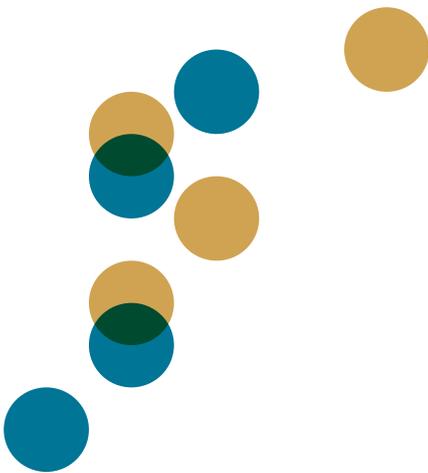


Working Paper

## Broader than a Border?

Origin and Host Country-Specific  
Cultural Capital and Educational  
Aspirations in Germany and Israel

Konstanze Jacob, Zerrin Salikutluk



*mannheimer zentrum  
für europäische sozialforschung*

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**Editorial Note:**

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## Abstract

This article addresses the importance of cultural capital for realistic educational aspirations of immigrants. We assume that cultural capital leads to higher educational aspirations and accordingly increases students' achievement at school either by reflecting norms on education (self-selection mechanism) or by capturing abilities and knowledge beneficial to academic achievement (resource mechanism). Taking into account divergent effects of cultural capital specific to the country of origin, respectively destination, we compare the relevance of country-specific cultural capital to the level of educational aspirations for immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany and Israel.

Using data from the project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, we show that in both countries cultural capital specific to the host country enhances educational aspirations, while possessing only capital related to the heritage culture does not seem to be relevant for educational goals. However, the results reveal that possessing knowledge about both types of cultural capital can be decisive for setting aspirations. Students who are acquainted with the German or Israeli culture, respectively, as well as with the culture of their home country have the highest educational aspirations.

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## 1 Introduction

At the latest since Bourdieu's (1977, 1982, Bourdieu & Passeron 1992) theory of social reproduction, cultural capital is used to explain differences in academic success among social classes (e.g., Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, De Graaf et al. 2000, DiMaggio 1982, Georg 2004, 2009, Jæger 2009, Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid 2002, Sullivan 2001, van de Werfhorst & Hofstede 2007, Wildhagen 2009, Yamamoto & Brinton 2010). Although little is known about the causal interplay of cultural resources and educational success for immigrants,<sup>1</sup> it is fruitful to apply and transfer this approach to immigrant children (Becker 2010, Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 1996, Lee & Kao 2009, Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell 1999). In all Western countries, immigrants and their descendants fare worse in the educational systems (e.g., Crul & Vermeulen 2003, Heath & Brinbaum 2007, 2014, Heath et al. 2008, Levels & Dronkers 2008, Levels et al. 2008; for Germany Diehl et al. 2016, Kristen 2008, Müller & Stanat 2006, for Israel Cohen & Haberfeld 1998). Cultural capital theory (Bourdieu 1977, 1982, Bourdieu & Passeron 1992) provides one possible explanation not yet satisfactorily investigated. Accordingly, the degree of cultural integration into the host society might be one reason for the remaining educational disadvantages of immigrants compared to natives.

Our aim in this article is threefold: *First*, we try to explain why cultural capital has an effect on students' educational success. Yet we know very little about the mechanisms underlying the positive relation between cultural capital and school achievement. Much work has been done in order to show that this relation exists. However, almost no study goes beyond the illustration of an empirical correlation and tests theoretical assumptions directly (for rare exceptions De Graaf et al. 2000, Sullivan 2001, Wildhagen 2009, Yamamoto & Brinton 2010). We test one prominent assumption stated in the literature empirically: By deciding not to aspire to further education, students exclude themselves from achieving higher educational degrees, which would offer them better labour market opportunities later on. Hence, students endowed with a small amount of cultural capital would have lower educational aspirations (e.g., Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, Georg 2004, Jæger 2009, Wildhagen 2009). This is especially interesting in light of increasing attention in sociological research towards educational aspirations during recent years, especially with respect to immigrants and their descendants in Europe, indicating a positive ethnic effect on educational wishes and expectations (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado 2007, Heath & Brinbaum 2007, Jonsson & Rudolph 2011, Kristen & Dollmann 2010, Relikowski et al. 2009, 2012, Saikutluk 2016, Teney et al. 2013, van de Werfhorst & van Tubergen 2007).

To uncover processes behind the effect of cultural capital on educational aims, we apply our theoretical model to the situation of immigrants in their respective host societies. As we know very little about the role cultural resources play in the integration process of immigrants and their descendants, the situation that immigrants are facing also allows for a promising litmus test of different mechanisms of cultural capital. Since immigrants live in an environment shaped by the rules of the heritage culture and the dominant or national culture of the country they live in, it is pertinent for them to distinguish their cultural capital according to whether it is attached to the host country or to the country of origin (Berry 1990, 1997, Esser 2006b, 2009, Kalter 2007, Kristen 2008, Kristen & Granato 2007). This distinction is crucial in theoretical and in empirical terms, as different types of capital can exert divergent effects on immigrants' educational careers. Up to now, mainly host country-specific cultural capital has been taken into account in empirical studies on the cultural integration of immigrants (e.g. Becker 2010, but see Leopold & Shavit 2013). With our data at hand we are able to distinguish between the familiarity with one or the other culture. For this reason, the *second* aim of this article is to find out whether both types of cultural capital affect realistic

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<sup>1</sup> In this article, the term *immigrant* captures individuals who were born abroad and immigrated themselves and individuals who were born in the host country, but whose parents or grandparents immigrated.

educational aspirations, with a focus on whether – and if so, why – under certain conditions the preservation of elements of the heritage culture is advantageous.

These conditions are shaped by the context of reception (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, Portes & Zhou 1993, Zhou 1997). By comparing immigrant adolescents stemming from the former Soviet Union in Germany and in Israel, our *third* research question asks how characteristics of the receiving country moderate the effect of cultural capital on educational aspirations. The comparison between Germany and Israel is especially telling since these two immigrant groups are very similar to each other. Since the late 1980s, large groups emigrated from the former Soviet Union mainly to Germany and to Israel, constituting a considerable minority group in these countries (Dietz 2000, Horowitz 2005, Smooha 2008). However, these immigrant flows differ in several ways, which is why we expect the conditions for cultural and structural integration and their dynamic interplay to differ between Germany and Israel (Cohen & Kogan 2007, Haberfeld et al. 2011, Titzmann et al. 2011).

The article is structured as follows: We start with theoretical considerations about the role of cultural capital for immigrants' realistic educational aspirations (section 2). Afterwards, we describe the data we use for our empirical analyses (section 3). These data are part of the project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems* and contain rich measurements of immigrants' aspirations as well as of cultural capital specific to both the country of origin and the country of destination. Our empirical results are then presented (section 4) and discussed (section 5).

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## 2 Theoretical background

The theoretical part starts with a discussion of the relation between cultural capital and educational aspirations (section 2.1). Then, we refine our theoretical assumptions by taking into account aspects of immigrants and the distinction between cultural capital specific to the country of destination and to the country of origin (section 2.2). Finally, we compare immigrants who emigrated from the former Soviet Union to Germany to those who immigrated to Israel, with a particular emphasis on how the context of reception impacts cultural capital effects on educational aspirations (section 2.3).

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### 2.1 Cultural capital and educational aspirations

Previous studies indicate that educational ambitions have a positive influence on educational outcomes (Feliciano & Rumbaut 2005, Morgan 2005, Portes & Rumbaut 2001). The term educational aspiration captures educational wishes (*idealistic aspiration*) or educational expectations (*realistic aspirations*). According to the Wisconsin model (Sewell et al. 1969, 1970), the effect of students' social background on their educational degrees is mediated (at least partly) by educational aspirations. Parents with a high socioeconomic status express positive attitudes towards education and stimulate students' educational ambitions, which are beneficial to their educational outcomes. Beside the Wisconsin model, Rational-Choice models constitute another theoretical frame for aspirations, primarily for realistic aspirations considered as anticipated educational decisions (Kurz & Paulus 2008). Based on a benefit-cost function, students aspire to educational degrees which promise the highest gain compared to all expenses they have to bear in order to reach these degrees (Breen & Goldthorpe 1997, Erikson & Jonsson 1996, Esser 1999). Students' abilities and skills raise the academic level they aspire to since expected benefits will more certainly be achieved. Besides, the more resources there are available within the family, the higher is the probability to successfully attain high educational degrees. Hence, the aspirations of students rise with their socioeco-

conomic background. Intergenerational status maintenance or fear of status loss can lead parents to increase their expectations towards and lead to (more) investment in the educational career of their children.

Cultural capital refers to individual cultural characteristics that yield a return in society due to its legitimacy on the society's macro level. We define cultural capital as the familiarity with the society's dominant culture that is valuable within central institutions of this society (De Graaf et al. 2000, Goldthorpe 2007, Jæger 2009, Lamont & Lareau 1988, Sullivan 2001, van de Werfhorst & Hofstede 2007). A vast amount of research demonstrates the association between various measures of cultural capital and school achievement as well as educational transitions for different age groups and countries (Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, De Graaf et al. 2000, DiMaggio 1982, Jæger 2009, 2011, Jæger & Holm 2007, Leopold & Shavit 2013, Moss 2005, Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell 1999, Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid 2002, Sullivan 2001, Tramonte & Willms 2010, van de Werfhorst & Hofstede 2007, Wildhagen 2009, Yamamoto & Brinton 2010). Still, an open question concerns the theoretical mechanisms that are responsible for educational advantages of culturally well-endowed students. While it is widely accepted that cultural capital affects educational outcomes, we know very little about why cultural capital contributes to explaining differential educational outcomes. Cultural capital research lacks a theoretical specification and an empirical test of possible explanatory mechanisms accounting for this observation (Sullivan 2001, Wildhagen 2010).

In the literature, we find divergent theoretical explanations for the positive link between cultural capital and educational outcomes (De Graaf et al. 2000, Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 1996, Lamont & Lareau 1988). Cultural capital can either a) be a special type of knowledge facilitating further learning processes, or b) a positive attitude towards education in general, or c) serve as a status signal inducing discriminatory behaviour of teachers. Some studies investigate the relative importance of different mechanisms of how cultural capital operates within the educational system (De Graaf et al. 2000, Sullivan 2001, Wildhagen 2009, Yamamoto & Brinton 2010). De Graaf and his co-authors (2000) contrast an "educational skills explanation" with an "educational affinity explanation" (De Graaf et al. 2000: 107). They conclude that, while cultural skills (operationalized by reading behaviour) actually affect educational success, participation in highbrow culture (which is their measurement of cultural affinity) does not. Sullivan's (2001) study aims at learning more about which cultural capital component is important in the educational system. Her empirical results demonstrate the importance of cultural knowledge and language skills over and above other cultural capital measures, mainly cultural behaviour (Sullivan 2007 for more details on her operationalization of cultural knowledge). Wildhagen (2009) shows the dominance of educational expectations over teachers' evaluations in mediating the influence of cultural capital on educational outcomes. Finally, according to Yamamoto and Brinton (2010), embodied cultural capital is decisive in building students' educational skills and motivation, while objectified cultural capital exerts a signalling function with regard to teachers' and other decision makers.

Based on the Wisconsin model, one of these cultural capital mechanisms can be directly related to educational aspirations. The self-selection mechanism (b) assumes that cultural capital constitutes higher-level standards that students and their families internalize. These norms are rather valuable because they reflect the dominant values and cultural patterns of the society, including its educational system (De Graaf 1988, Jæger 2009). Cultural capital effects on students' tendencies to pursue further education or to leave the educational system with low degrees are mediated by a general positive attitude towards education in families possessing high amounts of cultural capital (e.g., Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, Georg 2004, Jæger 2009). The resource mechanism (a) is in line with the Rational-Choice model of aspirations: Cultural capital constitutes one type of human capital (Becker 1962), capturing certain abilities that facilitate the acquisition and accumulation of further academic skills and knowledge (Becker 2010, De Graaf et al. 2000, Sullivan 2001). Thus, according to the resource mechanism, cultural capital affects educational aspirations by influencing the perceived probability of success. Based on their lower school performance in the past,

students expect to fail in the educational system and, as a result, they hold their aspirations on a low level (De Graaf 1986, Lamont & Lareau 1988).<sup>2</sup>

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## 2.2 Host country-specific and origin country-specific cultural capital and their impact on educational aspirations

Immigrants and their descendants move between two cultures. Their familiarity with culture refers to two different contexts: the culture they are living in and the culture they are coming from. Consequently, for ethnic minorities it is not sufficient to solely capture the amount of cultural capital; it is additionally important to consider which cultural context it is related to.<sup>3</sup> Basically, the specificity of capital in turn determines the value of cultural capital in a certain society (Kristen 2008, Kristen & Granato 2007). It seems natural that this is particularly true for cultural capital, since a central definition criterion is the agreement among a society's members on what is culturally valuable (Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, Becker 2010, Kane 2003, Katz-Gerro 2002, Lamont & Lareau 1988, Lee & Kao 2009). Thus, it is useful to distinguish immigrants' cultural capital specific to the country of destination from cultural capital specific to the country of origin.<sup>4</sup> Cultural capital is by definition only valuable in a certain society, and it is to a greater or lesser extent devaluated when the context changes. However, it is possible that some cultural elements cross national borders and are dominant in an area wider than a national area. For instance, English language skills are not only valuable in one single country but are also transferable into other contexts (Esser 2006a).

Berry (1990, 1997) distinguishes several strategies when immigrants become familiar with a new culture, thereby referring to this phenomenon as acculturation. According to whether a person possesses cultural capital specific to the country of origin or not, and whether a person possesses cultural capital specific to the country of destination or not, four acculturation patterns can be defined (see also Esser 2006b, 2009, Kalter 2007). Table 1 depicts these four acculturation types resulting from varying endowment with cultural capital specific to the country of destination, respectively cultural capital specific to the country of origin. Culturally *segmented* immigrants maintain characteristics of the culture of origin while, at the same time, they lack cultural capital specific to the country of destination. The opposite *acculturation* type is assimilation, occurring when a person is only endowed with cultural capital specific to the host country. *Multiple integration* is the state in which there is a pronounced familiarity with the culture of origin as well as with the culture of the host society. Finally, *marginalization* is the state in which there is a lack of familiarity with both the culture of the host country and that of the country of origin.

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2 We use the term "self-selection mechanism" in accordance with previous literature on this particular cultural capital effect (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 1996, Wildhagen 2009). Concerning the "resource mechanism", divergent terms have been applied to capture its reasoning (e.g., De Graaf et al. 2000, Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 1996, Lamont & Lareau 1988, Sullivan 2001). For this reason, we decided to rename this understanding as "resource mechanism" since it best captures the basic understanding of cultural capital as a resource that is valuable in the educational system.

3 Persons are socialized into one particular society, and they internalize cultural definitions of their (national) society (Trienekens 2002). A migration – a change of the cultural context – results in a mismatch between internalized cultural definitions of immigrants and the dominant definition of the majority.

4 This idea is conveyed by human capital research distinguishing human capital according to how efficient it is in a given context in order to yield labour market returns. Becker (1962: 12ff.) distinguishes generalizable and specific human capital and he relates this distinction to the transferability of knowledge and skills between firms (see also Granato 2003: 28, Kalter 2003: 62f.). This notion can also be generalized and applied to (national) contexts.

**Table 1: Acculturation types (Berry 1990, 1997, Esser 2006b) and their application to endowment with cultural capital**

	Cultural capital specific to the country of origin	No cultural capital specific to the country of origin
Cultural capital specific to the host country	<b>Multiple Integration</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>
No cultural capital specific to the host country	<b>Segmentation</b>	<b>Marginalization</b>

Empirical evidence of the impact of acculturation strategies on academic achievement is inconclusive. On the one hand, multiple integration, rather than other acculturation strategies, has been shown to positively influence the educational success of immigrants (López et al. 2002, Nekby 2009, Portes & Rumbaut 1990). On the other hand, orientation towards the heritage culture is not always beneficial over and above assimilation (Dollmann & Kristen 2010, Esser 2006b, 2009, Kalter 2007, Mouw & Xie 1999). Besides these inconsistencies in the literature, nothing is known about the influence of acculturation on educational aspirations.

In the next step, we relate Berry's (1990, 1997) acculturation patterns to the theoretical explanations of effects of cultural capital on educational aspirations of immigrant children (see section 2.1). Our crucial assumption is that the effect of acculturation types on educational aspirations depends on whether it is the resource mechanism or the self-selection mechanism that is more decisive in explaining the relationship between cultural capital and educational aspirations.

The resource mechanism assumes that cultural capital is a resource in the educational system, enhancing educational aspirations via better academic achievement of culturally well-endowed students. In the context of the specificity of capital, cultural resources are subject to devaluation when they do not match the proper context. Thus, cultural knowledge and skills related to the country of origin are less helpful for the acquisition of country-specific human capital within schools due to their devaluation during migration (Friedberg 2000). In contrast to this, familiarity with the culture of the host society should positively affect educational aspirations via enhancing scholastic achievement and also the expected probability of success of immigrant students. Therefore, the resource mechanism predominantly accounts for the effects of cultural capital specific to the country of destination on educational aspirations, while immigrants' endowment with cultural capital specific to the country of origin is less relevant. Table 2 shows the expected relations between cultural acculturation types and educational aspirations. Educational aspirations of culturally segmented and culturally marginalized immigrants are expected to differ from those of culturally assimilated and culturally multiply integrated immigrants. These two groups, however, should not differ among each other.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The theoretical expectations in table 2 and table 3 should be understood as ideal types, meaning that the expected differences between acculturation types are not necessarily as clear as they are shown here.

**Table 2: Educational aspirations of immigrants differently endowed with cultural capital: resource mechanism**

	<b>Marginalization</b>	<b>Segmentation</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>Multiple Integration</b>
<b>Marginalization</b>	-	M=S	M<A	M<I
<b>Segmentation</b>	S=M	-	S<A	S<I
<b>Assimilation</b>	A>M	A>S	-	A=I
<b>Multiple Integration</b>	I>M	I>S	I=A	-

The self-selection mechanism, in contrast, proposes no superiority of cultural capital specific to the country of origin or to the country of destination because striving towards higher education is less tied to a certain cultural context. According to this explanation, cultural capital is defined as a general attitude, whose effects do not necessarily depend on the cultural context it is applied to. Therefore, cultural capital specific to the home society might not suffer from devaluation after migration but continue to have an impact on educational aspirations. Cultural marginalization is expected to lead to the lowest educational aspirations because no cultural capital exists at all (see table 3). Segmented immigrants are only endowed with cultural capital specific to their country of origin. However, this does not necessarily mean a disadvantage, nor an advantage, with respect to educational aspirations compared to assimilated immigrants. We expect immigrants integrated into their culture of origin (segmentation) to have educational aspirations that are equally as high as those of culturally assimilated immigrants.<sup>6</sup> Multiply integrated immigrants should, in contrast, have an advantage compared to assimilated and segmented immigrants, since they are attached to both cultures and take advantage of both types of cultural capital. To summarize our expectations about the self-selection mechanism, cultural capital specific to the society of origin, and that specific to the host society should be equally important in determining educational aspirations.

**Table 3: Educational aspirations of immigrants differently endowed with cultural capital: self-selection mechanism**

	<b>Marginalization</b>	<b>Segmentation</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>Multiple Integration</b>
<b>Marginalization</b>	-	M<S	M<A	M<I
<b>Segmentation</b>	S>M	-	S=A	S<I
<b>Assimilation</b>	A>M	A=S	-	A<I
<b>Multiple Integration</b>	I>M	I>S	I>A	-

6 Some scholars argue that preserving cultural and historical elements of the country of origin positively affects self-esteem and aspirations (Fernandez-Kelly 2008, Portes & Fernandez-Kelly 2008). Whether segmentation leads to higher educational aspirations than assimilation is an open empirical question.

## 2.3 The setting: Different institutional arrangements in Germany and Israel

Between 1989 and 2002, over 1.6 million persons of Jewish ancestry emigrated from Russia, Ukraine and other Soviet successor states to Israel, the USA, Canada, Germany and some other Western countries. The majority of these migrants left their homeland due to socioeconomic crises and growing anti-Semitism. While emigration became much easier in the 1990s after the collapse of the former Soviet Union than during the communist period before, immigration to most Western countries was much more difficult, with Germany and Israel providing rare exceptions. Thus, immigrants mainly chose Israel and Germany as their destination country because they were able to enter these countries relatively easily and because they had relatives and friends there.

Immigrants from Eastern European states are the second largest immigrant group in Germany, making up 13.8 per cent of all immigrants (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2010). Between 1988 and 1998, about 2.5 million Ethnic Germans migrated to Germany (OECD 2007). Since 1993, entrance was limited to families from successor states of the former Soviet Union and restricted to immigrants who fulfilled certain conditions. However, immigrants from the former Soviet Union still make up a considerable proportion of the overall German population (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2010, OECD 2007).

The two largest migration flows from the former Soviet Union (Ethnic Germans to Germany and Jews to Israel) share important characteristics (Titzmann et al. 2011). As groups emigrating voluntarily from the former Soviet Union to Germany or Israel they are Diaspora migrants, which means that several generations later these immigrant families return to the country of their ancestors. The sending and the receiving countries usually share religious, ethnic or cultural roots, and entry of Ethnic Germans or Jewish immigrants into the respective host country has a particular political meaning. Additionally, Ethnic Germans and Jewish immigrants have each been a minority in their homelands. Furthermore, as Diaspora immigrants they are a politically privileged group in their countries of destination; for instance, they receive citizenship immediately after their arrival and obtain financial and other non-material support in order to quickly settle down in the country (Haberfeld et al. 2011). Still, both immigrant groups face challenges similar to those faced by other immigrant groups, for example language problems and discrimination (Stanat 2008).

Dissimilarities between the two immigrant groups and the host countries can be used to derive theoretical expectations about the relationship between cultural capital and educational aspirations. In both countries, cultural capital is narrowly related to educational success (Georg 2004, 2009, Leopold & Shavit 2013, Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid 2002). Israeli society can be described as a culturally diverse or multicultural society. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union constitute the largest immigrant wave to arrive in Israel in the 20th century, accounting for approximately 20 per cent of the total Israeli population (Horowitz 2005, Remennick 2002, 2007). In general, high levels of human capital (especially a high share of university education) and low levels of economic means characterize this large wave of immigration (Horowitz 2005). As a consequence, Israeli immigrants have greater opportunities and resources to retain their culture of origin. Additionally, Israeli Russian immigrants live more segregated than their counterparts in Germany, both with respect to housing and cultural consumption (for instance, newspapers, radio and TV programs in Russian). Moreover, Israel emphasizes adopting cultural elements from immigrants groups. Hence, Russian culture can be seen as being part of the Israeli society (Titzmann et al. 2011). On the contrary, Germany is characterized as a society that is rather culturally homogenous, with one mainstream culture defined by the majority population. Although immigrants from Eastern Europe, and especially from the former Soviet Union, make up a considerable proportion of the overall German population, they neither essentially contribute to the definition of German culture nor form an Ethnic German subculture within the mainstream society (Titzmann et al. 2011). German society, therefore, attaches greater importance to the

possession of cultural capital specific to the country of destination than Israeli society does. The resource mechanism is expected to be more strongly visible in Germany than in Israel, where we expect to find evidence of the self-selection mechanism.

Like Russian Jews who migrated to Israel (Horowitz 2005), Ethnic Germans have on average high educational degrees (Frick 2004, Kogan 2004, 2011, Konietzka & Kreyenfeld 2001). However, immigrants who migrated from the former Soviet Union to Israel or Germany are self-selected with respect to education (Cohen & Kogan 2007, Haberfeld et al. 2011). In Israel, they bring along a greater amount of human and cultural capital than do Ethnic German immigrants in Germany. Israeli immigrants mainly have acquired a university degree in the former Soviet Union, compared to German immigrants. Ethnic German immigrants are nevertheless better educated than classical labour migrants. However, after arrival, both groups experience disadvantages with regard to structural integration. Additionally, migration motives differ: Israeli immigrants mainly migrate due to economic reasons, while Ethnic Germans mainly enter their host country because of idealistic reasons; they want “to live as Germans among Germans” (Söhn 2008: 9, translated by authors). Hence, the two groups are selective in their striving towards upward mobility after migration. Thus, we expect the self-selection mechanism to be more dominant in Israel, while the resource mechanism should be more important in Germany. Israeli immigrants are very well educated and culturally endowed, and they want to return to the position they had to give up in their homeland, a desire which is strengthened by their economic migration motives. In comparison to Israeli immigrants, their counterparts in Germany do not strive towards upward mobility to the same extent. Although they are comparatively highly educated compared to other immigrant groups in Germany, they do not aspire towards higher education as do Russian immigrants in Israel.

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## 3 Data and measures

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### 3.1 Data

Data collected in the research project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems* are the basis for our empirical analyses (Kalter et al. 2013a, 2013b). Funded by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung) from 2006 to 2010, this project sought to investigate mechanisms behind persisting disadvantages of immigrant children in the educational systems of Israel and Germany.

In Germany, children and adolescents living in the federal states of Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Hamburg were surveyed between November 2007 and September 2008. The target group consisted of persons of Turkish ancestry, Ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union, and German students without any immigration background. In Israel, face-to-face interviews were conducted between January and June 2008 in cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants. The groups under investigation were native Ashkenazi Israelis and immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Using standardized questionnaires, the interviews were conducted either personally or in in-school surveys.<sup>7</sup> The questionnaires include a wide range of attitudes and behavioural measures in central life domains that are expected to explain immigrants' structural, cultural and social integration into the host

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7 This mixed-mode strategy became necessary in Germany because anticipated case numbers were not realized with the sampling strategy using official registers of residents. For in-school surveys, schools with a high proportion of persons of Turkish nationality and Ethnic Germans were chosen. We account for the survey mode by controlling for the type of survey in all empirical models for Germany.

societies. Additionally, we conducted bilingual personal or telephone interviews with the respondents' mothers in order to validly measure families' situation in the host country and their level of integration.

The sample consists of three different age cohorts per country: children attending 4<sup>th</sup> grade, adolescents attending 9<sup>th</sup> grade at a lower secondary or comprehensive school, and adolescents attending 10<sup>th</sup> grade at an intermediate secondary or comprehensive school in Germany. The respective age cohorts in Israel were 4<sup>th</sup> graders, 9<sup>th</sup> graders and 11<sup>th</sup> graders in public schools.<sup>8</sup> We restrict the sample to adolescents who attend 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grade and who emigrated from the former Soviet Union to Germany or Israel. We also exclude adolescents with missing values on any of our model variables (size of analysis sample: N = 431 in Germany and N = 524 in Israel).

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## 3.2 Measures

The dependent variables in our analyses are realistic aspirations of adolescent immigrants in Germany and Israel. Respondents were asked what the highest educational degree is that they will reach in life. In Germany, we distinguish between aspirations to a lower secondary school degree (*Hauptschulabschluss*), an intermediate secondary school degree (*Realschulabschluss*), a vocational diploma (*Fachhochschulreife*) and an upper secondary school degree (Abitur). Answer categories in Israel are high school degree, BA degree, and MA or PhD degree. We recoded these answers to a binary variable, which differentiates between aspiring to the highest educational degree and to the lower ones in Israel. In Germany we collapsed aspirations to graduate from vocational upper secondary school and from upper secondary school and compare them to lower levels of education.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to the majority of studies examining the influence of cultural capital on educational outcomes, we do not have to utilize a proxy indicator for cultural capital (for instance, highbrow cultural activities, number of books at home). Instead, we have the opportunity to operationalize cultural capital by means of cultural knowledge, which is more closely related to the theoretical idea of cultural capital originally proposed by Bourdieu (1977) (Sullivan 2001). Adolescents were asked several questions in different domains of the host country culture and their heritage culture, for instance, about literature, history and religion (see table 4). We first create a sum index of correct answers to all cultural knowledge questions, separately for German, Israeli and Russian culture. Then we constructed Berry's acculturation types, using the median as cut point. We thus have four categories for individuals' cultural capital endowment: multiple integration, assimilation, segmentation and marginalization.

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8 Different age cohorts were chosen in Germany and Israel because we intended to investigate educational transitions. Important transitions take place after 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade in Germany, and after 9<sup>th</sup> grade and 11<sup>th</sup> grade in Israel. Another important difference is that students attending upper secondary schools (Gymnasium) were not included in the German sample. Possible implications for our results are discussed in the final section.

9 We also ran our analyses for Germany by differentiating between those who aim to graduate from upper secondary school and those who strive towards any other graduation level. The results can be found in Appendix 3 to Appendix 5, which are also discussed in the final section.

**Table 4: Cultural knowledge questions**

	Specific to host country	Specific to country of origin
<i>Germany</i>		
<b>Literature</b>	Could you name a work by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe?	Could you name a work by Pushkin?
<b>Holidays</b>	What do we celebrate on Easter?	What do we celebrate on the 8 <sup>th</sup> of March?
<b>History</b>	Tell me when the World War II began and ended.	Tell me two countries of the former Soviet Union.
<b>Adage</b>	What are the first two lines of the German national anthem?	Please, tell me how the following sentence proceeds: „Семь раз отмерь, ...“.
<i>Israel</i>		
<b>Literature</b>	Who is the National Poet?	Please name the first and last name of the Russian author who wrote „The Master and Margarita“.
<b>Holidays</b>	Who were the Patriarchs of Judaism? Who were the Matriarchs of Judaism?	-
<b>History</b>	What is the Coat of Arms of Israel?	Which czar opened ‘the window to Europe’? Give the date (month and year) of the beginning and end of Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna.
<b>Adage</b>	-	Please, tell me how the following sentence proceeds: „Семь раз отмерь, ...“.

The constructs assumed to mediate cultural capital influences on educational aspirations are value of education and probability of success. The latter is operationalized by former school performance. We use grade point average in German or Hebrew, math and English (grades in the school year before the survey). To additionally capture a rather objective picture of achievement we also take into account a reading comprehension test (part of SL-HAM 8/9 in Germany, Lehmann et al. 2002; Israel used an unpublished test self-developed by Shohamy, Levine and Spolsky) as well as a cognitive ability test (subtest of KFT 4-12+ R, Heller & Perleth 2000). We use the sum index of all correct answers in these tests, the range is 0 – 21 for the reading comprehension test in Germany, 0 – 10 for the reading comprehension test in Israel, and 0 – 25 for the cognitive ability test. All three variables are standardized to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

Value of education is depicted by the degree of agreement to statements referring the role of education in individuals' lives. Respondents were asked to state whether they strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree or strongly agree with five statements:

- a) Education is a value in and of itself.
- b) Education is a means of social mobility.
- c) Education is a means of occupational mobility.
- d) Education is a means of self-enrichment.
- e) Education is a means of being part of the society.

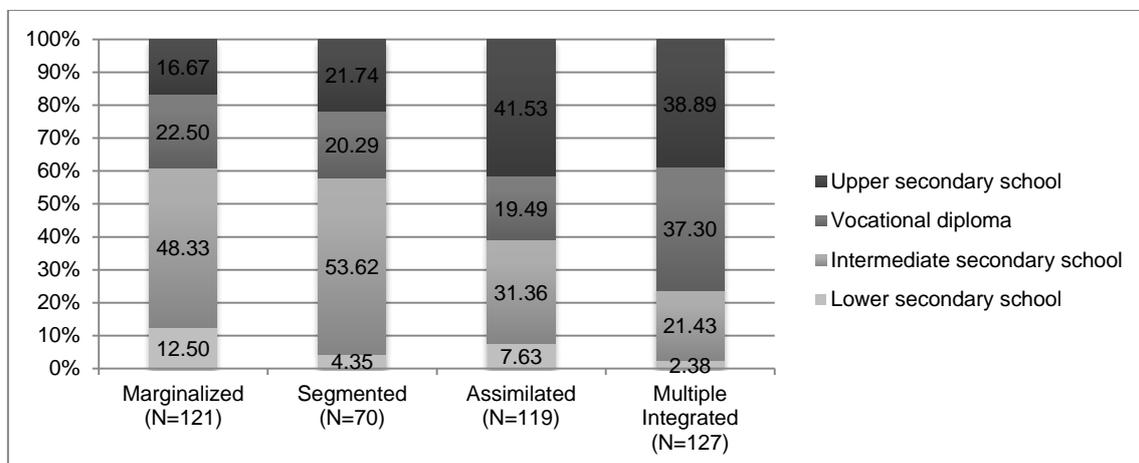
We use the mean index of all statements. Additionally, we control for parents' highest educational degree (at least one parent is university-educated),<sup>10</sup> gender, school type and grade, federal state and survey mode (the last two only in Germany) in the models. The distribution of the dependent variable and all independent variables can be found in the appendix in table A1.

## 4 Empirical results

### 4.1 Descriptive results

We start with a short description of the aspiration patterns by acculturation types in both countries. Figure 1 shows the distribution of immigrant students' educational aspirations in Germany. Marginalized and segmented immigrants have lower aspirations than assimilated and multiply integrated immigrants do. When we focus on the highest educational degree, the lowest share of students with high aspirations can be found among marginalized minorities (17 per cent), while 22 per cent of segmented adolescents aim to graduate from upper secondary school. In the other two groups a similar share of students strives towards a degree from upper secondary school (42 per cent of assimilated and 39 per cent of integrated students). However it should be noted that the picture differs for these two acculturation types when those who think that they will achieve a vocational diploma are considered. Multiply integrated immigrants more often expect to finish school with a vocational diploma than do assimilated immigrants. Furthermore, when these two educational levels are taken together, there is almost no difference between marginalized and segmented students.

**Figure 1: Educational aspirations by acculturation types in Germany**

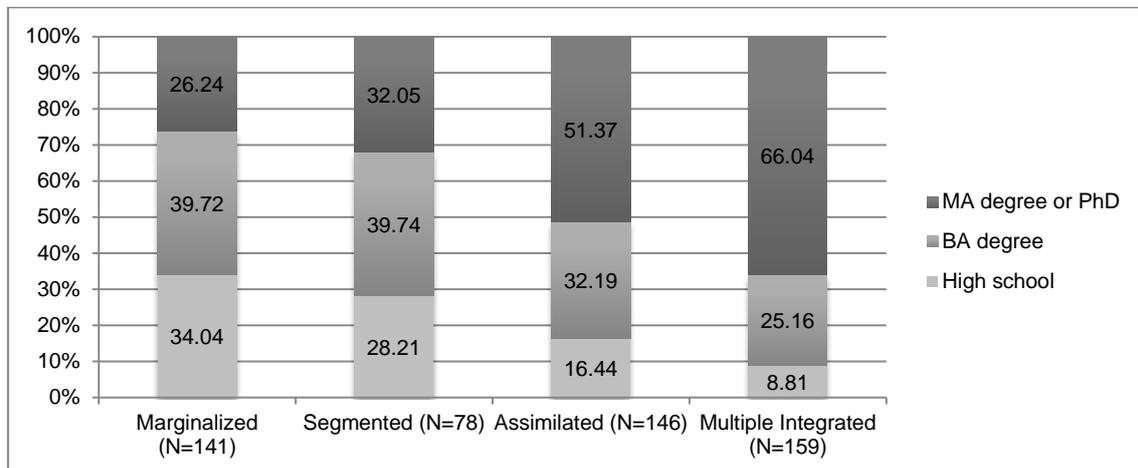


Educational aspirations of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel are shown in figure 2. On the one hand, like in Germany, the lowest share of ambitions towards the highest degree – MA or PhD – can

<sup>10</sup> We did not include parents' occupational status for several reasons: First of all, from a theoretical perspective, parents' educational degree, rather than their occupational status, should be relevant for students' educational aspiration. Second, in the case of immigrants, it should be noted that their occupational status in the host country does not necessarily reflect their occupational status in their country of origin. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union might have experienced a devaluation of their human capital and work at less prestigious jobs in Germany or Israel, respectively. Third, common indicators of occupational status, like ISEI, usually consider the educational degree, so including both the educational and occupational status can be troublesome. Finally, further analyses (not shown here) reveal that parents' highest occupational status has no statistically significant effect on students' level of educational aspirations.

be found in the marginalization (27 per cent) and segmentation category (32 per cent). On the other hand, there is a clear difference between assimilated (51 per cent) and multiple-integrated (66 per cent) respondents in favour of multiple integration.

**Figure 2: Educational aspirations by acculturation types in Israel**



In neither country we observe clear evidence of either the resource mechanism or the self-selection mechanism. While a similarly small share of marginalized and segmented adolescents strives towards the highest educational degree in Germany and Israel, a large gap between assimilated and multiply-integrated students is apparent. We can cautiously summarize from these descriptive results that cultural knowledge specific to the country of origin seems to be not of great value as such. However, students who are well-acquainted with cultural knowledge specific to the host country and to the country of origin seem to have an advantage over assimilated students with regard to their educational aspirations.

## 4.2 Multivariate results

In this section we analyse the relation between acculturation types and having high educational aspirations by running a set of logistic regressions separately for Germany and Israel. As described above, we present the average marginal effects for striving towards a degree from (vocational) upper secondary school in Germany and towards an MA or PhD degree in Israel instead of a lower degree.

In tables 5 and 6 we present an overview of the relations between the acculturation types regarding their educational aspirations. For this purpose we estimated our logistic regressions using any of the acculturation types as reference category (coefficients and statistical significance levels can be found in the appendix in table A2; here we report the results of model 1). The picture in both countries does not perfectly match the theoretical assumptions based on the resource mechanism or on the self-selection mechanism. In Germany (table 5) most importantly, being acquainted with both cultures seems to have additional benefits for the level of educational aspirations over assimilation or segmentation. Interestingly, as we would expect referring to the resource mechanism, assimilated students are slightly advantaged compared to marginalized or segmented adolescents. But these average marginal effects are only statistically significant at the 10 per cent level (see appendix, table A2). In Israel (table 6) the relations between acculturation types and educational aspirations point in the direction of the self-selection mechanism, as we find a gap between assimilated and multiply integrated students. Furthermore, although it is not statistically significant, segmented adolescents seem to be more ambitious than marginalized ones. On the other hand

assimilated students have an advantage over segmented students, which is more in line with the resource mechanism.

**Table 5: Summary of logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspiring to graduate from (vocational) upper secondary school in Germany**

	Marginalization	Segmentation	Assimilation	Multiple Integration
Marginalization	-	M=S	M<A	<b>M&lt;I</b>
Segmentation	S=M	-	S<A	<b>S&lt;I</b>
Assimilation	A>M	A>S	-	<b>A&lt;I</b>
Multiple Integration	<b>I&gt;M</b>	<b>I&gt;S</b>	<b>I&gt;A</b>	-

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Controlled for gender, school type and grade, parental education, survey mode and federal state. Bold cells indicate statistically significant differences (at least  $p < 0.05$ ).

**Table 6: Summary of logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspirations for MA/PhD degree in Israel**

	Marginalization	Segmentation	Assimilation	Multiple Integration
Marginalization	-	M<S	<b>M&lt;A</b>	<b>M&lt;I</b>
Segmentation	S>M	-	<b>S&lt;A</b>	<b>S&lt;I</b>
Assimilation	<b>A&gt;M</b>	<b>A&gt;S</b>	-	<b>A&lt;I</b>
Multiple Integration	<b>I&gt;M</b>	<b>I&gt;S</b>	<b>I&gt;A</b>	-

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Controlled for gender, school type and grade and parental education. Bold cells indicate statistically significant differences (at least  $p < 0.05$ ).

In the next step, we try to disentangle the result patterns by directly testing both mechanisms. Table 7 contains the results for Ethnic German immigrants in Germany. Model 1, which is our base line model, controls for gender, school type and grade, federal state, survey mode, and parental education. Regarding the acculturation types, the average marginal effects reflect the bivariate findings. All acculturation types have on average lower probabilities than the reference category of multiply integrated students to strive towards a degree from (vocational) upper secondary school. Also in line with our descriptive results is the smaller gap between assimilated and multiply integrated students (16 per cent) compared to the larger gap between segmented and multiply integrated students (27 per cent). In the second model, we test the resource mechanism more explicitly by adding students' grade point average and their linguistic and cognitive abilities. The difference between marginalized and segmented versus multiply integrated immigrants seems to be partly mediated by academic abilities and past school performance. This speaks in favour of

the resource mechanism, according to which students lacking knowledge about the host countries' culture should be less ambitious than assimilated and multiply integrated students.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, the statistical significance of assimilation decreases when we consider the value of education. This change is more in line with the self-selection mechanism. However, combining the performance indicators and the value of education as indicators for both theoretical mechanisms in the last model does not explain the advantage of multiply integrated students over all other acculturation types.

**Table 7: Logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspiring to graduate from (vocational) upper secondary school in Germany (average marginal effects)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Acculturation type (Ref. Multiple integration)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.253***	-0.215***	-0.202***	-0.175**
Segmentation	-0.269***	-0.224***	-0.240***	-0.204**
Assimilation	-0.157**	-0.155**	-0.124*	-0.128*
<b>Male</b>	0.009	0.021	0.032	0.038
<b>School type and grade (Ref. Lower secondary school, grade 9)</b>				
Comprehensive school, grade 9	0.101	0.081	0.101	0.084
Intermediate secondary school, grade 10	0.338***	0.271***	0.346***	0.285***
Comprehensive school, grade 10	0.263***	0.199**	0.249***	0.194**
<b>Parents' education (Ref. Not university-educated)</b>				
At least one parent university-educated	0.027	0.001	0.024	0.001
<b>Grade point average</b>		0.090***		0.081***
<b>Language comprehension test</b>		0.013		0.011
<b>Cognitive ability test</b>		0.048*		0.045 <sup>+</sup>
<b>Value of education</b>			0.165***	0.137***
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.198	0.198	0.198	0.198
N	431	431	431	431

\*\*\* p < 0.001 \*\* p < 0.01 \* p < 0.05 + p < 0.10

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Average marginal effects corrected by using KHB method. Controlled for survey mode and federal state.

In table 8 we present our results for Israel, where we distinguish between students who aspire to an MA or a PhD degree and those with lower aspirations. As in the table above for Germany, we estimate in model 1 the average marginal effects for acculturation types, gender, grade, and parental education. Overall, the results differ partly from the pattern observed for Germany, but they do not clearly confirm hypotheses derived either from the self-selection mechanism or from the resource mechanism. Culturally marginalized immigrants yield the lowest educational aspirations compared to all other types of acculturation. Segmented students have a slightly higher probability on average to aspire to the highest educational degrees. But it should be mentioned that the contrast between them and marginalized students is not statistically significant. Multiply integrated students are more likely than assimilated students to have high aspirations, confirming the assumptions of self-selection: Immigrants who are familiar with both cultures have higher aspirations because they internalize educational norms and wishes from both cultures they live in. However, models 2 and 3 speak against the assumptions of the self-selection mechanism. We would expect the

<sup>11</sup> Assimilated students have on average higher educational aspirations than marginalized or segmented students do. These differences are statistically significant at the 10 per cent level (see Appendix 2).

value of education to explain the differences between assimilated and multiply integrated students. Including students' attitudes towards education, however, does not change the average marginal effect of assimilation at all. Instead, adding the grade point average and the test scores decreases the difference between assimilated students and the reference category, while the difference is no longer statistically significant. The average marginal effects for the other two acculturation types decline as well (from 31 per cent to 21 per cent for marginalized and from 27 to 18 per cent for segmented youths). In sum, we find evidence for both mechanisms in Israel as well: Multiply integrated immigrants have higher educational aspirations than do assimilated immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel, speaking in favour of the self-selection mechanism. However, the academic performance largely explains this difference, which is indicative of the resource mechanism.

**Table 8: Logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspirations to an MA or a PhD degree in Israel (average marginal effects)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Acculturation type</b> (Ref. <i>Multiple integration</i> )				
Marginalization	-0.317***	-0.212***	-0.298***	-0.204***
Segmentation	-0.273***	-0.177**	-0.263***	-0.176**
Assimilation	-0.112*	-0.075	-0.117*	-0.081
<b>Male</b>	-0.130***	-0.094*	-0.123***	-0.091*
<b>Grade 9</b>	0.069	0.074	0.082*	0.083
<b>Parents' Education</b> (Ref. <i>Not university-educated</i> )				
At least one parent university-educated	0.194***	0.148***	0.194***	0.151***
<b>Grade point average</b>		0.122***		0.115***
<b>Language comprehension test</b>		0.025		0.022
<b>Cognitive ability test</b>		0.048*		0.046*
<b>Value of education</b>			0.119***	0.087**
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.200	0.200	0.200	0.200
N	524	524	524	524

\*\*\* p < 0.001 \*\* p < 0.01 \* p < 0.05 + p < 0.10

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Average marginal effects corrected by using KHB method.

## 5 Discussion

In various studies dealing with social inequalities in educational outcomes, cultural capital is put forward as an explanation for the advantage of students from a high socioeconomic background or for the disadvantage of students from a low socioeconomic background, respectively (e.g., Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, De Graaf et al. 2000, DiMaggio 1982, Georg 2004, 2009, Jæger 2009, Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid 2002, Sullivan 2001, van de Werfhorst & Hofstede 2007, Wildhagen 2009, Yamamoto & Brinton 2010). Immigrants constitute a special case in this regard since their accumulated cultural capital can refer to the country of residence or to their home countries. In this study we focus on this rarely investigated topic of how immigrants' cultural capital impacts their educational success.

Based on the literature on cultural capital and its impact on educational outcomes, we derived two theoretical explanations of how cultural capital fosters educational attainment: The self-selection mechanism, related to the idea of the Wisconsin model (Sewell et al. 1969, 1970), assumes that in families highly endowed with cultural capital, educational norms are set at a high level. Increasing students' educational aspirations should positively affect their educational attainment (e.g., Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997, Georg

2004, Jæger 2009). For this mechanism, the specificity of cultural capital should be less relevant, thus the greater the amount of cultural capital, the higher should be the educational goals of these students, irrespective of whether such capital relates to the country of destination or to the country of origin. In contrast, when educational aspirations are defined as a benefit-cost outcome, cultural capital can be seen as a resource, which can help to realize high educational aims (resource mechanism) (e.g., Becker 2010, De Graaf et al. 2000, Sullivan 2001). In this case, the specificity of cultural capital should matter crucially, as cultural capital referring to the country of origin cannot (easily) be transferred to the host country.

Testing these theoretical assumptions for immigrants from the former Soviet Union in two host countries enabled us to investigate whether the importance of cultural capital specific to the home country depends on the receiving context. In our multivariate analyses, we find evidence that cultural capital specific to the host country is relevant for immigrant adolescents' educational aspirations in Germany and Israel alike. However, being familiar with the culture of the country of origin can be of additional benefit: Our empirical results show that its importance seems to depend on the cultural capital specific to the host country. While we can see no advantage to only being familiar with Russian culture, knowledge of both Russian and German or Israeli culture, respectively, enhances the educational aims of students, and multiply integrated students have on average higher educational ambitions than their assimilated or segmented counterparts. In Israel, contrary to our theoretical explanations as hypothesized by the self-selection mechanism, this boost effect seems to be based on differences in academic abilities and performance between assimilated and multiply integrated immigrants. This finding can be explained in different ways. First, the home culture of immigrants from the former Soviet Union constitutes a part of Israeli culture (Titzmann et al. 2011), so being acquainted with the culture specific to the home country can be counted as a resource as well. Second, the additional positive effect of being multiply integrated rather than being assimilated might be linked to familial or personal characteristics that are beneficial for educational outcomes. For instance, multiply integrated adolescents might spend more time on reading or other leisure time activities, which can increase cognitive abilities, linguistic skills or knowledge relevant in school. Alternatively, preserving elements of the home culture is beneficial in terms of self-esteem and well-being – as has been shown elsewhere (e.g., Phinney et al. 2002) – and this might foster achievement in school. Furthermore, in both countries marginalized students are the most disadvantaged in terms of educational aspirations. Even after controlling for academic abilities, performance at school and attitudes towards education, they seem to be those least dedicated to education. Overall, in contrast to our theoretical assumptions, we find more similarities between Germany and Israel.

While the theoretical idea of cultural capital was elaborated in the last decades, the translation into measurable concepts is not coherent. In contrast to many other studies examining the meaning of cultural capital for educational outcomes, we do not have to utilize a common proxy indicator for cultural capital (e.g., highbrow cultural activities or number of books at home). We have the opportunity to use actual cultural knowledge, which is (more) directly related to academic performance than the usually used measures (Bourdieu 1977, Sullivan 2001).

Of course, there are a number of limitations to our empirical analyses that should be discussed as well. First of all, the measurement of students' educational aspirations in Germany and Israel was adjusted to the structure of the educational systems in these countries. In the German questionnaire, answer categories were restricted to secondary education, whereas in Israel degrees on the tertiary level were included. These variations in the questionnaire designs reflect country differences with regard to tertiary enrolment rates. Hence, the conclusions drawn from our study are not comparable regarding the absolute level of educational aspirations. Second, students attending upper secondary schools (Gymnasium) in Germany were not included in the German sample due to the design of the project. This can further limit the comparability between Germany and Israel, as students attending upper secondary schools should strive more often towards graduating from upper secondary school than do students attending lower school tracks.

The share of students with high aspirations is therefore underestimated in the German sample. This also reasonably explains why the result patterns in Germany differ when we compare students who aspire towards an upper secondary degree with those aspiring to all other kinds of secondary educational degrees (see appendix, tables A3 to A5). But, within the given sampling frame, we consider it more appropriate to contrast aspirations to an upper secondary school degree and vocational upper secondary school degree with the lower degrees, as the institutional barriers to a vocational diploma are lower than the barriers to a general upper secondary degree. Third, the questions chosen to measure cultural knowledge specific to the host country can (at least partly) include topics from the school curriculum and hence might not necessarily reflect students' cultural capital inherited within their families. Fourth, we cannot fully explain the differences between the different acculturation types by means of academic performance and value of education. Theoretically, cultural knowledge, school performance, attitudes towards education, and educational aspirations can all be interrelated with students' general academic motivation. Analyses based on longitudinal data can help to disentangle the (causal) relation between these factors and to detect the general underlying mechanism accounting for the relation between cultural capital and academic achievement. Finally, our results might be biased by the general pitfalls of a small number of cases or cross-sectional analyses. It is important to put our results to the test with other data that can overcome these caveats.

All in all, we demonstrate that whether cultural capital specific to the home country matters for immigrants' educational careers depends on whether adolescents are acquainted with cultural capital specific to the country of residence, whereas the latter is relevant to the level of educational aspirations irrespective of the institutional context. Future research should further elaborate on this conditional view of the importance of cultural capital for immigrant children's educational success.

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## Appendix

**Table A1: Descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables**

	Marginalization	Segmentation	Assimilation	Multiple Integration
<i>Germany</i>				
<b>Educational aspirations (freq. [%])</b>				
Degree from lower secondary school	15 (12.50)	3 (4.35)	9 (7.63)	3 (2.38)
Degree from intermediate secondary school	58 (48.33)	37 (53.62)	37 (31.36)	27 (21.43)
Vocational diploma	27 (22.50)	14 (20.29)	23 (19.49)	47 (37.30)
Degree from upper secondary school	20 (16.67)	15 (21.74)	49 (41.53)	49 (38.89)
<b>Probability of success (means [SD])</b>				
Grade point average	-0.32 (0.94)	-0.15 (1.08)	-0.006 (0.95)	0.10 (0.94)
Language comprehension test	-0.03 (0.99)	-0.29 (1.04)	0.42 (0.77)	0.31 (0.81)
Cognitive ability test	-0.17 (0.94)	-0.05 (1.06)	0.35 (0.90)	0.36 (0.95)
<b>Value of education (mean [SD])</b>	3.95 (0.52)	4.11 (0.44)	4.07 (0.53)	4.27 (0.55)
<b>Parent's education (freq. [%])</b>				
Not university-educated	109 (90.76)	54 (76.81)	97 (81.36)	95 (75.20)
At least one parent university-educated	11 (9.24)	16 (23.19)	22 (18.64)	31 (24.80)
<b>School type and grade (freq. [%])</b>				
Lower secondary school, grade 9	45 (37.50)	7 (10.14)	22 (18.64)	12 (9.52)
Comprehensive school, grade 9	14 (11.67)	17 (24.64)	51 (43.22)	51 (40.48)
Intermediate secondary school, grade 10	38 (31.67)	27 (39.13)	20 (16.95)	27 (21.43)
Comprehensive school, grade 10	23 (19.17)	18 (26.09)	25 (21.19)	36 (28.57)
<b>Gender (freq. [%])</b>				
Male	74 (61.67)	24 (34.78)	67 (56.78)	60 (47.62)
Female	46 (38.33)	45 (64.22)	51 (43.22)	66 (52.38)
<b>Total</b>	120	69	118	126
<hr/>				
	Marginalization	Segmentation	Assimilation	Multiple Integration
<i>Israel</i>				
<b>Educational aspirations (freq. [%])</b>				
High school	48 (34.04)	22 (28.21)	24 (16.44)	14 (8.81)
BA degree	56 (39.72)	31 (39.74)	47 (32.19)	40 (25.16)
MA or PhD degree	37 (26.24)	25 (32.05)	75 (51.37)	105 (66.04)
<b>Probability of success (means [SD])</b>				
Grade point average	-0.29 (0.99)	-0.30 (0.91)	0.12 (0.96)	0.38 (0.86)
Language comprehension test	-0.31 (0.97)	-0.10 (1.02)	0.07 (0.90)	0.17 (0.88)
Cognitive ability test	-0.31 (0.98)	-0.04 (0.96)	0.06 (1.04)	0.31 (1.00)
<b>Value of education (mean [SD])</b>	4.03 (0.66)	4.13 (0.56)	4.26 (0.53)	4.22 (0.63)
<b>Parent's education (freq. [%])</b>				
Not university-educated	88 (62.41)	35 (44.87)	67 (45.89)	48 (30.19)
At least one parent university-educated	53 (37.59)	43 (55.13)	79 (54.11)	111 (69.81)
<b>Grade (freq. [%])</b>				
Grade 9	88 (62.41)	29 (37.18)	87 (59.59)	67 (42.14)
Grade 11	53 (37.59)	49 (62.82)	59 (40.41)	92 (57.86)
<b>Gender (freq. [%])</b>				
Male	73 (51.77)	43 (55.13)	71 (48.63)	73 (45.91)
Female	68 (48.23)	35 (44.87)	75 (51.37)	86 (54.09)
<b>Total</b>	141	78	146	159

Table A2: Other reference categories

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<i>Germany</i>				
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Marginalization)</b>				
Segmentation	-0.016	-0.009	-0.039	-0.029
Assimilation	0.097	0.060	0.077	0.047
Multiple integration	0.253***	0.215***	0.202***	0.175**
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Segmentation)</b>				
Marginalization	0.016	0.009	0.039	0.029
Assimilation	0.112 <sup>+</sup>	0.069	0.116 <sup>+</sup>	0.076
Multiple Integration	0.269***	0.224***	0.240***	0.204***
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Assimilation)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.097 <sup>+</sup>	-0.060	-0.077	-0.047
Segmentation	-0.112 <sup>+</sup>	-0.069	-0.116 <sup>+</sup>	-0.076
Multiple integration	0.157**	0.155**	0.124*	0.128*
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Multiple integration)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.253***	-0.215***	-0.202***	-0.175**
Segmentation	-0.269***	-0.224***	-0.240***	-0.204**
Assimilation	-0.157**	-0.155**	-0.124*	-0.128*
<i>Israel</i>				
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Marginalization)</b>				
Segmentation	0.044	0.034	0.035	0.028
Assimilation	0.206***	0.137**	0.181***	0.123*
Multiple integration	0.317***	0.212***	0.298***	0.204***
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Segmentation)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.044	-0.034	-0.035	-0.028
Assimilation	0.162**	0.103	0.146*	0.095
Multiple integration	0.273***	0.177**	0.263***	0.176**
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Assimilation)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.206***	-0.137**	-0.181***	-0.123*
Segmentation	-0.162**	-0.103	-0.146*	-0.095
Multiple integration	0.112*	0.075	0.117*	0.081
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Multiple integration)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.317***	-0.212***	-0.298***	-0.204***
Segmentation	-0.273***	-0.177**	-0.263***	-0.176**
Assimilation	-0.112*	-0.075	-0.117*	-0.081

\*\*\* p < 0.001 \*\* p < 0.01 \* p < 0.05 + p < 0.10

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Average marginal effects corrected by using KHB method. Controlled for gender, school type and grade, parental education, survey mode, and federal state (model 1); model 1 controls, grade point average, cognitive ability and language comprehension tests (model 2); model 1 controls, value of education (model 3); all variables (model 4).

**Table A3: Logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspiring to graduate from upper secondary school in Germany (average marginal effects)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Acculturation type</b> (Ref. <i>Multiple integration</i> )				
Marginalization	-0.195**	-0.158*	-0.179**	-0.154*
Segmentation	-0.193**	-0.129*	-0.184**	-0.127
Assimilation	0.006	0.003	0.016	0.006
<b>Male</b>	-0.089*	-0.070	-0.082*	-0.068
<b>School type and grade</b> (Ref. <i>Lower secondary school, grade 9</i> )				
Comprehensive school, grade 9	0.146	0.105	0.146	0.105
Intermediate secondary school, grade 10	0.183*	0.085	0.185*	0.086
Comprehensive school, grade 10	0.214**	0.116	0.210**	0.116
<b>Parents' Education</b> (Ref. <i>Not university-educated</i> )	0.142**	0.119*	0.141**	0.120*
At least one parent university-educated				
<b>Grade point average</b>		0.112***		0.111***
<b>Language comprehension test</b>		0.073**		0.073**
<b>Cognitive ability test</b>		0.006		0.006
<b>Value of education</b>			0.051	0.013
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170
N	431	431	431	431

\*\*\* p < 0.001 \*\* p < 0.01 \* p < 0.05 + p < 0.10

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Average marginal effects corrected by using KHB method. Controlled for survey mode and federal state.

**Table A4: Summary of logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspiring to graduate from upper secondary school in Germany**

	Marginalization	Segmentation	Assimilation	Multiple Integration
<b>Marginalization</b>	-	M=S	<b>M&lt;A</b>	<b>M&lt;I</b>
<b>Segmentation</b>	S=M	-	<b>S&lt;A</b>	<b>S&lt;I</b>
<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>A&gt;M</b>	<b>A&gt;S</b>	-	A=I
<b>Multiple Integration</b>	<b>I&gt;M</b>	<b>I&gt;S</b>	I=A	-

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Controlled for gender, school type and grade, parental education, survey mode, and federal state. Bold cells indicate statistically significant differences (at least p < 0.05).

**Table A5: Other reference categories used for logistic regressions of acculturation types on aspiring to graduate from upper secondary school in Germany (average marginal effects)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Marginalization)</b>				
Segmentation	0.002	0.028	-0.005	0.026
Assimilation	0.201***	0.161**	0.195***	0.160**
Multiple Integration	0.195**	0.158*	0.179**	0.154*
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Segmentation)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.002	-0.028	0.005	-0.026
Assimilation	0.199**	0.133	0.200**	0.133*
Multiple Integration	0.193**	0.129*	0.184**	0.127
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Assimilation)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.201***	-0.161**	-0.195***	-0.160**
Segmentation	-0.199**	-0.133*	-0.200**	-0.133*
Multiple Integration	-0.006	-0.003	-0.016	-0.006
<b>Acculturation type (Ref.: Multiple Integration)</b>				
Marginalization	-0.195**	-0.158*	-0.179**	-0.154*
Segmentation	-0.193**	-0.129*	-0.184**	-0.127
Assimilation	0.006	0.003	0.016	0.006

\*\*\* p < 0.001 \*\* p < 0.01 \* p < 0.05 + p < 0.10

Source: Project *Immigrants' Children in the German and Israeli Educational Systems*, own calculations.

Note: Average marginal effects corrected by using KHB method. Controlled for gender, school type and grade, parental education, survey mode, and federal state (model 1); model 1 controls, grade point average, cognitive ability and language comprehension tests (model 2); model 1 controls, value of education (model 3); all variables (model 4).