In contrast to other strategy types that are assigned to text units which contain expressions of being active and being able to carry out plans, the dimension of *Hindered intentions* includes all signs of absent opportunities of participation. As I suggested in section 3.4, less access to professional communities' results in fewer opportunities to perform professional skills. In this case, professional ambition and aims can decrease (Caza & Creary 2016: 5) and important factors for a confident professional identity are missing. As a result, the identification with a profession is less intense.

In this thesis, the dimension of the strategy type *Hindered intentions* includes that the interviewees were not able to follow career plans, or felt hindered in their intentions to communicate in field-specific language. It also covered experiences of lacking opportunities to perform as a professional (Pratt 2012) and feeling lost in a more general way. In turn, positive references to intentions were not coded under the strategy type *Hindered intentions*. Altogether, the dimension of this strategy type extends to four attributes, of which three were formed deductively, and one was added inductively after a close study of the interview transcripts. The interview participants wanted to continue a career in the field of their studies after their migration to Germany, but for various reasons these plans were stopped or hindered. I had built up this assumption through my work in the project and based the three

attributes *I had planned my career but something stopped it*, *I cannot express myself in German appropriately* and *I did not have any option* based on further research on professional identities as described in chapter 3. Possibilities to contribute to society influence processes of identity constructions in a positive way. Significant commitment (Caza & Creary 2016: 31) to society defines professional roles and has, to a certain extent, replaced certificate-based characterisations of occupations. Most participants of the study at hand felt excluded from opportunities of professional performance and from opportunities of becoming involved with others.

Despite having lived in Germany for a while, some participants found that their knowledge of German was not sufficient to study, participate in classes and write assignments or tests. Some described this as an unexpected experience compared to how well they had managed with their language skills before going back to university. Accordingly, the attribute *I cannot express myself in German appropriately* corresponds with findings of research in foreign and second language acquisition described in section 3.4. Communicative skills are strong indicators of belonging to a professional community, because by using these skills, specific professional groups distinguish themselves from others. That means that adequate application of communicative skills validates users as members of a group (Wenger 1998; Jacob et al., 2014). Thus, specific language skills become a 'door opener' to a professional group. If, on the other hand, relevant language skills are questioned, it is less likely that other skills are recognised. They recede behind the perceived lack of language skills (Henkelmann 2012). The language classes organised by the ProSALAMANDER project to further qualify the participants with regards to professional and academic language skills was the second factor to extend the dimension of the strategy type *Intentions* to the attribute of wanting a German degree. In addition, the focus on language and integration courses as intended by the National Action Plan on Integration and the fifth Integration Summit in 2012, which are described in chapter 2, contributed to the extension of the strategy type *Intentions*.

Furthermore, the attribute is based on findings that relate power to language in social interactions (Peirce 1995: 10). Of the coded text units within the strategy type *Hindered intentions,* 29.4 per cent was allocated to the attribute *I cannot express myself in German appropriately*, when the interviewees evaluated their level of specific language skills to be of a level inappropriate to the demands of university study. They expressed frustration or surprise about situations in which they could not express themselves appropriately in classes, lectures, learning groups or in conversations with lecturers or professors. Some interviewees

were worried that their perceived lack of language skills would distract from their professional skills (Henkelmann 2012: 13). On other occasions, the impression of a lack of language skills seemed to be a more general feeling resulting in a shyness towards communication partners who were regarded as more competent, such as professors or lecturers. Often, the consequences were few opportunities to interact within the social community at university. As described in section 3.2, Horowitz (2012: 7) relates identity to reputation in a social community, which needs to be built up through mutual interaction.

The attribute *I feel/felt lost* was added to the dimension of the strategy type *Hindered intentions* after a close reading of the transcripts and a revision of the coding frame. I had come across several narrations of disorientation, literally and figuratively. The participants left a settled and structured life to go back to university, as this choice promised better chances for a professional future. In their current situation, however, they faced more uncertainties than before, for example regarding their financial situation or their concerns about studying and graduating. They also had to accustom themselves to surroundings at university. Against this background, feelings of loneliness or disorientation were described in 29.4 per cent of the interviews.

Table 11: Strategy type *Hindered Intentions*

Strategy type			
Hindered intentions			
Dimension			
I planned my career but something stopped it	I cannot express myself in German appropriately	I did not have any option	I feel/felt lost
Deductive	Deductive	Deductive	Inductive
Attributes			
• all descriptions of career plans that were stopped or hindered • the indication of reasons is not necessary	• experiences of language skills perceived as inadequate by others • hypotheses about accent or grammar/syntax that identifies the perceived insufficient language skills • perceived lack of language skills led to an unsolved situation	• no opportunities to interact or participate in a situation • can be described retrospectively, for example with regards to migration, or related to a current situation in professional or private life	• explicit or implicit expressions of feeling lost • losing orientation or not knowing how to solve a problem, e.g. problems finding a room or organising the timetable at university • more general feeling of not knowing how life will continue
Examples			
I: 'How did you imagine your professional life in Germany?' R: 'That was a lie.[67] I was so confident that I am an engineer and that I have sufficient skills and can start working immediately. My wife was also satisfied and had big dreams. I told her that I only needed to learn German for one or two years and that then, I would find a good job.'	Example 1: 'In the beginning, it is always condescending …, well I'm not lower, or I don't know, uninformed, or stupid.' Example 2: 'Once I met a professor at the station, he recognised me and he approached me and said: "Oh, hello, how are you?" and so on. And I saw that he probably is bored or he wanted to chat a bit. But I was so stupid, I said: "Hello, good," and went away.'	R: 'I've got two days off at uni at the moment, and now I invest these two days in a traineeship.' I: 'Is that a good investment?' R: 'Let me put it like this. First, I don't have an alternative, but as a start, it's still ok … Let me put it like this, if I had found a different traineeship, I would have decided for the different one.'	'In the beginning, I was completely lost, because I didn't know what to choose.'
Source			
Adil 539–544	Example 1: Kamile 240, 247–248 Example 2: Olga 374–383	Andrej 404–412, 416–418	Lya 218–219

6.2.6 Intentions

The strategy type *Intentions*, which was coded in 31.4 per cent of all interviews, describes the future intentions of the interviewees, particularly for the time after graduation. Its definition is derived from the findings of studies on immigration and cultural capital (chapter 2), and from conversations with participants of the ProSALAMANDER project during their

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[67] I: Interviewer; R: Respondent.

counselling. After going back to university, the interviewees expressed various plans related to their studies and future careers. Its dimension includes five attributes, which makes it the most complex strategy type in the typology of this thesis: its counterpart, *Hindered Intentions* (Table 11), consists of four attributes. It is, however, not surprising that the strategy type *Intentions* is manifold, as the context of academic re-qualification, job interview trainings and specific language classes (Figure 2) has added to the future options they picture for themselves.

The attribute *I (want to) learn English* accounts for 5.9 per cent of the strategy type *Intentions* and applies to additional English classes, which are not part of the interviewees' studies, but were considered useful by them. Acquiring and improving communication skills in English became an important plan for those who reconsidered their future careers and thought that language skills in their field of study would enhance their opportunities on the labour market. Their intentions indicate that they plan for a professional future in their field of study and that they would like to get involved in professional communities. Thus, their self-understanding became positive as planning was possible and not threatened by uncertainties such an imminent unemployment.

I would like to work as … / I hope to have chances in … is a deductive, and the most dominant (76.5 per cent) attribute. It was derived from my experience working in the ProSALAMANDER project. As I had designed and taught various workshops on job applications and interviews (section 4.5), project participants had already given me insights into their future career plans. In the interview guide (appendix A1/A2), this topic was covered by the questions under item 3, *How can a German degree help you?* and the corresponding sub-questions *Have you already done practical training? Which professional field are you interested in?* and *Which field of specialisation did you choose for your studies?* The attribute encompasses precise statements about a future job in a certain field, in a specific branch or in a certain type of company. In addition, it was coded when interviewees talked about continuing their studies.

The attribute *I use strategies to become better* was the second dominant attribute (64.7 per cent) of the strategy type *Intentions* and it refers to narratives of interviewees about how they help themselves if they need to find a solution for a problem that is related to their studies, e.g. finding a definition for an unfamiliar term. It shows investments in language learning and practising as an increase of resources. The attribute was not limited to language-learning strategies though, but included all descriptions of how the interviewees used techniques to

achieve a study-related goal. Strategy knowledge is not necessarily reflected on by the learners; it does however involve their agency and was thus considered an important aspect of the strategy type *Intentions*.

The attribute *I received something and I want to give it back* was added inductively to the strategy type *Intentions*. It is a comparatively rare attribute (11.8 per cent), yet due to its relatedness to imagined communities, I found it relevant to dimension the strategy type *Intentions*. As I argued in section 3.2, participation in professional communities enhances identification as a professional. The 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006, 2006) the interviewees are referring to—having received something from it and wanting to give something back to it—was not specified in detail; it nevertheless showed a close connection established to society. Wodak & Krzyzanowski (2008: 95) suggest that 'migrants' often experience feelings of not belonging. The participants' wishes to return something were based on support they explained was substantial for them and enabled them to give something back.

The attribute *I want a German degree* was formed deductively and it was coded in 17.6 per cent of the interviews. The attribute is based on findings of the integration and positioning of immigrant graduates on the highly skilled labour market, as described in chapter 2. Most interviewees had not initially planned to study after migrating to Germany, instead they had looked for work. In their current situation, a German degree was hoped to enhance their position on the highly skilled labour market. They expressed feelings of gratitude and motivation because they were able to study again, but also of resignation and frustration as they were facing challenges and felt under pressure. So, most of the participants wanted to finish their studies as quickly as possible and get back to their lives, but with a better job. And for this job, they needed the German diploma. Sometimes it was also supposed that the professional knowledge from the first degree would only be validated on the job market with the help of a German degree. To enhance the readability of Table 12 that defines the strategy type *Intentions* with its five dimensions, the layout has been changed from portrait to landscape.

Table 12: Strategy type *Intentions*

Strategy type				
Intentions				
Dimension				
I (want to) learn English	I use strategies to become better	I received something and I want to give it back	I would like to work as…/I hope to have chances in…	I want a German degree
Inductive	Deductive	Inductive	Deductive	Deductive
Attributes				
• expressions of wishes/plans/ motivations to learn English or information on the actual level of English language skills	• any description of strategies, plans or steps to become better or better understand contents of courses at university or language skills required for studies, e.g. borrowing additional books from the library, searching for explanations online, using native language to translate, learning scripts before listening to the lecture etc. • interviewees do not need to call the above 'strategies'	• announcements of wanting to return something (specified or unspecified) that interviewees have received from society since living in Germany	• precise statements about a future job (full-time or part-time) in a certain field, in a specific branch or type of company • description of general career plans, e.g. not continuing what the respondent had done before studying or continuing studies with a Master's degree instead of finding work	• is assigned to units that express a participant's wish to graduate from university • motivations for these expressions do not need to be specified further
Examples				
'Okay, I also learned the English language, more than eight or ten years. That's a "proficiency" in English. I think it's similar to "C2" [E.S.: master or proficiency level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages], spoken and written language.'	I: 'So how do you deal with a situation, if there is a problem?' R: 'Consulting a dictionary, looking up words, and then I write them down, I mean the vocabulary, I use dictionaries more often, my husband gave me two very good books, two very big good ones, they explain in German, I mean the words are explained in German. German words that are explained in German. I like that better than reading in Lithuanian.'	'For me, for my family and actually also for this country. Because I am here and I don't like it, if you come here and just take from a country, but don't pass on anything, or spend, right. I want to, this country has given me a lot, and then I also want to return something.'	'In the future, I see myself as an engineer, either in a big or a small company.'	'If I obtain a German degree, then this is a proof that I am suitable for the German labour market, for a German employee. Right?'
Source				
Christos 327–329	Kamile 461–466	Lya 180–184	Vladyslav 144–146	Ulyana 225–230

6.2.7   Involvement

The strategy type *Involvement* was used in one third of the interviews to convey a relatedness to their environment and the communities they participate in. Therefore, this strategy type resembles the strategy type *Intentions*, as both focus on links between the interviewee and a community. *Involvement*, however, looks at relations that already exist in practice, and that are expressed through the level of each interviewee's engagement. The strategy type Involvement is therefore related to agency in a way that it shows how the interviewees have agency. Using this strategy type, the interviewees describe their agency in situations at university or in communities related to their field. Involvement refers to both 'physical' and 'psychological' commitment (Astin 1984: 297), and the strategy type is characterised by three attributes that incorporate aspects of the interviewees' commitment to both university and society. As this thesis examines the co-construction of identities, the interview guide did not enquire about the actual and assumed hours of workload that each participant invested in their studies. The invested hours of total workload however were part of the pre-study described in section 5.3.1.1 and led to the conclusion that all interviewees were highly dedicated to their studies. The strategy type *Involvement* thus focuses on other forms of involvement with communities, all of which were formed inductively after close readings of the interview transcripts. The first indicator for *Involvement* that occurred in the interviews was reports on how the interviewees helped other students at university. Of the average occurrence of the strategy type *Involvement*, 23.5 per cent accounted for the attribute *I help others*. The most prominent attribute of the strategy type *Involvement* is *I ask if I need help/I know where to get help* (52.9 per cent), an attribute that describes how the interviewee's role shifted from someone who receives help to someone who could offer help, which thereby increased their opportunities of agency. Similar to the strategy type *Appreciation*, which encompasses appreciation expressed by others, *Involvement* was partially also characterised by a lack of involvement of others in comparison to the interviewee. This dimension of the strategy type *Involvement* is described by the attribute *Others do not learn/speak enough German*. Through this attribute, the interviewees evaluated others and increased their position in a hierarchy they established with regards to language skills. In the comparisons, the interviewees described themselves as more capable, or others as not capable enough.

Table 13: Strategy type *Involvement*

Strategy type		
Involvement		
Dimension		
Others do not learn/speak enough German	I ask if I need help/I know where to get help	I help others
Inductive	Inductive	Inductive
Attributes		
• comparisons with others who do not speak or learn enough German • comparisons that describe the interviewee as better with regards to language level • comparisons that describe others as not good in general or less good than the interviewee with regards to language level	• descriptions of situations in which the interviewee knew where to get help or asked for help • situations must have taken place at university	• reports on how interviewees helped someone at university, e.g. a fellow student or any other person from university • situation can be related to studies as well as to situations of getting along, e.g. finding one's way • no descriptions of how an interviewee helped a family member if that is not related to the context of university
Examples		
'My sister's boyfriend, he's been here for one year too, by the way, well with some jobs, some jobs like on the assembly line, working on the assembly line, to be honest, well the German that people need for that is ridiculous.'	'When I know that I still need help, then I either ask the other students, who maybe get along better, or our friend internet for example, there's always something written there, right. And if none of this works, then books from the library, for example.'	'And this student from Syria, she is actually also in her second semester, but she started too late last semester, in November or December or so, and she is still very insecure and so on. We have a presentation on Thursday. This time we are five students, and she actually had not joined us yet when we were working on it. So I told her that I can explain it to her and then we were in our building V15 today and then we did it together.'
Source		
Seherzada 387–392	Lya 374–378	Lya 482–490

6.2.8 Language learning practice

Before and/or after migrating to Germany, the participants had attended several language classes and most of them expressed confidence that their language level was adequate for living and working in Germany. More than half of the participants are raising their children and managing all communications with their communities in German. Yet after they took up their studies, they faced difficulties due to a lack of special language knowledge. The strategy type *Language learning and practice* occurred in an average of 20.6 per cent of all interviews and is dimensioned with four attributes. They describe the actual use of German, the former language learning experience, future intentions to learn German or English and actual language skills of English or any other language. I have added the factor of English

language skills to the coding, as it was mentioned by several interviewees in relation to their previous careers, or their future career plans, and it identified them as aware of skills required in their field of profession. The occurrence of the attribute I *use German/English* is significantly higher (41.2 per cent) than that of the strategy type *I cannot express myself in German appropriately* (29.4 per cent) of the strategy type *Hindered Intentions*, which underlines the impression that the insufficient positioning of immigrant graduates was not perceived as a result of lacking language knowledge.

Table 14: Strategy type *Language learning and practice*

Strategy type			
Language learning and practice			
Dimension			
I use German/ English	I learned German/ English	I (want to) learn German/English	I understand English/a third foreign language
Inductive	Deductive	Inductive	Inductive
Attributes			
• all descriptions of language use at home/uni/ work • all descriptions of language use in former jobs and studies	• any previous language learning experience of German or English, before or after migration	• any intention mentioned to learn German or English • any reference to the current attendance of a language class or to self-learning efforts	• all languages that interviewees say they understand in addition to German and English
Examples			
'The good thing with English is, that I have also practised English at work and during my travels and with my employees abroad, that was all in English.'	'So currently, that is the best school in Aachen, it was a good opportunity that I learnt the language there.'	'If I had a chance to be in a surrounding, in a real German surrounding, then my German would improve in one, two months really fast.'	'I can speak Arabic. Different culture, I have sort of experienced one culture and now my second culture, I have already experienced two cultures. Sometimes two mentalities, so an Arabic mentality and a German mentality, partially.'
Source			
Iannis 355–357	Adil 70–72	Ulyana 129–131	Yaqub 603–606

6.2.9   External influences

The dimension of the strategy type *External influences* reflects how adapting to an external influence confirms that the interviewee has a low position in the hierarchy of a social interaction. Hence, the external influences in the interviews underlying this thesis are generally perceived as negative. Thus, it is contrary to *Choices*, as it shifts opportunities of engagement to those of adaption (section 3.2). In this way, relations of power (Peirce 1995 [not in bibliography]) become obvious in spoken interaction. In 27.1 per cent of the interviews, this strategy was used to show feelings of powerlessness. Even in cases when the results were

described as positive, it was still made clear that the interviewee had little or no influence on the situation described. The strategy type is dimensioned with four attributes. *I have to prove myself to earn respect from others* reflects how participants assume that they are not at eye level with others, and that they have to make up for the inequality. The attribute is inclined towards the public discourse described in section 2.2, particularly towards the criticism of integration as a unilateral requirement (Mecheril et al. 2010). The attribute *A chance was offered to me* extends the dimension of *External influences* to the notion of thankfulness for an opportunity that the interviewee owes someone else. Of the coded text units that belong to the strategy type *External influences*, 41.7 per cent accounted for the attribute that without the offer of someone else, the interviewee would not be in a better situation. The attribute *The rhythm/structure of my life has changed* differs slightly from the aforementioned attribute, as it includes even less agency on the part of the interviewees. Whereas they still had agency once they took the chance someone offered and used it, their agency decreased when someone else's decision affected their life and caused a major change to it. The attribute was added inductively to the coding frame after several participants had told me in our interview how someone else made the decision to migrate to Germany, or how someone else decided how to describe the field of study in a CV and thus influenced the decision over the employability of a participant. With a total occurrence of 11 in only five of 17 interviews, *The rhythm/structure of my life has changed* is a comparably weak attribute within the dimension of the strategy type *External influences*, yet it was regarded as important with regards to the impact that the decisions had on each interviewee's life.

When the participants decided to go back to university, they often had to change the structure and rhythm of their life according to new schedules and demands. Those with family described that they have less time for their family now, which also applied for the participants with part-time jobs. Although no one complained about their new rhythm of life, they all admitted to challenges in time planning and described how they used any free moment to study for their degree, run errands, and meet other personal responsibilities. This is why these descriptions were assigned to the attribute *The structure/rhythm of my life has been changed*.

Table 15: Strategy type *External Influences*

Strategy type			
External influences			
Dimension			
I have to prove myself to earn respect from others	A chance was offered to me	The structure/rhythm of my life has been changed	Someone's choice changed my situation
Deductive	Deductive	Inductive	Inductive
Attributes			
• assumptions on not being at eye level with others • descriptions of strategies how to prove ability/ capability with regards to profession and degree	• descriptions of thankfulness because a chance was offered • descriptions of how an opportunity bettered a situation • descriptions of depending on opportunities	• descriptions of how everyday life looked different before interviewees started studying again • comparisons between life structure before and after taking up studies can be positive or negative	• mentioning other people's decisions, e.g. to migrate to Germany, and how this has changed the situation of the interviewee
Examples			
'That I am the same person like my counterpart. So, that I am not lower, or I don't know, that I don't know anything or that I am stupid, that I am on his level, so to say, know more in this respect, depending on what kind of person this is.'	I: 'And what do your current studies mean to you if you think of your future career?' R: 'Actually everything, because it is a great chance, for me at that last second.'	'In the past, I always took a book in the evening and read. For me, that was kind of a structure. I got everything done, went to bed, and then—that was kind of a ritual. Now that's all gone.'	'My husband found this project and my husband read about it in the newspaper and he showed it to me: This fits you exactly, you have to, you have to enrol. I thought: No, I won't make it, no. But he supported me a lot, also still now, and he helps me a lot and his parents too.'
Source			
Kamile 245–248	Kamile 139–143	Kamile 519–522	Olga 94–98

6.2.10 Studies and career

The strategy type *Studies and career* is used in an average of 58.8 per cent of the interviews and evolved from my working experience in the ProSALAMANDER project, particularly at the beginning when, during various counselling appointments, the obtained credentials of the participant's former studies were examined with regards to their transferability to course contents of the respective intended field of study in Germany. As described in section 4.3, all participants had studied either in the fields of economics or engineering, with degrees ranging from a Bachelor's or Master's degree to a 'diploma' as an equivalent postgraduate degree (see also Table 1). During the process of enrolment into the field of study, the project team supported the participants with the recognition of foreign credentials to minimise their workload and to optimise the participants' course plans regarding their needs and require-

ments for further qualification in Germany. This process, however, held challenges and hurdles as both degrees and subjects were often named differently in different countries, and as participants often did not have a transcript of records or needed to get translations of their certificate. At this stage in the process, the participants of the ProSALAMANDER project talked a lot about what they had previously studied. Previously, they had not been able to find employment in their fields of study and thus had stopped explaining their degrees and specifications to prospective employers. In the context of the present thesis, the strategy to name a field of study or a degree is thus related to a regained feeling of confidence about the former obtained degree. The relevant information was usually a response to topic 2 of the interview guide (appendix A1/2), which asked the interviewees to talk about degrees they obtained, and their working experience in Germany. In the additional questionnaire (appendix A3/A4), the study participants listed the jobs and countries they had worked in so far, and we usually followed up with this during the interview. In addition, the attribute *I worked before I came to Germany* (76.5 per cent of the strategy type *Studies and career*) was assigned to all descriptions of previous careers. This is to give an overview of the professional lives the participants had before they migrated. The attribute adds the aspect of professional experience and expertise to the dimension of the strategy type *Studies and Career*, whereas the *attribute I do/did an internship/part-time job related to my field of studies* (17.6 per cent of the strategy type *Studies and career*) focuses on the further development of the interviewee's expertise. Not many participants looked for an internship during their studies; nevertheless, it was coded whenever the respondents mentioned it to describe their view on their careers.

Table 16: Strategy type *Studies and Career*

Strategy type		
Studies and career		
Dimension		
This is what I studied before I came to Germany	I do/did an internship/part-time job related to my studies	I worked before I came to Germany
Deductive	Deductive	Deductive
Attributes		
• attribute occurs whenever an interviewee speaks about the field of studies of his former degree, about individual courses or names the obtained degree	• attribute identifies any reports of internships or part-time jobs • only those internships or part-time jobs are coded that are related to the currents studies	• descriptions of former occupations • responsibilities in former jobs
Examples		
I: 'Which degrees did you hold when you came to Germany?' R: 'The first degree is in Electrical Engineering and the second one in Business Sciences. I decided to do the second degree because I worked at St. Petersburg University, but exactly in this area of Business Sciences.'	'I actually did a two months' apprenticeship in a local bank.'	I: 'So, you worked in Greece, right?' R: 'Yes, exactly.' I: 'Can you describe again what you did there?' R: 'I worked in the private sector for four years, and I was self-employed for six years with my own engineering office. I had an engineering office for structural engineering, for houses. I also worked in industrial construction. In a big project. I was responsible up to the concrete, and after that another engineer built with steel, and this was an experience for me. I also worked as an interior designer, and I did the interior design for houses, shops, stores, cafés, the catering sector.'
Source		
Maria 176–182	Yaqub 143–144	Dimitros 441–456

6.3 Process of formation of typology

In this section, I describe the typology formation and the strategy types it consists of. Quotes help to illustrate the described strategy types, and at the end of this section, figures demonstrate how strategy types were grouped. The strategy types have been grouped to four different typologies: adapting, disclosing, resigning and regaining strategy types. One strategy type can only belong to one typology, which means that it will only occur within one typology and was not used repeatedly (Kuckartz 2014: 128). Accordingly, the attributes used to dimensionalise one strategy type were not used repeatedly for a different strategy type. Homogeneity was achieved by grouping strategy types with similar dimensions to one typology (Kelle & Kluge 2010: 85). Externally, the typologies are heterogeneous, so that their differences can be compared to each other. Thus, the typology model presented in this thesis is diverse with respect to the variety of the four types, and complex as to their dimensions.

confident construction professional identity

expressions of agency

adapting strategy types
construct PI that adapt to external conditions and to professional roles assigned by others

disclosing strategy types
construct self-confident PI, present cultural capital to others and participate in professional communities

resigning strategy types
barely construct PI, cannot participate in professional communities, do not present cultural capital

regaining strategy types
involve agency to balance out asymmetrical relations of power between them and others

PI = professional identities

Figure 6: Adapting, disclosing, resigning and regaining strategies in the quadrivalent typology model

The typology model establishes a relation between the four groups of strategy types (Kluge 2000; Kelle & Kluge 2010). The relation is created by the levels on which agency is expressed and professional identities are constructed. Resigning strategy types show low levels of agency, and either no or only little indications of professional identity. In contrast, adapting strategy types show a higher level of confident constructions of professional identities, but engage only low levels of agency. Regaining strategy types in contrast engage a high level of agency, but at the same time are distinguished by a relatively low level of confident professional identity constructions. Disclosing strategy types, however, incorporate the highest levels of agency and of confident constructions of professional identities.

6.3.1 Absolute frequency of the strategy types

Figure 7 shows the absolute frequency of the strategy types coded in a total of 17 interviews. The absolute frequency displays how often one strategy type has been coded to text units of all interviews. The chart thus represents which strategy type is represented most frequently in all interviews, and which is represented the least. That does not necessarily compare to the importance of a less dominant strategy type for this study. It gives, however, an impression of how the strategy types are related to the theoretical framework of this study (chapter 3).
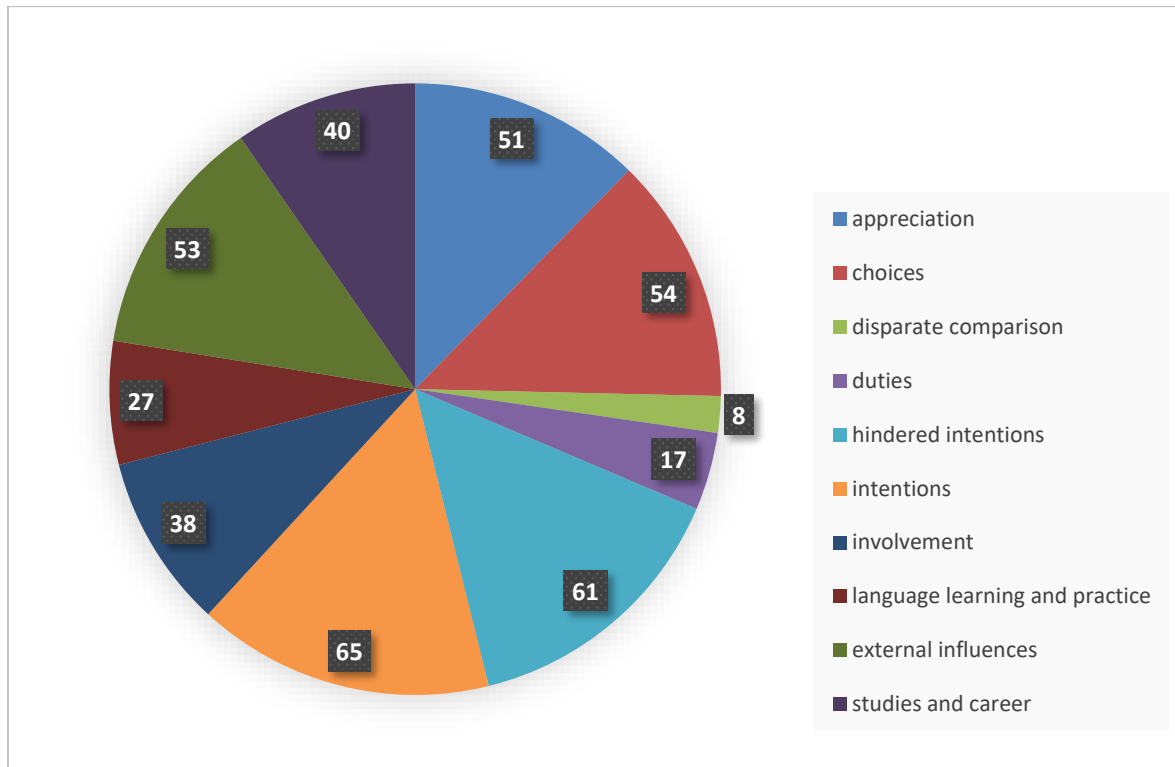
Figure 7: Absolute frequency (%) of the strategy types

It becomes clear that *Regaining* strategy types are on the first (*Intentions*) and third (*Choices*) position of the most frequently coded strategy types. *Hindered intentions* is the second most coded strategy type and belongs to the *Resigning* strategy. This means that the interviewees most frequently used the strategy type *Intentions* to express their career plans, and very frequently the strategy type *Choices* to demonstrate that they have agency. Regaining strategy types rank among the dominant ways to construct professional identity, and although the abovementioned *Resigning* strategy type *Hindered intentions* ranks on the second position of the frequency analysis, the other *Resigning* strategy type *Disparate comparisons* holds the last place with only eight coded text units in total. It can therefore be assumed that the tendency to construct professional identities that gain strength is more dominant in the discursive interview situation than the inclination to co-construct disparate professional identity.

6.3.2 Adapting strategies

Figure 8 shows the structure of the typology of *Adapting* strategy types with its two strategy types *Duties* and *External Influences*, and the corresponding attributes that dimensionalise the strategy types. Adapting strategy types are on the same high level of confident constructions of professional identity as disclosing strategy types (Figure 9), but have fewer expressions of agency due to fewer possibilities to participate in professional communities.
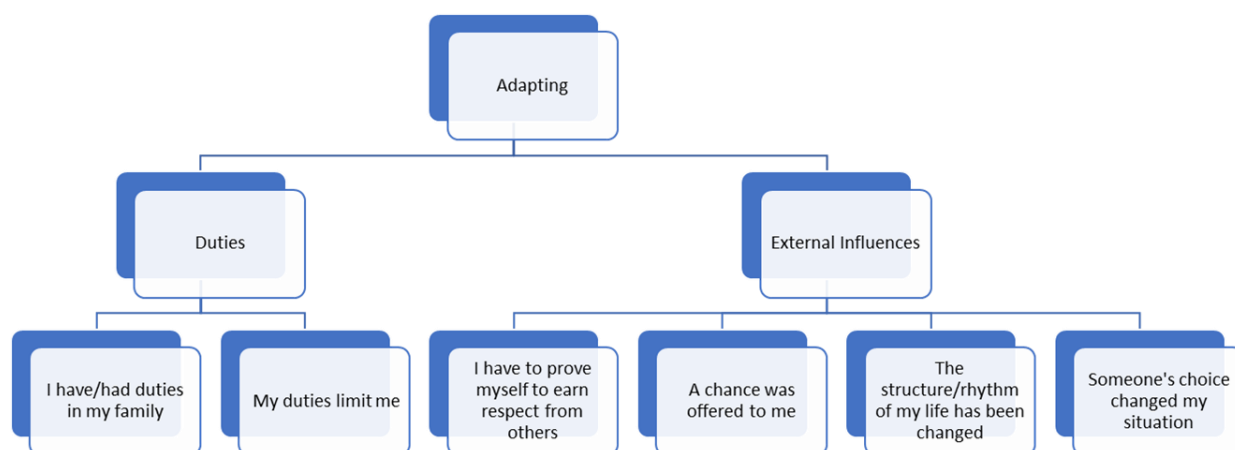
Figure 8: Typology of adapting strategies

The ability to participate in professional communities has been established as a significant contribution to professional identity constructions (section 3.3). The opportunity to participate in professional communities legitimates community members as professionals. The adapting strategy types characterise participation in relevant communities as affected. Through adapting strategy types, the interviewees describe how they adapt to these interferences displayed in the strategy *Duties* and *External influences*. They have been grouped together because they display impacts the interviewees have to adapt to, and they do so from similar perspectives. While through the strategy type of adapting to *Duties*, the interviewees expressed how they had to adapt to private obligations or work responsibilities, the strategy type *External Influences* was used as an explanation of adapting to situations the interviewees were less engaged with in comparison to family or work commitments. When using the latter strategy type *External Influences*, referring e.g. to migration issues or work offers, they expressed less agency in influencing to which extent they would adapt, in comparison to the former strategy type of *Duties*. In both cases, agency is impeded, as the interviewees did not have a free choice, but had to adapt.

6.3.3 Disclosing strategies

Figure 9 illustrates the structure of the typology of *Disclosing* strategy types. It is structured in three strategy types and eight attributes that define the dimensions of the strategy types *Appreciation*, *Studies & career* and *Language Learning and Practice*. In the typology model (Figure 6), disclosing strategy types are located on an equal level of confident constructions of professional identity like adapting strategy types (Figure 8), but on a higher level of expressions of agency. This is because the attributes of the strategy types grouped within the

typology of disclosing strategies reflect more situations in which the interviewees had agency and participated in professional communities.
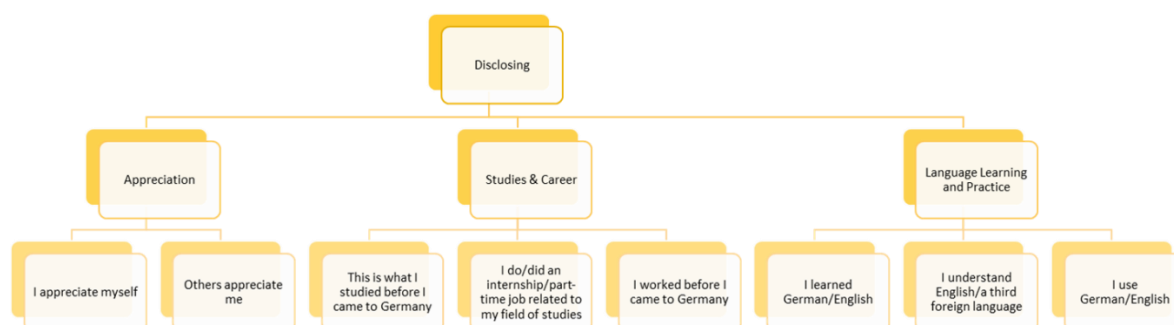
Figure 9: Typology of disclosing strategy types

Disclosing strategy types were grouped together because they are all related with regards to their attributes of disclosing the expertise, professional and language skills and the appreciation of the interviewees. Thus, disclosing strategy types present the speaker as competent, whereas the public discourse on skilled migration and the context of delayed recognition of foreign credentials (section 2.1) suggest a different image of immigrant graduates. It is therefore noticeable that the interviewees occasionally presented themselves as self-confident and full of potential. The disclosure of professionalism and expertise is revealed in four strategy types.

The strategy type *Appreciation* is used to report how the interviewees either appreciate themselves, regarding a particular act or in general, or how others express appreciation towards them. As described in section 3.2, appreciative evaluation strengthens professional identity. Reporting validation of professional performance or skills by others and by oneself thus becomes a strategy that helps to confirm the role as a professional. This is exemplified by Seherzada, who reports how she told others about going back to university after she had worked as a cleaning lady:

> 'Then, I told my acquaintances, I told it everywhere, and they were surprised I want to do it and then many were surprised, positively surprised. And many of my colleagues, they are younger than me, they said: "No, reading, learning at this age. No, for God's sake, that's not for me".'
> (Seherzada 412–417)

Seherzada lets the interviewer know that her acquaintances were 'positively surprised', and she points out that her 'younger' colleagues did not feel able to start studying again. She thus creates the picture of someone who is tough enough to go back to university despite her age and despite the fact that others did not expect this from her, which results in their surprised

reaction. She is disclosing an identity that signals she should not be underestimated, and that she is, on the one hand, confident and happy to tell 'everywhere' about her career plans, but on the other hand does not adapt to the perspectives others have on her.

The appreciation of others does not need to be focused on professional skills, as the example of Natascha shows. Natascha quit the ProSALAMANDER project before she graduated in the field of engineering (section 4.3), and she started working as a shop assistant in a toy store. Earlier in the interview, she shows no self-appreciation when she describes herself as being an unemployed, foreign, single parent and thus not being the right match for her partner:

> 'Well I accepted that, I know, that my partner, that I am the foreigner. Well, I tried to break up once. I understood that he is a German, he has got work and everything and then I come, the foreigner without work and with two children. And nothing behind me. Unemployment compensation. And then I told myself, "what do you need that for? Let's break up." Then he says, "No, no, no, no!" There was a break and we got back together anyway. And then maybe I understood something, that for him it's not a value being a foreigner, but being a human per se, yeah.' (Natascha: 163–171).

She draws a picture of herself that is of very low self-esteem, and supposes that her partner would not want her. She shows agency by suggesting they break up, and she uses opposing descriptions to characterise her partner in contradiction to herself, 'the foreigner'. She does not have any self-appreciation, and her suggestion to end the relation seems to be the only way to show agency in a situation that she does not see any future for. But the reaction of her partner shows her that he appreciates her as a person and does not see her as the 'foreigner' she characterises herself as. A mere five minutes later (Natascha #00:14:06-2#), she speaks about how she well she gets along using German in her new job: 'Well, on rare occasions, I've got clients who are not satisfied with my language' (Natascha 233–234). Here, the appreciation of her level of German is expressed by reporting that she only very rarely receives negative feedback. Thus, her performance at work is related to her more than sufficient level of German, which is approved by others. While the previous quotes show how appreciation is constructed in reference to other people (acquaintances, colleagues, partner or clients), university studies also seemed to enhance self-appreciation. Kamile responds to the question whether being back at university has changed something for her by relating her studies to her increased self-appreciation and validation through others:

'I became more self-confident or so, I begin to appreciate myself. Well, this is the biggest change, because when I come here, people treat me at eye level, and for me that also was like—everyone. I mean without exception. And for me, that was, that is the most beautiful moment.' (Kamile 206–210)

Kamile characterises herself as now being 'at eye level' with everyone, and that this development was the 'biggest change' evoked since she took up her studies again. She creates the impression of an elevation, enabled by her studies, that lifts her to eye level, which she had obviously been excluded from before. Participation in a community of experts, students, and professors gives her back a self-confidence that she was lacking before she returned to university. At this level, she seems to be able to disclose her confidence.

The strategy type *Studies* supports the disclosure of skills and expertise that were obtained in former studies, or that are accessed through an apprenticeship during the current studies. On these occasions, the interviewees took the opportunity to list and explain what they studied before, and how they gain additional expertise to complete their knowledge. They also mention the difficulties they faced when they switched between two different education systems, like Natascha who graduated in Russia with a final thesis, that she could have had officially recognised and transferred into the European Credit Transfer System ECTS (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015: 53), being equivalent to a Master's degree.

'I did a diploma thesis, it says, I couldn't in Russia, back then it didn't say qualified engineer, it said engineer, so, the field, well, literally engineer. But I did a diploma thesis for half a year, one semester, I got a mark, that's all in the list of marks. And if I had already known it, I would have gotten it translated once again and add graduated engineer. Because that's what actually caused me difficulties. That I had to start with a bachelor's degree, not a master's degree.' (Natascha 402–410)

Natascha states that she did not apply for the official recognition for her degree. She does not name the field she graduated in, but explains writing a thesis that is equivalent to a German diploma. She also proves her credential by saying that the mark can be tracked in her list of marks, and repeats that she did a diploma thesis, which is introduced with the preposition 'but' to give more emphasis to this fact. This reflects the difficulties Natascha faced when she started her studies in Germany, as her diploma was not noted as such on her certificate, and thus credits could not be transferred according to the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS). The ECTS is a tool of the European Higher Education

Area (EHEA), encouraging recognition of prior learning and experience (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015).

6.3.4 Regaining strategies

The typology of *Regaining* strategy types is displayed in Figure 10. Regaining strategies form a complex typology of ten attributes that define its three strategy types *Choices*, *Involvement* and *Intentions*. The detailed discussion of Lya's interview (section 6.4) shows that her use of regaining strategies is more dominant than all other strategies. This shows that the requalification project (section 4.2) and her participation in student communities—in transition to professional communities—encouraged Lya to reclaim her professional identity (section 6.4.1.1). In the typology model of this thesis (Figure 6), regaining strategies are therefore located on a high level of expressions of agency. At the same time, the construction of professional identities is not yet fully developed and disclosed.
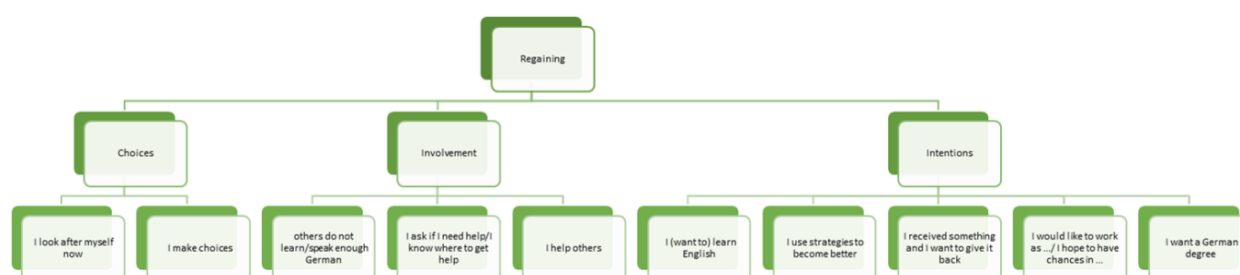
Figure 10: Typology of regaining strategy types

All strategies belonging to the typology of regaining strategies share the impression of the interviewees that at the moment of the interviews, they have not yet gained full recognition of their skills and 'human capital' (section 2.2.2), but express that they are regaining participation, which leads to reconceptualisations of their professional identities. They feel that they start being on par with others, as expressed by Kamile (208): 'because when I come here [to university], people treat me at eye level'. Regaining strategies construct professional identities by expressing increased involvement, by how choices were made by the respondents and by indicating intentions that lead to an increase of participation and involvement. The strategy type *Choices* adds the notion of agency to the typology of regaining strategy type. Rather than being subject to power, the interviewees construct identities in which they took a choice in favour or against something to strengthen their professional position. This is best exemplified in Table 8 by a quote of Andrej (444–448) explaining how he rejected a job offer that was likely to interrupt his studies because it required his full-time presence. This is in opposition to earlier, when he describes how, after his migration to Germany and the realisation that he would not find work in his field, he agreed to work at the airport

instead of pursuing other career plans (Andrej 187). In the interview, he constructs an image that presents him as devoted to his studies in order to obtain a German university degree.

The strategy type *Involvement* corresponds to constructions of professional identity that imply participation in professional communities or at university. In this thesis, I have defined participation either in present or in imagined professional communities as a central factor for the construction of positive professional identities (section 3.3). Therefore, involvement in any way is considered to underline aspects of participation.

Table 13), who constructed a capable and powerful identity by demonstrating how she helped a new student who missed the beginning of the semester. Involvement was generally shown through explaining how the interviewees helped others or knew how to get along themselves, instead of feeling lost. It also included the evaluation of other people's involvement, specifically their language skills. Through this attribute, the interviewees increased their position in comparison to others.

The largest domain of the typology of regaining strategies was the strategy type *Intentions*, which demonstrates how the respondents supported their constructions of professional identities by revealing their plans on how to regain recognition. They did so by indicating that they wanted to learn English, which they considered important for their future careers, and, most importantly, by underlining that they wanted to obtain a German degree as they hoped it would better their chances on the labour market in their field of graduation. They also use several strategies during their studies in order to not only pass the courses they enrolled in, but also to sustainably learn relevant contents for their future careers. This is demonstrated by Yaqub who compares studying for his first degree before migration to studying in Germany:

> I just bought a couple of notes. And then I memorised them. Then I went to the test and passed. But in Germany, it is completely different, you have to, well then, I learned everything myself, so it doesn't help if you are trying to memorise everything. Nope, one has to understand, and what you understood, you just write in in your own words or in your own methods or something like that. And I find that a little bit, in the end one has understood something, one has learnt something learnt something new. (Yaqub 446–454)

Other intentions displayed strategies with which the interviewees planned to give something back to the society that they said had supported them, which created the role of professionals who needed support on an interim basis, but who also understood themselves as regaining a position that enabled them to return the support: 'Now it is given or we take it, and then we return it' (Andrej 583–584). Furthermore, intentions supported the construction of identities that pictured themselves in a future occupation. This links to the findings presented in section 3.2. Ibarra (1999: 782) argued that the transition to future work roles influenced constructions of professional identities.

> Therefore, I would for example like an opportunity, a company, where I don't only speak in German, but also Russian or Ukrainian. I have two first languages, so to say. I speak Russian and Ukrainian. And maybe this is not going to be a minus, but a plus. (Vladyslav 185–189)

Vladyslav pictures his future role in a company that acknowledges his language skills, and although he does not participate in this professional community yet, he wishes his cultural capital to be part of it.

6.3.5 Resigning strategies

In the typology model (Figure 6), *Resigning* strategies have both the lowest level of confident constructions of professional identity and expressions of agency. Figure 11 shows that the typology of resigning strategies consists of the two strategy types, *Hindered Intentions* and *Disparate Comparisons*, that are defined by six attributes which all involve little or no agency in professional communities.
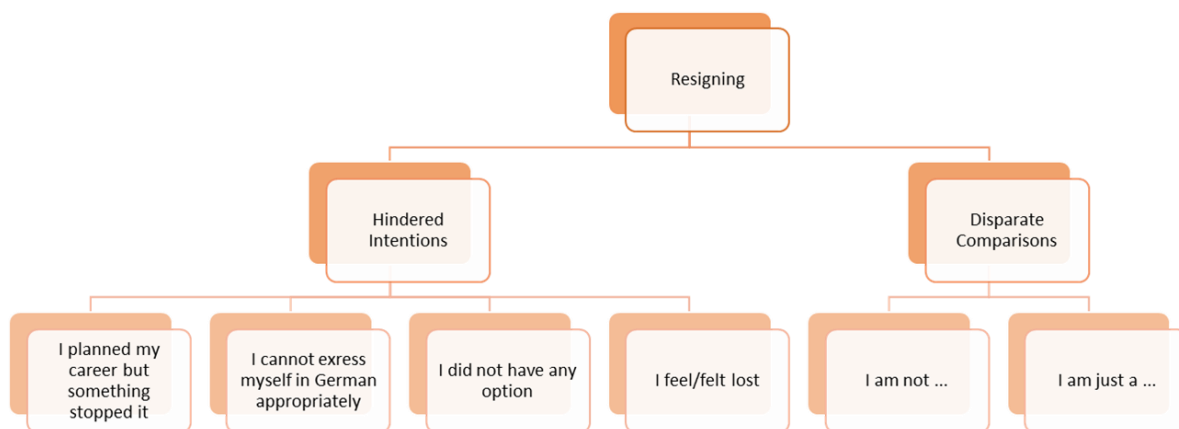
Figure 11: Typology of resigning strategy types

Resigning strategies were used to construct professional identities whose intentions to participate in professional communities or to get involved in their societal context were hindered by factors that they could not influence. Sometimes, they describe that they felt lost in these situations. *Hindered intentions* were coded in 35.3 per cent of the interviews. Furthermore, these strategies describe professionals who assume that their cultural capital, for example their language skills or degrees, are not at the same level as that of the majority. Their professional roles are assigned to them, while at the same time they do not have options to choose from and thus lack opportunities to show agency. Andrej, for example, who at the time of the interview had started an internship, responds to the question whether he considers that to be a good investment into his professional future:

> Let me put it like this. First, I don't have an alternative, but as a start, it's still ok. … Let me put it like this, if I had found a different traineeship, I would have decided for the different one. (Andrej 416–418)

In addition, strategies that were used to draw disparate comparisons were grouped under the typology of resigning strategy types. Disparate comparisons like *I am not* or *I am just a ...* were coded in 20.6 per cent of all interviews and construct identities in the discursive comparison to others who supposedly are on a better or higher level. Vladyslav, for example, states:

> I'm an engineer, but I'm a Ukrainian engineer. (Vladyslav 156)

He identifies himself with the professional community of engineers as well as with his culture, while he simultaneously disidentifies with the professional community of those who are engineers, but not Ukrainian. It becomes clear how the construction of professional identities is influenced by the perspective of others in comparison to the individual. During his interview, Vladyslav describes himself not simply as being an engineer, but a Ukrainian engineer. In contrast with the first half of his sentence 'I am an engineer', the second half 'but a Ukrainian engineer' deconstructs the self-confident identity.

The following chapter discusses the adapting, disclosing, regaining and resigning strategies using the example of Lya and thus linking the empirical data underlying this thesis to the research questions about what kind of strategy types support discursive constructions of professional identities, and about how agency is displayed within these constructions.

7   Lya: characterisation of a representative case

In section 3.1, I demonstrate how social and institutional structures frame the interactional co-construction of professional identities. The relevance of validation of professional performance by others (section 3.2) has led to the assumption that participation in professional communities is essential to the processes of professional identity constructions (section 3.3). The literature review in section 3.4 introduces studies that discovered several strategies that professionals used to cope with expectations that addressed their current or provisional professional roles. Rather than adapting to roles assigned by others, they had established a series of mechanisms to shape and act out their roles in a way they found suitable in their professional context.

The general research context of this thesis has pointed out the challenges many immigrant graduates face in Germany. Although there had been a shift of the attitude towards highly skilled migration both in immigration politics (section 2.1) and in society (section 2.2), the interviewees of this thesis did not benefit from it to the extent that their cultural capital in

the form of degrees, language skills and professional skills were recognised by the local labour market. In section 6.1, I describe the process of type-building and established a model of four typologies (Figure 6): regaining, resigning, disclosing and adapting strategies that were used to discursively construct professional identities.

In the following section, Lya's case will be discussed in further detail as an example for all other interview cases. Her case is not representative for all interview cases in this thesis, but the context she refers to on a metaphorical level resembles the general experiences of the interviewee's in this thesis, as I will show in relating it to the general and theoretical framework of this thesis. In section 5.5, I have introduced conceptual metaphors on the basis of Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) understanding of metaphors as a substantial part of every-day language, and on Lindemann & Rosenbom's (2012) and Pielenz (1993) approach to metaphors as an insight to individual perspectives and insights. I have reviewed how conceptual metaphors, that consist of a target domain and a source domain, are mapped to each other by corresponding elements (Kovesces & Benczes 2010). These domains are not interchangeable, and the more abstract target domain is explained by a source domain (2010: 23).

In using metaphors, all immigrant graduates interviewed for this thesis explained their experiences by using different source domains as metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The set of mappings that pairs both domains of one metaphor (Kovesces & Benczes: 2010) differs between the interviews, however the dominant target domains across all interviews are experiences and knowledge about societal structures on the labour market, at university and in communities of professional practice. On the part of the source domains that were chosen to refer to the target domains, the interviewees' choices of metaphors were diverse. But even here, several interviewees used metaphors of a similar kind to describe the development of their careers since migration and their self-assessment since pursuing a German degree at university. Learning was referred to as walking on, or taking the next step (Andrej 203; Kamile 391; Maria 266; Seherzada 307, 484; Sunita 27; Ulyana 23, 32, 179, 255; Yaqub 199), or even as climbing a hill (Vladyslav 565; Iannis 303; Natascha 842). Metaphors from domains of progress and movement helped to explain more abstract feelings about studying, based on the interviewees perceptions (Feldman & Narayanan 2004) of themselves in the processes of learning and studying after having obtained a degree several years ago.

By source domains that expressed moving up a hill, interviewees explained their inner world (Kram et al. 2012) differently from those choosing source domains that described moving

down a hill, but in both ways, the target domain "studying" became more obvious and understandable. Similarly, metaphors referring to expanding one's boundaries helped the interviewees to describe how they experienced being a professional and a student at the same time (Andrej 344; Kamile 440). In the above examples, the interviewees involve agency by using metaphors that demonstrate how even though their studies at a German university was not a first choice in terms of career planning (section 4.3.), they did follow that path, climbed up hills and brought themselves (Kamile 390) to pursue a further degree. To a similar extent, several interviewees approached the rather abstract concepts of knowledge and skills. On a metaphorical level, they referred to their cultural capital with source domains that expressed quantity and value, such as metaphors of knowledge as a resource or a treasure (Lya 170; Sunita 369, 454; Seherzada 69, 388; Yaqub 393), relating their experience of how others perceived these values to their own opinion about them. In other words, the public discourse about cultural capital (section 2.2.1) was displayed on a metaphorical level within the discursive constructions of professional identities. Another example for the use of value-related source domains to describe the target domains of skills and knowledge is Lya's (253) and Seherzada's (510) metaphorical approach to their knowledge as something they have fought for, and that they will defend; source domains that Lakoff & Johnson (1980) also locate in the field of war and fight.

By developing an argumentation with the help of metaphors, the interviewees were enabled to display their agency within societal and institutional structures, and this in turn influenced their professional identity construction. Metaphors supported the strategies used to construct professional identities discursively, and helped to reason their argumentations (Pielenz 1993). This means that the metaphorical level is strongly intertwined with the strategy used to discursively construct professional identities. Therefore, in the following analysis of Lya's case the use of metaphors will be underlined in each quote and discussed with regards to its function within the strategy type.

Lya's case incorporates all strategies of the above typology model. She constructed her professional identities as *adapting* to a pre-set context and as *regaining* agency and actively shaping her role in the context of university. She *disclosed* her skills and, in other situations, portrayed herself as *resigning* and rather detached from her former professional self. Additional quotes from other interviews are consulted to substantiate the case of Lya. Thus, Lya's case is presented in relation to the empirical framework of interviews underlying this study, and in relation to the theoretical framework that structured the model of typologies to which

the case study refers. For this analysis, I only refer to text units that were coded during the coding process. In addition, I introduce one further text unit (*hypothesis about value of degree*). This text unit had not been coded initially, but added to the rich description (Kuckartz 2014: 129) of Lya's case, as it was meaningfully related to the strategy type of hindered career plans and how Lya's career developed after her migration. Each quote in the following is presented together with the attribute it was assigned to during the coding (section 6.1), the strategy type the attribute was allocated to after the coding, and the typology this strategy type belongs to.

quote/coded text unit (with line reference of the original transcript)	((coloured according to the typology model))
	typology strategy type (attribute)

Figure 12: Model of the presentation of quotes

7.1.1   Resigning and adapting strategies: 'Only as a paper, not in reality'

Lya was born in Iraq, where she graduated with a Bachelor of Science in water management. She worked for one year in Iraq as an engineer and then migrated to Germany in 2008. Here, she spent her first year learning German, but when she wanted to continue with the classes in order to prepare for further studies, her application for funding through the employment office was not approved. She felt more and more despondent about finding employment in the field of her degree, and decided to start a family first (Lya 60–65). She has not been employed since migrating to Germany, and when she applied for the ProSALAMANDER project, she decided to follow up her initial plan to complete a post-graduate degree in Germany and then look for a suitable job offer after her graduation. At the time of the interview, she was enrolled in a postgraduate degree in environmental science and infrastructure. At the beginning of the interview, Lya introduces herself, her skills and her professional background with resigning strategies that mainly explain how her initial career plans did not work out. After about one third of the interview, Lya starts to present herself as engaging with a community, using regaining strategies to construct a professional identity that is involved with her community. For most of the time, the notion of her professional identity is a *student* one, which shows how much she identifies with expanding her cultural capital. Her student identity is also transitional, circumscribing the period of time that it takes to position herself in her field again. This student-coined professional identity has developed over time, as the following analysis of her interviews shows.

Although Lya worked as an engineer in Iraq after graduation, she introduces her professional experiences, which form part of her cultural capital (section 2.2.2), as non-existent in Germany. She says that although she has been in Germany 'for six years', she 'only' took language classes for one year and then stayed at home with her child.

'I don't have experiences with it myself, with a work place, because I have, I am here in Germany since six years. The first year was only language classes so to say. And then I was with the child for three years, and with the pregnancy, so altogether four years. So, I didn't gain experience.' (Lya 27–30)	resigning hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

The language classes and the three years with her child did not provide Lya with chances to participate in professional communities. She says that she did not gain experience in the last years, referring to the time in which she has not been in a 'work place' in Germany. Lya thus relates experiences to participation in professional communities in Germany, while at the same time her participation in Iraqi professional communities is not mentioned. Furthermore, she downgrades a year of language acquisition as 'only language classes'. Language classes for Lya do not count as working experiences, as they were not directly related to work or studies. Lya continues explaining that she did not want to work outside of her field, but had planned to continue her studies and that she would therefore have also needed to continue with specific language classes. The employment office however would only pay for language classes for professional purposes. With this quote, she refers to the common regulation that migrants who arrive in Germany partake in language classes up to the first level of an independent language user Common European Framework of Reference for Languages).[68] These courses can be applied for in a consultation at the employment office. During these consultations, future job opportunities are considered. Recent policies (section 2.1) have bettered this situation insofar that there is now a greater awareness of the fact that many applicants bring foreign university degrees and are therefore not just looking for 'any job', but for suitable occupation in their field. Until today there is, however, not a specific section that matches immigrant graduates with job offers that require a degree in a certain field. This has been addressed in recent efforts to ease the recognition of foreign qualifications, such as the data-base "bq portal", but recognition of foreign university degrees is still low. In this context, the metaphorical use of "experience" as an entity that can be gained, and quantified only through participation in professional communities, in a "work place", underlines the

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[68] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf [3/9/17].

significance of professional performance for the construction of professional identities. In Lya's perception, she has spent six years in Germany without increasing her experience, although at the beginning, she had tried to, as the following quote shows.

'Actually, I didn't want that. I wanted to continue with B2 and C1,[69] but I was sort of there through <u>the employment office</u>. They only <u>send </u>you to these other classes and they don't fund classes towards studies and so on. Only those towards work.' (Lya 42–45)	<u>resigning</u> hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

Lya uses a personification of the employment office to argue that 'they' would send her to classes that she did not want to register for, as they prepare for work, but not for university. Through this personification (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), Lya constructs a professional identity that internalises a structural setting (Hall & Wing 2000). Lya's professional identity is interrelated with the institutional entity of the employment office which funds her language classes. As they do not support language classes on a level higher than B1, or only those that prepare for work which does not require a university degree, Lya has had to adapt to these regulations. Consequently, she does not continue with language classes, although she could enrol in a funded class and get prepared to work in an office or so, she resigns from her initial career plan. Instead, she takes her role within the institutional structure that is determined by the employment office as the institution that only offers her a career on a medium level on the one hand, and the labour market that she feels she is not experienced for on the other hand. She does not have an opportunity to act against this setting, as she does not hold any power in this asymmetrical relation. Thus, by giving up on her original career plans of further language qualification for university, she agrees with and therefore also maintains the institutional framework of the society she is part of. This is why within this interaction, Lya's role is linked to societal structure (Powell 2013: 18), and why the institutional 'metapower' (Hall 1997: 398) creates the reality Lya's professional identity acts in, taking agency away from Lya.

Lya then involves adapting strategies to cope with the setting she finds herself in, as her original career plans 'didn't work out'. She had planned to become pregnant after graduating in Germany, but as graduating 'would take so long', because she cannot even enrol in the language class that prepares her for university, she decides to have 'a child first'.

'Yes, I wanted to study right from the start. But then, as that didn't work out, then I thought, ok, maybe I should have a child now. I thought that when I graduate, then I can also have a child	<u>adapting</u>

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[69] Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/ source/framework_en.pdf [2/23/17], B2 = independent language user, C1 = proficient language user.

later. But when I realised that it would take so long, I thought, a child first.' (Lya 60–64)	external influences (the structure/rhythm of my life has been changed)

In comparison to Lya, Andrej uses the metaphor of investment when he speaks about his family (583–584), while Maria (450) personifies the playground as not sufficient enough in her life. Maria and Lya compare their current situation to their family life and use different conceptual metaphors to express the better/higher level (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) that knowledge and professional participation have, while for Andrej, family is a concept of value and thus worth an investment.

After mentioning that she could not continue with language classes, Lya calls herself to account for not finding work, because she 'wasn't that courageous' and also 'didn't do that very clever', stating that 'unfortunately' because of uncertainties regarding her private life she stopped looking for work. While in the above quote she personifies the employment office as responsible for the fact that she could not continue with German language classes, she now finds herself responsible for being unemployed and not participating in a professional community. Lya uses the relatively broad source domain "things" to refer to the complex decisions that she was taking at that point of time, and to her insecurity as to whether she made the right decisions for her future.

'I wasn't that courageous to look for a job right away, maybe for an internship and so on. Actually, I didn't do that very clever, because during the same time I got pregnant, then I didn't know how things would work out. If everything goes well with the pregnancy and so on and then I stopped, unfortunately.' (Lya 97–101)	resigning hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

At this point I would like to refer to a text unit that also deals with career plans. Andrej, who is an economist from Kazakhstan and had extensive work experience before his migration (appendix A12), was enrolled in the field of economics at the time of the interview. About a year after the interview, Andrej graduated with a bachelor's degree and is now employed at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Andrej describes a situation in which he was offered a job while he was looking for an opportunity to work part-time in addition to his studies. In contrast to Lya, he constructs an identity that takes a choice, even if it is *against* a job offer. While Lya describes a context in which she takes responsibility, and lets a broader institutional framework act upon her, Andrej leaves the responsibility to find a new employee with the company. He does not construct an identity that resigns from looking for a job, but in contrast involves a *regaining* strategy type.

'Then I said, in that case I'm sorry. Please find someone else.' (Andrej 456–457)	<u>regaining</u> choices (I make choices)

Andrej made the choice against an opportunity offered to him, as did Dimitros, who before enrolling at university relinquished a job opportunity for which he would have only needed 'little knowledge of German':

'Yes, I had an offer as a draftsman with <u>little knowledge of Ger-man</u> and that means I could work as a draftsman. But I wanted to take a German course and <u>study</u> afterwards, and I relinquished the appointment.' (Dimitros 53–56)	<u>Regaining</u> choices (I make choices)

Andrej and Dimitros reject job offers they received parallel to (Andrej) and before their studies (Dimitros), and both decide to give priority to obtaining their degree first. Dimitros regards 'little knowledge of German' as sufficient for the work of a draftsman. He distances himself from that low position, raising the status of studies (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 16) in contrast to work that only requires little German knowledge. Both Andrej and Dimitros construct the identities of professionals who are in the position to reject offers, and who do not have to accept an opportunity for work that is below their skills or does not meet their expectations. By describing how they refused the offer, they can construct identities that address their own expectations to the alleged dominant interactional partner, reversing the structures of power and shaping the image of a more confident professional. They present themselves as not agreeing to expectations and thus they do not internalise the attitudes of others (Heatherton & Wyland 2003).

Lya continues to use resigning strategies to construct her professional identity, but before she does so, she hypothesises about the value of her degree. This text unit is consulted as additional material (Kuckartz 2014) to gain further insights into Lya's own evaluation of her career development in Germany.

'Definitely, if you have got that German degree, that's different than if you're maybe from, and especially maybe if you're from our countries. That's (incomprehensible) <u>to bring a degree</u>. Although maybe first basics and knowledge are from there, from our countries. But when they realise that one has studied here, then maybe employers have different expectations.' (Lya 113–118)	hypothesis about value of degree

The 'expectations' of employers are held against 'first basics' from 'our countries', and against having 'studied here'. Lya groups several countries together as 'our countries', without further specifying which countries she refers to and why they count as one group. Thus, these countries are less defined than Germany and 'here', and they almost seem irrelevant.

In section 2.2.2, I outline the notion of 'human capital' and 'cultural capital' versus the findings that in practice obtaining recognition of foreign degrees is still difficult, although the Federal Government's Recognition Act encourages this process. Lya personifies degrees as goods that you can 'bring', and at the same time classifies these degrees of 'our countries' as basic, in comparison to a German degree. In comparison to Lya, Maria ("I feel that now I integrate into this life, this second life. Before I didn't.", 94-95) uses her life in a metaphoric way that allows her to count her life after migration to Germany as the 'second life'. In doing so, Maria's life becomes a countable resource, and she even adds the 'third life' to refer to her future professional life ("Maybe there's going to be a third life.", 629). Her metaphorical use of her life shows how she manages her expectations of her current situation, which she understands as a transition to professional life, just as Lya does with expectations of the German degree expressed in the hypothetical utterance above.

The following quote of Andrej substantiates Lya's view on the value of foreign degrees. Andrej describes the situation after he had officially obtained recognition of his degree from the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, allowing him to carry a certified job title. His career plans, however, did not develop at all, and all his applications remained unanswered.

'Then I thought: it's starting now. But it all went downhill. Therefore, I couldn't move up.' (Andrej 202–203)	resigning hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

Earlier in this response, Andrej explains that he should have lied and not told anyone about his degree (appendix A12), because those who migrated without a degree were offered professional training and are now better off than him. He describes that finally, when he had learned the language, he thought that his career would 'start … now'. Then, he uses the orientational metaphor 'downhill' to describe that 'it all' got even worse, and that he could not find any job in his field. He argues that this negative development is the reason why 'he couldn't move up'. In his hypotheses about his degree, the orientational metaphor of everything going down opposes the one of him not being able to go up. The movement is a representation of his professional development: down instead of up, leaving him unable to move, at least to where he was before 'it all went downhill'. He uses a *resigning* strategy type to illustrate that he did not have any option in his situation, constructing the identity of a professional that is depending on structures he cannot influence, like the labour market that will not accept his degree and instead supports those without any academic degree. Like Andrej, Iannis refers to his development by using an orientational metaphor, when he asks himself why he cannot take a further step up ("Why isn't there any progress? Why can't I take one

step further up? I am sitting here, what am I doing wrong?", 303-304) towards better knowledge and performance at university. In this way, the orientational metaphors help both Andrej and Iannis to refer to the more abstract experience of missing validation by communities of relevance.

In contrast to Andrej, Lya did not apply for a job with her degree, because she already suspected that her degree would not be sufficient.

'I did not do it myself, but whenever I asked, for example the others, when I did that German course, they always told me that it's going to be difficult and so on. Then they scared me more and more, that I wouldn't make it. Maybe with a German degree.' (Lya 121–129)	<u>resigning</u> hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

Lya says that the assumption that she would not make it with a foreign degree was not her own, but that 'the others' in her language class scared her 'more and more'. Her fear is that 'she wouldn't make it', and then, she concedes, 'maybe with a German degree'. Even now that she is obtaining a German degree (after the data collection for this thesis was completed, Lya successfully graduated with a master's degree), it remains unclear whether she will find a job in the field of her graduation. In sum, Lya constructs a student identity that is subject to the opinions and evaluations of others, and that is also scared by others. Her cultural capital was devaluated by others before she obtained her degree, and then again after she had brought it to Germany. In contrast to findings that were presented in section 3.2 and that confirm the importance of the validation of skills and knowledge by other members of the same community (Stryker & Burke 2000; Burke & Stets 2009), for example other students or colleagues, the disapproval of her cultural capital leads to a negative perspective for her professional future: 'I wouldn't make it. Maybe with a German degree'. Lya's two reference communities, those in her home country who tell her that the degree will not be recognised in the European reality, and the others in her language class, do not contribute to the construction of a confident student identity, but quite on the contrary deconstruct it, as she had studied 'for nothing'.

Then, Lya constructs an identity of a graduate engineer who went back to university for postgraduate studies in her field and actively shapes her role as an experienced student who will reintegrate into highly skilled employment. Although she has a young child and her husband in Germany while her family remained in Iraq, she never mentions her private situation as impeding her studies. There are, however, moments in which she is less confident,

or in which she does not relate to her professional identity. This is displayed by resigning strategy types which she uses in the interview situation, as explained in the following.

'Then I even have, when I was in my country, that I studied for <u>nothing</u>, for example when I go to Europe, that our degrees won't be recognised there, <u>only as a paper</u> so to say, but <u>not in reality</u>.' (Lya 135–138)	<u>resigning</u> hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

In the quote above, Lya explains that her degree would only be valid in her country, but not in Europe. This knowledge that she gains while she is studying, and it sounds as if she is told to be prepared for possible disappointments on the one hand, and that on the other hand it is within Europe's responsibility to recognise the degrees. Lya's retrospectively reflects on her—at that time—future career plans that would be hindered 'when I go to Europe'. On a metaphorical level, she contradicts the two source domains "as a paper" and "in reality" to create a hierarchy between the official recognition of her degree ("as a paper") and the lack of its recognition "in reality". "As a paper" occurs as being "down" in terms of an orientational metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15), because it is introduced with "only" and therefore ironically locates the official recognition on a lower level of value that the recognition "in reality". Lya differentiates between her degree as a paper certificate and her degree in reality, which relates well to the general background of this thesis as outlined in chapter 2. Even though there were participants who had obtained official recognition of their degree by the state (section 4.3), they did not succeed in positioning themselves on the highly skilled labour market. This reality is extended by Lya to the European context, which makes the factual recognition of foreign degrees look even more difficult. In using a quantity-related source domain and lowering the quantity down to "nothing" demonstrates the very low expectation Lya herself has of having success with her foreign degree. Lya positions herself as someone who studied 'for nothing', and as an individual she stands against 'Europe' and their 'reality'—a highly asymmetrical relation within which she clearly has the inferior, helpless position. Lya's experience at the employment office again results in a resigning strategy that does not involve much agency in terms of her possibilities for work, as she states that "they couldn't offer me something else". She does show agency however in refusing and offer to continue with language classes that would help her with "normal vocational training", which she "didn't want". The metaphorical lowering of a vocational training to a "normal" level shows that this option for her is not interesting, as she has a concept of an "ideal way" instead of the "normal" one. The contradicting source domains "normal" and "ideal" thus help Lya to show that even without specifying what the "ideal way" was, she had agency to reject the offer of the employment office. Furthermore, the "way" metaphor

as introduced by many other interviewees (section 6.4) relates to plans that she sees to her future and indicates that even though her student identity is still a resigning one in terms of her original intentions, she still has these intentions on her mind.

'When I was at the employment office, for example, they thought it is a pity that I am doing something different here now. Because normally you should be able to work if you have that kind of degree. But they also couldn't offer me something else, only these classes that would maybe help me or they offered me to start a <u>normal vocational training</u>, but I didn't want that. I didn't think that was <u>the ideal way</u>.' (Lya 159–164)	<u>resigning</u> hindered intentions (I planned my career but something stopped it)

Shortly after that, Lya responds to the question about what she usually replies when someone in Germany asks her for her profession. Using the resigning strategy of a disparate comparison, Lya explains that she is not an engineer. Although she holds a bachelor's degree in engineering, which she brought from Iraq, she denies her cultural capital. Instead, she identifies as a student.

'Maybe just student, right? I cannot just say that I am an engineer.' (Lya 170-171)	<u>resigning</u> disparate comparison (I am not)

Vladyslav responds to this question in a similar way. Vladyslav came to Germany as part of a family reunification together with his wife and two young children. He is a graduate engineer from Ukraine, where he worked several years for municipal infrastructure planning. As a response, however, he states the following:

'I'm an engineer, but I'm a Ukrainian engineer.' (Vladyslav 156)	<u>resigning</u> disparate comparison (I am not)

Vladislav identifies himself with the professional community of engineers as well as with his culture, while he simultaneously disidentifies with the professional community of those who are engineers, but not Ukrainian. The construction of his professional identity is influenced by the perspective of others on his culture and the value of his degree.

7.1.2 Disclosing and regaining strategies: 'I now feel like, I do something'

Lya starts engaging more self-confident strategies for the construction of her professional identity as the interview starts to focus on her current situation at university. After she felt lost and desperate in the first semester, her situation has now dramatically improved. At the time of the interview, her second semester had already started.

'Well, in the beginning I was desperate if I want to continue at all, or if in the end, I would quit or something like that. Now I feel <u>much better</u> and I feel necessary, <u>valuable</u> so to say.' (Lya 177–179)	<u>disclosing</u> appreciation (I appreciate myself)

Lya describes her desperate feelings and her consideration to quit studies during the first semester, but then opposes her desperation to her current feeling, which is 'much better'. She then explains her better feelings by constructing a student identity that is 'necessary' and 'valuable'. Her identity is attached to value, which she derives from having made it to the second semester and not having to quit her studies. The higher quantity (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 16) implied in this utterance correlates her status with the more powerful position of someone who is 'necessary'. She does not internalise the attitude of hopelessness (Heatherton & Wyland 2003). Instead, she turns the dominance of an institutional framework that she is exposed to into the increase of her value, redefining her own power (Musolf 2003) as an individual in interaction with the university as an institution and the locus of various social interactions. This can also be exemplified with a quote from Seherzada.

'I feel so powerful and so happy. And more valuable, you can say. And simply that I have the opportunity to do all that. A couple of years ago, I was the same person. But I did not have such an opportunity. And with this opportunity, I'm worth more and I have this feeling that you can do everything and achieve everything.' Seherzada (387–392)	disclosing appreciation (I appreciate myself)

Both Seherzada and Lya appreciate themselves more now, and she uses this disclosing strategy to construct an identity that went through a change. By quantifying the value of the source domain ("more valuable", "worth more", "much better", "valuable"), their perceived value in terms of cultural capital has risen since they commenced pursuing a German university degree. In Seherzada's case, it is a change of opportunities, as she states that she was 'the same person' before she pursued her studies. She says that it is 'this opportunity' that makes her 'worth more', enabling her to 'do everything' and 'achieve everything'. She relates her feeling of 'worth' to the opportunity to study again, indicating that without the one, the other did not exist either. In Lya's case, the change went from the insecurity to someone who feels actually needed and who has value. From this point in the interview, Lya refers to her professional identity as a member of society in a broader sense and as part of a (future) professional community at university. Similarly, Iannis uses a personification of the requalification program to express that with the help of this program, he was enabled to study and enhance his chances of professional participation. By describing that the program 'embraced' him ("The program embraced us to give us an opportunity", 668), he refers both to his regaining of cultural capital through studying, and to his dependence on the program which facilitates the regaining process.

Lya has several intentions to engage with her social surroundings. Describing these intentions is part of the regaining strategy types that construct her student identity. She relates her individual contribution to the society that she lives and wants to participate in.

'For me, for my family and actually also for this country. Because I am here and I don't like it, if you come here and just take from a country, but don't pass on anything, or spend, right. I want to, <u>this country has given me a lot</u>, and then I also want to return something.' (Lya 180–184)	<u>regaining</u> intentions (I received something and I want to give it back)

Lya broadens her reference point from herself to her family and then on 'this country'. She introduces an opposition between 'you' who just come 'here' and 'I'. While 'here' defines the space in which she and her family are, 'you' come and take from it without returning. She uses a personification of 'this country' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 33) to underline the significance that the society she lives in has for her. She introduces her role as a gradually developing one. First, her position was rather powerless, receiving 'a lot', which depicts her as probably also needing a lot. Then, her role advances, as she is now in the position to involve agency and 'return something'. Her intention to give back to the country she received from shows a strong relation between the individual Lya and the society that has supported her in the time after her migration. The identity she constructs has been affected by her societal surroundings, and this reciprocal relation between larger societal structures and herself underlines her confident professional identity. The way that she constructs her student identity, as involving and participating, shows that she does not only invest in studies as an expansion of her cultural capital, but that she also sees her time at the university as a possibility to actively participate in actual communities—for example, when she helps other students—as well as in imagined communities, like 'this country'. Her example shows how participation in communities (section 3.3) is crucial for a confident construction of professional identities.

Shortly afterwards, she comes back to participation in professional communities, referring to a future professional community in her field that she is hoping to become a member of once she has graduated. She repeatedly states that she will 'hopefully' be able to work in 'her field', which again proves that relevant professional communities positively influence the construction of professional communities. She also equals 'this degree' with 'better chances', indicating that with her other degree her chances were much worse, as she had described before.

'Well, now in my field. Right, now in the field that I study in. Hopefully I'll have better chances with this degree.' (Lya 194–196)	<u>regaining</u> intentions (I would like to work as .../ I hope to have chances in ...)

Maria has similar expectations of her degree like Lya has, and she uses the orientational metaphor of a continuing path to illustrate that she is at the beginning of this path at the moment (Maria 265–268), as she started to pursue her studies. She also states that from now on, everything really starts off, which illustrates how confidently she constructs a professional identity in the light of future participation in professional communities.

Lya later contrasts herself to an image that exists about foreign women. Although she counts herself in that group, which she indicates by saying 'I didn't want that for myself', she positions herself as different from the group she describes. She reclaims her identity as a skilled person with regaining strategy types to contrast herself to others, as exemplified in the following:

'There is this image here for women, who are foreigners, so to say, that they only have babies and do nothing and only live from social welfare, for example, and I didn't want that for myself, and neither for my child. That my child would then <u>grow up in such an atmosphere</u>, right. Therefore, I now feel like, I do something. Yes, I can do something.' (Lya 244–249)	<u>regaining</u> choices (I make choices)

Lya finds herself confronted with an image that she says others have of foreign women, and that she does not want to comply to. The discursive situation of the interview enables her to explain that there are others, and that she does not want their situation for her child and herself. Lya constructs an identity by contrasting 'do nothing' with 'do something', and 'can do nothing' respectively. She does not comment on whether she agrees with the image that she says others have of foreign women, but she takes a stance by underlining that she, in opposition to those who supposedly do nothing, *can* do something. She clearly positions herself against this image, extending this stand to her child. She again does not clarify the atmosphere that refers to the negative opinion others attach to foreign women or if the atmosphere refers to actually living on social welfare, but she does feel enabled to do something and not compare herself to 'this image'. In addition, Lya uses the metaphorical reference "in such an atmosphere" to describe the kind of sentiments and perceptions that she fears her child would be confronted with if according to the "image here for women, who are foreigners" she "only lived from social welfare". Thus, she metaphorically supports her agency by drawing on a contrary example, which she does not identify with to contradict it with her understanding of her role in society, and with her agency as someone who can "do something".

The suggestion that she 'can do something' is then underlined by her use of a disclosing strategy to construct a self-appreciative professional identity. She does that using the example of her achievement at university, which again speaks for how Lya constructs her professional identity as strongly related to her performance at university. Lya presents her skills to others and receives validation for them. This has been outlined in section 3.3 as vital for the construction of professional identities. Lya demonstrates her appreciation for her achievements as follows:

'When I wrote the seminar paper. Although there were many difficulties, too, it nonetheless worked. And I was proud of that.' (Lya 289–291)	<u>disclosing</u> appreciation (I appreciate myself)

Lya had to write a seminar paper as part of her master's degree. She states that it worked, 'although there were many difficulties'. Interestingly, she does not connect the difficult yet successful process to herself personally and remains neutral about it ('there', 'it'). In the sentence that introduces the seminar paper and in the one that characterises her achievement as something to be 'proud of', she then uses the personal pronoun 'I'. She discloses a successful student identity that confidently speaks about her achievement.

The following quote of Sunita substantiates Lya's case and how she refers to achievements as a fundamental contribution to the construction of her own identity. Sunita, in fact, is one of the very few cases that directly broaches the issue of 'identification'.

'That I'm not only mum and wife and so on, but that I am also me. That I accomplished that myself, right. And that's what I want, right. For me this is such a, for me this is like such a feeling, that I can also love myself. Not only children and husband and everything, but also myself as a person. <u>With an own identification</u>, with own skills and achievements. That is very important for me.' (Sunita 238–244)	<u>regaining</u> choices (I look after myself now)

In contrast to Lya, Sunita uses regaining strategies to describe the importance of her own performance. While Lya speaks about something that she has already accomplished and that she can be proud of now, Sunita remains vaguer about whether she is referring to a specific accomplishment, such as an assignment or test. Instead, it is the general desire to be successful that depicts her as a skilled individual. Sunita had given this response to the question why she feels at home when she can work in her field. That question was added to the topic how she had imagined her professional life in Germany (appendix A1/A2), because she mentioned that she would gain self-esteem if she worked in her field. I then asked her if she could describe that feeling of self-esteem, and she responded as quoted above. Sunita begins to construct her identity, which has 'own skills and achievements' with enumerating what she

does not want to be reduced to— 'only mum and wife and so on'—followed by what she thinks she also is— 'I am also me'. By opposing the second part of the sentence, 'I am also me', to what she not only is, she emphasises what she really is. She continues by underlining that she wants to have accomplished something by herself, repeating that this is what she wants. Again, the accomplishment, the doing of something is regarded as crucial 'for me'. Sunita thinks that her accomplishments would allow her to love herself, 'not only' her family. She relates a self-affirmative identity to the accomplishments she hopes to achieve in her profession. She highlights the 'own', repeating it twice with regards to her identification, skills and achievements. In contrast to the identity that Sunita ascribes to herself within her family, 'mum and wife and so on', she shapes her role (Turner 1991) as not being related to a private life, but to performances in her professional life. Moreover, she personifies "identification" as something that she now owns, and thus underlines the importance that professional identification has for her self-confidence and for her role as an active participant in society.

Lya's self-confident professional identity is then demonstrated in situations of involvement. In contrast to the beginning, when she felt lost during her first semester, she is now confident enough to reach out for help, and she also involves several strategies to get help.

'When I know that I still need help, then I either ask the other students, who maybe get along better, or <u>our friend internet</u> for example, there's always something written there, right. And if none of this works, then books from the library, for example.' (Lya 374–378)	<u>regaining</u> involvement (I ask if I need help/I know where to get help)

Lya also questions that she constantly needs help by referring to only those situations in that she 'still' needs help. Furthermore, there are only other students who 'maybe' get along better, whereby Lya claims a position among those who get along well. She is very relaxed about getting help from 'our friend internet', where she always can find an answer. Furthermore, she personifies the internet as 'our friend', lifting it to the same level as her and the other students. She seems fully capable and not in danger of feeling lost again, like at the beginning of her first semester. Thus, she constructs a sovereign professional identity that is not ashamed to confess that there might still be situations in which help is needed, and that she is confident to find help, because 'if none of this works' there is still the library.

In section 3.2, I have pointed at the research of Stryker & Burke (2000), who demonstrate how the construction of professional identity relates to the performance of work roles, and the validation of these performances by others. Furthermore, Pratt et al. (2006: 26) argue

that 'doing' is at the heart of identity formation', suggesting the acting as vital in processes of identity construction. Instead of adapting to what Lya says others think of a group that she belongs to ('women, who are foreigners, so to say'), she sees 'do something' as her possibility to shape a role that is outside of the reference group. Lya also gets involved at university, which I have defined as a strategy type of the regaining typology. She helps other students based on her experiences:

'Maybe the foreigners that are new. Now, in <u>this</u> semester, I got to know some, they remind me of myself, when I was in my <u>first</u> semester. When you really feel insecure and lost, right. So <u>now</u> I try to help the new ones, where I can, right. Because I've already had this experience, and for example I can explain things to them that I have already done, and things like that. So, I'm ready, if I've got time. Yes, then I'm always there for them.' (Lya 470–477)	<u>regaining</u> involvement (I help others)

The experiences she builds on are added to her cultural capital. Lya puts herself in a position that is superior to those who are 'new' at university, stating that 'the foreigners that are new' remind her of herself during the first time. She relates the first semester, which is already past to her, to insecurity and the feeling of being lost, suggesting an inferior, weaker position (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) for those new foreigners in opposition to her own position. She 'has already been there', indicating that she is now not anymore, that she has moved on and is in the superior position to 'help the new ones'. By applying a limitation— 'if I've got time'—to her offer of help, she constructs a student identity whose help is more valuable, as her time is restricted.

She actively offers her help to students, as demonstrated in the following quote, describing the new student as 'insecure', as she was before. Thus, she enhances her own position and constructs a professional identity that possesses agency, grouping herself as 'we are five students' in contrast to 'this student from Syria'. In addition to being confident enough to offer help, she is now a member of a community that works together and that is in her field.

'And this student from Syria, she is actually also in her second semester, but she started too late last semester, in November or December or so, and she is still very insecure and so on. We have a presentation on Thursday. This time we are five students, and she actually had not joined us yet when we were working on it. So, I told her that I can explain it to her and then we were in our building V15 today and then we did it together.' (Lya 482–490)	<u>regaining</u> involvement (I help others)

Lya opposes the Syrian student 'who is still very insecure and so on' and had joined the group too late to her group of students, who 'were working on it', the presentation. Hence, she increases her role and claims a more powerful position than the one that the Syrian stu-

dent has. In addition, she describes the university building as 'our building', which underlines how she identifies herself as part of the university. Just shortly after the above response, Lya confirms that:

'Yes, yes, yes. When I can offer something, then of course you feel more secure.' (Lya 495–496)	<u>Regaining</u> involvement (I help others)

She repeats the confirmation 'yes' three times and then states that helping is not only a unilateral act of altruism, but above all makes one 'feel more secure'. Thus, her level of security is based on her own experiences from her first semester, her involvement in specific groups of her field of study and, not least, on the security that she earns by offering 'something', help to others.

7.2   Summary

In this chapter, I have shown how the research question links to the empirical data of this thesis (section 6.1), and on this basis, I have explained the formation of theory- and data-driven strategy type to carry out a type-building content analysis. In this context, I have dimensionalised the strategy types with the help of their attributes and with examples from the interviews (section 6.2). In section 6.3, I described the steps that were involved in order to develop a model of four typologies, each of them incorporating different strategy types to construct professional identities. On this basis, I examined Lya's case and the strategy types that she deployed discursively. Furthermore, I have shown that, with the help of metaphors and personifications, the interviewees were able to display relations of power and agency in their identity constructions. By combining the analysis of orientational metaphors and personifications that are used to refer to more abstract concepts of professional participation, professional performance and the recognition of international degrees, I could extend the type-building content analysis by adding an additional dimension that included the use of conceptual metaphor in discursive practice.

Although Lya was not employed in her field at the time of the interview, she engages with provisional positive work-related roles (Ibarra 1999), because she went back to university to take further studies in her field. As a result, she hopes to 'position' (Henkelman 2012) herself on the labour market. Her further study helped to demonstrate professional skills to others. After a long period of unemployment, Lya is now redefining her role, claiming more power and agency.

In the following section, I move from a close perspective on a single case to a more distant perspective on the quality of my research project, with particular focus on the coding frame and the results of the inter-coder-agreement. I conclude with some thoughts on the validity of this thesis.

7.3 Discussion of the findings with regards to quality criteria

This study has been conducted in an interpretivist approach. In section 5.1, I outlined the characteristics of qualitative research in contrast to quantitative approaches, which influenced my decisions on the methodological approach and the research instruments. Consequently, the presentation of the findings and their validation is different between quantitative and qualitative research projects as well. While quantitative findings rely on a researcher's objectivity and focus on theory-driven results, qualitative projects allow for detailed descriptions of single cases in relation to their context (Kelle 2007). Validity of qualitative research is not so much to be proven at the end of the research process, as a separate step, but accompanies the entire research process (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015), guiding the researcher on the way from the initial steps to the final conclusions. The way in which the findings were gained, and the individual steps of a research project leading to methodological decisions are in the focus of qualitative projects. The explorative and interpretivist approach of this thesis has required several reflections on the instruments, material and, last but not least, on my role as a researcher. These steps were integrated into the steps of my research process and elaborated on in order to proceed. Therefore, I have already reflected on my role as a researcher (section 5.1.1) and pointed out that although my proximity to the field underlines the subjectivity of this thesis, it also allowed unique insights into the field. In Table 3, I demonstrated how the quality standards for interview transcripts established by Kuckartz (2014) apply to this thesis. In this section, the quality of the coding frame is discussed with regards to its stability and consistency. Throughout the discussion, the analysis becomes transparent to a greater scientific community. In the following, I discuss my findings with regards to further quality criteria: the question whether the coding of the interviews was reliable, and the question whether the analysis of the interviews is appropriate with regards to their context.

7.3.1 Piloting the coding frame

The coding frame that guided the analysis of this thesis was derived inductively from the underlying data and deductively from the theoretical framework as outlined in chapters 2 and 3 (see section 6.1 for the link between theoretical background and empirical data). A

preliminary version of the coding frame had been tested after 11.76 per cent (two interviews) of the total of 17 interviews. The pilot testing helped to revise the coding frame by refining and redefining the attributes that constituted it. Furthermore, the piloting assisted to integrate or delete attributes that occurred too rarely to be added to the coding frame. For example, the attribute *I watch news of my home country* was initially composed inductively, because I considered it a sign of agency with regards to how individuals can shape roles. I thought by describing that they watched news about their home country in their native language, the interviewees would characterise themselves as more informed, more powerful than others. But the attribute could only be coded once in two interviews, and was deleted from the coding frame. The four attributes *I learned German before migration, I learned German after migration, I learned English* and *I understand English* were integrated in one attribute *I learned German/English*. They had initially formed individual strategies, but the distinction between points in time and extension of language acquisition did not prove to be relevant enough with regards to the research question. Consequently, all four strategies were bundled to one, which sufficiently reflected a part of the cultural capital of the interviewees.

All attributes of the coding frame were also discussed with other researchers[70] who were not involved in this thesis. Thus, their design gained objectivity as they had to withstand a critical review. The total number of 30 attributes was manageable to describe the dimensions of all strategy types (Kuckartz 2014: 121), because they captured the diversity of the interview data and at the same time consistently represented the research question. Therefore, piloting the coding frame contributed to the methodological strength of this thesis (Mayring 2014: 13).

7.3.2 Intra-coder-agreement

There are quality criteria that specifically relate to qualitative content analyses and ensure that the researcher's findings can be validated by a scientific community. Generally, in QCA a coding frame that is applied to text can be validated in two different ways. Either way, the same coding frame is applied to the same data by at least two coders. In this case, the actual processes of coding are carried out independently from each other, and the aim of both procedures is to compare the agreement between the two individual coding results, which is the inter-coder-agreement (Mayring 2014: 114). Or, the same coding frame is applied by the one researcher to the same data, but at a different point of time. In that case, the stability of the

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[70] I thank A. Eickhorn and M. Neigert for citically evaluating the coding frame and contributing a second and third perspective during the process of data analysis.

coding frame is the aim (Schreier 2012: 167). This thesis dealt with very heterogeneous material with regards to the experiences the interviewees talked about, and the strategies they used to discursively construct professional identities. The research question was explorative. Therefore, I decided to test the intra-coder agreement rather than the intercoder-agreement. To ensure the highest possible distance to the coding frame that I had constructed, the second analysis was carried out ten months after the first coding (appendix A11). This re-test improved the reliability of my research, as the coding frame proved to be stable with regards to the consistency of both data- and theory-driven categories. I described the hermeneutic circle (Figure 3) that guided the mutual influence of the theoretical framework and the empirical basis of my thesis. On its basis, I argued that the cyclic enhancement of my approach to the reviewed literature and my understanding of the interviews significantly improved the process of the analysis. Through the recoding of conducted for the intra-coder-agreement, the cyclic understanding of theory and data gained more stability, as it proved to be sufficiently reflected in the first coding procedure. This was confirmed by the result of the intra-coder-agreement, which showed a high conformity (95.2 per cent) of the percentage of agreement within the absolute frequency of categories

The intra-coder-agreement also helped me to distance myself from my research process and hence achieve a more objective perspective on the instrument of coding. As I chose an intra-coder-agreement to test the reliability of my analysis, it is important to test the semantical validity of the categories themselves (Krippendorff 2013). To test whether the individual attributes, which in this thesis stand for categories (section 6.1), were suitable, all coded text units were compared to them and it was confirmed whether the coding frame similarly represented them. The validity of the sample has been described as sufficient (section 5.1.3.2) with regards to the balanced representation of interviewees by gender (52.94 per cent female and 47.06 per cent male) and the proportional representation of foreign degrees in engineering and economics present in the overall project. Furthermore, the sample stands for the diversity of nationalities and professional experiences encompassed by the overall project. The coefficient of agreement on the absolute frequency of coded attributes is 95.2 per cent, which I consider to be fairly good. This positive result is reassuring considering the consistency and validity of the analysis, but it also shows the limitation of the quality check that I carried out in order to test these aspects. An inter-coder-agreement between two independent researchers would probably have resulted in a lower coefficient of agreement, which suggests an even more neutral test of the analysis findings. On the other hand, it is question-

able whether an inter-coder-agreement would have actually been more accurate. As this thesis is based on heterogeneous data and the research question relates to complex theoretical background, other coders would have required an intense introduction before the inter-coder-check. Extensive explanations of the data material and the theoretical framework that led to the construction of my coding frame would also have influenced the results of an inter-coder-agreement. I therefore consider the results of the intra-coder-agreement as validating the analysis of this thesis.

7.3.3   Some concluding thoughts on the validity of this thesis

In a qualitative research process, the researcher stands between the claim that findings need to be validated by quality standards, and the engagement with the individuals that form the core of the study (Mishler 1986: 170). If the need for justification of the findings in the light of the theoretical framework predominates the curiosity and openness for unique insights into the cases, then that 'may tell us something about the relative power in the world' (1986: 170). The quality criteria applied in this thesis ensure the transparency of the process and therefore contribute to its validity. At the same time, I have pointed out the limitations of the validity check that I applied to the coding frame, whilst remaining nonbiased to flaws in the intra-coder-agreement. Consequently, the diversity of the data and the findings remain the focus of the finding, aiming for a profound understanding of the interviewees' complex cases (Rosenwald 1985: 682). Nonetheless, the size of the sample stands for a unique group on the one hand, and for representative cases on the other hand. Based on the findings of the analysis that were presented in this chapter, the following chapter draws conclusions that relate to the broader context framing this thesis: how professional identities are linked to the situation of immigrant graduates in Germany.

8 Conclusion

This thesis has examined discursive strategies that were used by immigrant graduates to construct professional identities. The context of the immigrant graduates was closely related to Germany's development towards an immigration country. In chapter 2, I outlined that although Germany had *de facto* been relying on and benefiting from immigration since the 1950s, its evolution to be *de jure* a country of immigration had only progressed slowly. The current discourse on highly skilled migration reveals that although the country's development towards a post-migrant society has been relatively slow, the international expertise of immigrant graduates is urgently needed. Particularly highly skilled migration is of high interest for society in light of three aspects.

Firstly, settled immigrant graduates seem to regain self-confident professional identities through participation in professional communities, as this thesis has shown. Therefore, it is timely and necessary to draw the attention of the discourse on highly skilled migration towards settled immigrant graduates. Simply put, the questions to be raised should be where they are and how they can participate in professional communities.

Secondly, population in Germany is ageing, and the industry has announced a skills shortage for quite some time (Federal Press Office 2010). Hence, the economic utilisation of cultural capital is inevitable, and settled immigrant graduates can significantly contribute to the economic stability and growth (Keeley 2009).

Thirdly, recent developments of migration to Europe and Germany (OECD 2016) raise questions regarding best practice models for integration as well as for the augmentation of cultural capital like professional skills and expertise. This is important for the enrichment of our society and the empowerment of those whose potential until now remain unrecognised and idle (Nohl et al. 2010; Hermann 2012). This thesis addresses all three aspects of participation of immigrant graduates in Germany. In the following, they are resumed with regards to the findings of this thesis and their relevance for the enhancement of immigrant graduates' participation on the labour market and thus in society.

In chapter 3, I highlighted the importance of participation in professional communities for confident constructions of professional identities. Participation in professional communities largely enhances the construction of professional identities (Bergami & Bagozzi 2000; Fine 1996). Professional roles are co-constructed in interaction. These interactions are reciprocal influences of individuals and their societal and institutional context (Mead 2015; Goffman

1961). Professional identity then is formed by roles that are attached to professionals (Stryker & Burke 2000), and that are adapted to and shaped in professional communities. Validation of professional roles is given within and through professional communities. In other words, the acting of (professional) roles (Goffman 1961) is vital for the self-confident construction of (professional) identities. As participation in professional communities is crucial, I have argued in section 3.3 that even imagined or provisional communities (Ibarra 1999) help to identify with future work-related roles.

In the interviews conducted for this thesis, imagined professional communities added a professional level to the conversations. Most interviewees had not been recognised in their professional context yet, and in the interviews, they could relate to imagined or future professional communities and thus construct professional identities which they had not yet owned. In this thesis, professional identities were constructed through regaining and disclosing strategies (section 6.3). Using a type-building content analysis (section 6.3), I formed a fourfold typology model that offered the four types of resigning, adapting, regaining and disclosing strategy types to locate strategies of professional identity constructions. As described in the introduction, my research interest emanated from the fact that I was working with a group of immigrant graduates who only reluctantly communicated their skills and expertise.

In light of the resumed factors of identity construction and professional participation, my findings have shown that power was present within the interactions displayed in the interviews, even when it was not directly related to conscious repression (Bublitz 2003). It constituted the interviewee's reality because it shaped their identities when they adapted to and acted within relations of asymmetrically distributed power. In the introduction, I outlined the framework of my research and raised two research questions about the strategies used to support the discursive construction of their professional identities, and about the demonstration of agency within these constructions.

After having discussed the findings, which showed how Lya used resigning and regaining strategies to construct her professional identity, it is now necessary to ask how immigrant graduates' skills can be more present on the highly skilled labour market, and how can chances for participation in professional communities can be improved. It is here where the inside perspective from the participants of this thesis on labour market and society meets the outside perspective of this context on immigrant graduates, and the present thesis contributes to link these two perspectives. The short-term output resulting from merging these two perspectives must then be to conduct further interviews with the same participant group in order

to find out whether they have been able to position themselves on the highly skilled labour market, and whether their participation in professional communities has been successfully improved[71]. This leads to the middle-term consequences of this thesis as outlined below.

To draw on an example from the data, Lya's case has shown that the recent changes of Germany's attitude towards highly skilled immigration have not yet fully changed the situation of those immigrant graduates who are already settled, but whose potential remains idle. Like many settled immigrant graduates (Henkelmann 2012; Nohl et al. 2010; Sackmann 2004), Lya faced challenges when it came to the practical recognition of her degree on the labour market. As Lya did not see opportunities to develop her career in Germany after she had already worked as an engineer in Iraq, she ceased her career plan, even more discouraged by the opinions of other immigrants and her former university teachers on the chances of being employed in the field. Although she had migrated to Germany while the changes of Germany's immigration and integration politics were just starting to have an impact on politics and society, she had not largely benefited from the commitments stated in the National Action Plan on Integration (National Plan on Integration 2008) and from the legal and societal changes that aim for a change of Germany as an official immigration country. While the public discourse on highly skilled immigration continued and the concept of cultural capital (Henkelmann 2012) had gained attention as a result of the discussions on human capital (Creutz 2004), Lya, as most other interviewees, had not had a chance to present her cultural capital and only felt more confident with regards to her profession after she pursued her studies in Germany. The question must therefore be whether immigrant graduates themselves see their cultural capital, their degrees, expertise and languages as 'wealth' (Seherzada 68–69), or consider the German degree as a 'treasure' (Yaqub 392–393) in contrast to their first degree. In the latter case, identification with the first degree and professional career can be low, and negatively affect the construction of professional identities. The mid-term consequences of this thesis must therefore be research in other communities of immigrant graduates, such as in Australia or Canada, to explore whether different immigration systems foster the recognition of international credentials, and if a positive attitude towards international degrees positively affects the constructions of professional identities.

With regards to the perspective on the long-term relevance of this thesis, it is obvious that only a sustainable integration of immigrant graduates and their expertise on the German

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[71] Further interviews with the participant group can be initiated through the alumni network of ProSALAMAN-DER.

labour market will lead to the enrichment of the German economy and society. Ways for professional participation need to be eased and broadened. Exclusion from professional participation leads to disidentification with professional identities, as the resigning and adapting strategy types in the analysis of this thesis show (chapter 6). It has taken a long time for the issue of the integration of the so-called 'guest workers' to be broached, and the implementation of integrating migrants of the second and third generation still had to overcome hurdles during recent years. (Mecheril et al. 2010). The ways in which immigrant graduates can—and want to—contribute to the society and labour market are manifold, but their contributions need to be welcomed and recognised. In the experience of the interviewees, employers need to be particularly 'open-minded' (Iannis 190–191) to employ immigrant graduates. It is therefore not only important that immigrant graduates retain a confident attitude towards their degrees in order to present their expertise to others, it is equally important that perspectives of others on foreign degrees change towards an acknowledging manner.

The fact that the interviewees of this thesis had to go back to university even though at the time of their migration they had planned to continue their careers, leads to two further critical views on the current situation of immigrant graduates in Germany. First of all, it must be asked why those who already have obtained a degree needed to spend about two years to obtain a degree which is easier to recognise, when at the same time the skills shortage demands quick and uncomplicated transitions of highly skilled workers into the labour market. Furthermore, it is important to consider the degrees of those who do not have the possibility to prove their credentials. This could have various reasons. Graduates might not have access to their former universities in order to ask for previously obtained credentials. There might as well be no record of those credentials, or the record is not complete. These are only a very few reasons for which an immigrant graduate might not be able to prove their skills on paper. Consequently, they should be given other opportunities to present their knowledge and participate in expert communities. Therefore, a change on the labour market towards a more practice-based recognition of credentials is urgently needed. This long-term perspective on the handling of undocumented credentials and expertise is timely and of high relevance in the light of current immigration numbers in Germany and Europe. The 'insufficient incorporation' of immigrant graduates (Nohl et al. 2014) should not be continued, as the dilemma of the unsatisfactory integration of 'guest workers' is still affecting the successful societal participation of their descendants (Mecheril 2010). The following quote from the data exemplifies the perception of his situation:

> Well most Greeks say, they say that our parents were guest workers in Germany, so that as children we could stay in Greece, they did that for us, and now, well history brings us, fate brings us back here again. Well that is a little bit strange. (Iannis 56–60)

Iannis' parents, who came to Germany as 'guest workers', had adapted to the existing structures. Neither society nor politics undertook serious efforts to actually improve their status, and they remained hard-working 'guests' (Mecheril 2010; Bade 1983). The consequences of these omissions are still present today, for example when it comes to policies concerning multilingual classrooms (Benholz et al. 2015; Stephany 2010). Roll (2003) has furthermore shown that young ethnic Germans and repatriates (chapter 2), for example, face difficulties with regards to their sense of belonging. The integration of immigrant graduates on the German labour market is fostered through participation in professional communities. Furthermore, it contributes to minimise the gap between dominant groups creating the context in which minor groups have to interact (Goffmann 1959). And as professional communities enhance participation, they foster commitment within them, and within society (Caza & Creary 2016). Thus, asymmetrical relationships (Musolf 2003) between those who can participate and those who are excluded from professional participation urgently need to be balanced out, and this thesis has underlined the relevance of this claim, and proposed the advantages of recognising immigrant graduates' expertise and skills.

This thesis has in many ways been a journey. It has described Germany's journey towards a country of immigration—clearly, the destination has not yet been arrived at, but also, the journey has increased speed and taken some promising turns. My own journey as a researcher started as academic staff in the project where I met the participants of this study. This adventurous journey has since been guided by the research question and the methodology that required me to follow systematic steps, which many times helped me to continue my journey through the data. I have developed as a researcher and I will certainly continue to do so in further research projects, which I have indicated in the outlook of this thesis. Most importantly, however, the journey of the participants of this study has been demonstrated in various ways. It is the centrepiece of this study, but it had actually started long before I started my research. Since their decision to migrate to Germany, the immigrant graduates have been through success and disappointment, to resigning from careers, adapting to expectations, regaining agency and disclosing expertise.

9 Beyond this study

The quality of a research project must also be measured by the applicability of its findings to other settings (Malterud 2001: 485). Hence, this chapter outlines how the findings of this thesis contribute to internationally corresponding data on immigrant graduates and their agency in professional communities (Arslan 2015). After the previous chapters have focused on the internal validity of my research, this section now points out how my findings can be applied to other contexts in two different ways. The hypotheses that professional identities are formed through participation in professional groups can be applied to and tested within the same group, but at a different point of time. The hypotheses can also be tested with another group of immigrant graduates in a different immigration setting. Both possibilities for further research are introduced in the following.

At the time of the interviews, the participants were still enrolled at university and at different stages of their studies. Some had already planned their final thesis, while others had about two semesters left before their graduation. Now, nearly two years after the last interview was conducted, it is of great interest for similar and future requalification programs to see whether the interviewees actually could position themselves on the highly skilled labour market and are employed within their field. More importantly, further interviews could verify that continuous professional participation contributes to the construction of professional identities. The typology model (Figure 6) developed for the analysis in this thesis can be applied to and adapted for the coding of further interviews with the same participant group about two years after their graduation from a German university. I suggest that this research can reveal if the participants find that they benefited from a German degree and how they evaluate their chances to engage professional agency. Furthermore, I suppose that coding further interviews with the same participant group can test the impact of professional participation in further depth. This can be achieved by applying the same typology model to interviews with the participants who have been employed in their field. Like this, it can be evaluated whether the strategy types involved in professional identity construction change according to the employment situation of the interviewee. The analysis of Lya's interview showed how she predominantly used regaining strategies to relate to her current student identity in transition to a professional identity. Accordingly, future interview research can examine whether, for instance, disclosing strategy types dominate if the situation of the interviewee has changed from being unemployed to being employed in the field. Thus, the

hypothesis that professional participation enhances the construction of professional identities can be tested by applying the hypothesis to the same participant group at a different point of time.

Moreover, the findings of this thesis should in a future research project be compared to another migration setting. The strength of this study is its emergence from two scientific contexts, namely Germany and Australia. The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on recent developments in the discourse on settled immigrant graduates in Germany and highly skilled migration to Germany. The insights that I gained during my research period in Australia, however, suggest that comparative research would be timely in order to evaluate how professional identity constructions are formed in the Australian context. This would be of high relevance to the findings of the present thesis, as comparative research in the fields of professional identity construction only exists to a minor degree (see e.g. Schmidtke 2007 and Henkelmann 2012 for a comparison between Germany and Canada).

It becomes apparent that the journey I started when I embarked on a travel through the interviews has not come to an end. This thesis offers various ways for continuous research, and the current developments in migration politics show research in this field is both timely and relevant.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide (original version)

1. Ich möchte dich gerne nach deiner persönlichen Einschätzung fragen.
Ohne Deutschkenntnisse braucht man sich auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt nicht zu bewerben.
Stimmt das?

inhaltliche Aspekte	Aufrechterhaltungsfragen	Nachfragen
• Deutschkenntnisse (Selbsteinschätzung, Fremdbewertung) • Deutschlernbiografie	• Wie sehen deine eigenen Erfahrungen aus? • Wie kommst du zu dieser Einschätzung? • Was fällt dir sonst noch ein?	• Warum, wann und wie lange hast du Deutsch gelernt? • Hast du deine Deutschkurse mit einer Prüfung abgeschlossen? Warum?

2. Welchen Universitätsabschluss hast Du mitgebracht, als Du nach Deutschland eingewandert bist?

inhaltliche Aspekte	Aufrechterhaltungsfragen	Nachfragen
• Erwartungen an die berufliche Integration vor/bei Einwanderung	• Hast Du versucht, mit diesem Abschluss in Deutschland Arbeit zu finden? • Kannst Du deine Erfahrungen bei der Arbeitssuche in Deinem Beruf schildern?	• Auf welche Stellen hast Du dich beworben? • Hast Du eine Einladung zum Vorstellungsgespräch bekommen?

3. Wobei kann/soll Dir der deutsche Studienabschluss helfen?

inhaltliche Aspekte	Aufrechterhaltungsfragen	Nachfragen
• ausbildungsadäquate Beschäftigung	• In welchem Bereich möchtest Du arbeiten, wenn Du dein Studium abgeschlossen hast?	• Hast Du schon ein Praktikum gemacht? • Welcher Bereich interessiert Dich besonders? • Welches Vertiefungsseminar hast Du gewählt?

4. Was hat sich für dich verändert, seit du wieder in Deutschland studierst?

inhaltliche Aspekte	Aufrechterhaltungsfragen	Nachfragen
• Selbstverständnis als Fachmann/frau	• Was ist jetzt anders? • Was war vorher anders?	• Was antwortest Du auf die Frage: Was ist Ihr Beruf?

- Bewusstsein über fachliche Kompetenzen
- (äußere) Wertschätzung des neuen Studienabschlusses

- Wie siehst du dich selbst?

5. Wie kommst du mit deinen Deutschkenntnissen an der Uni zurecht? Bitte erzähl doch mal.

inhaltliche Aspekte

- Deutschkenntnisse (Selbsteinschätzung, Fremdbewertung)
- Deutsch im Unialltag

Aufrechterhaltungsfragen

- Kannst du weitere Beispiele/Situationen nennen?
- Warum haben dir die Deutschkenntnisse (nicht) geholfen?

Nachfragen

- Sprichst du mit anderen Studierenden / mit Lehrenden auf Deutsch?
- Welche Rolle spielt Deutsch für dein Fach?
- Brauchst du noch andere Sprachen für dein Fach?
- In welcher Sprache sind deine Lernmaterialien verfasst?

6. Du hast bereits ein Studium außerhalb von Deutschland absolviert. Ich würde jetzt gerne wissen, wie du dein jetziges Studium im Vergleich zu früher empfindest.

inhaltliche Aspekte

- Herausforderungen/Probleme im jetzigen Studium
- Unterschiede in Bezug auf das Alter
- Unterschiede in Bezug auf die Sprachkenntnisse

Aufrechterhaltungsfragen

- Wie war dein erstes Studium?
- Wie ist dein jetziges Studium?
- Und früher? / Und heute?

Nachfragen

- Welche Fähigkeiten brauchst du bei deinem jetzigen Studium?
- Was ist dir damals besonders leicht/schwergefallen?
Was fällt dir heute besonders leicht/schwer?

7. Kannst du dich als Student(in) beschreiben?

inhaltliche Aspekte

- individuelle Disposition
- Unterschiede in Bezug auf das Alter
- Unterschiede in Bezug auf die Sprachkenntnisse
- Unterschiede in der Art des Studierens

Aufrechterhaltungsfragen

- Wie studieren die anderen?
- Wie studierst du?
- Unterscheidet ihr euch? Wenn ja, wo?

Nachfragen

- Wo siehst du Unterschiede zu deinen Kommilitonen/Kommilitoninnen?
- Welche Vorteile/Nachteile hast du gegenüber den anderen?
Kannst du/können die anderen etwas besser/schlechter?

8. Möchtest du sonst noch etwas zum Thema erzählen, das ich nicht gefragt habe?

inhaltliche Aspekte	Aufrechterhaltungsfragen	Nachfragen
• sonstiges	• zum Beispiel? • Wie meinst du das?	• sonstiges

9. Wie hast du das Gespräch empfunden?

inhaltliche Aspekte	Aufrechterhaltungsfragen	Nachfragen
• individuelles Empfinden als Befragte(r) • Feedback	• zum Beispiel? • Wie meinst du das?	• sonstiges

Appendix 2: Interview guide (translated)

1. I would like to ask for the way you see it.

You don't need to apply for a job on the German labour market without knowledge of the German language.

Do you think that's true?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
• knowledge of the German language (self-assessment, evaluation by others) • German learning biography	• What are your personal experiences? • Why do you see it that way? • Is there anything else you'd like to mention?	• Why, when and for how long did you learn German? • Did you do any German tests or exams? Why?

2. What kind of university degree did you have when you immigrated to Germany?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
• expectations on professional integration before and at the time of immigration	• Did you try to find a job with your university degree on the German labour market? • What are your experiences with job hunting in Germany?	• What kind of jobs did you apply for? • Have you been invited for a job interview?

3. How can a German university degree help you?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
• occupation in suitable jobs regarding the university degree	• Is there a special field you'd like to work in after your graduation?	• Have you already done practical training? • Which professional field are you interested in? • Which field of specialization did you choose for your studies?

4. What has changed since you are studying in Germany?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
• self-perception as a professional specialist • awareness of professional skills	• What is different? • What has been different before?	• What is your answer if someone asks you for your profession? • How would you describe yourself?

- (external) valuation of the university degree

5. Could you please tell me how you get along with your knowledge of German at the university?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
- knowledge of the German language (self-assessment, evaluation by others) - German in everyday-life at university	- Could you give me an example? - How did your German knowledge help you/why did your German knowledge not help you in that situation?	- Do you speak German with other students/with lecturers? - How important is German for your subject? - Do you need other language skills for your subject?

6. You have already studied in another country. I would like to know how you feel about your current studies in comparison to the one before.

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
- challenges of the current studies - age - language skills	- How did you like your previous studies? - How do you like your current studies? - What about today? What about before?	- Which skills are needed? - What was easy/difficult for you before? - What is easy/difficult for you today?

7. Would you say there are differences between your fellow students and you and how would you describe them?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
- differences regarding - age - language skills - way of studying	- How would you describe the way your fellow students study? - How would you describe the way you study? - Do you see any differences? Could you describe them?	- Which advantages do you think you have in comparison to your fellow students? - What kind of disadvantages do you think you have in comparison to your fellow students? - Are you better at something specific? Are your fellow students better at something specific?

8. Would you like to mention something that I haven't asked yet?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
• miscellaneous	• For example? • Could you explain that to me?	

9. How was that interview?

aspects with regard to content	questions to keep the conversation up	further questions
• feedback	• For example? • Could you explain that to me?	

1. Wie alt bist du?

2. Wo bist du geboren?

3. Wo bist du zur Schule gegangen?

4. Wo hast du studiert?

5. Wo hast du schon gearbeitet?
   Land, Stadt   Tätigkeit als…

6. Welche Sprachen sprichst/schreibst/verstehst du?

7. Bitte nenne eventuelle weitere Kenntnisse (PC-Programme, Weiterbildungen, …):

8. Wann bist du nach Deutschland eingewandert?

9. Welche Staatsangehörigkeit hast du?

Appendix 3: Additional questionnaire (original version)

10. How old are you?

11. Where were you born?

12. Where did you go to school?

13. Where did you study?

14. Where did you work until today?
    country, city   occupied as…

15. Which languages do you speak/write/understand?

16. Please list further skills (it-programms, trainigs, …):

17. When did you immigrate to Germany?

18. What is your nationality?

Appendix 4: Additional questionnaire (translated)

Einverständniserklärung

Forschungsprojekt	Promotion über zugewanderte Akademiker/innen und deren professionelles Selbstbild
durchführende Person	Eva Schmidt
Interviewerin	Eva Schmidt
Interviewdatum	

1. Ich erkläre mich damit einverstanden, dass das mit mir am _____ von Eva Schmidt geführte Gespräch auf Tonband aufgenommen und verschriftlicht werden darf. Dies gilt im Hinblick auf die Durchführung der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit und daraus entstehender Publikationen.
2. Die Tonbandaufnahme wird verschlossen und für andere Personen nicht zugänglich aufbewahrt.
3. Zu Auswertungszwecken wird von der Aufnahme ein schriftliches Protokoll angefertigt. Alle persönlichen Daten, die Rückschlüsse auf meine Person zulassen, werden gelöscht oder anonymisiert. Das schriftliche Protokoll wird für spätere Rückfragen gesondert aufbewahrt.
4. Ich erkläre mich damit einverstanden, dass das verschriftlichte Interview unter Beschränkung auf kleine Ausschnitte auch für Publikationszwecke verwendet werden darf.
5. Mir wurde zugesichert, dass im Falle einer Publikation alle persönlichen Daten, die Rückschlüsse auf meine Person zulassen, gelöscht oder anonymisiert werden.

Ort	Datum	Unterschrift	Unterschrift Eva Schmidt

Appendix 5: Consent form (original version)

Consent form

research project	PhD thesis on immigrant academics and their professional self-image
conducted by	Eva Schmidt
interviewer	Eva Schmidt
interview date	

1. By signing the consent form, I agree to be interviewed by Eva Schmidt on ((date)).
2. By signing the consent form, I agree to the recording of the interview on digital audio tape and to its transcription. The recording and transcription is only to be used for the research project as mentioned above, and for publications related to that research project.
3. The recorded audio file and the transcriptions will be stored secretively and inaccessible for others.
4. For the purpose of analysis, a written transcript of the recording will be made. All personal data will be deleted or made anonymous. The transcript will be kept out of access for third parties and separately from the audio file.
5. By signing the consent form, I agree to the possible publication of limited parts of the interview held on ((date)).
6. I have been guaranteed that all personal data will be made anonymous or deleted in case of a publication.

place	date	signature	signature Eva Schmidt

Appendix 6: Consent form (translated)

Gespräch Nr.:	Ort:	Datum:	Dauer:
Alter d. befragten Person:	Geschlecht:	Nationalität:	Interviewer(in):
Selbstwahrnehmung Interviewer(in):			
Interviewsituation:			
Gesprächsinhalte vor Aufnahme:			
Gesprächsinhalte nach Aufnahme:			
wahrgenommene nonverbale Aspekte:			
wahrgenommene Schwerpunktsetzung der befragten Pers.:			
thematische Auffäl-ligkeiten:			
Interpretationsideen:			

Appendix 7: Interview postscript (original version)

interview no.:	place:	date:	duration:
interviewee's age:	gender:	nationality:	interviewer:
self-perception of the in-terviewer:			
interview situation:			
content of the conversa-tion before the inter-view:			
content of the conversa-tion after the interview:			
noticed non-verbal as-pects:			
noticed focus of the in-terviewee:			
distinctive topics:			
ideas for interpretation:			

Appendix 8: Interview postscript (translated)

Appendix 9: Survey form on learning efforts (original version)

Pre-study

→ **Bitte schreiben Sie NICHT Ihren Namen auf den Fragebogen. Die Umfrage ist anonym!**

1. **Wie oft lernen Sie momentan für Ihr Fach?**
    an weniger als 3 Tagen pro Woche ( )
    an 3-5 Tagen pro Woche ( )
    an jedem Tag in der Woche ( )

2. **Wie viele Stunden lernen Sie an diesen Tagen?**
    weniger als 1 Stunde ( )
    1-3 Stunden ( )
    3-5 Stunden ( )
    mehr als 5 Stunden ( )

3. **Machen Sie in der unter 1. und 2. genannten Zeit auch Ihre Hausaufgaben für das Fach?**
    nein ( )
    ja ( )
    wenn nein: **Wie oft machen Sie momentan für Ihr Fach Hausaufgaben?**
            an weniger als 3 Tagen pro Woche ( )
            an 3-5 Tagen pro Woche ( )
            an jedem Tag in der Woche ( )
            Wie viele Stunden brauchen Sie für diese Hausaufgaben?
            weniger als 1 Stunde ( )
            1-3 Stunden ( )
            3-5 Stunden ( )
            mehr als 5 Stunden ( )
    wenn ja: **Wie viel Anteil haben die Hausaufgaben an der Lernzeit?**
            weniger als 25% ( )
            25-50% ( )
            50-75% ( )
            mehr als 75 % ( )

4. **Wie oft lernen Sie momentan für die sprachliche Nachqualifizierung?**
    an weniger als 3 Tagen pro Woche ( )
    an 3-5 Tagen pro Woche ( )
    an jedem Tag in der Woche ( )

5. **Wie viele Stunden lernen Sie an diesen Tagen?**
    weniger als 1 Stunde ( )
    1-3 Stunden ( )
    3-5 Stunden ( )
    mehr als 5 Stunden ( )

6. **Machen Sie in der unter 4. und 5. genannten Zeit auch Ihre Hausaufgaben für die sprachliche Nachqualifizierung?**
    nein ( )

ja ( )

wenn nein: **Wie oft machen Sie momentan für die sprachliche Nachqualifizierung Hausaufgaben?**

an weniger als 3 Tagen pro Woche ( )

an 3-5 Tagen pro Woche ( )

an jedem Tag in der Woche ( )

Wie viele Stunden brauchen Sie für diese Hausaufgaben?

weniger als 1 Stunde ( )

1-3 Stunden ( )

3-5 Stunden ( )

mehr als 5 Stunden ( )

wenn ja: **Wie viel Anteil haben die Hausaufgaben an der Lernzeit?**

weniger als 25% ( )

25-50% ( )

50-75% ( )

mehr als 75 % ( )

7. **Wo (zu Hause, Universität, …) lernen/machen Sie Hausaufgaben für Ihr Fach? Bitte geben Sie den genauen Ort an (Wohnzimmer, Raucherbereich Cafeteria, …)**

8. **Wo (zu Hause, Universität, …)lernen Sie/machen Sie Hausaufgaben für die sprachliche Nachqualifizierung? Bitte geben Sie den genauen Ort an (Wohnzimmer, Raucherbereich Cafeteria, …)**

9. **Welche Hilfsmittel nutzen Sie beim Lernen für**
   a) das Fach
   b) die sprachliche Nachqualifizierung?

10. **Welche Hilfsmittel nutzen Sie bei den Hausaufgaben für**
    c) das Fach
    d) die sprachliche Nachqualifizierung?

11. **Wie (Auswendiglernen, Karteikarten schreiben, …)lernen Sie für**
    a) das Fach
    b) die sprachliche Nachqualifikation?

12. **Lernen Sie in Ihrer Muttersprache?**
    nein, ich lerne nur auf Deutsch ( )
    ja, ich lerne alles in meiner Muttersprache ( )
    ich lerne teilweise auf Deutsch ( )
    ich lerne in einer anderen Sprache ( ), nämlich: _____

13. **Was lernen Sie in welcher Sprache?**
    Fachbegriffe:
    Definitionen:
    Regeln:
    Rechnen:
    Grafiken/Zeichnungen beschreiben:
    Projekte beschreiben:

14. **Lernen Sie in Lerngruppen? ja ( )   nein ( )**

15. **Wenn ja, sind Sie der Lerngruppe freiwillig beigetreten? ja ( )   nein ( )**

16. **Können Sie in der Lerngruppe gut lernen? ja ( )   nein ( ). Warum?**

17. **Besuchen Sie Lernangebote der Universität, die nicht speziell zum Programm ProSALA-MANDER gehören? Wenn ja, welche? (Sprachkurse, Schreibwerkstatt, …)**

18. **Besuchen Sie Lernangebote außerhalb der Universität? Wenn ja, welche?**

19. **Wo sehen Sie bei sich besondere Probleme beim Lernen?**

20. **Wünschen Sie sich mehr Unterstützung beim Lernen? ja ( )   nein ( ). Wie könnte diese Unterstützung für Sie aussehen?**

Appendix 10: Survey on learning efforts (translated)

Pre-study

→ **This is an anonymous survey. Please do not write down your name!**

1. **How often do you study for your subject?**
   less than 3 days per week ( )
   3-5 days per week ( )
   every day ( )

2. **How many hours do you study on these days?**
   less than one hour ( )
   1-3 hours ( )
   3-5 hours ( )
   more than 5 hours ( )

3. **Do you also do your homework during the time specified under items 1. and 2.?**
   no ( )
   yes ( )
   if no: **How often do you currently do homework for your subject?**
             less than 3 days per week ( )
             3-5 days per week ( )
             every day ( )
             How many hours does this homework take?
             less than 1 hour ( )
                   1-3 hours ( )
                   3-5 hours ( )
                   more than 5 hours ( )
   if yes: **What proportion of homework do you do while you study?**
                   less than 25% ( )
                   25-50% ( )
             50-75% ( )
             more than 75 % ( )

4. **How often do you currently study for your German language class?**
   less than 3 days per week ( )
    3-5 days per week ( )
   every day ( )

5. **How many hours do you study on these days?**
   less than 1 hour ( )
   1-3 hours ( )
   3-5 hours ( )
   more than 5 hours ( )

6. Do you also do your homework for the language classes during the time specified under items 4. and 5.?

no ( )

yes ( )

if no: **How often do you currently do homework for your language class?**

less than 3 days per week ( )

3-5 days per week ( )

every day ( )

How many hours does this homework take?

less than 1 hour ( )

1-3 hours ( )

3-5 hours ( )

more than 5 hours ( )

if yes: **What proportion of homework do you do while you study?**

less than 25% ( )

25-50% ( )

50-75% ( )

more than 75 % ( )

7. Where (at home, university …) do you study/do homework for your subject? Please indicate the exact place (living room, smoker's area, cafeteria …)

8. Where (at home/university, …) do you study/do homework for your language classes? Please indicate the exact place (living room, smoker's area, cafeteria, …)

9. Which resources do you use when you study
- e) for your subject
- f) for your language classes?

10. Which resources do you use when you do homework
- g) for your subject
- h) for your language class?

11. How (memorising, taking notes …) do you study
- c) for your subject
- d) for your language class?

21. Do you use your native language(s) when you study?

no, I only use German ( )

yes, I only use my native language(s) ( )

I partly use German ( )

I use another language ( ), namely: _____

12. Which language(s) do you use to study the following?

13. Do you study in groups? yes ( )   no ( )
14. If yes, did you join a study group voluntarily? yes ( )   no ( )
15. Does studying in a group work for you? yes( )   no ( ). Why?

16. **Do you use other oportunities than those of ProSALAMANDER to study at university? Which ones? (language classes, writing course …)**

17. **Do you use other opportunities to study outside of university? Which ones?**

18. **Do you face any difficulties when you study?**

19. **Do you require more support for your studies? yes ( )   no ( ). What kind of support can we provide for you?**

Category	Attribute	Data Set 1 - 03/2016				Data Set 2 - 01/2017				Coefficient of Agreement			Difference of occurence in all documents
		Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Category occurs in N documents	Category occurs in % of all documents	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Category occurs in N documents	Category occurs in % of all documents	Coding in agreement (absolute frequency)	Total number of codings	Percentage of Agreement of Absolute Frequency	
Formula applied			=Dn/D47		=Fn/17		=In/D47		=Kn/17	=IF(In<Dn,In,Dn)	=IF(Dn>In,Dn,In)	=Nn/On	=((Gn-Ln)^2)^0.5
C2	This is what I studied before I came to Germany	18	4.3%	14	82.4%	17	4%	13	76.5%	17	18	94.4%	5.9%
C5	I worked before I came to Germany	19	4.6%	13	76.5%	19	5%	13	76.5%	19	19	100.0%	0.0%
C6	I planned my career but something stopped it	30	7.2%	10	58.8%	30	8%	10	58.8%	30	30	100.0%	0.0%
C7	I had/have duties in my family	8	1.9%	5	29.4%	8	2%	5	29.4%	8	8	100.0%	0.0%
C8	I look after myself now	3	0.7%	3	17.6%	3	1%	3	17.6%	3	3	100.0%	0.0%
C13	others do not learn/speak enough German/English	6	1.4%	4	23.5%	5	1%	4	23.5%	5	6	83.3%	0.0%
C15	I appreciate myself	45	10.9%	13	76.5%	45	11%	14	82.4%	45	45	100.0%	5.9%
C16	I have to prove myself to earn respect from others	3	0.7%	1	5.9%	3	1%	1	5.9%	3	3	100.0%	0.0%
C19	I cannot express myself in German/English appropriately	13	3.1%	5	29.4%	13	3%	5	29.4%	13	13	100.0%	0.0%
C20	I use German/English	7		4	23.5%	7		4	23.5%	7	7		
C24	I use German/English	4		2	11.8%	3		2	11.8%	3	4		
C27	I use German/English	1		1	5.9%	1		1	5.9%	1	1		
Total	I use German/English	12	2.9%	7	41.2%	11	2.8%	7	41.2%	11	12	91.7%	0.0%
C21	I (want to) learn English	2		1	5.9%	1		1	5.9%	1	2		
C61	I (want to) learn English	4		2	11.8%	4		2	11.8%	4	4		
Total	I (want to) learn English	6	1.4%	3	17.6%	5	1%	3	17.6%	5	6	83.3%	0.0%
C22	I understand English/a third foreign language	4	1.0%	3	17.6%	4	1%	3	17.6%	4	4	100.0%	0.0%
C26	I use strategies to become better	28	6.8%	11	64.7%	28	7%	11	64.7%	28	28	100.0%	0.0%
C28	The rythm/structure of my life has been changed	11		2	11.8%	11		2	11.8%	11	11		
C57	The rythm/structure of my life has been changed	17		8	47.1%	18		9	52.9%	17	18		
Total	The rythm/structure of my life has been changed	28	6.8%	10	58.8%	29	7%	11	64.7%	28	29	96.6%	5.9%
C30	My duties limit me	9	2.2%	6	35.3%	8	2%	6	35.3%	8	9	88.9%	0.0%
C37	I feel/felt lost	9	2.2%	5	29.4%	8	2%	5	29.4%	8	9	88.9%	0.0%
C40	I ask if I need help/I know where to get help	18	4.3%	9	52.9%	18	5%	9	52.9%	18	18	100.0%	0.0%
C41	I make choices	46		13	76.5%	38		13	76.5%	38	46	82.6%	0.0%
C52	I make choices	5		4	23.5%	3		3	17.6%	3	5	60.0%	5.9%
Total	I make choices	51	12.3%	17	100.0%	41	10%	16	94.1%	41	51	80.4%	5.9%
C42	I help others	14	3.4%	4	23.5%	14	4%	4	23.5%	14	14	100.0%	0.0%
C44	I do/did an internship/part-time job related to my field of studies	3	0.7%	3	17.6%	3	1%	3	17.6%	3	3	100.0%	0.0%
C45	I did not have any option	9	2.2%	4	23.5%	9	2%	4	23.5%	9	9	100.0%	0.0%
C48	I learned German/English	3		3	17.6%	3		3	17.6%	3	3		
C49	I learned German/English	8		8	47.1%	8		8	47.1%	8	8		
Total	I learned German/English	11	2.7%	11	64.7%	11	3%	11	64.7%	11	11	100.0%	0.0%
C50	I received something and I want to give it back	3	0.7%	2	11.8%	3	1%	2	11.8%	3	3	100.0%	0.0%
C51	I would like to work as.../ I hope to have chances in...	25	6.0%	13	76.5%	23	6%	12	70.6%	23	25	92.0%	5.9%
C53	A chance was offered to me	11	2.7%	7	41.2%	11	3%	7	41.2%	11	11	100.0%	0.0%
C54	I am not...	7	1.7%	6	35.3%	7	2%	6	35.3%	7	7	100.0%	0.0%
C59	I want a German degree	3	0.7%	3	17.6%	3	1%	3	17.6%	3	3	100.0%	0.0%
C60	I am just a ...	1	0.2%	1	5.9%	2	1%	2	11.8%	1	2	50.0%	5.9%
C62	someone's choice changed my situation	11	2.7%	5	29.4%	11	3%	5	29.4%	11	11	100.0%	0.0%
C64	Others appreciate me	6	1.4%	5	29.4%	6	2%	5	29.4%	6	6	100.0%	0.0%
Total		414	100%	203		398	100%	203		396	416	95.2%	

Appendix 10:Results of the intra-coder agreement

Appendix 12: Interview summaries (original quotes and translations)

Participant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Adil	Russia	Adil who has studied in Russia, calls the Russian system a "corrupt" one in which students face many difficulties. He describes how he was often treated unfairly regarding final marks. He did not feel motivated to study and prefers the German education system. He says that he likes Germans because they foster integration and perceive it as a mutual task. As a future business idea, he would like to provide Syrian students with relevant information about studying in Germany, for example with a mobile phone app.	Adil is Syrian and studied in Russia. He writes in three writing systems (Arabic, Cyrillic, Latin). During his studies in Russia, he founded a start-up in the textile business together with a friend, although this was forbidden to foreigners on student visa.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)[72]**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Adil 70-72	das ist äh die !BESTE! SCHULE <<leicht lachend>also momenTAN in AACHEN> [mhm] also äh DAS war äh ja (1) äh das war gute CHANCE also das ich DA (2) die sprache geLERNT habe	Das ist also momentan die beste Schule in Aachen, das war eine gute Chance, dass ich da die Sprache gelernt habe.	So currently, that is the best school in Aachen, it was a good opportunity that I learnt the language there.
Adil 539-544	I: WIE hast du dir DEIN berufsLEBEN in DEUTSCHLAND VORGESTELLT? B: ((tiefes atmen)) das war AUCH eine luge lüge? [ja] ja [eine lüge] ja, das war auch eine LÜGE. ich war so SELBSTbewusst, dass ICH ein ingenieur BIN (1) ich hab DIE genügende KENNTNISSE und ich kann SO!FORT! ARbeiten. (2) JA also MEINE FRAU war zufrieden auch und hatte (1) grosse träume <<leicht lachend>daVOR> und äh ja ich hab IHR erzählt, dass ich nur äh EIN jahr oder zwei jahre BRAUCHE um DEUTSCH zu lernen und DANN finde ich gute arbeit SICHER.	I: Wie hast du dir dein Berufsleben in Deutschland vorgestellt? B: Das war auch eine Lüge. Ich war so selbstbewusst, dass ich ein Ingenieur bin und dass ich genügend Kenntnisse habe und ich ich sofort arbeiten kann. Meine Frau war auch zufrieden und hatte große Träume. Ich habe ihr erzählt, dass ich nur ein oder zwei Jahre brauche um Deutsch zu lernen und dass ich dann sicher eine gute Arbeit finde.	I: How did you imagine your professional life in Germany? R: That was a lie. I was so confident that I am an engineer and that I have sufficient skills and can start working immediately. My wife was also satisfied and had big dreams. I told her that I only needed to learn German for one or two years and that then, I would find a good job.
Participant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Andrej	Kazakhstan	Thinks that his decision to mention his Russian degree in a German career centre was wrong. He says that immigrants	Andrej worked at the airport Frankfurt/Main before joining the project. He is now working as a

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[72] Couper-Kuhlen & Weingarten (2011)

		without a degree get more help than those who bring a foreign degree, because they are expected to find a job on their own. He feels that immigrant graduates fall through the cracks.	member of research staff at university.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Andrej 379-380	sag ich so, ingenIEUR BIN ich NICHT. [mhm] (1) INFORMATI-KER bin ich AUCH NICHT.	Ich sag mal so, Ingenieur bin ich nicht. Informatiker bin ich auch nicht.	Let me put it like this. I am not an engineer. Neither am I a computer scientist.
Andrej 405-412, 416-418	ZWEI tage pro WOCHE. ich hab jetzt FREI [mhm] hier im STUDIUM (1) und diese zwei TAGE jetzt invesTIERE ich in meine PRAKTIKUM. #00:23:27-6# I: ist das eine GUTE investiTION? #00:23:30-2# B: äh sag ich SO. zuERST (1) hab ich keine alternaTIVE, aber für am anFANG es GEHT noch. (...) SAG ich SO, wenn ich eine ANDERE praktikumPLATZ geFUNDEN HÄTTE oder FINDEN WÜRDE, DANN würde ich mich für ANDERE entschieden entSCHEIDEN.	B: Zwei Tage pro Woche habe ich jetzt frei im Studium und diese zwei Tage investiere ich jetzt in ein Praktikum. I: Ist das eine gute Investition? B: Ich sag mal so, zuerst habe ich keine Alternative, aber für den Anfang geht es noch. (...) Ich sag mal so, wenn ich einen anderen Praktikumsplatz gefunden hätte, dann hätte ich mich für den anderen entschieden.	R: I've got two days off at uni at the moment, and now I invest these two days in a traineeship. I: Is that a good investment? R: Let me put it like this. First, I don't have an alternative, but as a start, it's still ok. (…) Let me put it like this, if I had found a different traineeship, I would have decided for the different one.
Andrej 444-448	da hab ich geSAGT "NEIN das KANN ich NICHT. ICH kann NUR ZWEI TAGE invesTIEREN" (1) und mir wurde geSAGT das GEHT um die PERSONAL und sie MÜSSEN ((unverständlich)) BLEIBEN. [mhm] (1) das das beDEUTET ich MUSS von MONTAG bis FREITAG DA sein, vierzig STUNDEN pro WOCHE. da hab ich geSAGT "NEIN tut mir LEID. ich will NICHT sechs MONATE verLIEREN	Da habe ich gesagt: Nein, das kann ich nicht. Ich knn nur zwei Tage investieren. Und mir wurde gesagt, dass es um Personal geht und dass ich bleiben muss. Das bedeutet, ich muss von Montag bis Freitag da sein, vierzig Stunden pro Woche. Da habe ich gesagt: Nein, tut mir leid. Ich will nicht sechs Monate verlieren.	Then I said, No, I can't do that. I can only invest two days. And then I was told that it was about staff and that I had to stay. That means, I have to be there from Monday to Friday, forty hours a week. Then I said, No, I'm sorry. I don't want to lose six months.
Andrej 456-457	dann hab ich gesagt, dann tut mir LEID. (2) SUCHEN sie BITTE jemand ANDEREN.	Dann habe ich gesagt, dann tut es mir led. Suchen Sie sich bitte jemand anderen.	Then I said, in that case I'm sorry. Please find someone else.
Andrej 583-584	für FAMILIE muss ich auch hier ZEIT invesTIEREN.	Ich muss auch Zeit in meine Familie investieren.	I also have to invest time in my family.
Andrej 637-638	"JETZT wird GEGEBEN (1) oder wir NEHMEN DAS und DANN geben wir DAS zuRÜCK."	„Jetzt wird gegeben oder wir nehmen das, und dann geben wir das zurück."	„Now it is given or we take it, and the we return it."
Participant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**

Christos	Greece	Came to Germany after he lost his job during the financial crisis in Greece. Despite the fact that most of his family is still in Greece, he enjoys studying in Germany. Although he says that he would not have migrated without the financial crisis, his aim now is to improve his German knowledge at university, and then to find a job in Germany.	Christo used counselling and workshops in ProSALAMANDER to prepare for job interviews he attended to find a part-time job in his field.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Christos 327-329	OKAY ich habe AUCH die ENGLISCHE sprache stuDIERT. [mhm] mehr als acht oder zehn JAHRE, [mhm] (1) äh (1) das ein profiss/ profissioncy in englisch. (2) ich glaube ähnlich wie "C2" [mhm] (1) (in?) schriftlich und mündlich.	Okay ich habe auch die englische Sprache gelernt, mehr als acht oder zehn Jahre. Das ist ein ‚proficiency' in Englisch. Ich glaube, so ähnlich wie ‚C2' schriftlich und mündlich.	Okay, I also learned the English language, more than eight or ten years. That's a 'proficiency' in English. I think it's similar to 'C2' [E.S.: master or proficiency level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages], spoken and written language.
Participant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Dimitros (graduated in	Greece	Dimitros has extensive working experience in his field in Greece, he was both employed and self-employed as a civil engineer. He says that he had always wanted to enrol for a master's degree at the University of Duisburg-Essen. He likes his studies and thinks there is no difference between him and other students. He says that he should improve his language skills. At the same time, he believes that for studying civil engineering, professional expertise is more important than language skills.	Dimitros had a successful career in Greece and is the only participant who was both employed and self-employed in the field of civil engineering before he migrated to Germany.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Dimitros 53-56	ja hatte ich ein angeBOT als BAUzeichNER mit geringe de/ DEUTSCHkenntnisse und [mhm] das bedeutet KONNTE ICH als BAUZEICHNER arBEITEN. ABER ich WOLLTE eine DEUTSCHkurs	Ja, ich hatte ein Angebot als Bauzeichner mit geringen Deutschkenntnissen und das bedeutet ich konnte als Bauzeicher arbeiten. Aber ich wollte	Yes, I had an offer as a draftsman with little knowledge of German and that means I could work as a draftsman. But

	beSUCHEN und daNACH eine studium MACHEN und ich habe diese STELLE verLASSEN.	einen Deutschkurs besuchen und danach ein Studium machen, und ich habe diese Stelle aufgegeben.	I wanted to take a German course and study afterwards, and I relinquished the appointment.
Dimitros (441-456)	also du HAST JA in GRIECHENland geARBEITET. #00:29:45-3# B: ja geNAU. #00:29:46-5# I: KANNST du nochMAL beSCHREIBEN WAS du DA geMACHT HAST? #00:29:49-2# B: was habe ((unverständlich)) [ja] VIER jahre mit ähm in in in privat beREICH und selbstständiger sechs jahre mit eine EIGENE (1) äh ingenIEURbüRO hatte ICH in HOCHBAU ja für HÄUSER. (1) ich habe AUCH in ähm (1) in industrielles BAUEN geARBEITET. [mhm] ein proJEKT eine große proJEKT. bis BETON war ICH zuSTÄNDIG und daNACH mit ähm eine ähm BAUT mit STAHL. [mhm] war eine äh (1) ANdere ((unverständlich)) ingeNIEUR (2) und DAS war eine erFAHRUNG für MICH. ähm AUCH habe ich (ja?) als äh INNENarchiTEKT geARBEITET [mhm] interiors deSIGN für HÄUSER und ähm geSCHÄFTE, [mhm] LADEN [mhm] ja, CAFE [mhm] gastroNOMIE [mhm] ja beREICH.	I: Also du hast ja in Griechenland gearbeitet. B: Ja genau. I: Kannst du nochmal beschreiben, was du da gemacht hast? I: Ich habe vier Jahre im privaten Bereich gearbeitet und war sechs Jahre mit einem eigenen Ingenieurbüro selbstständig. Ich hatte ein Ingenieurbüro für Hochbau, für Häuser. Ich habe auch im Industriebau gearbeitet. In einem großen Projekt. Bis zum Beton war ich zuständig und danach baute ein anderer Ingenieur mit Stahl, und das war eine Erfahrung für mich. Ich habe auch als Innenarchitekt gearbeitet, und habe das interior design für Häuser, Geschäfte, Läden, Cafés, den Gastronomiebereich gemacht.	I: So, you worked in Greece, right. R: Yes, exactly. I: Can you describe again what you did there? R: I worked in the private sector for four years, and I was self-employed for six years with my own engineering office. I had an engineering office for structural engineering, for houses. I also worked in industrial construction. In a big project. I was responsible up to the concrete, and after that another engineer built with steel, and this was an experience for me. I also worked as an interior designer, and I did the interior design for houses, shops, stores, cafés, the catering sector.
Dimitros 495-462	diese KÖRNUNGEN [mhm] von asPHALT wie geTEILT sind, [mhm] verSTEH ich etwas BESSER, weil ich habe in meine studium und in meine ARBEIT geMACHT. [mhm] (1) ja oder in laBOR verSTEH ich [mhm] manchMAL (1) etWAS besser, ja.	Wie diese Körnungen von Asphalt aufgeteilt sind, das verstehe ich etwas besser, weil ich das in meinem Studium und bei meiner Arbeit gemacht habe. Oder im Labor verstehe ich manchmal etwas besser.	I understand the different kinds of grit in asphalt better, because I have already done this during my studies and my work. Or in the laboratory, I sometimes understand a bit better.
Participant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Iannis	Greece	Was born in Germany and went back to Greece with his parents when he was five years old. Thinks that German companies integrate foreign employees. At the same time, he recalls the person responsible in the employment agency being hesitant towards his foreign (European) degree, stating these degrees needed specifically	Iannis frequently attended counselling and tutoring within ProSALAMANDER to communicate his feelings and ideas throughout the course of his study. He was very considerate regarding the wellbeing of fellow participants in the ProSALAMANDER project.

Line reference	Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)	Simplified quote	Translation
		"open-minded" employers. Says that he forces himself to feel lucky, as his situation was easier compared to others with weaker language skills and less work experience, but that he often feels lonely. He wishes that his studies now were more related to practice, because his studies were theory-related in Greece. Repeatedly states that studying theory in Germany makes him feel stupid.	
Iannis 56-60	die MEISten also grieche SAgen, sie sagen dass unsere ELtern äh, sie WAren in deutschland als GASTarbeiter, damit wir äh in griechenland BLEIben kann als kinder, das haben sie für UNS gemacht, und JETZT äh- also die geSCHICHte bringt uns äh- das SCHICKsal bringt uns wieder HIER. [mhm] also so d- das <<lachend> is ein bisschen MERKwürdig	Also die meisten Griechen sagen, sie sagen dass unsere Eltern in Deutschland als Gastarbeiter waren, damit wir als Kinder in Griechenland bleiben können, das haben sie für uns gemacht, und jetzt, also die Geschichte bringt uns, das Schicksal bringt uns wieder hier her. Also das ist ein bisschen merkwürdig.	Well most Greeks say, they say that our parents were guest workers in Germany, so that as children we could stay in Greece, they did that for us, and now, well history brings us, fate brings us back here again. Well that is a little bit strange.
Iannis 190-191	dein ARbeitgeber muss BEsonders open MIND SEIN, um DICH eine chance zu geben.	Dein Arbeitgeber muss besonders open mind sein, um dir eine Chance zu geben.	Your employer has to be particularly open minded to give you a chance.
Iannis 210-214	der FREUND von meine SCHW- von meiner SCHWESter, öh der der ist hier auch übrigens ein JAHR, ähm also äh MANche STELle, MANche STELle, in MANche stelle also wie da- wie wie ein äh FLIEßband in ein FLIEßband zu ARbeiten, um=EHRlich=zu=sein, also da- das DEUT- dass die LEUte dort BRAUchen ist ist LÄcherlich.	Der Freund meiner Schwester, der ist hier übrigens auch seit einem Jahr, also bei manchen Stellen, manchen Stellen wie am Fließband, am Fließband zu arbeiten, um ehrlich zu sein, also das Deutsch, das die Leute da brauchen ist lächerlich.	My sister's boyfriend, he's her since one year too, by the way, well with some jobs, some jobs like on the assembly line, working on the assembly line, to be honest, well the German that people need for that is ridiculous.
Iannis 355-357	das äh das GUte ding mit englisch ist, dass ich habe mit englisch geÜBT auch in äh in der ARbeit in meine REIsen äh mit meine MITarbeiter in AUSland, das war ALles au- auf [mhm] ENGlisch	Das gute am Englischen ist, dass ich Englisch auch auf der Arbeit und bei meinen Reisen und mit meinen Mitarbeitern im Ausland geübt habe, das war alles auf Englisch.	The good thing with English is, that I have also practiced English at work and during my travels and with my employees abroad, that was all in English.
Iannis 589-591	also bis bis äh bis WEIHnachten, ich hatte kein persönliches LEben. sowieSO also, MANCHmal es gibt	Also bis Weihnachten hatte ich kein persönli-	So, until Christmas I didn't have a private life.

	tage wo ich auch am am SONNtag- ich war am ARbeit. äh weil es gab DINge die ich erLEdigen musste	ches Leben. Es gibt sowieso manchmal Tage, wo ich auch am Sonntag auf der Arbeit war. Weil es Dinge gab, die ich erledigen musste.	Anyway, there's sometimes days, when I was at work on a Sunday, too. Because there were things that I needed to do.
Partici-pant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Kamile	Lithuania	Always wanted to study in Germany, but could not follow up this dream. Says it was difficult enough for her husband (refugee from former Yugoslavia) to find work and for both of them to raise a child. Now is the time that she can focus on herself, and although she feels restricted by family duties when she wants to spend time learning, she states that she enjoys studying. She mentions pressure and headaches several times. She feels she is at eye level with others now.	Kamile's husband migrated with refugee status 20 years ago. Kamile has volunteered in a community project with immigrants. She is now working as a member of research staff at university.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Kamile 139-143	I: „und ähm=was beDEUtet dein JETziges studium für DICH, WENN du an deine beRUFliche zukunft denkst. B: ähm EIgentlich ALles, weil das ist ein SUperCHANce, das äh ((atmet ein)) äh für MICH das ist in !LET!zter seKUNde"	I: „Und was bedeutet dein jetziges Studium für dich, wenn du an deine berufliche Zukunft denkst. B: „Eigentlich alles, weil das eine Superchance ist, das ist für mich in letzter Sekunde"	I: "And what does your current studies mean to you if you think of your future career?" R: "Actually everything, because it is a great chance, for me at that's last second"
Kamile 143-144	weil das ist ein SUperCHANce, für MICH das ist in !LET!zter seKUNde	Weil das eine Superchance ist, für mich ist das in letzter Sekunde,	Because that is a great chance, for me that is the very last opportunity
Kamile 206-210	ich bin ähm (1) mich SELBSTbewusster geworden oder so, ich FANge mich AN zu SCHÄTzen. also das ist der GRÖßte ähm verÄNderung, weil äh- wenn ich komme HIER, MENschen mich behandeln einen AUgenhöhe, und das war für mich auch so-!AL!le. ich meine nicht äh ohne AUSnahme. und DAS war für mi- !IST! für mich SCHÖNste moMENT.	Ich bin selbstbewusster geworden oder so, ich fange an mich zu schätzen. Also das ist die größte Veränderung, weil wenn ich hier hinkomme, behandeln die Menschen mich auf einer Augenhöhe, und das war für mich auch so − alle. Ich meine ohne Ausnahme. Und das war für mich, das ist für mich der schönste Moment.	I became more self-confident or so, I begin to appreciate myself. Well, this is the biggest change, because when I come here, people treat me at eye level, and for me that also was like – everyone. I mean without exception. And for me, that was, that is the most beautiful moment.
Kamile 234-239	wenn äh HÖRten die meinen akZENT, dann sofort MERKT man	Wenn die meinen Akzent hören, dann merkt man	When they hear my accent, you realize that

	!SO!, und dann äh MENschen nehmen einen nicht WAHR, aber dann in geSPRÄCH und WEIß ich nicht- ich äh verSUchte immer zu ZEIgen, dass ich kann MEHR, und dann äh wenn äh ich bei- WEIß- es war so situaTIOnen und dann wo MENSCH äh mit reSPEKT verABschiedet mit mir, dann war ich zuFRIEden, aber der ANfang ist IMmer herABlassend. war ÖFter so was.	so, dann nehmen die Menschen einen nicht wahr, aber dann im Gespräch, ich weiß nicht, ich versuchte immer zu zeigen, dass ich mehr kann, und dann wenn ich weiß, dass es Situationen waren, wo die Menschen sich mit Respekt von mir veabschiedet haben, dann war ich zufrieden, aber der Anfang ist immer herablassend. Das ist öfter passiert.	people don't really notice you, but during the conversation, I don't know, I always try to show that I can do more, and then if I know that these were situations in that people saw me off with respect, then I was satisfied, but in the beginning, it is always condescending. That happened quite often.
Kamile 245-248	dass ich bin ein GLEIcher mensch wie DER gegenÜber=ähn der !IST!. also ich bin nicht NIEdriger oder WEIß ich nicht, ich weiß GAR nichts oder DUMM, sozusagen dass ich bin in SEInem niveau da auch ähm, (?WEIß mehr?) #00:14:25-8# je nachdem was für ein MENSCH ist.	Dass ich der gleiche Mensch bin wie mein Gegenüber. Also dass ich nicht niedriger, oder ich weiß ich nicht, dass ich gar nichts weiß oder dass ich dumm bin, sozusagen dass ich auf seinem Niveau bin, da auch mehr weiß, je nachdem was das für ein Mensch ist.	That I am the same person like my counterpart. So, that I am not lower, or I don't know, that I don't know anything or that I am stupid, that I am on his level, so to say, know more in this respect, depending on what kind of person this is.
Kamile 461-466	I: Wie gehst du dann mit der Situation um, wenn es Probleme gibt? B: ähm schlagen WÖRterbuch nach, nach WÖRtern, GUcken NACH, und dann äh schreibe ich AUF, also voKAbeln da jetzt bei mir, WÖRterbücher, auch ich nutze MEHR, schon mein MANN hat geSCHENKT SEHR gute BÜcher, zwei große DICke, auf DEUTSCH erklärt. also WÖRter, die werden auf DEUTSCH erklärt. DEUTsche WÖRter die werden auf DEUTSCH erklärt. und das MAG ich MEHR als auf LItauisch zu lesen.	I: Wie gehst du dann mit der Situation um, wenn es Probleme gibt? B: Im Wörterbuch nachschlagen, nach Wörtern nachgucken, und dann schreibe ich die auf, also die Vokabeln, ich nutze Wörterbücher öfter, mein Mann hat mir zwei sehr gute Bücher geschenkt, zwei große dicke, die auf Deutsch erklären, also die Wörter werden auf Deutsch erklärt. Deutsche Wörter die auf Deutsch erklärt werden. Und das mag ich lieber als auf Litauisch zu lesen.	I: So how do you deal with a situation, if there is a problem? R: Consulting a dictionary, looking up words, and then I write them down, I mean the vocabulary, I use dictionaries more often, my husband gave me two very good books, two very big good ones, they explain in German, I mean the words are explained in German. German words that are explained in German. I like that better than reading in Lithuanian.
Kamile 487-489	ALles durchstr=durch=str=DURCHstrukturiert. bahn verPA- also wenn ich äh bahn kommt SPÄter, bus verPASST, dann ich weiß wo es geSCHÄFte-, gehe EINkaufen oder so. JEde minute AUSzunuten	Alles ist durchstrukturiert. Wenn die Bahn später kommt, oder ich den Bus verpasse, dann weiß ich, wo es Geschäfte gibt und ich gehe einkaufen oder so. Jede Minute wird ausgenutzt.	Everything is completely structured. If the train is late or I miss the bus, I know where to do the shopping. Every minute is made use of.
Kamile 519-522	ich habe früher Abends immer ein BUCH genommen und geLEsen. das war für mich so strukTUR. ich habe alles geMACHT, ich kam BUCH,	Ich habe früher abends immer ein Buch genommen und gelesen. Das war für mich so eine Struktur. Ich habe alles	In the past, I always took a book in the evening and read. For me, that was kind of a structure. I got everything done, went to

	kam zum BETT, und dann- das war so rituAL. JETZT ist alles WEG.	gemacht, ging ins Bett, und dann- das war so ein Ritual. Jetzt ist alles weg.	bed, and then- that was kind of a ritual. Now that's all gone.
Partici-pant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Lya[73]	Iraq	After learning German in Germany, she raised a child and stayed at home. She says that being a mother is not enough and that she is happy to be at university. She feels more "valuable" now, and she describes how she helps other students with exercises. She says that after receiving something from Germany, she wants return that by studying hard and then working in Germany.	Lya was told during her first studies that her degree would not be recognized outside of Iraq. She actively participated in counselling and workshops on writing and presenting for academic purposes.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Lya 27-30	ich habe selbst KEINE erfahrungen damit so mit arbeitsplatz und so denn ICH hab (1) ja ich bin jetzt seit SECHS jahre hier in deutschland. erste jahr WAR nur SPRACHkurse sozusagen. und da war ich drei jahre mit dem KIND äh ja mit die schwangerschaft dann insgesAMT vier jahre so ((unverständlich)). dann hat ich KEIne so erfahrung gem	Ich habe selbst keine Erfahrungen damit, mit einem Arbeitsplatz, denn ich hab, ich bin jetzt seit sechs Jahren hier in Deutschland. Das erste Jahr war sozusagen nur Sprachkurse. Und dann war ich drei Jahre mit dem Kind und mit der Schwangerschaft, also insgesamt vier Jahre. Dann habe ich keine Erfahrungen gemacht.	I don't have experiences with it myself, with a work place, because I have, I am here in Germany since six years. The fist year was only language classes so to say. And then I was with the child for three years, and with the pregnancy, so altogether four years. So, I didn't gain experience.
Lya 42-45	eigentlich ich wollte das NICHT. ICH wollte weide äh weiter "b2" und "c1" so machen, aber da ich ja durch JOBcenter sozusagen da. (1) DIE schicken weiter für SOLche kurse nur und DIE, JA finANzieren KEIne andere kurse die richtung STUdium und so sind. nur die richtung arbeits.	Eigentlich wollte ich das nicht. Ich wollte weiter B2 und C1 machen, aber ich war ja sozusagen durch das Jobcenter da. Die schicken einen nur in solche anderen Kurse weiter und die finanzieren keine Kurse in Richtung Studium und so. Nur solche Richtung Arbeit.	Actually, I didn't want that. I wanted to continue with B2 and C1, but I was sort of there through the employment office. They only send you to these other classes and they don't fund classes towards studies and so on. Only those towards work.
Lya 60-64	ich WOLLTE studieren so von ANfang AN. ja aber DANN, wenn DAS nicht geklappt hat dann hab ich geDACHT "okay DANN jetzt ein KIND vielleicht". [mhm] ICH hab gedacht, wenn ich so m-mein studium abschließe, DANN dann kann ich das kind später bekommen. aber	Ja, ich wollte von Anfang an studieren. Aber dann, als das nicht geklappt hat, da habe ich gedacht, ok, dann bekomme ich jetzt vielleicht ein Kind. Ich habe gedacht, wenn ich mein	Yes, I wanted to study right from the start. But then, as that didn't work out, then I thought, ok, maybe I should have a child now. I thought that when I graduate, then I can also have a child

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[73] Lya's case is discussed in section 6.4

	als ich DAS gefunden habe, dass das SO lange dauern wird dann habe ich gedacht "Okay, ERSTmal kind	Studium abschließe, dann kann ich das Kind auch später bekommen. Aber als ich gemerkt habe, dass das so lange dauern wird, da habe ich gedacht, ok, erstmal ein Kind.	later. But when I realised that it would take so long, I thought, a child first.
Lya 89-90	BACHelor wasserWIRTschaft in-GENIEUR wasserwirtschaft sozusa-gen. das war AUCH ein richtung von BAUingenieurwesen.	Bachelor Wasserwirt-schaft, Ingenieur Was-serwirtschaft sozusagen. Das war auch eine Rich-tung von Bauingenieur-wesen.	Water management, en-gineer water manage-ment, so to say. That was also in the field of con-struction engineering.
Lya 97-101	ich war NICHT SO MUTIG, dass ich direkt ein ARbeitsplat/ platz ja suche, dann vielleicht ja praktikum und so. (1) eigentlich hab ich das NICHT GEschickt, denn in äh gleich in diesER zeit war ich dann schwan-ger bin ich schwanger geworden, DANN wusste ich nicht wie wie DAS dann weiterläuft. ob ob alles dann gut läuft mit der schwanger-schaft und so dann hab ich aufgehört leider	Ich war nicht so mutig, dass ich direkt einen Ar-beitsplatz suche, dann vielleicht ein Praktikum und so. Eigentlich habe ich das nicht geschickt gemacht, denn in dieser gleichen Zeit bin ich dann schwanger gewor-den, dann wusste ich nicht, wie das dann wei-terläuft. Ob dann alles gut läuft mit der Schwangerschaft und so und dann habe ich leider aufgehört.	I wasn't that courageous to look for a job right away, maybe for an in-ternship and so on. Actu-ally, I didn't do that very clever, because during the same time I got preg-nant, then I didn't know how things would work out. If everything goes well with the pregnancy and so on and then I stopped, unfortunately.
Lya 113-118	auf jede FALL, wenn man so eine DEUTsches abschluss hat das ist ANders als man von/ und das be-SONders vielleicht von UNsere län-dern so. das ist (unverständlich) ein abschluss mitzunehmen und (1) mit-zuBRINGEN meine ich. denn ja OBwohl VIELleicht die erste grund-lage und kenntnisse sind von DORT, von unsere LÄNDER. aber wenn man das MERKT das man HIER studiert hat, DANN (1) vielleicht ha-ben DIE hat der arbeitgeber viel-leicht ANdere dann, (1) andere VORstellungen vielleicht.	Auf jeden Fall, wenn man so einen deutschen Abschluss hat, das ist an-ders als wenn man von, und besonders vielleicht wenn man aus unseren Ländern kommt. Das ist (unverständlich) einen Abschluss mitzubringen. Obwohl vielleicht die erste Grundlagen und Kenntnisse von dort sind, aus unseren Län-dern sind. Aber wenn die merken dass man hier studiert hat, dann haben die Arbeitgeber viel-leicht andere Vorstellun-gen.	Definitely, if you have got that German degree, that's different than if you're maybe from, and especially maybe if you're from our coun-tries. That's (incompre-hensible) to bring a de-gree. Although maybe first basics and knowledge are from there, from our countries. But when they realise that one has studied here, then maybe employers have different expecta-tions.
Lya 121-129	I: ABER du HAST ja schon ein VOLLes studium in deinem heimat-land [mhm] absolVIERT. [ja] und DAS war in WASSERwirtschaft. mhm WARUM glaubst DU ähm ist es was ANderes, wenn man so einen abschluss MITbringt HIER (1) auf den deutschen arbeitsmarkt? #00:05:37-2# B: so SELBST hab ich ja das NICHT gemacht, aber immer wenn	I: Aber du hast ja schon ein volles Studium in deinem Heimatland ab-solviert. Und das war in Wasserwirtschaft. Wa-rum glaubst du ist es et-was aderes, wenn man so einen Abschluss hier mit auf den deutschen Ar-beitsmarkt bringt?	I: But you have already successfully graduated in your home country. And that was in water man-agement. Why do you think is it something dif-ferent, if you bring such a degree with you to enter the German labour mar-ket?

	ich gefragt habe so die die andere zum beispiel als ich in diese KURS war (als deutschkurs?), die sagen mir IMMER, dass das schwer wird so. dann haben mir MEHR angst sogar gemacht das ich das nicht (1) HINkriegen kann so. (und?) mit deutsches abschluss vielleicht.	B: Selbst habe ich das ja nicht so gemacht, aber immer wenn ich gefragt habe, zum Beispiel die anderen, als ich in diesem Deutschkurs war, die sagten mir immer, dass das schwer werden wird und so. Dann haben die mir immer mehr Angst gemacht dass ich das nicht hinkriegen kann. Mit deutschem Abschluss vielleicht.	R: I did not do it myself, but whenever I asked, for example the others, when I did that German course, they always told me that it's going to be difficult and so on. Then they scared me more and more, that I wouldn't make it. Maybe with a German degree.
Lya 135-138	DAS hab ich soGAR als ich sogar in meinem LAND war. das ja ich so UMsonst studiert habe, WENN ich so nach europa zum beispiel (1) ähm (1) reise oder sozusagen denn dort werden unsere abschlüsse sozusagen NICHT anerkannt. eigentlich die wurden anerKANNT, aber nur als paPIER sage ich, aber in wirklichkeit vielleicht NICHT.	Das habe ich sogar, als ich in meinem Land war, das ich umsonst studiert habe, wenn ich zum Beispiel nach Europa reise, dass dort unsere Abschlüsse nicht anerkannt werden, nur als Papier sozusagen, aber in Wirklichkeit nicht.	Then I even have, when I was in my country, that I studied for nothing, for example when I go to Europe, that our degrees won't be recognised there, only as a paper so to say, but not in reality.
Lya 159-164	zum beispiel bei JOBcenter als ich da war, dann sie MEInen das ist SCHAde das ich was anderes jetzt hier arbeite. denn normal arbeiten wenn man SO ein abschluss hat und sowas. Aber sie KONNTEN mir auch nichts anderes ANbieten, außer diese kurse, die vielLEICHT mir weiterHELFEN können aber/ ODER SIE haben mir ANgeboten SO normal ausbildungen zu machen, DAS wollte ich aber NICHT. ja das fand ich nicht so (1) optimal.	Zum Beispiel beim Jobcenter, als ich da war, da meinten sie dass es schade ist, dass ich jetzt hier etwas anderes mache. Denn normalerweise sollte man arbeiten können wenn man so einen Abschluss hat. Aber sie konnten mir auch nichts anderes anbieten, außer diese Kurse, die mir vielleicht weiterhelfen können, oder sie haben mir angeboten, so eine reguläre Ausbildung zu machen, das wollte ich aber nicht. Das fand ich nicht so optimal.	When I was at the employment office, for example, they thought it is a pity that I am doing something different here now. Because normally you should be able to work if you have that kind of degree. But they also couldn't offer me something else, only these classes that would maybe help me or they offered me to start a normal vocational training, but I didn't want that. I didn't think that was the ideal way.
Lya 170-171	vielleicht studentin EINfach [mhm] nur studentin [okay]. ja ich KANN nicht sagen ja das ICH <<lachend>ingenieurin bin>	Vielleicht einfach nur Studentin, ja. Ich kann ja nicht sagen dass ich Ingenieurin bin.	Maybe just student, right. I cannot just say that I am an engineer.
Lya 177-179	ja am anFANG war ich verzweifelt ob ich üb/ überhaupt WEITERmache oder ob ich dann am ende AUFhöre oder so. JETZT fühle ich mich ziemlich besser und (1) ich fühle mich so nötig sozusagen WERTVOLL.	Ja am Anfang war ich verzweifelt, ob ich überhaupt weitermache oder ob ich dann am Ende aufhöre oder so. Jetzt fühle ich mich viel besser und ich fühle mich notwending, wertvoll sozusagen.	Well in the beginning I was desperate if I want to continue at all, or if in the end, I would quit or something like that. Now I feel much better and I feel necessary, valuable so to say.
Lya 180-184	„für MICH, für meine familie und für DIESES LAND eigentlich auch. weil ICH hier bin und ich MAG es NICHT wenn man hier kommt und NUR vom LAND (1) nimmt und	„Für mich, für meine Familie und eigentlich auch für dieses Land. Weil ich hier bin und ich es nicht mag, wenn man hier hin	"For me, for my family and actually also for this country. Because I am here and I don't like it, if you come here and just

	nicht ausg/ WEITERgibt oder AUSgibt sozusagen ja. ich WILL das land hat mir VIEL gegeben und ich WILL irgendWAS dann zuRÜCK auch geben."	kommt und nur vom Land nimmt und nichts weitergibt, oder sozusagen ausgibt, ja. Ich will, das Land hat mir viel gegeben und ich will dann auch irgendwas zurückgeben."	take from a country, but don't pass on anything, or spend, right. I want to, this country has given me a lot, and then I also want to return something."
Lya 194-196	JETZT dann in MEIne richtung. [ja] ja jetzt dann in WAS ich jetzt studiere DANN. hoffentlich bekomme ich DANN in mit diesem ABschluss DANN ((lacht leicht)) bessere chancen.	Jetzt dann in meiner Richtung Ja, jetzt dann in der Richtung, die ich studiere. Hoffentlich habe ich dann mit diesem Abschluss bessere Chancen.	Well, now in my field. Right, now in the field that I study in. Hopefully I'll have better chances with this degree.
Lya 218-219	"am ANFANG war ich totAL verloren, DENN ich wusste NICHT was ich auswählen soll"	„Am Anfang war ich total verloren, denn ich wusste nicht, was ich auswählen soll."	„In the beginning, I was completely lost, because I didn't know what to choose."
Lya 244-249	„es gibt so eiNE (1) ähm (.) ein BILD für die frauen HIER die AUSlän/ die AUSländerin sind sozusagen, dass die NUR KINder kriegen und NICHTS machen und nur d/ zum beispiel so vom JOBcenter leben und so und DAS wollte ich nicht. [mhm] das will ich NICHT für MICH und für MEIN kind AUCH nicht. das mein kind nicht SO in solcher atmoSPHÄRE dann auf/ aufWÄCHST ähm [mhm] ja. (2) DESwegen fühle ich (jetzt?) mich so, ich MACH was. ja, ich KANN was MACHe"	„Es gibt hier so ein Bild für die Frauen, die sozusagen Ausländerinnen sind, dass die nur Kinder kriegen und nichts machen und nur zum Beispiel vom Jobcenter leben und das wollte ich nicht. Das will ich nicht für mich und für mein Kind auch nicht. Das mein Kind dann nicht in einer solchen Atmosphäre aufwächst, ja. Deswegen fühle ich mich jetzt so, ich mache was. Ja, ich kann was machen."	"There is this image here for women, who are foreigners, so to say, that they only have babies and do nothing and only live from social welfare, for example, and I didn't want that for myself, and neither for my child. That my child would then grow up in such an atmosphere, right. Therefore, I now feel like, I do something. Yes, I can do something."
Lya 289-291	HAUSarbeit als ich DAS GEschrieben habe. obWOHL DA auch VIELE schwierigkeiten gab, aber es hat geklappt. [mhm] und ich war STOLZ darauf.	Als ich die Hausarbeit geschrieben habe. Obwohl es da auch viele Schwierigkeiten gab, hat es aber geklappt. Und ich war stolz darauf.	When I wrote the seminar paper. Although there were many difficulties, too, it nonetheless worked. And I was proud of that.
Lya 334-340	WENN ich zum beispiel, DA sind manche moDULE DIE die mehre/ bei uns mehrere nummern haben zum beispiel "234" und DIE haben IMMER miteinander zusammen zu tun. ja, es gibt immer zuSAMMENhang zwischen einander. und DANN (1) ähm EINE mache ich jetzt eigentlich DIE hab ICH zum beispiel "SIwawi" [[anmerkung]siedlungswasserwirtschaft] "siwawi 3" HABE ich schon GEmacht und jetzt haben wir "siwaWI 4". es gibt aber NICHT SO viel so (1) ja zusammenhang mit den beiden. aber WENN ich das brauche, DANN dann weiß ich WO das ist.	Wenn ich zum Beispiel, da sind manche Module, die bei uns mehrere Nummern haben, zum Beispiel „2,3,4", und die haben immer miteinander zu tun. Ja, es gibt immer einen Zusammenhang zwischeneinander. Und dann mache ich jetzt zum Beispiel „Siwawi" [Anmerkung: Siedlungswasserwirtschaft], „Siwawi 3" habe ich schon gemacht und jetzt haben wir „Siwawi 4". Es gibt aber nicht so viel Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden. Aber	For example, when I, there are some modules, they have several numbers at our department, for example "2,3,4", and they always have something to do with each other. Yes, there is always a correlation between them. And then now for example I'm doing "Siwawi" [note E.S.: abbreviation for sanitary environmental engineering, „Siedlungswasserwirtschaft"], I already did "Siwawi 3" and now we have "Siwawi 4". There is not

		wenn ich das brauche, dann weiß ich, wo das ist.	much correlation between them. But when I need that, I know where to find it.
Lya 351-353	meine konTAKTE sind jetzt auch nur mit ausländer SOzusagen und AUCH wenn sie NICHT aus arabische länder sind. und DIE sind alle so (1) einverstanden DAS die sprache ist die erste so.	Meine Kontakte sind jetzt auch nur mit Ausländern sozusagen und auch wenn sie nicht alle aus arabischen Ländern sind. Die sind all einverstanden das das die erste Sprache ist.	I mainly have contact with other foreigners, so to speak, and even if they are not all from Arabic countries. They all agree that this is the first language.
Lya 374-378	WENN ICH weiß das ich NOCH hilfe brauche DANN entweder frAG ich die andere studentin, DIE sich vielleicht besser kennen (1) AUSkennen ODER (1) unsere freund <<lachend>interNET zum beispiel das DA steht IMMER was JA>. wenn DAS alles dann nicht klappt, DANN BÜcher zum beispiel aus der biblioTHEK [mhm] mhm. #00:18:37-8#	Wenn ich weiß, dass ich noch Hilfe brauche, dann frage ich entweder die anderen Studenten, die sich vielleicht besser auskennen, oder unseren Freund Internet zum Beispiel, da steht immer was, ja. Wenn das alles nicht klappt, dann zum Beispiel Bücher aus der Bibliothek.	When I know that I still need help, then I either ask the other students, who maybe get along better, or our friend internet for example, there's always something written there, right. And if none of this works, then books from the library, for example.
Lya 470-477	vielleicht die AUSländer die NEU sind. ich habe JETZT in diese semester AUCH MANche kennengelernt, die DIE ERinnern MICH an mich selbst, als ich im ERSTE semester dann EAR. man fühlt sich dann s/ WIRKLICH dann richtig UNsicher und verLOREN ja. und DANN ich verSUCHE jetzt AUCH die NEUE dann auch zu helfen wo ich helfen kann ja. weil ich das schon diese erLEBnis hatte und wenn ich sie zum beispiel meine ähm zum beispiel ERste sache die ich schon gemacht HABE zu erklären so und sowas. DANN bin ich beREIT wenn ich die ZEIT habe. ja, dann dann [mhm] bin ich immer DA für sie.	Vielleicht die Ausländer, die neu sind. Ich habe jetzt in diesem Semester auch manche kennengelernt, die erinnern mich an mich selbst, als ich im ersten Semester war. Dann fühlt man sich dann wirklich richtig unsicher und verloren, ja. Dann versuche ich jetzt auch den neuen zu helfen, wo ich kann, ja. Weil ich dieses Erlebnis schon hatte, und ich kann ihnen zum Beispiel Sachen, die ich schon gemacht habe, erklären und so was. Dann ich ich bereit, wenn ich die Zeit habe. Ja, dann bin ich immer für sie da.	Maybe the foreigners that are new. Now, in this term, I got to know some, they remind me of myself, when I was in my first term. When you really feel insecure and lost, right. So now I try to help the new ones, where I can, right. Because I've already been there, and for example I can explain things to them that I have already done, and things like that. So, I'm ready, if I've got time. Yes, then I'm always there for them.
Lya 482-490	und diese studentIN aus syrien, DIE die ist eigentlich auch im zweiten semester, allerDINGS die hat letztes semester dann zu SPÄT angefangen, so ab november glaub ich oder deZEMBER SOgar und sie ist immer NOCH SO unsicher und so. dann wir schrei/ wir machen jetzt EINE (1) ähm präsenTATION am donnersTAG. wir sind allerDINGS zu fünft DIEses MAL, und DANN soll sie/ war FAST nicht bei UNS als WIR da daran geARbeitet haben. und ich hab dann geSAGT ich kann sie das erKLÄREN und sie war	Und diese Studentin aus Syrien, die ist eigentlich auch im zweiten Semester, allerdings hat sie letztes Semester zu spät angefangen, so ab November glaube ich oder sogar Dezember, und sie ist immer noch unsicher und so. Wir machen jetzt eine Präsentation am Donnerstag. Wir sind dieses Mal zu fünft und sie war eigentlich noch	And this student from Syria, she is actually also in her second semester, but she started too late last semester, in November or December or so, and she is still very insecure and so on. We have a presentation on Thursday. This time we are five students, and she actually had not joined us yet when we were working on it. So, I told her that I can explain it to her

	heute dann mit MIR, dann waren wir im comPUTERraum in unsere gebäude "v15" und DANN haben wir das zusammen gemacht.	nicht bei uns, als wir daran gearbeitet haben. Dann habe ich ihr gesagt, dass ich ihr das erklären kann und dann waren wir heute im Computerraum un userm Gebäude V15 und dann haben wir das zusammen gemacht.	and then we were in our building V15 today and then we did it together.
Lya 495-496	JA. ja. ja, WENN ich was ANbieten kann, DAS [mhm] fühlt man sich ja naTÜRLICH [mhm mhm] SICHer.	Ja, ja, ja. Wenn ich etwas anbieten kann, dann fühlt man sich natürlich sicher.	Yes, yes, yes. When I can offer something, then of course you feel more secure.
Partici-pant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Maria	Russia	Hypothesises about learning investment and choices in career paths. Had a successful academic career in Russia. Feels it is very hard to start anew in Germany, where her specific skills were not recognized in the beginning. She thinks that her "insufficient language skills" are held against her, and she feels that only important contacts have helped her career. In her eyes, women in general and specifically women with children are disadvantaged on the German labour market.	Of all ProSALAMANDER project participants, Maria had the most successful academic career before her migration to Germany. At St. Petersburg University, she was part of the teaching and researching staff. Maria is now part of the academic staff at university and has been offered a PhD candidature.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Maria (176-182)	WELCHE welche ABschlüsse hast du MITgeBRACHT, als du nach DEUTSCHland geKOMMEN BIST? #00:17:06-4# B: äh der ERste abSCHLUSS als elektrotechNIK und ZWEIte als wirtschaftswissenschaftLER. ähm ich HABE für die zweite abSCHLUSS sich entschieden, weil ich habe gearBEITET in "Saint Petersburg University" aber GENAU in DIEsen äh in diesem fach wirtschaftswissenschaftler.	I: Welche Abschlüsse hast du mitgebracht, als du nach Deutschland gekommen bist? B: Der erste Abschluss ist in Elektrotechnik und der zweite in Wirtschaftswissenschaften. Ich habe mich für den zweiten Abschluss entschieden, weil ich an der St. Petersburg Universität gearbeitet habe, aber genau in diesem Fach Wirtschaftswissenschaften.	I: Which degrees did you hold when you came to Germany? R: The first degree is in Electrical Engineering and the second one in Business Sciences. I decided to do the second degree because I worked at St. Petersburg University, but exactly in this area of Business Sciences.
Maria 895-897	für MICH war weißt du, wie ((leichtes lachen)) wie (1) gibt so diese mh psychoTHERAPEUTIN oder SO <<lachend>WAS. DU bist HEUTE !MEINE!>. ((lachen)) #01:25:38-4#	Weißt du, es gibt diese Psychotherapeuten oder so. Du bist heute meine ((lachen)).	You know there are these psychotherapists, or however they are called. Today you are mine ((laughing)).

Partici-pant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Meryem (gradu-ated from a Turkish Open Univer-sity)		Meryem says that she is most likely going back to her old job, which she had worked in for 19 years. She also says that it "hurts" her to go back, because it makes her feel that nothing has changed, and that she neither achieved anything nor succeeded with the stud-ies. Meryem also men-tions ideas of moving to Turkey and starting a business there together with a friend, without specifying the business idea.	Meryem was interviewed when she had withdrawn from the program two se-mesters after she enrolled. She left university with-out graduating but stayed in loose contact with the ProSALAMANDER pro-ject. She had worked in a kin-dergarten for 19 years be-fore she enrolled. Meryem grew up in Tur-key and Germany. For the Christmas party in 2013, she wrote a Christmas Carol about the project, which had 10 stanzas and was performed by all at-tending participants.
Line ref-erence	Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)	Simplified quote	Translation
Meryem 34-38	DRUCK auch noch DA, ne. DAS ist so ähm verPFLICHTUNGen [mhm] und SO und DANN auch so so mit äh AUFsicht und so und man HAT [mhm] (1) viele SACHEN so im KOPF, TAUSEND sachen vielleicht auch noch. (1) es sind vielLEICHT noch so so die ÄNGSTE und ver-ZWEIFLUNGen und so. [mhm] aber AUCH so verPFLICH-TUNGEN	Druck war auch noch da. So Verpflichtungen und dann auch so mit Auf-sicht und so und man hat viele Sachen im Kopf, tausend Sachen vielleicht auch noch. Es sind viel-leicht noch so die Ängste und Verzweiflungen und so. Auch so Verpflich-tungen.	Pressure was there. Like obligations and then also control and so on and you have many things on your mind, maybe also thousands of things. It is maybe also fears and des-peration and so on. Also obligations.
Partici-pant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Natascha (gradu-ated in Russia)		Natascha expresses satis-faction with her decision to quit university and take up a part time job. She says that she now has more time for her son, who needs a lot of atten-tion. She thinks that eve-rything she learned at university in Russia and Germany will help her in her future life. She also thinks she will always be considered a foreigner in Germany and states that she has accepted that "fact". Natasha feels that her language skills will never be perfect. She says that she feels better since she accepted that.	Natascha was interviewed after withdrawing from the program two semes-ters after she enrolled. She has a son diagnosed with ADHD and de-scribes this as the main reason to quit university.

Line reference	Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)	Simplified quote	Translation
Natascha 147-149	ich WEISS wie <<lachend>perfekt DEUTSCH AUSsieht> und ich weiß das ich !NIE! perFEKT DEUTSCH sprechen werde desWEGEN.	Ich weiß, wie perfektes Deutsch aussieht und deswegen weiß ich, dass ich nie perfekt Deutsch sprechen werde.	I know what perfect German looks like, and therefore I know that I will never speak German perfectly.
Natasha 163-171	also ich habe das AKZEPTIERT ich weiß das mein FREUND das ist das AUSländerin BIN. also ich hab verSUCHT mal ein sch/ einmal SCHLUSS machen. ich hab verSTANDEN dann er ist ein DEUT-SCHEN (1) er hat ARBEIT er hat ALLES und dann komme !ICH! die AUSländerIN ohne ARbeit mit zwei KINDERN. (1) und nichts HINTER !MIR! arbeitslosenGELD und DANN sagte ich mir, "wofür brauchst du DAS? machen wir SCHLUSS." da sagt er: "NEIN NEIN NEIN !NEIN!" da war eine PAUSE und sind wir TROTZdem ZUSAMMENgeKOMMEN und dann vielleicht etwas ver!STAN-DEN!, dass eigentlich ja das eigentlich ja für ihm ist es WERT das !KEIN! () AUSLÄNDER ist sondern !MENSCH! SELBER, ja.	Also ich habe das akzeptiert, ich weiß, dass mein Freund, dass ich die Aus-länderin bin. Also ich habe versucht mal Schluss zu machen. Ich habe verstanden, dass er ein Deutscher ist, er hat Arbeit, er hat alles und dann komme ich, die Ausländerin ohne Arbeit und mit zwei Kindern. Und nichts hinter mir. Arbeitslosengeld. und dann sagte ich mir, „Wo-für brauchst du das? Ma-chen wir Schluss." Da sagt er: „Nein, nein, nein, nein! Da war eine Pause und wir sind trotz-dem zusammengekom-men. Und dann habe ich vielleicht etwas verstan-den, dass das für ihn nicht ein Wert ist, dass man Ausländer ist, sondern Mensch an sich, ja.	Well I accepted that, I know, that my partner, that I am the foreigner. Well, I tried to break up once. I understood that he is a German, he has got work and everything and then I come, the for-eigner without work and with two children. And nothing behind me. Un-employment compensa-tion. And then I told my-self, "what do you need that for? Let's break up." Then he says, "No, no, no, no!" There was a break and we got back together anyway. And then maybe I understood something, that for him it's not a value being a foreigner, but being a hu-man per se, yeah.
Natasha 402-410	ich HABE ein diplomarbeit ge-macht, das !STEHT!. ich KÖNN-TEN das NICHT in RUSSLAND, damals STAND NICHT im DIP-LOM DIPLOMingeNIEUR, da stand ingeNIEURIN, also FACH also WÖRTLICH ingenieurin. aber ich hab ein diPLOMARBEIT halbes JAHR es gemacht, ein SEMESTER, ich habe NOTE, da steht !ALLES!. im notensVERHALTEN VER-ZEICHNIS. und wenn ich schon ge-WUSST HÄTTE, dann WÜRDE ich vielleicht NOCHmal das übersetzen LASSEN und DIPL. INGENIEUR [mhm] stehen LASSEN. weil d!DA! hat für MICH eigentlich die schwie-rigKEITEN gemacht. ((unverständ-lich)) BACHELORstudium ANGE-FANGEN [mhm] !MUSSTE! [mhm] und kein [mhm] MASTER-studium.	Ich habe eine Diplomar-beit gemacht, das steht. Ich konnte das nicht in Russland, damals stand da nicht Diplomingeni-eur, da stand Ingeieurin, also das Fach, also wört-lich Ingenieurin. Aber ich habe ein halbes Jahr lang eine Diplomarbeit gemacht, ein Semester, ich habe eine Note, das steht alles im Notenver-zeichnis. Und wenn ich das schon gewusst hätte, dann würde ich das nochmal übersetzen las-sen und Dipl. Ingenieur schreiben lassen.Weil das hat mir eigentlich Schwierigekeiten berei-tet. Dass ich ein Ba-chelorstudium anfangen musste und kein Master-studium.	I did a diploma thesis, it says, I couldn't in Russia, back then it didn't say qualified engineer, it said engineer, so, the field, well, literally engineer. But I did a diploma thesis for half a year, one se-mester, I got a mark, that's all in the list of marks. And if I had al-ready known it, I would have gotten it translated once again and add de-greed engineer. Because that's what actually caused me difficulties. That I had to start with a bachelor's degree, not a master's degree.

Participant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Olga (graduated in Russia)		Is very insecure about the success of her studies and about her career after graduation. Ranks her language skills as not good enough yet and is scared to talk to professors. She describes how she once left a class because she did not want her professor to come over and explain a problem to her, and says that she later failed the exam in that class. She thinks it is an advantage that she has already worked in Russia and speaks Russian, but states that once she speaks "perfect" German, she will be able to take up anything.	Olga was among the few participants encouraged to enrol in a Master's degree, but later changed to a Bachelor's degree, because she felt that was easier for her.

Line reference	Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)	Simplified quote	Translation
Olga 94-98	mein MANN hat äh diese projekt geFUNDEN. ((lachen)) und mein mann hat äh in der ZEITtung geLESEN und hat <<lachend>mir gezeigt. DAS ist genau für DICH, du MUSST/ du MUSST dich anMELDEN.> ich habe gedacht: "NEE, ich schaffe das NICHT, NEIN." ((lachen)) aber, (1) er hat ähm mich SEHR SEHR viel unters/ unterstützt und ja jetzt AUCH. ähm, er äh er hilft mir äh sehr VIEL und auch äh seine Eltern.	Mein Mann hat dieses Projekt gefunden und mein Mann hat davon in der Zeitung gelesen und es mir gezeigt: Das ist genau für dich, du musst, du musst dich anmelden. Ich habe gedacht: Nee, ich schaffe das nicht, nein. Aber er hat mich sehr viel unterstützt, jetzt auch noch, er hilft mir sehr viel und seine Eltern auch.	My husband found this project and my husband read about it in the newspaper and he showed it to me: This fits you exactly, you have to, you have to enrol. I thought: No, I won't make it, no. But he supported me a lot, also still now, and he helps me a lot and his parents too.
Olga 374-383	EINmal äh der professor war am bahnhHOF geTROFFEN und ((lachen)) äh ich hatte SO mich äh, wie heißt das, erinnern ja. [ja] er hat SO selber geKOMMEN und er hat gesagt: "OH hallO, wie GEHt´s" und so weiter und ich/ JA kann man äh/ ich habe geSEHEN das er vielleicht äh hatte LANGeweile geHABT oder so und ER wollte ein bisschen unterHALTEN. aber (1) ich war !SO! DOOF, ich habe gesagt: "HALLO GUT" und <<lachend>schnell weggegangen>. ((lachen)) JA ich WEISS das WAR (1) nicht schön ((lachen)) ABER JA ich ich hatte !SO! ANGST ((lachen)) mit ihm zu sprechen. [mhm] ja WAR so SCHLECHte situation." (OLGA)	Einmal habe ich einen Professor am Bahnhof getroffen, er hat sich an mich erinnert und ist auf mich zugekommen und er hat gesagt „Oh, hallo, wie geht's?" und so weiter. Und ich habe gesehen, dass er vielleicht Langeweile hat oder so und dass er sich ein bisschen unterhalten wollte. Aber ich war so doof, ich habe gesagt: „Hallo, gut." und bin schell weggegangen.	Once I met a professor at the station, he recognized me and he approached me and said, Oh, hello, how are you? and so on. And I saw that he probably is bored or he wanted to chat a bit. But I was so stupid, I said, Hello, good, and went away.

Partici-pant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Rustam	Uzbekistan	At various points of the interview, Rustam explained that the structure of his life has changed since he lives in Germany, and even more since he studies. He says his time management has become more "German", and that he now plans ahead. At university, he feels proud of himself when he passes an exam. At the same time, he finds studying difficult, because he did his first degree more than 12 years ago, and he found it much easier when he was younger.	Rustam worked as a teacher as part of a community development project in Uzbekistan, although he graduated in Business and Regional Sciences.
Line reference	Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)	Simplified quote	Translation
Rustam 506-510	und er hat geSAGT "NEIN nein nein nicht das GUT. (1) DAS hätte ich AUCH so geMACHT. ((unverständlich)) ich habe AUCH mit (2) äh VIERZIG JAHRE stuDIERT also wurd ALS äh kranken/ äh (1) kra/ krankenBRUDER oder wie? [krankenPFLEGER] kra/ krankenpfleger geARbeitet und dann hat er stuDIERT (1) und so ich DENKE <<leicht lachend>ja, waRUM NICHT?.	Und er hat gesagt: Nein, nein, nein, nicht, das ist gut. Das hätte ich auch so gemacht. Ich habe auch mit vierzig Jahren studiert. Also ich habe als Krankenpfleger gearbeitet und dann hat er studiert und deshalb denke ich, ja, warum nicht?	And he said, No, no, no, not, that's good. I would have done the same. I also studied when I was forty years old. I worked as a nurse and then he studied, and therefore I think, well, why not?
Partici-pant	Country of graduation	Summary	Additional Information
Seherzada	former Yugoslavia	Seherzada says that she is very happy since she is studying again and thinks that one can achieve anything in life if it is done it step by step. She finds studying now easier than during her first degree, which she says was organised more rigidly and gave less choice to students. She says that studying feels like a hobby to her. She also expresses how proud she is that she passed the project's application interview and is back at university now.	Seherzada is the oldest participant of the ProSALAMANDER project. She came to Germany as a refugee from former Yugoslavia and shortly after arriving organised an auxiliary feeding system to help her village during post-war times in the late 1990s.
Line reference	Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)	Simplified quote	Translation

Seherzada 68-69	für MICH ist äh ein REICHTUM (1) äh (1) äh !WISSEN!. WISSEN ist WICHTIG und äh für mich ist reichtum.	Für mich ist Wissen ein Reichtum. Wissen ist wichtig und für mich ist das Reichtum.	Knowledge for me is wealth. Knowledge is important and for me it is wealth.
Seherzada 323-326	meine kinder sind nummer EINS für MICH, ich habe !SEHR! VIEL geMACHT. ähm, ERFOLG für MEINE KINDER ist mein erfolg AUCH. [mhm] und dann JETZT diese äh STUDIUM für mi/, DAS ist jetzt etwas !NUR! FÜR MICH, für mich, dass ich KANN was MACHEN für mich.	Meine Kinder sind die Nummer eins für mich, ich habe sehr viel gemacht. Der Erfolg meiner Kinder ist auch mein Erfolg. Und dann jetzt dieses Studium, das ist jetzt etwas nur für mich, dass ich etwas nur für mich machen kann.	My children are number one for me, I have done a lot for them. My children's success is also my success. And now these studies, this is something only for me, that I can do something only for myself.
Seherzada 387-392	ich FÜHLE mich so MÄCHTIG und so GLÜCKLICH. und äh so mh (1) KANN man sagen !WERT!VOLLER und äh einfach das ich kann das all/ GELEGENHEIT, dass ich KANN DAS machen. ((unverständlich)) vor paar JAHRE war ich äh gleiche MENSCH und so, aber ich hatte solche GELEGENHEIT und mit diese GELEGENHEIT ähm ich bin !MEHR! !WERT! und äh diese GEFÜHLE und äh äh was KANN man alles so MACHEN und ERREICHEN.	Ich fühle mich so mächtig und so glücklich. Und wertvoller, kann man sagen. Und einfach dass ich die Gelegenheit habe, dass ich all das machen kann. Vor ein paar Jahren war ich der gleiche Mensch, aber ich hatte keine solche Gelegenheit. Und mit dieser Gelegenheit, bin ich mehr wert und ich habe dieses Gefühl, dass man alles machen und alles erreichen kann.	I feel so powerful and so happy. And more valuable, you can say. And simply that I have the opportunity to do all that. A couple of years ago, I was the same person. But I did not have such an opportunity. And with this opportunity, I'm worth more and I have this feeling that you can do everything and achieve everything.
Seherzada 413-417	DANN ich habe in MEINEM BEKANNTENkreis, ich habe überALL geSAGT, und sie ha/ waren erSTAUNT, dass ich ähm das machen WILL und dann ähm VIELE waren überRASCHEND POSITIV überRASCHEND. und äh viele meiner ARBEITSkolleginnen, sie sind JÜNGER als ich, sie haben gesagt, "NEE, in DIESEM alter LESEN, LERNEN. NEIN !GOTTES! !WILLEN! für MICH ist das NICHT".	Dann habe ich in meinem Bekanntenkreis, ich habe es überall gesagt, und sie waren erstaunt, dass ich das machen will und dann waren viele überrascht, positiv überrascht. Und viele meiner Arbeitskolleginnen, sie sind jünger als ich, sie haben gesagt „Nee, in diesem Alter lesen, lernen. Nein, um Gottes Willen, für mich ist das nichts."	Then I told my acquaintances, I told it everywhere, and they were surprised I want to do it and then many were surprised, positively surprised. And many of my colleagues, they are younger than me, they said: "No, reading, learning at this age. No, for God's sake, that's not for me."
Participant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Sunita	India	"If you have a real work here, then you also feel at home." *("Wenn du hier arbeiten gehst, richtig ne, dann fühlst du dich auch zu Hause.")* Sunita is disappointed that she never had a chance to find work with her Indian Master's degree, and she thinks that countries like Australia or New Zealand are more open-minded towards a foreign degree.	Sunita is one of only three participants who did a Master's degree, and she is the only one who is fluent in English. She has worked as a teacher in India, although she graduated in Economics. Throughout the interview, Sunita did not mention her husband once, not even when she speaks

			about organising daily life with two sons.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Sunita 64-65	WIR bringen DIESE temPO nicht hier irgendWIE SO ähm wie es sein SOLLTE	Wir bringen dieses Tempo hier irgendwie nicht so, wie es sein sollte.	Somehow, here we don't deliver at the speed that we should.
Sunita 223-225	WEIL du stehst hier auf NULL, du fängst von NULL an. (1) was DU geMACHT hat, HIER kann keiner SEHEN [mhm] und auch NICHT weiß WAS du KANNST [mhm] und was du NICHT.	Weil Du hier auf Null stehst, bei Null anfängst. Was du gemacht hast, kann hier keiner sehen und es weiß auch keiner, was du kannst und was nicht.	Because here you are set to zero, you start from zero. Nobody knows what you have done and also nobody knows what you can do and what you cannot do.
Sunita 238-244	das !ICH! AUCH nicht nur MAMA und eine FR/ EHEFRAU und SO, sondern be/ ICH bin auch !ICH!. das ich ALLEINE geSCHAFFT habe DAS ne. (1) und DAS will ich HABEN. [mhm] (3) ja (1) das ist für mich ein so sel/ für MICH so ein w/ äh ein GEFÜHL ähm weil (1) äh (3) das ICH MICH AUCH !SELBER! LIEBEN KANN. nicht nur KINDER und MANN und ALLES, sondern !MICH! als PER!SON! eigene mit EIGENE identiFIKATION mit EIGENE fähigKEITEN und LEISTUNGEN. DAS ich äh/ DAS ist für MICH sehr WICHTIG.	Dass ich auch nicht nur Mama und Ehefrau und so, sondern dass ich auch ich bin. Das ich das alleine geschafft habe, ne. Und das will ich haben, ja. Das ist für mich so ein, für mich so wie ein Gefühl, dass ich mich auch selber lieben kann. Nicht nur Kinder und Mann und alles, sondern auch mich als Person. Mit eigener Identifikation, mit eigenen Fähigkeiten und Leistungen. Das ist für mich sehr wichtig.	That I'm not only mum and wife and so on, but that I am also me. That I accomplished that myself, right. And that's what I want, right. For me this is such a, for me this is like such a feeling, that I can also love myself. Not only children and husband and everything, but also myself as a person. With an own identification, with own skills and achievements. That is very important for me.
Participant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Ulyana (graduated in Ukraine)		Thinks that character and ambition are more important for successful studies than language knowledge.	Ulyana's husband applied to the project first, but withdrew. She applied for the second round, which did not include financial funding.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Ulyana 129-131	wenn äh wenn ich eine äh möglichKEIT äh hätte einen monat in einem atmosphäre, RICHTIGE deutsche atmosphäre zu SEIN, mein DEUTSCH in EIN zwei monate kommt ZU schnell.	Wenn ich ine Möglichkeit hätte, einen Monat lang in einer Umgebung, einer richtig deutschen Umgebung zu sein, dann kommt mein Deutsch in ein, zwei Monaten sehr schnell.	If I had a chance to be in a surrounding, in a real German surrounding, then my German improves in one, two months really fast.
Ulyana (225-230)	wenn ICH EINE äh deutsche abSCHLUSS äh beKOMME äh ich glaube ((unverständlich)) ES WIRD eine (1) ähm (2) BEWEIS (1) DAS ähm, das ich ähm (2) äh (3). <<leiser>entschuldigung ich ich verLIERE deu/ deutsches wort>. ich ich ich ZEIGE/ ich ZEIGE ich sage	Wenn ich einen deutschen Abschluss bekomme, dann wird das ein Beweis, dass ich für den deutschen Arbeitsmarkt, für den deutschn Arbeitgeber passe, ja.	If I obtain a German degree, then this is a proof that I am suitable for the German labor market, for a German employee. Right.

	leichter, ja. äh ich beWEISE das ICH äh das ich für deutsche MARKT und für deutsche GEBER. äh d/ das ICH pa/ das ICH äh für deu/ deutsche arbeitsmarkt PASS/ PASSE, ja.		
Partici-pant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Vladyslav	Ukraine	Came to Germany due to a family reunion of his wife's family ("*Familien-zusammenführung*"). He would like work as an engineer in Germany, and he worked as a head engineer in the Ukraine before his migration. He says he understands that he must integrate and learn German to be employed in his field. He hopes that a German diploma will enhance his opportunities on the labour market, and that his two mother tongues (Russian, Ukrainian) will be taken into consideration in a future job.	Vladyslav is the primary caregiver of his two young children for some of the week, so that his wife can study too.
Line refe-rence	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Vladyslav 144-146	ich sehe mich äh in ZUkunft als äh ingeNIEUR, (5) egal oder in GROße mh IN der der große FIRma oder o-der KLEIne FIRma.	Ich seh mich in Zukunft als Ingenieur, egal ob in einer großen oder in einer kleinen Firma.	In the future, I see myself as an engineer, either in a big or a small company.
Vla-dyslav, 156	((lacht kurz)) ähm, ja ich bin inge-NIEUR, aber äh ich bin ukrAInische ingenieur.	Ich bin Ingenieur, aber ich bin ukrainischer In-genieur.	I'm an engineer, but I'm a Ukrainian engineer.
Vladyslav 185-189	deswegen ich möchte auch äh zum beispiel ei=eine MÖGlichkeit- äh f-eine FIRma äh zu finden äh WO wo kann ich äh n=NICHT nur auf deutsch äh- äh sondern auch äh RUSsisch oder ukraInisch. äh ich habe zwei äh kann ich sagen mutter-SPRAchen, ich ukrainisch und äh RUSsisch. und vielLEICHT äh das wird NICHT äh ein MInus äh son-dern PLUS.	Deswegen möchte ich auch zum Beispiel eine Möglichkeit, eine Firma finden, wo ich nicht nur auf Deutsch, sondern auch Russisch oder Ur-kainisch sprechen kann. Ich habe zwei Mutter-sprachen, kann man sa-gen, ich spreche Rus-sisch und Ukrainisch. Und vielleicht wird das nicht ein Minus, sondern ein Plus.	Therefore, I would for example like an oppor-tunity, a company, where I don't only speak in German, but also Russian or Ukrainian. I have two first languages, so to say. I speak Russian and Ukrainian. And maybe this is not going to be a minus, but a plus.
Vladyslav 279-281	ich habe zwei kleine KINder zu-hause, (1) HAbe, äh (2) ich soll auch äh meine zeit äh mit äh mit meine [mhm] äh faMIlie äh zuSAMmen	Ich habe zwei kleine Kinder zu Hause, ich soll auch Zeit mit meiner Fa-milie verbringen.	I've got two young chil-dren at home and I should also spend time with my family.

	mh- (2) kann man sagen, äh verb=verBINden		
Vladyslav 337-338	am ABends, mh hä wenn wenn die kinder äh SCHLAfen n ge=gehen, äh (1) wir sitzen mit BÜchern an comPUter, und LERnen,	Abends, wenn die Kinder schlafen gehen, sitzen wir mit Büchern am Computer und lernen.	In the evenings when the children go to bed, we sit at our computers with books and study.
Vladyslav 648-653	zum beispiel politoloGIE. [mhm] äh politoloGIE ich habe studiert äh in der äh TECHnischen uni, ich habe polito=plogie studiert AUCH in äh JUra-universität. äh desWEgen äh- aber mh ingeNIEUR äh- ((lacht kurz)) vi=viele FÄcher, die äh waren ähm äh UN- äh (3) ni=nicht so WICHtig für äh für für äh mh für für beRUF. [mhm] äh deswegen viele ZEIT äh hier verLOren äh äh für (2) für u=unsere äh STUdium. [mhm] äh in DEUTSCHland äh WIR KÖNnen WÄHlen, äh (1) ich finde das GUT.	Zum Beispiel Politologie. Ich habe Politologie an der Technischen Uni und an der Juristischen Uni studiert. Aber als Ingenieur waren viele Fächer nicht so wichtig für den Beruf. Deswegen habe ich damit viel Zeit für mein Studium verloren. In Deutschland können wir wählen, ich finde das gut.	Political science for example. I studied political science at the Technical University and at the University of Law. But for engineers, many of these subjects were not relevant for the job. Therefore, I lost a lot of time during my studies. In Germany, you can choose, I like that.
Participant	**Country of graduation**	**Summary**	**Additional Information**
Yaqub (graduated in Egypt)		Throughout the interview, Yaqub expresses his satisfaction about studying in Germany and how grateful he is for this chance. He considers enrolling for a master's degree and wants to find a part-time job to support his further studies. He likes switching between the Egyptian and German culture, but states that being among Egyptians or living in Egypt is more fun and easier. When he is with Germans, he tries to stay neutral to avoid making mistakes.	Yaqub is one of very few students who passed a test in law at the first attempt, without any help. He regularly used counselling and tutoring to prepare for job interviews, and enhance his study skills.
Line reference	**Direct quote (basic transcript, GAT 2)**	**Simplified quote**	**Translation**
Yaqub 143-144	ich HAB eigentlich HIER in einer BANK zw/ zwei MONATE praktikum geMACHt	Ich habe eigentlich hier in einer Bank zwei Monate lang ein Praktikum gemacht.	I actually did a two months' apprenticeship in a local bank.
Yaqub 392-393	also STUDIUMABschluss in DEUTSCHland, äh da sag ich IMMER wie ein großer SCHATZ	Also ich sage immer der Studienabschluss in Deutschland ist wie ein großer Schatz.	Well I keep on saying that the German degree is like a big treasure.
Yaqub 446-454	ich ich hab einFACH ein paar ZETTEL so geKAUFT. [mhm] (1) und die einFACH lerne ich AUSwendig, DANN gehe ich zur klauSUR [mhm] und dann WERDe ich [mhm] BESTEHEN. aber in DEUTSCHland das IST toTAL was anderes, da muss MAN äh/ also ich hab das	Ich habe einfach so ein paar Zettel gekauft. Und die habe ich einfach auswendig gelernt. Dann ging ich zur Klausur und dann habe ich bestanden. Aber in Deutschland ist das total anders,	I just bought a couple of notes. And then I memorised them. Then I went to the test and passed. But in Germany, it is completely different, you have to, well then I

	SELBER gelernt das man (1) also es BRINGT nichts, wenn man wenn man verSUCHT ALLES auswendig zu lernen. nee, muss man verSTEHEN und was du verSTANDEN hast einFACH schreibst du in deinen WORTEN oder in deinen meTHODEN oder SO. (1) und DAS äh DAS finde ich ein (bisschen?) das hat das hat MAN am ENDE was verSTANDEN, hat man WAS geLERNT, was NEUES geLERNT.	da muss man, also da habe ich das selber gelernt, also es bringt nichts, wenn man versucht, alles auswendigzulernen. Nee, man muss verstehen, und was du verstanden hast, das schreibst du einfach in deinen Worten oder in deinen Methoden oder so. Und das finde ich ein bisschen, am Ende hat man was verstanden, man hat etwas gelernt, etwas neues gelernt.	learned everything myself, so it doesn't help if you are trying to memorise everything. Nope, one has to understand, and what you understood, you just write in in your own words or in your own methods or something like that. And I find that a little bit, in the end one has understood something, one has learnt something new.
Yaqub 603-606	ich KANN araBISCH sprechen. (1) äh andere KULTUR, ich hab sozusagen (1) EIN kulTUR erLEBT und jetzt mein ZWEITES kulTUR, dann hab ich ZWEI kulturen schon erLEBT. (1) ähm (5) mh MANCHMAL ZWEI mentaliTÄTEN, alSO ARABISCHE <<lachend>mentaliTÄT und DEUTSCHE mentaliTÄT zum TEIL.	Ich kann Arabisch sprechen. Andere Kultur, ich habe sozusagen eine Kultur erlebt und jetzt meine zweite Kultur, ich habe schon zwei Kulturen erlebt. Manchmal zwei Mentalitäten, also eine arabische Mentalität und eine deutsche Mentalität, zum Teil.	I can speak Arabic. Different culture, I have sort of experienced one culture and now my second culture, I have already experienced two cultures. Sometimes two mentalities, so an Arabic mentality and a German mentality, partially.

Transkriptionsrichtlinien

1. Das Pseudonym der interviewten Person sollte als Titel zusammen mit der Gesamtdauer des Interviews (hh:mm) zu Beginn des Transkripts angegeben werden. Zum Beispiel:
Transkription Adil
01:27

2. Bitte nur das Pseudonym benutzen, welches in der Liste der Interviews, die diesen Richtlinien angefügt ist, festgelegt wurde. In der Liste wird jeweils ein Gespräch einem Pseudonym zugeordnet, zum Beispiel *Gespräch 1 – Adil*.

3. Bitte alle Transkripte als Rich Text Format (.rtf file) abspeichern. Please save all transcripts in rich text format (.rtf file). Damit bleibt die Datei kompatibel mit dem Programm QCAmap, das für die Auswertung der qualitativen Daten genutzt wird. Der Dateiname sollte mit dem Namen der Auadiodatei korrelieren, zum Beispiel *Gespräch 1_ Adil*.

4. Am Ende einer Äußerung oder einer Frage sollte der exakte Zeitpunkt laut Audiodatei angegeben werden. Die Angabe erfolgt in Hashtags, zum Beispiel:
I: oKAY, WIE geht es dir zurZEIT im STUDIUM? #00:00:07-8#

5. Die Interviewerin wird mit „I" gekennzeichnet, die interviewte Person mit „B" (für „befragte Person").

6. Zur besseren Lesbarkeit sollten die Zeilen linkseitig mit dem Abstand eines Tabs zur eigentlichen Zeile markiert werden.

7. Bitte wörtlich transkribieren, und bitte nichts zusammenfassen. Umgangssprache sollte nicht in Standardsprache übertragen werden.

8. Die Struktur einer Äußerung wird in jedem Falle beibehalten, selbst wenn sich dadurch potentielle syntaktische „Fehler" ergeben. Zum Beispiel:
also KANN MANN (1) !GENAU! wissen WO ich LEBE
anstelle von *Man kann also genau wissen, wo ich lebe*.

9. Satzunterbrechungen werden mit einem Schrägstrich / markiert. Zum Beispiel:
diese ANGST angl/ DAS

10. Unverständliche Äußerungen werden als ((unverständlich)) in doppelten Klammern markiert. Zum Beispiel:
((unverständlich)) WEIL die ANFORDERUNGEN

11. Pausen werden in Klammern angegeben, sofern sie eine Sekunde oder länger dauern. Zum Beispiel: (1).

12. Kürzere Pausen werden mit einer eckigen Klammer nach rechts markiert. Pausen unter einer Sekunde werden nicht mit ihrer Dauer angegeben. Zum Beispiel:
also der wichtigste GRUND>, also

13. Interjektionen seitens der interviewten Person und der Interviewerin werden in eckigen Klammern angegeben. Zum Beispiel:
[mhm] die leute so SAGEN so bei UNS.

14. Emotionale Äußerungen der interviewten Person oder der Interviewerin, wie zum Beispiel Lachen, werden in doppelt spitzen Klammern angegeben, da sie eine Äußerung unterstützen oder erklären können. Zum Beispiel: <<leicht lachend>>

15. Betonte Wörter und Äußerungen werden in Großbuchstaben geschrieben. Falls mehrere Betonungen aufeinanderfolgen, wird die dominanteste zusätzlich mit Ausrufezeichen vor und hinter dem Wort oder der Äußerung markiert. Zum Beispiel:
die GELD EINFACH !SO! NEHMEN

16. Äußerungen, die sich überschneiden, werden getrennt transkribiert. Diese Passagen werden in geschweiften Klammern markiert. Zum Beispiel:
diese {gleichzeitig}DISKUSSIONEN

Appendix 11: Transcription guidelines adopted from Selting et al. 2009 (original version)

Transcription guidelines

1. Indicate the interviewee's pseudonym as the title and the total duration (hh:mm) of the interview. For example:
Transkription Adil
01:27
2. Only use the pseudonym that is indicated by the researcher. You will find this pseudonym in the list of interviews attached to these guidelines. The list assigns an interview to an alias, for example *Gespräch 1 – Adil*.
3. Please save all transcripts in rich text format (.rtf file). Like this, it is compatible with the qualitative data analysis program QCAmap. The name of the transcript file correlates with the name of the audio file of the interview, for example *Gespräch 1_Adil*.
4. At the end of each response and question, the exact point of time in the audio file of the interview is indicated in hashtags. For example:
I: oKAY, WIE geht es dir zurZEIT im STUDIUM? #00:00:07-8#
5. The interviewer is marked with an "I:", the interviewee with a "B:" (for *"befragte Person"*).
6. For better readability, please add line numbering at the left-hand side of the transcripts, followed by a space between the number and the line.
7. Transcribe literally, do not summarise. Colloquial language is not to be translated into standard language.
8. The construction of a proposition is retained despite all potential syntactic "errors". For example:
also KANN MANN (1) !GENAU! wissen WO ich LEBE
instead of *Man kann also genau wissen, wo ich lebe*.
9. Discontinuation of sentences are marked with /. For example:
diese ANGST angl/ DAS
10. Utterances that are incomprehensible are marked as such in double brackets ((unverständlich)). For example:
((unverständlich)) WEIL die ANFORDERUNGEN
11. Pauses are indicated in brackets if they take one second or longer. For example: (1).
12. Shorter pauses are noted with >. The duration of pauses shorter than 1 second is not indicated. For example:
also der wichtigste GRUND>, also
13. Vocal interjections by the interviewee and the interviewer are noted in squared brackets. For example:
[mhm] die leute so SAGEN so bei UNS.
14. Emotional utterances of both interviewee and interviewer, such as laughter are transcribed in double angle brackets, as they support or elucidate a statement. For example: <<leicht lachend>>
15. Emphasised words and utterances are capitalised. In the case of consecutive emphasised words or utterances, the most dominant word or utterance is highlighted with exclamation marks. For example:
die GELD EINFACH !SO! NEHMEN
16. Overlapping speech can be separately transcribed. These passages are indicated in curly brackets. For example:
diese {gleichzeitig}DISKUSSIONEN

Appendix 12: Transcription guidelines adopted from Selting et al. 2009 (translated)

Number of the interview	Pseudonym	Duration of the interview
Interview 1	Adil	01:27
Interview 2	Andrej	00:38
Interview 3	Christos	00:29
Interview 4	Dimitros	00:37
Interview 5	Iannis	00:54
Interview 6	Kamile	00:48
Interview 7	Lya	00:25
Interview 8	Maria	01:25
Interview 9	Meryem	00:36
Interview 10	Natascha	01:04
Interview 11	Olga	00:44
Interview 12	Rustam	01:28
Interview 13	Seherzada	00:40
Interview 14	Sunita	00:43
Interview 15	Ulyana	00:38
Interview 16	Vladyslav	01:11
Interview 17	Yaqub	00:44

Appendix 13: List of interviews and pseudonyms