

## **The school performance of children of migrant entrepreneurs in Germany**

Maria Kontou

Institute of Social Research at Johann Wolfgang Goethe University

To be presented at the Workshop WELCHI in Athens 2-3 December 2005

### **Introduction**

Labour migration in Germany has been accompanied by the emergence of ethnic economies. The rather small number of migrant entrepreneurs counted at the beginning of the 70's (40.000)<sup>1</sup> has increased considerably in recent decades (in the year 2000, to about 300.000<sup>2</sup>). The self-employment rate among migrants was 2% in 1970, (Seifert März 2001), increased in 1985 to almost 6% and in 2000 to almost 9%. Several factors are at stake: conditions in the labor market have deteriorated, high unemployment reduced the chances of securing dependent employment, and an increasing number of migrants have become entitled to enter self-employment.<sup>3</sup>

Migrant entrepreneurs in Germany are concentrated in the *food sector*, 44,4 % are engaged in restaurants in comparison to 5,5% of Germans. Another sector with a high concentration of migrants is retail with 19,4%. (Unabhängige Kommission „Zuwanderung" 2001, p. 226). The ethnic food sector emerged as the high concentrations of ethnic groups created markets driven

---

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are taken from the micro-census as reported by von Loeffelholz (1994, p. 32)

<sup>2</sup> Micro-census data, as reported by the Expert Commission of the Ministry of Family, Seniors, Women and Youth, (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, 2000 p. 151)

<sup>3</sup> There are significant differences among various ethnic groups in regard to self-employment activities. In May 2003, migrants from EU countries had with 14.35% a higher self-employment rate than Germans (10.42%), while for non EU migrants this statistic was at 9.27% somewhat lower (Statistisches Bundesamt 2004). Turks comprise the highest number of entrepreneurs, as they are the largest ethnic group; however, they demonstrate a rather low self-employment rate, with 5.83 % in 2003, in comparison with to Italians at 13.06 %, and Greeks with 14.88%. The latter have the highest self-employment rate of the ethnic groups under consideration.

by consumer demands that could not be met by local native traders, and thus enabled a niche economy (Goldberg and Sen 1997). Greek and Italian restaurants initially developed in response to the needs of their country men (Stavrinoudi 1991, 1992, Pichler 1997) but soon reached out to the local German clientele, to a large degree due to the globalization of taste through tourism. The Turkish food economy emerged in answer to the need for halal meat and other halal products. The restructuring of the food sector in Germany favored the presence of migrant entrepreneurs in this field. Low profitability and hard working conditions motivated native entrepreneurs to leave this sector, enabling migrant entrepreneurs to fill the emerging vacancies. At the same time large fast food and supermarket chains were also entering this sector, whereas the supermarkets successively left the inner cities and settled in the suburbs. The migrants could fill these vacancies, securing supply for inner city populations (Hillmann and Rudolph 1997; Rudolph and Hillmann 1997). Today, the restaurant sector in Germany is highly dominated by migrant entrepreneurs. According to estimates made by the German Association of Hotel and Restaurant Owners, almost 1/3 of all restaurants are owned by migrants. The difficult market conditions in the food sector can only be countered by integrating cheap and flexible family labour into the business, which was more readily available to migrant entrepreneurs than native entrepreneurs. Family businesses owned by migrants emerged in this sector and the number of migrant children growing up in in families engaged in family businesses increased rapidly.

In this paper I will discuss the impact the living and working conditions in the migrant families engaged in businesses have on the school performance of their children. The presentation will draw on the results of the EU-project “The chances of the second generation in families of ethnic entrepreneurs; intergenerational and gender aspects” (2002-2005). The method of the research is the biographical interview with each of the family members. The sample comprises 20 families in Germany, UK, Denmark, France and 15 families in Greece. Focusing on the German case, I will address the broader question of how the integration of children into family business work affects their access to resources and with it their school performance and their prospects for life quality.

The main discovery of this research has been that children integrated into family businesses often face the problem of lacking a “normal” family life, as the parents work excessively in the business and there is often little time for common leisure activities. However, the intense

interaction of the children with the parents can bring also about a successful socialization, as the children are able to develop social competencies, work ethics, as well as high self-esteem, in particular in those families in which individuation processes are supported or at least tolerated. Moreover, the family business offers a range of possibilities for circumventing school failure and social exclusion.

### **The school performance of migrant children in Germany**

The educational achievement of migrant children in Germany lies far below the achievement of children of non migrants. One standard for measuring scholastic achievement in Germany is the participation levels of students in the different types of schools. There are three major types of schools in the German Public School System: the Main School (Hauptschule) which proceeds through the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, and prepares pupils for vocational training, the Middle School (Realschule) which goes up through the 10<sup>th</sup> grade and also enables entrance to a range of vocational schools, and the Gymnasium which ends with the 13<sup>th</sup> grade and is a prerequisite for participation in schools of higher education. The (Gesamtschule) aims to overcome the strict separation of the school types by uniting them in one school thus enabling children to move from one type to another based on achievement. Furthermore, there is the Special School (Sonderschule) that embraces children with learning difficulties. The relatively low educational achievement demonstrated by migrant children is inferred from the high concentration of migrant children in Main Schools, and their low participation levels in the other school types (Bericht der Integrationsbeauftragten). Also the special schools report a very high percentage of migrant children.

In the school year 2002/2003 almost 44% of foreign students<sup>4</sup> attended a Main school in contrast to 19% of German students, while only 14% of the foreign students were enrolled at a Gymnasium in contrast to 32% of German children. The Middle School (Realschule) was home to 19% of the foreign students and 24% of the German ones; and the Gesamtschule received 13% of the foreign students and 8% of the Germans. Foreign children are, moreover,

---

<sup>4</sup> German statistics uses the category "foreigner" and not "migrant". The concept of "foreign children" is does not include naturalized migrant children. The ratio of "foreign children" in the statistics does not address, for instance, the number of children who do not speak German or possess only a low level of German language skills, even though they own German citizenship.

overrepresented in schools for special education, with 16% - or even 19% in the specific department for "Learning" - while their share in the total number of students is 10% (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, 2005. p. 51-52).

### **The school performance of children of migrant entrepreneurs in Germany**

Up through the middle of the 1970's, parental occupation was registered by the schools. Within the framework of the reform of the educational system, however, as part of democratization measures for the educational system, this has been abolished. Therefore, there are no statistical data on the participation of children of migrant entrepreneurs in the different school types.

We tried to find an answer to the question of school performance of children of migrant entrepreneurs through interviews with key informants (10) in central positions in the school system: teachers, and administrators. The occupation of the parents is frequently known to the teachers responsible for a class. These interviews gave us an insight on the distribution of children of migrant entrepreneurs in the different types of schools in the city of Frankfurt. According to the teachers and school administrators, the distribution of the children of migrant entrepreneurs in the school types of the German educational system does not correspond to the distribution of the migrant children in total: The children of migrant entrepreneurs are rarely encountered in the Main School, the type in which migrant children are most represented. Those children of migrant entrepreneurs who nevertheless attend a Main School are counted among the best pupils. Children of migrant entrepreneurs most often found in Middle Schools and Gymnasiums, the types that offer better chances for further education and more qualified vocational training. Moreover, the children of the migrant self-employed are well represented among the migrant students in the Oberstufengymnasium, in which offers students who have absolved the Comprehensive School the opportunity to finish the Gymnasium with an Abitur (state university entrance exam). According to this information, children of migrant entrepreneurs seem to be educationally successful and upwardly mobile; however, when interpreting this fact we have to take into account that the group of ethnic entrepreneurs is not socially and educationally homogenous, even in the single sector of food and catering.

## **Processes of support for educational success in families of ethnic entrepreneurs**

The analysis of the biographical interviews with parents and children in families of ethnic entrepreneurs active in the food sector revealed processes which allow us to understand the educational achievement of these children. We could reconstruct not only processes of risk that hinder educational success in the long run but especially protective processes that support educational success.

We consider educational success as the result of processes of supplying children with immaterial resources, such as self-esteem, interaction competencies and motivation for achievement. We consider the transmission of immaterial resources to be embedded in family dynamics and inter-generational relations. These dynamics and relations are shaped by the *coping strategies* that parents practice, i.e. the practical solutions they find for problems that they face. From the point of view of biographical analysis, entrepreneurial activity must be considered as a coping strategy of migrants. The same applies to integrating the family members, spouses and children into the business work and the valorization of education. Strategies for transmitting material and immaterial resources to ones children are also coping strategies. The process of transmission, however, cannot be steered entirely by the parents since it is related to unconscious processes and accompanied by unanticipated consequences of intentional activities. This lack of control is also related to the fact that children do not only react to the strategies used by their parents, they also develop their own coping strategies to gain autonomy within their individuation process and as a result of the realization of their own biographical plans.

Coping strategies are conceived under the complex pressure of economic and social conditions. In this research, class position and the position in the waves of migration, the interpretation of culture in relation to approved strategies of upward mobility, have proven to be the main factors influencing the favored coping strategies.

We reconstructed two main types of integration of children into the business work, with regard to how parental coping strategies can either strengthen or weaken the process of

acquiring immaterial resources by their children. In the following, for each main type, we discuss typical coping strategies used by parents to integrate their children in the business work and support their educational success.

### **Coping strategies of parents, access to immaterial resources and educational achievement**

We reconstructed two main types of coping strategies used by enterprising parents in migration to influence the transmission of immaterial resources to children and their educational success.

#### *Strengthening children's access to resources: valuing education and supporting or tolerating children's individuation processes*

Most parents in our sample were educationally oriented. Some of them were not able to realize their own educational plans. They evaluated their entrepreneurial project as a biographical achievement, however, for their children, they desired and expected a solid education leading to the opportunity to enter the qualified dependent labour market. They are oriented towards higher education but also recognize the chances offered by vocational training in the German dual system. They are not against entrepreneurial activities but they would prefer their children to pursue such activities in branches other than the food sector.

In many of the family cases we analysed, in particular those where businesses were doing well, parents expressed the opinion that children can acquire valuable skills and values in terms of a work ethic by working in the family business. It is this awareness that leads to an *interest* among the parents in the active presence of their children in the business, and as such this becomes a facet of the intentional upbringing strategies. A further non-economic interest of parents who integrate children into the family business work is the need to have their children close by in order to better control their leisure and social activities.

Yen Le, 22, daughter of a Vietnamese family describes how she developed communication competencies by working in the restaurant owned by her parents.

I've been in the restaurant frequently since I was 8, first just watching and then I began to wash glasses, yes (laughs), and when I was 13, I started to waitress. Even though I had some reservations about speaking with strangers in the beginning. My parents wanted me to be autonomous as early as possible, so that I could deal with people. Later it was natural for me but in the beginning I learned my text by heart, "Hello, how are you? Would you like some plum wine?" (laughs) This way I learned a lot about making social contacts, this has helped me a lot.... I realized that being a waitress in the restaurant gave me a lot of advantages. I have learned to be more open.

Although parents explicitly formulate these interests as *non-economic*, this does not preclude that children's work is helpful for the business. It turns out that even in flourishing businesses there is an irregular need for additional labour at peak times as well as a general need for trustful family labour.

In less flourishing businesses, the integration of children into business work is a result of both the need experienced by the mother to combine family care and work, as well as the need to utilize the labour of the children for the family business. In these cases, the parents try to secure the conditions for their children's educational success by controlling homework and giving support when needed.

Mothers who are involved in the family business work try to enable the presence of their children in the business by creating spaces where the children can stay, for instance in the back room of a shop or restaurant. In order to keep business and *care work* combined, mothers have to actively integrate their growing children into the business work. Children first have to be instructed how to behave in accordance with the business, i.e., by being polite to the customers and not disturbing the service. When children get older and are more prone to active participation in social interaction, and parents want to harmonize the presence of their children with the business work, they have to explicitly instruct the children on how to participate in the business work, both in the organization of the shop and while serving customers. The main motives in these families are the need to take care of the children and the need for additional help in the business. However, these parents are also aware of the pedagogical impact of working in the family business, but not as a primary goal.

Children report that the “informal training” they received in the business work enabled them to acquire valuable skills. They were socialized in the business work and in the spirit of enterprise. They developed interactive skills, such as communication, taking another perspective, learned about the resolution of conflict and were able to acquire entrepreneurial competencies, even if this was not an explicit pedagogical aim of their parents when they integrated them into the business.

Mehmet, 24 years old, is the son of a family from Turkey which runs a grocery shop. He describes how he developed communicative competencies through informal training in the shop.

“I was told to be friendly to the customers on my very first day here in the shop, I constantly had to say “yes” and “please”. I had to help them when they needed to carry something heavy to their cars, these were actually my very first experiences. Even though I was only 8 or 9 years old, I earned my first pocket money by carrying their bags, this was very nice. I am also a very sociable person, I enjoy speaking to other people, not necessarily only about business. A lot of people come to me and tell me their problems because I always try to listen to them, speak to them because I think this is good.”

Children gain high expertise in the family business work. Their own language and cultural competencies sometimes put them at an advantage when it comes to exchanges related to family business issues. In cases where the children were old enough to actively take part in the process of founding a business during the start up phase, they were able to experience this as a rewarding learning process and saw the start up as their own achievement. An important aspect here is that the authority roles between parents and children *reverse* in some of these families.<sup>5</sup> This does not have to be problematic; on the contrary, children may develop high self-esteem by experiencing being an authority that is recognized by their parents.

Andreas, 26, son of a Greek family running a delicatessen shop, sees himself and his brother as being central for the business, in that they have to play the roles of protector and manager of their parents. He speaks of his and his brother`s contribution to the start up process of the

---

<sup>5</sup> This reversal has not been observed in family businesses of non-migrants (see Eckrich/Loughead 1996) and might have to do more with the situation some migrant families find themselves in.

family business.

“By that time my parents were not being cheated any more ... the taxes were paid, the social security contributions were paid, well it developed in a way that my brother and I ... we gave a basis to the whole thing. My parents provided the manpower, they worked hard and we began to steer the details.”

It seems, however, that within the same family there can be a variation on the extent in which children are integrated in the business work and how competencies, skills and self-esteem are developed. Gender and sibling order position are the main categories which can differentiate the involvement of children in the business work and influence the outcome of the transmission of immaterial resources. By taking gender and sibling order into account we came across two subtypes with regard to the transmission of immaterial resources: children who have been strongly integrated and involved in the family business work (first available children and female children), and children who have been weakly integrated in the business and who were given the chance, with the support of their parents, to develop their own talents independently from the family business work (younger children, male children). In both categories, the most involved and least involved children were able to develop social and communicative skills, as well as strong self-esteem. Thus, the entrepreneurial situation turns out to be a source of self-esteem for the children, irrespective of the involvement they had in their parents enterprise.

In addition to informal training, there are a range of other processes in enterprising migrant families that strengthen the self-esteem of their children:

- Family businesses, especially those in which several generations of family members (grandparents, parents, siblings of parents and children) work together, strengthen the family bonds and supply children with a feeling of security and self-esteem.
- Restaurant businesses that are central communication and meeting points for the (ethnic) community strengthen the self-esteem of the children. Children develop an admiration for their enterprising parents/father for having created a central institution for the neighborhood or ethnic group. Identification processes with

successful parents supply the children with self-confidence.

However, in many cases, the educational success of the children of migrant entrepreneurs is accompanied by permanent crises. We detected in the narrations some mechanisms related to the businesses that help in overcoming such crises.

- Migrant entrepreneurs have the economic capacity to hire private tutors for their children in order for them to receive help for their schoolwork.
- Restaurant businesses frequently turn into centers for *communication and networking*, where the parents have contact with local professionals and members of the authorities. Most important for the well being of the children and their educational progress is the networking and communication that takes place with teachers who visit the restaurant. The relationship between parents and the school benefits highly from these encounters, as the parents can talk about their children with the teacher in a relaxed atmosphere and the teachers are willing to speak about the problems the children may be having in school, so resolving one main problem of migrant children at school, i.e. the poor communication between parents and teachers. The parents become aware of the situations facing their children and can help them to overcome school difficulties, for instance by organizing compensatory private teaching, and the teachers develop more interest in the children as they become better informed about their family situation. The increased interest of the teachers can have enormous influence on the motivation of the children to achieve better in school, as teachers play a central role for children in the development of plans for their future and the pursuit of further education. The business thus seems to be a considerable resource enabling a more intense and normalized communication between parents and teachers/school, and may even play an important role for their educational career. Markos, 23 years old, son of a Greek family running a restaurant:

“Well I was rather lazy at school; I had very bad grades especially in English... However, there were no big problems at school because I am a very nice person

(he laughs) and of course, you always have an advantage when your parents have a restaurant. The teachers come in, drink a couple of glasses wine and tell your the parents what problems there may be, and they give advice, or at least there is a discussion about it.”

- For some children, the family business functioned as a bridge during educational pauses, as the educational stages (finding an appropriate apprenticeship) did not immediately follow one after the other. The entrepreneurial work also offered a working terrain, giving the individual time for biographical work and to make a decision for or against future studies at the university. In other cases the family firm offered an occupational bridging the time which passed between university graduation and the attainment of a more valuable dependent work position.
- Some parents in our sample whose children had difficulties in securing vocational training, were able to certify themselves as vocational trainers in the restaurant sector and could offer their own children an apprenticeship in their family business. The family business became not only a place of common economic activity, but also a place of common educational activity for the family members.

*Weakening children's access to resources: integrating children into business work for the sake of collective upward mobility and giving business work priority over education*

Among the specific constraints in some of the first generation migrant entrepreneur families, we encountered group oriented coping strategies that prioritize the family business project over education and even entail the depreciation and explicit discouragement of the educational plans of the children. These families are first generation migrant families who experience extreme pressure to secure the success of the migration project in due time and plan a subsequent return to the country of origin. In these cases, families integrate the labor of children into the business work, and prioritize the success of the economic migration project irrespective of the educational tasks, needs and plans of the children. These first generation migrant entrepreneurs frequently practice a fragmentation of the family strategy, outsourcing the care work by sending some of the children to the grandparents or other relatives in the country of origin. In some of these

families the pressure of the migration project, in conjunction with rigid patriarchal structures, seemed to hinder communication and negotiation of needs. The children in these families did not experience the work in the family business, or rather the work in the business of the father, as enrichment or as a learning experience but rather as a burden from which they tried to free themselves as soon as they could. They expressed embarrassment about the situations they associated with work in the family business. In these families the process of resource accumulation for the children is rather blocked, despite possibly different intentions on the part of the parents. These children were only able to achieve a low educational certificate, or if they managed to continue on to vocational training or higher education, despite the lack of support from the parents, their biographical path was still plagued by experiences of unemployment or the impact of the high costs of the effort.

Family dynamics, however, also imply learning processes of the persons involved. Experiencing the development and the reactions of their children, parents learn and try to change their behavior towards the younger children. In this way, the strong impact of sibling order on the process of accumulation of resources is more dramatically visible in those families in which the older children rather fail in accumulating resources and in achieving an educational career that would secure them a position in the labor market. The educational success of the younger children can be explained through learning processes that influence and change the upbringing modes and the coping strategies of the parents. An example here is depicted by the family Cen, from Turkey, which runs a take away stand. A change in the coping strategy used by the parents was made visible as the mother ceased working in order to have more time for the third child. The family experienced the negative effects of outsourcing the upbringing process after sending their first daughter to the grandparents in Turkey and giving their first son to a German host family. It seems that parents reconsidered and adapted their coping strategies when they were confronted with the unintended negative consequences of their actions.

## **Summary**

From a statistical macro perspective, the children of migrant entrepreneurs are educational successful. In our sample the family type which is supportive to educational success has

been dominant. Summing up, one should refer to the paradox of the family businesses consisting of a tight interaction between children and their parents and the simultaneous loss of what is widely accepted as “normality” in family life. Enterprising migrant parents cannot offer their children what is culturally omnipresent: shared leisure time activity. Although the tight interaction with the parents strengthens the social capital in the family and the supply of children with resources (Coleman 1988), there remains a feeling of loss with respect to what is considered a “normal” childhood and “normal” family life. Nevertheless, through this tight interaction, the children of ethnic entrepreneurs integrated in the family business work do not suffer the neglect that is characteristic for a great part of migrant children, whose parents work hard. These migrant children have less contact with the parents and some times are left alone all day long. Integration into the family business work proves to be a counter mechanism to this phenomenon. By helping out in family businesses, the children are under the observation of the parents. They do not experience themselves as passive outsiders, but rather as active participants in the social activity of the family.

Moreover, in modern societies a part of the socialization of young people takes place in the peer group which is formed in leisure time. In this context, the process of adolescent separation develops. It was not possible to discuss this issue in this paper. An analysis of the interviews revealed that the adolescent separation of the children who were actively engaged in the family business work, especially among the first born, is burdened with overdeveloped responsibility not only for the family business but also for the life of the parents. Nevertheless, it is definitely right to say, that in most cases the work in the family business is not the beginning of a mobility trap as has been previously assumed (Wiley 1970, Esser 2001), but rather the place in which upward social mobility processes start.

## **Literatur**

Coleman, J. (1988). "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* **94**: 95-120.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration Flüchtlinge und Integration. 2005. *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration über die Lage der Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Deutschland*. Bonn.

Bundesministerium für Familie Senioren Frauen und Jugend. 2000. "Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland. Leistungen-Belastungen-Herausforderungen,Sechster Familienbericht." Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren

- Frauen und Jugend, Berlin.
- Esser, Hartmut. 2001. *Integration und ethnische Schichtung, Expertise für die unabhängige Kommission „Zuwanderung“*. [http://www.bmi.bund.de/cln\\_007/nn\\_121576/SiteGlobals/Forms/Downloads/DownloadsFormular.templateId=processForm.html](http://www.bmi.bund.de/cln_007/nn_121576/SiteGlobals/Forms/Downloads/DownloadsFormular.templateId=processForm.html).
- Goldberg, Andreas and Faruk Sen. 1997. "Türkische Unternehmer in Deutschland. Wirtschaftliche Aktivitäten einer Einwanderungsgesellschaft in einem komplexen Wirtschaftssystem." Pp. 63-84 in *Zuwanderung und Stadtentwicklung, Leviathan, Sonderheft 17/1997*, edited by H. Häußermann and I. Oswald. Opladen, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Hillmann, Felicitas and Hedwig Rudolph. 1997. "Redistributing the cake? Ethnisation Processes in the Berlin Food Sector." in *WZB discussion paper FS 197-101*. Berlin.
- Pichler, Edith. 1997. "Migration und ethnische Ökonomie: das italienische Gewerbe in Berlin." Pp. 106-120 in *Zuwanderung und Stadtentwicklung, Leviathan, Sonderheft 17/1997*, edited by H. Häußermann and I. Oswald. Opladen, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Rudolph, Hedwig and Felicitas Hillmann. 1997. "Döner contra Boulette - Döner und Boulette: Berliner türkischer Herkunft als Arbeitskräfte und Unternehmer im Nahrungsmittelsektor." Pp. 85-105 in *Zuwanderung und Stadtentwicklung, Leviathan, Sonderheft 17/1997*, edited by H. Häußermann and I. Oswald. Opladen, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Seifert, Wolfgang. März 2001. *Berufliche Integration von Zuwanderern in Deutschland. Gutachten für die Unabhängige Kommission „Zuwanderung“ beim Bundesministerium des Inneren*. Düsseldorf.
- Statistisches Bundesamt. 2004. *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Stand und Entwicklung der Erwerbstätigkeit. Fachserie 1/ Reihe 4.1.1. Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2003. Band 2 Deutschland*. Wiesbaden.
- Stavrinouidi, Athina. 1991. *Das ethnische Kleingewerbe in Berlin am Beispiel der griechischen Gastronomie.*, Edited by B. I. f. V. S. Berlin. Berlin: Edition Parabolis.
- . 1992. *Struktur und Entwicklung des Gastgewerbes und Lebensmittelhandels in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Edited by B. I. f. V. S. Berlin. Berlin: Edition Parabolis.
- Unabhängige Kommission „Zuwanderung“. 2001. *Zuwanderung gestalten Integration fördern, Bericht*. Berlin.
- von Loeffelholz, Hans Dietrich, Arne Gieseck, and Holger Bruch. 1994. *Ausländische Selbständige in der Bundesrepublik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Entwicklungsperspektiven in den neuen Bundesländern*, vol. 56. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt.
- Wiley, Norbert F. 1970. "The Ethnic Mobility Trap and Stratification Theory." Pp. 397-408 in *The Study of Society. An Integrated Anthology*, edited by P. I. Rose. New York und Toronto.