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PhD programme: Social and Political Change, 31st cycle

Culture bounds (?) **-** The Interplay of Migration and Education within Parental Strategies of (Highly-)Skilled Movers in the European Space

March 2021

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Ever since I started experiencing education in several destinations throughout and beyond Europe I was intrigued to look deeper into some observations and thoughts that kept recalling me what education should strive for in my eyes and what I try to convey to my own child since birth. Respect. Respect and gratitude for own competences and those of others, for the known and the unknown, for personal strengths and limits.
I am really grateful for the experience that entailed this research and the last four years, as I had been given the possibility to grow as a student and a scholar but also as daughter, partner, mother, and friend approaching education and mobility not solely in its academic context but as a holistic concept that encompasses all spheres of life.

I have to go back 20 years in time to pay tribute to those who inspired me towards this research. It all started with unforgettable mentors in Germany and the United States. They conveyed me the passion for social studies and will always be my role models who encouraged me to forward my academic interests and to become a researcher myself: Prof. Christel Koehle-Hezinger and Prof. Jürgen Bolten (Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena), Prof. Warren D. Anderson (Southeast Missouri State University) and Prof. Leslie P. Moch (Michigan State University).

However, for the realisation of this work I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my tutor Prof. Roberta Ricucci who guided and advised me from the very beginning of this adventure with patience and perseverance. During the entire work process, she combined constructive criticism with reliable reassurance and contributed thus truly to both, my academic training and my personal development. I hardly ever met a person with such an admirable determination and strong work ethic, which leaves me very grateful for all the lessons learnt.

I also thank Prof. Marco Bontempi for his tutorship and consulting as well as the entire *collegio* of the phd programme in Turin and Florence, whose members helped me to develop my research scope in the initial stage of this work.
Further appreciation goes to Prof. Andrea Maccarini and Prof. Alessio D'Angelo for their very helpful review and assessment, their suggestions and the essential comments to improve and finalise this work.

I feel very honoured and privileged that I had the chance to dive into very personal memories, experiences, thoughts and family histories located in different times, places and systems that provided the heart of this research and a precious experience for me. My warmest thanks to all respondents and study participants, who were patiently answering my numerous questions, spending their time and energy to provide me with data to build this piece of work.

This list of acknowledgements is far from complete and should include all colleagues, friends and family members who comforted me as listeners and counsellors. I will sooner or later have the chance to express my gratitude to all of you.

I close these notes by thanking my parents wholeheartedly for teaching me the value of education and hard work. And for being proud of me and this endeavour.
Finally, I am beyond beholden to Alberto – for travelling along as emotional onshore in brighter and darker hours and for supporting me all the way through this journey - and to Max, for your inspiration, day by day. Danke.

INTRODUCTION

Setting the scene: Talent factory Europe – a complex endeavour?

In the global race for talent, we need to nurture our skilled workers, reduce brain drain, while facilitating mobility of EU citizens, attracting talent from abroad and making better use of migrants' skills" (COM 2016: 2).

When speaking of talent from abroad and hence high-skilled (im)migration it is crucial to look for evidence in the distribution of human capital in the countries with a high share of incomings. Statistics conducted by the EU executive agency reveal that in the majority of EU-member states human capital is mainly concentrated among second generation immigrants, most of them have European origins, who outperform native borne in attainment levels of tertiary education[1]. This data is rooted in the developments that marked the last decades in Europe, where societal changes and, most recently, the public health urgency due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, had caused skill shortages in diverse segments (Pascouau 2013).

Additionally, the political and socio-economic reformulation of the European space required continuous structural adjustments towards an adequate assessment of competences and efficient direction of labour power. Referring to World Bank reports, Habti and Elo (2019) further point to the increasingly altering labour market dynamics, channelled by labour-saving and labour-linking strategies that had a significant impact on global mobility and human capital flows. The intertwined thrive for advancing a knowledge society thus emphasized the need for solutions and answers to questions on how mobility and free circulation of capital could be exponentiated to participate successfully in the international competition for progress and economic development. Consequently, the matter of talent and its distribution "has become a vital issue to understand and govern" (*Ibid.*: 2).

The EU-Commission (re)acted accordingly and adopted the assumption that everyone should have the lifelong right to access high-quality, inclusive training and re-qualification opportunities (COM 2018a). This notion becomes crucial in a European scenario with polarising conditions for its (learner) population and highly heterogeneous educational systems in all member states. The lifelong learning (LLL) approach promoted by the EU-Commission as paradigm of 21st century education recognizes that competencies encompass a range of 'life skills', that support individuals' participation in wider society; they are thus essential to encounter the learners' diverse backgrounds and to build synergies among them where- and whenever possible. Accordingly, the Union continues to invest human and financial resources to promote economic growth and individual life satisfaction as a return of spatial mobility and competence development through lifelong learning (COM 2020).

The contemporary image of the competent, and thus talented and skilled worker in a European migratory scenario leads to the diversification of traditional concepts within the academic discussion. By the end of the 20th century an international body of research had increasingly discussed the demanding, ambiguous and paradox role, that competences and knowledge of labour force are playing for sending and receiving contexts. In a rather challenging new millennium, several EU countries of the enlarged European space faced the emigration of high-skilled professionals,

[1] According to latest available Eurostat data, in Italy 26.7% of the second generation compared to 19.1 % Italians and 12.7% of first-generation immigrants had received an academic title in 2014.
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=First_and_second-generation_immigrants_-_statistics_on_education_and_skills#Educational_attainment_level

educated and specialized in their native country with involvement of public funds, to other member countries[2]. The debate about this issue was increasingly labelled by *Brain Drain*, *Gain* and *Waste* concepts that pointed to the discrepancy between the incoming and outgoing flows of talent, and thus the resulting net losses in knowledge and expertise, that had a strong socio-economic impact especially on the new EU member states.

In the Italian context, research on behalf of the National Research Committee (Todisco et al. 2003, Brandi 2009, 2014) has focused particularly on the academic employment sector and indicates the lack of jobs and career opportunities in public research institutions, universities and companies as one of the main drivers for labour emigration of Italian scientists. Remedy proposals advanced by public stakeholders included a shift of perspective towards possibilities for brain gain, where migration is envisaged an opportunity instead of a threat or "zero-sum game" (Ackers 2005). Accordingly, long-term strategies that aim for a win-win situation for both countries should be pursued; high-qualified migrants who emigrate from their country of origin could implement know-how, capital, networks etc. through transnational activities or by return migration. To this end, several initiatives to promote and facilitate the return of migrants have been increasingly forwarded in the last two decades (e.g. 'Rientro dei cervelli' initiative, cf. Ch. 1.2.3). However, the returns did not meet the expectations. It results that indicators such as cultural and linguistic proximity, family or the desire to contribute to progress in the home country are not sufficiently convincing for stimulating the decision to return of Italian talents who moved abroad (Brandi 2014, Boffo and Gagliardi 2017).

According to Beltrame (2007: 60) this is one of the outcomes that quarry lurid medial reconstructions. Based on data from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) and the studies of Docquier and Marfouk (2006), he maintains that the 'Italian problem' is not the emigration of a professional 'elite', but the scarce capacity of attracting high-qualified immigrants. The journalist Raffaele Nappi backs this view by referring to Italy as the "world's black sheep" when it comes to attracting foreign talent[3]. International rankings, such as the Global Talent Competitiveness Index 2018, confirm Italy's lower position within the global range of countries that attract most talents and puts it on the 36th position, after Lithuania (34th) and Costa Rica (35th). In an international comparison of measures and initiatives implemented to offer inspiring options for the high-skilled, Beltrame prompts to a paradigm change and calls for a focus on the qualified incomings (instead of outgoings), and consequently to focus on receiving competences and not on retaining them. This view is shared by Coccia and Pittau (2016) who surveyed students and graduates in Italy in 2016 in relation to migration issues and sustain that the emigration of autochthonous students is balanced by the presence of foreign students and graduates, who are however not valorised in the working context and hence cannot contribute to a mutual economic enrichment.

Public stakeholders in Italy focus predominantly on the flight and abundance of Italian talents, when tackling the brain drain phenomenon and designing corresponding measures (Ricucci and Martino 2018). However, empirical evidence on migration patterns of Italians, that reveal significant clashes between effective emigrants and prospective returnees, advocates refraining from narrow nationalistic considerations and approaching a wider perspective that accommodates the European ideals and values. Therefore, discussing knowledge and competence drain should occur from a rather holistic perspective and thus considering the totality of potential brains for Italy, i.e. those educated and trained in the country, the rather recent and new residents who came to work and stay (short or long-term) and those to come.

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[2] According to data provided by Eurostat from 2018 Germany had the highest overall quota of emigrants with 540.400 persons, followed by Spain (309.500), France (341.400), Romania (231.700) and Poland (189.800).
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics/de

[3] https://www.west-info.eu/for-attracting-foreign-talent-italy-is-worlds-black-sheep/

Recent thoughts of the interdisciplinary academic community on a coherent and efficient use of Europe's talent base tie in to this discourse and point to a paradigm shift from static, one-way 'Brain concepts' towards positive valorisation strategies of brain circulation. A creation of new collaboration patterns between both, the country of origin and destination, to produce win-win effects from qualified migration (Thränhardt and Hunger 2003, Zimmermann 2014). Breinbauer (2007: 23) argues in this context that local and national decision maker cannot design appropriate measures to attract brains favouring quality over quantity, if research fails to provide crucial empirical evidence on "what actually happens with the Brains" and if regional differences are not taken into consideration. Human rights and democracy, as well as economic and political development in the sending country, provide a basis for attempts to profit from brain emigration and are at the same time triggered through direct benefits as remittances and the backflow of ideas, knowledge and experiences. International peers (Nifo and Vecchione 2014, Straubhaar 2000) maintain that factors related to the quality of life and socio-political aspects in the destination country are essential for the decision process of the highly-qualified migrant. Social, cultural and institutional issues play a prominent role.

In particular mixed forms of mobility, where migrants can switch categories according to convenience from skilled to non-skilled, pushed by economic reasons, or lifestyle, or study purposes call for a consideration of the "double embeddedness of migration" (King 2002: 101) that refers to the individual's or family's life course on the one hand and to the origin and host societies at the other hand. In this regard, it is crucial to consider the increasingly blurry picture of the mobile highly-skilled in the European sphere that spans over different and increasingly dynamic classifications. Their social morphology ranges thus from pre-millennium elitist expats, to trainees of the 'Erasmus Generation' (Bettin Lattes and Bontempi 2008) along to 'Eurostars' (Favell 2008) towards an increased allocation to "ordinary middle-class professional movers" (Scott 2019: 1). In this context, Scott (*Ibid.*) highlights the rising significance of middle-class mobility for research, as it constitutes an important piece in the overall international migration scenario, where middle classes are growing globally.

A vast body of research supports this perspective; they point to the linked significance of family for the formulation of migration motivations (Ackers and Gill 2008; Clark and Withers 2007; Forsey 2015; King and Lulle 2016; Tissot 2016; Zontini 2010). This interrelation occurs on diverse levels.

Firstly, migration endeavours often involve extended family members for setting priorities and objectives and rely thus not solely on household decisions. Consequently, concepts related to family compositions and resulting role perceptions, empowerments and delegations must be embedded in their cultural context and may contribute significantly to the understanding of transnational settings and their construction (Kou, Mulder and Bailey 2017).

Secondly, research further highlights the interdependence between life course events "or the stimuli that create changes in family composition" (Clark and Withers 2007: 593), such as marriage and childbirth, and migration decisions. Ackers and Gill concluded from the results of their study that "a wide range of concerns shape migration decisions and that both the menu and the priority attached to individual factors varies over the life-course" (Ackers and Gill 2008: 6). Consequently, priorities and needs that determine the migratory trajectory are constantly changing and re-define the roles of tied movers within family as well as the temporal dimension of the mobility.

This leads to the third premise, that has been pronounced by international scholars who refer to the significant role of children for long-term and short-term migration intentions. They point to their agency in decisional processes and emphasize the research relevance for investigations on related family behaviour. Aspirations for the children's well-being may thus lead to different priorities and decisional outcomes on spatial and temporal level which renders familial migration a set of diverse occurrences rather than one single event (Moskal and Tyrrell 2016). Care delegations often involve

extended family, who either stay in the home context or migrate along to provide educational support. These choices are linked to a shift of obligations and responsibilities for all family members, often over more than one generation, and may have a further agency on migration expectations and outcomes. Relevant indicators that build the basis for the formulation of familial strategies and choices may regard standards of security, freedom of choice, flexibility, property rights in the potential host context or an environment adapted to family needs with regard to social politics and educational systems (Bailey and Mulder 2017; Moskal and Tyrrell 2016; Ryan 2011; Ryan and Sales 2011; Valtolina 2013).

Fourthly, the interrelation between migration motivation and education may become ambiguous with respect to the outcomes. On the one hand, migration may be driven by aspirations for own education or educational opportunities for the offspring. On the other hand, especially economically-driven migratory projects or those that ground in unsatisfying life conditions in the home context are presumed to have an important agency on the educational trajectory of the second-generation migrants. The link is thus embedded in the correlation between migratory primary motivations and educational performance of parents. Higher economic pressure may therefore lead to an increased propensity for migration and lower parental qualities, which in turn may favour psychosocial health issues and lower academic achievement of their children (Robila 2011).

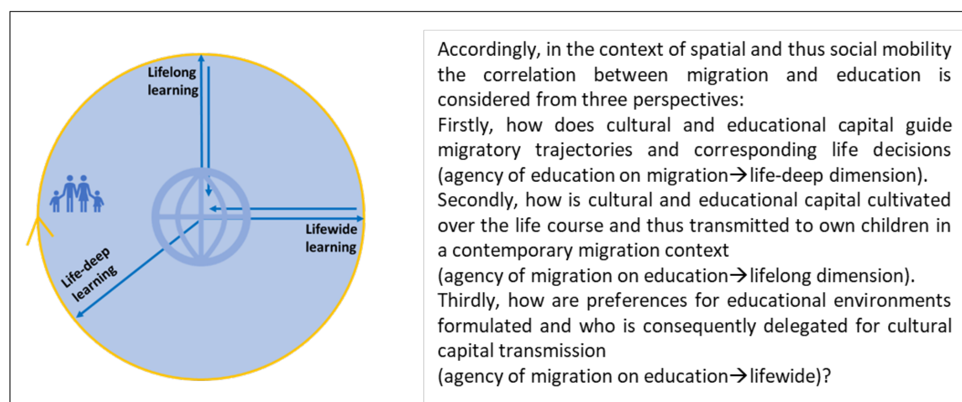
These premises feed into the formulation of the research question of this work and build its central focus, that strives to respond to the demand of increased research on the interrelation of educational strategies and familial migration decisions (Fürstenau 2016).

Research question

This work ties in with the overall concern if EU-endeavours towards an explicitly pronounced education-mobility nexus are coherent on macro and micro level. In other words, it employs the question how education impacts migration (decisions) and on reverse conclusion how mobility and chosen life courses impact educational choices.

The research is set in a scenario that embeds intra-European (knowledge) mobility in the 21st century educational paradigm of lifelong learning.

Fig. 1: The interrelation between migration and education from life-deep, lifelong and lifewide perspective[4]



[4] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

This study puts thus migration in a double embedded context and inquiries from individual (educational decisions) and macro (educational opportunities) perspective to question their culture-bound interdependency in the context of human capital valorisation. It provides accordingly for a comparative investigation between the category of highly-skilled migrants from two country groups with distinct socio-cultural and political background.
Analytic key for reading and confront data have been the Hofstedian cultural dimensions (cf. Ch. 3.1 for methodology), in particular those of Individualism, Uncertainty Avoidance and Power Distance, as literature suggests that cultural variables have a stark agency on migration decisions and flows (Mihai and Novo-Corti 2020).

Research context: Romanian and German skilled migration

A multiple cross-sectional empirical study in the Turin Metropolitan Area in the Northern Piedmont region in Italy has been put into practice with data gathered from study participants who can be allocated to the category of European high-qualified immigrants. They have been classified in two groups according to their origin and thus regard (highly-)skilled movers with German and Romanian citizenship. Particular interest in this research is paid to Romanian high-skilled migrants who present by far the most prominent EU-immigrant community in Italy, and will be represented by two sample groups (SG1 and SG2)[5] in this study.
Mara's study (2012) on migration plans of the Romanian diaspora in Italy found out that the employment rate among Romanian migrants is the highest in Turin, compared to other cities with high share of Romanian community as Milan or Rome. However, only 11% of men and 20% of women were employed in work sectors that can be allocated to the category 'medium and high-skilled jobs'. It is questionable if this statistic complies with what Favell and Recchi (2009: 222) call "the mismatch and waste of East and Central European talent and human capital – that is encouraged to move, but then kept in secondary labour market positions (…)" or if there are other indicators that keep high-skilled workforce from upper labour market segments. International multi-disciplinary scholarship confirms the missing conformity of attracting, receiving and sustaining European policies when it comes to the interaction with migrants. This lays the ground for several assumptions: the skill ratio of the Romanian immigrants is either lower than in other migrant groups, there is a lack in job matching with imported skills in several employment sectors or highly skilled Romanians focus on other geographical regions in Europe. Last but not least, also the ongoing stigmatisation and social exclusion still play a central role and is explicitly perceived in the diaspora as one Romanian respondent of the interviewed sample summarises:

There is a book, which is called: "Come Fratelli"[6] … Brothers? No, it is actually as if we wouldn't exist. As if they [the Italians] would be superior. There is no parity. Probably, one day, eventually, it will be different. Let's hope that we reach a level where we are - I don't say at the same level - but at least respected. Because if you tell someone that you are Romanian, they immediately classify you as either a caregiver or a cleaning lady.

Nevertheless, in Italy, the Romanian diaspora still outnumbers various other high-skilled immigrant groups due to the size of their community.

[5] This study provides for 3 sample groups in total: SG1- Romanian couples; SG2 – Romanian mixed couples; SG3 – German mixed couples (cf. Ch. 3 – Methodology).
[6] Cf. Mocanu and Niculescu (2017).

Romanian migration to Italy reveals a relatively short history starting with single movements in the 1980s under the presidency of Nicolae Ceausescu. The revolution in 1989, the fall of the Socialist regime and a harsh deindustrialization of the country contributed to the emigration of almost one fifth of the Romanian population striving for a better life for them and their family (Stan and Erne 2014, Ricci 2010). Geographical and linguistic proximity, shared cultural traditions and the increasing presence of Italians and Italian business in Romania are presumed to be some of the decisive determinants that put Italy in a top position of European destinations for Romanian migration, right before Spain, Germany and UK (Cingolani 2007).
The increased mobility flows, categorized as circular, short-term, transnational or permanent migration, favoured and generated economic collaboration between both countries.
Potential receiving strategies should thus orientate on measures to attract Romanian human capital in order to respond to the contemporary and future labour force shortages. This accounts particularly for the demand triggered by foreigners who invested in the destination countries and built up their own business, as it is presumed to be increasingly the case of Romanians in Italy (Ricci 2010).
On the other side, German highly skilled movers are not comparable in numbers to their Romanian counter group, but represent however an intriguing study sample. As Ette and Sauer (2010) confirm in their study on German migration, the majority of those who decide to leave their home context can be allocated to the category of qualified and highly skilled labour force; 50% hold an academic degree and have priory worked in the professional categories of Manager or academic staff. Indeed, from their study with German emigrants and German “stayers” without propensity to leave their home context, resulted the general presumption of a positive relation between educational and cultural capital and the tendency towards spatial mobility. Accordingly, with reference to the attraction of highly skilled capital, German labour represents an interesting target group.

The selection of the country groups has been made according to several criteria as both target countries show common and very distinct socio-political features on different levels and from different perspectives.
First of which being their membership in the European Union. The distinctive feature is the time of entry. Whereas Germany was one of the founding members of the EU's predecessor in 1958 and Romania became one of the latest members in 2007 almost five decades later. Both target countries reveal contrasting European traditions in their collective habitus, in particular in the context of migration and education. Correlated aspects refer thus to the overarching question how the education-mobility link is anchored in mentality patterns of the contemporary high-skilled migrant.
Secondly, former East Germany shares a quite similar socio-political history with Romania on national level, which will be considered and distinguished in the analysis of the empirical study questioning the “new modes of life” framed by the “disintegration of previously existing social forms […]“ as “the collapse of state-sanctioned normal biographies, frames of reference, role models” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 2). Former West Germany instead draws a completely different picture on European level. The comparative analysis focus is put in particular on these polarizing features to see how they affect mobility related decisions, taking into consideration that the majority of the study participants, thus Romanian and Ex-GDR respondents, grew up with severe movement restrictions. Accordingly, the tradition and perception of education in mental patterns and daily actions of high-skilled migrants will be critically assessed.
Another criterion for selecting both country groups has been the diversity of migration patterns. It has been presumed that Romanian and German skilled migration are starkly distinct when it comes to motivations and aspirations of its agents that come along with the characteristics of the mobility in its quantity, composition as well as in its spatial and temporal form.

Last but not least Germany and Romania have both longstanding relationships with Italy, in particular on economic level. This is also reflected in the appreciation and admiration for the country by both populations and predestines migration flows as beneficial and significant resource for home and host context (Brandi 2010).
Thus, the study strives to contribute to knowledge on education as life quality indicator and determinant in the host context to carve out potential pull forces for attraction strategies.
From another perspective, the Romanian Government has a strong interest in returnees of their former population who left their home country in search for a better future.
Consequently, in view of an aspired brain circulation, research on push and pull factors, changing priorities during the life course and actual chances and barriers in the host and home context should be beneficial to both, home and host context, to put policies in action that favour the elaboration of strategies to attract and maintain skilled labour force.

A case study in Turin

The study has been located in the Turin Metropolitan Area for a variety of reasons.
Firstly, Turin represents one of Italy's main industrial centres with a long migration history[7]. Whereas in the 1960s it was one of the main destinations for Italian domestic mobility, the last decades turned the city to a destination of increased international migration (Bonifazi and Heins 2000). According to latest ISTAT data provided in January 2020[8], the share of migrants in the Turin Metropolitan Area (MA) amounted to 222.173 persons, which makes up approximately 10% of its current total population. There are more than 150 nationalities represented in the Turin Metropolitan area (Omede and Procopio 2006).
Secondly, the Turin Metropolitan Area hosts more than 8% of the Romanian community in Italy and has thus one of the highest concentrations in the country. With reference to ISTAT data in 2020[9] a total share of 98.014 Romanians makes up 44% of the total foreign population in the aforementioned region, accordingly they outnumber priory predominant immigrant nationalities as the Moroccan community by a respectively duplicated presence. A significant part of the Romanian nationals in Turin come from the Bacau area, that has established over the years cultural and business relationships with Italy (Omede, Procopio 2006). According to Mara's (2012) findings, among major Italian cities, such as Rome or Milan, Turin has the highest share of Romanian migrants with intentions for a long-term permanence.
The stark presence of Romanians in the Turin context is also confirmed in the "production sites" of highly skilled and human capital, thus the Higher Education sector, represented among other academic institutions by the University of Turin and the Politecnico di Torino, that list Romanian nationals among the highest shares of "foreigners" (Davico and Staricco 2020).
Considering the EU-27-member states as country of origin, Germany ranks in the incoming top-5 destinations, right after Romania, France, Spain and Poland (ISTAT 2020)[10].

[7] In 1955, Turin had an in-migration of 3,5%, which was further increasing until the mid-60s. This value was above average compared to other Italian cities, as Rome or Milan with a 2,5% rate (Bonifazi and Heins 2000).
[8] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).
[9] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).
[10] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).

Tab. 1: Residence statistics of German and Romanian foreign population in 2020

	Total foreign citizens		Romanian citizenship		German citizenship	
Italy	**5.306.548**	**100%**	1.207.919	23%	36.980	0,70%
Piedmont	**429.375**	**100%**	145.660	34%	1.883	0,40%
Turin MA	**222.173**	**100%**	98.014	44%	788	0,40%

Source: ISTAT data[11] (own elaboration)

In addition, the growth of Turin's population has been moving on fast pace in the last two decades and reshaped the city at different scales towards visible forms of "everyday multiculturalism" (Semi and Schmoll 2013: 389) or to what Trenz and Triandafyllidou (2017) call a potential 'laboratory of diversity'. As one of the leading business centers in Italy, Turin has a relevant network of international companies and a notable number of high-quality academic institutions. It hosts international organizations, among which an UNESCO Center, an International Labour Organisation (ILO), a European Training Foundation (ETF) and a United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI).

In this context is must be however also added that Turin remains among the cities with the oldest population in the Northern Centre of Italy and requires effort investments for attraction strategies of qualified labour. In comparison with other metropolitan cities of Central and Northern Italy, Turin attracts less (qualified) families. Consequently, the Turin population and labour force is continuously aging, which is like to have detrimental repercussions in the near future, even hampered by the ongoing pandemic (Davico and Staricco 2020).

Further, several private and public schooling institutions (ISCED 1-3) in the Turin Metropolitan Area approach a European vision of education by fostering the intercultural dialogue with corresponding didactic measures (e.g. mother tongues for foreign language classes, CLIL, etc.) and international class composition[12]. They indicate a growing interest in transnational education and internationality in Turin's educational landscape and accordingly the existence of a market that strives to satisfy these demands.

Last but not least, Becci and colleagues (2017) emphasize a religious super-diversity in Turin, generated by the growing change of religious demographics[13]. Those come along as a direct consequence of multi-faceted and diversified immigration and challenge the urban dynamics that had been shaped for centuries by catholic hegemony. In the context of this research the consideration of religious (super)diversity is essential for the formulation of decision-shaping milieus of the migrant in the destination context. Both target country groups refer to diverse religious backgrounds and are presumed to weight religious institutions as hub for social capital and as source of cultural capital quite differently.

A Guide through this Dissertation

Chapter 1 aims to provide a three-fold framework on labour migration (Places- Players-Processes). It thus starts setting the scene with outlining the socio-historical context of a pre- and post-1989 intra-European migration scenario to afterwards sketch the figure of the highly-skilled migrant in the 21st century and related decisional processes towards or against mobility.

[11] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).

[12] One example, relevant for this study (cf. Ch. 6.1) is the European Spinelli Institute, a comprehensive school of all levels (with affiliated maternity school that pursues the same objectives), operational since 1996, that strives for a distribution of up to 40% non-Italians with European citizenship.

[13] Becci et al. (2017) remark in this context that the number of religious communities has almost doubled in Turin in the last decades, with an increase from 120 to 200 communities.

The second section in the theoretical part is articulated in chapter 2 that strives to embed the figure of the contemporary (skilled) mover sketched in chapter 1 into the thematic complex of 21st century education. The discussion is thus set in an overall discourse on competencies as promoted by the European Commission and organized accordingly in three sections (Knowledge-Skills-Attitudes), that discuss the European knowledge society, New Skills wanted and corresponding decisions needed.

Chapter 3 opens the empirical part of this research study and presents therefore a methodology section that explicates applied methods, core concepts and analytical keys to interpret the collected data. Furthermore, it addresses the socio-cultural and political context of the study location and the countries of origin of the target study groups in dia-synchronic perspective.
The discussion of the empirical study has been organized in three chapters (Ch. 4-6), each of which addresses one dimension of lifelong learning (life-deep, lifelong, lifewide) and puts it into correlation with migration.

Chapter 4 studies the agency of education on the migration decisions to move and to stay in the host context. The analysis focused therefore on:

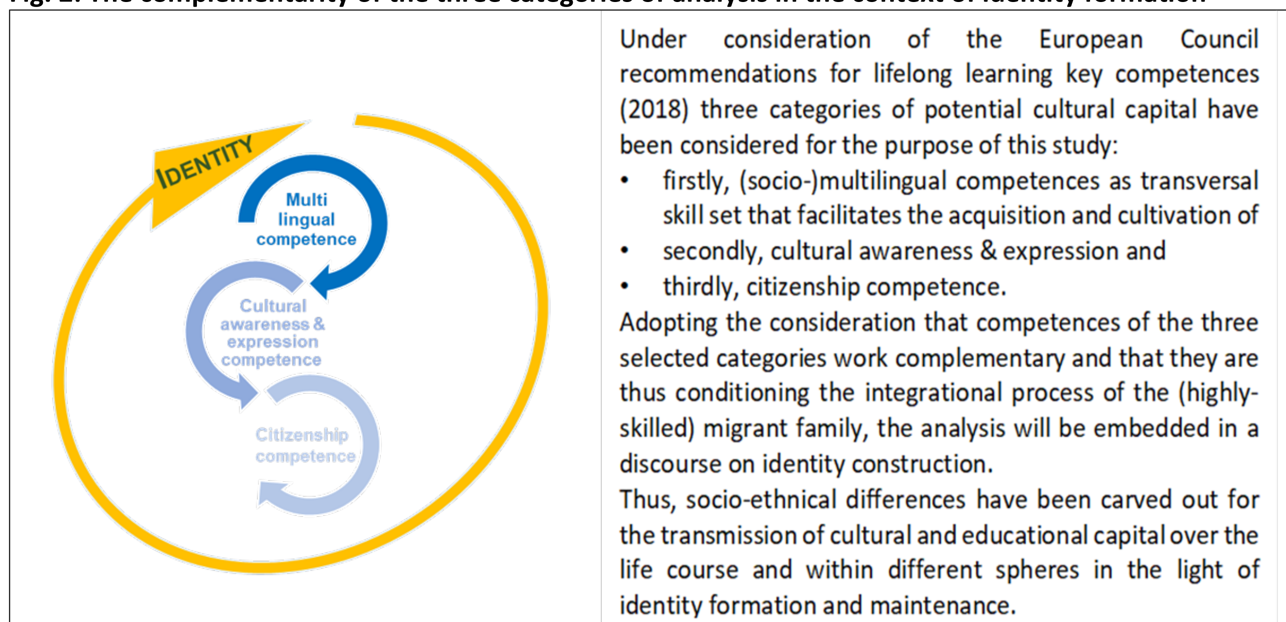
- The agency of education on migration motivations for spatial mobility, the processing of choices within the own family nucleus and the decisional power ascribed to the migrant's family, first and second-degree relatives. Key issues refer to the significance that is attributed to the overall concept of education and how it stands in correlation to life quality. It will be further questioned how educational capital impacts push and pull factors of the migration.
- The effect of educational capital on the migratory and professional trajectory of the mover in the host context. It therefore questions the very concept of human capital valorisation and management in the destination country in comparative perspective from three sample groups (from two distinct countries of origin) and a departure from very heterogenous conditions.
- The question how education affects migration decisions to stay in the host context, to return to the home country or to move onward. Considered key aspects thus relate to inquire the significance of educational opportunities and institutions and correspondingly defined priorities for the life course.

Parental (educational) strategies are thus analysed firstly through the lens of the 'individualism index' (IND) for the life-deep dimension that compares education in the light of the triad of migration decisions, experiences and strategies. In particular this concern refers to the interrelation of objectives, images and priorities for the migratory trajectory. The data on this issue shall be thus compared through the lens of individualist and collectivist patterns, with particular reference to the post-communism period.

Chapter 5 is positioned on the temporal axis of the lifelong learning paradigm. The analysis builds on the concepts of embodied and institutionalised state of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1983), and thus on the "long-lasting process of embodiment or incorporation that requires personal effort" which is "accumulated in a lifelong process of socialization". The provision for a transcultural space and corresponding practices corroborates the parental desire to participate and live in both worlds – physically and virtually - and the children's need for defining its sense of belonging. Circulating cultural capital within the created transcultural environment plays a significant role for the formulation of identity, as they provide competencies for its perception and performance.

The lifelong dimension of learning and training is central in this regard, as competence transmission does not solely refer to initial acquisition but rather to long-term maintenance and cultivation of knowledge and skills.

Fig. 2: The complementarity of the three categories of analysis in the context of identity formation

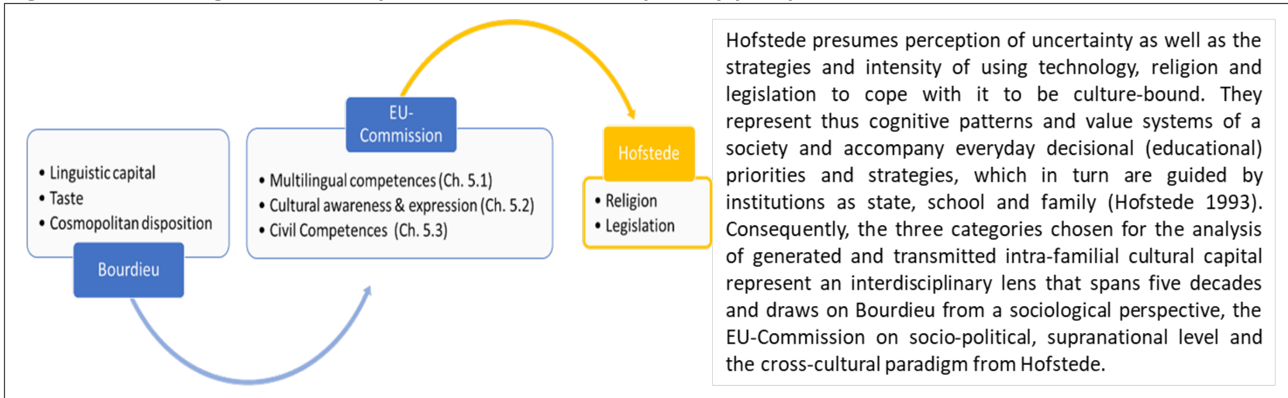


The Hofstedian 'Uncertainty Avoidance Index' (UAI) (cf. Ch. 2.3.2) has been the analytic key for the comparative examination. This cultural dimension has been allocated to the overarching question on the decisions related to the generation and utilisation of cultural capital over the life course of the parents and the children. Core contents refer to priorities of educational choices and question the consistency and scope of cultural capital processing. Accordingly, scores for Germany and Romania[14] are 65 and 90 for this cultural dimension, thus several contrasting cognitive and behavioural patterns among the sample groups had been expected implying different attitudes towards unpredictable events and consequently differing approaches to cope with them.

Ways for legitimating uncertain situations are often individuated in religion, technology and legislation. Whereas the latter are meant to guide processes of daily life, religious belief, practice and institutions are thought to corroborate individual human destiny. Indeed, the central role of religion in society persists due to a natural interest and inquisitiveness on the human existence and the afterlife, which cannot be satisfied by scientifically verifiable answers, but to a certain extent by interpretational frameworks of the world that religions provide (Hogg et al. 2010). It is further widely confirmed that religious practices and institutions are pivotal for the entire migratory process, as they have a crucial agency on identity formation and integration dynamics, providing socio-psychological and material resources for unknown or rather unexpected situations (Cingolani 2009; Ambrosini, Naso and Paravati 2018).

[14] All country values established by Hofstede and peers can be found and verified at the website: https://geerthofstede.com/research-and-vsm/dimension-data-matrix/

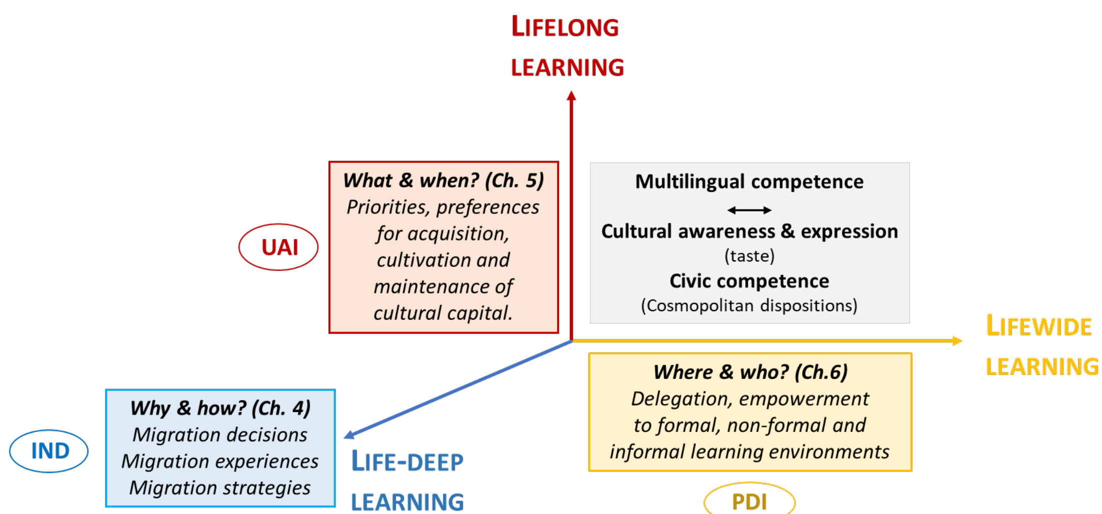
Fig. 3: Three categories of analysis from an interdisciplinary perspective



Chapter 6 is located on the spatial, and thus lifewide axis. The hermeneutic focus will be thus on exploring the function assigned to different educational credentials and institutions (Kraaykamp, van Eijck 2010) and thus the motivation behind actual transmission and modes of skills and competences. The assigned functions, empowerments and the delegation will be examined and exemplified for each milieu (in school, in associations and at home) to understand the mechanisms behind the choices made for skill formation.
Preferences and choices of strategies for cultural capital transmission in transcultural migrant families from a life-course perspective are the central concern of both sections. Accordingly, a retrospective analysis of the migrant's cultural capital acquisition, maintenance and cultivation in the country of origin shall be opposed to that of the 2.0 and 2.5 generation (Rumbaut 1994) immigrants in the host context. The 'power distance index' (PDI) will guide the data analysis. This cultural dimension points to the question which functions, assigned roles, responsibilities and empowerments are delegated by parents for the sake of the child's education to educational institutions. Accordingly, it investigates on parental decisions for the lifewide dimension, and thus for the choice of educational environments.

The complete picture of the dimensions, categories and analytic key concepts is thus presented as follows:

Fig. 4: Analytical framework (Hofstedian cultural dimensions)



As Tang and Koveos (2008) remind us the indicators for the Hofstedian cultural dimensions lack to address global and cultural dynamics sufficiently. This might represent a potential problem if the sample has a rather heterogenous set of variables (such as age, educational background, marital status etc.). However, this study compares a sample group within the same receiving context and with homogenous indicators concerning the generation of the interviewed parents, the educational background, the familial status at the time of the educational decision-making. Accordingly, to explain educational decisions the analysis points on cultural differences which in turn take into account global-cultural alterations in the same way for all sample respondents. Further to this, respondents were also asked to outline cultural capital acquisition and cultivation in their childhood. Accordingly, it has been adopted a comparative diachronic perspective on both levels, that considers the continuation of familial habitus over two generations in the light of the socio-historical contexts.

This study derived from a strong personal research interest that grounds in biographic and categoric parallels (nationality, group allocation) of the author with the study target groups (in particular sample group 3, German respondents). As reflectivity informs positionality (Holmes 2020) the author assumed during the research design and conduction a dual perspective as researcher on the one hand, and mother within a transnational familial context on the other hand.
Thus, own experiences, thought and behavioural patterns as well as decisions were reflected and questioned during the data collection and analysis, and were thus incorporated into the entire research process, which represented a substantial added value.

PART 1 – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1: A FRAMEWORK OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Answers to questions why, how and where people move have changed significantly over time.
A mobile 21st century- modernity can be distinguished or characterized by being opposed to past forms of mobility and its agency (Forsey 2015). Castles and his peers evidence the global character of the "Age of Migration", the population movements that make the difference to former periods: "the way it affects more and more countries and regions, and its linkages with complex processes affecting the entire world. (…) international migration has never been as pervasive, or as socio-economically and politically significant, as it is today" (Castles, et al. 2014: 317).
This chapter strives drawing a picture of contemporary high-skilled mobility as a branch of ongoing international migration processes towards development and social transformation within the European space. Therefore, the following overview attempts to map chronologically research, perspectives and events on labour mobility in Europe to lay down the altering trajectory of the contemporary labour migrant.
A first outline on migration featured in pre-and post-1989- Europe shall illustrate the changing patterns of mobility during the socio-political and economic transformations of its member states over the last decades. Particular attention will be paid to post-1989 migration in the Central and Eastern European countries, as most of them belonging to the category of latest entry members of the Union, by focusing on the participation in the European labour market and socio-economic consequences on micro and macro level. Subsequent to this overview, the figure of the contemporary high-skilled migrant will be carved out by considering the changing morphology that goes along with the diversity of migratory ambitions.

1.1 PLACES: European mobility within the 'Age of Migration'

International migration flows of the last half century were triggered by decisive socio-cultural, economic and political change that generated a new global flexibility. The Information-Technology Revolution started in the mid-20th century and intensified significantly to its end. Constantly improved communication and transportation possibilities and facilitated financing opportunities (Castles, et al. 2014; Chiswick 2005) through wage differences in sending countries made it "normal for people to think beyond national borders and to cross them frequently for all types of reasons" (Castles, et al. 2014: 320). The common distinction between permanent and temporal migration became thus soon insufficient to map and explain national, transnational or international mobilities that received increasing attention on micro and macro level.
From academic perspective, traditional studies suggest long-term migration trajectories that depart from the country of origin and have their final destination in the receiving context, where they generate subsequently an integration on economic, cultural and social level. Trenz and Triandafyllidou (2017) highlight the non-applicability of classical distinctions between country of origin and destination that come along with the incoherence of migrant communities distinguished by class or ethnicity. On that account, the cultural anthropologist Nina Glick Schiller and her peers defined the concept of transnationalism as "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross-national boundaries" (Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc 1994: 23). Social fields refer thus to experiences, institutions or organizations that generate categories of identity and link the country of origin and settlement (*Ibid.*, Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). With the introduction of the transnational migration concept the migrant figure and position in the sending and receiving society was hence

called into question. Instead of solely temporal, spatial and causal distinctions of migration processes, scholars considered a more stratified modal dimension of mobility and referred now to movers who are mentally, virtually and physically wandering between at least two realities to be connected with both in real time and throughout the world[1]. Back-and-forth migration trajectories and processes pursued by movers thus create a pool of transnational habits, patterns of consumption, communication and life style, that makes them feel here and there at home – "they live between two worlds" (Pries 2010: 45).
Drawing on Russell King's (2002) arguments, migration theory acts on the assumption of indigent and deprived persons who move to better their life situation and are mainly driven by the economic and political situation in their origin context. However, this does not represent the picture of contemporary migration in general and European mobility in particular, that have changed their spatial and timely frames. An international body of research does increasingly criticize academic shortcomings and claims for new conceptual frameworks towards an adequate consideration of contemporary mobility and migration. Whereas Castles and colleagues (2014) and Treibel (2008) highlight blurring barriers between different population movements, as for instance migration and tourism, King (2002) refers to old dichotomies of migration study, as skilled vs unskilled or legal vs. illegal migration, that are increasingly overlapping. Forsey (2015: 768f.) indicts academic eschewing of serious middle-class studies and instead presenting "stylized and polarized images of international migration, that of high-flying corporate elites (…) and desperate, poverty-stricken labour migrants and asylum seekers (…) [that] "misses much of what is actually happening in contemporary migration scenes".
Europe experienced several geographical shifts in its migratory history of the last century, where traditional oversea-movements were replaced by an increasing intra-European mobility and immigration from north-African countries. In the era of the Iron Curtain socio-political relations among European countries decisively generated and directed migration flows. Countries expanded or confined their recruiting "hinterland", which turned some typical emigration contexts to destinations of immigration (Fassmann and Münz 1996). European migration affects nowadays a rising number of countries that receive movers with entirely new backgrounds on different levels from a variety of sending countries. This situation generates issues, concerns and benefits on all levels and spheres of society. The notion on the diversity of migration destinations accompanies the variety of motivations for people to leave their home context that can actually change during the migration trajectory of the single person and hence steer the experience in a completely different direction. In its initial intention, mobility can occur for study or tourism or for the sake of family reunion, which remains one of the most prominent entry categories in many receiving contexts. It hence generates completely new trajectories, on the path of self-realization, advancement or the pursuit of a different lifestyle (Castles et al. 2014).

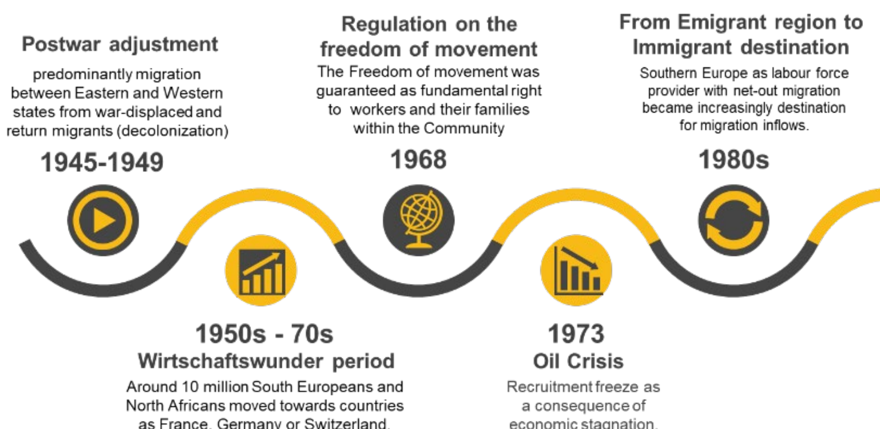
1.1.1 Labour migration in Europe before 1989

The post-war era and its aftermaths altered European migration patterns on a spatial and modal level. Emigration to the United States, Canada and Oceania starkly decreased in the 1960s[2].

[1] Glick Schiller (et.al 1995) emphasizes the importance of considering transnational processes within migration studies as those being an essential part of the migrant's daily life and all emotional shades, as concern and fears. Transnational migration can be further distinguished by weak and strong forms of transnationalism. Engbersen and his peers refer in this regard to the degree of attachment to the home and destination context, and hence the level of integration in the receiving country (Engbersen et al. 2013).
[2] Between 1950 and 1959 2.7 Million Europeans had emigrated to mostly USA, Canada, Israel and other non-European countries (Fassmann and Münz 1996).

Economic reconstruction was spurred by intensified production and investment in the highly developed European countries, demographic change and endeavours towards a free migration zone in a period of "European Fordism" (Geddes and Scholten 2016; King et al. 2000; Verwiebe et al. 2014) transmuted Europe to a global immigration continent.
The European post-war migration history reveals three patterns that caused main flows before and right after 1989: the arrival of guest-worker and colonial migrants; family reunification that transformed temporal mobility into permanent migration, post-1980 asylum refugees in search for protection (Hansen 2003).

Fig. 1.1: Stations of the European post-war migration history[3]



Between 1945 and 1949 European migration took predominantly between Eastern and Western states place. Millions of war-displaced people moved to Germany, whereas western European countries as Great Britain, France and Belgium received inflows from return migrants. Decolonization had caused migration from or back to overseas colonies and territories and played an important role for mobility flows in the following decades. Especially western countries as UK, the Netherlands and France were facing mobility inflows of workers from former colonies, most of them with guaranteed citizenship rights in the destination context (Castles 2006; Kaya 2002; Zimmermann 2005).
South-North migration marked the period after 1950 as numbers confirm (Fassmann and Münz 1996). The Wirtschaftswunder period raised the bar for labour demand that could not be satisfied with the autochthonous population. Economic disparities divided Europe into labour exporting and importing contexts (Kaya 2002). The guest worker era was initiated; economic migrants were attracted on a market determining basis[4]. Whereas several western countries as the United Kingdom, France and Switzerland had done pioneering work with systematic labour recruitment which was neither expected nor wanted to be of permanent nature, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands would follow their example only several years later. The migrants provided what King cites a "reserve army of labour" for Northern industries that contributed decisively to new socio-economic market developments, as the international division of labour (King et al. 2000: 5).
Receiving contexts, as for instance Switzerland became soon dependent on foreign workers. However, there was a common interest in restrictions to sketch the institutional frame for the temporal migration and to prevent the workers from settlement in the destination country. As

[3] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.
[4] The German government negotiated collaboration schemes with Italy in 1955, followed by Greece and Spain in 1960, by Turkey in 1961 and in further years cooperation agreements were also signed with Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia (Hansen 2003, Castles 2006).

Castles puts it: “The idea was to ensure rotation by recruiting workers for a limited period, restricting their rights, and minimizing family reunion” (Castles 2006: 742).
Until the 1960s the southern-Europe boarding country systematically controlled recruited workers, who were not allowed to apply for a permanence that went beyond their contracted working period. Only in the following decades, restrictions on family migration and permanent settling were loosened as a reaction to pressure from the Italian government and the need for valorisation strategies (Castles et al. 2014). Similar situations of implemented guestworker systems with limitations were faced by other Western European receiving contexts, that systematically made concessions for family migration and access for other job forms (Castles 2006).
Member states of the European Community further framed migration on an institutional basis with the implementation of the regulation in 1968 that confirmed the freedom of movement to be a

“fundamental right of workers and their families; whereas mobility of labour within the Community must be one of the means by which the worker is guaranteed the possibility of improving his living and working conditions and promoting his social advancement, while helping to satisfy the requirements of the economies of the Member States” (Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 of the Council of 15 October 1968 on freedom of movement for workers within the Community: 6).

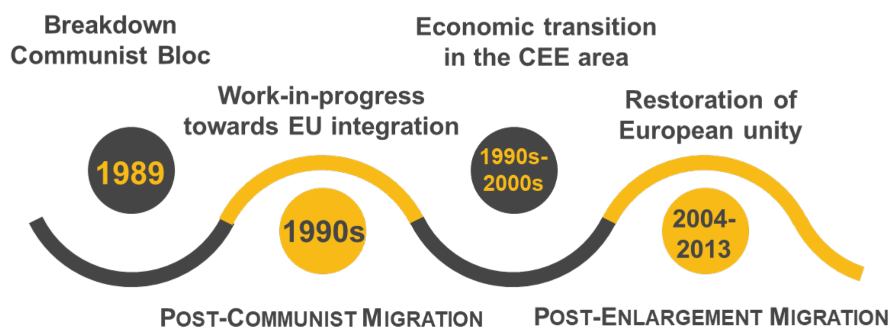
Recchi and Favell (2009) note in this regard the extraordinary character of the European project, in which mobility is a central element. In fact, the Treaty of Rome of 1957 guaranteed inherently “free movement of persons, services and capital” between the member states (Treaty of Rome 1957:5) and thus set the scene for the abolition “of barriers which divide Europe” (*Ibid.*: 4).
However, even though international working conditions in the European space had improved and migratory endeavours were facilitated, labour movement was not increasing in the following years. Improved life quality and balanced wages in the member states are considered main reasons for the rather declining intra-European mobility in these years, which however was partly balanced by a rising non-EU immigration. The Oil crisis in 1973 is considered a beginning period of economic stagnation, that curtailed immigration as a consequence of the “recruitment freeze” of new labour force. Along with this there was a growing number of companies that transferred to developing countries to decrease the costs of their production. This strategy made part of neoliberal policies of the 1970s and resulted in unemployment of numerous workers and labour migrants (Castles et al. 2014; Castles 2016; Kaya 2002; Zimmermann 2005).
The expected rise in return migration at that point of time actually did not take place since a significant share of foreign labour force decided to remain and settle with their family in the receiving country (Castles et al. 2014). The rotation principle that had actually defined temporary labour recruitment was breaking down. This in turn rendered family migration of guest workers and colonial workers a significant migration pattern, that was characterized by a growing formation of ethnic minorities (Castles 2016). A rising cultural diversity within the Community was accompanied by socio-cultural consequences. Along with this development came a politicization of the immigration issue in the affected destination countries, that had been caused by and in turn generated xenophobic anti-migration sentiments within the population, which would reach their cruel peaks in countries of stark immigration in the beginning 1990s.
The principle of unrestricted movement of goods and persons within the borders of the Union accompanied the construction of ‘fortress Europe’ and thus a restraint of undesired immigration (Bade 2003). The apparent open European states were thus only accessible at the margins. Even though accepting a high number of migrants, their rights were restricted; in other words “EU states, it could be argued, offer fairly extensive rights to those that are ‘in’, but they also make it increasingly difficult for people to get ‘in’” (Geddes and Scholten 2016: 13).

Return migration played an important role in the European migration scenario of the second half of the 20th century. Even though massive mobility flows marked the socio-political context of mostly western member states, migration cannot be seen as "one-way-road" (Fassmann and Münz 1996: 29). Returnees shaped the socio-political and economic scenario of their home contexts and would gain further scientific attention with emerging theories towards this phenomenon (Levitt 1998, Glick Schiller et al. 1995). Emigration of high-skilled workers from the CEE countries in pre-1989 was determined by an "either-or decision", since limited opportunities for return migration due to the restrictive policies towards migration in the home country stopped several migrants to leave their home context. It is presumed that approximately 2 million people with a considerable share of highly skilled emigrated from East to West. The picture of Southern Europe as labour force provider with net-out migration rates blurred with the beginning transformation from emigration to immigration destination in the 1980s, when they became "for the first time in their history (…) a magnet for a growing quantity of immigrants" (King et al. 2000: 7).

1.1.2 Post-1989 labour migration flows from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)[5]

Okolski (2012) outlines several milestones and developments within the post-1989 migration scenario that will lead the following discussion on major dynamics and outcomes with particular respect to movements from CEE countries.

Fig. 1.2: Station of the European post-1989 history



Firstly, the breakdown of the Communist bloc and the resulting ending bipolarity.
Massive migrations since World War II flooded Europe in the period between 1989 and 1992 with the collapse of the Soviet Union and during the wars in the multi-ethnic Yugoslavian Republic (Bade 2003). Even though tensions in countries separated by the Iron Curtain augmented in the 1970s and 1980s, fewer than 100.000 individuals were able to leave their home country due to restrictive politics (Breinbauer 2007). Citizens of CEE countries had moved during communism predominantly among member states of the former Soviet bloc.

Secondly, new political entities and work-in-progress towards European integration.
Massive transformations on socio-political and economic level required strategies towards the European integration process, which received an apparent priority in the beginning 1990s. The Maastricht Treaty from 1992, also known as Treaty on the European Union, and the creation of a European Monetary Union set first and essential milestones (Geddes and Scholten 2016). An

[5] The category of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has no consistent definition in the literature, but usually indicates former socialist states of the European Eastern Bloc. In this work, CEE refers in accordance with the OECD classification to the following countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, and the three Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

upcoming "Euro-enthusiasm" (Bardi et al. 2002) from the states that had been undergoing a transformation from socialist to capitalist systems yielded applications for membership, and pre-accession processes of twelve states in 1993.

Thirdly, economic transition in the CEE area.
Dialogue and collaboration between the European Union and former Soviet countries had been initiated on account of apprehension of large-scale migration flows from the East, which however never occurred as predicted by a large number of demographers, politics and scientists (Geddes and Scholten 2016).
Post-1989 migration flows were shaped by several conditions, whereas one of the most influential is represented by the fact that the CEE region was not homogenous with respect to its migration history. The region was divided in countries with sending tradition, and those that had been on the receiving sides for decades. Eastern Germany, Hungary and the Czech Republic can be allocated to the latter until the breakdown of the Communist regime, whereas countries as Romania, Poland, Bulgaria and Ukraine had been considered emigration countries since the 1970s. CEE countries had experienced very few migration inflows in the post-war period (*Ibid.*). A large number of citizens of the former USSR moved simply to a neighbouring country to keep risks and costs low. The missing migration experience, since most of the migrants had been living under socio-economic isolation and severe exit restrictions for decades, and the lack of cultural knowledge contributed to the choice of surrounding destinations. Russia did consequently transform to one of the world's largest magnet for migrants, also Czech Republic and Hungary attracted a significant number of migrants coming from former USSR, Romania and Bulgaria. The net migration outflow from the CEE countries[6] amounted to approximately 3.2 million, of which an estimated share of 60% came from Romania and Bulgaria. Scholars however highlight that the migration has been in most cases circular and temporary, a fact that is blurring migration statistics (Engbersen et al. 2010).
Irregular migration from Poland, Romania, Albania and Bulgaria to Western and Southern Europe appeared to be a common migration pattern in the 1990s. The choice of migration destinations was partly determined by working opportunities, but paradoxically also by measures towards a European integration, since the establishment of the Schengen zone had also resulted in a reinforcement of European external border control (Breinbauer 2007; Castles et al. 2014).
However, "unauthorized migrants" were turned into legal workers with the implementation of guest worker programs that framed post-1992 temporary labour migration to fill job vacancies in specific segments. Those had emerged after socio-political developments in the Western countries after the collapse of the Communist regimes in 1989. Western European countries concluded bilateral cooperation agreements with states from the former Communist bloc as Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, that sent labour force on a seasonal basis, working as nurses, au-pairs or craftspeople. Whereas the trend of seasonal or circular mobility was initially ascribed to South European migration, it established as common pattern in the following years also among movers from several other European regions, who engaged in circular cross-border labour movements (Leon-Ledesma and Piracha 2004; Martin 2006; Verwiebe et al. 2014).
In 1997 approximately 780.000 Eastern Europeans from post-Soviet or Eastern European states resided in Western European countries, which corresponded to not even 5% of the total foreign population. One fifth arrived from Romania, 10% from Hungary and 50% came from Poland[7] (Klokatova 2010). However, Migration destinations altered. Priory privileged host contexts as

[6] In this context reference is made to the Central and Eastern European countries that had later joined the Union in 2004 (EU-8) and 2007 (EU-2).
[7] 65% of them were living in Germany, 7.9 % in France, 7.5 % in Italy (Klokatova 2010).

Germany and Austria were increasingly substituted by the United Kingdom and Ireland (Engbersen et al. 2013; Verwiebe et al. 2014). Even though, temporal migration had been facilitated by several states through temporal schemes, most of them for the sake of seasonal work, regular labour migration was still a restricted and critical endeavour in the Union.

Fourthly, restoration of European unity.
In 2004 the Union extended its boundaries towards Eastern Europe and admitted ten countries, most of which CEE states with Socialist background, to join the European Union. Along with the enlargement politics came also the introduction of the EU-wide law that replaced previous provisions, and specified the freedom of mobility and residence to all EU citizens and their family in the member states (Boswell and Geddes 2010).
The further Eastern expansion in 2007 and 2013 and thus the entry of Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia contributed to what Favell calls “probably the most dramatically evolving and changing context of migration in the developed world” (Favell 2008: 711). This occurrence generated a new migration potential on account of low wages and a significant difference of life standards among the united European member states (Klokatova 2010). In fact, the widened - from the Atlantic to the Ural spanning- European space resulted in migration flows from the new member states that had been increasing from 900.000 Eastern and Central European migrants coming from states that had joined the EU-15 in 2004 to 2.3 million in 2011[8] (Verwiebe et al. 2014).
Western states implemented different receiving strategies and politics towards a potential Eastern labour immigration. As a reaction to upcoming migration waves and the concern of unfavourable labour market dynamics, the majority of the EU-15-member states decided to restrict the entry of external labour workforce from new EU member states, except for Cyprus and Malta that had been exempted from this decision due to small size and their favourable economic situation (Klokatova 2010). Whereas states as UK, Sweden and Ireland implemented the principle of “freedom of movement of workers” right away by opening their borders, other states preferred a transition period for the eight new CEE entries. In this context Favell and Recchi (2009: 222f.) note that the market of movement that ought to be free was rather “incomplete”, and did not correspond to “the well-governed scenario of EU theorists and policy makers, largely because sharp national differences persist in the reception of migrants, and longer-term barriers of exclusion – both institutional and informal – still come into play.” The transition period took up to 7 years and postponed the key EU-right of free movement (Geddes and Scholten 2016; Klokatova 2010).
Two of the three last entries, Bulgaria and Romania, faced massive emigration waves after 2007 to preferred migration destinations in Southern Europe, that spawn economic consequences, but also social and cultural imports, for the sending societies. The EU-enlargement triggered not merely migration from CEE countries towards west, but also sending countries transformed after their accession to receiving countries.
The 2008 global financial crisis paused the economic growth within the Union that had been visible in the first years of the millennium, with unemployment peaks, particularly perceived in Southern Europe. However, Trenz and Triandafyllidou (2017) highlight in this context that the crisis did not stop migration but rather diversified flows within and outside the Union. Labour migration became a new meaning and more visibility on the public agenda during the period of crisis (Hoesch 2018).
The Great Recession of 2007-2009 involved austerity programmes and embanked temporarily intra-European migration, but turned several crisis-affected countries in the Mediterranean region where

[8] This transitory and often temporary kind of mobility has been conceptualized by international scholarship and labelled as “incomplete” or “liquid” migration in the context of work and settlement processes, which appeared as an “emergence of individualized migration patterns in which migrants try their luck in new and multiple countries of destination, benefitting from open borders and labour markets (Engbersen et al. 2013: 960).

the financial-economic emergency was put on top of a politically instable and socially problematic overall situation (Ricucci 2017) to emigration contexts. Supported by data on migration flows between 2008 and 2011 Ricucci (*Ibid.*) argues that intra-European short-range mobility from Italian, Irish, Greek and Spanish citizens increased whereas Romanian and Polish migration decreased during the indicated period. Mobility flows were primarily motivated by enhanced employment possibilities in the receiving context, family and lifestyle migration played a minor role for the abovementioned movers coming from one of the "crisis-beaten" countries. Migration trajectories were gradually challenged through the closing of national labour markets and restricted access to social services, and thus a widening of regional disparities within Europe, especially for the Southern and South-Eastern parts (Castles et al. 2014; Trenz and Triandafyllidou 2017). Emigration destinations are predominantly represented by Western European countries as Germany, the Netherlands and the UK, whereas Germany remains the main destination for movers from Southern European states (Italian immigration increased by 35 %, Spanish by 27%) and Central and Eastern Europe (Ricucci 2017).
The Lisbon "reform" treaty that was implemented in 2009 partly intercepted upcoming occurrences by providing a common migration and asylum policy that had not been part of legal predecessor agreements, such as 1992 Maastricht, Amsterdam (1999) and Nice (2001) treaties (Geddes and Scholten 2016).
The refugee crisis of 2015 revealed a complex scenario for the European member states and required measures and regulation compliances to deal with the massive number of asylum applications. Immigration to CEE countries is and has been generally low compared to its Northern, Western and Southern neighbour states[9] (Geddes and Scholten 2016).

This chapter has outlined pre-and post-1989 migration patterns in the light of developed and implemented endeavours towards European integration. Subsequent to this overview the following chapter draws a picture of movers in the contemporary European migration arena and their perception on the labour market to eventually sketch a contemporary figure of the talented professional mover in the 21st century knowledge society.

1.2 PLAYERS: Mobility in the contemporary European migration arena

Political and economic transformations at the end of the East-West conflict had fostered the globalisation process towards a digital revolution and a service and knowledge society.
A paradigm shift had been caused by the transformation of migratory processes and a changing morphology of its actors in the beginning 21st century. Whereas the Fordist era had provided for decades reliable parameters for migration with regard to destinations, work, duration and transport means, the situation changed significantly with a progressing globalization that consequently altered pre- and post-migratory processes and dynamics on micro and macro level (King 2002).
According to the publication on Migration Trends on behalf of the European Commission (COM 2017b) that draws on data provided by the United Nations, a constantly rising international migration, which has increased by more than 300 % from 93 to 244 million between 1960 and 2016, characterises the contemporary global scenario. The number of movers is increasing, and the quota of stayers in question due to challenging conditions on socio-political and economic level: nowadays, worldwide 3% of the global population does not live in their country of birth. The share has remained proportionally the same, which is not surprising considering that the world population

[9] Only 10 % of the total applications for asylum were directed in 2014 to the 11 EU CEE member states (66.700 out of a total of 625.000) (Geddes and Scholten 2016).

has been massively grown from 3 to 7.5 billion during the indicated period. Putting the lenses on Europe however, this growth did not occur to the same extent. On the contrary, population growth is mainly driven by immigration and demographics of the single nations are increasingly marked by intra-European mobility. Therefore, 11,3% of the residents in the EU are born in another country, of which approximately one third holds the citizenship of other EU member states; the majority was thus born outside the EU.

1.2.1 Movers in the European Migration scenario

With reference to the international body of work, on new migration tendencies (King 2002, Castles et al. 2014), spawned by the globalization processes and directed through socio-political occurrences in the last three decades, the following intends to draw a picture of four contemporary mover types in the European migration area.
Particular focus within the discussion and presentation of related theoretical concepts will be put on their perception on the labour market in the contemporary European migration arena. The categories represent classifications in accordance with international literature and legislation. However, they do not entail rigid demarcations among them and are rather blurry and transversal to other categories.

Fig. 1.3: Four categories of contemporary movers in the European space

In order to set a legal framework, the 1951 Refugee Convention defined the category of refugees and outlined their rights as well as obligations of the signing member states towards them. Accordingly, refugee status can request anybody with “a wellfounded fear of being persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (King 2002: 96).
Refugees grew in numbers due to a political escalation in several conflict areas and present the most disadvantaged group with very restricted access rights and few entitlements to services. According to the European Asylum Support Office, the European Union received 65.000 applications for international protection, which corresponds to a 20 % increase compared to the prior year (EASO 2020). In 2014 approximately 60 million people were fleeing from socio-political circumstances in their home country, the highest number in history and almost doubled with respect to 38 million in 2005 (Hoesch 2018).
According to Hoesch (*Ibid.*) refugees represent one of the most “unwanted” migrant categories, since quantity and characteristics cannot be aligned to labour market demands. A further issue that has been nourished since the post-1989 intra-European developments are distrust sentiments within the European population towards the motivation for numerous asylum applications, that are

doubted to be out of economic rather than socio-political reasons. Applicants are consequently suspected to profit from the welfare system rather than shelter and protection. However, on the basis of several studies conducted, it can be presumed that the majority of migrants with refugee status settle in economically stable and productive regions (*Ibid*.). Tightened entry regulations often force them into the category of long-term illegal or irregular migrants, who are "sensitive to labour demand conditions", due to their lacking rights (Castles 2011: 315ff.).

The European Commission draws on the definition of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and refers to irregular migration[10] as "movement of persons to a new place of residence or transit that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries"[11]. Irregular movers, who passed the borders most of the times legally, often pursue a career in the 'informal economy' after their migratory status has changed. These occupations do often exist solely because of the presence of irregular migrants[12]
Competitive advantage in international economy is generated by illegal migrants: the employer reduces costs for taxes and wages and consequently overall costs for production, which generate a supply that would not have existed otherwise. In the private sector the two-fold significance of irregular workers becomes eminent, when taking the example of care work. Several nation states implemented social security systems late and often insufficiently for the actual needs of an aging European population, where the number of potential employees decreases but the share of those in need for care will constantly rise (Hoesch 2018). In this regard, the international academic community has put several efforts into transnational studies on global care work within a migratory context and female labour mobility (Anthias, Kontos, Morokvasic-Mueller 2013; Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi 2019; Vianello 2018; Zanfrini 2019). Headwords as 'invisible women' (Anderson 1999) point to the developments in the care-giving and –taking area. We witness hence an increasing necessity of care work that is privately financed and contemporary satisfied to a large proportion by irregular workers in the European Union, who in turn contribute to state finances with consumption and the payment of indirect taxes (e.g. VAT or tobacco tax). The supply of affordable care workers further contributes to the higher employability rate of autochthonous women, as they are usually in charge for kin-care work. The possibility to employ foreign labour unburdens family members and make them available for the labour market (Hoesch 2018). This is supported by a vast body of research referring in the Italian context to "Mediterranean familialism" and thus the "a heavy reliance on a gendered and inter-generationally structured family solidarity (…) as a specific characteristic of southern European welfare regimes" [13](Saraceno 2016: 315), where "low fertility and traditional caregiver arrangements coexist with cash-heavy welfare programs and limited service provision for youth and the aged" (Calzada and Brooks 2013: 515). Ambrosini (2015:

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[10] 'Irregular migration' is used as synonym to the term 'illegal migration'.

[11] https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/irregular-migration_en

[12] Part of the informal sector is formed by the so-called 'shadow economy', which is particularly significant for the gross domestic product (GDP) in Southern European states. According to data from 2005 it made up 27% in Greece, 24 % in Italy and 21 % in Spain and Portugal. However, there has not been examined any direct relation or trigger between the quantity of irregular migrants and activities of the shadow economy. On contrary, a proportionally small share of irregular migrants are occupied in the shadow economy sectors (Hoesch 2018).

[13] According to a comparative study on familialism conducted by Saraceno, Italy reveals a very high extent of familial obligations, in duration and range of relationships involved. She describes characteristics of familialism with reference to the financial support of children, this implies a sustenance independent from age that is not limited to parents but also to the broader family core. The roles in sustaining, either financially or non-economically, are later to be reversed, and care is provided by the offspring to their parenthood or kin (Saraceno 2016).

442) refers to a "parallel welfare system, informal and half-hidden" that develops in Italy and other Mediterranean countries, where care work through immigrants becomes an option that is "cheaper and more respectful of the habits and dignity of the elderly" than relying in institutions as nursery homes. Taking the example of care work the ambiguity of irregular migrants is evident. The 'liberal paradox' as coined by Hollified (cited by Hoesch), thus appears, where state politics on the one side strive to restrict and control migration but the economic situation of the contemporary nation state on the other hand side generate migration through free trade, transnational labour markets and international labour division. The intersection between encouraged liberal openness and the reality of exclusion and marginalisation do thus result contradictory. Along with this paradox, nation states consequently accept irregular migration up to a certain degree for its economic benefit (Hoesch 2018)[14].
The post-1989 European scenario revealed a relatively high-numbered irregular immigration from CEE countries as Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania to the Southern and Western part of the continent, in particular to Germany, Italy and Spain, which was due to the restrictive immigration policies applied by European states. From the perspective of the movers, migration for low-and high-skilled work force was seen as solution and "non-violent response to sudden economic collapse and unsuccessful attempts to promote economic recovery in the 1990s" (Engbersen et al 2010: 19). Seasonal working schemes, as outlined in the previous chapter, legalised temporally the permanence and residence of the foreign labour force (*Ibid.*).

The third category that determines decisively the European migration scenario (Castles et. al 2014; King 2002) refers to an altering East-West migration, that had been triggered with an EU enlargement in 2004, 2007 and 2013 extending the freedom of movement right to further 13 states, most of them situated in Central and Eastern Europe. The dissolution of borders and the promotion of mobility within the European Union fostered a reality where classic forms as settlement and temporal-seasonal migration are still consistent, but "fragmented patterns of transnational and footloose migration" (Engbersen et al. 2013: 964) with varying migratory habitus of the movers increasingly emerge. This categorization is not static but dynamic and migrants are likely to move from one state to another during their migratory trajectory (*Ibid.*), which had several effects on the skill application in sending and host country. Circular migrants were able to implement their newly acquired skills in the destination country upon return (Leon-Ledesma and Piracha 2004). This development had caught the attention of different disciplines and yielded scientific interest to reconfigure the meaning of migration and mobility in a globalised world.
In the context of transnational migration as choice of combined virtual, mental and operational living space the concept of "middling transnationals" (Conradson and Latham 2005: 229) came up, that refers to migrants who "are very much of the middle" – in both, sending and destination country. Middling transnationals thus neither point to the "transnational elites" nor to the "developing-world migrants", but to those in between these two categories, who occupy positions that comply with their qualifications or are rather of de-skilling nature.
The ICT sector is considered highly significant for economic growth and development and among the occupational fields of skilled mobility from CEE countries. According to data provided by the EU-Commission in 2018, approximately there are approximately 280000 ICT professional EU movers considering the period of post-EU-enlargement period starting in 2004, and numbers are rising.

[14] Hoesch (2018) illustrates the scenario with the question on how a world would look like without irregular migration that had been asked in an interview to Klaus Bade in 2000. Accordingly, Bade replied that entire economic sectors would break down. In Italy 20 to 30 % of the national GNP has been produced by the category of irregular migrants, in international car manufacturing approximately one third of the employed labour force are estimated to be illegal residents in the working country.

Mobility is accordingly driven by typically low wages and unfavourable working conditions in the country of origin to countries with better working and life conditions. Those on the contrast receive pressure for reducing costs and eventually outsourcing jobs into lower wage countries, which results in a vicious circle and keeps mobility in this labour sector, compared to its counterparts as the healthcare segment, relatively low. The resulting costs of lacking labour force in this sector with increasing demand are expected to be very high and policy recommendations consider short-term labour exchanges of ICT professionals as well as narrowing the age and gender gap within this sector, that is still existing (COM 2018b).

The category of academic and high-skilled migrants has caught increasingly international research interest during the last decades as being one of the most crucial resources of the contemporary knowledge society.
In 2010 approximately 28 million highly-skilled resided in the OECD states, a rise of 130% compared to 1990 (Kerr et al. 2016). Almost half of high-qualified European movers are directed to North America, whereas the USA remains the most popular destination country. There is no positive balance between European skilled emigrants directed overseas and sending talents from this region. In fact, the skill level of immigrants in EU-15 countries is lower than of those moving to other OECD states (Docquir 2006); United Kingdom takes a leading position when it comes to the reception of talented individuals in Europe, however the United States, Canada and Australia outnumber the majority of European countries[15].
The European compensation with human capital import from intra-EU mobility and incoming flows from developing countries triggers its role in the international brain debate. Data provided by the European Commission for skilled migration flows between post-Eastern-enlargement 2004 and 2016 reveals that the share of skilled movers is relatively low in the European labour arena. Considering the total employed European population medium skilled make up only 1.6%, compared to 1.4 % high-skilled movers. Leading countries for the employment of medium and high-skilled migrants in proportion to all employees are Ireland with 9%, followed by Austria (7.5%) and the UK (6%) (COM 2018b).
7.8% of all Eastern European migrants[16] move to OECD countries, whereas the skill rate in the sending countries amounts to 17.4% in general. More than one third of all migrants can be thus allocated to the category of "skilled worker" (Breinbauer 2007).

According to Chiswick (2005) the demand and actual occurrence for high-skilled migration in the late 20th century was triggered by three main factors: firstly, the Computer Revolution and the consequent widening of skill differentials; secondly the socio-economic processes related to globalization and thirdly the deriving large-scale labour immigration. The public and academic interest developed accordingly, initially however from a rather generalized and one-sided perspective, treating its actors as "a homogenous group with a strong bias towards managers in transnational firms" (Breinbauer 2007: 6).

[15] Kerr and peers (2016) further point to other spheres of skill distribution by evidencing that in more than one century, from the first award in 1901, 80 % of Nobel prizes for STEM disciplines and Economics have been conferred to participants of four countries: United States, United Kingdom, Germany and France. The leading position of the Unites States in this range is also due to the immigration of international highly skilled scientists. Recent awards assigned to US-scientist revealed that only 46 % of them were born in the United States. Further data highlights the increasing female quota of knowledge immigrants in OECD countries by 152 % in 2010 compared to 1990 that outnumbers the share of their male counterparts.
[16] The following countries are allocated to the category "Eastern Europe": includes Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia and the Ukraine (Breinbauer 2007).

Fig. 1.4: Classification of highly-skilled migrants according to Salt (1997) and Mahroum (2001)

Salt (1997)	Mahroum (2001)
1) Corporate transferees	I. Senior managers and executives
2) Technicians/visiting firemen	II. Engineers and technicians
3) Professionals	III. Scientists
4) Project specialists	IV. Entrepreneurs
5) Consultant specialists	V. Students
6) Private career development and training (seekers)	
7) Clergy and missionaries	
8) Entertainers, sportspeople and artists	
9) Business people and the independently wealthy	
10) Academics, including researchers and students	
11) Military personnel	
12) Spouses and children	

In 1997 John Salt outlined twelve categories of temporary highly skilled migrants, however without taking into consideration permanent immigrants and business travelers. Accordingly he differentiates on the one hand several occupation-specific high-skilled movers (e.g. entertainers, sportsmen and clergy) and on the other hand rather functionalistic categories (e.g. project and consultant specialists) that may account for a range of occupational sectors. The third sub-category of this classification points to family members as associated unit accounting for highly-skilled familial capital (Salt 1997).
At the beginning 21st century Mahroum (2001) pointed in his classification of high-skilled migrants to the changing dynamics triggered by socio-political developments and the diversity of migration motivations and aspirations in particular according to the occupational sector. Both classifications refer of the highly-skilled as resource with either academic or vocational training. This is crucial when considering the nation bound heterogeneity of the trajectories leading to professional titles as well the prerequisites requested to pursue certain professional paths.

John Salt emphasises the diverse educational paths and credentials required for ISCO-defined professional, managerial and technical occupations[17], ranging from occupation-specific training to formal qualifications (as university education, its equivalent or vocational training) and working experience that allows to allocate them as specialists in their field (Salt 1997). In fact, when measuring skills of international labour force with proxies such as qualification levels, titles, years of occupation or even job positions the striking differences of education and training systems in all European countries and the consequent diversity of skill resources that have a varying labour market value must be considered (Broecke 2016; COM 2016) [18].

Fig. 1.5: Classification of skill levels and impact on economic growth according to Docquier and Lodigiani (2010) and Ferrie (2011)

Docquier and Lodigiani (2010)		
Low-skilled	Medium-skilled	Highly-skilled

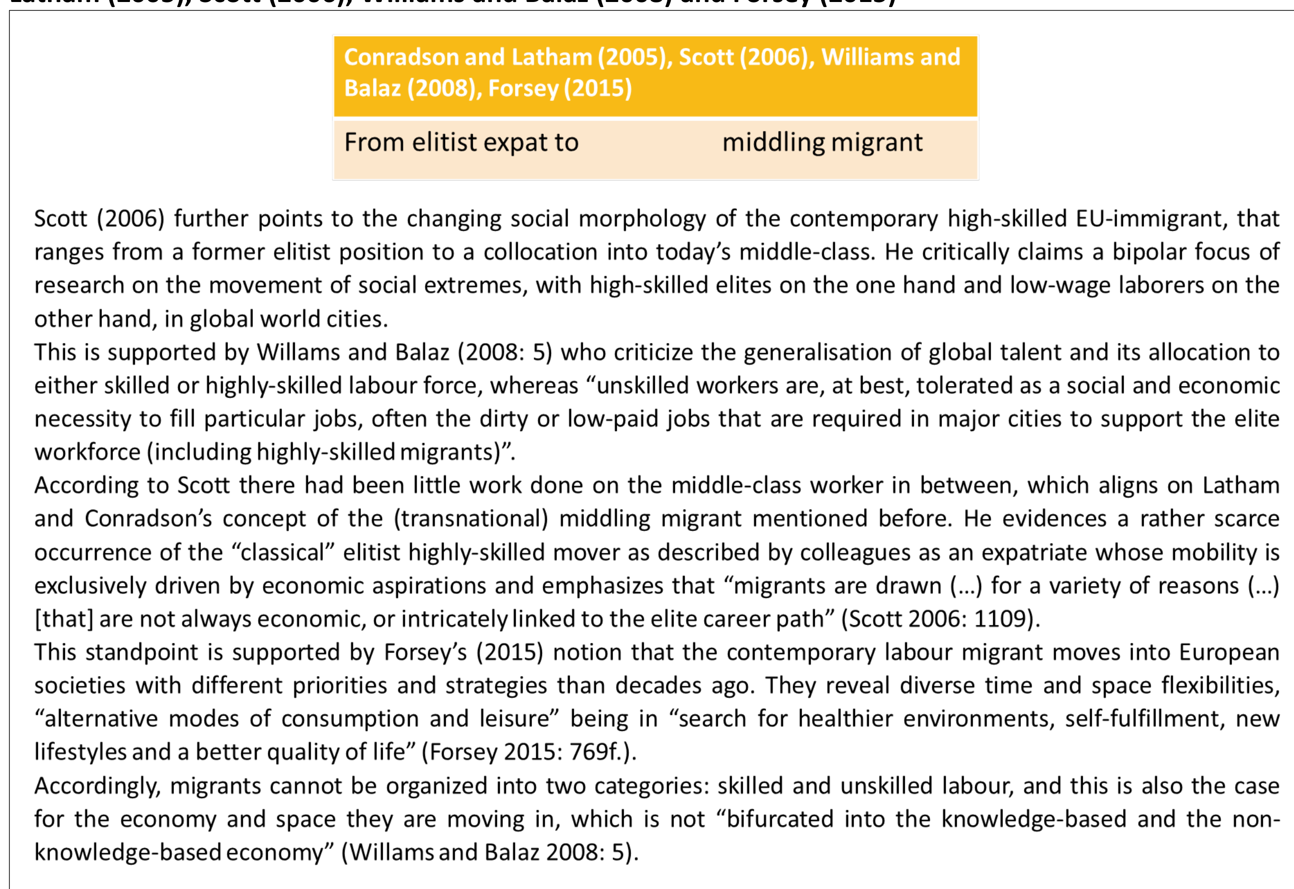
Ferrie (2011)		
High-skilled professions	→	economic growth

Docquier and Lodigiani (2010) use a distinction of three skill levels of schooling for their study on skilled diasporas abroad and business networks. They classify the workers according to their educational trajectory and thus allocate medium-skilled workers to individuals with a completed upper-secondary education and high-skilled to those with "more than an upper-secondary education". This categorization according to human capital indicators misses a differentiation between qualifications standards, form of academic or professional titles or in quantity and quality of practical work experience.
Ferrie (2011) instead draws on a rather macro-economic perspective considering for the highly skilled category those professions that are contributing the most to economic growth and is hence never static as the varying status and prestige of professional groups shows, from a temporal as from a socio-cultural and economic perspective.

[17] cf. https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/

[18] In the European space, requirements for diverse professions are context-bound and vary accordingly. Whereas medical professions, as nurses, entail for instance an academic career in some European countries, as for instance in Italy, other countries, such as Germany provide for a 3-years vocational training to gain the equivalent job title.

Fig. 1.6: From expat to middling migrant - Classification of the highly skilled according to Conradson and Latham (2005), Scott (2006), Williams and Balaz (2008) and Forsey (2015)



Conradson and Latham (2005), Scott (2006), Williams and Balaz (2008), Forsey (2015)	
From elitist expat to	middling migrant

Scott (2006) further points to the changing social morphology of the contemporary high-skilled EU-immigrant, that ranges from a former elitist position to a collocation into today's middle-class. He critically claims a bipolar focus of research on the movement of social extremes, with high-skilled elites on the one hand and low-wage laborers on the other hand, in global world cities.
This is supported by Willams and Balaz (2008: 5) who criticize the generalisation of global talent and its allocation to either skilled or highly-skilled labour force, whereas "unskilled workers are, at best, tolerated as a social and economic necessity to fill particular jobs, often the dirty or low-paid jobs that are required in major cities to support the elite workforce (including highly-skilled migrants)".
According to Scott there had been little work done on the middle-class worker in between, which aligns on Latham and Conradson's concept of the (transnational) middling migrant mentioned before. He evidences a rather scarce occurrence of the "classical" elitist highly-skilled mover as described by colleagues as an expatriate whose mobility is exclusively driven by economic aspirations and emphasizes that "migrants are drawn (...) for a variety of reasons (...) [that] are not always economic, or intricately linked to the elite career path" (Scott 2006: 1109).
This standpoint is supported by Forsey's (2015) notion that the contemporary labour migrant moves into European societies with different priorities and strategies than decades ago. They reveal diverse time and space flexibilities, "alternative modes of consumption and leisure" being in "search for healthier environments, self-fulfillment, new lifestyles and a better quality of life" (Forsey 2015: 769f.).
Accordingly, migrants cannot be organized into two categories: skilled and unskilled labour, and this is also the case for the economy and space they are moving in, which is not "bifurcated into the knowledge-based and the non-knowledge-based economy" (Willams and Balaz 2008: 5).

This section has discussed the contemporary movers in the intra-European migration area and knowledge-based economy evidencing the blurring line among the different categories from a macro perspective. The following sections will discuss the impact of skilled migration, connotated concepts of brain drain and gain and corresponding measures to stimulate brain movement.

1.2.2 A conceptual approach to the impact of skilled migration

The effects of high-skilled migration on politics, economy and cultural aspects of society have been discussed and argued for more than 50 years. In 1966 Herbert B. Grubel and Anthony D. Scott (1966) presented a first estimate of economic consequences caused by 'Brain Drain', as noted in international literature today (Grubel and Scott 1966; Stark 2005). The Brain Drain phenomenon had been coined in the 1960s by the British Royal Society to criticize the increasing emigration of British scientists to the USA, who were labelled in public discourse as disloyal movers triggering economic underdevelopment by selling their skills abroad (Beltrame 2008; Breinbauer 2007).[19]
The traditional idea of Brain Drain and consequently its conceptual twin Brain Gain implies a unidirectional positive or negative result, either profit or loss of human capital[20] (Breinbauer 2007;

[19] In the 1970s and 1980s research shifted to third countries as scholarship recognized that the phenomenon occurred rather for developing countries. However, Breinbauer (2007) calls them studies with anecdotal character as they lack empirical evidence. Rizvi (2005: 182) described the utilization of the concept Brain Drain as "highly emotive fashion" and pleads for a cautious and multidimensional approach to the issue considering the social identity of the mover.
[20] Breinbauer (2007) refers to Brain Exchange as balanced bidirectional flow and thus exchange of highly qualified. In contrast to the rather negative connotation of Brain Drain, which is questionable in the corresponding context, the

Salt 1997). This on the other hand supposes a link and loyalty of one distinctive individual to one distinctive nation, which is pretentious and not coherent with modern concepts like transnationality in a global mobile age. Accordingly, it is rather constructive and more realistic to think of the contemporary mover as a person being able to be mentally, virtually or physically present in diverse economic, cultural and socio-political contexts, and to contribute to the development of the national context that they identify with (Rizvi 2005).
Breinbauer (2007) mentions in this context that the notion of Brain Drain often overlaps with 'youth drain', referring to student mobility that had been progressively promoted and augmented on EU level, and is triggering future decision processes of skilled job freshmen.[21] The extent of Brain Drain effects is determined by the amount of human capital in the country. Concluding from this the migration-development nexus suggests that large populations and middle-income countries are expected to benefit from brain migration, whereas the opposite is the case for small and less developed nations (Hartmann and Langthaler 2009).
The two concepts Brain Overflow and Brain Waste are continuously entering the debate on skilled migration deriving from CEE countries. The first denotes to an overproduction and thus exceeding supply of qualifications compared to the demand of the market in the home country of the highly skilled. Drawing on the example of Romania, Breinbauer (2007) refers to approximately 22.000 students who obtained their PhD degree in 2002 compared to 23.000 PhDs in Germany in the same year. Taking into consideration that Germany's population exceeds Romania by four times and considering the socio-economic situation of both countries, the number of Romanian students appears oversized compared to the economic competitiveness of the country. Numerous scientists or those-to-be working in R&D consequently left either the country or transferred to the private business sector within their home country. Scholars call this phenomenon 'Horizontal Brain Drain', that happens especially in former Socialist countries *(Ibid.*).
The concept of Brain Waste instead refers to the rather scarce or non-utilisation of skills and competences of workers. Scholarship further differentiates between internal and external brain waste, whereby the first occurs in the home country, the latter in the host society (*Ibid.*).
With reference to the Italian context, contemporary motivations for Italian highly-skilled emigration can be increasingly allocated to classical economic-driven migration decisions that are taken not by choice but rather by necessity. Due to recession and lack of decent living and working conditions that balance prior efforts for the accumulation of educational and human capital especially young Italian graduates and scientists accepted to live in another country (Coccia and Pittau 2016). Unsatisfying working conditions have a two-fold implication, that often runs parallel. Accordingly, brain valorisation articulates not solely in the matching of competences and occupation but also in an appropriate compensation of skill and performance efforts.
This work argues that a stark discrepancy between both forms of human capital valorisation may lead to diverse migration decisions and trajectories, as exemplified in the graph below.

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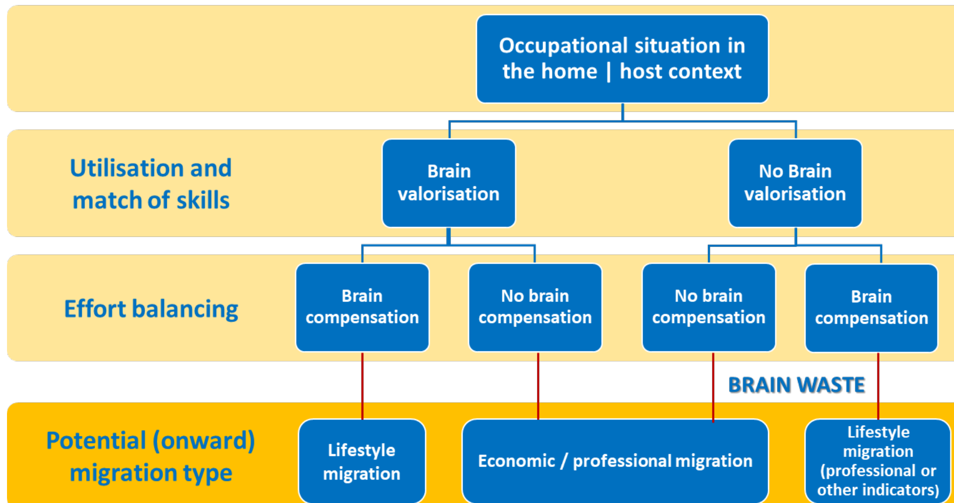
derived term of brain outflow is used in international literature on an increasingly neutral and unbiased level to describe "the emigration of underemployed or surplus labour with zero marginal productivity in the home country" (Rizvi 2005: 182). Driving forces for brain outflow may thus be considered a "Suboptimal utilization, misallocation of resources, inadequate facilities, and limited prospects in the home country" (*Ibid.).*

[21] The 2017 Career Tracking Survey of Doctorate Holders Project Report (2017) on European post-doctoral career progression from 2010 to 2016, in fact reveals the high mobility propensity of doctoral students; in 2015 40% of PhDs resided in a foreign country, the majority decides for a European member state or the US, for more than three months; the preference on mobility increases with the occupational field of the doctoral graduates: 44% researchers compared to 23% of those who decided for an occupation in another sector move.

Fig. 1.7: Simulated Scenario for economic-driven migration decisions



The simulation of the scenario for potential (non)-economic-driven migration decisions departs accordingly from the situation of brain valorisation in the home or host context, and considers as macro decisional indicator of the professional occupation is matched to the educational and cultural capital stock of the individual. However, in accordance with the above-mentioned premise it must be further questioned if the professional occupation also balances the (financial, educational, socio-cultural) efforts that the individual had invested. With reference to the brain gain concept the different potential migration types would thus lead to different extents of skill gaining in the new host society according to the occurring valorisation.
Through the channelling and creation of knowledge, highly skilled migration in particular has a multidimensional impact on the destination country, whereas the majority is assessed positively (Milio, Lattanzio et.al 2012).

Guellec and Cervantes (2002; cited in OECD 2008) propose on this purpose an overview of possible positive and negative effects of highly skilled migration for three key areas that will be briefly outlined[22]:

- (Higher) Education
  A boost of investment into education is also considered a positive side effect of skilled migration that can be generated in manifold ways. Triggered by emigrating parenthood, family members in the home context may increase investments on human capital in order to be equipped with equal opportunities for an eventual emigration or skill application in another context (cf. Ch. 6.1.4). Whereas international student mobility or eventually 2nd generation immigrants generate increased enrolment in university, academic professional mobility contributes to offset aging of university staff. However, the potential decreasing incentive for natives to pursue higher skills attainment, resulting in exclusion from high-quality institutions has been assessed a possible negative impact of international skilled migration. Further, potential opportunities to export skills raise expectations of returns in education.
- Science and technology
  Knowledge flows between sending and receiving countries trigger research and industrial activities, entrepreneurship as well as diversity and creativity. Technology transfer might occur to foreign competitors and countries and hence cause negative effects.
- Labour market

[22] Own elaboration.

> International skilled immigration reveals according to Guellec and Cervantes (2002) and Boswell and Geddes (2011) solely positive effects on the labour market in the destination country through wage moderation, business and job creation, resulting in improved productivity and reduced inflationary processes. They further facilitate and promote the mobility of other qualified workforce through networking effects. Accordingly, potential knowledge benefits are considered to be significantly large and occur on various levels. Therefore, knowledge from incoming qualified unfolds in organisations when shared through interaction at the workplace[23]. Consequently job-rotation or switching of workplaces triggers the dissemination process of knowledge as well as learning processes and knowledge development. The development of cross-border, transnational business and institutional networks is accelerated by international mobility and provide a potential cluster of expertise and experiences on local, regional and national level for the labour market (OECD 2008).

Clemens (2013) and peers (Breinbauer 2007; Docquier and Rapoport 2012) instead point to the potential positive but often underplayed outcomes for the country of origin, that are generated by economic and socio-cultural remittances. The import of human capital from natives who went abroad to receive foreign education, training or employment opportunities spawns opportunities for knowledge processing, the development of and investment in business networks and technology export. Other than inferring positively on the economic situation, remittances encourage on socio-political level democracy with the transmission of ideas, information, experiences and cultural values.

Whereas the majority of interdisciplinary scholarship agrees on the bipolar benefit potential, Rizvi (2005) reminds that it must not be taken for granted that the receiving end necessarily profits from skilled immigration. Considering the heterogeneity of all nation states shaped by global processes on socio-economic level, skill-sending does not necessarily mean a loss of needed human capital, and skill receiving does neither automatically imply a gain of expertise. Docquier and Rapoport (2012) talk about the “optimal” skilled emigration rate that varies in size for each country and depends on indicators such as population size, development level, political situation and education policies. It is therefore considered crucial and remains political priority for most European countries to define skill needs, to develop policies that attract skilled workers and to apply strategies that favour a beneficial insertion of incoming skilled labour force.

The following chapter will tie in at this point and present a selection of applied regulations on EU level and suggestions for valorisation strategies of foreign skilled workers in Europe.

1.2.3 Recruitment strategies for brain attraction

Following an era of guest worker occupation and recruitment to satisfy labour market needs, most European countries had not foreseen the urgent skill needs “that only the highly skilled or advanced educated could assuage” (Caviedes 2010: 61).

The transformations in the European socio-political scenario increased the significance of international labour division and generated new demand patterns of competencies and skills among the European labour force, which in turn triggered an international talent courtship between companies and national economies. The time lag generated by demand and supply, i.e. the efforts

[23] According to Gertler (2003, cited by OECD 2008) institutional proximity determines the efficacy of the skilled worker to transmit and disseminate knowledge. A high level of diversity of shared company norms, expectations, values and routines impact the processing of knowledge.

of time and costs to train-on-the-job, often required international companies to attract and hire from abroad in order to fill the gap (Hoesch 2018). Chiswick (2005) sees the digital revolution as driving force for the rising demand of high-skilled labour force.
European member states proceeded accordingly with new legal provisions for the desired migration category that had been implemented on national level, which will be outlined in the following.

- Ease of entry regulations for skilled workers from distinguished occupational sectors

Receiving countries defined professional requisites and sectors of demand, and committed to accept immigrants who fulfilled the priory defined requirements without applying any discrimination regarding the country of origin. Caviedes (2010: 62) critically assesses the application of this mechanism "for attracting international firms through the promise of allowing them to seamlessly shuttle key personnel across borders, rather than offering a springboard for permanent immigration or a means of filling skills gaps." Hansen (2003) calls for structural adjustments to ease mobility within the Union and social integration in line with the EU-provisions on free movement. In this context he suggests governments to design valorisation strategies with a rather flexible handling of competences in order to attract and privilege foreign skilled labour force. Accordingly, the focus should not be on matching one distinct job with one distinct worker, but rather make sure that labourers are adaptable and elastic to labour market conditions and employment gaps.
Public discourse and the academic community are constantly discussing the blurring line of this skill flexibility, which is displayed as a paradox situation of brain waste in many European immigration hubs, where skilled migrants are working in low-skilled or unqualified jobs or are not even employed at all (Hoesch 2018).

- Skill recognition

A rather crucial issue in this represent the strict regulations for the recognition of foreign academic and professional titles of several member states in the EU, that are criticised vehemently. Global development and competitiveness of international labour markets demand put an increasing pressure on lacking measures towards recognition and implementation of qualifications, which forces a high number of immigrants to work in jobs that do not match their skills and requisites (Clemens 2013; Hansen 2003; Salt 1997). The forces that come into play when speaking of uneven distribution of qualifications resulting in alarming de-skilling and job mismatching are questionable. Bar the before mentioned claim for increasing transparency and waiving restrictions on the recognition of qualifications literature suggests also another perspective. Drawing on the study of Andrejuk (2017) Trenz and Triandafyllidou (2017) mention the concept of culture hierarchies that generate stratified positions in the destination labour market due to the socio-economic background of immigrant groups. This concerns on the one hand the heterogeneous weighting and assessment of cultural capital of individuals from EU-12 and EU-15 countries for host societies, which leads migrants to utilize their cultural background in some cases. On the other hand, we witness privileged and stigmatized movements in the "the European laboratory of mobility", caused by a biased and diverse perception of European nations, which had been even more accentuated by the economic crisis. Therefore, migrants coming from post-2004 EU-member states are often "trapped" in a scenario of deskilling, precarious labour or exploitation and low social status representing a "typical migratory trajectory" that Andrejuk (2017) compares with the Guestworker era in Germany in the 1960s and 70s.

- Sector specific policies

This line was applied by an increasing number of countries, however only few of them achieved decent results. Foreign skilled workers enjoyed advantaged entry conditions and limited

bureaucratic obstacles that guaranteed their rapid access into identified employment sectors with skill shortage.[24] The European Blue Card was introduced in 2009 as an instrument to increase European competitiveness on global level and to improve labour market efficiency. The scheme had been designed for non-EU high skilled citizens holding an academic degree or equivalent and a minimum 5-year professional experience in a high-skilled sector. A work-residence permit and mobility rights up to 4 years in one of the 24 EU member states (United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland opted out) are provided to the applicant and accompanying family members. However, the Directive has not met its objectives five years after its implementation. Especially CEE countries as Romania that envisaged Chinese skilled immigration did not reach their targets and remain rather uncommon destinations for entrepreneurs and highly skilled (Triandafyllidou and Isaakyan 2014).

- Structural benefits (e.g.tax discounts, favourable contract conditions)

Several initiatives to promote and facilitate the return of migrants have been undertaken in Italy. The flagship programme "Rientro dei cervelli" was launched in 2001 and remains one of the major initiatives to embank human capital flight. It directed initially funds for the provision of long-term contracts and tax reductions to Italian researchers, and has now extended economic benefits also to other national and professional categories. However, the results of the first years were disappointing: less than 500 researchers in 9 years returned to Italy (Brandi, 2014).

With regard to intra-European mobility research the focus has shifted from the critical assessment of legal provisions to the exploration of synergic collaboration patterns between sending and receiving country to maximise benefits of skilled migration for both. On this purpose Clemens (2013) points to the necessity of promoting 'skill flow', i.e. movement of skilled and unskilled individuals who apply and acquire competences abroad. A successful fluid circulation of skills would accordingly stimulate industrial development, technology transfer and investment in education. Several scholars (Michaelis 1990; Thränhardt and Hunger 2003) jump on this bandwagon and claim for valorisation of brain gain effects in order to overcome the negative drain tendencies. Brandi and Todisco (2004) consider the term brain movement an appropriate substitute for the out-of-date and one-dimensional Brain Drain concept. This implies a positive evaluation of brain circulation instead of a strict division between brain gain and loss.

Brain circulation, firstly coined by Ladame in the 1970s referring to the circulation of elites between destination and home context, has become a favourable condition that represents however within a transnational reality according to Rizvi (2005: 190) rather a mobility form "characterised by uneven distribution of opportunities and by asymmetrical flows of power".[25]

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[24] Encouraged by the growth of the IT sector and the steadily increasing demand of specialists, Germany had introduced priory the "Green card" in 2000 to facilitate the recruitment of IT workers. Work permits up to five years were granted to non-European applicants with a tertiary education in the Information and Communication Technology sector or the documented evidence of an annual gross salary of at least 51.000 € guaranteed by the future employer. The program was in force until 2004 and generated moderate return below expectation, which was presumably determined by the rather strict and sector-specific income requirements. Less than 70% of the envisaged labour gaps had been filled with workers taking advantage from the scheme, solely 4 % of all applicants were directed to former Eastern Germany (Caviedes 2010; Hansen 2003). France granted a scientific visa for scientists from non-European countries (Mahroum 2001).

[25] If applied in the context of student mobility and post-graduate recruitment, a revisited concept becomes useful. The Report on the career tracking of doctorate holders (2017) recommends the recruitment of foreign students a still underestimated but efficient strategy for brain attraction and circulation. EU-financed mobility programs for Europe are a recruitment option with strong impact on the mobility of highly skilled from the R&D sector. Measures to attract non-European students include the participation on international job fairs and fee waiving incentives for foreign students.

This brief overview on potential approaches and measures undertaken concludes the chapter on the "players" and linked dynamics to their impact and consequently recruitment for the European migration scenario. The third section will accordingly proceed with the (decisional) processes towards a migratory trajectory from economic and socio-cultural perspective.

1.3 PROCESSES: Migration decisions in the context of well-being

The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition...is so powerful, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations. (Adam Smith 1776)

The point of departure of each human biography, from political, social, economic and cultural perspective, and individual decisions might be the pivotal conditions to pursue the native drive, even instinct towards contentment during the life course of all humans.
Contemporary scholarship investigated the agency of social, economic and subjective indicators on human well-being. Life satisfaction in the world at large, and in the European Union on a narrower scale are continuously questioned and measured by studies and surveys that approach the subjective well-being from different disciplinary, paradigmatic and methodological angles and are labelled as 'World Happiness Report' or 'World Values Survey' (Inglehart et al. 2018). On European level the Commission has implemented the Eurobarometer in 1974 to survey public opinion on thematic issues among which perceived life satisfaction in the member states[26].
Whereas predominantly studied by psychologists and sociologists in the last decades, recently also economic and political community has paid attention to the rather "unscientific" concept of happiness and its determinants. Thereby attention shifted increasingly from personal indicators to micro-and macroeconomic factors as life satisfaction determining forces. Econometric models work with causes as employment and returns, education and demography. On macro level unemployment and inflation rate, GDP and social benefits are considered variables for the inquiry (Frey and Stutzer 2000).
Drawing on classical sociological theories and the analytical definition of the socio-economic factors it becomes evident that the concept of labour plays an essential role for the individual well-being and decision-making in an era of mobile modernity, that is characterized by "increasing globalization, a heightened sense of risk (…) increased job insecurity, shifts in family structures and intensifying commitments to individualization and self-responsibility" (Forsey 2015: 779). The intrinsic labour-migration nexus generates debates on concerning developments of global mobility and adequate skill allocation to satisfy international demands on socio-economic level. Correspondingly, academic interest on well-being and life circumstances of migrants has increased and tackled debates on potentials for integration strategies.
Migration decisions have been subject of research for more than two centuries. Traditional school of thoughts predominantly focused on labour migration when searching for the forces that drive human beings to leave their home context and were dominated by two disciplines: sociology and

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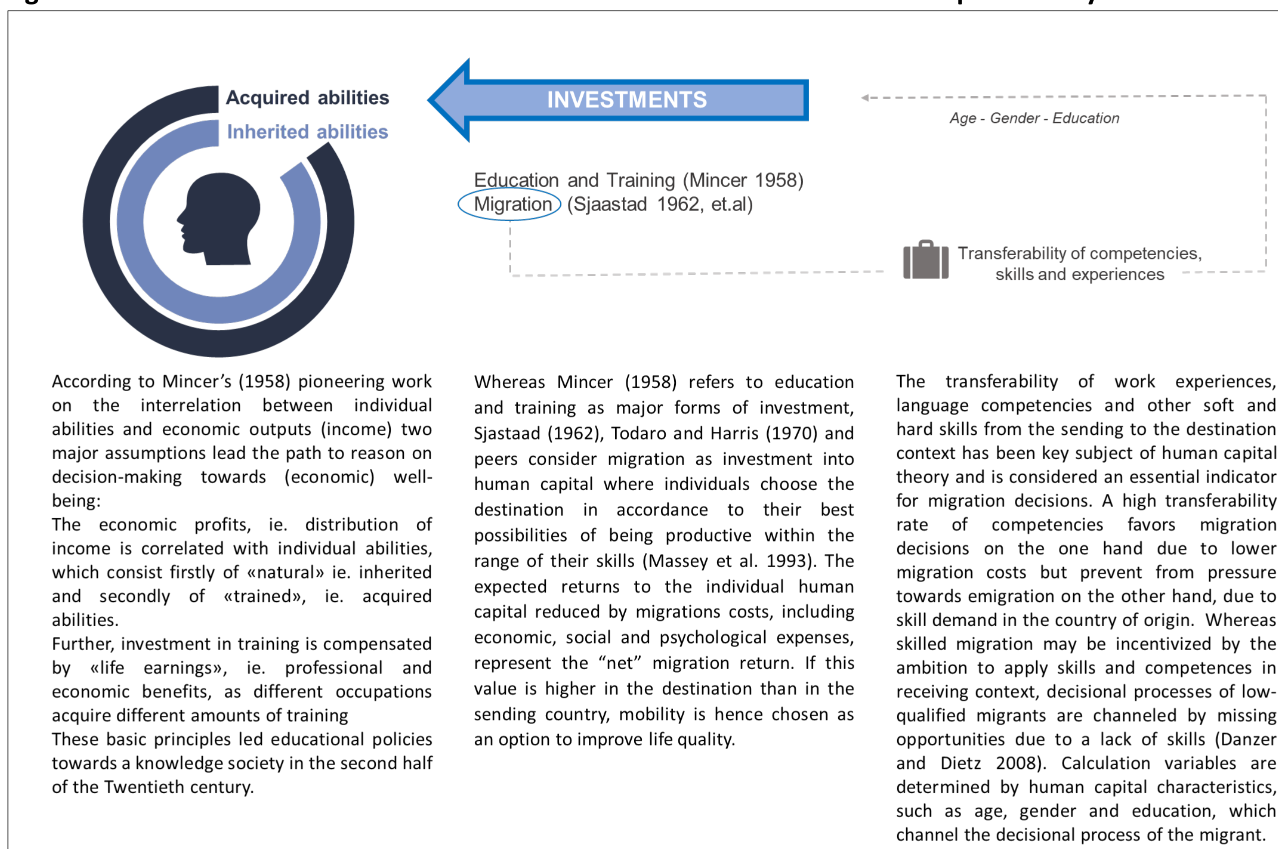
To keep educated and trained students in the country, several European states as the United Kingdom, Germany or Norway apply "student-switching", an option of a formal status change from 'foreign student' to 'native worker' after graduation (ESF 2017: 14).
[26] https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm

economics. Anthropology put priority on migration research only since the mid-20th century in conjunction with peasant studies and urban anthropology (Brettell 2015).
In line with Parnreiter's (2000) remarks on the need for migration theories to circumvent simplifications when discussing causes for and decisions towards mobility, the following outlines briefly migration theories that are considered relevant for this study.

1.3.1 Labour migration in (neo)classical theory

The developments in Europe since the initialized foundation of a European Community in 1953 and the increasing economic impact of globalization required a more specific distinction of labour migration to carve out decisional triggers for individuals. The academic community focused thus on characteristics and implications of migration patterns driven by economic aspirations, and most noteworthy: its benefits to individuals, in sending and receiving societies. Neoclassical theory therefore attempted as the earliest theoretical framework to conceptualize labour migration in general, and to view decisions and choices from micro-macro level within the context of economic development in particular. Several neoclassical theorists were concerned with explaining migration and individual decision-making from the perspective of the rational actor with the human capital theory.

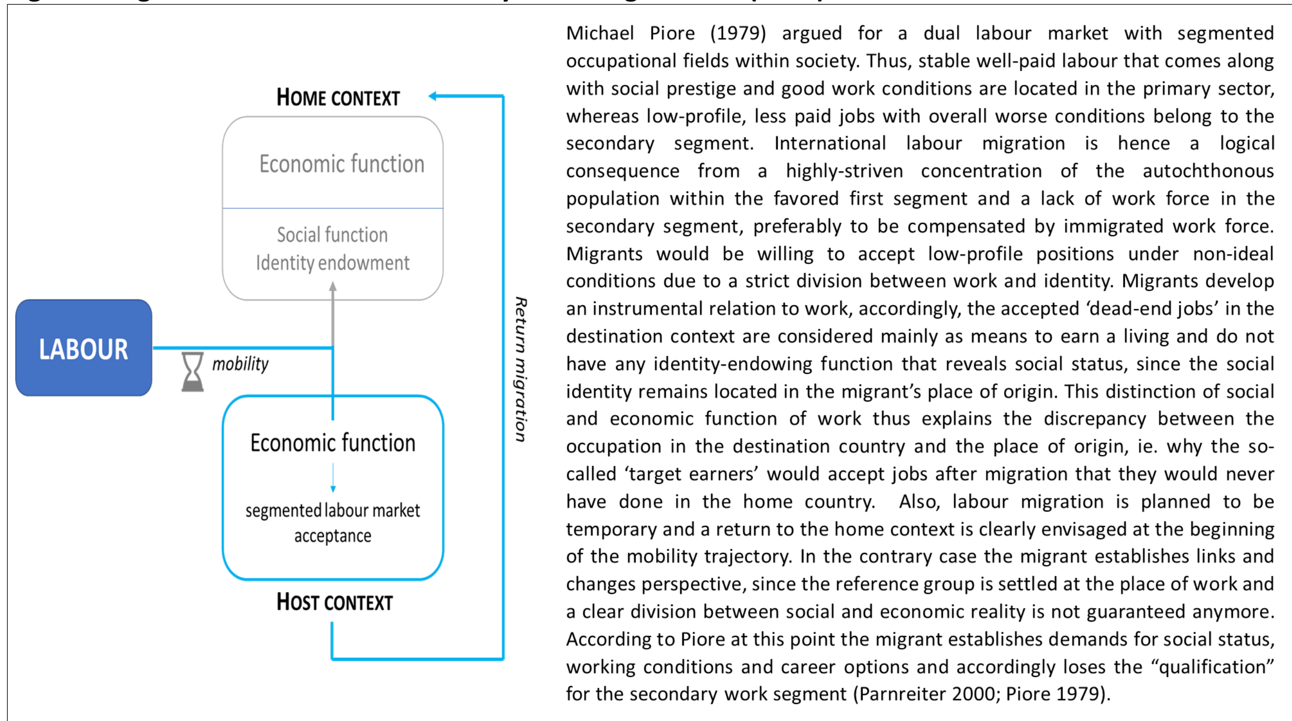
Fig. 1.8: Interrelation between individual abilities and investment in human capital theory



Economic approaches could not explain the diversity and variety of upcoming migratory patterns and the mental attitude of its protagonists towards them anymore. Mobility was neither favoured nor pushed exclusively by poverty and wage differentials, consequently the question what makes people actually move needed to be reformulated (Parnreiter 2000). The image of homo oeconomicus was firstly blurred by Lee's distinction between push-and pull factors for migration

decisions. Lee discussed in his work in 1966 a series of other non-economic conditions in the sending and receiving destination that played a role for the decision to leave the home context, among which climate, housing and the school system (Lee 1966).
Scholarship increasingly requested a paradigm shift from rigid neoclassical concepts towards structural, globalist approaches with emphasis on capitalistic dynamics in the state and social forces that confine the actions of the individuals. National entities were pictured as interactive units within an international social field, shaped by trans- and international economic and political processes (Parnreiter 2000).

Fig. 1.9: Segmented labour market theory according to Piore (1979)



Opponents of the neoclassical theory of the 1990s, as Oded Stark, agree with Piore that insecurity, poverty and risk diminution should be considered a primary indicator for labour migration rather than wage differentials. In fact, a thorough view to the background of the country of origin is crucial and puts the priority-setting and decision-making processes towards or against migration into perspective. Even though if the existing cultural capital would imply a working position that is coherent with the educational qualifications in the home country, resulting in higher social status position, often migration to a host context and lower job standing represents the preferable solution due to economic reasons (Danzer and Dietz 2008).
After a brief overview on (neo)classical traditions of migration theory the following section will build on these presumptions and refer to migration decisions further in detail without restricting the discussion to individual and economic migration.

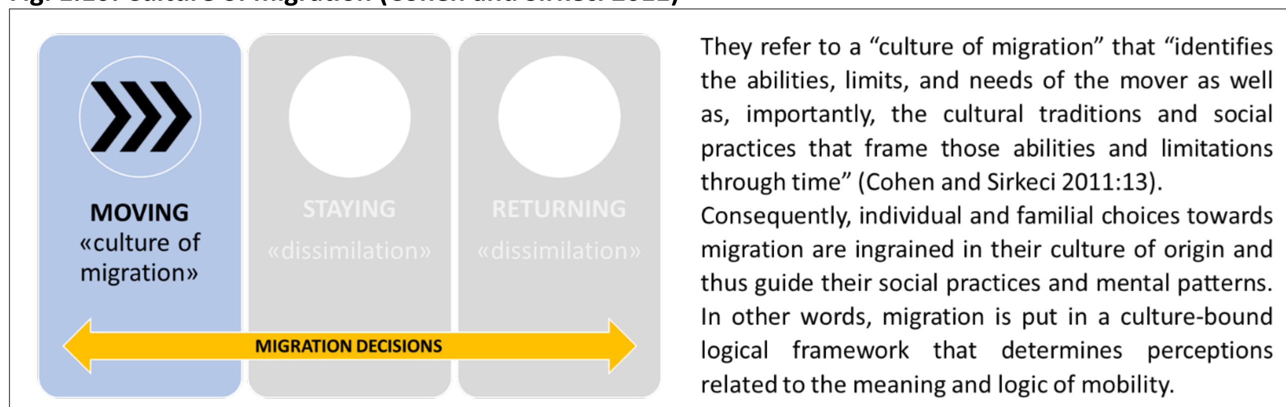
1.3.2 Migration decisions 2.0 – moving beyond economy and towards culture

Contemporary complex migration patterns cannot be approached without considering firstly, the indirect economic factors that play a role, and thus the monetary rewards that are generated but that are not necessarily the ultimate objective of that decision, but the means to realize and satisfy

other needs. Secondly, the non-economic factors that generate the choices along the migratory trajectory and shape preferences, priorities and decision weights (Balaz et al. 2014).
In the last decades, international scholars (Kivisto and Faist 2010; Massey et al. 1993; Stark 1991) have thus increasingly evidenced the necessity to add a further perspective to the micro-macro theoretical framework of migration decisional processes that focus on the in-between of individual and global-structural determinants: the meso level, which implies relations of individuals in both, home and host context, cross-cultural and on transnational level to cover diverse migration patterns. This request has been motivated by the rather empirical weakness and theoretical incompleteness of economic approaches to explain migration motivations and decisions. Even though micro-level theories explain the selectivity of migration, they rather neglect non-economic migration motivations[27]. As a result, analytical focus of academic scholarship in sociology and anthropology (Glick Schiller et al. 1995, Vertovec 1999, Portes 1995) in the last three decades has shifted from actors to their milieu and the people surrounding them to frame the context for decisional processes. The theories that draw on this perspective led the path towards approaches not orientated in reductionist methodological individualism doctrines that emanate from the individual as departing point for analysis (Tan 2014) but in concepts that favour a rather holistic view to migration decisions.

In accordance with the focus of this work two theories have been selected that regard the most central migration decisions divided in three categories, namely to leave their home country (on the move, cf. Ch. 4.1), to stay or not in the host context (on the ground, cf. Ch. 4.2) or to return in (or circulate in between) the home country (on return, cf. Ch. 4.3).
The first concept that occurs relevant in this context, being further particularly suitable to explain the multidimensional range of skilled migratory trajectories beyond micro and macro level, has been introduced by Cohen and Sirkeci (2011).

Fig. 1.10: Culture of migration (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011)



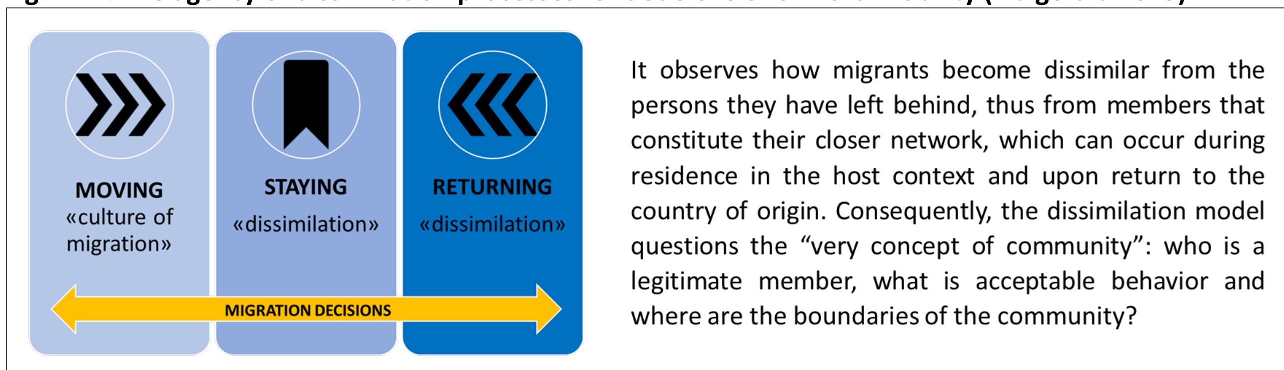
This does not solely imply that mobility patterns and motivations go beyond the economic or personal dimension, but also that they are triggered by cultural agency. Accordingly, other than the micro and macro perspective to understanding migration, the 'culture of migration' concept provides also the meso level. In particular for migration flows from former CEE countries, an

[27] The concept of social capital, coined and discussed by the sociological school of Bourdieu and Coleman (Haug 2008) is pertinent in this regard and contributes to an understanding of individual decision-making processes with the macro-meso-micro model. Individual resources, preferences and expectations constitute influencing forces on micro level; meso and macro level refer to social capital and structural conditions, as economic-political, cultural, demographic and ecological indicators.

interdisciplinary body of work (King and Lulle 2016) has focused on the framing conditions and consequences of migration decisions with respect to family and those left behind, among which the social impact of transnational parenting and partnering or the ambiguous situation of social mobility. Putting the lenses hence on culture, being a determining factor for actions and mental patterns, those choices become a different meaning. Expectations and aspirations for the stay in the host society must be thus analysed considering the socio-historical context of former Communist countries and the barriers to travel or move. This notion exemplifies the range of the concept itself and the contextual determinants that trigger and direct it on political, socio-cultural and economic level. It further points to an aspect also highlighted by Cohen and Sirkeci, which is the interrelation of migrants and non-migrants as motivational vehicles for the migration. Thus, “all migrations are (…) socially defined by the migrants and non-migrants and the conflicts and contests they are involved in and that they perceive” (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011: 10). Further, migration expectations and decisions are manifold, and priorities for assessing the migration successful and satisfying vary greatly according to the personal, socio-cultural or economic circumstances of the left home context. Therefore, it would be misleading to argue for homogenous or similar structured decision-making processes among skilled migrants, as they need to be analysed under consideration of their life course in past and present and eventual triggering events.

Strong family ties are often the predominant reason and motivational factor for the decision to the return, and makes it thus one of the main incentives for moving (Brettell 2015). The second theory that links migration and culture for the context to stay in the host country or to return (also temporally) to the home country is the concept on homeland dissimilation (Fitzgerald 2015).

Fig. 1.11: The agency of dissimilation processes for decisions of onward mobility (Fitzgerald 2015)



With regard to migration decisions on whether staying or moving onward or back home, the dissimilation concept opens an interesting perspective. Guveli et al. (2016) claim three possible directions of dissimilation processes, which are helpful to distinguish patterns in the context of migration decisions processed in the destination country.

Fig. 1.12: Three patterns of dissimilation (based on Guveli et al. 2016)

The choices related to an ending, returning or ongoing mobility can be thus shaped and triggered by the extent of dissimilation from the community based in the country of origin, as practices and strategies in the host context involve inevitably assimilative or dissimilative consequences. The debate on migration decisions from a dissimilation perspective contextualizes the discourse on altering attitudes of immigrants and their descendants over the course of their migratory trajectory by considering the variation in immigrants' perception of life satisfaction. According to Fitzgerald (2013) differences that develop between migrants and those left in the home context are often more significant than those to natives in the host context. The life quality, perceived as well as aspirations and priorities alter consequently in the host context along with identity building and ongoing dissimilation.
The dissimilation concept is particularly interesting when considering the pattern of high-skilled migration. An important note is that assimilation and dissimilation do not necessarily run parallel, neither on temporal, nor spatial or qualitative level. As skilled migrants are considered highly mobile citizens who choose from various mobility patterns, towards diverse destinations, within different timeframes, interacting within several networks they might have become very different from the people they have left behind in the home country. But that does not inevitably lead to a high level of assimilation in the current host context, which might be due to mentioned variables of their migratory trajectory. Therefore, the dissimilation perspective points exclusively to the fact of becoming different, seen from the origin perspective, and that this state presumably has an important impact on altered decisions, changing aspirations for life quality standards of the migrant. It consequently yields the question on how dissimilation processes on various levels and within different networks impact (social and spatial) mobility perception and striving. Proponents of the Network theory highlight accordingly the importance of (familial networks), i.e. "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas" (Massey et al 1993: 448) for migration decisions.

This section has briefly discussed two concepts that are considered relevant to underline the interrelation between migration decisions and culture from diverse perspectives.
It turned out that networks in the home context in general, and kindship in particular are central drivers for migration decisions and trajectories, which sets the scene for the next section that focuses on familial migration patterns and decisional processes.

1.3.3 Family is what counts: tied migration

"People in Europe, first of all, move because of love and family." This is the resume that Santacreu et al. (2009: 57) draw from their study on intra-European migration in the EU-15 countries, where personal motivations prevail for the majority of movers when it comes to short-term, circular or long-term migration. However, putting the lenses on the singular countries, it becomes clear that shares are not distributed equally, which is why Santacreu and peers call for a "finer-grained distinctions among countries" *(Ibid.*: 60). This is also necessary when it comes to the remaining EU-countries, which followed upon the EU-15, where economic and life quality factors still prevail for East-Western migration patterns *(Ibid.*).

However, family plays an increasingly important role for migration trajectories, even if it is not the triggering motivational factor as in the case of family reunification. Drawing on data from the Global Commission on International Migration, Pries (2010) confirms that in the 21st century the majority of estimated 200 million international migrants moved within familial commitments or contexts. He reminds us in accordance with other peers (Ambrosini 2020; Chiswick and Miller 2015; Santacreu et al. 2009) that the neoclassical migrating individual who takes decisions independently represents a rather uncommon picture of contemporary migration. Family members can be a central motivational factor to leave, to stay, to move backward to the home context or onward from the destination country.

With reference to Stark (1991, 2005) as one of the main proponents of the new economics of migrations, Ambrosini (2020) suggests that complex migration trajectories at the end of the 20th century increasingly affected members of the family core. He thereby refers to migration as a risk-reducing strategy of households towards an improvement of the overall life situation for the family nucleus. Accordingly, decisions are most of the time impacted, triggered or taken by family members on a rather "rational economic logic" (Bailey and Boyle 2004: 230) considering their needs and necessities from various perspectives. This does not necessarily imply an equal win-win situation for all family members. As Mincer's tied migration theory (1978) suggests, tied movers agree on the mobility strategy, even if they do not directly benefit from it, but assume the overall family gain sufficient to justify the migration. On the contrast, tied stayers would benefit from migration, onward or return mobility, but stay for the sake of the overall family gain. The theory takes thus the heterogeneity of chances, priorities and life course circumstances of the household members into account, and allows a more realistic analysis of intertwined decisional processes that often spawn even more complex migratory trajectories and outcomes (Bailey and Boyle 2004; Chiswick and Miller 2015; Haug 2000). Mark Granovetter's (1973) pioneering research on the dimensions of strong and weak ties, their nature and impact on life circumstances became even more important in contemporary social studies. Social ties between movers from and stayers in the country of origin have thus gained increasing interest to understand choices of the migrants in the host context.

In this regard it is noteworthy, that migrants normally belong to one or more households, that are not static and vary across time and space and in their composition, transforming some of them to transnational households and changing continuously their demands and frameworks (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011). Conditions for migration in the country of origin, personal priorities for the future life trajectory of the family core as well as political and social circumstances in the destination contexts guide and direct decisions significantly (*Ibid.*).

Silva defines family in the migration context as a 'microcosm' hold together by links and a story, denoted by assigned roles, resources, affective bonds and events (Silva 2006). Drawing on this concept decisional intra-familiar strategies towards mobility are highly complex processes generated, triggered and guided by a variety of intrinsic and extrinsic factors, especially when talking

about labour migration. Consequently, it might be helpful to distinguish between two perspectives of familial impact, as it acts on different levels. Members often profit from the migration and condition them at the same time, for example by supporting child care during the migration period or at its beginning stage (Zontini 2010).

Decisions on transnational management of family obligations as well as other caring schemes that are chosen on a short-term or long-term scale to encounter the interplay between economic necessity and familial responsibility do affect personal and family life trajectories (Stalford 2005; Baldassar 2007). Whereas parenting implies fatherhood and motherhood, the academic community focused rather on the latter one, increasingly within the context of labour migration from the CEE countries (Moskal 2011; Vianello 2014). With the stigmatization of women who perform their motherhood duty from the distance, and care for strangers at point-blank range, developed the concept of care drain that points to the family decision for transnational parenthood (Ambrosini 2015). With the migration of the mothers, several dynamics within the family constellation change, such as roles and power structures (Pries 2010).

Central to these thoughts and the predominating “adult-centric” (Bushin 2009) theories of family migration decision-making is the agency of children within the familial decisional strategies and dynamics (Moskal and Tyrrell 2016; Ryan and Sales 2011; Valtolina 2013). On this account, Bushin (2009) argues for a children-in-families-approach and points to their decision-making power. Alterations in socio-cultural constructions of family (Bailey and Boyle 2004; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Kofman 2004), as lower marriage and higher divorce rates, single-parent households, and childhood concepts as well as their surrounding contexts, suggest a tight interconnection with increasing and differing mobility patterns (Bushin 2009).

Additionally, the dimension of mobility itself varies during the migration, certain events in the life-course alter the disposition to be mobile, and hence to return or move onward (Ackers and Gill 2008). Consequently, within the course of family reformulation and fragmentation also the role and rights of children within the multi-layered decisional processes are changing and becoming more important.

In this context, gender studies entered the academic debate with questioning female and male migration patterns. Scholars (Castles et al. 2014; Treibel 2008) refer to a feminization of migration, which does not solely imply the increased international female movement in quantity but migration processes in itself that have been “feminized” over time with the expansion of distinctive occupational sectors. Past male-dominated labour migration flows have been increasingly replaced by female movements. Certain occupational fields, as for instance the care giving sector, generated homogenous gender features and trigger today female mobility on global level. Treibel (2008) further argues that diversified female qualifications, their changing aspirations and altering propensity for conflicts and variation contribute to an augmented feminized migration, which is not comparable with the flows of their moving ancestors due to a socio-cultural alteration of the female morphology.

In this context international scholarship has highlighted the importance of a contemporary consideration of female and male role models. Brettell (2015: 161) notes accordingly that the traditional view of the women being a “pole of continuum”, who stays and men as “pole of modernity” being mobile is disproved by current data on male and female international migration. In line with the one-sided consideration of women in society, international research started according to Treibel very late to study female mobility. On European level, increasing research has been set off with the altering EU landscape, particularly due to the Eastern enlargement starting in 2004 and along-going migration patterns and new destination contexts (Stalford 2005; Vianello 2014).

A fastly developed migration infrastructure in the last decades as well as enhanced possibilities for communication and travel facilitated the link between sending and destination context and thus the transmission of economic remittances (Engbersen et al. 2010; Goschin 2014) and their socio-cultural counterpart thus ideas, norms, practices and identities (Levitt 1998). However, this is not a one-way process but rather a continuous circulation, initiated by the migrant in the receiving context, destined to the country of origin, and elaborated and resent by those who stayed behind (Grabovska and Garapich 2016). The significance for migrant decisions is evident, as "migrants carry ideas, practices and narratives which enable mobility (…)" (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011: 2) and convey concepts to family and community members left at home that might impact or trigger future migration projects. The formulation and achievement of goals of the migratory project are guided by culture and thus additionally impacted by socio-cultural transmissions.

This first chapter aimed to provide a theoretical overview on migration patterns, players and linked processes on spatial, temporal and causal level to set the scene for a further discussion on the interrelation of education and mobility in the following Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2: EDUCATION AND MOBILITY

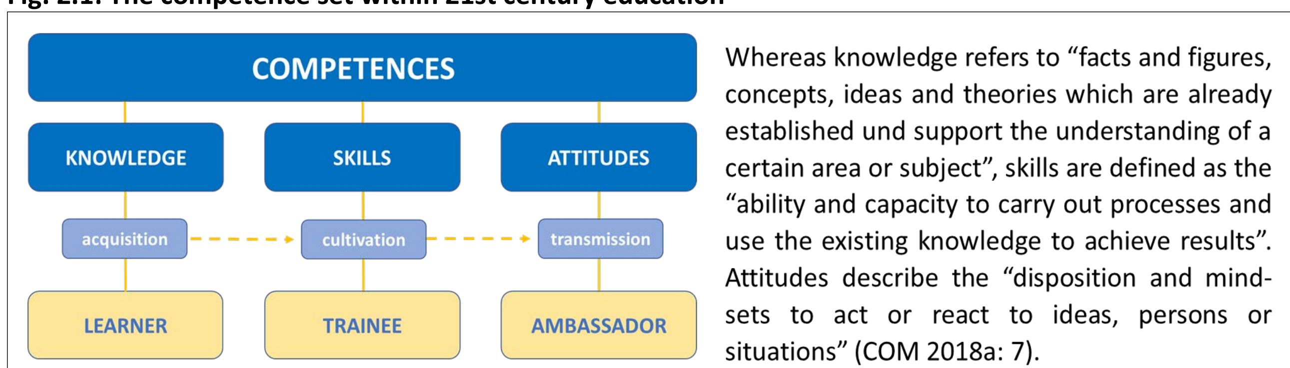
Education for what, is the wrong question (…) Education is for somebody, not for something. The product of education is not knowledge or leaming; it is not skills, ability or virtue (…). It is always a person (…). (Drucker 1959: 137)

In the 1970s the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose work decisively influenced international sociological and anthropological scholarship over the last decades, discussed how capital in all its forms of appearance conditions educational opportunities, social positions and accordingly democracy and the civil society (Bourdieu 1983). In his recognized study on social reproduction in collaboration with Jean-Claude Passeron he claims that economic, cultural and social capital stand in direct relation to the success and outcome of educational performance, and that the educational system is consequently reproducing the class system (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970; Jenkins 1992; Kupfer 2011).

A few decades earlier, also Drucker (1959: 125) pronounced the interrelation between education and various capital forms and maintained that “education is capital investment; on it rest the effectiveness and productivity of most other capital investments”. Capital investment for education may thus occur in different forms and at different times and to very different scopes. A vast body of research (Ackers and Gill 2009; Bailey and Mulder 2017; Clark and Withers 2007; Ryan and Sales 2011) confirms the significant role of education when it comes to migration decisions. And in reverse conclusion this work argues that migration has a stark agency on educational decisions. This notion is guided by the assumption that educational decisions in migration situations, guide both, often in parallel, children’s educational and parents’ (professional) integration trajectories. They are thus linked in multiple life courses and often complement each other.

When talking about knowledge migration within a progressively evolving 21st century knowledge society the related categories of competences and skills need to be theoretically framed in order to sketch a picture on the significance of education for decisional processes related to the mobility – in the present and future. The European Commission defines skills and knowledge as two out of an intertwined three-fold dimension of competences (knowledge, skills and attitudes). This competence set hence allocates three different processes of competence generation to three distinctive qualities of the individual changing its initial role from learner to trainee to become ambassador and thus transmitter of the acquired competence.

Fig. 2.1: The competence set within 21st century education[1]



Whereas knowledge refers to “facts and figures, concepts, ideas and theories which are already established und support the understanding of a certain area or subject”, skills are defined as the “ability and capacity to carry out processes and use the existing knowledge to achieve results”. Attitudes describe the “disposition and mind-sets to act or react to ideas, persons or situations” (COM 2018a: 7).

[1] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

The following chapters have been organised in accordance with the proposed definition of the competence set and start thus with a notion on the contemporary knowledge society and the corresponding figures and required skills in the scenario.

2.1 KNOWLEDGE: The European knowledge society

When we talk about knowledge we must distinguish in which forms it occurs, accumulates and disseminates in different contexts through diverse agents. Within the discourse on knowledge work in a knowledge-based economy attention has been paid primarily on managerial, scientific and technological knowledge, which are supposed to contribute the most to economic growth. Consequently, they also led the way for measures towards a restrictive immigration policy, as entry or residence requirements, in several European countries (Kofman 2007).

Fig. 2.2: The range of knowledge

KNOWLEDGE				
	Managerial	Practical Intellectual Spiritual Codified	HARD	
	Scientific			
	Technological	Tacit	SOFT	Context-bound Culture-bound

However, the range of knowledge goes well beyond the three mentioned categories and do not automatically run parallel to the educational level as Kofman (2007) illustrates when referring to practical, intellectual, spiritual as well as the Polanyi-coined codified and tacit knowledge. The latter is in particular attributed to the labour context as the knowledge that we commonly refer to as the know-how, that we attain on the job, also referred to as "workplace competencies" (e.g. communication and problem-solving skills, team work etc.). Its position is however not perceived separately from the knowledge-economic perspective, but rather presumed to be complementary to for instance scientific or technological knowledge, adding value to it (Gertler 2003; Kofman 2007). The combination of both provides hence a temporal, spatial and socio-cultural dimension and is thus considered being essential for the growth of research and development, for scientific-technological advances and hence innovation.

It is assumed that tacit knowledge hardly travels over long distances, in other words physical proximity is required to exchange whereas codified knowledge is transferable on temporal, spatial and virtual distances (OECD 2008). This issue becomes particularly interesting in the discussion on high-skilled migration and knowledge remittances as a direct benefit. The production of tacit knowledge is experience-bound, localised and thus context-specific, which renders it "spatially sticky" (Gertler 2003: 79). Thus, (tacit) knowledge remittances are less likely to send back home or will be submitted with the socio-cultural filter of the destination context.

According to Reinhardt, Schmidt, Sloep (2011: 150) "the basic task of knowledge work is thinking" and consequently knowledge workers focus on the "processing of non-routine problems that require non-linear and creative thinking (…)". Their model of knowledge worker roles (*Ibid.*) illustrates that an expansive range of activities can be categorised under knowledge work, which corroborates by Cortada's assumption that "increasingly everyone is a knowledge worker" as "the common vision of a knowledge worker is that of a person dealing in data and ideas" (Cortada 1998: xiii). Accordingly, knowledge workers have always existed, in all ages and cultures, represented in diverse occupational fields. However, they augmented and varied with the rise of the service sector

(*Ibid.*). Even though a wider definition of knowledge work suggests that the distinctions and thus generalisations among professional segments increasingly vanish, categorisations of occupational fields dominate on economic (wages), political (e.g. immigration policies) and socio-cultural level, as for example displayed in reputation of certain professional sectors. Jemielniak (2012: 28) wonders indeed "why a creative, brilliant plumber is still regarded as a manual worker, and an old-fogy dentist who mechanically and routinely does the simplest procedures, undisputedly falls into the intellectual worker category" and comes to the conclusion that "by drawing attention to social status (professionalism, formal education and prestige) (…) the division of work aims mostly to differentiate those workers who, under some circumstances, have a right to express their opinions, from other workers who mainly have to follow orders."
Santacreu and peers (2009: 55) maintain that the migration motivation of high-skilled migrants determines to a certain extent their standing as 'knowledge migrant', whereas economic improvement plays an important but not dominant role within the migration decision.
In the last decades, the category of knowledge workers has been thus continuously substituted, specified or envisioned with terms as white-collar workers, professional elite, or the brains. Headlines of public and academic discourses embroider the group with classifying attributes as highly skilled or talented and in immigration debates we refer to skilled migrants or expatriates. The list is not complete and the blurring lines within the connotation of each term becomes evident when questioning an actual definition of these so-wanted labourers.
A distinctive or overlapping categorisation is not possible due to the framing conditions of each country, actually regions, the diversity in educational systems and the global dissimilarities between educational systems and the mutual recognition of qualifications (Milio et al. 2012). Perspectives range from the educational trajectory and professional qualification to the actual employment of the worker when assessing the eligibility for the category, classifications that can be switched over time and in different contexts.

2.2 SKILLS: Lifelong learning as 21st century paradigm for building educational capital

An international discussion on adequate education and new forms of learning was progressed and embedded in post-1989 socio-political transformations and the pronunciation of an increasingly knowledge-based economy. The idea of time-framed instruction that was restricted to the initial life stages was outdated in a dynamic society, that changed continuously due to socio-political, economic and technological transformation, and even more rapidly in the last decades of the 20th century. The European Union suggested accordingly to make learning a lifelong and lifewide process.
While in its early genesis main strivings of the European Union were directed towards "economic expansion, the development of employment and the improvement of the standard of living in the participating countries", education was increasingly promoted as key issue on the political agenda in the following years of collaboration to pursue these goals[2]. Skill formation and the diversity of labour force would hold a main share in a rising labour market and economic progress. Consequently, in an era where artificial and human intelligence increasingly competed, Europe necessitated imperatively an updated definition of skills and recommendatory models for their integration.

[2] Treaty of Rome: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=CELEX:11957E/TXT "to promote the development of the highest possible level of knowledge for their peoples through a wide access to education and through its continuous updating".

Fig. 2.3: Lifelong Learning – the evolution of an educational paradigm

Whereas lifelong learning found its echo in the overall European space predominantly in the 1990's, and thus in a socio-political period marked by rapid shifts and transformations accompanied by increasing globalization processes in the member states as well as discussions on EU-enlargement (Brine 2006), it was by no means a completely new or exotic concept (von Felden 2009). In the 1970s the international interest on the long-term temporal dimension of education was stimulated by the UNESCO publication of the Faure report (1972). The increasing debates on educational systems and objectives in the light of proposed changes triggered governmental decisions in several European countries (Field 2009).

The European Commission under presidency of Jacques Delors, firstly underlined explicitly the significance of an enduring education along the life course in 1993 and waved the path for the educational paradigm. This development provided a framework for further educational policies and linked mobility accordingly to the building processes of knowledge and competences. An important notion in this regard was however the reference to newly set standards of education, that "cannot be satisfied by a once-and-for-all acquisition of knowledge and know-how. (…)" (COM 1994: 16).

Backing preceding discourses and provisions, the ten-year Lisbon strategy in 2000 had been formulated for the beginning millennium towards its overall objective "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world (…)"[3].

The following communication on lifelong learning released by the Commission introduced the concept of the related idea on lifewide learning, referring to the contexts where learning can take place: in formal, informal and non-formal environments. Therefore, emphasis was put on the notion that learning can occur on traditional and modern route. Whereas traditional learning relates to formal apprehension in schooling institutions leading to recognizable, tangible qualifications, modern learning takes place in non-formal format beyond the traditional contexts, as in after-school training contexts or at the workplace, leading to experiences and personal skills. Last but not least informal training would happen in ordinary activities throughout life. Basically, learning could happen at any time and anywhere (Alluli 2016; Brine 2006). A further specification of life-deep learning guided the prior temporal and spatial dimensions towards a transversal, contextual level and referred to "religious, moral, ethical, and social values that guide what people believe, how they act, and how they judge themselves and others" (Banks et al. 2007: 12).

The shifting focus from education to learning to acquire related skills implied also a relocation of protagonists within the process. Whereas former concepts and theorems rather concentrated on the knowledge transmitter, and thus the teacher, the lifelong learning concept had put its focus on the learner.

[3] Presidency Conclusions: Lisbon European Council, 23 and 24 March 2000. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm

Consequently, the learner's function as trader and carrier of knowledge became a defining attribute for the knowledge society. This in turn requested its members to engage in lifelong learning through all stages of the life course, which connotated knowledge and skills as contested and unstable. It presented new challenges within a fast-pace emerging knowledge landscape, that considered knowledge creation and sharing a priority for smooth operations of societies (Jensen 2012).
The Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning in 2006 bundled skill requirements for European citizens in eight categories towards personal fulfilment and development, through employment, and thus social inclusion and active citizenship. They tackle the areas of language, culture and literacy, as well as competences in STEM subjects and digital skills and are considered equally important. National contexts adapted the competence frameworks accordingly (COM 2018a).

2.2.1 New Skills for Europe

In 2016, the EU-Commission formulated and published the New Skills Agenda for Europe that calls local, regional and national policymakers and stakeholders for action to combat unemployment and to increase resilience on political and economic predicaments through competence formation.

Fig. 2.4: Lifelong Learning – the development of an educational paradigm over five decades

The action plan strove to strengthen "human capital, employability and competitiveness" and increased labour market participation to overcome a situation where "skills gaps and mismatches are striking" (COM 2016: 2). Missing, unrecognised or non-utilised qualifications elicits a situation that prevents from progress, innovation, economic growth and stability in the Union.
In numbers this corresponds to 70 million European citizens without satisfying literacy and numeracy skills and approximately 12 million long-term unemployed, and 40 % of European employers challenged in finding staff with adequate and matching skills for the corresponding job positions to fill in 2016 (COM 2016). This notion is corroborated by OECD statistics from 2017 that confirm Europe's skills and thus educational capital to trail far behind other knowledge societies on global level, as for instance the US skills magnet or Australia.
Eurostat data revealed that 36,1% of the EU-28 labour force worked in knowledge-intensive activities in 2017[4]. Workers in "knowledge-rich jobs", as defined by OECD, are typically but not universally highly educated. The challenge that most European countries are consequently facing is to make the most out of their national knowledge potential. Rüdiger and McVerry (2007) mention in this regard that working conditions for European knowledge workers reveal lacking career advancement and incoherent financial rewards, and thus do not provide a solid framework for the so highly wanted talents. The strikingly heterogeneous scenario of different regions reveals where

[4] A complete list of employment sectors defined as knowledge-intensive can be found here: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/pdfscache/3996.pdf

European socio-political endeavours should be particularly pointing to. Southern Europe still has a comparatively low occupational share of knowledge workers.
According to OECD previsions towards future labour market needs it will be “particularly important for governments to design high-quality lifelong learning systems which will permit adults to regularly update, upgrade, and sometimes even acquire completely new knowledge, skills and competences in order to stay employed and/or find new employment” (OECD 2017b: 19).
The successor of the 2016 New Skills document, the European Skills Agenda (2020), jumps on this bandwagon and builds on the application of measures to improve educational standards that are grounded in the lifelong learning principles. Latest concrete objectives foresee hence that the number of adults who participate in learning every year increases by one third (32%) and that the share of jobseekers with recent learning experiences rises even by 82%. These ambitions thus encourage all member states to strongly support skills development, and in particular generation, cultivation and transmission of the “right skills” (COM 2020) as thrive for socio-economic development and growth. Central to this notion are Life skills, also known as 21st century -, soft - or socio-emotional skills. Interesting in this regard is Maccarini’s (2016: 44) distinction according to which skills “have to do with what one can do, and they come to define what one is, in a pretty dynamic way” and thus complement knowledge and consequently display the combination of both in attitudes. Building on these presumptions the EU-Commission thus calls for a “skills revolution” in vision of a European Education Area realised by 2025 (COM 2020).

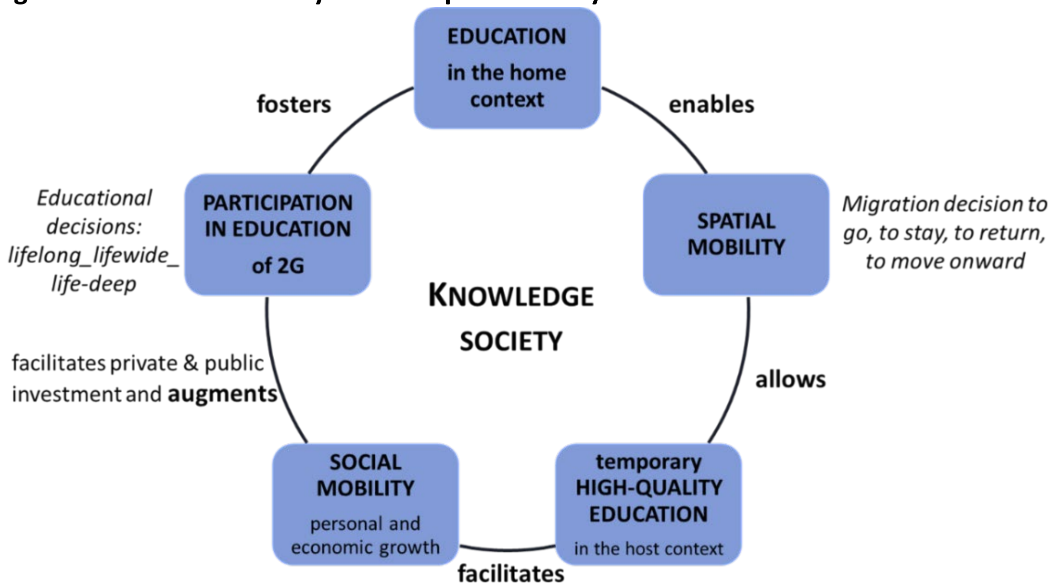
Building on this, the next subchapter proposes a small-scale SWOT-analysis for education in the European context under consideration of the lifelong learning paradigm in the 21st century knowledge society and the proposed compensation of competence gaps with mobility.

2.2.2 Mobility and language in the context of post-2000 educational policy

Since the beginning millennium the Union increasingly engaged financial and human resources for strategies towards academic mobility and the recognition of educational performances within all EU-member states. The programme “European 2020” continued the overall objectives of the Bologna process and the preceding Lisbon strategy. The focus had been put on the education-mobility nexus that promoted cross-border knowledge acquisition, skill training and competence transmission towards a successful labour market transition and integration (COM 2010). Mobility in education and training in the light of the lifelong learning continuum was considered a central element towards individual and economic growth in a Europe. Accordingly, the learner of the new millennium was encouraged within different life stages, as school student or in higher education or as professional to participate in geographical mobility:

As an essential element of lifelong learning and an important means of enhancing people's employability and adaptability, mobility for learners, teachers and teacher trainers should be gradually expanded with a view to making periods of learning abroad — both within Europe and the wider world — the rule rather than the exception (COE 2009: C 119/02).

Fig. 2.5: Education-mobility nexus as promoted by the EU-Commission



Mobility became the main indicator for progress on micro, meso and macro level of the Union's society. A learning and training stay abroad was thus supposed to contribute to the acquisition, enrichment and cultivation of skills on individual level on the one hand. From another perspective, the stimulated international cooperation, in particular in higher education, was likely to trigger new knowledge flows, cross-border partnerships among institutions and the exchange of best practices. Those were the main indicators for the meso and macro dimension that would accordingly contribute to the visibility of Europe's attractive educational system on the global scale of competitiveness (COE 2017).

One crucial element of mobility and corresponding low or high participation are linguistic skills that have a two-fold significance for learning and training periods abroad, as they represent on the one hand a pre-condition and one the other hand an envisaged objective and result.

The EU-Commission formulated awareness-raising on multilingualism to be one of the highest priorities for contemporary educational scenarios to actively participate in a diversified European society where "language barriers (i.e. lack of knowledge of a neighbouring country's language) was the most important obstacle to cross-border cooperation" (COM 2018a: 46). Accordingly, the development of linguistic competences is emphasised as one of the top priorities for formal and informal education in Europe. Phillipson (2003) outlined how the learning and training of foreign languages has been promoted in the light of the European social goals. Accordingly, the EU-Commission translated social goals on individual, societal and national level into corresponding implications for future language training applicable by all member states at the beginning millennium. Whereas social goals and thus recommendations for national curricula on national level focus on socio-economic advancement, foreign language is increasingly promoted as motor for socio-cultural cohesion on meso and micro level. This perspective was deflected in the following years, where language knowledge increasingly equals potential mobility and thus better education opportunities which in turn translate in better employability on individual level and economic prosperity on macro level.

Fig. 2.6: Social goals and policy implications for language training (adapted to the contents outlined by Phillipson 2003)

Additionally, language is promoted as means to strengthen European Identity (COM 2017a) and points with reference to the principle "unity in diversity" to a stronger valorisation of the richness and cultural variety of its nations and the promotion of the "European way of life" *(Ibid.*: 2ff.). This lifestyle can accordingly be pursued trough travel, study and work abroad periods as well as intense intercultural dialogue throughout mobility which require communication and linguistic skills. Accordingly, linguistic competences represent a core element of culture per se, which grounds identity (COM 2012a).

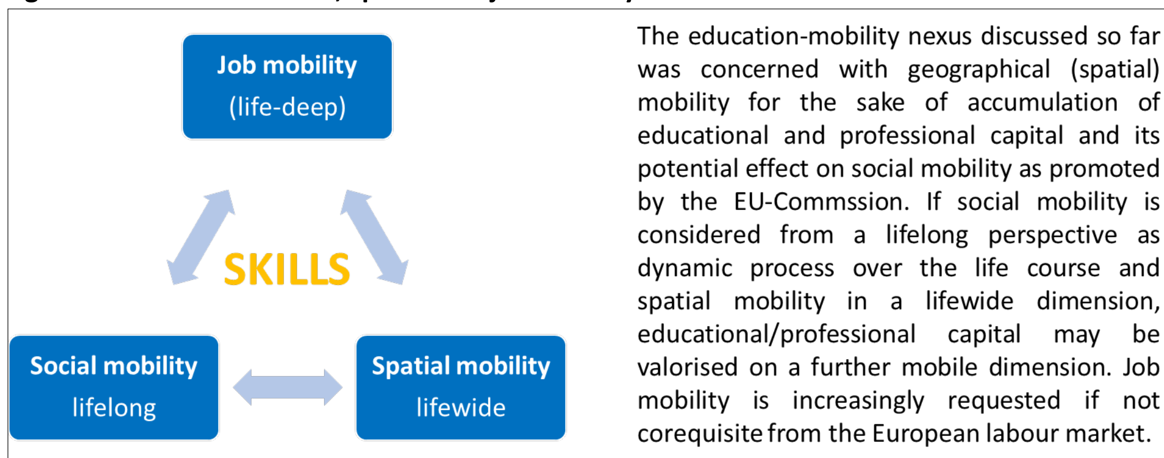
Providing for high-quality solutions for foreign language acquisition should be thus priority for sending and receiving educational contexts to promote linguistic competence acquisition and transmission on individual, societal and national level.

Other than the impact on skills and competence development, data confirms that mobility periods or academic stays in a foreign country impact later decisions on where to work, to live and to raise a family. Studying abroad can also be a pre-defined strategy to enter the labour market of the destination country, where professional and social networks are tied during the academic stay, resulting in potentially augmented visibility and competitivity (COM 2018b).

The destinations for academic mobility in Europe are likely to be determined by geographical proximity and attractiveness of the study location to-be. With view to CEE countries, the United States are on the top list of academic destinations for students from Bulgaria, Albania and Romania, whereas in Europe lead again Germany, France, UK and Austria the list of geographical preferences (Breinbauer 2007; Sanchez Barrioluengo and Flisi 2017).

Green (2006) adds the interrelation between skill formation and skill requirements of the single national contexts, that guide the production of either high or low skilled labour forces. Following on this path, Green's analysis also points to the uneven presence and tradition of vocational training institutions and tracks, as pendant to purely academic formation, which is completely missing in several EU-countries. Resulting from this, certain occupational sectors lack professionally trained and recognised qualifications and the European population a set of options for their education and future career.

Fig. 2.7: The nexus of social, spatial and job mobility within LLL dimensions



The immense impact of the digital transformation work conditions the new skills needed at the labour market and generates a geographical polarisation of employment sectors (OECD 2019). Whereas areas with a high-quality skill base attract business and technology, other regions stayed behind. This trend becomes even worse when considering the high fluctuation of job contents and structures. The 2019 OECD Skills Outlook refers to a number of occupations that are exchanged or replaced by others and thus leave skill breaches. On this account OECD evidences the rising demand of mobile workers. This points to spatial mobility on the one hand, but also to an increased elasticity in the professional field, supported by education and training in order to stay competitive on the labour market on the other hand. Whereas skills mismatch and shortage have negative impacts on the labour market insertion on individual level, they increase turnover and personnel costs for the companies and decrease most likely the productivity. Consequently, employment rates and GDP growth are unbalanced due to an ineffective and inefficient utilisation of human capital and reduced productivity rates (OECD 2017b).
Recognition and an adequate assessment of qualifications thus becomes challenging and a thorough insight in the diversity of international educational systems and institutions imperative. On micro level, labourers will be increasingly requested to self-assess their qualifications and competences adequately in order to allocate and present them effectively on the labour market (COM2016).
Job descriptions and positions are rather unpredictable itself, as being subject to continuous change and evolvement, and additionally altered through a combined work performance by human and machine. In an educational context, this implies that a highly important characteristic of competences and skills has become their transversality. As also other competence frameworks show, like the 21st century skills chart or the PISA-developed global competence framework, a significant share of the highly wanted skills and competences do not have clear boundaries but are rather transversal and blended.

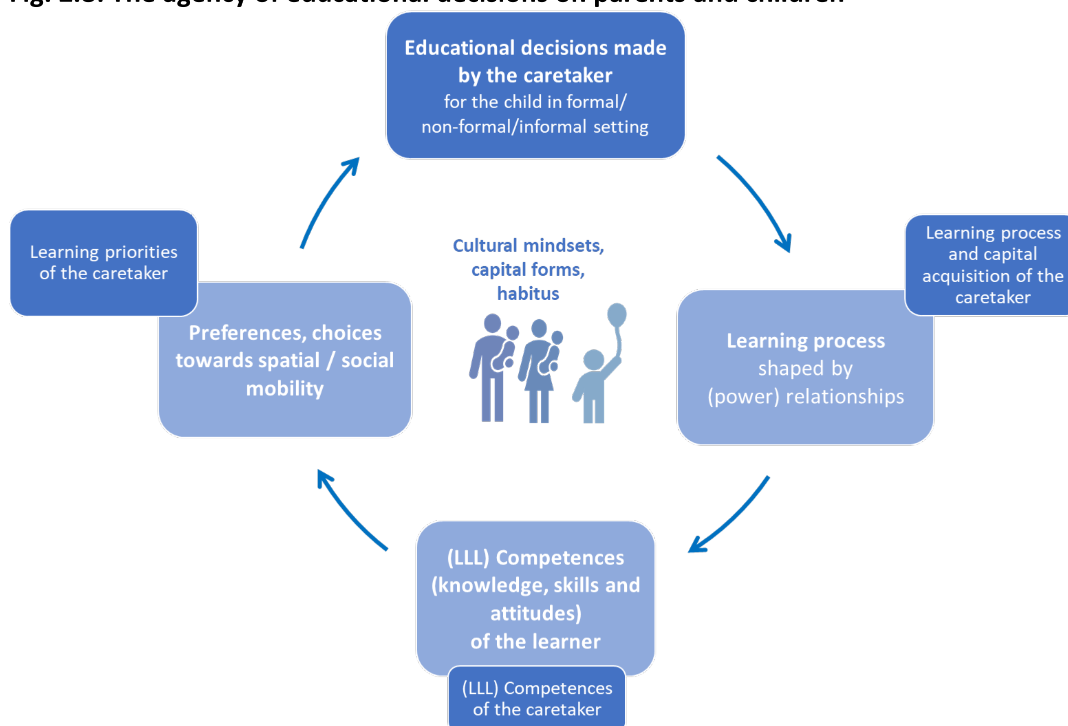
The first section of this chapter outlined the nexus between the two major components of the competence set as promoted in the Union, knowledge and skills from macro and micro perspective. The main pillars of education that evidence its temporal and spatial dimension pointing to lifelong and lifewide learning as the substantial paradigms in a knowledge society of the 21st century. The linking element among both concepts is mobility to generate, process and disseminate knowledge in the European space. Personal and socio-economic growth follow thus on the path of targeted (educational) decisions and smoothly operating, inclusive educational systems. Carving out individual potential relies thus on recognition of competences and accordingly the steering of educational decisions. However, if the latter are taken by thirds, as in the case of parental caretaking

and decision-making, it is crucial to understand their priorities and choices in order to orientate policies towards a targeted building and implementation of competences.

2.3 ATTITUDES: Educational decisions in the context of 21st century education

If we consider the triangle dynamics of choice, selection and decision-making in the context of education, diverse actors and capital forms play a role when setting personal preferences, that lead to the final decision. Accordingly, it is crucial to distinguish related concepts and processes. Ball and peers (2002) remind us in this context on the following: "(…) choice suggests openness in relation to a psychology of preferences, decision-making alludes to both power and constraint" (Ball et al. 2002: 51).

Fig. 2.8: The agency of educational decisions on parents and children



The graph points to the interrelation between learning processes released by educational decisions of parents for their children and collateral educational concomitants for the caretakers themselves. Accordingly, initial educational decisions related to formal, non-formal and informal learning in the host context, determined by cultural mindsets and habitus as well as diverse forms of capital, affect the learning process as well as the acquisition dynamics of (predominantly social and cultural) capital of the child and the parent. The choice of educational institutions, obligatory and extra-curricular activities in diverse learning settings may thus contribute significantly to the acquisition, maintenance and cultivation of knowledge, skills and attitudes towards concepts and contents.
Language is an often-cited example (Crul and Schneider 2010) of cultural capital that is central for social-cultural, educational and professional integration in the host context. Several national contexts provide services to favour linguistic and cultural training for migrant children and parents, as language classes or translation of information material within formal educational contexts (Cingolani et al. 2018).
Consequently, acquired competences that can be allocated to a 21st century education in pre-school and school context (ISCED 0-3) are presumed to affect educational decisions for professional

and higher education, which in turn might also have an impact on the educational decisions of their caretakers.
In the light of lifelong and lifewide education, parents' decisions on their own educational paths (professional and theoretical formation towards up- or re-skilling) are steered by existing cultural, educational, social and economic capital stocks in family. Consequently, financial and relational commitments related to the educational choices made by their offspring may guide parental choices to invest in their own continuous education. Decisions by all actors involved do accordingly determine priorities and preferences towards social and spatial mobility.
Particularly higher and adult education promote learner mobility as a means for individual and societal growth and represent hence a key issue for the selection of educational paths, contents and institutions. The interrelated dynamics between children and parent education are manifold and can be significantly guided by the set priority towards mobility on socio- cultural (e.g. when parents learn the host language of the new host context of their children's new learning environment, or temporary or long-term transfer in the host country) and economic level (e.g. through financial remittances). The educational path composed by decisions undertaken towards the accumulation and transfer of cultural, educational and mobility capital by both, children and parents, do eventually guide choices for the educational trajectory of the third generation. Therefore, considerations on learning contents, institutions and milieu are likely to be steered by familial habitus, attitudes and collective memory.
Indeed, Ball et. al (2002) agree in this context, confirming that within formal education in school, the institutional and family habitus trigger related decisions, whereas the choice related to higher education is often "a choice of lifestyle and a matter of 'taste' (…) constructed within a complex interplay of social factors that are underpinned by basic social class and ethnic differences" *(Ibid.*: 53).
The life-course concept of linked lives (Findlay et al. 2015) is central in the context of educational decision-making in an intercultural context. As outlined before, set priorities and choices for children's education may have a more or less stark agency on the (educational) life path of their parents that is likely to be linked. This work however argues that the extent of the 'linked-ness' is context-bound and in particular culture-dependent. Consequently, understanding interdependencies of educational decisions implies first of all the interpreting of cultural-bound thinking of its units of analysis within its transnational and intercultural contexts.
Among the myriad of interdisciplinary paradigms and references to culture of the latest decades, Hofstede's perspective offers an interesting approach within the discourse of interculture. Accordingly, he refers to culture as a "(…) collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (2011: 3). This notion has been controversially discussed and leaves space for differing or additional points of view, since a conceptualisation of culture underlies its socio-historical context within which it is used as well as the viewing angle and direction that determine its appropriateness. Consequently, the perspective may capture micro networks, as the culture of family, or macro spheres, as regional or national culture and changes its viewing direction accordingly from rather inductive to deductive reasoning. Demarcations of cultures rely thus on the same principle and might be interpreted according to the perspective or 'zoom intensity' with which they are viewed. In other words, the closer we put our lenses the more we distance from simplifications and homogenous realities. Those in turn might be however useful for interpretations of macro contexts (Bolten 2013).
Therefore, the perspective can be taken according to necessity in a rather "fuzzy", hybrid, dynamic and non-static way, the same attributes that may account for culture and its blurring barriers, which coined the term "fuzzy cultures" (Alfred 2002).

Contexts consist thus in a number of subcultures and are hence “polycollective”, which implies that also members act in diverse – probably spatially widely spread - collectives, e.g. family, religion, occupation, even virtual communities. Cultural identity is triggered and constructed by multiple reciprocal relations among actors and their milieus and thus displayed in family dynamics and decisions (Bolten 2013).
Alfred (2002: 7) concludes accordingly that “an individual is thus not bounded by a culture but floats in and out of many cultures and is the product of the multiple realities of these cultures”. The notion on interculture relies hence on the one hand side on the principle of distinguishable and delimited cultures, and on the other hand on the assumption that they overlap and create a common space for mediation between them.
Cultural dispositions of humans, their ‘mental programs’, have been thus developed according to Hofstede within our social environment, our experiences within family as first instance of educational institutions, and later in school or university with the interaction of other members of our networks and are the basis for our action. It relates to the Bourdieusian habitus concept as it is also grounded on the assumption that culture is learned and not the product of heritage (Hofstede 1993).
After this brief discussion on the potential role of (inter)culture for familial educational dynamics, the following subchapter will put its lens on cultural identity and its corresponding agency on decisions related to the building of cultural capital. This will set the scene for reflecting on the cultural dimensions proposed by Hofstede and their potential to understand and compare behavioural patterns of highly skilled migrants in the context of 21st century education.

2.3.1 Cultural capital in the light of cultural identity

This work relies on the assumption that education and related processes are culture-bound and corresponding thought and behavioural patterns are driven by cultural identity. An analysis of educational decisions in the context of migration would thus conclude that priorities, choices and assigned delegations reflect the cultural background of its actors. Therefore, the lens should be accordingly put between national boundaries and thus in the spaces that are created when culture(s) meet.
Cultural identity is shaped by its group members on the basis of common grounds. These in turn are formed through a commonly lived and orally or symbolically delivered history and present. Both are shared, stored and made available to members of corresponding groups in order to legitimize their membership and provide a sense of belonging (Hall and du Gay 1996). This quite simplified interrelation between cultural identity and collective memory points to the potential impact of both concepts to strategies and priorities related to the generation and processing of cultural capital. Before discussing this nexus further in detail, it might be useful to start to approach (cultural) identity conceptually which is a rather complex construct, or as Hall (1990: 222) puts it: “(…) not as transparent or unproblematic as we think” to carve out its potentially assigned functions and delegated power within everyday settings.
Identity “builds itself up individually by participating in the interactive and communicative patterns of the group to which it belongs and by contributing to that group’s self-image” (Assmann 2011: 112). Accordingly, the ‘we’ group identity is constructed by the knowledge and awareness of its members, and thus a reflexive form of belonging. The personal identity, also referred to as ‘I’ identity is culturally and socially determined. Processes related to the personal and individual development, individuation and socialisation, are guided by culture-bound language, norms, and values within a certain timeframe.

Assmann *(Ibid.*: 111) further argues that "identity is a matter of consciousness that is of becoming aware of an otherwise unconscious image of the self". This consciousness can be according to Brubaker and Cooper (2000) occur in strong and weak forms, and accordingly have more or less impact on thoughts and behaviour. Members of a group might be aware or not of their affiliated patterns, that can be pronounced through relational (e.g. kinship) or categorical mode (e.g. gender). The unawareness thus implies the possibility to discover several new identities and this case exposes an interesting issue in the framework of migration. Accordingly, identity applies to groups sharing common categorisations and is hence transferrable to other cultural or spatial contexts. The option to discover new ones also points to the possibility that multiple identities might be constructed and vanish under certain circumstances.

Thus, identity discovery in the context of mobility may be conceptually linked with identity recovery upon longer permanence in the host destination or upon return to the home country, on a short- and long-term scale. Both sub-concepts may be completed with identity disentanglement, or the process of disidentification (Zhou et. al 2008), that refuse belonging and resist being recognised a member of a certain group.

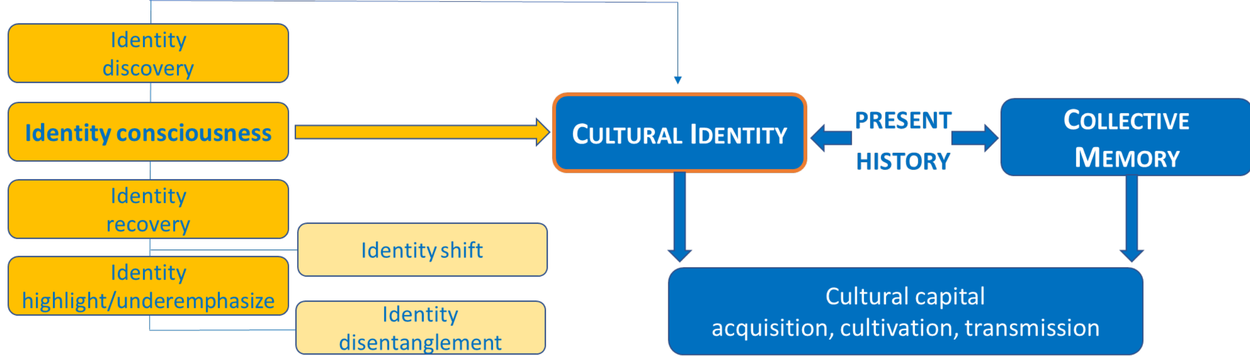
The possibility to release identity patterns suggests a wider scope of the category itself and leads to the assumption that we can switch, highlight or even underemphasise identitie(s) if this corroborates thought or behaviour patterns retained reasonable and legitimate in certain situations. This is further underlined by Hall's (1990: 222) invitation to think about identity "as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation." The elasticity of the concept is further widened when thinking about who allocates, names and works with categories that represent identities. Self-identification and categorisation by others need not to coincide and are often marked by "situated subjectivity" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 17). Different degrees of commonality and feelings of belonging to a group are consequently shaped by the subjective self-understanding and may determine and justify thought and decisional patterns (*Ibid.*).

Emphasising the fluidity that comes along with the utilisation of the identity concept, Brubaker and Cooper point to processes that accompany multiple identities and different codes that might occur in situations of ambiguity, for instance within mixed marriages or bilingual education (*Ibid.*).

Also, in the case of divided identities of supposedly same categories as it could be exemplified by the "German case" and its past of several decades of estrangement and division, two different cultural and socio-political contexts guided post-war identity formation among one German population. After the attempt of uniting two nations with individualistic and collectivist background, the question for a German (cultural) identity was newly formulated and increasingly pushed to recover from the past experience. Triandis (1995) maintain that Eastern Germany experienced an intergenerational identity shift from collectivistic to gradually individualistic society which paved the way for democratisation and finally the German reunification.

As these brief examples suggest, culture and identity are tightly interwoven and cultural identity refers to a "conscious participation in or recognition of a specific culture" (Assmann 2011: 115). As product of the historical, present and forthcoming life course cultural identity is subject to constant transformation (Hall 1990), or as Assmann (2008: 97) puts it: "Cultures create a contract between the living, the dead, and the not yet living."

Fig. 2.9: Interrelation between cultural identity, collective memory and cultural capital



This is where the assumed interrelation among culture and memory ties is, that has been argued and studied by interdisciplinary scholarship (*Ibid.*). Individual and collective memory are highly selective and underlie a constant interplay between remembering and forgetting. The same occurs for cultural memory that builds 'storage' for new memories through unlearning others as part of social normality to cope with the present and future (Assmann 2008).

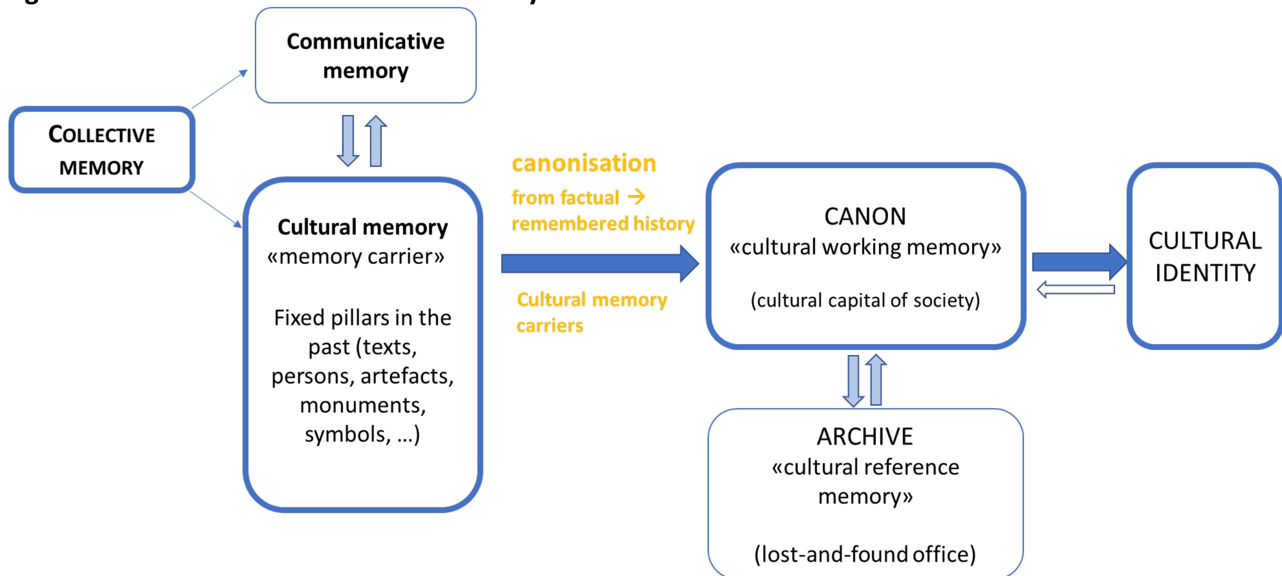
Drawing on Halbwachs' (1991) collective memory, Assmann (2008) elaborated a further distinction of the concept, reminding us that a collective, i.e. a group, does not have a memory itself, but it does though determine that of its members, which depends on communication and social interaction.

Accordingly, the theory of collective memory refers to two ways of remembering, represented for one in the communicative memory, which is a socially transmitted group-related memory based on non-formalised, role-reciprocal, non-institutional everyday interaction and communication based on living biographic memories, experiences and information known from hearsay. This memory is carried by "contemporary witnesses within a memory community" *(Ibid.*: 41) and has thus a limited temporal validity, which presumably does not exceed three generations and thus approximately 80 years. On the other hand, and in contrast to the first mentioned stands cultural memory, that provides for institutional preservation and is epitomised within texts, persons, artefacts, monuments, anniversaries, feasts, symbols or landscapes that represent fixed pillars and memory carriers of the past (*Ibid.*).

The interrelation between cultural memory (as part of the collective memory) and cultural identity of group members is made with reference to the storing of information that occurs in two different storage devices across a three-fold process. Therefore, information is processed through a selection of data retained valuable for the collective archive (canonisation) and then stored in the canon, the 'working memory of society'. This memory drive represents the society's dynamic, continuously reproducing and reaffirming cultural capital, which in turn defines the cultural identity of its members. Group members recall history through reproduction in ceremonies, events implementing rites and traditions to accordingly reconfirm their group identity. This stands in stark contrast to the before mentioned communicative memory that is rather perceived as an everyday memory, fluid through its informal transmission vis-à-vis the festive, lasting character of the cultural memory (Assmann 2011). Cultural memory does not depend on historical change or social taste and is passed on over generations and interpreted accordingly to the time period they are living in.

The canon is embedded in an archive, that stores information not needed or understood and works like a 'lost-and-found office' collecting things but not knowing if they will be ever picked up and find their owner (Assmann 2008).

Fig. 2.10: The dimension of cultural memory



The displayed figure sketches the interrelation of memory and identity, according to which the cultural capital of a group or society explicitly works on its cultural identity. Building on its constructivist character, identity is thus a dynamic, sometimes even contradictory and learned rather than fixed or innated concept.

Accordingly, this principle should be transferrable to a geographical, socio-political and cultural perspective to local, regional, national and supranational contexts, and introduces the concern about its reversibility. In other words: if cultural (group) capital (derived from cultural memory) shapes cultural (group) identity, how does (group) identity work on cultural capital transmission?

This question will be exemplified and discussed with a comparative lens on the intergenerational perception of gender identity and linked educational preferences of former Eastern and Western German and Romanian students. Data is provided by the Civic education project[5], queried adolescents in schools on gender equality in societal and professional contexts (Oesterreich 2002).

Romania's scores deviated in several categories significantly from the average scores of participating countries. Accordingly believed the majority of ISCED 2 respondents (53%) that men are better qualified to hold leading roles in politics than women compared to an international media of 28%. Almost one third of all Romanian respondents (32%) retain that women should not be in politics, which is compared to 9% in Germany and 10% in Italy a comparatively elevated score. In case of a rather scarce job market, another 42% of adolescents in Romania would grant men the priority to the job positions, on which in comparative perspective only one quarter of Italian and 18 % of German interviewees agree.

These results confirm the blatant presumptions of gender-specific educational and cognitive achievements as well as professional roles, and thus an approval of stratified professional access and exertion. The data further suggests a minor consideration of women's rights in Romania, which is according to Oesterreich (*Ibid.*) a remarkable finding given the socialistic past of the country and the conveyed gender ideology that sustained a strong female position. However, other than a radical shift in values, it is rather likely that the post-revolutionary economic impoverishment of the Romanian population and the mass unemployment that hit Romanian women particularly hard, impacted corresponding priorities towards gendered insertion in the labour market.

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[5] The cross-national project had been initiated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1994, sustained by and conducted in 24 participating countries in the first and 28 in the second phase (among which Germany, Italy and Romania).

This remark is corroborated by the item on family identity and the assigned roles of caretakers, that had been analysed within the same study from an East-West perspective for the German national context. The corresponding results confirm the interplay of collective knowledge on micro and meso level and hence the agency of intra-cultural and socio-political aspects for the perception of gender roles in the professional and private context.
Male and female students (ISCED 2 level) from former Eastern and Western Germany were questioned on the image of the family and related family identity. Respectively 69% of respondents from former Eastern Germany compared to 58% from the Western part of the country thought that single mothers or fathers were able to educate their children as well as both parents could do.
Also, whereas 89% of East-German youths presume that the quality of the emotional relationship of mother and child is not negatively affected if she is working, only 81% of students living in the West of Germany agree (*Ibid.*).
The gap for these opinions on ideal family composition and role models may be explained by the collective knowledge that has been transmitted for one within family and on the other hand side in society. The emancipated role of women in former Eastern Germany had been promoted on macro level and perceived on micro level. According to data provided by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (2015) 91% of Eastern-German women in working age were employed before the German reunification compared to a considerably smaller share (51%) in West Germany. Emancipation had been proclaimed one of the core ideologies of the Socialist state (cf. Ch. 3.3.2), that required also a high employability share of women and men to increase the production rate in the state-directed economy. Additionally, the provision of public infrastructures for childcare favoured the high employment rate of East-German female labourers. The family image in the Western part of Germany experienced a post-war socio-cultural restauration and suggested in the following decades the role of being full-time mother in the first years of the child's life time (*Ibid.*). However, notwithstanding higher employability and thus lower economic dependency of women in Eastern Germany, gender equality was not reported for employment sectors, which were rather segregated and divided in typically male and female professions that were accordingly more and less paid.
Ecarius (2013) refers to family as an institution on meso level that generates and transmits culture over generations, thus determines the individual and family identity building process through interaction and may reproduce social inequalities. Whereas familial relations are dynamic, physical and psychological development processes of children and parents guide daily interactions and determine recognition dynamics that are essential for identity development (*Ibid.*). A collective knowledge that has been discussed before as macro phenomenon within societies, occurs also within micro-institutions as in family and is built and reproduced through interaction between family members. Education is thus a construct based on assumptions that derive from the two knowledge bases of the parent's family cores. Accordingly, educational ideas, rules and convictions are translated from experiences and transmitted knowledge from own families. Consequently, new traditions are negotiated by the parents and communicated to their children (*Ibid.*).
This brief example of different perceptions points to diverse educational backgrounds that further built most likely on different educational and professional trajectories of the respondents in two national contexts. The differing attitudes as third component of the competence triad (knowledge-skills-attitude) can thus be explained through cultural difference.

Drawing on the initial premises of this chapter, (educational) decisions affect their recipients but also their senders directly and are grounded in their diachronic and synchronic socio-cultural context. These dimensions must thus be taken into consideration from a life-course perspective when analysing choices related to education to conclude corresponding (educational) needs and

wants for certain target groups. Hofstede has been a precursor in research on cultural divergence and proposed his cultural dimensions to explain why different decisions are taken in different national and cultural contexts. His notions will be guiding for the empirical analysis in chapter 4, 5 and 6 and accordingly discussed in this following section.

2.3.2 Hofstede's dimensions and education

Situations and contexts, chances and barriers, choices and decisions are viewed and construed through a cultural lens that guides the understanding. It is therefore central to work with and towards cultural differences to comprehend thought patterns and to mediate accordingly. Even though subject of critical academic discussions due to its rather static view of culture (Signorini et. al 2009), Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensions that were formulated and assessed with scores on a scale of 0-100 based on data from a study conducted in the 1960s and 70s with IBM employees of more than 50 countries provide a constant pillar of current and past academic studies and the basis for several further elaborations.
In accordance with the research design of this work, three out of six cultural dimensions are considered to be particularly relevant for this study to explain decisions related to the conveyance of cultural capital within the socio-cultural background of the chosen samples: Individualism (IND), Uncertainty avoidance (UAI), Power distance (PDI).

The dimension on individualism of Hofstede's theory, represents according to Triandis (2001: 907) "the most significant cultural difference among cultures (…) important both historically and cross-culturally". Accordingly, this dimension triggers and guides cultures in their thought-, behavioural and thus decisional patterns. Personal and in-group goals are mostly compatible in collectivistic cultures and rather separated in individualistic societies. Rationality for choices and relationships with a cost-benefit calculation is a feature rather subscribed to individualists, as collectivist societies prioritize relationships and loyalty under consideration of group's needs (Triandis 1999).
Pointing to their polythetic morphology Triandis (Ibid.) evidences the option of different kinds of individualism and collectivism constructs that "constitute different species" and can be described and distinguished on the basis of four dimensions:

(1) Definition of the self
(2) Structure of goals
(3) Emphasis on norms versus attitudes
(4) Emphasis on relatedness versus rationality

While the interdependent self, guided by norms, duties and obligations, strongly emphasising relationships, is defined rather characteristic in collectivistic societies, in-groups provide a stable environment to which their members may adjust due to their rather flexible personality. On the other side, the independent self, focusing on attitudes, personal needs and rights with a more stable nature that may shape their social environment according to their personalities, is defined characteristic for individualistic cultures (Ibid.).
Triandis further introduces a vertical and horizontal orientation of species allocated to individualistic or collectivistic cultures. Consequently, vertical cultures reveal and accept a hierarchy as a natural state with power and privileges assigned to the top. On the contrast, horizontal orientations of societies claim for and pretend equality among its members. The orientation of relationships within the cultures are dynamic, thus horizontal cultures may reveal vertical relations (Triandis 1999, 2001).
Hofstede (1993) points to a negative correlation among power distance and individualism in a society. Consequently, individualistic cultures normally show a low perception and acceptance of

power distance and vice versa. This can be confirmed for the case of Romania, which has been rated a collectivist society. With a relatively low score of 30 for 'Individualism', compared to Italy (76) and Germany (67), that are accordingly considered individualistic, it reveals a very high score for power distance (90)[6]. Also, for Italy and Germany, Hofstede's assumption turns out reliable, however, not with such extremely polarising values as in the Romanian case.
Interesting for the sake of the concern related to the agency of social or economic capital on educational choices will be the issue of transversality or rather transferability of the individualist and collectivist 'status'. Drawing on Triandis and peers, individuals may change the attitudes and mindset according to particular situations. Analysing choices made and determining factors that guided them with a culturally comparative key might give hints when and in which form this mindset change occurs.

The Uncertainty Avoidance Index indicates the degree to which unpredictability that Hofstede calls "a basic fact of human life" as "time goes only one way" (Hofstede 2001: 145) is tolerated or counteracted in different cultures. Technology, Religion, in terms of "revealed knowledge of the unknown" (Hofstede 1993: 130) and law play an important role to cope with uncertainty. Whereas naturally created unpredictable situation may counteracted with technological use and progress, legal frameworks corroborated by regulations and rules contain human behaviour. Additionally, religious beliefs may provide a fundamental pillar to encounter and accept uncertain situations that occur over the life course. In this context Hofstede (1993) maintains that countries with orthodox and roman-catholic religion reveal higher UAIs. This hypothesis is representative for the Romanian case, as it ranks with an Uncertainty Avoidance Index of 90 widely above the European average, which is 74 (Contiu 2010), along with a score of 75 for Italy and 65 for Germany.
These three mentioned categories have one in common: they require knowledge, skills and attitudes to be operated, in other words competences to deal with uncertainty must be conveyed and learned. Ways of coping are according to Hofstede part of the cultural heritage that is shaped by institutions such as family, school and state. Conversely, what kind of cultural and educational capital is conveyed and to which extent is guided by the strive for predictability and the need to minimize the unknown.
In educational contexts, structured learning processes with precise objectives and linear contents that reveal only one response to a question and the expectancy of rewarding for positive results are features that describe preferences of teachers and students of strongly-uncertainty-avoiding societies. The consideration of the teacher as main source of knowledge and experts of the field can be found according to Hofstede in high-uncertainty-avoiding countries (Hofstede et al. 2010). Interesting is also Hofstede's assumption on how parents are affected by uncertainty-avoiding culture in the educational environment. He maintains that high-index societies tend to put rather more responsibility and controlling on schooling upon caretakers, which also implies that parents watch their children's learning motivation and behaviour in school.

Hofstede's power distance dimension points to "the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. This represents inequality (more versus less), but defined from below, not from above" (Hofstede 2011: 9). Consequently, the model relies on the assumption that power distribution and thus inequality is culturally perceived and accepted, that hierarchies and power mechanisms have a function and are necessary for the striving towards a common objective. Culturally perceived

[6] All country values established by Hofstede and peers can be found and verified at the website: https://geerthofstede.com/research-and-vsm/dimension-data-matrix/

power distance would thus guide released delegations for education to organisations in formal, non-formal and informal milieus. Power distance assumes different features in the various contexts.
In the familial context Hofstede presumes that different role distribution and perception among family members is displayed in treatments as equals of children and parents in countries that are ranged with a low power distance index, which translates conversely in taught obedience and understanding of roles in contexts with a larger power distance. Children growing up in mixed families with bicultural background and two languages, could encounter accordingly also two contexts with diverse power distances among which is constantly mediated and that impact familial decisions of all kinds, also those related to education. In school, power distance is displayed in strict discipline and teacher-centred environments (power-distant cultures) versus learner-centred schooling in low power-distant cultures (Cortina et al. 2017; Sugahara and Boland 2010).
These polarising characteristics and perceptions of education are grounded in the founding ideas of Eastern and Western educational systems, that can be traced back to the Confucian and Socratic philosophy. Whereas cultures based on the latter tradition encourage learning to be "an end in and of itself" and thus "an enjoyable experience in its own right" that bases beliefs and authorities on critical thinking, the Confucian philosophy adheres to the ability-through-effort principle that works towards an aspired educational goal and "the view that social harmony is achieved through education, and a good education is achieved through hard work" (Cortina et al. 2017: 2).
The international priory quoted (cf. Ch. 2.3.1) research study 'Civic Education' confirms these assumptions with data on the teaching methodologies in an international comparison. Accordingly, Romania has the highest scores for a strongly teacher-centred lecture design (91%) compared to other countries with a lower PDI, such as Germany (47%) or Switzerland (37%) (Oesterreich 2002).
International studies confirm the interrelation of power-distance and educational choices on micro and macro level. On macro level Cheung and Chan (2008) analysed the agency of culture on educational expenditures and thus student academic achievement in 43 countries worldwide. They found that high power distance countries had lower educational expenditures in proportion to their GDP than their counterpart regions with a low power distance index. The respective higher pupil-teacher ratio in formal educational environments is assumed to result in lower academic achievements of the student population. Cheung and Chan (*Ibid.*) assume a correlation among the display of power and decision-making. Accordingly, low power-distance societies involve policymakers on a rather equal level into decisional processes for the sake of the general equality demand and low hierarchical order in society.
The studies of Cortina et al. (2017) and Rienties and Tempelaar (2013) put their lenses on the interrelation of power distance and educational integration on micro level. They analysed social adjustment and the sense of belonging of students within different ISCED levels and from different cultural backgrounds, that had been categorised on Hofstede's power distance scale. Both confirm findings that point to a strong correlation between low power distance cultures and positive senses of social attachment to the educational institutions. Moreover, their findings suggest that international students at the examined Dutch universities coming from contexts ranged higher at the power-distance scale performed lower than those students from countries with lower rated power distance index (*Ibid.*).

This chapter aimed to embed a theoretical framework of education as central capital form in a 21st century knowledge society in the context of intra-European highly-skilled migration.
Accordingly, the first part focused on the lifelong learning competence set of knowledge, skills and attitudes as most significant currency of educational capital in a mobile European society. Core elements referred thus to needs and wants of skill generation on micro and macro level and the promoted link to mobility in its spatial, social and professional form.

Building on this situational analysis education and related decisional processes were linked to culture and identity as its core determinants in transcultural contexts in the second part of this chapter. As the main hypothesis of this work builds on the interdependency of educational decisions and the socio-cultural backgrounds of protagonists in this process, the Hofstedian Cultural dimensions, that have been discussed in the last part of this chapter, will support the analysis of Chapter 4, 5 and 6 to be further outlined in the Methodology section of the following chapter.

PART 2 – EMPIRICAL STUDY

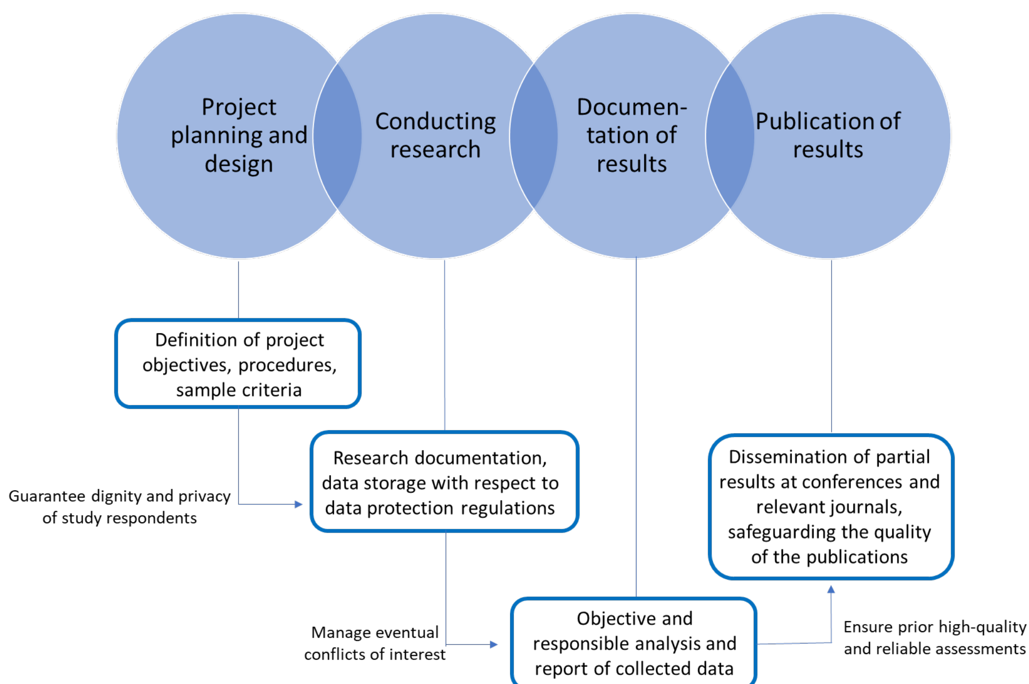
CHAPTER 3: ROMANIAN AND GERMAN MIDDLING TRANSNATIONALS IN TURIN, ITALY – A CASE STUDY

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Research ethics and integrity

Ethical principles and values for conducting the research were oriented on the Guidelines for Research Integrity, firstly published in the 2015 by the Research Ethics and Integrity Committee[1], and applied throughout all phases of the research project.

Fig. 3.1: Project phases[2]



In collaboration with the research supervisor during the project design phase, general and specific research objectives as well as criteria for the sample selections were revised. Also, schedules were defined and regularly updated in accordance to upcoming developments and tested feasibility. Throughout the entire research, but in particular during the sample selection and interviewing process, the safeguarding of the respondents' dignity and respect for their personal experiences was of utmost importance (cf. CNR 2019). Accordingly, European standards on privacy regulations and provisions on treatment of vulnerable data was thoroughly studied and applied (COM 2016). Potential respondents were contacted with a clear outline of the study and description of their possible involvement. Once confirmed their willingness to participate in the study, contact data and details (date of first context, modality, contact mediator, etc.) were filed in a database. At the moment of the interview, all study participants were informed again on the research aims, data collection and storage and the envisaged documentation of the analysis results. The anonymization of all information and the corresponding treatment in accordance with European guidelines on data

[1] https://www.cnr.it/en/ethics

[2] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

protection was ensured. The language for the information consent as well as the interviews was chosen between either Italian (for SG1 and SG2, Stakeholder), German (for SG3, Stakeholder) or English (institution in Romania) to prevent from any misunderstandings. All study participants had been priory asked to choose their preferred language.
The qualitative interviews were conducted either in premises at the University of Turin, at the Goethe Institute Turin or in public places at convenience for the study respondents. Attention was paid to a quiet and reassuring atmosphere without thirds or disruptive elements, and corresponding spaces/facilities at disposal. The utilization of adequate recording devises in line with the announced method of semi-structured interviewing was secured and explained for the sake of transparency and professionalism. Data was stored in line with set out principles for research integrity, demographic information were extracted in databases on account of statistical use within the project. The research project did not encounter any conflict of interests that would have compromised the investigator's objectivity during the entire process, however, periodical checks and discussions with the research supervisor have been done on this account.

All observations, investigations and analyses were premised by the corresponding role of the author from emic and etic perspective (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Salzman 2002). Own biographical experiences played a central role for both, the collection and interpretation of research findings in this study, as the author shares the country of origin (SG3), the destination context (Turin) and in part the migratory trajectory. Several questions and investigations benefited thus from the authors insight and socio-cultural, political and linguistic background that can be compensated but not replaced by thorough theoretical studies. The latter has been also facilitated through linguistic knowledge of German that eased access to literature not available in other languages, especially concerning pre-1989 documents and video material on Eastern German (educational and migratory) history. Along with this comes the facilitated negotiation and access to the field for both target groups, in particular the German SG3, due to the existing network of the author. Sharing a migratory past, even though with different characteristics, worked in several cases also as gatekeeper to the Romanian study participants.

3.1.2 Study sample

The data that informs this cross-sectional case study has been retrieved from 28 semi-structured interviews that were conducted between 2018 and 2020 in the Turin Metropolitan Area, Italy and in Bucharest, Romania. The sample groups have been organized according to the national composition of the parent couple. Accordingly, respondents of interviewed German and Romanian families are distinguished between representatives of

- Romanian families, whereas both parents hold the Romanian citizenship (SG1)
- mixed parental couples (SG2), i.e. both parents have different nationalities, one of which Romanian by citizenship
- mixed parental couples (SG3), i.e. both parents have different nationalities, one of which German by citizenship

The search and recruitment of study participants occurred through different channels and was supported by diverse facilitators, gatekeepers and dynamics that evolved during the process.
A thorough research on the sample characteristics in the context of the research scope built a list of criteria for the individuation at an initial stage and the selection of the sample groups for the empirical part. Accordingly, given the characteristics of the migration patterns of German in the Italian context with regard to their motivation (cf. 'Lifestyle migrations' in Ch. 4) and socio-cultural

and economic background (family composition, cultural level) it was decided to focus on mixed German parental couples (SG3). Thus, the research analysis and discussion defined the criteria for the Romanian sample group accordingly, and provided thus for an analysis on two levels: firstly, among Romanian mixed couples and families with both first-generation parents holding the Romanian nationality; secondly among German and Romanian mixed - transnational families.

A brief outline of the research endeavour, scope and conditions (anticipation of envisaged timeframe, necessity of recording) was prepared in Italian and German language and for different target addressees (institutional, individual, etc.).
SG1 and SG2 were primarily approached through institutional contacts of Romanian associations in Turin that supported the establishment of relations and the negotiation process. Most interviewees of the Romanian sample groups disposed a stable network build by contacts at work, church or through their involvement in other organizations, and could therefore employ a snowball system, providing further potential respondents. Another helpful channel was the university, where scholars and academics concerned with Romanian language and culture were contacted and provided useful contacts.
The German SG3 participants were mainly researched through the Goethe Institute in Turin, that employed a representative numbers of potential study participants. Most of them sent their children to the European School in Turin, that has a dedicated German section, and could thus in turn provide further contacts, either of other parents or teachers. All potential study participants had been priory informed by the contact mediators and facilitators, such as heads of organizations or in the German case the responsible of the Goethe Institute. Most respondents were then contacted by email, that detailed the research and asked for availability, only few preferred to be contacted by phone. The response quota was almost 100%, only one contact that had been recommended, decided to not participate in the study. With regard to the German sample group, the access was facilitated, firstly due to linguistic and cultural confidence, and secondly due to the existing and rather interwoven German community, where the researcher easily gained access, as being of German origin.
One sensitive issue for approaching and finally selecting the study sample was the criteria on (high) qualification. The educational system in Romania envisaged a thorough vocational training in the pre-1989 educational system and this was encouraged and prioritized to the purely academic education (cf. Ch. 3.3.4). Accordingly, for several respondents their classification into the (highly)skilled category was not immediate or even caused reluctance within the selection process from the researcher's standpoint. The structural and context-bound particularity of a dual system led to a re-consideration of initially defined categories and considered a university degree not as an obligatory selection criterion, but validated also a comparable vocational degree or an equivalent.
The research study was conducted with the following sample:

Tab. 3.1: Sample groups

RESPONDENT TYPE	No.
SG1_Representative of 'Romanian couple'	7
SG2_Representative of 'Romanian mixed couple'	5
SG3_Representative of 'German mixed couple'	12
EDU_Educational institutions (Schools)	2
MIN_Policymaker (Ministry)	1
TOTAL	**27**

The interview was conducted with one of the migrated parents (in Romanian couples, SG1) or the migrated parent (in mixed couples, SG2 and SG3).
At the moment of data acquisition, the selected sample fitted the following criteria:

(1) Participants of SG1, SG2 and SG3

- EU nationality: Both parents with Romanian citizenship for SG1; at least one parental member with Romanian or German citizenship for SG2 and SG3;
- Family status: The study aims to analyse parental choices; consequently, study participants were selected accordingly. The family nucleus was composed by both parents and at least one child, aged 5 to 25, either born in the context of origin, in the host context or in another European country;
- Residence: The transnational family was registered in Italy (Turin Metropolitan Area or surrounding regional districts) at the time of the study implementation;
- Educational and professional background: Study participants can be included in the category of a (highly)-qualified worker. Post-secondary academic or professional education had been acquired either in the country of origin or in the receiving context, the participant had several years of work experience.

(2) Romanian and German formal institutions

In order to be coherent to the characteristics of the majority of sample groups families, that are binational in their composition and transnational in their educational performance and perception, the institutional samples have been chosen accordingly. Thus, both schools interviewed are binational, Italian-Romanian and Italian-German.

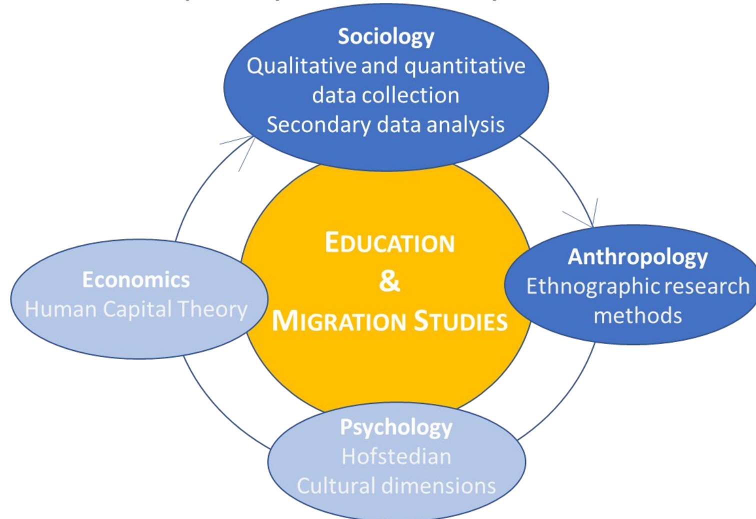
(3) Policymaker

The former branch of the Romanian Ministry is dedicated in particular on the Romanian diaspora abroad and pursues the mission to maintain and stabilise homeland ties for 1st generation parents, and to transmit socio-cultural elements (such as language) to 2nd generations.
The organisation has been selected to underline its relevance for inclusion and integration dynamics of Romanians in Italy. It was decided to include the Ministry in the study sample after first interviews with SG1 and SG2 respondents had been conducted. Upon a general analysis of the data several references to the Ministry had occurred in the context of funded initiatives (i.e. associations, cf. Ch. 5) in the host context. There was no comparable reference in the data of SG3, which is why no additional data collection occurred at a comparable German institution.

3.1.3 Research framework

The design of this research intends to draw on Russell King's invitation to study migration with interdisciplinary approaches, using comparative analysis with "paradigmatic plurality […] to capture the richness of the human experience of migration" (King 2002: 101).
Therefore, this study covers several research disciplines and overlapping branches among them that assume diverse methodological and theoretical approaches.

Fig. 3.2: Interdisciplinarity of research study



The central theme is settled in Education and Migration Studies and links a broad range of academic fields, in particular Sociology and Anthropology from a methodological perspective and disciplinary approach to migration.
Whereas anthropology tries to capture the migrant experience particularly by its roots, often in the country of origin and with the application of ethnographic research methods, the sociological focus is on transition and incorporation processes in the country of destination. Data collection of those enquiries may be pursued and facilitated by qualitative and quantitative research techniques. Both disciplines are backed by classical works in Social Theory. Sociology shares the interest for migration motivation with neighbour disciplines such as Economics, that question the reason for moving along the line of decision-making and choice (Brettell and Hollifield 2015).To approach patterns of migration and education from a cross-cultural perspective, a transversal orientation has been provided by the Hofstedian socio-psychological framework on cultural dimensions.

These characteristics account for this study, whereas the first and theoretical part started out with a brief socio-economic overview on the migration patterns in Europe and its policy implications on regional and national level, followed by a discussion on European educational policy in a diachronic perspective. In order to capture a complete – as far as retained for this study – picture of the proposed triangle of competences, that is constituted by knowledge, skills and attitudes, the latter has been introduced and will be further elaborated with the cultural dimensions of the social psychologist Hofstede. His contribution is anchored in theoretical concepts of anthropology, psychology and sociology and has been particularly appreciated for cross-cultural studies in diverse disciplines due to the multiple context-adaptability of 'culture' (Nakata 2009). From a methodological point of view, secondary data has been employed in particular in Chapter 2, 3.2 and 3.3 to carve out the potential of secondary data analysis as common method in Sociology to re-analyse existing data in the frame of new research questions and perspectives (Smith 2008).

This study is grounded in a bottom-up approach and was designed based on a qualitative approach for data collection, which is confirmed by the choice of the semi-structured interview as leading and central research method. However, in order to corroborate the argumentation with rather systematic data (Corbetta 2003), the empirical part of this work avails scaling as quantitative complement to capture the multi-dimensional spatial, temporal and causal levels of the research theme and the diversity of the target groups.

On this purpose, a quantitative data has been collected during the semi-structured interviews from all SG respondents and applied on:

1) the respondent's priority sets on pre-established lifestyle indicators and
2) their attitude towards the role of school

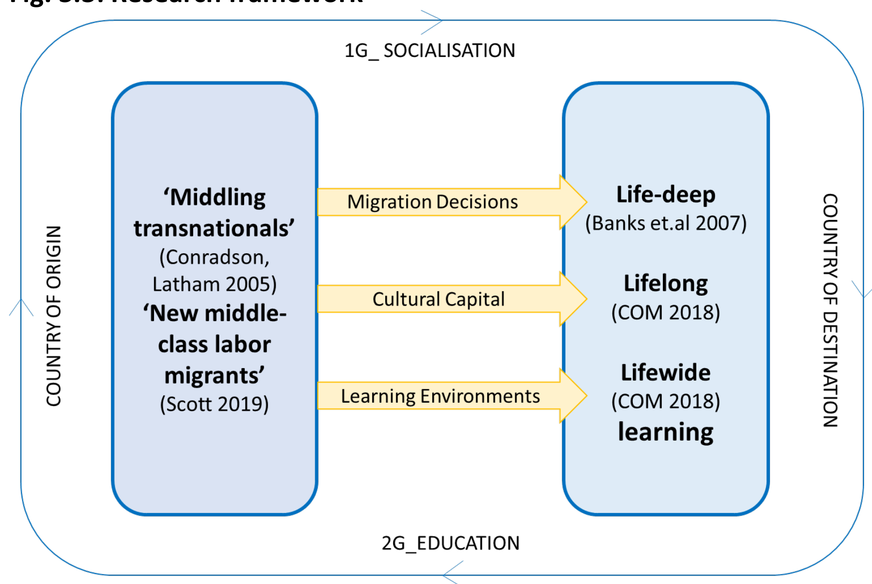
Items have been defined under consideration of the OECD study of lifestyle indicators (Boarini, R. et al. 2012) and the triangle of skills and competences (soft skills, hard skills, transversal skills) in accordance with the EU-recommended key competences for Lifelong Learning (COM 2018a).
The data retrieved has been analysed as leading elements for the discussion in Chapter 4 (lifestyle migration) and Chapter 6 (formal education).
Additionally, ethnographic research techniques have been employed during a field trip to Romania to two single settings, where qualitative interviews were conducted with officials of the former Ministry for Romanians abroad and the representatives of the Italian-Romanian school in Bucharest. Informal conversations, field notes and observations as well as photo material was added to the data collection and accordingly analysed.
Drawing on Hammersley's and Atkinson's (2007: 18) presumption that "all social research is founded on the human capacity for participant observation" the latter was applied as central technique during all phases of data collection and documented in additional notes to the interview transcriptions.
The interview questions have been prepared in English, Italian and German. A verbatim report of the recorded interviews with corresponding transcriptions was provided for each interview and translated into English if applicable. The transcribed data was stored and analysed with the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

This entire work has been considered as descriptive-explanatory multiple-case study that describes the phenomenon of (highly) skilled Romanian(-Italian) and German-Italian transnational families in the context of education and migration and is grounded in the cause-effect relationships of collected and analysed data (Yin 2003). Turin has been chosen as urban context and location to study (Details on the choice of the study location will be further constituted in the following section).
Overall, the set of research techniques built the basis for an analysis on mechanisms and strategies applied by European high-skilled professionals for their educational paths and those of their children[3] that were questioned with respect to socio-anthropological key concepts of (national) identity, group position, habitus and capital.

The two central pillars of the research are (highly)skilled migration and what the EU-Commission as educational supreme guide has proposed for a 21st century education in Europe. The empirical study is thus positioned in a field of "new middle-class labour migrants" (Scott 2019) and life-deep, lifelong, lifewide learning principles as paradigm for contemporary competence training (COM 2018a).
Investigations on the protagonists of this study, and thus the (highly)qualified 'middling transnational' or 'new-middle class labour migrant' as defined by international literature (Conradson and Latham 2005; Scott 2019) have been organized in three thematic categories. They thus examine firstly the motivation for geographical mobility and the corresponding trajectory (life-deep learning), which is then put into relation with their educational intentions, either for them or their offspring. Secondly, the actual strategies and choices for cultural capital acquisition and cultivation (lifelong learning), and thirdly the cognitive dispositions towards learning environments and allocated delegations to all stakeholders involved in the learning process (lifewide learning).

[3] Education paths refer to the acquisition, maintenance and cultivation of cultural capital.

Fig. 3.3: Research framework



In order to encounter international scholarship's appeal to consider the interrelation between spatial and social mobility (Scott 2019) and to link "pre- with post-migration characteristics, sometimes across more than one generation" (King 2002: 91), the analytical framework of this study builds on the life course perspective (Elder et al 2003; Settersten jr. 2015) as central element for the investigation. The country of origin as well as the host context, as main location for 2nd generation education represents the frame for reference of this study. The three principal sections of the empirical study (Ch. 4, 5 and 6) provide hence for a diachronic perspective of the respondent's socialization and their contemporary view to educational strategies.

Moreover, chapter 5 has been enriched with 3 micro-case studies, that are embedded in the analysed overall context. The decision on the incorporation of specific case scenarios has been taken after a thorough data analysis, as corresponding non-envisaged and unexpected information revealed interesting interrelations between various group categories and extended the field. The collected data provided thus for a further sample sub-classification of Romanian transnational families. Accordingly, one SG1 respondent belongs to a religious minority group of Russian origin, which presents thus an additional particular unit of analysis. The incorporated case studies for each sub-section of chapter 5 focused thus on two issues: firstly, illustration of particular educational strategies in diachronic perspective, drawing on socialisation experiences of the respondent, for members of ethnic-religious minority groups; secondly, carving out educational choices and priorities that may be interrelated to the group (belonging) or intensify cognitive or behavioural patterns observed for SG1 and SG2.
Also, data related to chapter 6 revealed a further level for analysis, that has been applied transversally to all priory analysed learning settings (formal, non-formal, informal learning) in a micro case study for Chapter 6.
During data collection, one respondent (SG1) reported indeed that the education of their four children was entirely based on home-schooling. This provided an interesting perspective, and put at the same time priory discussed concepts and their demarcation in question.

3.2 Framing a research sample: Italy as study location for Romanian and German (high) qualified mobility

The following subchapters aim to provide research relevant data on the corresponding three countries in question of this study to embed the research results appropriately in their contexts.

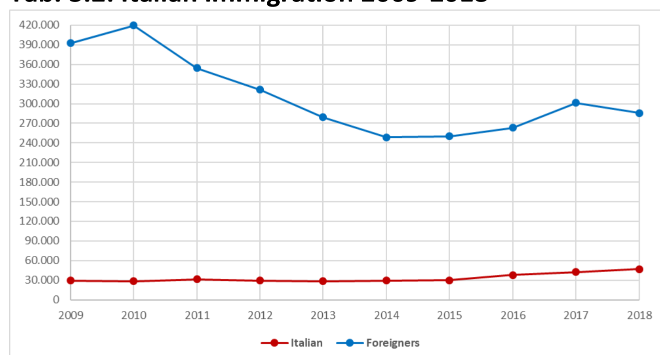
3.2.1 Italy in an emigration and immigration context

New dynamics in the European labour market caused by a Fordist industrial development and the economic post-war boom resulted in a growing intra-European mobility that elicited measures on political and social level and turned emigration to immigration countries or vice versa. Italy experienced this kind of structural change from labour provider to recipient in both forms. After avertible post-war damages to industry and infrastructure new economic and social transformations heralded the internal migration period in Italy in the 1950s and 1960s. The mainly agricultural and rural context, with 43% of the workforce being employed in the primary sector, developed towards a competitive and modern European industrial sector. This is supported by data on the Italian GDP between 1948 and 1963 that grew by 6% per year and consequently caused massive changes within the population structure. Interregional South-North and rural-urban mobility flows could be predominantly observed towards Northern metropolitan provinces as the industrial triangle Milan, Genoa or Turin, historically the "major poles of attraction" (Bonifazi and Heins 2000, Bonifazi et al. 2009).
Due to ongoing economic developments in Europe and initiatives launched to stimulate a temporary labour migration, the 1960s and early 1970s marked a period of Italian's guest worker mobility to European countries, such as Germany and Switzerland. Indeed, the latter received post-war seasonal workers mainly from Italy (amounting to 60% of the foreigners in 1960), including a considerable part of cross-frontier commuters, that made up one third of the national work force in the 1970s (Martin 2006). While less than 150.000 foreigners were listed in 1970 in Italy, this number was doubled within the first years and amounted in 1980 to already to 300.000 (Coccia and Pittau 2016). The following years inverted the trend of the previous years and observed an increasing number of foreign-born nationals in the 90s Italian population statistics. This tendency has been persisted until today and is represented by a continuously positive demographic balance that registers generally more inflows than outflows (Davico and Staricco 2020). Around 80% of all incomings to Italy arrived from the southern Mediterranean area, Morocco and Tunisia, later from other African countries. The mobility flows were mainly directed towards the north-west of the country, which remains up today, the region with the highest net migration share (Bonifazi et al. 2009[4]; Pugliese 1996).
Italy's demographic profile was further shaped by the major provisions for the systematic EU integration and enlargement that were undertaken in the 1990s, after a socio-political radical change that had come along with the breakdown of the Soviet system and a new geopolitical formation of European states. First immigration flows of refugees occurred indeed in the beginning 1990s and can be linked to the Balkan conflict and a massive increase of asylum applications (Coccia and Pittau 2016).

[4] The mobility flows were mainly directed towards the north-west of the country, which presents still today the region with the highest net migration share. Today the net migration of the foreign population is the highest in the North-West, followed by the North-East and the Centre (Bonifazi 2009).

Drawing on the latest available ISTAT data (2020)[5] of the last decade (cf. Tab. 3.2) we can observe a relatively stable value for Italian immigration, and thus return migration from other national contexts. The number increased in 2016 by 20% compared to the previous year (30.052) and has been continuously rising since then. This development is presumably due to socio-political developments in general, and the Brexit in particular, as the UK has been presenting the top destination for Italian emigration in the last years.

Tab. 3.2: Italian immigration 2009-2018



Source: ISTAT data[6] (own elaboration)

40.058

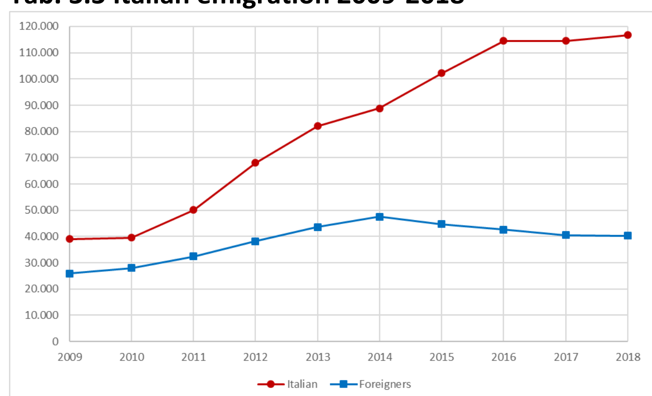
Romanians immigrated to Italy in 2018, with the majority of 82% in labour age (18-64 years). In 2020 the Romanian community represents 23% of Italy's total foreign citizens.

16.941

persons holding the Moroccan citizenship came to Italy in 2018 (70% in labour age) and represent in 2020 the largest foreign non-European community in Italy (8.1%), preceeded by citizens from Albania (8.3%).

Instead, foreign immigration has been decreasing from 2011 to 2014 and had another peak in 2017. The majority of foreign inflows accounts to citizens coming from Romania (14% of the total foreign inflows in 2018), followed by countries like Albania (6,3%) and Morocco (5,9%).
In 2018, Piedmont remained with (7% of total flows) one of the top 5 destination regions for foreign immigration in Italy for that accounts to for foreign immigrants, preceded by Lombardy (20%), Veneto and Lazio (10%) and Emilia Romagna (9%).

Tab. 3.3 Italian emigration 2009-2018



Source: ISTAT data[7] (own elaboration)

77.694

Italians (66,6% of total outflows) left their country of origin for another EU-27 member state. Brasil accounts with 8591 (7,4%) Italian outflows as first non-EU destination.

20.546

Italians (17,6% of total outflows) moved to the UK in 2018, that holds its tradition as top destination for Italian emigration, followed by its neighbour states Germany (15,5%), France (11,6%) and Switzerland (8,4%).

Germany's popularity as destination for Italian migrants has been growing steadily from 6.000 Italian expats in 2009 to 18.000 in 2018. According to the ISTAT Report (2019) it is presumed that 182.000 Italian émigrés who left in 10 years hold a university degree and can be thus allocated to the category highly-skilled. In 2018, more than half of Italian expats (53%) had a medium-high skilled qualification. Graduates with Italian citizenship who decided to leave their home country increased in five years (2013-2018) by 45%.

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[5] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).
[6] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).
[7] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov.16 2020).

Significant for the Italian context is the regional distribution of emigration. Accordingly, the highest share in absolute value, of Italians left from Lombardy (with 6.500 in Milan), Veneto and Sicily (both more than 11.000 émigrés), followed by Lazio (10.000) and Piedmont (9.000, of which 4.000 from Turin Metropolitan Area) (*Ibid.*). In a comparative perspective, incoming and outgoing shares of human capital and thus potential qualified work force for the Italian labour market remains unbalanced with respect to net numbers, but also due to the lower rates of skill matching for foreign immigrants (Coccia and Pittau 2016). This assumption is corroborated by the data provided from IDOS Research and Study Centre (2020) for the Labour Market Situation in Italy in 2018.

Tab. 3.4: Labour market situation in Italy 2018

Region	EMPLOYED		PROFESSIONAL TYPOLOGY								OVERQUALIFIED		
	Foreigners (%)	of which females (%)	Non-specialised manual work		Specialised manual work		Clerks, sales persons, service		Executives,know-ledge professions		Italians (%)	Foreigners (%)	Total (%)
			Italians	Foreigners	Italians	Foreigners	Italians	Foreigners	Italians	Foreigners			
Piedmont	10,7	46,9	7,0	27,0	24,2	36,3	29,0	30,2	39,9	6,5	**23,6**	**32,4**	**24,5**
ITALY	10,6	44,2	8,2	33,3	22,8	29,7	30,6	29,4	38,5	7,6	25,6	35,2	26,6

Source: ISTAT data[8]

Accordingly, one out of 10 foreigners in Italy and an in Piedmont participates in the Italian labour market. The gender balance is to a small proportion higher in Piedmont than on national average. With respect to the occupational fields, in Piedmont the majority of foreign human capital is concentrated in specialised manual work fields (36,3%).
However, a minority of 6,5% work in highly-qualified occupational fields and job positions in Piedmont, that employs more Italian nationals in upper positions and less foreigners than the Italian average. The share of Italians in comparable high-skilled executive and knowledge professions in both contexts is five to six times higher.

Tab. 3.5: Foreign citizens in Piedmont in 2020 (top 5 citizenships)

Citizenship	FOREIGN RESIDENTS	
Total	***429.375***	***100%***
Romanian	145.660	**34%**
Moroccan	55.318	**13%**
Albanian	40.752	**9%**
Chinese	20.098	**5%**
Nigerian	12.645	**3%**

Source: ISTAT data[9]

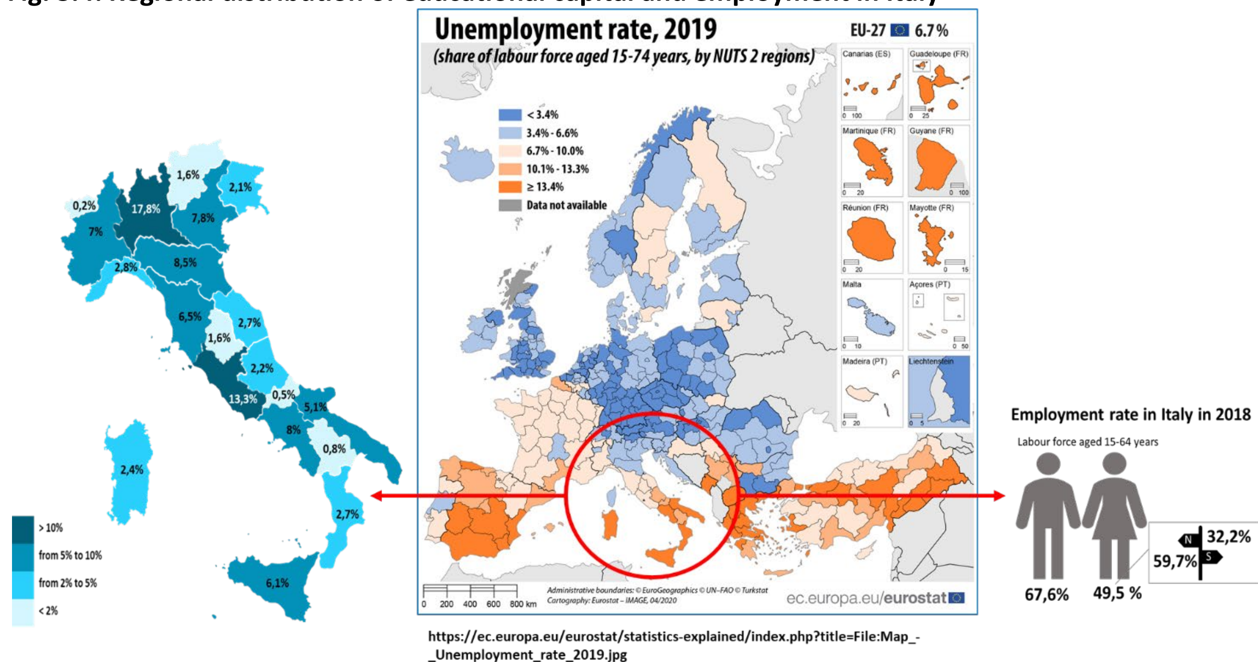
3.2.2 Education and occupation in Italy

The strategy "Europe 2020" is the EU agenda for economic growth that provided for objectives in the 2010|2020 decade. One headline indicator was the investment in Research & Development of Europe's member countries, which was envisaged to amount to 3% of the overall GDP (Eurostat 2020)[10]. The latest available data from 2018 reports an investment of 1,43% of the Italian GDP into R&D defined as "creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge (including knowledge of man, culture and society), and the use of this knowledge to

[8] Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS.
[9] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov. 16 2020).
[10] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ (data retrieved on Nov. 26 2020).

devise new applications”[11] which is again far below the European average share of 2,18% (Eurostat 2020).
A further central objective of the Europe 2020 strategy linked to the generation of knowledge capital envisaged to bring 40% of young Europeans aged 30-34 to graduation by 2020. This has been successfully achieved: 41,6 % of the corresponding age group had graduated or received an equivalent in 2020 in Europe. However, in this context it must be underlined that the overall result is not representative for the single member countries. With 27,6% of the Italian population aged 30-34 years who held a university degree in 2019 Italy lacks far behind the European average (40,3%) and is outnumbered by all other member countries, except for Romania with a share of 25,8% (Eurostat 2020[12]; OECD 2017a). Studies on attainment in Higher Education point to higher dropout rates and longer average durations to complete study cycles among Italians university students. Further, the acquisition of educational capital is strongly interrelated with the familial background and parental education. Accordingly, 65% of students hold a tertiary degree whose parents have also an academic background. On the other hand, a correlation of a stratified educational participation or its prevention is supported by the relatively high tuition fees in Italy, that rank among the highest in Europe (COM 2018c).
In view of the corresponding regional distribution of educational capital the chart below (cf. Fig. 3.4) signalises the highest concentration of Italy’s university graduates in the Northern industrial zone Lombardy (17,8%) and in the centre Lazio region with 13,3% (Eurostat 2020)[13], whereas the lowest share can be observed in the “mezzogiorno”. Piedmont ranges in the middle field with a total of 7% of Italy’s population holding a tertiary degree. It must be underlined that these values refer to the percentage points calculated on national level. The share of the population in Piedmont that holds a university instruction amounts to 14,4% and puts the northern region on the lower positions, surpassed by the majority of regions in Italy, particularly by the Lazio region, where every fifth citizen holds a university degree.

Fig. 3.4: Regional distribution of educational capital and employment in Italy



Source: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/, ISTAT (own elaboration and adaption)

[11] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ (data retrieved on Nov. 26 2020).
[12] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ (data retrieved on June 16 2020).
[13] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/ (data retrieved on Nov. 26 2020).

The latest Eurostat data (*Ibid.*) on the unemployment rate confirm the Italy's positioning in the medium-higher ranks on European level and point to a stark regional stratification within the country (cf. Fig. 3.4). Ricucci and Martino (2018) refer to several significant characteristics of the Italian labour market that contribute to a mismatch and waste of competences and thus favour skill mismatching of Italy's potential labour force.
Main points will be briefly outlined below with latest available data from 2018 / 2019:

- Youth unemployment

Since the economic crisis in 2008 the youth unemployment rate in Italy for the age group 15 – 24 has increased by almost one third from 21,2% to 30,2 % in 2020 (ISTAT). With respect to the highly-skilled labour force, every second recent graduate in the age group 25-29 was employed in 2017 (54,5%), compared to 81,5% on average in Europe. The employment rate of older peers is much higher (77,3%) but scores still below the average of the majority of other EU-countries (87,1%).
Additionally, in 2018 and 2019 the number of youths between 15 and 29 years who were neither in training, education nor occupation exceeded in both years the threshold of 2 Million (ISTAT 2021)[14] and puts Italy accordingly in top position among its European neighbours followed by Greece and Romania (Eurostat 2021)[15].

- Gender imbalance combines with stark differences among regions

Ricucci and Martino (2018: 10) refer to the traditional role model of the "male breadwinner and female housewife" that dominated the family traditions of the last decades and was represented in rather imbalanced (un)employment shares between males and females. Drawing on ISTAT data (2020)[16] the employment rate between men (67,6%) and women (49,5%) in 2018 in Italy still differed significantly compared the European average (Eurostat 2021)[17]. There is a noteworthy interregional difference of the female occupation considering that one third (32,2%) of all women between 15 and 64 years work in the Italy's "mezzogiorno", compared to the almost doubled share (59,7%) in Northern Italy (cf. Fig. 3.4).

- Structural discrepancies

The various regimes of employment protection (Ricucci and Martino 2018) and a supporting legislation of temporary, precarious work contracts, led to a continuing segmentation of the Italian labour market and a "workforce polarisation" (Loffredo 2018) between the more and the less skilled.
Loffredo (*Ibid.*: 3) refers to a series of labour market reforms that started in the 1980s and appear to be never ending, which have "devastating effects mostly on workers who are on its periphery, especially young people, immigrants and women". The continuous decrease of birth rates (ISTAT 2020)[18] and the further aging Italian society may thus be partly motivated in the stark differences of legal and social labour protection frameworks compared to the former generation.
These three indicators contribute significantly to the scarce matching and utilisation of competences of the Italian labour force, which is presumed from available data on unemployment rates of potential workers (25-64 years old) with a tertiary education. According to OECD data, Italy ranks with 5,6% on the third highest position after Spain and Greece and displays thus one of the highest

[14] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Feb. 21, 2021).
[15] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat (data retrieved on Feb. 21, 2021).
[16] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Feb. 21, 2021).
[17] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat (data retrieved on Feb. 21, 2021)..
[18] ISTAT - I.Stat; http://dati.istat.it (data retrieved on Nov. 16, 2020)

rates of unemployed highly-skilled in the Union. In case of employment, Italy displays still high rates of skill and competence mismatch, since “workers can be simultaneously overqualified, over-skilled and mismatched by field of study” (OECD 2016: 132). This phenomenon is thus in particular observed for (recent) graduates, who encounter serious difficulties to find an occupation that corresponds to their expertise with respect to their prior tertiary formation and professional experiences. Employers on the other hand are often confronted with a vast choice of qualified potential workers who do however not reveal the requested skills, that become more and more amplified by the so-called megatrends of our society (OECD 2016).

3.3 Romania and Germany

3.3.1 Migration to Italy

Pre-1989 migration from Romania was limited to a minimum and regarded either labour and study mobilities to countries with existing bilateral agreements for exchange or long-term emigrations of opponents to the system (Vacaru 2013). The latter often led to stigmatisation and repression of the migrant and family, through prosecution by the Securitate or a restraining order to get in touch with family left behind (Kempf 2013).

Even though similar principles were applied in former Eastern Germany, the country has been always an emigration context, from its foundation in 1949 to its resolution in 1990, and was marked by a continuous stagnation of its population since the early 1950s (Geißler 2014).

Martens (2020) suggests three major emigration waves, conditioned by the socio-political constraints. The first occurred accordingly in post-war GDR from 1949 up to the construction of the Berlin Wall that implied the prohibition on leaving the territory in 1961. The second (1989-1994) and third wave (from 2000) are accordingly settled in a post-1989 context that united Eastern and Western Germany and abolished restrictions on mobility of persons. In particular academics and qualified individuals from Ex-GDR decided to leave their home country due to the repressing political situation and corresponding measures towards a collectivist and communist society. The emigration and loss of highly qualified labourers had a negative impact on Ex-GDR and a stark agency on following measures to attract qualified work force. On the other side must be a rather positive effect on the labour market and demand in Western Germany noted, where the highest share of the 2,7 million Eastern emigres, leaving the country between 1949 and 1961, were directed. External migration can be seen as one of the central characteristics of transformation countries and reveals indeed one of the common features between Romania and Eastern Germany. Whereas the latter lost during the forty years of its existence about 25% of its population, (taking a guide value from the 1950’s population) that corresponded 4,6 million, the emigration process in Romania started later but reveals similar proportions: from 1990-2014 emigrated approximately 4,2 out of 23,3 Mio. Romanian citizens (*Ibid.*).

Romanian migration to Italy started in the 1980s under the presidency of Nicolae Ceausescu and in search of protection of persecutions and physical and psychical mistreatment. The revolution in 1989 introduced the transition from a pluri-decade Communist regime to capitalism. The strongly weakened national economy and scarce labour productivity, the lowest in the entire Socialist camp, led to a harsh deindustrialization of the country. The closing of factories and companies and thus dismantling of jobs reduced the living standards and steadily impoverished the entire population. (Kempf 2013; Potot 2008). Legal minimum wages and rock-bottom salaries combined with no job security emphasized the wealth gap between Romania and the Western European country at the beginning millennium and caused thousands of Romanians to leave their home country, among them a large number of specialized and highly-qualified workers. The initial intention of most

émigrés to work and earn abroad and to spend at home, was often counteracted by life course developments, acculturation processes and shifted priorities for the life plan, which impacted the envisaged migratory trajectory. The rather high income compared previous standards in the origin context and the competition on the labour market that was triggered by other migrants, encouraged many of them to accept unfavourable working conditions (Potot 2008; Robila 2004).
Research and public discourses (Vacaru 2013; Anghel 2013) refer to three major temporal intervals for the Romanian emigration. The first wave (1990-1995) started accordingly immediately in a post-Ceausescu era. Migration was often based on existing contacts, however of rather exploratory nature and quite courageous, as individuals moved and settled without legal permission. The following second phase (1996-2001) provided already most Romanians who were willing or urged to migrate with more information and networks in the host society that facilitated the (still restricted) access to the Italian labour market. The share of female migrants continuously increased and gaps in the private care sector were growingly filled by Romanian irregular or clandestine workers. The guaranteed access to the Schengen area in 2002 for Romanian nationals without a visa hampered the migration intentions of the Romanian population further and heralded a third migration wave (2002 – 2006) that transformed the development into a mass phenomenon (Kempf 2013). With Romania's entry in the European Union in 2007 and the (gradually) guaranteed rights for free movement and labour, migration to a European member state had become a legal and potential opportunity to change one's life conditions.
Among socio-economic and legal conditions, linguistic proximity was one decisive determinant for Italy becoming the principle country for Romanian migration. Additionally, business relations, in particular in the fashion industry, build a significant indicator for continuing circulating mobility between Romania and Italy. Important regions for textile industry, such as Moldova, attract Italian investors and trigger further interest in Italy as migration destination (Vacaru 2013).
The German post-1990 migration scenario is marked by a shift from positive to negative migratory balance with the turning point in 2005. Thus, similar to Italy, Germany had been facing a transformation from a prior emigration context as exemplified by the extensive transatlantic mass migrations in the 19th century, to an immigration context in the following epoch. Current data of the Federal Statistical Office (2020)[19] confirmed an increasing emigration in the 21st century with a peak in 2016, when 280.000 Germans left their home country (almost three times compared to 99.000 in 1991). Most attractive emigration destinations are Austria and Switzerland, that facilitate socio-cultural and professional integration because of linguistic proximity, the United Kingdom and Spain. As Sander and Hamburger (2016) underline in their micro study, only little research informs on German migration to Italy in general, much less with respect to their motivations, specific professional groups or geographical features. However, it is noted that Italy is and has not been among the Top 10 German emigration destinations in recent history but is rather marked by casual, unplanned migration patterns for lifestyle or family reunion or specific professional opportunities, mostly temporary constrained.

3.3.2 Cultural awareness: multilingualism and religion

Dragoman (2012) reminds us in the context of collective identity formation on the role of language that strengthens the sense of national identification. Understanding the existing tension between national identity building and European integration in two regions that reveal a high level of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity necessitate however historical framing.

[19] https://www.destatis.de/

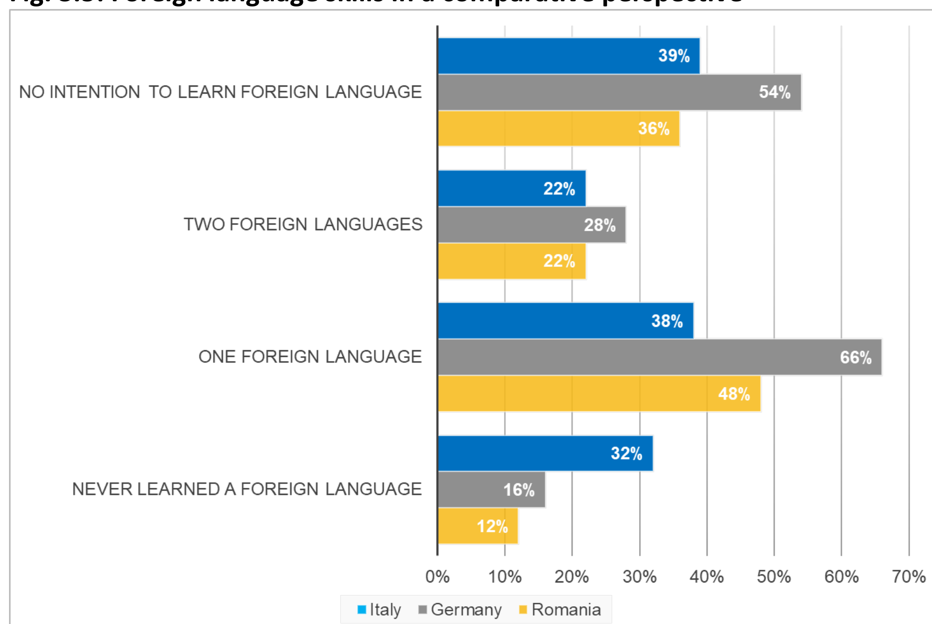
The post-Ceausescu era was perpetuated with a nationalist ideology and ethnic distrust, especially towards the Hungarian minorities, by successional political leaders, that framed perceptions on citizenship and national sovereignty, which in turn hamper identity formation. In context with the European integration, nation-building represents indeed a contradictory dilemma. Romanians identify themselves rather with their nation state than with a supranational institution as their sense of belonging is enrooted in the ethnically based, single-language states and not in multicultural and multireligious contexts like their Western counterparts (*Ibid.*). This is confirmed by Eurobarometer data from 2014: accordingly, less than half of all inquired Romanians (46%) feel European. In contrast, 73% of German respondents consider themselves and identify as 'EU-citizens' (COM 2014). In this regard, language becomes a sensitive and central issue in the nation-building process of transition countries, as exemplified by post-communist CEE states and correlated identity formations. Romanian, for instance, has been settled by constitution official language of the country, which however does not prevent from the use of other languages of minorities in different spheres. Accordingly, a legislation from 1997 approves the instruction in minority languages in the educational context and provides thus the possibility to preserve traditions, heritage and culture (Dragoman 2008).

Four minorities are officially recognised and legally considered in Germany. Accordingly, minority languages have been integrated to either educational curricula or in training opportunities in the public sphere (Bundesministerium 2015). There are approximately 20 dialects in Germany and half of the population indicated in the 1990s to use their regional dialect, whereas the majority was middle-aged and lived in the southern part of Germany (Bausch 2002). High German, the standardized form of the German language, has been brought increasingly into relation with educational success in the German and Swiss context. Drawing on results of OECD led PISA study, public debates insist on the connection of speaking in dialect and the average cultural capital stock of individuals, and thus their educational performance (Berthele 2010).

The status of language is determined by its dispersion in private and public domains and the corresponding allocated degree of institutionalisation. German is the most spoken language in the European Union and ranks with 16% before English (13%). Cultural and linguistic centres to promote the German culture and language, as the non-profit and world-wide represented organisation Goethe Institute, contribute to a global diffusion and recognition of German as European standard language. Huesmann (1998) notes in this context the interrelation between language status, objectively connotated, language prestige, subjectively allocated, and individual or group attitude towards the corresponding language. Accordingly, the prestige of a language has a stark agency on the assessment by its speaking community, and thus individual attitudes towards it. This may account to dialect or the language itself, in the home or destination context.

With regard to foreign languages, data provided from Eurobarometer in 2012 (COM 2012b) confirms the demand for training and education in foreign languages. A relatively small share of Romanian and German respondents had never learnt any foreign language, compared to 1 out of 3 Italians. A similar result occurs for the question on the oral competence in one or two foreign languages. Whereas almost half of the Romanian sample group indicated the ability to have a conversation in a foreign language, the same resulted for two thirds of the German study participants but only for 38 % of the Italian sample group. The latter lacks behind when it comes to foreign language competences compared to the German and Romanian counter group, and vis-à-vis most other European member states. However, it must be noted that there is also more propensity and motivation for a continuous learning and apprehension compared to their German counter group, as only 39% refuse the learning of a further language in contrast to 54% of the German respondents.

Fig. 3.5: Foreign language skills in a comparative perspective



Source: Special Eurobarometer 386 (COM 2012b) (own elaboration)

As international literature (Norris and Inglehart 2011; Molteni 2017; Need and Evans 2001; Tomka 2010) suggest, even though the socio-cultural and political background play a major role for cultural and religious participation, practice and thus transmission to second generations, processes of secularisation have occurred quite differently and did not incise in all former communist states. The "Communist type of modernisation" as Tomka (2010: 1) coins it, provided the basis for several assumptions and theories for upcoming secularisation processes, according to which religiosity would have declined over time. Data from Romania and Former Eastern Germany confirm relatively polarising results for this thesis.

Even though religious freedom had been manifested in the 1948 Constitution, the Romanian state implemented several waves of repressive politics to favour an atheistic society in the tenor of the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism during the four decades from post-1945 to 1989. Notwithstanding the strivings towards a monopoly of power that comprised diverse measures to weaken the role of the church within society, such as religious persecution and oppression as well as the interdiction of rights and responsibilities for religious education (Molteni 2017; Stan and Turcescu 2011) religion represents a persistent imprint in the embodied capital (Bourdieu 1983) of the Romanian population (Norris and Inglehart 2011).

Census results (Negruti 2014) and analysed data of the European Values Study (Molteni 2017) of the last three post-communist decades confirm a stark and constant religious attachment of the Romanian population[20]. Accordingly, the Romanian share of atheists did not exceed 0.11% in all census results after the 1989 revolution and represents by far the lowest share among several European countries of the Ex-Communist bloc[21]. Romania's leading position in the group of orthodox-religious countries of the former Eastern bloc is further corroborated by Need's and Evan's data analysis (2001) that displays 82% of Romanians (of all age groups) to be member of the

[20] Religion was not considered a noteworthy indicator and eliminated from any census and information records during the Communist period, thus consecutive data on the religious evolution are not statistically recorded (Negruti 2014, Norris and Inglehart 2011).

[21] Atheists - 1992: 0.05%, 2002: 0.04%, 2012:0.11% ; non-religious-1992: 0.12%, 2002: 0.06%, 2012:0.10% (Negruti 2014: 8).

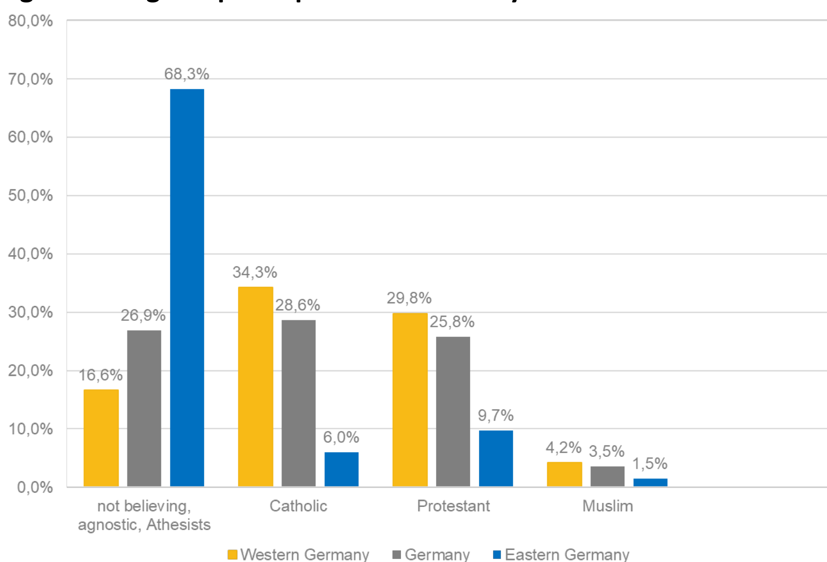
orthodox church in 1993/4, while 11% accounted for catholic faith (the majority of Hungarian origin). Approximately one third (32%) of all Romanians attended regularly church in these post-revolution years, which represents again the highest share among the five examined states of the former Eastern bloc[22].

The recent PEW Research studies (2018)[23], represent Romania as the most religious country in Europe with an orthodox -Christian population of approximately 81%. This assumption is nurtured by data from 2015-2017, that questioned religious participation (in form of attendance of services and regular praying) and belief. Accordingly, Romania is among the first countries with a high share of religious participation and self-declared strong beliefs. Interestingly, this ranking was led exclusively by Central and Eastern European Countries with a Communist past.

In comparison, the Italian national context positions in the very middle whereas 1 out of 5 Italians (21%) state to participate actively in religious life, praying daily and more than one fourth (26%) indicates to believe in god with absolute certainty[24].

Germany has been put on latter ranks of the same classification originated by the PEW Research Center. Accordingly, 12 % consider themselves highly religious (compared to 55% of Romanians and 27% of Italians) and 9% practice religion actively, stating to pray daily[25]. The religious diversity in Germany as displayed in 2018 is shown in the graph below, that evidences a persistent discrepancy between religious participation in former Eastern and Western Germany.

Fig. 3.6: Religious participation in Germany in 2018



Source: Federal Agency for Civic Education from Eurobarometer data[26] (own elaboration)

Contrary to the Romanian population, religious participation and affiliation of former GDR residents continuously decreased during the Communist regime and did generally not rise after the German reunification in 1990. Whereas in 1949 approximately 90% of the former Eastern German population was affiliated to church (of which 81% Protestants), the same applied in 1990 only to one third (30%). These relatively low numbers in Eastern Germany at the time of the German

[22] Orthodox countries examined: Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, Ukraine.

[23] https://www.pewresearch.org/interactives/how-religious-is-your-country/

[24] https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/05/how-do-european-countries-differ-in-religious-commitment/

[25] https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/05/how-do-european-countries-differ-in-religious-commitment/

[26] https://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/145148/religion

reunification were starkly contrasted by the share of religious Western Germans accounting to a total of 85% in 1990 (Pollack and Pickel 2000).
Even though the extent of religious oppression had been pursued on lower levels than in other Communist countries, secularization and the state's attempt to curtail the role of religion was much more evident and effective in Ex-GDR than in most other countries from the former Eastern bloc (Berdahl 1999; Hartmann and Pollack 1998; Tomka 2010).
Considering the role of the church within the socio-political sphere from a comparative perspective, two rather different relations appear in the two former Communist states.
From the 1970s the church in former Eastern Germany had engaged increasingly in youth work and contemporary issues, such as environmental issues and critically questioned the politically pursued restriction of technological progress and resulting socio-economic consequences as well as macro-political issues such as disarmament. As a corollary, religion and church gained increasing popularity, especially among the younger generations in the GDR (Lange 1991). Further to this, the 1980s, especially the second half, represented years of discontent about the political situation and a period of potential change for the GDR-population. The atmosphere and developments pushed the church further. Due to the marginalisation of religion in the four decades of Socialist (Eastern) Germany, religion increasingly developed a resistive character and the church "began to emerge from its isolation to define itself as part of the socialist state" (Berdahl 1999: 79) and thus became a speaking tube for the opposition (Friedrich and Griese 1991; Pollack and Pickel 2000; Tomka 2010).
In Romania, on the other hand, in later decades of the Communist regime the state and the church developed and implemented a "modus vivendi which allowed the Church to be enlisted as an unconditional supporter of communist policies in return for the government's toleration of ecclesiastical activity" (Stan and Turcescu 2011: 98). Consequently, it is estimated that the majority of religious officials and functionaries were indirectly or rather explicitly involved in activities of the political propaganda and surveillance executed by the Securitate (Ramet 2004; Stan and Turcescu 2011), which was defended by church leaders in public post-revolution discussions as "mere human weakness or a carefully orchestrated strategy to keep the church alive" (Stan and Turcescu 2007: 89).

3.3.3 Educational systems in comparative perspective to Italy

From a comparative perspective, the three educational systems in Romania, Germany and Italy provide for substantial differences, even though all of them have been reformed and adapted on European standards rather recently.
Firstly however, in view of the research case under consideration that compares educational decisions of Romanian and German parents in Italy, most of them born, socialised and educated at least in part before the 1989/90, it seems particularly important to review the major characteristics that shaped the educational system in a diachronic perspective.

The Romanian law on education in 1948 introduced the 'Soviet model' and was starkly oriented on Marxist-Leninist ideologies. It promoted a 'secular education' and thus abolished at first religion from the national curricula (Dumbraveanu 2015; Perry 2012). The closing down of private educational institutes and the dis-appropriation of their premises for public use pronounced education as a centralised matter of the state. Political tendencies of the one-party system merged in the publicly controlled education policy and curriculum design (that for instance envisaged the com study of the Russian language). It implied the provision of state-regulated educational material, the application of teaching styles and methods (that focused on the learning mass instead of considering individual educational processes) and constant surveillance (Perry 2012; Szakács 2018).

The late 1960s backpedalled from the ongoing ‘Sovietisation’ and oriented towards nationalisation. The ‘country’s modernisation project’ envisaged education as major pillar to position the nation within the international community. Promotion of the Romanian national identity was included as major educational objective. Educational contents were adapted accordingly and a monocultural and -religious, ethnocentric vision of the nation was promoted in textbooks and lectures. In 1968 the Romanian government committed in its legislation to an educational policy that synergized national traditions and concepts of world pedagogy. It introduced several measures to encounter the objective of educational expansion, among which the extension of obligatory formal school education from 8 to 10 years and the anticipation of the school entry age from 7 to 6 years (Dumbraveanu 2015; Szakács 2018).

Secondary education contained a theoretical stream with humanities sections, and a rather technical, profession-oriented path. Trusting in the educability of the masses, in the 1970s specialist upper secondary school education was promoted by the national government as vehicle towards industrialisation. In order to encounter the national plans for increasing development, the educational law of 1978 hence introduced the polytechnic principle that envisaged the integration of teaching, research and production as a unified process towards an accelerated production of qualified labour. Accordingly, future labour force was trained and built at an early (st)age and could thus contribute to the building of the socialist state and centrally-planned national economy (Szakács 2018). Further efforts were increasingly directed towards the preparation for employment by pushing community engagement (cf. Ch. 5.3) and voluntary work.

Post-1989 educational reforms responded to the need for distance to the socialist regime and reacted to the past socio-political and economic situation in the country. Corresponding measures focused on democratisation as one of its core features and provided for the introduction of new school subjects (such as ‘Religion’ and ‘Civic Culture’) and removal of those that had promoted the Marxist-Leninist ideology (Perry 2012). Educational material and teaching manuals were ‘purged’ from residuals of the former Communist regime and learning contents that had been created in accordance with national interest and the Ex-leader’s image was removed from schoolbook binders. Also, the decentralisation of the national knowledge and linked processes of its acquisition and transmission legitimised private education and alternative educational models (e.g. Montessori), and admitted non-state regulated publishers for schoolbooks (Szakacs 2018).

In the following decades the educational system sought to adopt increasingly to global standards. All endeavours were facilitated through an increasing amount of external financial resources, whereas one of the most substantial funding was provided by the World Bank amounting to $ 50 Mio. (Kitchen et al. 2017; Szakács 2018). A new curriculum framework in the late 1990s provided thus contents and structures for syllabi of all ISCED levels and set the basis for a reformed teaching and instruction in Romania that was oriented on the lifelong learning principles[27].

The implementation of post-secondary education and the guarantee of autonomy in Higher education modernised the educational system and directed it further towards the European level, which was of particular importance, especially after Romania’s admission to the Council of Europe in 1993 (Birzea 1996; Szakacs 2018).

However, it must be outlined that, even though local and national policies aimed on transmitting increased authority of educational decisions to parents and educational stakeholders, schools and

[27] Thus, the focus was set on formation and skills development opposed information and predominantly knowledge transmission. An increased autonomy of the individual during the learning and teaching process was further pronounced with the introduction of optional courses for the students in school and the possibility to create own learning material for teachers. Also parents and caretakers had increased opportunities to co-create the learning paths of their children, choosing corresponding schools, educational philosophies or tracks according to their children’s abilities or personal preferences (Perry 2012).

equivalent institutions in Romania are still granted with a relatively low degree of autonomy compared to other countries in Europe. The responsibility on institutional level has been granted in theory, but in practice educational core players maintain a low level of responsibility when it comes to decision-making on assessment, learning contents, strategies and measures. It has been further noted that the advance of professional development within the educational field is still lower than expected, which is partly due to non-transparent appointment of educational key personnel. This issue has required several measures on national and local level and is envisaged to be regulated by the 2011 introduced merit-based open contest for positions in the public educational sector (Kitchen et al. 2017).

Similar to Romania and other Socialist states, the educational system of the former GDR was completely state-controlled and -directed (Geißler 2012; Hoffmann 1991). The GDR had been proclaimed a workers' and peasants' state and modelled its educational system accordingly to build a common knowledge, skills and ideological base according to the State's principles and visions.
The law of education, introduced in 1959 and extended in 1965, officially and legally proclaimed the transmission of knowledge and the upbringing of Socialist personalities to the central objectives of public education and society (Boettcher 2020). The major part of children's and youth education was delegated to the public institutions. They were organised accordingly to provide an infrastructure that favoured gender equality and female labour, which was needed to build the Socialist state. Thus, in Eastern Germany state-provided childcare services were part of the public education sector and received few-weeks old children for full-time day or even weekly care (Kerbel 2016b), whereas institutional early child education was rather rare in West Germany. In fact, upbringing and value transmission was considered politically and socially mainly responsibility of the family that provided private – mostly maternal – childcare for their offspring in pre-school age (Boettcher 2020; Kerbel 2016a).
The education laws both reconfirmed the strong focus on polytechnical instruction. Indeed, the GDR educational policy aimed on a technical and applied instruction from kindergarten education and designed curricula to link theory and practice and to prepare future workers. Educational institutions collaborated thus and were tightly linked to production sites and local companies to integrate the 'whole-educational-approach' into the professional reality.
Individual choices for education in the former GDR were, similar to Romania, rather limited and options for talented individuals strongly depended on their political ideals, their religious disposition and corresponding attitudes in their family. Accordingly, school choices as well as decisions linked to Higher education were subject to state conditions and restrictions (Geißler 2012; Kerbel 2016b). However, it must be noted at this point, that educational policies in Former Eastern Germany had clearly outlined and pursued the intention to favour an increased equality of educational opportunities compared to preceding pre-war years and other contexts, such as the Western counterpart. The central objective was to invert the social hierarchy and thus the educated elite in the state. In accordance with the chosen national identity, particularly the access to education for children of workers and peasants was hence facilitated and restricted to religious and 'Bildungsbuerger' families. Corresponding measures included the introduction of ad hoc faculties at universities to prepare those for Higher education who had solely enjoyed a minimum of formal school instruction. Educational opportunities were initially widened for originally disadvantaged groups to abolish the historically existing educational bourgeoisie elite. However, whereas in the 1950s half of students had a worker and peasant background, their share had been reduced to 20% in the 1980s. A different social stratification was apparent, the new elite was composed by Socialist and politically conformists whose loyalty to the state represented the most important criterion to access education (Kerbel 2016a).

The German reunification and resolution of the Socialist GDR invalidated the priory existed state educational mission and corresponding legal provisions and proceeded to a re-organisation that implied significant transformations in former Eastern and Western Germany. Whereas contents, visions and ideals of Ex-GDR instruction systems were revised in accordance to the new socio-political order, the functionality of the educational sector in the counterpart needed to be reformed primary with regard to its capacities. Paradoxically, notwithstanding better educational opportunities in Ex-BRD the educational capital stock, in particular with respect to Higher education, was higher in the former eastern part of the country. In a survey from 1991 that asked university students for the highest educational formation of their parents, 31% of former Western German hold a university degree compared to 51% of Ex-GDR citizens. Survey results of the following years show a similar tendency (Geißler 2014). Whereas the compatibility of maternity and professional development did not seem realistic in a pre-1989 reality for many families in former BRD, the German reunification, and thus the example from Eastern Germany, contributed to a social change of perspective towards an egalitarian gender model. Accordingly, the demand for institutional day care in pre-school age increased and required structural developments and a revision of traditional gender patterns within family (Boettcher 2020). The federalist organisation of Germany enabled the single Laender to adapt the educational system to the regional context under attribution of central responsibility to the school districts and tailor-made pilot projects towards local demands and innovation (Martens 2020).

Following on several adoptions to the socio-political and economic reality of the different national context, contemporary educational systems in Romania and Germany provide for differentiated options for primary, secondary and higher education. Whereas primary education distinguishes mainly by the number of years and entry age allocated lower secondary education in Germany is substantially tracked. Indeed, Germany has one of the earliest tracking levels that that direct students as early as the age of 10 (compared to the OECD average age of 14) towards an institutional choice and thus accumulation of corresponding educational capital compared to the respective age of 15 and 14 in Romania and Italy (Kitchen et al. 2017; OECD 2014; OECD 2017c).
A national examination assesses the performance of Romanian students after lower secondary education and determine accordingly the options for upper secondary school education (Kitchen et al. 2017). Accordingly, students may attend technological, theoretical or vocational programmes. Whereas 44% of Romanian 15-18-year-olds were enrolled in the technological stream, that combines academic and vocational programmes, 45 % attended theoretical and vocational schools. Both follow an academic programme; however, the latter has a particular focus on arts, sports or theology (*Ibid.*).
Also, secondary education in Germany is principally divided in a theoretical and vocational stream, whereas the latter relies on the dual system for professional training. Accordingly, theoretical school education runs parallel to vocational training in a company and provides for facilitated integration into the labour market. Due to these options it may not come as a surprise that German secondary education attainment reveals a higher share than its OECD counter-member states with an average of 87% compared to 82%, but ranks below for tertiary attainment (28% compared to 39% OECD average), probably due to the increased options for vocational training (OECD 2014).
Whereas compulsory education in Germany has been determined until the age of 18 (2 years above OECED average), Romanian education is obligatory for 11 years but reveals one of the highest drop-put percentages in primary and secondary education, with a rising tendency (Kitchen et al. 2017). Italy ranks lowest among the three national contexts with an obligatory instruction from age 6 to 16 (OECD 2017c).

Fig. 3.7: Educational systems in Romania, Germany and Italy

ROMANIA

ISCED	AGE	GRADE	ROMANIA	
8			Higher Education III - Universitate	
7		Y5	Higher Education II - Universitate	
7		Y4	Higher Education II - Universitate	
6		Y3	Higher Education I - Universitate	
6		Y2	Higher Education I - Universitate	
6		Y1	Higher Education I - Universitate	
5				
4		Y3	Post-Secondary (non-tertiary) education - Şcoala Postliceală	
4		Y2	Post-Secondary (non-tertiary) education - Şcoala Postliceală	
4		Y1	Post-Secondary (non-tertiary) education - Şcoala Postliceală	
3	19	13		Technological or vocational high school
3	18	12	2nd cycle of upper sec. education - Liceu	Technological or vocational high school
3	17	11/Y3	2nd cycle of upper sec. education - Liceu	complementary
3	16	10/Y2	1st cycle of upper sec. education - Liceu	Vocational School - Şcoala Professională
3	15	9/Y1	1st cycle of upper sec. education - Liceu	Vocational School - Şcoala Professională
2	14	8	Lower Secondary Education - Gimnaziu	
2	13	7	Lower Secondary Education - Gimnaziu	
2	12	6	Lower Secondary Education - Gimnaziu	
2	11	5	Lower Secondary Education - Gimnaziu	
1	10	4	Primary education - Şcoală primară	
1	9	3	Primary education - Şcoală primară	
1	8	2	Primary education - Şcoală primară	
1	7	1	Primary education - Şcoală primară	
1	6	Prep	Primary education - Şcoală primară	
0	5, 4, 3		Pre-School	
	2, 1, 0		Ante-Pre-School	

GERMANY

ISCED	AGE	GRADE	GERMANY			
8			Higher Education III - Universität			
7		Y6			HE II | Arts - Kunst/Musikhochschule	
7		Y5	Higher Education II - Universität	Higher Education II | Appl. Sciences - Fachhochschule	HE II | Arts - Kunst/Musikhochschule	
7		Y4	Higher Education II - Universität	Higher Education II | Appl. Sciences - Fachhochschule	Higher Education I | Arts - Kunst/Musikhochschule	
6		Y3	Higher Education I - Universität	Higher Education I| Applied Sciences - Fachhochschule	Higher Education I | Arts - Kunst/Musikhochschule	Dual system vocational training - Berufsakademie
6		Y2	Higher Education I - Universität	Higher Education I| Applied Sciences - Fachhochschule	Higher Education I | Arts - Kunst/Musikhochschule	Dual system vocational training - Berufsakademie
6		Y1	Higher Education I - Universität	Higher Education I| Applied Sciences - Fachhochschule	Higher Education I | Arts - Kunst/Musikhochschule	Dual system vocational training - Berufsakademie
5						
4		Y3	Specialised vocational education - Berufsoberschule / Kolleg			
4		Y2	Specialised vocational education - Berufsoberschule / Kolleg			
4		Y1	Specialised vocational education - Berufsoberschule / Kolleg			
3	18	13/Y3	Upper Secondary education - (Tech.) Gymnasium		Dual system vocational training (first cycle)- Ausbildung	
3	17	12/Y2	Upper Secondary education - (Tech.) Gymnasium	Vocational school - Berufsfachschule	Dual system vocational training (first cycle)- Ausbildung	
3	16	11/Y1	Upper Secondary education - (Tech.) Gymnasium	Vocational school - Berufsfachschule	Dual system vocational training (first cycle)- Ausbildung	
2	15	10	Lower Secondary Education - Gymnasium	Lower Secondary Education - Realschule		*Schools with differentiated educational tracks*
2	14	9	Lower Secondary Education - Gymnasium	Lower Secondary Education - Realschule	Lower Secondary Education - Hauptschule	*Schools with differentiated educational tracks*
2	13	8	Lower Secondary Education - Gymnasium	Lower Secondary Education - Realschule	Lower Secondary Education - Hauptschule	*Schools with differentiated educational tracks*
2	12	7	Lower Secondary Education - Gymnasium	Lower Secondary Education - Realschule	Lower Secondary Education - Hauptschule	*Schools with differentiated educational tracks*
2	11	6				*Schools with differentiated educational tracks*
2	10	5				*Schools with differentiated educational tracks*
1	9	4	Primary education - Grundschule			
1	8	3	Primary education - Grundschule			
1	7	2	Primary education - Grundschule			
1	6	1	Primary education - Grundschule			
0			Pre-School			
			Ante-Pre-School			

Italy

ISCED	AGE	GRADE	Italy		
8			Higher Education III - Università		
7		Y5	Higher Education II - Università	Higher Education II | Arts - Alta formazione artistica e musicale	
7		Y4	Higher Education II - Università	Higher Education II | Arts - Alta formazione artistica e musicale	
6		Y3	Higher Education I - Università	Higher Education I | Arts - Alta formazione artistica e musicale	HE I - School for Mediators - Scuola superiore per mediatori linguistici
6		Y2	Higher Education I - Università	Higher Education I | Arts - Alta formazione artistica e musicale	HE I - School for Mediators - Scuola superiore per mediatori linguistici
6		Y1	Higher Education I - Università	Higher Education I | Arts - Alta formazione artistica e musicale	HE I - School for Mediators - Scuola superiore per mediatori linguistici
5		Y2	Specialised vocational education - Istituto Tecnico Superiore		
5		Y1	Specialised vocational education - Istituto Tecnico Superiore		
4					
3	18	13/Y3	Upper Secondary education - Liceo	Upper Secondary (technical) education - Istituto tecnico / professionale	
3	17	12/Y2	Upper Secondary education - Liceo	Upper Secondary (technical) education - Istituto tecnico / professionale	
3	16	11/Y1	Upper Secondary education - Liceo	Upper Secondary (technical) education - Istituto tecnico / professionale	Vocational instruction and training
2	15	10	Upper Secondary education - Liceo	Upper Secondary (technical) education - Istituto tecnico / professionale	Vocational instruction and training
2	14	9	Upper Secondary education - Liceo	Upper Secondary (technical) education - Istituto tecnico / professionale	Vocational instruction and training
2	13	8	Lower Secondary education - Scuola secondaria di primo grado		
2	12	7	Lower Secondary education - Scuola secondaria di primo grado		
2	11	6	Lower Secondary education - Scuola secondaria di primo grado		
1	10	5	Primary education - Scuola primaria		
1	9	4	Primary education - Scuola primaria		
1	8	3	Primary education - Scuola primaria		
1	7	2	Primary education - Scuola primaria		
1	6	1	Primary education - Scuola primaria		
0			Pre-School		
			Ante-Pre-School		

Source: Unesco (ibe.unesco.org), Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb.de), Ministry of Education, University and Research (miur.gov.it) (own elaboration)

A recent reform in Italy (Law 107/2015) seeks to encounter the observed and documented performance discrepancies of Italian students compared to their European peers and structural lacks in the national context[28]. Central aspects of the reform regard an increase in teacher recruitment to enhance performance and balance demographic (age, gender) characteristics of teaching professionals in Italy. This is linked to the provision of adequate structural conditions, starting from a decent contractual framework to increased teacher formation and assessment tools to monitor merit and performance. With regard to competences, reforming curricula are oriented towards European standards with a strong focus on digital and language skills and greater autonomy of single institutions (OECD 2017c).

Tertiary education is mainly provided by universities in all three national contexts and adopted to the European post-Bologna 3+2 or 3-cycle educational system. Accordingly, the first cycle relates to undergraduate, the second cycle to graduate and the third to postgraduate studies. Particular for the Italian national context are 1st and 2nd level Master's programmes (Master Universitario di 1° / 2° livello), which can be pursued respectively after undergraduate or graduate studies. These programmes are offered as one-or two years specialising programmes that are conducted frequently in collaboration with enterprises to provide continuing education in specific fields[29].

Higher education in the German context is divided in a rather theoretical and vocationally-oriented stream and strongly focuses on applicability of graduate studies to the existing labour market. Accordingly, the traditional university education is opposed to applied approaches and degree courses at the Fachhochschule or Music and Art Schools. The dual system that combines theoretical study with on-the-job training has been implemented in the first-cycle tertiary education as vocational stream [30].

Romania offers three cycles of tertiary education in higher education institutes, schools, academies, also commonly referred to as university, vocational streams are not included in the tertiary sector. Only 1 out of 4 Romanians aged 25-34 completed tertiary education, which puts the country on the lowest ranks compared to its European peer countries. Demanding national entry exams after secondary education are considered one of the major barriers to approach tertiary education and a central issue for limited learning opportunities. Due to the Romanian culture of academic competition, the national examinations after primary and secondary education guide decisively curricula design and teaching procedures. As institutional and individual (professional) success in Romanian are strongly interrelated with performance results, several teachers work towards the preparation of the examination, often pushing top students and leaving others behind. Extra-curricular preparation of the examinations such as private tutoring depends on the socio-economic status of the corresponding families and hampers again educational inequity further.

[28] According to OECD evidence, Italian students rank below the European average for PISA performances in Science and Reading (4,1% compared to 7,1%) and above media learning time (50 hours vs. 44 hours on average) and for grade repetition. Further, also institutional competition is lower than the OECD average, compared to 37% on average in Italy only one out of five parents report that they have 2 or more schools in their direct neighbourhood (OECD 2017c).

[29] http://www.miur.it/guida/guide.htm

[30] https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/germany_en

Chapter 4: Agency of education on migration decisions – The Life-Deep Perspective

Nobody can develop a country but its own population.
Development is in the minds, not in the goods
(Hofstede et al. 2010: 417).

Individuals rarely leave their home context for one single reason only, but often it is a combination of several migration purposes (King and Lulle 2016). Those lead to a set of choices that stimulate related decisions which are in turn determined by socio-cultural factors (Mihai and Novo-Corti 2020) from diachronic and synchronic perspective.

The following results, although solely representative for the chosen sample groups, shall open the discussion for the culture- and context dependency of migration decisions in general and related priorities in particular. As outlined in the overall methodology section (cf. Ch. 3.1) this work aims to carve out distinctive features among the sample groups with the Hofstedian cultural dimensions.

Triandis (1995) considers individualism and collectivism context-bound syndromes that describe and explain individual and social behaviour. However, he (1999: 128) also reminds us on the unreliability of rigid categories for individualism and collectivism, since "within each culture there are individuals who are allocentric, and think and act like people in collectivist cultures, and also idiocentric, and think and act like people in individualist cultures." Therefore, cultures are not static, on the contrary, they normally reflect socio-historical periods, fashions or trends.

This notion will guide the following discussion that is concerned with the overarching question on the agency of education on migration paths of highly skilled migrants. Accordingly, the three sections of this chapter aim to draw the stations of migratory paths with respect to educational decisions and priorities set for the migrant themselves and their offspring.

Whereas the first chapter focuses thus on the initial stage and migration motivations that drove them to leave their home context, the second section confronts their (professional) experiences and integration in the host context. The last part of this chapter instead looks into education as driving force to return to the home context, from individual and institutional perspective.

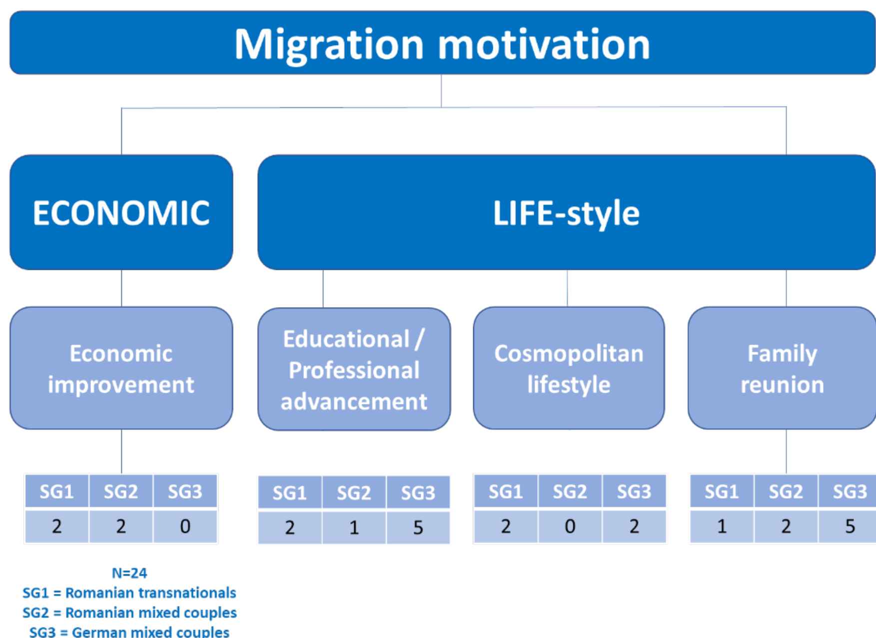
4.1 ON THE MOVE: Motivating mobility

The aspirations towards the country of destination that determine the emigration motivation represent a central issue for the priority setting in the migrant's quality of life indicators. A study of high-skilled immigrants in UK reveals that the reason for migration decisively impacted upon the economic outcome of their mobility, in terms of job performance and consequently their quality of life. Movers coming for study purposes were more likely to work in high-skilled jobs than others, which was partly due to the amount of knowledge they had about the destination context prior to their departure (Ruiz et al. 2018, Kone et al. 2019).

All study participants of the three sample target groups[1] were asked for their main motivation to move to the host destination.

[1] SG1 – Romanian transnational families, SG2 – Romanian mixed couples, SG3 – German mixed couples.

Fig. 4.1: Migration motivation framework[2]



The sample data informed on two macro categories of initial migratory motivations grouped in the below scheme: firstly, mobility out of economic reasons, building on the neoclassical migration theory (cf. Ch.1) and secondly, for the sake of lifestyle improvement.
The latter non-economic migration has been further grouped in three sub-categories which point to the variety of expectations and thus priorities allocated to certain stages of the life course. Pushing factors for educational and professional motivations were correlated with aspirations for study and training opportunities and an increased coherence of working access, career progress and social mobility. Mobilities that had been initiated for travelling or for political reasons (disapproval of systems in the home context) have been labelled cosmopolitan lifestyle migrations. And decisions to move grounded on binding relationships, what King (2002) calls 'love migrations', were linked to mobility for family reunion. This accounted for two forms, whereas highly-skilled migrants changed their residence country either as tied mover in settled relationships (SG1 and SG3) or as partner in a recent established relationship as central element within the life course plan.
Romanian respondents (SG1 and SG2) were quite equally distributed on all categories, whereas the majority (n=10) of German study participants (SG3) can be allocated to migrations for the sake of educational or professional advancements or affective motivations.

4.1.1 Economic migrations

It must be noted that migration motivations were classified according to their initial and primary intention, which was however often driven by secondary priorities among which most frequently educational and professional opportunities.
One Romanian respondent, who started the migratory trajectory in 1996 out of economic necessity, outlines the correlation of professional and educational opportunities and her decision to leave the homeland as follows:

[2] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

(SG1) I came to get to know another country, and then obviously for work. In my country at the time, as it still is a little bit today, it was difficult to survive or find work (...) only few years had passed since the revolution of '89, so the country was not stable at all. (…) I supported my family financially, but none of my family had work at the time. (...) I worked in my own shop, so I had created a point of reference(...), but then I said to myself: 'Why not go to Europe?', because I wanted to meet other people, maybe even learn another job. Because (…) this job wasn't for me, I did it out of necessity, but my dreams were quite different. (…) When I then discovered that I was pregnant, I absolutely wanted to come here, because I was convinced I would find another world, a better education. The country here was developed (…) things here were already working smoothly, providing school education, vocational training and other better opportunities[3].

This migration trajectory started seven years after the revolution. The respondent underlined that a financial sustainment of her family had brought her to accept educational and professional conditions for her own life course that were not coherent with her actual preferences. During the communist (pre-1989) period, decisional processes on mobility in Romania had been guided, with few exceptions, exclusively by the state. After the breakdown of Ceausescu's regime, the communist habitus of individuals and families necessarily altered. Information on life standards of others and chances to improve one's own existence were now handled individually. Consequently, choices for the life course could be assessed differently. The pre-occupying situation in the post-communist country gave further input for reordering and rescheduling personal priorities towards satisfactory life conditions. Priorities were increasingly put on socio-economic stability and familial integration in the host context.

Bushin (2009) reminds us that children take most of the time an active role in the migratory decisional processes, which implies also taking position to the endeavour projected by their parents. Often families with migration endeavours are represented as consensual units, where parents proceed with a subjective assessment of their children's needs towards a migration decision, with or without consulting them.

The priority for an enhanced life quality implying both, economic stability and a better educational future for the offspring is also confirmed by the story told by a former school principal. She came to Turin in 2005 with her daughter in search of better economic conditions, following her husband who started a circulating mobility in 2000. Even before he had lost his work due to the aftermath of the Revolution in 1989, "the money was never enough", the family had to relocate almost every year, as they never got rental contract and were neither in the position to buy a flat. The decisional process on the preferred destination country reveals a direct relation to the envisaged educational future of the child, who is talented and skilled in arts, and the ranking of the country in terms of life quality indicators. In this context, the awareness of a potential job mismatch situation in the host context is accepted as a stepping stone towards the overall objectives the family envisaged for the future.

(SG1) My daughter went to art school [in Romania]. She was very good at drawing, she could draw already very well since she was little. We thought that Italy would be good for her at least from this point of view. (…) We said: 'We'll do it and we do it also for your future, to give you a further possibility…to study what you like and to go to a school a little different than the Romanian school'. And after all those tears, because she wanted to stay in Romania, she told me: 'Ok, I'll come with you, but if you see that I cannot integrate, will you at least think about returning?' And I said: 'I promise you. I'll keep my position in school on hold for one year. We have one year to spare. Also,

[3] All interview passages have been translated from Italian or German to English by the author.

for me, it will not be easy to go to Italy because I won't be able to continue my work. I promise you, if you can't make it, I decide immediately to go back.'

The disposition for a constant reassessment of the conditions and the situation in the host context is addressed by precautionary arrangements as the temporary leave on work or the promise to her daughter to come back if the integration is not successful.
As exemplified by both cases, economic motivations were often embedded into the striving for better professional opportunities for the parents themselves and chances for a better education for the offspring. In this context enhanced education accounts for different dimensions.
Firstly, educational mentality and methodology may also be a central level of education and related differences or improvements in the host context.
Secondly, on socio-cultural level, better educational opportunities may refer to improved training opportunities and a better educational infrastructure available in the host context.
Thirdly, on economic level, as on the one hand side available financial support and integration of the training and instructional path facilitates educational participation and success.
On the other hand, potential parental socio-economic upward mobility in the host context drives opportunities for longer educational tracks for the children, for economic remittances to family members who stayed behind in the home country or for economic savings to continue education in the country of origin (cf. Lifelong learning opportunities). The latter option had been envisaged by another Romanian study participant and former law student belonging to SG2 (mixed couples), who has been living in Italy since 2002 and whose primary migration motivation was also classified as economic in nature, even though directed towards improving the own educational situation:

(SG2) I came because it was that moment, when everyone went abroad to work. Italy was a point of attraction, also economically. They said that here you earn enough money to make yourself a future and my initial idea was to come here for a short period of time, but now I'm still here after seventeen years. (…) I wasn't working, I was studying at the university, where I basically dropped out to come here. I abandoned later for good ... but when I came I had only suspended for a short period (...) I wanted to earn something to get an apartment in the city where I was studying (...) I wanted to finance myself without financially impose on anyone.

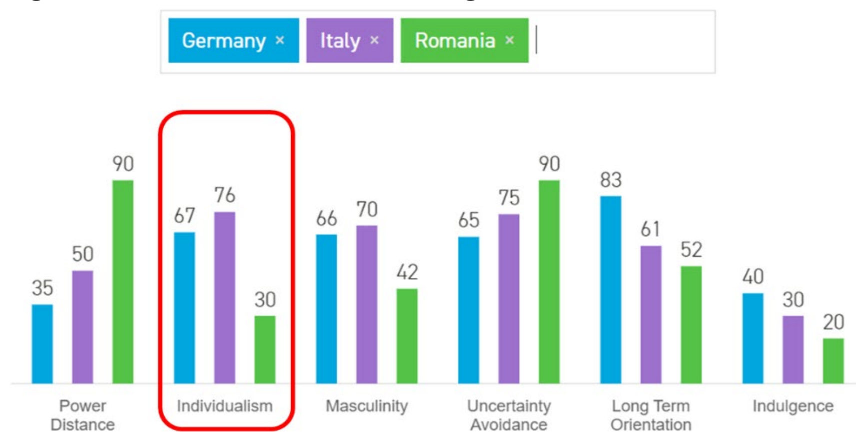
A similar story is told by another SG2 respondent, who came to Italy in 1999 and intended to stay for a limited amount of time to earn enough money to continue tertiary education that she had started in her home country. Croitoru (2018:96) maintains in this context that "Romanian migration developed as a predominantly temporary phenomenon in which people migrated to accumulate economic resources for specific aims but generally aimed to return"**,** which further corroborates the central function of social networks in the host society that facilitate chain migrations. The choice of destination and the primary motivation the leave the home country, even though only with temporary restricted intention, is thus driven by the informal contacts or network that link former migrants with those-to-be in both local contexts (Bade 2003; Haug 2008).

(SG2) I left with the intention to make money for the university. My boyfriend's mother was already in Italy and my boyfriend didn't want to come to Italy without me because I was his great love. Then his mother said: if you take my son to Italy and also my daughter, because I was older than both of them, I will lend you the money to come to Italy. I didn't have a penny, and so she lent me 1500 dollars at the time (...) I came with a Shengen visa (...). The day I entered Italy (…) my visa had expired, so I was clandestine from that day on. It was shocking. (…) I said that I would stay here for 6 months

to make some money for university and then leave. Then I stayed a little longer, a little more and now it's been 20 years."

Both respondents evidence their priority to earn some money to make themselves a living in general, considering the challenging socio-economic situation in Romania, marked by a harsh deindustrialization of the country that contributed to a high unemployment rate and a steadily impoverishing population. Minimum wages, very low salaries and no job security were indeed the most mentioned economic reasons for the emigration of the Romanian population striving for a better life for them and their family, as also confirmed by the interviewees (Kempf 2013; Robila 2004; Vacaru 2013).
Individualism will be the driving dimension to analyse cultural divergence of both sample groups towards their migration intentions, aspirations and paths.
According to Hofstede (2001) a collectivistic programming of the mind is thus determined by its emotional dependency towards others, i.e. groups or collectivities. Family as a core and first group in an individual's life plays a central role for the transmission of culture, values and norms from the earliest moment in childhood on, which makes society a product of families and in a reverse conclusion, families to be starkly determined by society (Hofstede 2001). Consequently, this notion suggests a tight relation and network among family members of different levels in collectivistic societies and thus a rather central role of children and other components in family when it comes to (migration) decisions. Migrating from a rather collectivistically coined society into an individualistic social context implies a significant change of the cultural setting. Integration may thus be facilitated by existing social networks and contacts of priory migrated group members that can be accessed if specific resources are existent and available for the migrant (Baykara-Krumme 2012).
Indeed, three out of four respondents, whose migration was primarily economically motivated, indicate the striving for better living conditions for themselves and for their families (children or parents). All respondents moved embedded in a kinship net or socio-emotionally linked with the moving individuals.
The traditional role of the family often provides for risk control and management through elderly and parents, which thus determines the socio-emotional and economic interdependence between family members and corresponding expectations (*Ibid.*). However, it must be noted in this context, that this traditional role model, as also often exemplified for the Italian context (cf. prior brief discussion on Mediterranean familialism in ch. 1.2.1), is not automatically coherent with its national allocation (by Hofstede) into the collectivistic or individualistic grid.
Indeed, Italy ranks with an assigned value of 76 above Germany and Romania and can be thus considered a highly individualistic society.

Fig. 4.2: Cultural dimensions according to Hofstede - Individualism



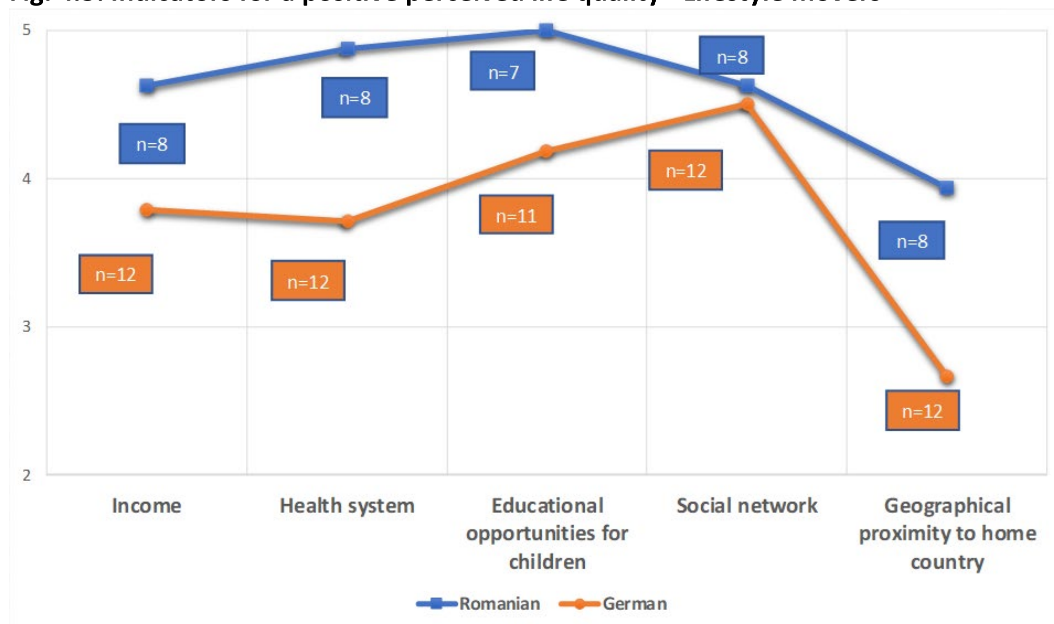
Source: adopted from https://www.hofstede-insights.com/

None of the German respondents indicated economic reasons as major migration motivation. In accordance with the socio-economic characteristics of the national context of origin (cf. Ch. 3) the major motivations to leave the home country were thus classified as lifestyle migrations, which will be further outlined in the following section.

4.1.2 Lifestyle migrations

The majority of study participants were allocated to the category of lifestyle migrants. Whereas two thirds of the Romanian respondents (SG1 and 2) did not move primarily out of economic necessity, all German study participants changed their national residency for educational, professional or relational reasons (cf. Fig 4.1).
Drawing from the assumption that migratory processes are generally initiated to improve life quality, it is crucial to put efforts in research on immigrants' well-being over the life course in the destination context to investigate on potential long-term aspirations and strategies of the moving community. This idea has yielded a vast interest within the international scientific community (Kogan et. al 2018) of the last decades and generated research on different levels.
Accordingly, this study has provided for a small-scale ranking of life-quality indicators to investigate on the preference settings of the sample group members towards a positively perceived life quality in the host context, that differ according to the socio-cultural background. Respondents were asked to rate the general subjective importance of income, the health system, educational opportunities for their children, a social network and the geographical proximity to their home country for a positively perceived live quality, independently from the country of residence on a scale from 1 (least important) to 5 (most important). The graph shows the assessed sample of this small-scale survey that was allocated to the category of 'lifestyle movers'.

Fig. 4.3: Indicators for a positive perceived life quality - Lifestyle movers



The significance of economic benefits as income and a well-functioning health system were rated highest priorities within the Romanian sample groups (non-economically motivated movers from SG1 and SG2). The absence of economic motivations of the German target group and the low rating of income as priority for a positively perceived life style may be justified by purely practical

indicators, considering that the average GDP in Romania of the last 10 years (2010 – 2019) has been less than one third (average 7.400) of Italy and one fifth of the Germany's middling GDP (Eurostat 2020)[4].
The majority of German respondents moved to Italy with either a concrete professional (work) or educational (study) project or for the sake of family reunion and thus calculable and prior assessed outcomes. One émigré had started his career in one of the major German technological and engineering companies and was then sent out as Expat to FIAT in 1992, first to Milan, then to Turin, where he settled and built a family with his Italian wife.
Another respondent, born and raised in a German border town to Belgium, studied at a Belgian university, when he decided for a short-term educational mobility. Italy's cultural-historical background and standing as centre of attraction and study for artists and related professions was pivotal for his choice and related educational opportunities and benefits that were offered:

(SG3) It was with the Erasmus programme. Of course, it was obvious for an architect to go to Italy (...) then I came to Turin in 1995/96 and fell in love with the city (…) I come from a family of architects, I'm the 4th generation now. That's why I had a clear idea of what I wanted to do, and it wasn't always smooth with the universities. And when I noticed that the door was open here for me in Turin, that I could implement my projects and even write my thesis here, I saw this as an opportunity to finish my studies in Italy. I was the first foreign student who had all the certificates obtained abroad, in my case in Belgium, recognized in Italy. And the Belgian diploma, which would actually have been a university of applied sciences diploma (...) had been converted into a technical university diploma by the Politecnico di Torino. So that had been the chance to get an even better degree.

Professional and love migration would be the category that accounts for another SG3 study participant, who followed her husband along diverse work stations all over Europe:

(SG3) I had studied (…) in Budapest and there I met my husband. We stayed in Hungary for another year and then went to Dublin with, as he had been transferred there. The same thing happened with Turin, I followed my husband because he was transferred to Italy afterwards.

Even though her husband was further transferred temporarily to other countries for work the respondent decided to build their family base in Turin, Italy to provide a stable environment for their children's education and early socialisation.
All examples underline Ryan and Sales' (2011: 92) notion that migration should not be considered an "one-off event which ends in settlement", but rather an "on-going process that may be re-evaluated and re-considered several times over the life-course" and thus re-defines priorities and consequently following decisions.
This is further corroborated by the narrative of a Romanian migrant (SG1) who came to Turin for the sake of her husband's academic career before Romania became member of the European Union. The mobility thus implied a realisation of professional objectives and turned from an intended short-term stay abroad to a regular residence in the host country.

(SG1) First time I came for a visit in 2000, in 2001 I came to stay longer. But it wasn't meant to be that long. I followed my husband who had been moving here at the university with a research grant, but it was not planned to stay in Italy for good. Then he did his PhD here, and we just stayed. (…) We didn't do it for our son (...) it was our choice to stay here for professional reasons. First of all, for my

[4] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ (data retrieved on Nov. 26 2020).

husband, because he had found a great research group here, he could do his research and therefore we stayed here with him. He could have done it in Romania too, because when Romania joined the European Union, there were so many opportunities, there was so much funding for research, so he could have done his job there too (...). But we were already here (...) and that's why we stayed. But not because we didn't have opportunities there (…).”

Non-linear mobility trajectories, that are either characterised by their blurry definitions of time and space or do not build on a concrete life plan are represented by the classification of “cosmopolitan” migrations that occurred for pursuing a certain lifestyle, as the following narrative exemplifies. Socio-cultural knowledge gained from prior travels and professional experiences created thus an image about the Italian lifestyle that was leading for the objective to spend a period of the following émigré:

(SG3) I was 30, not in a relationship, I lived in Cologne, the twin city of Turin. During my studies, I always led international youth encounters during the semester break, and that's how I got to know Turin.I really wanted to go to Italy because I've always somehow felt more comfortable here than in Germany in terms of lifestyle. I had a friend back then and she said to me: if you come, you can live with me here for 3 months.

Also, respondents from SG1 referred to a change of lifestyle as motivation for their mobility, however in contrast to their German counter group, priorities for change were rooted in socio-political rather than socio-cultural circumstances. One study participant decided to turn her back on her home country to oppose against experienced corruption when applying for a job in public administration to become a researcher.

(SG1) I did not expect anything [when I came here]. I was and I am still a convinced nationalist. The problem was that I never liked the idea that somebody would help me with my career. I wanted to do it by myself. Because in that way you can fly up and nobody can make you fall down. (…) I had taken an exam to work at the medical university. There, I had seen things that were corrupt. In fact, I had an argument with them, in fact I told them: No, that doesn't work. They actually didn't want to sign me up for the exam because they had already their candidate. And I said: No, it's not possible. (…) I had my brothers who could have only made a phone call (…) and fix everything, but I told myself: No, if you are strong, if you are capable, you can do anything anywhere. It was not the case (…). But if I hadn't taken this path, I wouldn't have seen what was behind it. It’s ok (…) because I wanted to find another world. I found it even though I see that some things are the same everywhere. But ... It is an experience that I don't really mind that I went away. I have known the lower, higher and middle levels of life.

A social network ranked highest in the scale of German respondents. Transnational activities, work and familial settings presuppose thus also global-spanning private and business networks. Accordingly, friendships and contacts may be “transported” through new communication technologies and an efficient infrastructure to maintain (virtual) relationships alive or they are centred around the diverse reference points of transnational migrants.
A German respondent who created a transnational working space in his home and destination country has been circulating for several years with his family between Italy and Germany. A continuous spatial mobility combined with relational stability within at least two worlds is thus transmitted as code of praxis to his children and lived by himself.

(SG3) If you are and keep being mobile, and you have groups of friends distributed all over Europe and worldwide, (...) then you never actually settle anywhere, but you are a bit rooted in all of these places. But it is fine if your roots can always reach the water.

The theme of arriving, settling and thus integration is linked to the existing social networks that offset side effects of ongoing mobility that work on life quality such as perceived instability or social secludedness. The importance of geographical proximity to the home country was rated rather low by the German sample group. Romanian migrants who left their home country out of economic reasons consider the distance between home and host context less important than their peer group of lifestyle emigrants who rank the same indicator with an average of 3,94.

Tab. 3.6: Indicators for positive life quality perception – geographical proximity

	Eco SG1+2	Lifestyle SG1+2	SG3
Importance of geographical proximity	3	3,94	2,67

This difference is interesting in the light of the individualism/collectivism premise and characteristics of both national contexts. Indeed, most respondents of the Romanian sample groups show a higher frequency of circulation between home and host country, that amounts to two or more times per year, and also a longer permanence in the country of destination, at least for some members of the family. The intensity of relationships and in-group ties distinguish individual and collective societies. Interestingly belong the majority of the study participants classified as Romanian lifestyle migrants to SG2, and thus the mixed couples, which partly explains the differing score allocated to the importance of geographical proximity of home and host context. The lower rank of the SG3 score corroborates thus a higher individualist attitude to the home country and consequently less attachment to geographical convenience.
With reference to the indicator for education it can be assumed that the existence of adequate educational opportunities for children are central to all sample groups, however less important to German respondents than to their Romanian counter groups, who allocated maximum priority to education for a positively perceived life quality.

Tab. 3.7: Indicators for positive life quality perception – educational opportunities

	Eco SG1+2	Lifestyle SG1+2	SG3
Educational opportunities	5	5	4,18

Lifestyle migration is often grounded in necessities that alter over time and permits thus considerations of return migration. In fact, most of the SG3 respondents admitted that a return or onward migration had been discussed and assessed over the life course and especially with the arrival of the children. How the decision for one or the other national context is guided by the migratory-cultural status in educational milieus is illustrated by the following narrative of a German émigré:

(SG3) We had thought for a long time whether our children would grow up and go to school in Germany or Italy. (…) But, when the children go to a foreign [in terms of international public school with a high share of foreign students] school here, they have a completely different environment that they encounter the other way around. (…) My migration background here is completely different from the migration background someone has who goes to Germany for whatever reason and goes to a foreign school in Germany wanting to speak his native language.

Another German transnational family faced the decision to remain in the host destination or to move onward in another national context as requested by the family father's company. For the sake of appreciated transnational educational opportunities in the host context (cf. Ch. 6.1) the family decided to settle in Turin sacrificing the unity of the family, as the father lived abroad and separated from the family for 2 years.

(SG3) My husband was then transferred back to Istanbul for some time and the school was an important argument for us to stay here.

The educational landscape in Turin guided not only the 'staying or leaving' decisions, but also those to actually move to Italy. An international learning environment is often translated in and aspired to be a transcultural place that unites both worlds but prioritises the original context of the migrated parent by worshipping language, culture and traditions.
One German study participant decided to change residence for the sake of a career opportunity of his French wife in an international organisation from Brussels to Turin. Existing educational opportunities, in particular multilingual educational institutions that provided (one of) the mother tongues of the migrated parents have thus contributed significantly to the definition of their final decision to move.

(SG3) One of the reasons (...) why we moved to Italy, other than for the job offer from my wife, were also the options for school, that we had immediately checked. We had known about the European kindergarten, which had also a German section and we contacted them immediately as soon as the decision to go had been taken. (…)
My wife had won a public selection competition at the time, (...) but the start of work was delayed by the birth of our second son, so we had a bit of time, that was about 10 months in between, and during that time we looked intensively for [educational] opportunities and also discussed whether we would take the job in Turin or not. In the end we had found a good opportunity to secure school education for our children in our languages, which was important to us.
We both (…) didn't speak any Italian at all and couldn't imagine that our son could get support from us (…) if he went to an Italian school. We had also checked if there was a German school in Turin, it wasn't at that time and it still doesn't exist today, but at least there was the European school[5] *with this German or French section and there is a French school. That was very important for the decision to go to Turin at the time, I don't know whether we would have done that without these schools.*

Parental aspirations for high-quality and specific education may be also trigger migration decisions, especially when combined with external factors, such as location of corresponding educational institutions, or with other motivations, such as economic improvement. This was the case of a Romanian transnational artist family (SG1) who came to Italy for the sake of the son's education as musician:

(SG1) We lived in a small town [in Romania], to go to the city, to a big city, to study, to do the things we had dreamed for him, it was too complicated. (…) We always wanted our son to study in the conservatory to study art. I was already in the educational field; my brothers-in-law were all professors. (…) But there ... I worked, my husband worked ... to take him to the city, we had to go every day 100 km back and forth…it would have been too difficult.

[5] Spinelli European School Turin - www.istitutoaltierospinelli.com/ (cf. Ch. 6.1).

Social remittances (Levitt 1998; Vacaru 2013), as the exchange of information and experiences, promoting the city and Italy as an attractive host destination with educational opportunities, has played a significant role for the decision to migrate in order to find adequate opportunities.

This chapter has discussed the priority setting of lifestyle migrants and their interrelation with corresponding migration decisions and focused in particular on the presence of educational opportunities for the offspring of the transnational parents. The next section ties in to this argument, but changes the perspective. Accordingly, it will be questioned and discussed which role educational and professional opportunities for the migrants themselves play for their perceived life quality in the host context and for future decisions. Whereas this chapter thus introduced the initial stages of the migratory trajectories, the following discussions will focus on the management and coping with educational and professional integration "on the ground" in the host context.

4.2 ON THE GROUND: Imagined vs perceived reality within migration paths

This chapter analyses the migratory path of several study participants by confronting imagined and perceived reality in the host context. Accordingly, it opposes initial objectives and aspirations for the socio-professional trajectory in the destination country underlining firstly, coping strategies to recover education and professionalism and secondly, the development of linked transnational dynamics.
A former artist from Bucharest with a Degree in Fine Arts met her future husband, an entrepreneur from Piedmont, in her sister's art gallery and decided shortly after to settle with him in Italy. The Italian context was not new to her, as she had been studying in Rome, which she describes as a (positive) "emotional shock".

(SG2) Being used to the atmosphere of Bucharest, it seemed like a fairy tale in Rome ... the coffee in the bars ... this flavour, I can still smell it … all these fragrances in the street ... fantastic.

Work and an improvement of her economic situation had neither been a motivation nor a priority for her decision to leave the home country.

(_cont.) No, I didn't think of it, it was my utmost unconsciousness. I came here for love and slowly I realized that I have to integrate into the system.

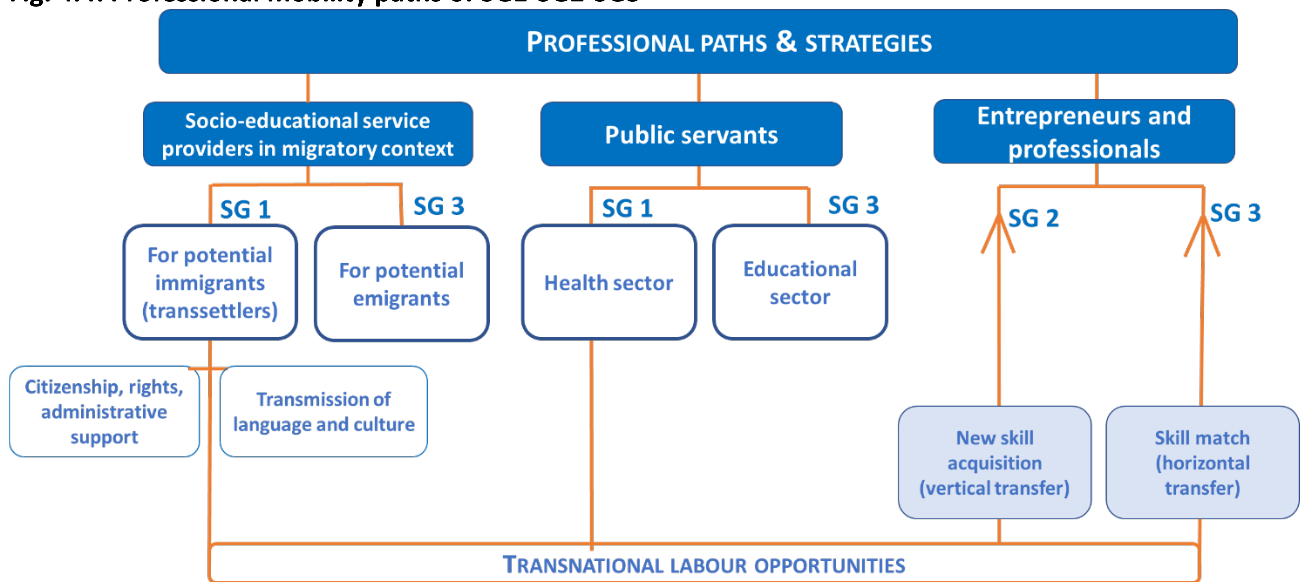
When referring to the reasons for her emigration, the respondent criticizes existing images of Romanians reporting often used categories such as *"cleaners or care workers"* or those who come to Italy *"to get married or to build a future"*. She highlights that she never *"needed a support of that type"* as she was leaving her home country holding a stable working position.
Indeed, literature confirms the existence and crucial agency of stereotypes and stigmatisation on insertion opportunities in society and the labour market (Ambrosini 2020; Ricucci 2018; Zanfrini 2019).

The respondent hazards an alteration of the professional career path as a consequence of her migration. Though, she formulates explicitly her professional aspirations in the host setting that are constantly assessed and compared with the former situation and status in the home country.

(SG2) It [the integration] was a bit difficult for me (…). In Romania, I organized art exhibitions and I taught kids in school. I was part of a circle of artists. Here it was different. But after a while, I started a collaboration with some schools through an association. For 8 years, I was the only teacher in this association for Italian artists. I liked them and they liked me. But then I quit because I was looking for other things. And I am still looking for other things. Because I have not reached my objectives yet. I still want to be an artist rather than a teacher.

However, throughout the interview it is repeatedly stated that current priorities are family-centred and focused on the upbringing of her daughter.
In order to encounter the challenge to integrate and settle in the professional setting in the host country, migrants may build on pre-defined or unconscious strategies. In this context, it is possible to identify at least three different types of professional mobility paths for migrants from both, advantaged and disadvantaged socio-cultural and economical national context.

Fig. 4.4: Professional mobility paths of SG1-SG2-SG3



The first includes employment figures specifically linked to the incoming and outgoing migratory phenomenon. Accordingly, the first may be related to potential migrants in the host context, whereas professional figures range from cultural mediators to agents for the bureaucratic procedures dedicated to favour the insertion of foreign citizens (Ricucci and Schroot 2020). The insertion in this professional branch is also observable in the sample of this study, in particular for SG1 respondents. The second "branch" of services for migrants addresses rather potential outgoings, and thus mostly Italians, who are willing to become trained in language and culture of a latent emigration country, and relates to language and cultural trainers in adult education. In this study, professional figures of this branch could be predominantly allocated to SG3 respondents, who worked as foreign language trainers in adult education, often to prepare Italian willing to study or work abroad in a German-speaking country.
Another essential sector for the inclusion of qualified migrants in Italy is that of health. As the aging population leads to an increasing demand for services, a recognition and valorisation of specific professional skills is more favoured and aspired compared to other work sectors. The enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and in 2007 enabled citizens from CEE countries to access competitions for labour positions in the public health system, which thus became one of the main

fields of employment for highly specialized professionals from latest EU-entries (COM 2018b), as also confirmed in this study by professional positions of predominantly SG1 respondents.
Opposed to this, the educational sector for ISCED 1-3 represents one of the major occupational fields in public services for the German respondents, who became employed in public schools as language teacher or assistant. Interestingly, the value of the "mother tongue status" permits to circumvent the requirements on formal educational capital and favours a facilitated recognition of competences and skills for German immigrants.
The third category refers to Entrepreneurs and professionals. Although for the most part the new economic realities founded by foreign citizens are small in size and with a limited number of employees, their constant growth is undeniable and even more visible with respect to the continuously decline of Italian entrepreneurs (Idos-Confronti 2019).
Whereas the Romanian sample respondents, especially SG2, thus rather re-invented themselves or had to adapt their competences and qualifications, the majority of SG3 respondents were either employed in one of the first two mentioned categories or could "transport" horizontally their professional position from the home to the host context. This goes of course back to the facilitated recognition of educational titles and competences, as well as the skills in se that refer to an advantaged national arrival context (language, hard and soft skills, etc.).
Experts, researchers and policymakers (CEDEFOP 2020; OECD 2017b; WHO 2016) have been predicting remarkable numbers for missing labour force in distinguished job sectors, as the sanitarian sector (which have increased dramatically due to the world health situation in 2020), the EU-Commission considers highly skilled migration a chance to cover at least part of this need. However, skill and job mismatch have marked the migratory trajectory of many qualified workers who came to Italy hoping for a better or different future and looking at present and future trends, plenty of suitable workers are not occupied in positions matching their qualifications (OECD 2017). This is confirmed by Mara's study (2012) on labour market and social inclusion of Romanian migrants in Turin, Milan and Rome, which reveals that 40% of workers belonging to the ISCO-88 category[6] of 'Professionals' were employed in the same occupation as in their country of origin, but 60% had been downgraded.
The three categories and strategies do not represent well-defined paths, and indeed find numerous contact points and hybridizations; for example, the creation of an offer of services related to immigration needs is combined with a greater propensity for entrepreneurship (in a broad sense, and also considering the vast field of non-profit). In the same way, professional career paths of employee employment can turn rather quickly (and even for short periods) into self-employed activities. Accordingly, the following three subchapters will look into each of the mentioned categories to examine and oppose the educational and professional orientation and integration on the ground, and hence in the destination context. Therefore, the comparative analysis firstly shows how the employment situation was managed by Romanian migrants, who left their home context under different circumstances and with diverse aspirations in mind. They were asked how they managed the transitory professional period and which strategies were applied to recover their professionalism in the destination context.

[6] The International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) is a structure that has been elaborated by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and allows to classify diverse jobs and occupational fields.
cf. https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/intro.htm

4.2.1 Professions for (e)migrants

Unsurprisingly, the organisational process of the labour market insertion in the destination context is determined and triggered by the migration motivation. A former school principal (cf. Ch. 4.1.1) came to Turin five years after her husband had migrated for economic reasons. Upon her arrival in Turin, she prioritised the educational insertion of her daughter in school and learning the language of the new host context. Missing language skills of the official language spoken in the host context are one of the most common and incising issues when it comes to integration and labour market insertion (Ryan et al. 2015). Consequently, also deskilling is triggered often by insufficient language skills (Vouyioukas and Liapi 2013). The following narrative thus sketches the socio-professional mobility path in the host context that has been decisively determined by accumulated hard and soft social competences. Initial professional downward mobility was accepted in view of accumulating competences and thus competitivity at the labour market.

(SG1) My daughter would tell me: I have to do an interpretation in Italian for homework, how can I do it? And I told her: Write it in Romanian, and then we will translate it….it was really difficult (…). But then she learned and improved quite quickly. For me it was more difficult, because I was at home. I watched TV, I hadn't learned Italian in Romania, I tried it with books... My husband wasn't there because he worked outside Turin. Thus, I had to go to school, go to order books, I had to attend meetings in school, ... I understood almost everything but I couldn't express myself. So, I prepared the sentences at home, I wrote down what I had to say ... after a while I got the hang of it.
And then after a few months I had also found a job in a tailor's shop, where I got in touch with other people and therefore it became easier [to learn the language]. They needed someone to do minor repairs. At first it was for a few hours, then they became 8, 9. Until I wasn't able to speak well, I did not open my mouth. (…) I have been in this tailor shop for 2 and a half years. Then I changed, because after a while they [the shop owner] did not behave well. A bit of exploitation, a bit of mistreatment ... sometimes they scolded me for no reason. So, I wanted to do different things.
And one day I heard about a training course from the Region for the intercultural mediator (…) with a scholarship. I said to the lady [shop owner]: Either I give notice or I switch to work part-time job and take the course. In the end they allowed me to take the course, also because they were convinced that I would not find a job afterwards. The course was beautiful right from the start. There was the whole part on psychology, which I had already studied to become a teacher [in Romania]. (…) After the course, I came here [to the organization] to do the internship. After the internship I came back to ask if I could volunteer. At some point they made me a project contract, and a while after that I was hired for an indefinite period.

Since then she has been working in the NGO in the sanitarian sector as cultural mediator where she supports in particular migrants and people in need without social security provisions for medical assistance and provides support to potential migrant settlers for bureaucratic, formal and judicial questions. Besides that, the respondent engages in several volunteering jobs that focus on counteracting discrimination and prejudices towards migrants as well as on supporting the insertion of vulnerable groups in society.
Accordingly, the professional trajectory has been built and pursued in a rather non-linear way, i.e. with an occupational profile that was incoherent with the carried competence set and professional capital of the migrant, which thus turned in to skill mismatch at first and skill enrichment in a later moment.
Switching professions for the sake of a qualified working position, even though not in the same professional field that was left in the home context, is rather common and generally accepted

among (highly)skilled migrants. Thus, professionalizing training and educational paths are taken from zero, even though this implies to assume the risk of low wages, limited time for other activities, social conflicts and other sacrifices.
Accordingly, another story is told by an SG1 respondent, who decided for the professional field of intercultural mediation, once she had been given the opportunity to actually choose and decide.
The migration trajectory had started before Romania's accession to the European Union, when the respondent decided to follow her mother, sister and fiancé to Italy.

(SG1) My sister already had her little daughter, my mom brought her daughter here, who was two years old. (…) This was the reason for my mother's arrival in Italy, she actually had to go back. But my sister told her: Look, don't you want to work a little? Just for two or three months…so then my mother stayed. (…) We hadn't planned it. (…) Then my fiancé joined them too, because it's always like this… let's just put a little money aside, so you get married and then (…). So, they were here. (…) I had started my studies in Bucharest and came on summer vacation and did not go back.

Her studies, that she had formerly initiated in Bucharest, were put on hold to be with her family in a context that was unknown to her, but also rather disadvantageous for her personal and professional trajectory, as she had no legal opportunity to find a formal work or to continue education. In deed her family was not favourable of her decision.

(_cont.) My mom and my sister did absolutely not agree with my decision to stay here. In fact, they insisted very much that I go back to finish university because they told me: 'The reason why your mother came here was to enable you to finish your studies (…). So, go back, finish your studies and then we'll see.' But there was no way (…) I was 18 and engaged, he was here and so I said: I can't ... you aren't here [in Romania], then he came here too, I absolutely wanted to stay.

The stabilisation of the legal status is a basic condition for integration in the host society (Caponio 2015). The following excerpt of the respondent's narrative shows the inner conflict and nevertheless acceptance of living under-occupied and in-(personal)-need for education and benefit from the economic advantages that the society offers. The same society, that however admits solely the migrant's co-existence as invisible labour.

(_cont.) I suspended my studies and started working illegally from 2003 until 2007 ... I worked as a cleaning lady, however, in houses of very well-off people. I actually wasn't okay with it (…) well, at the beginning yes, because you earn that money that you did not have, but then there was this desire to go back to studying, to do something…then the fact of not having documents ... it was something that made you dying right from the inside, that you could not do absolutely anything about. Because you were a shadow, a ghost, without documents you couldn't do anything. Then, at a certain point, I started looking for a job in a company to do something else, but no one would take me without documents.

As also exemplified by the responses of other study participants from SG1 and SG2, it turns out that domestic and care work at the beginning of the migratory trajectory in the host society are generally accepted as legitimate occupational field. This is corroborated by international scholarship (Kontos and Bonifacio 2015) that coins domestic work as potential "survival strategy" or a "stepping stone" towards more attractive and more qualified occupation sectors and job opportunities.

(SG1) In a family household I worked, I would finish cleaning and one hour was devoted to studying English. So, she would pay me after I had finished cleaning, and then pay me to teach her English for another price. They appreciated me very much (...)

The Romanian EU-membership changed educational and professional paths of Romanian migrants in Italy significantly and determined the career of potential movers, as numbers confirm. Therefore 19% of migrants in working-age who arrived in the EU member states at the time, were Romanians, representing also 72% of all working-age migrants in Italy (Stan and Erne 2014).
The respondent pursued her studies and a professional formation as intercultural mediator, which became her professional field and occupation in a public institution in Turin.

(SG1) I found this course for linguistic mediators (…) in Turin. So, I enrolled there for a year, I got the certificate and then they allowed me, after taking two exams, to enter the second year in university. (...) Then I did another course for translation, similar to a Master course, (...) in 2012. (...) It was a private school. Everyone wondered why I had chosen this school…I had a scholarship that paid half of the tuition fee, for the rest of the fees I continued with my cleaning job to afford the school, which was indeed quite expensive. There were only two years left, and it was really worth it. (…) After three years I left there prepared. (…) So, I did this and after that I took another course as mediator.

Accordingly, the work as intercultural mediator includes the provision of assistance with linguistical and cultural issues that are encountered by potential migrant transsettlers in the Italian context.
These two examples show the educational and professional path of two SG1 respondents to integrate in the host society choosing the strategy to work in the service sector for immigrants.
Opposed to that stand the cultural and linguistic services that are provided to potential emigrants. This professional strategy and profile are represented by several respondents of SG3 in this study, who work in cultural institutes[7] and promote and teach the German language to adults. The target group of the taught courses in adult education are individuals who either have been or are planning to work and live abroad in a German-speaking area. Accordingly, mother tongue instructors are taking the role of cultural and linguistic mediators who create a transnational learning environment that spans from home to host context and vice versa, as several students start their language courses in Italy and complete them in the destination country.
The interrelation between migratory motivation, labour offer in the host context and missing competences, such as linguistic skills, that would complete the highly skilled profile, often lead also for migrants coming from rather “advantaged” national contexts, such as Germany, to skill mismatch and a switch of the professional profile compared to their prior occupation in the home context. However, the insertion in higher qualified professions is facilitated in contrast to other migrant groups with respect to professions in the educational sector, especially with regard to language instruction.

4.2.2 Public services

Education, being a significant issue in the childhood of all interviewees, is often being considered as “lifelong” task by all SGs. However, even though or actually because one of the main motivations to come to Italy was to provide the offspring with better educational opportunities, parents’ prior own

[7] The Goethe Institute in Turin promotes German language and culture on an international level. Turin hosts one of seven Goethe Institutes in Italy and it was actually the first to be established in Italy in 1954.

education was often put on hold and only being pursued many years later in the host country in order to increase career opportunities and improve life quality.
Coming at a very young age and only few years after the Romania professionalizing high school to Italy, one SG1 migrant qualified as dental assistant. After more than two decades in the host context she has been continuing her studies in medicine and pursues a tertiary educational trajectory parallel to her son, who was born in Italy right after her arrival and is not in university student age.

(SG1) [Education has] always been important, especially to my father. He wanted me to become a doctor or an artist. But unfortunately, we couldn't afford it economically, my father lost his job after the revolution (…) so I could not continue my studies. But it was ok for me because I knew that one day I could continue my studies. Now I restarted at the age of 40 and I don't feel sorry. I went to the socio-sanitarian high school, a quite difficult and very important school in Romania. I could find work everywhere with this diploma. But now I will continue my studies in September, I will go together with my son. It was a dream left in the drawer (…).

As literature confirms (Bailey and Mulder 2017; Nowicka 2012) "deskilling" and downward social mobility are not only experienced but even expected as a condition and component of migration by qualified migrants. Consequently, migrants presume often themselves that they will have fewer possibilities than others, especially when they arrive from distinguished countries that reveal lower economic profiles than the destination contexts or if they come from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds. Often, it is taken for granted that they will have to work harder than others or simply need to take what they get.
One SG1 respondent, a graduated engineer, who worked as a professor before leaving Romania for personal reasons, started her professional path with cleaning work. When she tells about her son's reaction to her professional degrading in the host country, it becomes obvious that the situation is rather acceptable for her being a foreigner, who has put priority on the family's well-being, than to her son, whose education stood in the center of her migration motivation. After having settled in the host context, the family was reunited when their son moved to Italy.
A burden for the professional integration and a "door-opener" for deskilling dynamics is the missing or incomplete recognition and accreditation of the migrant's educational qualifications and titles in the host context, which often leads to the start of new educational and formation paths. (Vouyioukas and Liapi 2013). Following the example of the majority of Romanian migrant women coming from the CEE countries (Colombo and Sciortino 2005), the respondent started her professional occupation with assistance and care working.

(SG1) So, when he arrived, he had a negative reaction towards me, because he knew what work I was doing there. He did not accept that as a former professor I go to clean up. (…) Little by little he understood that this is life, that we are foreigners in a foreign country, that we must live and do what we find, not that we choose.

After a while and with the assumption of additional competences, such as linguistic skills, she discovered parallels to her former job in her country of origin and linked aspects between both employment sectors with regard to their focus on the well-being of and care for persons.

(_cont.) As a teacher in Romania, I had this approach to people (...) and I never backed down with someone when they needed me. (...) I discovered that I liked (...) to talk, to chat, to hear their story, to care for them. (…) I discovered that I liked these aspects and that I wanted to do more than just assistance work. So, I did my training and qualification as nurse, then I discovered that I really liked

massage, so I enroled in the Academy for Massage Therapy, where I got my certificate, and then I found out that (…) I like Osteopathy, and thus I am registering for a further qualification this fall.

The gradual exploration of personal interests, professional options and educational possibilities lead the respondent hence to pursue a newly and personal tailored formation path, which is a development represented in several narratives told by the interviewed sample.
At the beginning millennium, the agriculture and the textile industry were dominating employment sectors in Romania which Stan and Erne (2014) explain with the country's "strong orientation (…) toward low-wage, labour-intensive production sectors [which] was also reflected in its employment structure" (Stan and Erne 2014: 31).
A tendency for labour in the textile industry and linked skills are also displayed in the migrant's professional careers, mostly upon arrival in the destination context.
Isabella started her professional occupation in a sewing company, which represented at the same time her stairway towards a network and integration:

(SG1) I had found this beautiful job in a haute couture shop (…), so I went to work there with beautiful people, important people and I learned many things there…I learned to take public transport, to talk, to work (...).

Scholarship (Mortimer and Shanahan 2003, Croitoru 2018) indicates the necessity to investigate on the intersections between professional paths, gendered life courses and the different work sectors in which their aspirations and goals are pursued and realised. A switch among different occupational sectors occurs rather frequently and seems even inevitable in most cases.
This is also confirmed by the respondent's further trajectory, whereas the employment path is characterised by continuing onward mobility.
Drawing on a life course of more than two decades, where she filled in several roles as mother, wife, transnational caregiver for family left behind, trainee and worker, the interviewee describes her self-realised professional trajectory interrelated with personal and economic integration (Vianello 2018).

(_cont.) So, after I had started working in this tailor shop, I then served breakfasts in this beautiful bar, that was frequented by very nice people. Then from there I went to work in a dry-cleaners, from there I went to work in a restaurant, where they immediately hired me as a cook's assistant. In the beginning I was never well received anywhere. Then I always managed somehow to make myself loved, to make myself liked by the people I worked with first of all and then also by the people who came to those places. (...) But then when I realized that I can make it, I started my studies. I did a 2-years specializing course to become a dental nurse in Como, so I commuted Turin - Como (...) every day for 2 years. Then I did refresher courses for dental nurses, all courses that were offered, I wouldn't miss one of it (…) I found a job in the field that I wanted (…) I have been working in the same place for 16 years now. But now I still want more, I want to conclude my (…) three-year degree to become a dental hygienist.

Both émigrés pursued their professional path within the sanitarian employment sector, however with different educational initial positions. Whereas the first narrative is told by a former engineer and teacher who pursued a professional career to become a nurse and soon also an Osteopath, the second respondent departed without a formal education in the home context. Accordingly, she pursued her educational trajectory and skill acquisition in the country of destination along her personal aspirations and economic improvement from assisting works to academic studies in the

sanitarian field. When referring to the "dream left in the drawer" the respondent explains her priority setting and thus the well-defined life plan that comes along. Accordingly did the migration incur the care of family left behind and determined thus initial decisions for the professional trajectory. The agency of family members – even though not explicit – on defined choice patterns and decisions over the migrant's life course corroborates the presumption of strong intergroup relations and dependency within collective societies that work in the host context.

In contrast to the employment in the health segment in public service represented by SG1 respondents, the German sample group of this study (SG3) can be allocated to the second branch, that is public education. Even though the transferability of competences, educational and professional capital is rather promoted, specialising training paths are pursued if switching of professional profiles is required.

(SG3) I studied law and am a fully qualified lawyer, but I work as a German teacher. (...) Back then I did a distance learning course (…) to teach German, and I like it as a profession. (...) At first, I always thought: 'Oh, what a pitty', because studying law was really exhausting (...) but now I am fine with it and don't shed any tears over it.

In particular insufficient language skills at the beginning of the migratory trajectory present teaching of the German language a valid option, also in view of increasing demands for language instruction and socio-linguistic competences promoted on national and supra-national level (COE 2020) as the preference of mother tongue (assistant) teachers in public and private schools rather than native foreign language instructors.

4.2.3 Entrepreneurship and self-employment

The legal status and age of the migrant at the time of arrival are decisive determinants for the further professional trajectory and labour market outcomes (Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi 2019; Vouyioukas and Liapi 2013). The lack of pre-migratory education, knowledge and professional experience might be disadvantageous, is however balanced by the diversity of life-course events and transition stages (Croitoru 2018), as from youth to adulthood to mothership etc. and consequently the higher disposal of time for educational activities.
The first employment of one SG2 was, similar to many co-nationals, in the domestic and caregiving work sector. This occupation did however not take the typical downgrading and -skilling character of the migrant's educational and professional profile, but rather supported her skills acquisition and her endeavour to acquire a legal status in the host destination.

(SG2) My first job ... I worked as a caregiver for a gentleman who was the former director of an important foundation in Turin, and his wife was an Italian teacher. They noticed that I was always studying, so his wife started teaching me Italian ... instead of making me clean their house and doing other things all the time, she gave me exercises to study the verbs, to read ... Instead, to the signore, who was 93, I was reading books that I had chosen, easy books, and he corrected me. So, I immediately was lucky enough to have people, this was already the second month, who helped me (...) and who encouraged me to study. And then they also tried to help me with my legal status, as they really liked me.

After having acquired sufficient language skills to participate in the labour market within other employment segments, she started her work trajectory beyond private care work only few years

upon arrival in Turin. In order to compete for job opportunities in the public sector she decided to apply for the Italian citizenship.

(_cont.) I started doing office work in (...) 2001 (...) then I had my documents since April 2002 (…) and I received my VAT number (...) in 2007. This is why I am a freelancer (...) I worked for the University of Turin, there I decided that I wanted the citizenship because I could not participate (...) in public competitions because I did not have the citizenship. At that point I thus applied and I have had the citizenship (...) since 2014. But this was not enough for me, I always wanted more (...) in fact I had done a lot of different works…I was constantly changing ... simply because I always had to find my part.

The respondent found her part in her own tax consulting agency, where she works predominantly with Romanian clients. Additionally, she engaged in transnational business and bought a hotel in the central region of Romania, where she prepares herself a future *"Parachute, so that I know in any case that I can rely on something else."*

With regard to the German counter sample group, certain professional fields and employment modes guide the choice of the migration destination.

(SG3) Then of course, it was obvious for an architect to go to Italy (...) I came to Turin in 1995/96 and fell in love with the city. It has something to do with the urban structure, with the town planning, with the palazzi, with the squares, with the churches, with the palaces, i.e. with the city itself and also with the surrounding area (...) so the mountains, of course, skiing on the one hand and the sea, the Ligurian coast on the other, which is of course underlined with good culinary offerings and great wines, so it has a great quality of life, and therefore it simply radiates a great fascination for me.

Accordingly, Italy has been chosen for the sake of its particular features as well as for the existing institutional education structures to study fine art that turn it into a prioritised destination for art students and professionals.
Personal interest in the culture and language of the destination country are linked to opportunities for mobility and temporary education in the destination country. The (temporary) settling process in the destination context fosters a more profound relationship and provides for further life course developments and the conscious decision-making of moving to the migration destination.

(SG3) I studied art, then languages. So, I came here to study. I didn't want to study in Germany and the choice was between Italy and France. Then I drove around the cities of Italy a bit, looked at the academies and the students, and then I decided for Turin. There were no other foreigners at the Academy of Arts in Turin at the time.

What starts with a temporary envisaged migration for the sake of education and experience abroad receives a long-term dimension with the extension of personal contacts and eventually with the settlement of a partnership or family. All professionals and highly-qualified within the branch of art and design of the German sample group of this study were self-employed in contrast to the members of their Romanian counter groups, who had worked in the educational sector.

4.2.4 Transnational labour opportunities

Apart from their daily working life and routine, most migrants engage in either volunteering activities, second jobs or are actively involved in organisations, that are normally tightly linked to their country of origin. According to Vouyioukas and Liapi (2013: 93) volunteer work is "part of a reskilling process" that permits "to capitalise on their experience, reorient themselves". Accordingly, in a rather "exclusionary reality" in the host society the migrants use volunteering activities to build up an alternative professional profile.
Organisations configure thus as mediators between the migrants and their host society as well as showcase of their ethnic identity (Pajnik and Bajt 2013), which corroborates also the fact that the majority of migrant associations focus on arts, religion and culture, often from a transnational perspective. Vertovec (2004) calls it 'bi-focality' in his work and points to the here-and-there perspective that migrants apply in their personal and professional context, and thus in daily life, and might impact decisively the context and persons surrounding. The majority of the SG1 and SG2 study participants have been actively engaged in transnational activities at the time of the interviews and data collection and told about their "dual orientations" (*Ibid.*) and views within these.
One respondent, priory presented as the former school principal, who became an intercultural mediator in Turin, organises and conducts 2-week summer trips to Romania for a local tour operator for responsible tourism, to show the beauty of her country of origin to others.
Other than this second job, she is involved in two local voluntary activities drawing on her very personal background:

(SG1) I am a migrant guide (…), and I basically tell the story of migration from the perspective of a migrant. The guides are all immigrants, all foreigners, and thus people arrived from other places, who tell (...) the story of migration (...).

She thus shows her host community and city to the "Torinesi", to migrants, to foreigners, to tourists and everybody else interested to hear and see through the transnational migrant lenses.
Another local project the respondent dedicates her time is *"the living library. It started (...) as an initiative to combat discrimination and so they organised this moment when people become books. I (...) am the Romanian mediator. The visitors come and see the names of the 'books' and then choose which 'to read' and listen to… often they are themselves discriminated categories (...) I take the opportunity to talk about Roma. (...)*

This initiative, similar to the guided tour, draws the focus on the immigrant perspective and gives additionally the opportunity to point the attention on subjectively assessed issues of significance, as the vulnerability and discrimination of Roma in the Italian context.
Another study participant founded two initiatives, one of which focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of the Romanian community in Turin, and the other on bringing together self-employed Romanians, working and living in the regional context:

(SG1) There were monthly meetings with Romanian people, (…) who had established here in Turin, (...) or in the surrounding, a business or activity. Also highly qualified persons, such as doctors, teachers, business men. We had had a couple of meetings and it was nice to get to know each other. Because of the Romanians it is true that few are known who are qualified. We only know the men who work in construction or the women who work as caregivers or in cleaning.

It becomes evident, that the main objective of the respondent's engagement is not solely networking itself but rather the acknowledgement and valorisation of professional accomplishments within her community to dissolve persisting images of Romanian migrants.

A further SG1 study participant, coming to Italy in the 1990s, bridges her attachment to her country of origin with a transnational employment activity and works for a Romanian radio, representing a *"point of reference for all Romanians in Piedmont. (...) We play international music, but there is a dedicated time for Romanian folk music much loved by the Romanian people (...) it [the radio] focuses on the Romanians ... but now they have also thought of a programme in Italian because (...) the Romanians got married to the Italians, so the Italians are obliged to listen to the Romanian radio ... then the director thought of some contributions in Italian 2 or 3 times a week (...)"*

The transnational communication network does hence not only present a link to the country of origin and diasporic identity, but also among the communities in the host context, and this is –the respondent explains - how the community members *succeed to feel less far from home.*

The trans-and cross-national network that is established and tied in the host society also provide for a transnational labour milieu that may create significant synergy effects, in particular in the context of education. One SG1 migrant has established a transnational association that was firstly oriented on the transmission of cultural heritage and later shifted its focus on Romanian-Italian (transnational) school education. She benefits from her contacts in her home country to maintain and foster a transnational cooperation scheme.

(SG1)I communicate with Romania almost every day. Because I communicate with my family, with my former teachers and colleagues, with friends from university, schoolmates who also work in my field. I am in touch with the teachers of the schools from there on current changes in the education system, to exchange work experiences, also because we have partnerships with several schools, with many associations there. I communicate with them to enrich and update myself with the didactic culture and teaching material, because (…) for me the internet is at best a way to communicate directly with the persons [not to do research on didactics]. Because I consider that it is information that in any case is first of all like ... how to say ... triad ... so I prefer books, I prefer the people who work in the field directly. If we have grown so much and if we have managed to keep authentic it is because we have all these partnerships and we have the contacts with the professionals we collaborate with. For example, even the costumes, everything that we do, they do it on the loom, we communicate, and I also tell them to bring the loom here, so they come and teach us how to fabricate them. And we continue this very authentic way, since it is getting lost. I know that maybe at the moment it doesn't seem to be of great benefit, but I think in the future it will be. I collaborate with the Ministry for Romanians abroad, I collaborate with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, which can help us in keeping the Romanian roots and identity alive and authentic.

In this context Levitt's (1998) pioneering work on social remittances seems to be relevant. Accordingly, professional collaboration through circulation of ideas, skills and attitudes between sending and receiving contexts, and hence within a transnational space, may create beneficial returns for both contexts, tighten cooperation schemes and even generate new (transnational) occupations. The former Ministry of Romanians abroad, that had been later incorporated in the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs[8], promotes these the transmission and diffusion of the

[8] https://www.mae.ro/en/node/2143

Romanian identity to stimulate and facilitate an eventual return migration. These aspects will be treated more thoroughly in the following and last section of this chapter.

4.3 ON RETURN: The interrelation of staying decisions and educational capital

Along the discussion on transnational mobility and the coherence of migration priorities and outcomes, developed the increased interest in return migration. Castles (2011) maintains that migrant stocks have generally not decreased in quantity and explains the missing propensity to return to the home country with given contextual socio-political and economic situations that would might lead to worse living conditions than the migrant is facing in the destination state. However, the migrant status and source country play an important role within the decisional process.
A significant share of Eastern migrants left immigration destinations in the last decades and decided for return or onward migration. A decision that was easily reversible with their citizenship of one of the 28 EU member states (Castles 2011; King and Lulle 2016).
The next two subchapters will investigate on return migration from two different perspectives; firstly, on macro and thus institutional level in the source country, to be exemplified by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the temporarily founded branch for Romanians abroad. Secondly, on individual level, from the migrant's point of view. Both dimensions will be put in a comparative perspective for the Romanian sample groups in first hand, and eventually analysed with the SG3 respondents (German families) through the lens of the Hofstedian cultural dimension of individualism and collectivism.

4.3.1. Stimulation of return migration on institutional level

From 1995 to 2017 the needs of the Romanian diaspora were addressed by the Council for the Problems of Romanians Elsewhere (Consiliul Românilor de Pretutindeni). Ten years after Romania became officially member of the European Union, the government appointed the Ministry for Romanians Abroad (Ministerul pentru românii de pretutindeni, MpRP), which was however incorporated solely two years later in the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Nica and Moraru 2020). The institution had been created on the purpose to manage various aspects of the diaspora population and to stimulate thoughts and decisional processes towards identity maintenance and eventually return migration, as the country is facing a stark lack on labour forces due to the massive emigration flows occurred in the last two decades.
A representative of the former Ministry for Romanians abroad has been included in the interview sample and refers to the Ministry's occupational field as follows:

(MIN)We take care of the diaspora, we try to see what their needs are, what they are interested [in], what they are doing abroad, we try to gather data about them to see what we can do to make them come back and then we have the historical communities with people born in other states, who consider themselves or not, it depends, as belonging to the Romanian identity. So, these would be like the two lines when it comes to differentiating what communities we serve."

Efforts to promote return migration of Romanian expats and their families have been made on different levels. The following outline of initiatives proposed by the Romanian government will thus exemplify how capital accumulation on educational, social and economic level and thus a positive migration decision has been stimulated in the national context.
Accordingly, the governmental branch provided funds and initiatives worldwide to promote the Romanian culture, and the preservation of the Romanian language in particular to connect those

who decided to leave, either temporary or on a longer-term scale, to their home country and thus to facilitate the integration upon a potential return.

(MIN) As Europeans, as citizens of the world, it is our right to travel everywhere and we respect that. And (…) that's why we offer the funding, because we want them [Romanians abroad] to remain connected to the state, to the identity (…) and the gate through that is the language. If you know the language, whenever you decide to come back, you will be able to fit in. If you don't know the language then you will have like difficulties when it comes to families, to coming back to having children in school (…) so we encourage you if you stay in the community to develop your identity and we present you the option to come back and see what has changed in Romania. But we cannot force you to come back. So, we are giving you the money, and you have the opportunity to remain in contact with the identity but in the same time, every time we have a campaign or we do a project, we tell you about everything that is going right, good in Romania, so you have the chance to come back.

Other lines of action regard information campaigns that were designed in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour and Social Justice and the Ministry of Education to address actual reforms, updated information on the employment market and socio-political endeavours and measures in the educational and occupational fields. The government invested in concrete measures to re-attract emigrants, particularly the second-generations, by offering reforms and fee-waived education, in form of scholarships for Romanian families abroad who could send their children to Romania to study. The success story of this initiative still represents a double-edged sword, as Romanians from abroad are coming back to receive free education in their homeland or that of their parents. However, applications reveal that the interest shown to this initiative is rather concentrated in the neighbouring countries, such as the Republic of Moldova, Serbia and Ukraine. Numbers are significantly lower for the Romanian diaspora in Italy, Spain or Greece and thus funds are not distributed equally in the different geographical areas. Moreover, there is a strong tendency to go back to the destination country after graduation which leads to an imperative development of new valorisation strategies:

(_cont.) The issue is that (…) they learn, but then they don't stay here, they go back to where they came from. So that is an entirely new issue that you have to face, tackle and see what strategies you can find to (…) bring their contribution to the community here.

Further initiatives on cross-national level have been initiated to involve a wider range of second generations. The annual summer camp brings thus children born to Romanian migrants from all over the world to their parent's country of origin for one week. According to data provided by the former Ministry for Romanians Abroad in 2019 approximately 3300 children participated in the initiative that promotes the Romanian culture and heritage with workshops in Romanian language and history and art courses. Also children who do not speak Romanian are welcomed and encourages to participate, *"to encourage them to grow affection towards Romania, so maybe in the future they choose to come here".*

The goal is *"to connect them to Romania, to see what Romania has to offer against all of the, let's say not so positive coverage that they get in the countries that they live in and the media. Because unfortunately I don't see any kind of Italian paper talking about the doctors that are saving lives within the hospitals in Italy but I do hear about, I don't know, burglars and people that have done bad stuff."*

August represents the “month of the diaspora”, as it is the time when most emigrants are returning to their home country. In this month ‘awareness raising’ campaigns are organised in collaboration with the Agency for Corruption and against human trafficking and the Ministry of labour consequently, one of which “Informed at home – save in the world”. The organised events point on potential (return) migrants to-be and work thus on both sides, addressing those with a propensity to leave and those willing to come back providing them targeted information on the labour market abroad, i.e. work contracts and regulations, rights and obligations, health insurance etc. and promoting European supporting platforms.

(MIN) We basically try to inform them about the risk that they are facing when they are going abroad.

Measures to increase and intensify the collaboration within the Romanian diaspora thus focus on both target groups, returning and retaining of potential migrants. Accordingly, the ‘Forum for Romanians everywhere’, that had been organised in 2019, brought 120 Romanians from all continents, who had applied online to participate in the Forum, to Romania. Their stay was funded by the Romanian government and focused on building a base that could directly represent and promote their country abroad. Accordingly, forum participants were informed about ongoing projects and asked to disseminate this information and the labour opportunities available in Romania to their community abroad.
Another central aspect of community involvement is represented by the possibility of political engagement. The national voting system provided accordingly for adequate opportunities for distance voting to involve the Romanian diaspora abroad and tie them to their country of origin and potential future residence.
On economic level, the government provides for financial schemes to favour the establishment of ‘Diaspora startups’ and thus not only the transfer but also settlement of social (Levitt 1998) and economic remittances. Accordingly, the Romanian government would provide returnees with a bonus of 4000€ in case of long-term settlement and business implementation in Romania. Other bonus programs encounter the necessity of seed capital in case of a restart in the country of origin, whereas the state provides financial support for housing costs for who wants to come back, but does not have the financial means to sustain themselves or for the period upon arrival and the start of a new job.The examples of these initiatives demonstrate the efforts taken on national level to acquire and increase cultural, social and economic capital in the context of stimulated return migration.

The next section ties in accordingly and shows which capital types guide considerations of return and onward migration from individual perspective.

4.3.2. Barriers for return migration on micro level

“Every year we plan to return. There is no Romanian who does not want to return.”

Return migration as strategy and “logical conclusion to the migration cycle” (King and Lulle 2016) has received far less attention than other choices linked to the migratory trajectory. The interplay of uncertainty and the pros & cons assessment merge into complex decisional processes that are not as clearly frameable than those that guided the initial moving process towards the destination country.

The following analysis of thoughts and decisions on a potential return migration expressed by SG1 and SG2 respondents exemplify long-term propensities and thoughts towards homecoming and put them in context with corresponding institutional endeavours.
Education plays a central role as indicator for first- and second-generation migrant's return or onward migration thoughts. It was also the leading motivation for a Romanian engineer from Bucharest, who came to Italy to pursue her personal career.

(SG2) Before I came here, I said: I need to gain professional experience without my family close to me. For a long period, I had wanted to do my PhD abroad. I thought that I would return to Romania afterwards. So those were my initial intentions, [to do it] for my personal growth.

She and her Italian husband have three sons, who were born in Italy. A return to Romania was hypothesized but never realized partly due to unreliable career opportunities for her husband. He holds a degree in Psychology and was ready to take the challenge to restart in his wife's homeland:

(_cont.) He would have risked. He said: 'Ok (…) you want to go back, let's go'. But we've had our children quite quickly, and I thought it would be very difficult to go back with little kids, to find work and to support our family in good conditions. For me, it would not have been difficult to find work, but from the moment I would have started my work there, I wouldn't have had time for my children anymore. That was the reason [for not returning]. (…) Here I had my research contract (…), the schedule was just more flexible.

The priorities for this highly-skilled migrant, who started her migratory trajectory for educational and career purposes and envisaged this change as a temporary experience abroad rather than a settling process, have changed significantly over the life course and in particular with the birth of her children.
If social capital is considered from the Bourdieusian (Bourdieu 1983) perspective as resource that relies on the belonging to a certain group, the legal status of the migrant contributes significantly to corresponding group memberships and according socio-cultural, economic and political involvement in the community of the destination contexts.
For respondents of the Romanian sample groups SG1 and SG2, who came to Italy before they were legally entitled to free movement and residence rights, the missing legal status implied a restricted access to further education and regional labour market and thus the establishment of linked networks. Accordingly, highly-skilled (or those to-be) migrants who had come to Italy for a better future life, thought about return migration to finish their educational path instead of pursuing underpaid and unqualified labour activities.

(SG1) In 2006, I told my husband (…): Look, if nothing happens with the documents I go back [to Romania], I was determined to return to finish university, because I thought: the years go by and I don't do anything here.

After Romania entered the European Union only one year later, the changing legal status provided also for a change of life plans and priorities. However, even though this central barrier for successful integration in the host society had been removed, socio-political and thus economic circumstances on global scale required decisions on whether stay or leave Italy. Children prove to have a decisive agency on migration decisions in general (Bailey and Mulder 2017; Moskal and Tyrrell 2016; Ryan and Sales 2011; Valtolina 2013), and on the assessment of returning the source country in particular.

Corresponding patterns are often determined by parental considerations on their children's future, needs and opportunities in both contexts and linked challenges for their integration.

(_cont.) The financial crisis had affected everyone and it came to us too, my husband was left without a job. There was a period in which we thought: what do we do? Because there is no work here and we can't go on. Let's go back to the country, was the thought. But what do we do? (…) Our first thought concerned the children. What do you do with the children there? Because Romania ... I am not saying that it does not offer ... perhaps from the educational point of view the schools in Romania are even a little ahead of the Italian schools, but there are also other factors ... we should have gone to the capital city in order to have the same possibilities for the children as here in Italy. Because if we went back to the village where I come from it was clear that the children would not have had the same opportunities, maybe they would have had a happy childhood in the countryside (…) but the schools ... now in my village (...) there are fifty children of different ages left and they are teaching all of them in the same class. But in the end, it all worked out, with my husband found a new job, so we didn't move.

It becomes evident that due to the massive migration waves of the last years, the educational institutions have to react accordingly with new organisational strategies to provide for adequate formation in all parts of the country, but in particular in rural areas. Other than the quality of education, also the temporal dimension is decisive for migrants. Accordingly, the SG1 respondents further explains why she and her family considered return migration solely a valid option before the start of formal school education of her children.

(_cont.) But we also agreed that, if we have to move, we have to do it before the children start school (…). I know families of Romanians who have left, then the children needed a psychologist at school because they couldn't [integrate]. We [parents] think that children can make it, but that's not as simple, because maybe they grew up here, they did three or four years of school here, and then they go back and don't know the language, can't write it ... Because most Romanians teach their mother tongue to their children, however from the oral point of view, they speak. (…) Mostly none of them knows how to write in Romanian though.

As presumed and projected on institutional level, the knowledge of the Romanian language is central for decisions on return migration. Several SG1 and SG2 respondents referred to the second generations' lack of linguistic competences of their parent's mother tongue that represent additional barriers for the integration in their country of origin. Accordingly, initial plans to delimit migration and linked sacrifices temporary to draw from economic benefits and then return to the 'old' life often do not succeed due to missing cultural and linguistic knowledge, as another story told by an SG1 respondents confirms:

(SG1) We had in mind to save some money, to invest it in our son, and to go back. And then we never came back. Because he grew up and bringing him back to Romania…he couldn't speak Romanian very well, his cousins made fun of him ... no ... so we made him study here, we started studying too, looking for [another] work in order that we would grow also professionally.

Whereas formal and informal competence transfer from the country of origin to the host context is one of the major barriers for professional integration (cf. Ch. 1.2.2), paradoxically it stimulates skill acquisition and enrichment. Most respondents decided on new or specializing formation paths in the destination country to become trained in certain professional fields (cf. Ch. 4.2), that are

pursued in the host language and adapted to the conditions of the host country. Consequently, the totality of competences would not be ‘remittable’ to the home context, neither formally nor socially. Considerations on return migration are thus interwoven with decisions on further education and professional development as in the above-mentioned case.
On the other hand, economic and social remittances might be also ‘translated’ into investments in the former home country, which implies not solely a transmission of competences and know-how but also setting the fundament for a potential return migration, a “parachute” as the one respondent calls it. Accordingly, one study participant bought a hotel in Romania, to build up a second source of income starting this business on the side of her self-employment activity that she holds in Italy. Preoccupation about the professional career of the Italian partner accompany also decisional thought patterns and processes of German respondents (SG3) when referring to a potential return to their country of origin.

(SG3) Of course, we thought about it [return migration] and discussed it, but we would have had to start all over again. I had my job here and my husband had a gallery, and we would have had to change everything.

However, in contrast to their Romanian counter group education represents rather a pull factor to return in the country of origin than a barrier. Most respondents confirm that their thought on return migration developed according to certain life-course events, in particular with the birth of their children, which put education as indicator into the centre of their perception of well-being. Accordingly, on study participant relates to her experience of living in Italy with her husband before starting a family.

(SG3) There were no problems at all, I found it exciting: dolce vita, coffee, cappuccino, vino rosso, sun, fashion, that was actually all I wanted. I had always wanted to live abroad (...) so I thought it was great, everything went well, I was happy and cheerful.

Several SG3 study participants refer to a lacking Italian educational system with a very traditional, teacher-centred pedagogy and organisational issues that place schooling institutions below the expected standard.

(_cont.) I had the feeling that everything works better in Germany as far as the education of the children was concerned and also financially. (...) I went to Germany relatively often because I had the feeling that (…) the children are better there, they have better air, the diapers cost less (...) and the playgrounds especially were much nicer (…)

Consequently, Italy is no preference when it comes to the future (Higher) education of the second generations and return or actually onward migration represents a potential and attractive option for most parents. The offspring is prepared consequently from young age, and the majority of study participants think that boarding or international schools would be a valid option for the adequate education of their children.

(SG3) We think that Italy may not be the best place for further education. Whereas elementary and middle school are still ok for us, we are already preparing them that they might leave Italy one day.

The tendency towards mobility in order to encounter needs and wants within the context of education does not account solely for return bot moreover for onward migration. Most SG3

respondents show the propensity to send their children for part of their educational trajectory abroad or in other Italian regions. None of the Romanian respondents considered these options.

Whereas this chapter investigated on life paths that become migratory trajectories through the decision for mobility and accordingly steer socio-cultural and professional integration, especially for the first-generation migration migrants, the following chapter will shift perspective to the parent-child interrelation. Accordingly, parental strategies and preferences for capital acquisition and transmission will be analysed in the light of created priorities and preferences among learners of both groups, parents and their offspring.

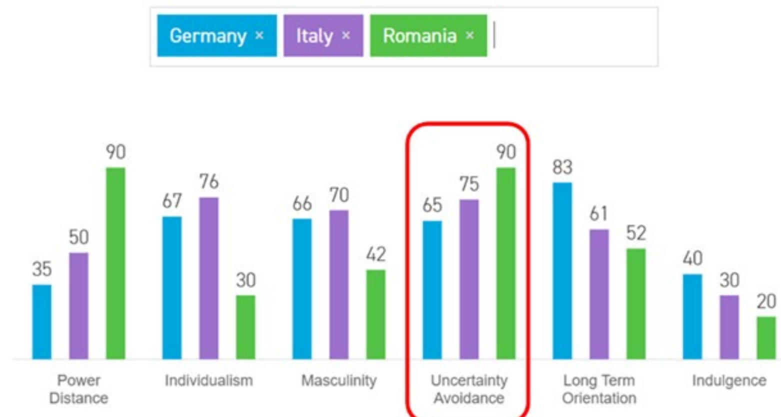
CHAPTER 5: STRATEGIES FOR CULTURAL CAPITAL ACQUISITION AND CULTIVATION - THE LIFELONG PERSPECTIVE

Drawing on the presupposition that education is thought as a continuing process for everyone, irrespective of age, gender, ethnicity, social status or other indicators, the analysis of this chapter dwells on what kind of competences are taught, learned, trained and retrieved and by whom. According to Bourdieu (1991: 57) "One cannot save the value of a competence unless one saves the market, in other words the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the' producers/consumers." Thus, the overarching question of what is considered essential and to which end is crucial to understand the consumption dynamics among producers and consumers of specific cultural capital. 'Specific' in this context follows Erel's (2010) invitation to avoid 'rucksack approaches' and to not consider cultural capital exportable one-to-one from the migrant's country of origin to the destination context. Accordingly, migrants create additional cultural capital through their social (migratory) trajectory, they enrich existing competence and knowledge stocks which consequently impacts also their decisional strategies and options.

5.1 Multilingual competences

International scholarship agrees that language is a "vital channel and component of the integration process" in general (King and Lulle 2016: 68) and confirms its substantial relation to (cultural) identity perception, formation and performance in migration contexts as discussed in chapter 2.
Its interrelation renders however ambiguous linguistic concepts such as "mother tongue" or "foreign language" unrealistic and incoherent at the same time in a society that faces growing mobility as well as multilingual and multicultural family constructs (COM 2018b; Fuss et al. 2004).
Riley (2007: 39) compares the acquisition process of culture to serving oneself "from a vast smorgadbord" where everyone "puts together, by choice or chance, a personal selection (…)". The language compound of each individual is thus built on the basis of the available materials and means. Correspondingly is language, as essential part of perceived, learned and transmitted culture, a major means for the expression and preservation of local and national cultural identity.
Within the context of transnational circumstances of life courses or family compositions, language becomes a core element of potential knowledge bases and key marker for contextual identities of different generations.
When comparing the management of linguistic education within families with Romanian origin and mixed families with one parent holding the Romanian nationality and the other being Italian, different approaches to language become evident.

Fig. 5.1: Cultural dimensions according to Hofstede – Uncertainty Avoidance[1]



Source: adopted from https://www.hofstede-insights.com/

With reference to the scores for Italy, Germany and Romania on the Hofstedian cultural dimension of uncertainty avoidance, several contrasting aspects emerge that will be discussed in the following for the acquisition, maintenance and cultivation of the parental mother tongues, the language of the host country and foreign languages.

5.1.1 Mother and father tongue

Romania has been ranked in the upper range for uncertainty avoidance among the 76 studied countries and regions (Hofstede et al. 2010) which assumes a relatively increased aversion for unstructured situations. Accordingly – with respect to language – high UAI cultures are expected to circumvent and reduce any kind of ambiguous utilisation and cultivation of linguistic capital. Consequently, every language (use) would have a restricted and distinguished function, allocated to the present and future life course situation.

Language transmission, as explicitly grounded and defined educational strategy, requires prior negotiation on common linguistic patterns between the speakers within the familial context and outside. Those in turn build on a combination of socio-historic and actual linguistic socialisation, but are however rethought and implicitly modified over time. Language in this context becomes hereafter an element for both, (group) identity and group demarcation, especially when it is allocated to a specific use of phonetics and lexicon. Related linguistic learning processes guide identity construction and maintenance (Fogle and King 2013; Mumm 2018).

The following extract from a Romanian interviewee of sample group 2 (SG2) does indeed illustrate how the negotiation on identity has been pursued and guided through language:

(SG2) As a child she always said: I'm Italian. I told her: look, you are 50/50.
She went: Ah, no, I want to be Italian. And I told her: Look it's a good thing to be 50/50. When it suits you better, you become the other. (…) To unblock her in Romanian, we always spoke Romanian when we had to gossip about someone… we had our code… she liked this. Indeed, now she says even more often that she is 50/50.

The respondent draws a direct link between a sense of belonging and strategic language transmission and use. The majority of all other respondents confirm that linguistic expression is

[1] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

perceived one of the most significant instruments for identity-building and maintenance, first of all for themselves but also for their children.

Usually both parents are directly involved in educational decisional processes, in particular on those that impact identity formation. Within the sample groups of German-Italian (SG3) and Romanian-Italian (SG2) mixed families all respondents refer to a bilingual education to train their children on both parental mother tongues.
All respondents underline the importance of conveying their mother tongue to their children, even though this priority is motivated differently. The most prominent indicator is the socio-cultural component of language transmission. Accordingly, one German respondent justifies the main purpose of his bilingual education, that his descendants "should know where their roots are" and experience part of their cultural background through language. Another interviewee refers to a rather socio-emotional component that drives her to speak in her mother tongue, which she describes as follows: it is *"an instrument, a vehicle of my emotions, my affection towards my children, which I would otherwise have to translate (...) it is the most important for me to communicate in an authentic and direct way with my children".*
Other than that, also the practical component plays a pivotal role, as several respondents justify the use of their mother tongue in the familial context and especially for conversations with their offspring with the fact that they can communicate more efficiently and fluently.
Even though also both Romanian target sample groups report to transmit their mother tongue, priorities are set differently. Confidence and command of the destination context's language for the migrants themselves as well as for their offspring are crucial. This preference is put in practice in formal and informal settings, as in family. For the sake of integration and network stabilisation parents often assume the first mother tongue of their children to be the one of the destination contexts and promote the host country language accordingly. In contrast to the expected, none of the respondents motivated the transmission of their mother tongue purely academically, i.e. to favour beneficial effects on metacognitive and metalinguistic awareness and development.
Hofstede (1986: 314) relates to language as "an obstinate vehicle" that "categorizes reality according to its corresponding culture". Language use is thus starkly context-bound, from a spatial perspective, with regards to contents and also respectively to the emotional state of mind. Messages are not necessarily "translatable" from one language to another, from one mother tongue to a secondary mother tongue, or from a host language into the offspring's first mother tongue without altering meaning or intensity of the said (*Ibid.*).
A Romanian interviewed person (SG2) tells us from her linguistic distinction in conversations with her daughter:

(SG2) In extreme situations I speak in Romanian. If I love her or if I am angry with her, I speak in Romanian, otherwise in Italian.

According to the concept of uncertainty avoidance cultures with a rather high index have a more intensive need to render future events as predictable as possible. If applied to the educational context, it can be thus concluded that high-UAI cultures aim to avoid any ambiguity for the definition and measuring of future competences. Considering thus linguistic capital, language knowledge, being an instrument for communication, social identity building and competence transmission at the same time (Fuss et al. 2004; Hirsch and Lee 2018), must be asserted and verified on a regular basis. With reference to the scores for Italy, Romania and Germany, the latter is presumed to be most resistant to uncertainty, ranking in the lower range of the examined countries opposed to Romania. It was therefore expected that German-Italian and Romanian-Italian families expose

notable differences in applying mechanisms for quality and efficiency control of learning processes. Most Romanian parents report low linguistic competences in Italian at the time of their arrival, which stands in contrast to their German sample group. This issue is motivated by the migration type and reason.

The children of all SG3 German interviewees were born in Italy, whereas the offspring of their Romanian counter groups was partly born in Romania. This has a notable effect on the gap of language skills between the generations, which correspondingly changes familial dynamics and the roles of all family members. Especially in the first years upon arrival children mediate linguistically in the host context and take the role of 'language brokers' (Hirsch and Lee 2018). They are thus "active participants in socializing their parents" (Fogle and King 2013: 2). Indeed, several parents pursued an educational trajectory along their offspring that initially concerned learning the host language but later often went beyond the training of linguistic skills. Consequently, parental strategies aimed primarily to accelerate the learning process of their children by supporting them in their formation processes, but also to receive a further training to be increasingly competitive at the labour market. As the latter implied linguistic proficiency of Italian, the order of both formations – linguistically and professionally - was necessarily pre-defined (cf. Ch. 4.2). Other than motivated by integration, the study and increased use of the host country language in family, may be however also an assessment tool for the skills of their offspring.

(SG1) At first, he could not adapt immediately from one language to the other. So the school also advised us to speak Italian with him. We did not speak Italian very well, as we also were at the very beginning. That's why there were teachers. And so, also we (...) went to eighth grade to be able to speak well enough ... not completely correct, but well enough ...

Whereas in mixed families for the sake of the Italian parent rather expected, in familial context with both parents holding the Romanian nationality, it has been often reported that Italian is prioritized within familial conversations in certain cases to make sure that the linguistic knowledge of L1 and L2 is ensured.

One Romanian family with four children has decided to talk also in Italian to their youngest daughter, who is a home schooler and most of the time in familial company. Her parents have chosen to prioritise the language of the destination context as integrational strategy, which emphasises the intra-familiar negotiation and deliberate decisional processes.

Another similar parental decision has been taken by a Romanian couple who decided to come to Italy before their son was born. They explicitly presume Italian to be their son's mother tongue and accordingly implemented this priority in their daily practices. Interestingly they accept Romanian, considering it their own mother tongue, but not their son's, to be of avail in case of a return migration to Romania.

(SG1) We chose that the priority for him was to learn well Italian, because it is his mother tongue. When he was a child, we didn't want to confuse him because it was important for us that he was happy at school and that he learned the language well. Then later he learned Romanian, and he doesn't speak it very well. But in any case, he would need Romanian only when he is in Romania. For us, his first language must be Italian because he was born here. I would do it the same way again. I think that if you live in that country, you must speak well the language.

Another interesting development that has been reported by several respondents is the evolving familial bilingualism over time as result of negotiated communication strategies. Most Romanian parents started to use their mother tongue for in-family conversations upon their arrival for both,

communications among themselves and with their children. This was due to the initial linguistic lack of the host language, that was filled by parents and children on a different pace due to different socialisation and institutional instruction.
However, with increasing linguistic competence, especially for parents, the internal language policies shifted from mono-to bilingual in-family communication patterns, as described by one respondent when asked about the language they used at home upon their arrival:

(SG1) Obviously, we only spoke in Romanian at that time. Nowadays it depends on the language in which we start the conversation. Sometimes she asks me how to say something in Romanian.

This development is very particular for the first sample group (SG1). The migratory trajectories and thus bilingual patterns of the mixed couples (SG2 and SG3) differ in so far, that most parents had already a solid demand of the host language at the time of birth of their children, as they were all born in Italy.
One German respondent with a non-Italian partner living in Italy confirms a multilingual educational strategy, according to which children grow up with their parent's mother tongues and the language of the host context.
In this regard the concept of linked lives and their significance for identity over the life course becomes relevant. As Settersten jr. (2015: 222) reminds us: "We have multiple selves that stem from multiple relationships. One might even argue that we have as many selves as people we know." Consequently, language would have the function to reconfirm individual identity with the corresponding linked partner. Transnational families would thus negotiate language use according to their need of identity exposure which results in numerous strategies negotiated upon the respective relationship.

(SG3) I speak high German with my children. My husband speaks Turkish with them, and they speak Italian at school. Among them, they speak Italian, that's the "play language". When they speak with me it's always in German and when they speak with their father they prefer Italian instead of Turkish.

With the construction of intra-familial language hierarchies, preferences and options for choices are formulated by both parental parties and are not necessarily in tune. Transnational ideologies define the perceived language status and the immediate linguistic needs linked to it from an individual perspective and may differ among all family members (Hirsch and Lee 2018). One respondent tells about the disagreement with her partner on the transmission of particular linguistic capital to their child, the assumed reason for it and her way in coping with the dilemma.

(SG2) I speak Romanian at home as she understands it very well. I also speak a lot in Italian, cause of my husband. He is very disturbed when I speak in Romanian because he does not understand it and he actually would like to understand everything. He even disagrees that I'm taking my daughter to a Romanian language course, but I don't care, I'm going further. He doesn't think it's necessary. When we are in Romania, she understands everything but her spoken Romanian is shaky. That's why I'm taking her to the course.

Even though there is an apparent hierarchical order of language use and linguistic training within the family, there is also an autonomous dealing with subjective priorities and an interception of negotiations that seem to balance the family dynamics and disagreement on this issue.
Mixed families with both parents holding a nationality that is different from country of destination, and thus revealing two mother tongues to be transferred to their children, other than the language

of the host context, are exposed to complex decisional processes for language transmission. Consequently, family members negotiate strategies on language use in a temporal and spatial frame. One respondent told that their table language was German, which he speaks also to his children, whereas his French wife would speak in her mother tongue to the offspring. The priority of German in the familial context is however balanced by the fact that all children attend a French school in country of destination.
Whereas the communicative aspect of language is rather instrumental, the symbolic character of language may provide at the same time for socio-cultural cohesion and social status within certain settings. A German respondent of the sample group tells about language as a perceived symbol of education and prosperity that allied family members to their ancestors after having experienced a social downward mobility. In accordance with their preferences to speak and teach "clean" high-German, educational strategies were consequently defined and transmitted over two generations:

(SG3) It runs in the family, especially my mother's (...) my mother came from a very respected family, where it was important to express yourself nicely. And then historically, the family wealth got lost, wrong decisions were taken…And this was actually the thing, that my mother still connected to her family of origin, this desire, this longing for style, social prestige … language was linked to that (...).

The family narrative underlines the actual reflection on and implementation of priorities for the transmission of cultural capital and emphasises that strategies are actually explicitly formulated. When speaking of cultural capital transmission, generalisations may lead to significant misunderstandings. In other words: highly-skilled do not consider all categories of cultural capital highly important. Albeit the respondent reports that language was used in family to demonstrate social affiliation and recognition, other categories that would have complied with belonging to the upper (intellectual) class were rather neglected. When speaking of the transmission of taste (Bourdieu 1984), i.e. art, music, literature, the interviewee related this to a *"major deficit*" that left *"accumulated needs"* until today, as familial educational strategies did not at all consider these categories.
On the contrary, rather than prioritising categories of cultural capitals, parents of the interviewed sample group also choose strategies to combine several competence sets. Accordingly, one German respondent send her children to private music lessons with a German mother tongue teacher. When choosing this class, the transmission of knowledge on music had not been a prime indicator, but rather the "German component" to it. Another German informant underlines the "secondary" outcomes of artistic skill sets, such as music. Hence, other than the actual and explicit expected outcomes on hard skills, they might also transfer soft skills such as logical thinking, the access to emotivity and discipline that play a major role for language and communication training or other disciplines.

Mumm (2018) reminds us that language is and will always be a product of past negotiations of members within the corresponding language community. Its members are thus delegated and legitimated to continuously shape, evolve and alter this language through its recognition and thus utilisation or denial. This process seems to be particularly dynamic and context-dependant for dialects spoken within one language community.
Whereas the Romanian language is traditionally divided into four major dialects, German is often distinguished in diverse dialect groups. Both languages reveal socio-historically developed linguistic varieties within their regions (Lozovanu 2012; Polenz and Wolf 2009).
Several German interviewees refer to standard German as language of their own socialisation and their nowadays priority to speak the same with their children. In contrast to their counter sample

group the positive connotation of dialect to tradition and culture does not emerge. Indeed, one interviewee reveals her parents' strategies to prevent from regional linguistic attachment:

(SG3) I always had to go to my grandparents in Bremen[2] *so that I could speak good German. It was very important to my mother that I never speak Bavarian. When I was with my grandparents it was really like school, in the morning there was a dictation, in the evening the conversation.*

The above-cited extract gives also reasons to believe that the consideration of language as a form of cultural and educational capital has been transmitted over several generations.
Putting the regional and national place of origin in the socio-political and historical context, language has guided the socialisation process of the respondents and thus their descendants in various forms. Brought up in Eastern Germany one respondent explains her ambiguous sentiments of regional pride and uncomfortableness caused by her dialect when moving a few years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall to West Germany:

(SG3) When I moved to Hamburg everyone told me: 'Man, you have such a terrible accent, where are you from?' I actually didn't want to go to Hamburg, and I had also this concept of Western Germany and «Wessies»[3] *(...) I didn't want to hide either, but on the other hand I didn't always want to be asked about it, it wasn't so easy.*

Romanian respondents in general link the implementation and cultivation of dialects to the performance of tradition which is highlighted positively. With respect to the diverse geographical zones in Romania, dialects deviated to different extents from the standard Romanian language. Most respondents speak both, the standard language and the regional dialect. Noticeably, respondents from the sample group 1, i.e. families with both Romanian parents, report to an increasing degree that they seek to transmit the regional dialect also to their children, which they consider a legitimate competence for identity formation and cultivation. Consequently, members of the community who lack this particular competence "are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required" (Bourdieu 1991: 55). Indeed, specific functions are allocated to the particular linguistic structures that are part of the spoken mother tongue and thus a 'transported' cultural practice and heritage. The speaker assigns thus a certain role to the dialect in particular as a means for communication and constitute at the same time what Bourdieu (*Ibid.*) calls the "linguistic market (…) through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital, producing a profit of distinction (…)". This distinction may work in several directions and contribute also to the formation on intra-familiar identity. One respondent reports that the utilisation of the distinctive dialect in family was convenient for demarcation.

(SG1) My parents were Romanians, at home we spoke a dialect that derives from Hungarian, which was transmitted from the Second World War when nations mixed a little. Only in my region this strange dialect is spoken. It doesn't even exist in written form, but only spoken. It was passed on to us by our grandparents, and it's nice to speak a language that no one understands. Not even the Hungarians understand this, only us. We still speak three languages at home today: our dialect, Romanian, Italian.

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[2] Northern Germany opposed to its Southern counter-region reveals less linguistic variations and dialects and is commonly referred to be "dialect-free".

[3] "Wessi" refers to a colloquial form for Germans from Western Germany.

The discussion so far has disclosed how identity is being constructed through bilingual education and carved out the roles, hierarchies and symbolic values of intra-familial languages or linguistic variations in the light of Hofstede's paradigm. Since Uncertainty Avoidance is accordingly culture specific a cross-cultural comparison of overlapping indicators would be interesting.
The following case reported by a respondent belonging to sample group 1 of the interviewees puts the discourse thus in a new "bicultural" light on identity development. The following excursus that will be continued also in the following subchapters, aims to illustrate how two cultures, rated with very high UAIs, merge and synergize for capital transmission. Insight is thus provided in the principles and strategies applied by the diaspora that originates in Russia and has been displaced in several countries of the world. Today it is represented predominantly in ethnic enclaves in several regions in Romania that strive to preserve their Russian culture in their Romanian home.

5.1.2 Multilingualism in the Old Believer Community

The Old Believer schism that Stricker (1990: 25) refers to as "the most significant split in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church" in the 17th century caused thousands of persecuted Russian believers to flee to Romania. In socialist times they lived in rather closed communities trying to "maintain an ascetic Orthodox culture in the midst of an intrusive atheist state" (Naumescu 2016: 315). The Orthodox rites were linked to the Church Slavonic language that had been transmitted exclusively in oral form and is still in use today for services. The practice and exclusive utilisation of particular linguistic means as unique feature to describe and emphasise the significance of religion is very common for certain religious groups as its continuation provides for symbolic consistency of the community (Eller 2016). Consequently, ethnicity and religion are tightly intertwined for the building and expression of group identity, which is why scholarship also refers to religio-ethnic social groups when speaking of this category. The label of religio-ethnicity is bound to a historic context, as it engages "persistent efforts at maintaining the connection between religion and ethnicity" (Kivisto 2014: 42), whereas religion represents the foundation for the latter mentioned.
As Bourdieu (1991: 72f.) reminds us "the setting up of a ritual exchange (…) presupposes (…), that all the social conditions are in place to ensure the production of appropriate senders and receivers. (…) The symbolic efficacy of religious language is threatened when the set of mechanisms capable of ensuring the reproduction of the relationship of recognition (…) ceases to function."

One respondent of the Romanian sample group grew up as descendant of the displaced Old Believer Community in South-Eastern Romania with a majority share (of 90 % according to information provided by the respondent) inhabitants of Russian origin and a minority of Romanians in a community with plurilingual patterns. They lived alongside and not together, as *"there was never a commingling"*.
Their efforts to maintain an ascetic Orthodox culture in the midst of an intrusive atheist state was at odds with the mobilizing and modernizing efforts of the state. They adapted to this situation through a generational specialization, which maintained different moral expectations for each generation and deferred ritual practice to old age.

Image 5.1: Church book Community

Source: provided by respondent

Image 5.2: Old Believer reading prayer for a wedding ceremony

Source: provided by respondent

Children growing up within the displaced group were taught, what the respondent calls "the Russian dialect" in the informal learning milieu.
Accordingly, the first and until entry in Elementary school the only mother tongue that was spoken and taught at home was 'Lipovanian', i.e. Russian with linguistic borrowings from the Turkish, Romanian and Ukrainian languages (Clopot 2017). All Lipovans, as members of the Old Believer Community in the respondent's native region of Dobruja are called, were required to attend the local Romanian school, where children started to learn the Romanian language in first grade of the Elementary school. This caused an explicit confrontation of both languages, ethnic identities and ethnic socialisation in school and family. Members of the Lipovan community thus constantly adapted to the priorities for language use and identity formation set in formal, informal and non-formal settings and by corresponding authorities.

Since I was little we spoke the Russian dialect, almost 80%. But my parents worked in principal towns, so they also spoke Romanian quite well. There were several families who would speak only in our Russian dialect (…). At school they told us: 'Think in Romanian, don't think in Russian.', because we had a different setting at home.

Ethnic identity was thus split into informal-socialised (in family) and formally-socialised (in school) identity. Data from Clopot's (*Ibid*.) fieldwork in a Romanian community of Old Believers confirms that even today the preservation of both, Slavonic practiced and spoken in church, and the secular Russian, is considered highly important for the members of the community in heritage discourses.

With the official recognition of Lipovans as ethnic group, Romanian legislation conceded Russian as second mother tongue was introduced into the school curricula for members of the Old Believers community (*Ibid.*).

(…) in elementary school and in middle school (…) we learned everything in Romanian (…) Twice per week we had 'Mother tongue Russian', that is actually what it was called. We had manuals and books that were made especially for us and our community.

This complex situation caused later on an initial refusal of the Russian language, as constant indicator for marginalisation and isolation within the bi-ethnic milieu. However, being integral part of the personal identity, the respondent reports that the Russian language gained new importance upon arrival in the host context:

When I enrolled in university I did English, French, because of Russian I was really... I couldn't think of it. And then once I came here, I started to feel the need of resuming the Russian language again.

As "languages migrate alongside people" (*Ibid*.: 37) they might be connotated also with different roles or functions, that reinforce their original meaning, when moving from one context to the other in order to preserve identity. "Heritage preservation efforts and discourses are then projected in reference to roots and belonging, and movements across borders create new opportunities for self-definition" *(Ibid.*: 34).
Indeed, the respondent, "Romanian citizen of Russian origin"[4] reports that she decided on purpose to integrate her linguistic competences and identity in her professional as well in her personal trajectory. Accordingly, she became a certified translator for English and Russian in the destination context and decided to convey Romanian as second mother tongue and Russian as a foreign language to her children. The latter was however outsourced to the non-formal learning environment, where the offspring is sent to Russian language and theatre lessons on a weekly basis, as the parents don't want them "*to lose their roots*".
At home, priority is put to Italian and Romanian language, however over the years, strategies for the use of both were renegotiated several times. Whereas upon arrival the family would speak predominantly in the host language with each other, *"maybe it was the desire to be part of the community"*, after several years of residence in Italy the family started to communicate increasingly in Romanian. Now both languages are used in equal parts and the children are fluent in both their mother tongues and familiar with Russian as foreign language.

5.1.3 Foreign languages

Foreign linguistic capital is considered important by all respondents, in particular English, as being the main vehicle for future communication.
However, the motivation for learning foreign languages differs among the sample groups and eventually among generations. In fact, Romanian respondents (SG1 and SG2) refer to foreign languages in their childhood as being part of the general knowledge luggage. Their general linguistic proficiency is owed to formal foreign language instruction in school, but also to informal training through media in original language. However, the actual use of foreign languages was of rather theoretical nature, and actually not thought for communication outside Romania:

(SG2) The reason was related to the fact of studying itself. Because in any case it was unthinkable to leave Romania ... to cross the borders ... nobody thought about it ... I didn't think I could get here. Nobody ever talked about leaving the country.

Foreign languages in Communist Romania would also represent a symbol of social status, in particular French as foreign language.

(SG1) There were French and Italian schools, and they enrolled us in a French school. Because in Romania (…) the highest social class, in the sense that, not that they had more money, but they were intellectuals… it was trendy (…) to speak in French. Then these schools disappeared and we only learned Romanian.

[4] According to the official denomination.

National education policies on foreign language learning usually reveal certain preferences that are often motivated by socio-historical occurrences. After the nation building in the course of the Austrian-Hungarian empire collapse, several countries defined linguistic priorities. Thus, they shifted from multilingual to monolingual policies and practices, or vice versa according to the presence of ethnic minority populations. French as a second language had gained importance in Romania, presumably due to linguistic proximity and geopolitical issues. Contemporary language politics have maintained the preference for the French and English language, which is corroborated by Eurostat data from 2015. Accordingly, French is studied by approximately 86% of upper secondary students in Romania, and English by 99% (Bruen and Sheridan 2016).
However, the motivation to promote foreign languages, English in particular, of the interviewed highly-skilled migrants differs quite from their own parents in pre-revolution Romania. Respondents from both Romanian sample groups (SG1 and SG2) equal missing linguistic competences as cognitive lacunas of cultural knowledge:

(SG2) The more languages you know, the more realities and the more cultures you can understand.

The understanding of different cultural realities again is needed for travelling and it thus turns out, that the main purpose of foreign language learning is exploring other cultural contexts and to get along within them.

(SG1) For me it was important, because I always wanted to travel. And if you travel around you also want to be able to communicate.

This comes as no surprise, given Romania's socio-political background, where the majority of the Romanian population in the Ceaucescu era were not allowed to travel or move outside the country (Cingolani 2009).
It would be suspected that the similar motivations turn out for respondents of the German context, in particular from Eastern German respondents, as they experienced similar travel restrictions in the communist GDR. However, empirical data from the German interviewees (SG3) confirms the focus shift outlined by Bruen and Sheridan (2016). Whereas foreign language capital was rather considered part of "Bildung", thus general knowledge in the 19th century, priorities shifted in the later decades towards a rather utilitarian aspect, a perspective promoted also by the European Union in its later linguistic policies (cf. Ch. 2). Thus, an adequate command of foreign languages was increasingly considered and promoted as facilitator for economic activities and political relations. The selection of foreign languages for institutional language policies was indeed politically motivated, the first obligatory foreign languages in the curricula equalled the native languages of the allied occupation, i.e. English and French for the Western part and Russian for Eastern Germany. (*Ibid.*). The latter has a rather symbolic significance for respondents from former Eastern Germany and are not taken into consideration for parental or institutional transmission of linguistic capital. Correspondingly, most German interviewees indicate economic and professional advantages as major motivations to learn foreign languages, in particular English:

(SG3) For me it is very important to give them certain tools to get along in life. And English is part of it (...).

It appears that besides a rather applied approach to learn languages (cf. Ch. 6) the "learn-to-learn" concept, which does not imply the command of a language itself a competence, but rather the methodological knowledge on how to learn a new foreign language, is considered relevant:

(SG3) She knows how learning a language works, and that is important to me.

Given the scope of education in an institutional context, vertical relations are common and expected, however the density of roles may differ significantly, and so does the presumed scope of learning. Hofstede (2001, 1986) confirms this observation in his definition of indicators for the cultural dimension of Individualism vs Collectivism. The focus and key objective of individualist societies emphasise thus on studying the craft of learning, and thus learn how to learn instead of learning something. Therefore, the learning scope is rather skill-oriented on how to generate, elaborate and disseminate on a long-term scale, than on the knowledge itself (Hofstede 1993). Accordingly, prioritize rather individualistic societies, as Germany with a score of 67 applied learning principles, which go back to the logic of skill replicability in different contexts and thus on its versatility. Interesting in this regard is, that the lifelong learning programme builds on these assumptions and is therefore strongly oriented on the individualist principles and perspective. On the contrast collectivist societies instead put their focus on the group membership, learning is often allocated to education in young age, delimited in time and content and orientated towards learn-how-to-do principles. In case of foreign language teaching and learning respondents with collectivistic background appeared to be in favour of structured processes.
However, with respect to both Romanian sample groups, it SG1 respondents focus more on the Romanian language than on foreign languages. The category of linguistic capital has an internal priority range that puts Romanian as second (mother tongue in some cases) language on the top and foreign languages behind. It appears that interviewees of SG2 put increasing effort in foreign language training, choosing to send their children to extra-curricular classes and private lessons for English and French (cf. Ch. 6.2).

5.2 Cultural awareness and expression (Taste)

A system can take everything from you, all material goods, but it cannot take what is in your head (SG1).

A second category for the analysis of cultural capital transmission is represented by the competence on "developing and expressing ideas and one's place or role in society". This is how the EU Commission refers to the lifelong learning key competence of 'Cultural awareness and expression' and what Bourdieu (1979) took in consideration several decades ago in his works on taste and life styles. Accordingly, "taste is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intuit what is likely (or unlikely) to befall -and therefore to befit- an individual occupying a given position in social space. It functions as a sort of social orientation, a 'sense of one's place' guiding the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position" (Bourdieu 1979: 466).
Drawing on Bourdieu's *(Ibid.*: 372) assumption of habitus as "a virtue made of necessity", under consideration of the "taste for necessity", preferences for cultural activities and the corresponding predisposed intention to transform them into cultural capital for their offspring are thus analysed. In line with the considerations mentioned in methodology section and beginning of chapter 5, thoughts, categories and concepts from Bourdieu, the EU-Commission and Hofstede have been linked and guide the core question of the investigation in this chapter of the analysis.

Accordingly, data has been scrutinised for evidence on how tradition and culture are transmitted by the interviewed sample groups to their offspring, i.e. what the priorities and strategies imply when it comes to the categories of taste and cultural awareness (COM 2018a).
This work draws on two major assumptions: firstly, on culture as "the sum total of human creations- intellectual, technical, and moral" and religion being one of its cultural phenomena (Stark and Finke 2000: 120); secondly, on Hofstede's presumption of religion being a legitimating force to obviate ambiguity and uncertainty.
The paradigm of religious capital is considered central to investigate on religion as driving force for educational choices and decisions. According to Stark and Finke, religious capital is thus the result of investments, i.e. learning, understanding and remembering, into "cultural material" (*Ibid.*) during socialisation of every individual. As a consequence, religious capital "consists of the degree of mastery of and attachment to a particular religious culture" (*Ibid.*).
As outlined in Chapter 3, the three sample groups provide a heterogenous religious background given the fact that the three involved nations reveal different religious traditions. Accordingly, choices must consider the variety of cultural traditions that are decoded in transcultural practices and standards, which "acquire different meanings and validations according to the local, national and transnational context" (Erel 2010: 656).
Due to the distinctness that both examined country groups entail, this chapter will first consider both Romanian study samples (SG1 and SG2). The second part will then confront the third sample group (SG3) of German study participants. One further distinction will be made regarding respondents from former Eastern and West Germany. The impact of cultural dimensions will be investigated to explain other drivers.

A PEW research conducted from 2015-2017[5] corroborates the assumed correlation between religion and the tendency to uncertainty aversion and ranks Romania as most religious out of 34 surveyed countries (cf. Ch. 3.3.2)[6].
Religiosity is and has been apparently continuously forwarded over generations and in particular migration flows from Eastern Europe in the beginning millennium have significantly shaped the Italian religious landscape (Ricucci 2016). Notwithstanding the oppressively inculcated atheistic policy and albeit or maybe actually because the relationship between the socialist state and the church was rather ambiguous, religion held a central role in private, behind closed door. In other words: *"Religion (…) was common and widely spread but not so visible"* as one SG1 respondent puts it.
Another interviewee corroborates this and Tomka's (2010: 2) notion on the "elimination of the public role of the churches (…) followed by regulation of personal religiosity" when she reports the conscious location of religious practice at the time: *"We went to church every now and then, but the prayer was always at home" (SG1).*
Several respondents who grew up in former Communist Romania confirm concealed religious participation in public as this citation underlines:

(SG1) However, our grandparents in Bacau - we often went there on vacation in the summer and winter holidays - always took us to church. And this has transmitted the traditional culture, the church to us ... in fact, our prayer was done in a way that it was not seen.

[5] https://www.pewresearch.org/interactives/how-religious-is-your-country/
[6] Countries in order of ranking: Romania, Armenia, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Bosnia, Croatia, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Belarus, Italy, Ireland, Lithuania, Spain, Bulgaria, Netherlands, Hungary, Norway, Russia, Latvia, Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Belgium, Sweden, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia.

Other interviewees underline that religious faith and practice has been predominantly forwarded by the grandparents, rather than their own parents. It is presumed that this occurrence coheres on the one hand side with the birth period of the respondent's grandparents and thus their religious socialisation. Considering the average age of the respondents, it can be argued that their grandparents were probably raised in a pre-Communist Romania that praised the strong link between national identity and religion. As a basic principle for the societal order religion had a structural and protective role to organise the state, before it was allocated to the private sphere in the upcoming communist era (Molteni 2017; Tomka 2010,). Given to the fact that several interviewees were raised by their grandparents within their first years of life, grandparents could thus transmit cognitive patterns and mindsets contained in their cultural memory (cf. Ch. 2.3.1) over two generations and impact on religious education in the familial context. Further it can be presumed that the respondent's parents were more likely to be under supervision than the older generation, being involved in different networks, e.g. for work, and representing thus a higher risk to become a dissident. Indeed, other SG1 interviewees remember the correlation between professional (social) status and state-imposed restrictions for religious participation.

(SG1) It was not appropriate for those who had higher positions, as my father for example… he did anyway, and in fact he was also called several times to explain why he went to church. But nothing has ever happened to him.

In 2017, half of the Romanian population states that religion has an essential role in their life and that they attend regularly worship services compared to 24% of Germans and 43% of Italians (PEW Research).
Considering this socio-political context in diachronic perspective and the uncertainty-identity theory that Hogg and peers (2010: 73) define with the "people's fundamental need to reduce uncertainty about who they are, what they should think, how they should behave, and how others will perceive and treat them" two considerations occur to explain the religious loyalty of the population in Romania, thus in transnational contexts and consequently its presence in educational decisions.
Firstly, notwithstanding anti-religious politics over decades religion was transmitted intra-generationally. Disappointment on existing collaboration patterns between religious institutions and the socialist state as well as perceived deceit was legitimated through human failure and self-reflection on own potential disloyalties.
One respondent of the sample SG2 experienced an inverse transmission, i.e. religious affiliation appeared through personal development, even though differing, maybe even contrasting her parents' attitude towards the practice of religion. Accordingly, albeit the familial habitus and thus corresponding socialisation suggested a weakening of religiosity, the respondent choose to become actively involved with religion after the fall of the Communist regime:

(SG2) It wasn't something you would talk about at home. After the revolution it was our choice. It's actually strange, but we chose (...) to be religious. It was neither discussed nor did we receive any pressure, but we actually became more religious than our parents. They told us we were retrograde.

Hogg and peers (2010: 74) maintain that "When people feel uncertain about themselves or things reflecting on self, they (…) [may] identify more strongly with groups they already "belong" to (e.g., one's religion). Consequently, religion becomes a "moral compass" *(Ibid.*: 76); in particular in post-Communist Romania religion was likely to provide a sort of safe harbour to rely on and join a group with commonly known cognitive and behavioural patterns.

This leads to the second consideration, namely the idea of religion as culture-bound functionary to encounter innate insecurity and anxiety provided presumably cognitive-emotional guidance for hostile politics, persecution (for economic, political or religious reasons) or difficult life situations in general.
With reference to the culturally programmed mindsets according to Hofstede this notion appears still valid, also from a transnational perspective. Hence, one SG2 interviewee, born in 1970s generation under Ceausescu's leadership, replicates the principle of uncertainty avoidance through religious practice as educational measure for her child:

(SG2) My daughter has asked me many times why we should pray. And I explained to her that it is a security for us, it is a protection.

The majority of transnational Romanian families benefit from what society might consider an "unproblematical religious belonging" (Ricucci 2016: 89), as they commonly rely on either Orthodox (approximately 86% in 2011) or Catholic (approximately 5% in 2011) faith (Negruti 2014). Unproblematic as their religion can be 'integrated' in the Italian religious infrastructure of worship places and additionally there is no need for schedule adaptions or other limitations due to special diets or prayer times. However, but actually expected, there is a noteworthy difference between the cultivation and actual strive for maintenance of religious practice and cultural tradition among both Romanian sample groups (SG1 and SG2).
SG1 study participants rather indicate to pursue a linear transmission of Romanian values, rites and customs according to social expectations, whereas "Orthodoxy is the carrier of national identity" (Tomka 2010: 13). The concept of an 'adequate' Christian is equalled with the completion of all formally requested religious procedures, with the acquisition of knowledge related to religion and in most places in the commission of religious holidays. The effort to keep religious practice and faith in the familial habitus is explicitly pronounced according to the "traditional religiosity of their parents" (Ricucci 2016: 88). With reference to the before mentioned uncertainty identity theory (Hogg et al. 2010), formal practices for religious status acquisition (being a Christian) and symbolic religious participation (forwarding traditional practices and rites) thus represent a sort of co-creation of a group identity, which corroborates the individual identity, especially in a transnational context.

(SG1) Religion was very important. I grew up in a very religious family, we never got out of line, we even went to mass three times on Sunday. Then the holidays of Christmas, Easter were very important with a preparation of 3-4 days before. Then all the sweets were prepared, the bread ... all the aunts and cousins came together. (…) We try to keep it here in Italy too and to pass it on. (…) I passed on our religion to my son, I always took him to mass, we still go to mass. He went to kids summer camp, he took some religious trips to see other churches, other sanctuaries. He did everything a Christian had to do, he was baptized, we obviously celebrate all holidays, and I want him to carry on our traditions that we grew up with.

In her case study of religious belonging expressed by Romanian second generations Ricucci (2019) confirms two major assumptions: firstly, religious (institutional) environments are crucial for the cultivation of traditions and values. Secondly, socialisation channelled through religious institution focusing on identity-building and confirming practices (e.g. attending mass with family, praying in parent's mother tongue, participation in community activities) that are initiated by parents are not always appreciated and followed by their children. In contrast, respondents of Ricucci's study criticised the missing transnational component in Romanian churches, where services were

organised and conducted from a rather nationalistic perspective, with Romanian priests in Romanian language and thus located in a purely Romanian value system. Accordingly, the potential of religious institutions as driving force is often neglected and turned down in order to follow own paths for identity construction.
Another perspective to this attitude from second generations is represented by the account from a Romanian mother (SG1) interviewed for this study at hand, who complained about the missing linguistic loyalty of her children during church service:

(SG1) It only bothers me (...) if they pray in Italian, yes, it bothers me. Because I have to try hard to understand but they think they are the second generation. And so I wonder … if you want to keep the Romanian language, why don't you keep it in all areas? Why do you have to speak in Italian? Because if I want to pray in Italian, I go to the Italian church ....

This notion underlines the correlation between language and religion as part of the individuals 'master identity' (Hogg et al. 2010) as well as the very structured and organised consideration of religious practices and norms that point towards predictability.
Interestingly and in contrast to their Romanian counter sample groups, a rather blended form of belonging to and expressing of religion is observable among SG2 interviewees that encounter Ricucci's (2016) formulation of an individualisation of faith. Three major dynamics have been carved out. Firstly, covered belonging that does not include the participation in festivities or church services:

(SG2) I don't go to church here, I don't like it, I prefer to be independent on my journey of faith.

Secondly, own interpretations of religion entail an individual formulation of priorities and the religious value system. Accordingly, one respondent relates to charity, solidarity and altruism as the most important but less practiced pillars of religion. She has thus clearly defined principles and moral standards that she does not necessarily allocate to a single religion but rather to be a Christian in general:

(SG2) I prefer to say that I am a Christian, because my attitude and actions get closer to principles.

Thirdly, religious practice and the transmission of a religious identity is embedded in the transnational context or pluralistically pronounced. Religion and corresponding traditions are thus mostly referring to both cultures and to the habitus of both families, however often not evenly and the implementation of Italian customs prevails. With respect to religion formal procedures for the recognition of the religious status are conducted, however continuous religious practices are not necessarily imposed.

(SG2) They are baptized, they went with me to church, but nothing special. I never wanted to impose anything. To them the functions are also quite boring.

Attitudes of a "secularised millennium generation" (Ricucci 2016, 2019) are generally accepted and religion, other than an indicator for belonging and identity is considered an important source for general knowledge.

(SG2) My daughter asks me: Do you believe in god?
I tell her: I don't believe in a God's word, but you do what you want.

And she: But then, why do I study religion?
And I tell her: Because it is general culture, you have to know things, you need to know, when you are older you decide if you want to believe or not.

As suggested by the initially mentioned statistics and corroborated by the empirical data of this study, religious participation and practice has less significance for the conveyance of transcultural identity. Identity is built by socio-historical and cultural knowledge, which in turn is used as knowledge base for individual and collective thought patterns. The feeling of guilt and embarrassment for Germany's 'nazi past', the 'Kollektivscham', continues to give the impetus for several debates on its anchorage in the German collective identity. Accordingly, Händle et al. (1999) confirm a rather constraint disposition for cultivating identity sentiments drawing on the consequences of longstanding Nazism politics and the post-1945 division of the German state, that entailed a different perspective on history in both parts of the country.

(SG3) For us Christianity was important, not Germanness. My father fought in the war when he was 17 and he was in pain all his life because he got injured. He studied a lot about the time of National Socialism and also conveyed it well to us. But we never talked about being German, the sense of guilt was far too deep for that.

Generally, religion plays a minor role in the daily lives of all German respondents compared to their Romanian study participants.
25% of the German sample group were born and raised in former GDR. The ideologic ideas and measures adopted by the four-decades socialist state, part of the Eastern Bloc, run quite parallel to other communist countries, such as Romania and had a central impact on religious affiliation.
The process of secularisation in the ex-GDR was accordingly influenced by repressive measures such as state-run observations and stigmatisations, banned religious instruction in schools, confiscated church property (Berdahl 1999) as well as restriction of access to certain professions or the educational career for those who officially professed to religion. Indeed, one respondent who grew up in a religious household in the GDR refers to the significance allocated to education as follows:

(SG3) The exciting question was: will you make it to high school or not? (...) The problem was actually whether one was politically approved (...), and that was (...) a bit critical ....

Also, the consequent disintegration of the rural village societies as carrier of tradition had a major impact on the increasing renunciation of religious participation. Additionally, the state provided non-religious 'alternatives' to ecclesiastical institutional rites, such as 'Jugendweihe' instead of confirmation or socialist ceremony instead of Christian marriage rite, to further direct and determine attitude towards religion.
Indeed, another emigre from former GDR refers to religion as heritage of their grandparents that has neither been transmitted to her parents' generation nor to her.

(SG3) We were not religious, well, my grandparents still were, but my parents not anymore and it [religion] was conveyed as knowledge and as an option.

Two out of three study participants from former Eastern Germany grew up in a religious household. Even though socialisation occurred in a religious context the intragenerational transmission of religious practices is not linear and as pronounced as within their Romanian counter group.

However, two different patterns become evident, especially under consideration of the partner's religious affiliation.
The first family refers to one component who grew up in a protestant community in Ex-GDR and the other parent who was raised in a non-religious family and declares being atheist. Educational strategies for the transmission of religion have been consciously negotiated and underlie the premise that the second generation should autonomously decide for or against religious faith.
Accordingly, none of the three children has been baptised or exposed to other religious rites, but they are attending classes organised by the German protestant community on a regular basis to forward respective knowledge acquisition on religious education. The German respondent further justifies his intended decision for the own involvement in the Turin protestant community as a biographical parallel to his religiously formative socialisation.

(SG3) We are Protestant-Lutheran and at that time we had relatively close access to our community. We spent a lot of time there and had many social contacts. (...) For me the parish played an important role at that time. (...) church service was rather unimportant (...) but we had a lot of community activities (...) we also organized some trips with the church together (...). It was important because it was a group where you somehow felt safe, you could talk a lot about your problems (...) as a teenager (...) I felt free to say everything in this group, and this freedom was something that hardly existed anywhere else in public. And that's why it was very important to me back then (...) we had weekly discussion evenings, we went on trips together (...) that developed a strong group feeling and this was very important for us.

Eller (2016) reminds us on Malinowski's fundamental thoughts on religion as being a filler of psychological and emotional individual needs of comfort, fear and despair relief. This notion has been corroborated by several disciplines and studies confirming that "group identification is a very effective mechanism for reducing and managing self-uncertainty. When people feel uncertain about themselves or things reflecting on self, they "join" new groups (…) or identify more strongly with groups they already "belong" to (…)" (Hogg et al. 2010: 74).
The social insecurity, especially within the politically loaded atmosphere of the pre-1989 years, created new cognitive and emotional necessities among the GDR youth, such as exchange of thoughts and mutual encouragement that went beyond the backing which familial relationships could provide. The mentioned discussion rounds and social events represented thus important demonstrations of solidarity (Friedrich and Griese 1991).
In her anthropological study of a German border community, Berdahl (1999) showed the interrelation between religious practice and religious identity. The same emerges also in the statement of the German respondent and is further corroborated by Eller's (2016) notion on the link between shared religious activities and shared destiny that contribute to a common sense of identity. The created group cohesion within the communities seemingly strengthened the socio-political function of the church as location for opinion formation and expressing, whereas actual religious practice rather eclipsed and was not of prior interest for the children and youth.
The tendency to prioritise rather practical and fundamental issues of religion than stipulated practices is still visible in several statements of all German respondents (SG3), those who grew up in former Eastern or Western Germany, those with protestant and catholic background. Accordingly, engaging in good deeds prevail the considered necessity of going to mass or praying regularly in church.

(SG3) I don't have to go to church to pray. I think (...) it is not enough to go to church every day and pray and then afterwards, I let drown whoever sits there on the side of the road and is supposed to

die because he doesn't have something to eat. It is much more important to do good, to give something.

Even though not practicing, the majority of German respondents provided their children with what they also refer to as "religious basic education", having them baptised and sending them to the facultative religious instruction in school.
The familial habitus of religious faith and practice is mostly continued, even though in extenuated form. However, the following extract illustrates how familial habitus guides decisions related to formal religious education even if there is no coherence to religious practice, participation and affiliation. The respondent reports that her children both attend religious instruction in school, firstly since all kids in the small community just outside from Turin are catholic and thus attend the “catechism” instruction, secondly for the sake of the larger family’s religious attachment, as the children’s grandparents attach great importance to religion. Data collections from surveys on the practice of faith showed that religion is most meaningful and religious participation most eminent in the Southern part of the country and for the over-65 generation (Garelli 2020; ISTAT 2020).

(SG3) For my older son, it wasn't fun at all, it was really more compulsion (..) he never felt like doing it. So I told him: Ok, you go there for two years, then grandma and grandpa from southern Italy are happy, dad is satisfied (...) and then, if you don't want to continue, you don't need to.
They [grandparents] don’t see them very often, they see them two, three times a year. I know that they place great value on religion, that the children are baptized, that they have at least the first Communion. And then I said: OK, if you don't do it for yourself, do it for grandma and grandpa (...).

In general, religion is mostly transmitted as general knowledge category and none of the 12 German respondents indicates to practice on a regular basis or to convey active religious participation to their children. However, a thorough follow-up of traditions as continuous practices and objectivated rites is generally reported. As Eller (2016) reminds us the practices are connected with one’s own past and thus work as nostalgic carrier of own experiences. They are generally assumed to be authentic and important and often thought to be superior to others (foreign) as one cannot identify with them. In the migratory context traditions thus seem to work as transcultural elements to (re)confirm identity of parents and provide corresponding components of identifying structures for their offspring.
In this regard Bausinger’s (1986) notion on the role of culture as handling strategy of and response to certain life circumstances provides an interesting point. Accordingly, socio-economic conditions drive cultural identity and alter it according to any kind of changes that occur in the life stage and context. Customs may change their role from being a primary output of tradition to becoming a confirming element of self-identity and cohesion in the host country. Indeed, several German respondents report that rites as egg-painting on Easter or similar events are annual occasions for gatherings with other German-transnational families. The social “expat“ network is often developed by contacts from work or school.
The dynamic perception and sense of culture, traditions and cultural identity drives consequently also its transmission. This assumption is supported by one respondent who underlines the altered significance of cultural representations since her migration to Italy, when being asked if she would have practiced traditions more intensively in her home country than she and her family actually do now in Italy: *“Not any longer. In the beginning maybe, in the first few years yes. That was (...) my piece of home, but now I don't really need it anymore” (SG3).*
Another respondent refers to the interrelation between familial habitus, life course events and the (altering) significance of traditional practices caused by the birth of own children:

(SG3) There are of course things that were lived in my childhood, for example the classic festivals, Easter with the paintings and so on. Christmas, that was very important, its traditional meaning. But I've only picked up on that again since I've had my own children. When I had no children and no longer lived with my family, that had actually no meaning at all and only got one with my children again.

All study participants confirm that Italian (or others in case of non-Italian/ German mixed couples) and German practices of customs run parallel. However, the latter, in quality of secondary cultural remittances in the host society, may also have secondary functions to corroborate additional linked competences that re-confirm ethnicity, e.g. linguistic skills:

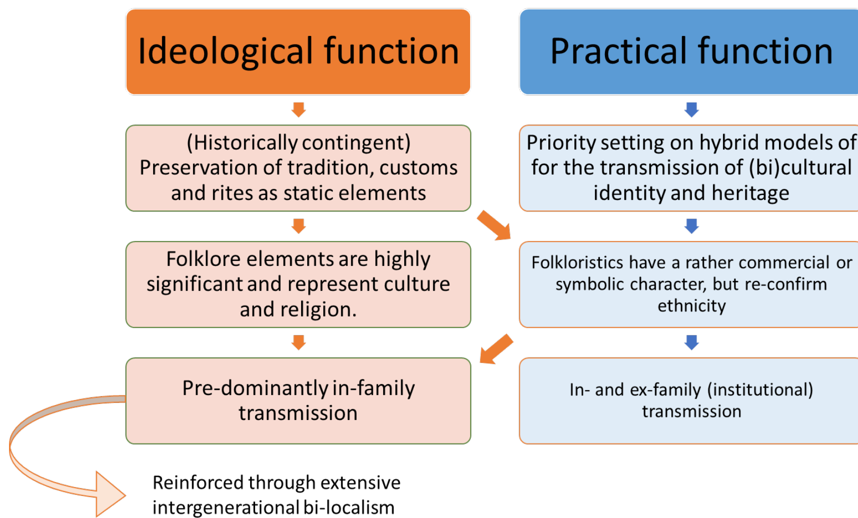
(SG3) I attach great importance to this because I always have the feeling that I have to counter it somehow, also when it comes to language. I can see that the children speak Italian much better than German, because it is only me that speaks it to them.

Other than the conveyed cultural standard rites, folkloristics and customs, unwritten norms and value systems may be of central to strengthen cultural identity. They are in fact explicitly recognized and context-bound distinguished in order to represent them as code of behaviour in the national corresponding environments.

(SG3)I think they know both cultures well. When we go to Germany, they know exactly: ok, you can walk barefoot here, you can do certain things here that you couldn't do in Italy with dad, because there are different cultural rules count... they know that. For example, if we go shopping in Germany, their shoes don't have to be the cleanest shoes in the world (...) or the trousers (...) can have a stain if we go to the supermarket to buy bread in the morning… nobody cares. But they couldn't necessarily do that in southern Italy. Or in Turin with their dad, because he says: Oh God, if the neighbour sees us now ... the hair and their shoes ....

This subchapter aimed to analyse how cultural awareness and taste is conveyed by Romanian and German transnational families. From a national perspective, it turns out that both samples distinguish significantly in their religious practice and faith and thus their conception of traditions.
The scheme below has been built based on the collected and analysed data of this study that refers to investment in and transmission of religious capital and distinguishes two 'labels', drawing on the following three assumptions: firstly, "religious people are those who identify with a religion and thus define themselves in religious terms" (Hogg et al. 2010: 75), secondly, identity underlies a cognitive, normative and behavioural framework, and thirdly this framework and thus a strong identification may reduce uncertainty as it limits ambiguity due to pre-defined options (Hofstede 1993).

Fig. 5.2: Ideological and practical function of religion



Accordingly, responses of the SG1, SG2, and SG3 interviewees refer either to a rather ideological or a more practical function of acquired and transmitted religious-cultural capital, whereas data provided by the Romanian sample group(s) responded with rising tendency to the first category. This is accordingly based on an ideology of religion that roots the moral and behavioural guidelines of the daily life on the one hand, and secures the preservation of the Romanian overall culture through cultivation of traditions on the other hand. Religious practices and cultural rites migrate along to a certain extent and are implemented in the host context as reference to their country of origin. Thus, the Orthodox majority of SG1 and SG2 respondents prays in their mother tongue, in Orthodox churches and cook national dishes. These are connotated with a strongly nostalgic note, even though the majority confirms that cultural-religious participation would be more intensively pursued if they lived in Romania. As a consequence, to meet the personal and strongly felt necessity for intragenerational transmission of religious and cultural heritage, most Romanian respondents from both sample groups (SG1 and SG2) confirmed to send their offspring abroad to family that stayed behind in Romania. The rather long-term stays up to several months per year in the vacation periods indicate a projected bi-localism, that Kivisto (2014: 104) describes as "more intermittent, uneven, and back-and-forth movement across borders, with local rather than national locations primarily in the minds of migrants."

In contrast stands a rather practical function of religious capital with is increasingly observable for mixed couples (SG2 and SG3), in particular for German respondents (SG3) and in a rather hybrid form for the Romanian SG2 sample group. Apart from a generally minor religious affiliation experienced in socialisation that has conditioned the contemporary religious participation, it seems that most German respondents allocate more practical issues to religious capital. This assumption derives on the one hand from data of Protestant and Catholic socialised Germans who report about their experiences in childhood with church. Other than religious practice, group participation in religiously oriented youth organisations played an important role to acquire identity-building socio-cultural capital and to provide a general framework for education.
On the other hand, practical religious capital refers to the symbolic character of religious feasts, as for instance Christmas, which is considered, similarly to the Romanian counter group, along with Easter the most important festivity. Of course, the extent of symbolism rather than spiritual significance allocated to religious feasts depends on the extent of religiosity of the individual, or in

other words: “the greater their commitment to their original religious heritage, the greater the store of religious capital people will have amassed” and can thus transmit (Finke and Stark 2000: 121).
Local and familial traditions prevail for the solemnisation and function as reaffirmation for origin and culture but with less accent on religious attachment but more on family cohesion. They are accordingly adopted to the socio-cultural background of the corresponding location that is preferably alternated within mixed families.
Apart from festivities, religion has an increasing practical disposition in everyday life, whereas religious instruction in school and in the informal learning environment is considered a source of general knowledge. The facultative school subject and after-school activity is also chosen for the sake of integration, as “*everybody does it”.*
A further distinctive element of a rather practical conception of religious capital is that its transmission takes place in- and outside of the familial sphere. In other words, the conveyance of religious and cultural heritage is not a family matter only but likely to be delegated to institutions, if according opportunities are existent. Accordingly report several German respondents, that a significant share of German rites and customs are delivered by formal institutions such as kindergarten and school with German/international orientation. The according conveyance of traditions represents in fact a major selection criterion for the institution, which ranges right after the importance allocated to the transmission of linguistic competences in German.
Other examples are German music lessons with a native German speaker that provide access to folkloristic elements and language, or after-school German history and geography lectures in the German Protestant community, that combine the religious with general cultural knowledge about the parent’s country of origin.
As a final remark it must be underlined that the categorisation as displayed in the graph has been outlined rather schematically to point on the potential agency of religion and religious capital, but does rarely proceed as linear as described within both labels. Even though Romanian respondents tend to share an ideological view of religious capital due to their stark overall religious affiliation, mixed couples deviate quite regularly. Accordingly, religion is an ideology, and religious capital a set of cognitive, behavioural and affective patterns, symbolically displayed in traditions and rites. However, the migratory trajectory guides the priority setting towards hybrid cultural models, that consider central elements of diverse religions as well as different oral and written traditions.

5.2.1 Religious traditions in the Old Believer Community

One SG1 respondent was born and raised in the displaced Old Believer Community in South-Eastern Romania, a religious minority that counted less than 30.000 members (corresponding to 0.12% of the overall population) in 1990 and approximately 32.500 in 2011, thus 0.17% (Negruti 2014).
The community of faith is often misleadingly referred as sect. Danila (2013) contradicts this characterisation and reminds us indeed in her research that Old Believers refused any deviation of the Christian Orthodox dogma of the Old Rite and would have even less accepted any practice of cult.
The interviewee was socialised in a plurilingual and pluricultural environment in Romania, that provided for strict separation of the Lipovan minority group, which however represented the majority of the community’s population, from Romanians (represented by a share of 10% according to data provided by the interviewee).
Her access to religion, tradition and culture was not corroborated by the familial habitus, as her family *“was not that religious, whereas in other families this issue was much more important.”* The respondent thus describes the general familial engagement towards religion as *“quite easy”,* with unregular participation in mass for festivities, such as baptism, weddings but not on a regular basis.

Drawing on the life course approach and the consideration of life trajectories that are created and guided by transitions which in turn involve alterations in the identity perception, "both personally and socially, and thus open up opportunities for behavioural change" (Elder jr. et al. 2003:8) it may be presumed that at least three life course events have marked the meaning and yet transmission of religious capital for the study participant significantly.
Firstly, the significance of religion and roots became increasingly important for her after the Fall of Communism in 1990, when she became involved in the Community of Lipovan Russians in Romania[7]. The umbrella organisation had been established to represent the Lipovans politically with one seat in the Parliament, socially and culturally with a cross-regional network in Romania that organises cultural events. The interviewee participated actively in gatherings, social activities and folkloristic performances (Russian music, traditional dances).
Secondly, the respondent's migration to Italy in 2003 yielded the necessity to integrate into a foreign socio-political and cultural context that was impeded by restricted possibilities to act out a religious and cultural identity.
Thirdly, the in-family idea that was rather secular towards religion and the separatist ideal of the Romanian and Lipovan community, may have contributed to the respondent's decision for an intermarriage with one member of the Romanian minority in her home community. In accordance with the regulations of the Old Rite community, her husband converted to her religion, which is requested obligatorily. Finke and Stark (2000) argue for an interrelation between mixed religious marriages and a lack of religious capital. Accordingly, religious and cultural capital are maximised through the union of both partners.
Even though the Lipovan Community is represented on institutional level in Turin, a strong desire of forwarding her cultural and linguistic roots led her to the founding of a Lipovan cultural organisation in Turin one decade after her arrival and settlement. The respondent considers the transmission of religious capital as strategy to build and maintain identity crucial, *as "everything gets lost…the language gets lost, because nobody speaks the language anymore, neither the dialect. (…) The traditions are dying…nobody knows them anymore. If you don't know the language, you cannot know the traditions either. Because nobody teaches at the young generation what tradition means, also culture, everything. We also have an oral culture (…) we barely have any record in written, there are really just a few documents. (…) And if you meet someone from the younger generations and ask: Why are you of Russian origin? Nobody of them will know it, because not even their parents know it, their own parents!"*

Elder jr. and peers (2003) draw their idea of the life course paradigm on five principles, two of which seem rather relevant to investigate how the concept applies for dynamics of the interviewee's educational strategies.
Firstly, the Principle of Time and Place, whereas the individual trajectory is determined by experiences with historical times and places. While the respondent was socialised in a minority community under Communist regime, she migrated to Catholic Italy from post-1989 Romania. Despite differing from a socio-political and cultural perspective, both contexts conditioned the life circumstances of the interviewee in a similar way, as both required integration and adoption to a plurilinguistic, -religious and -cultural setting. These conditions may have impacted corresponding choices for the upbringing of her children, who are educated under transnational and -cultural conditions in Italy and Romania, as they spent several months per year in their parent's community of origin, which fosters a transmission of the Lipovan cultural heritage. Religious capital is thus

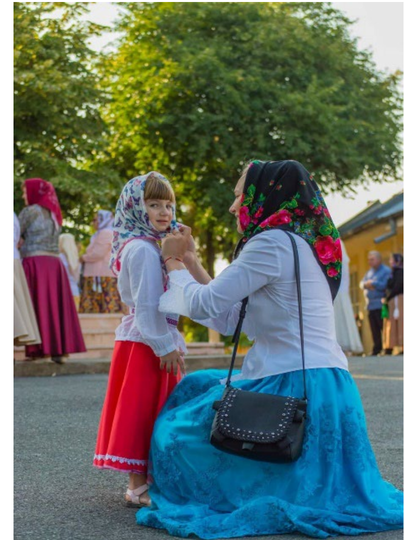
[7] https://www.crlr.ro/en/

transmitted as a threefold competence set consisting of knowledge, skills and attitudes in both spatial contexts. Whereas knowledge refers to the rather theoretical foundations of the familial cultural heritage, skills and attitudes to practice the minority religion are transmitted in the parent's context of origin. These include the participation at local festivities and church services respecting the traditional dress code, folklore and customs that constitute the capability to adapt to the different cultural context.

Image 5.3 Religious Procession in Tulcea County

Source: provided by respondent

Image 5.4 Traditional clothing



Source: provided by respondent

At the same time Italian customs and rites are sermonised and worshipped as cultural heritage of their children's home country. *"We set value on both, there are coloured eggs and the Italian Easter egg for the children at Easter. A bit of everything, we always kept it like that."*

Secondly, the principle of linked lives and the presumption that shared relationships are lived interdependently and accordingly affect further developments of the corresponding network. The spouse's decision for a religious conversion for the sake of an accepted marriage presumably had direct repercussions on the educational strategies that were defined for themselves and the offspring. Strengthening the familial (cultural) identity and religious capital, prioritised also certain decisions to convey and maintain cultural and religious capital within the education of their children, as for instance the learning of the Russian language.

5.3 Civic competences (Cosmopolitan disposition)

Several sociological peers consider cosmopolitan cognitive and behavioural patterns central to encounter economic, political and ecological issues on global level. They presume that two principal mechanisms foster cosmopolitan processes in particular. Firstly, a growing number of transnational migration flows, that transport persons as well as their socio-cultural, emotional and cognitive 'luggage' of experiences made prior to and during the migratory trajectory. Secondly, the institutionalisation of human rights in the global field that shifts the perspective from nationality to humanity (Igarashi and Saito 2014).
Drawing on the vast body of scholarship Igarashi and Saito (*Ibid.:* 222) refer in their study on cosmopolitan knowledge as essential part of cultural capital (Bourdieu) to the label cosmopolitanism as "an orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures". The European

Commission translates this concept into civic competence, which "(…) highlights the role of citizenship, democratic values and human rights in today's increasingly connected global societies (…)" (COM 2018a: 39).
The following analysis investigates thus how the disposition of cosmopolitan knowledge was acquired in early childhood, structured by prevailing socio-political conditions and further transmitted and frames as civic competence to own offspring under effective transnational life circumstances (Bourdieu 1991).
The Italian national competence framework, inspired by its European pendant, calls for active citizenship as core skill of civic competences (COE 2018). The active participation of immigrants in the host society and related democratic processes is presumed to have a positive effect on their integration (King and Lulle 2016). Whereas financial issues, the geographic location as well as the amount of accessible information are presumed to be major barriers for the development active citizenship competences, education is central for its growth and the increased pursuing of political action and community support. This conclusion has been drawn by Hoskins and colleagues (2009) who found in their study two direct correlations for a positive development of active citizenship.
Firstly, education in general, but active involvement in lifelong learning in particular point to an increased practice of citizenship. The agency of parents and caretakers for the development of corresponding knowledge, skills and attitudes to social and moral education, community involvement and political literacy as main strands of citizenship education is hence crucial and becomes more complex within transnational contexts (Holden 2004). Thus, knowledge facilitates action and active citizenship turns out to be interdependent on socio-economic capital that drive information and status.
Secondly, a clear idea on religion and the personal involvement turned out to generate more active citizenship attitudes. This result is interesting when interrelated to the findings in Chapter 5.2 on religious capital acquisition and transmission towards a minimisation of uncertainty. Consequently, a strong awareness of religion should lead to a strengthened intention for the transmission of religious capital. A solid (familial) capital stock increasingly facilitates the coping with uncertainty and thus may evolve more accentuated forces to develop active citizenship competences (Hoskins et al. 2009).
Like the study of religious capital conveyance, also the discourse on how to acquire, cultivate and implement competences that lead to active citizenship must be embedded diachronically and synchronically in its socio-political context. Szakacs (2013: 6) reminds us on this occasion that "In the first half of the 20th century the concept of 'good citizenship' referred more to obedient subjecthood than to active involvement". In post-1945 Communist states active involvement in the community presupposed the formation of socially responsible citizens who would preserve the Socialist order with a "sense of duty towards the greater good" (*Ibid.*: 12). Accordingly, collective ideals were directed towards the responsibility for the individual and building socialism (Szakacs 2018). The 'good citizen' was thus supposed to demonstrate the respective sympathy for the patria and conformity with the nation-centred socialist policies, which regarded for instance extensive ecological safeguarding measures or volunteering work to support community members.
Indeed, several study participants recall an altruistically orientated education in school and in family with indications to help and respect each other and the direct environment.

(SG1) School at the time was not solely responsible for instruction, but also for education. Thus (…) we did a lot of lessons on helping others, waste separation (…).

Hofstede and colleagues (2010) corroborate this notion that appears to rely on the Communist education lines to create social and internal cohesion also as rather typical for strongly Uncertainty

avoidance cultures. This does not come as a surprise, since the majority of strong UAI countries belong to the former Eastern bloc and have a Communist background. Accordingly, they refer to helping behaviour that underlines a positive correlation with cultures that are classified by Hofstede to be rather reluctant to uncertainty. Test persons from those countries were consequently more likely to take responsibility and rather inclined to helping others (*Ibid.).*

When the study participants were asked how important are the environmental conditions in the host context for a positive perception of life quality all of them allocated quite high values to this item. However, all Romanian respondents ranked the item with the highest possible value (=5) and interestingly so did the study participants from former Eastern Germany. Slight deviations could be observed for respondents from former West Germany. It could be thus presumed that the environmental significance promoted by the Communist regime in the context of its citizenship policies is rather anchored in the cultural memory and holds thus an important position for value transmission.

Tab. 5.1 Significance of environmental conditions for a positively perceived life quality

Romanian respondents			**German respondents (SG3)**		
SG1 (n=7)	SG2 (n=5)	Average	East (n=3)	West (n=9)	Average
5	5	5	5	4,1	4,55

After the breakdown of the Communist regime the principal objectives of active citizenship involvement shifted from building socialism to preservation of democracy. In accordance with the reference to education as one of the principal determinants of active citizenship, also instruction material, education policies and pedagogic mindsets for citizenship education changed correspondingly in post-1989 (Szakacs 2013).
Due to the parallels of its political systems and socio-historical developments, Romania and Ex-GDR developed similar strategies for the sake of an anti-cosmopolitan attitude.
Ironically, most citizens in pre-1989 Eastern Germany were daily and thoroughly reminded on their demarcated nation and thus rather conscious about it. Indeed, cosmopolitan ideals that comprise a "development of multiple loyalties as well as the increase in transnational forms of life" (Beck 2006: 9), and thus openness, freedom and curiosity for the other(s) could not be farther from the SED politics that had been forwarded in the last three decades before the reunification of Germany.
One respondent who grew up in a family that was rather critical of the system tells about another kind of consciousness, namely the opposite from the nationalist perception promoted by the SED regime:

(SG3) My mother always told me: Listen, the Wall has to come down. There is also a little anecdote (…) I was with my grandmother in the Berlin subway and she told me: "Look over there, that is the Wall." I was quite young, maybe four or so (…) and then I started yelling in the metro: "Granny, the Wall has to come down!" (…) And my grandmother immediately turned red, oh my god, hopefully there is nobody from the Stasi here somewhere, how does the child know that the Wall has to come down? Everybody laughed, the students, all the persons in the metro, finally somebody spoke out what everybody thought. (…) I grew up with this consciousness that these things that were happening, were just wrong.

The sentiments and reaction of the respondent's grandmother might sound familiar to most citizens who lived in repressive systems in general, and for the sake of this study under the Communist

regime in particular. Stan and Turcescu (2005: 657) describe the positional shift that could occur during the life course from “being a torturer, then a tortured, then again a torturer, or even a victim and victimizer at the same time.”
Living under these circumstances inflicted on the general perception of security and confidence. Indeed, the interrelation between civic competence, cosmopolitan knowledge and active citizenship concludes also the presence of active trust, which according to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2000: 46) “is the basis of the self-culture. It assumes not a clinging to consensus, but the presence of dissent; it rests upon recognition (not demonization) of the claim to ‘a life of one’s own’ in a cosmopolitan world (…) it does presuppose equal rights for all and is incompatible with feverish talk about duties and insistence on pre-given roles.”
From data analysed for a study of leader(ship) behaviours and preferences in Germany, Romania and UK it turned out that there is a notable lack of trust in the Romanian population[8] (Littrell and Valentin 2005). As noted before the active engagement of citizens is rooted in adequate and complete information and education. A logical consequence of missing (active) trust is missing active citizenship, which consequently also affects the acquisition and transmission of information related to political education and engagement.
Indeed, all respondents from SG1 and SG2 and those from SG3 who grew up in Communist Eastern Germany report about the non-written rules and norms for talking about political issues, that were commonly known. Politics, the reflection on contemporary and historical events, as well as human rights, was not a public matter but -if at all- discussed exclusively at home.
As one respondent recapitulates: *You had to know exactly when to talk, with whom and about what.*

The following testimony illustrates indeed how profession and socio-cultural capital of caretakers as well as the local context conditioned the educational path of children in Communist Romania. When asked if politics at home were an issue the respondent negates, but specifies that political education was still received:

(SG2) From the time I was 7 to 14 I spent my summer holidays from June to September in Bucharest with my aunt. It was a completely different world. Maybe the world that changed me. I met different people, because my uncle was an official of the Ministry of Agriculture and they talked about politics, they listened to radio Europa libera[9]. We knew what was happening in Europe, what happened in the world, we had all this information. When I got home and wanted to talk to my dad about what I had learned he was terrified and covered the all the switches, because he didn't want anyone to hear us. I tried to find this frequency on the radio ... I don't remember if I ever found it. Anyway, my father would always tell me not to. I was born in (…) a neither small nor large [city] but it was a province. You couldn't talk there, you couldn't do anything strange. Already if you dressed differently ... I would come back from Bucharest with totally different clothes ... I never wanted to go back. (…) In Bucharest my aunt made me do everything, if I slept and if I ate everything, she gave me prizes. (…) it was a different education.

The missing trust and fear to be penalised by the repressive system lead to missing communication and education on political and societal issues, which was evidently further triggered by the conditions found in rural and urban contexts.

[8] Only 10% of more than 1000 respondents believe that “most people can be trusted” compared to 35% of the German counter group. This result seems to be coherent with the presumed reactions on repressive politics that have been pursued for half of the 20th century and continue to spread their aftermaths in the contemporary society, for instance with the enduring corruption which is still a relevant issue (Littrell and Valentin 2005).
[9] https://www.rri.ro/it_it/la_popolarita_di_radio_europa_libera-2531771

Due to the restrictive access to media, the priority of books for political information is repeatedly reported by the study participants, both the "latest published in Romania" and those that would be sold underhand. The significance of literature as a means of education in general went far beyond being a source of knowledge used for auto-education and for building a stock of information. The politically conditioned access to books and writings was also used for silent protest and opposition of the educational restrictions imposed by the system.

(SG2) Right before the revolution there were books that circulated secretly ... which were the two most important (...)? A compendium of mathematics and the history of Romanian literature composed by a dissident. And those books had been printed in secret, there were only few copies available. And my parents were so happy, they paid like half of their salary for those two books. (…) Just to understand the importance that was attached to it.

All Romanian respondents confirm the important role of literature as part of the general knowledge luggage and the reading culture and for them in the education of their own children, where books are prioritized compared to other new and digital media to form an own opinion and to defend individual standpoints.
Media played a similarly significant role in the Ex-GDR, and guided the system-imposed code of conduct towards in-family conversations, as another witness of this historical era tells:

(SG3) At home you talked about politics and you knew very well: as soon as I am out of the door, I cannot talk about it anymore, at least not the way I talked about it in family. And still, it was a constant companion, we talked very openly about politics in family. We also listened to a lot of West German media and tried (...) to get a picture of the world. That played (...) a big role in my childhood.

Most SG1 and SG2 and those German respondents who grew up under a Communist regime, the population that was quite "teleguided from the system" as one Romanian respondent describes it, experienced politics an omnipresent issue in their childhood, inflicted with demarcation of national borders, separation from others and restricted information.
It appears that the familial habitus and position towards the significance of political education and thus corresponding educational strategies are continued also in the transnational context with own children. Most study participants confirm that political knowledge is a relevant issue that tackles familial discourses on a regular basis, mostly in discussions about contemporary politics, whereas priority is put to those of the country of residence.
Laws and regulations are central as legitimating force in high UAI cultures to structure processes, to minimise unexpected events and to thus maintain the societal order (Hofstede 2001; Marinescu 2014). Further, collectivist societies emphasise the strong importance of society as driving force for own identity and life circumstances. These presumptions are also displayed in the formulation of educational strategies by several respondents, as the following:

(SG1) He has to know in which society he lives (…) We talk a lot with him, because we want him to know in which world he lives, what expects him, which laws exist, how to respect them and how he has to prepare to confront them.

The majority of study participants confirm the importance of family narratives related to the historical and socio-political background of their country of origin as knowledge base to corroborate the construction of both, their own and their children's identity. This is particularly the case for children whose parents are both Romanians and where the migration was founded on economic or

professional motivations. Accordingly, one respondent describes her family internal negotiations on the acquisition of related knowledge, which is not merely linked to the consolidation of identity, but rather to its defence due to existing stigmata and national images.

(SG1) We told him that as soon as he finishes his university studies which are very demanding, he will have to study a little more, because he has never had time to study Romanian history. He knows only what we have transmitted orally (...) but he has never taken a Romanian history book to read (...) to learn more. (...) But he promised me (...) it is very important to know the history of your country. (...) It is important to know where you come from and not to be ashamed. And this is very important because (...) in Italy there have been some difficult moments for Romanians, so if he doesn't know where he comes from he cannot even argue that it is not quite as it is eventually said.

Whereas the knowledge base of Romanian couples (SG1) living in transnational contexts is based on a relatively common ground that probably require less in-family negotiation for its transmission, most mixed families (SG2 and SG3) face a different reality and implement diverse strategies to build their children's (dual) identity.
Nowicka (2006: 1073) maintains that "children of bi-cultural families are transnational in their self-identity, their public image and their competence in two different cultural and social environments." Presumably, this duality is not necessarily equal, but becomes rather balanced according to the corresponding spatial, socio-cultural and temporal context. Accordingly, their competence set, composed of knowledge, skills and attitudes, should enable them to switch or integrate this type of transnationality.
One significant push factor for strengthening dual identity is the keeping in touch with the family left back in the homeland of the foreign parent (*Ibid.*). Regular visits and contacts through the range of new media at disposal thus foster a sense of attachment.
Indeed, all respondents confirm the significance of a consistent contact with those who stayed back in their home country, mostly maintained by virtual media and visits in vacation periods or for holidays. It appeared that there are significant differences in the intensity of contacts, whereas Germen respondents indicated less frequency in the weekly (virtual) contacts with their network in the home country compared to all Romanian respondents. This notion is corroborated by Hofstede's (2001) observation on collectivist cultures, that accordingly rely on strong family contacts and lifelong loyalty.
Economic capital plays an important role for the maintenance of physical contact among family members, and often require the setting of correspondent priorities as one Romanian respondent tells:

(SG1) There were also times when we couldn't go very often [to Romania] due to economic problems. I went when my mom passed away or if there were some bureaucratic issues. Since my daughter was little when we came here [to Italy], I preferred to send only her on holidays over there to save money, because she would have otherwise risked to detach from her family or losing the language. This could not happen to me, I cannot lose the language or relationships.

There is a notable difference in the frequency of visits and intensity of links with the home country among Romanian families (SG1) and mixed transnational families (SG2 and SG3). Accordingly, demonstrate the latter sample groups rather dual even though not necessarily balanced relationships with kinship in both contexts to maintain a bicultural lifestyle and transmit accordingly a dual identity to their offspring. Both must not necessarily go hand in hand, in fact corresponding

competences related to both parent's home contexts are rarely on the same level, normally one dominates (Nowicka 2006).
The latter development might be blurred out, if established physical and virtual ties of the transnational family network combined with modern technology reinforce the possibility to transport one context in another.

(SG2) We have Romania here in Italy, there is no need to always go there.

D'Angelo and peers (2015: 16) maintain that "Migrants connect places, and through their mobility bring new networks and forms of capitals into being." This accounts for private (in-family) networks, but also for socio-cultural communities in the host context that set free social capital on local and transregional level. In this context transnational media communication has a central role in connecting host and home settings for the migrant as mediator between both worlds. transcultural life concept thus envisages to transmit habits, customs and traditions of two worlds, to build synergies among them and construct an identity that is not necessarily linked to spatial circumstances. The use of modern communication technologies may thus also enable migrant families to create a very tight-mashed network with their relatives in the home country (Vacaru 2013), which may take the form and character of virtual cohabitation:

(SG1) We go for important family events, two or three times a year. Communication via skype, four or five times a day. The computer is always on, they call and then they keep each other company.

Drawing on the concept of dissimilation (cf. Ch.1.3.2) and the state of becoming different from those left behind, transnational relationships are nurtured by continuous communication and interaction and thus reduce potential change that may cause ambiguity and uncertainty.
These strategies may guide the children's path towards a (dual) national identity and sense of belonging without necessarily labelling it with citizenship. As Nowicka (2006) confirms from her data collection of second generations' testimonies, parental guidance and encouragement -sometimes unintended, sometimes rather explicitly- are necessary to support their offspring to elicit interest and pride towards their parent' country of origin, and their own roots. The migrants' attitude and identity with the home context and thus corresponding references for the knowledge transmission may be also strengthened on a reverse conclusion in the host country, as one German émigré reports:

(SG3) I actually think I'm closer to Germany here than I would be in Germany. I think much more intensively about the country, about the language (...) but also about our traditions, our values ...

Migrant parents, especially German mixed couples, tend to refuse rigid national demarcations when talking about culture, identity and belonging. Physical living environments and an emotional sense of belonging thus diverge and do not necessarily run parallel. As national borders and their perception are becoming increasingly blurry, feelings of identity follow this path and are less linked to the national context of their current living space than to perception of a cosmopolitan field. One German émigré talks about the incoherence of a nationalistic concept linked to home and identity with the actual lifestyle of the transnational family and her conclusions for educational measures:

(SG3) At the moment, I am actually trying to keep this separation from the children as far as possible. I would like to transmit these categories, they will come up at some point, to my children as late as possible. Because for my children, as they grow up, it makes no sense at all to think in terms of nation

states or countries. What exactly is German, where is the border to Italy? My children experience a complex reality: I work in Switzerland, I live here in Italy, I come from Germany and so on.
The question: Are you German or Italian? It just doesn't make any sense to my kids. That is not what they experience (...). Of course, they notice differences, that is mainly due to the relatives, I have to be a little careful sometimes. Of course, they learn about traditions, so in Germany you celebrate St. Nicholas Day, the Lantern Festival and things like that ..., yes(...) but I believe that this ascription of categories is always such a separating element, regardless of whether it is positive or negative. It is always: you are different from me, because you are German, you do it like that, we're Italians, we do it this way. I always experience this thinking in nation states as a separation, and that's actually something that contradicts me and my actual experience. I experienced the world as a place full of people, whom you always meet as a person and not as a German or as a woman or as a man. I would not want to pass on to my children these categories, which I experienced very painful and negative.

Another SG3 respondent refers to a similar "cosmopolitan" educational style and the corresponding perspective of his adult daughter, whose self-definition is not linked exclusively to nationality:

(SG3) I see that especially from my daughter, she is not fixed, I'm in Italy, I have to be Italian, she is more like: 'I could live anywhere.'

On the other hand, in pluricultural and -national family constellations, mental tendencies to openness and diversity are contrasted with the necessity for demarcation for the sake of identity construction and internal order. This is exemplary for a SG3 respondent of German-Turkish origin, born and raised in a traditional context in Southern Germany, who has moved for several years to different national contexts, last to Ireland, due to her husband's career. Consequently, her first son was born in Ireland, her second in Turin, Italy, which has remained their last migration destination. When referring to citizenship she underlines the importance of a sense of belonging, reinforced by the explicit awareness of multi-nationality, that is not conditioned by borders and residence, but rather a congenitally given citizenship right. By contrast, her son refers in his self-perception to the nationality of his current country of residence, where he spent most of his childhood.

(SG3) When I ask my son: Who are you? He goes: I am Italian.
And I tell him: Yes, that's right, but you are at the same time also German and Irish.

Within transnational contexts, structural issues, such as questions of citizenship and residency, can contribute to – often symbolic but rather explicit – choices of identities, in particular for children. Citizenship implies values, traditions, codes and rights in society and citizenship education can accordingly provide the tools and competences to participate in and contribute actively to societal endeavours (Holden 2004). The right to vote according to art.48 of the Italian constitution is specified as civic duty and thus allocates a direct responsibility and delegation to all individuals holding the Italian citizenship (Italian Constitution, Art. 48).
The desire for political participation and involvement drove several respondents to the decision for an application for the Italian citizenship. The following extract displays how civic responsibility and education are transmitted and consolidated with the formalisation of felt citizenship and identity.

(SG1) We asked for citizenship because for the voting right and I also explained the importance of voting to my daughter. We voted for the European elections, then there was also a Referendum for which we were told that we could not vote. That's why we asked for the Italian citizenship. I said:

'We ask for this citizenship, at the end we feel Italians as we feel Romanians.' And so we did and then we could also vote.

5.3.1 Questions of citizenship in the Old Believer Community

The question of belonging is complex if different cultures and national contexts enter the private sphere, particularly in familial constellations that require a mental or explicit positioning to the self and as group member.
A strong sense of belonging is corroborated by a strong ethnic, national, regional-local identifications. Those are founded on objective criteria, such as language, dialect, socio-cultural characteristics (e.g. religion), which produce mental and objectified representations (Bourdieu 1991) of a community. In this regard Anderson's concept (1991) of "imagined communities" presents an interesting perspective for the question on identity in the Old Believer Community, the Lipovans, that is rooted in Russia and distributed in several regions throughout Romania. The respondent grew up in a village in the Tulcea region, where they lived as displaced community of "Romanian citizens of Russian origin" disconnected from "the other" Romanians.

We lived separately (…) but next door. Even the houses that they had built were towards the exit of the town, so to speak. They knew that this was their Romanian neighbourhood and here it was us. (…) There has never a mix up, they married among each other and so did we within our community. When a Russian and a Romanian would marry, it was actually quite scandalous.

Accordingly, the community had created a local identity in the village that was embedded in a national concept but went far beyond national borders. They defended their rights and status of the majority with their (religious) history as founding principle of their community that was displayed in numerous traditions and symbolic rites as well as the use of their own language. A negotiated code of behaviour and cohabitation with the rest of the village did not envisage any friend- or other relationships tied outside the community to guarantee a maintenance of integrity and exclusivity.
On a national level, the respondent refers to a double sense of belonging to her country of birth and 'country of roots'. Interestingly, the attachment to Russia is exemplary for an imagined community. It is considered the homeland of the Old Believer Community and foundation place for traditions, values and rites that are shared within communities worldwide. In a pars pro toto logic, the spread out communities of old Believers represent their actual community, that migrates along when its members leave their home context. This is what experienced the respondent and who met in her destination location Turin other members of the Old Believer Community from different parts of the world, which led her to open an association with and for them. Interestingly, outside the citizenship context, which is at the same time country of birth, origin and socialisation, the respondent identifies as Russian-Romanian. This becomes evident, when she is talking about other members of the community, also labelled Russians.

Indeed, I opened an association her for Russians like us, who live in Turin. Our community here counts almost 4000 members. (…) I always liked our traditions, and knowing other persons from my community, see how they live in their parts …

The respondent's strong sense of belonging to her home context in Romania is thus displayed transnationally on socio-cultural level with the maintenance of the organisation that works for the cultivation and transmission of traditions and folkloristics that migrated with the members from their 'imagined community'. Accordingly, the preservation and thus presentation of ethnic and

cultural characteristics are context-specific and bound to cultural and structural conditions (e.g. language knowledge, cultural background).
The reaffirmation of loyalty on local and personal level occurs during long-time visits in the home community, and the constant maintenance of a network.

(...) I keep in touch with everyone. (…) I can't let go, I like to keep in touch. I only have family in the village. I don't have friends who are living there. 90% of the young people have left … most of them are in Italy.

Even though structural and cultural integration proceeded with active participation in education, the labour market and politics after Romania had become part of the Union, the respondent never felt completely "arrived" in the destination context. Thus, an identificational integration "where the migrant sees her/himself not just as a migrant actor within the host-country social system but as having a real sense of belonging with that collective body" (King and Lulle 2016: 56) occurred several years later due to the through attachment to her home community in Romania:

(...) I must say that I felt Turin my home city only a year ago, to tell the truth. I came to this awareness after fifteen years, because I never felt it that way, perhaps also because I am very attached to my homeland. I am actually very attached to it. I return every year, if I can, I go even twice a year, to my city. For me that meant always home.

Image 5.5: The cultural center of Lipovans in the home village of the respondent (Tulcea County)

Source: provided by respondent

Whereas several years after her arrival in Turin, the respondent considered her actual home still her hometown she experienced the shifting sense of belonging towards her destination location. In line with the presumption of international scholarship that migration decisions are tightly interrelated with life course events (cf. Ch. 1.3), they also appear to be central for (un)conscious tendencies and choices towards belonging, identity and integration in the host society.
The respondent calls it "awareness", that feeling of belonging, that appeared to her after 15 years of residence in the host society and this is linked to a particular event:

My daughter, who is 7 years old, is doing artistic gymnastics here. Her coach is a Romanian ex-gymnast, but the team is practically Italian. This year, (...) the coach took them on retreat in Romania to the sports club where the trainer herself started doing gymnastics. So, they did ten days of retreat there and at the end there was an award ceremony. (…) there were six of them from Italy, of which

two were Romanian-Italian, and the other Italians. And in the end, there was this award ceremony with the flags and my daughter was on the side of the Italian flag.

Image 5.6: Award Ceremony 2018 (Romania)

Source: provided by respondent

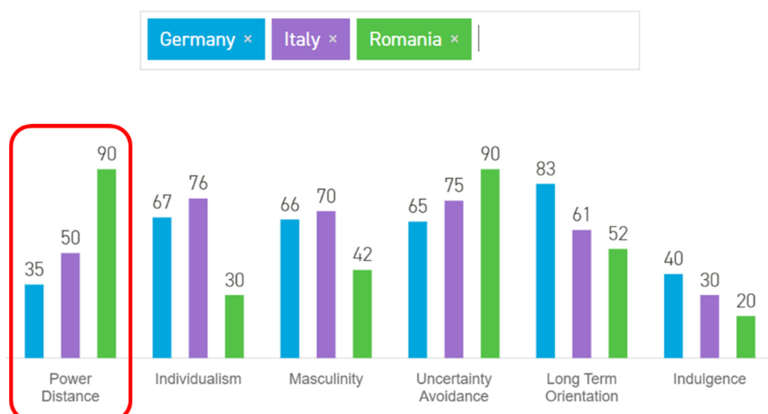
And when I heard the national anthem, I began to cry, because I felt it was mine, ours. But then I cried when I heard the Romanian anthem, because it is part of me. But for the Italian anthem I heard it for my daughter. Because for her, this is her country. It will never be Romania, even if I will tell her, and I will talk to her and she will go there every year… but that will be the country of her parents. It will never be her country. This is her country, because she was born here, she is being educated here, she has friends, everything. She talks about Romania, but it will always be the country of her parents and it is ok that this is the way it is. (…) many people tell me: but no, we must never forget where we started from. But this doesn't mean forgetting where you started from (...) maybe you grow up in two shoes, as long as you decide (…), but they shouldn't, right?

This chapter talked about cosmopolitan knowledge and its progression to civic competences as part of cultural capital and showed how the multifaceted transmission of citizenship as concept, competence and identity-building construct occurs in transnational families.
Learning environments, delegations to involved stakeholder and educational expectations are not only culture-bound but also guided by the sense of identity and belonging to the host society, as the next chapter will demonstrate and discuss.

CHAPTER 6: THE ASSIGNED ROLE TO EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS - THE LIFEWIDE PERSPECTIVE

The lifelong paradigm has been elaborated and interpreted by diverse disciplines, among which psychology, pedagogy and sociology were at the forefront to investigate on the interplay of education, culture and society. The life-wide dimension as one of the three perspectives of lifelong learning will be the principal topic for the third and last chapter of this empirical study.
In this regard, the constructivist model seems to be relevant, which considers learning as complementary process built by diverse stages.
Drawing thus on the spatial dimension of learning, the following sections aim to analyse parental strategies, expectations and priorities for the creation and assimilation of learning contents within formal, non-formal and informal educational environments. These are mainly distinguished by their level of structure and organisation. Whereas formal learning contexts relate to rather planned, recognised training in organised contexts, non-formal provides the category for those forms of learning that are structured but take place outside formal learning contexts. Informal learning corresponds thus to unplanned, implicit, often also unconscious learning processes, that can take place outside of any educational organisations (Dohmen 2001).
The key of analysis employed for this endeavour in comparative perspective is the cultural dimension of power distance. Hofstede ranks Romania very high for 'Power distance' with a score of 90[1] compared to Germany (35), Italy (50), and the world average (56.5). It becomes evident, that within this study Germany and Romania represent relatively polarising samples when it comes to this first dimension on the Hofstede scale, which should however not neglect the inner-cultural heterogeneity in Germany shaped by its socio-historical background. Consequently, drawing on the German example it is considered that the Hofstede scale provide an orientation and starting point for further research on culture, rather than the undeniable truth.

Fig. 6.1: Cultural dimensions according to Hofstede – Power Distance[2]



Source: adopted from https://www.hofstede-insights.com/

The next two sections will thus refer to the transmission of education in formal (school) and non-formal (association) educational environments and discuss hence the collaboration patterns and intersections between families and (external) institutions.

[1] All country values established by Hofstede and peers can be found and verified at the website: https://geerthofstede.com/research-and-vsm/dimension-data-matrix/

[2] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

Accordingly, the analysis draws on testimonials from families concerned (SG1, SG2, SG3) in diachronic and comparative perspective and on institutional players (school in Ch. 6.1). Whereas the first section discusses the assumed role and function of school and according choices, the second and third subchapters refer to the categories of language, taste and cosmopolitan competences. Drawing thus on the findings in Chapter 5 that questioned choices and priorities for the cultural capital categories Chapter 6.2. and 6.3 put them in a local perspective that discusses considerations and delegations to learning contexts, among which family as central educational institution.

6.1. Formal learning in school

As formal education occurs in organised environments it has clearly defined objectives, time schedules and resources and is subject to registration (Werquin 2010). With the introduction of the New Skills Agenda for Europe (COM 2016: 5) the European Commission formulated also the central objective and role of formal education in society:

Formal education and training should equip everyone with a broad range of skills which opens doors to personal fulfilment and development, social inclusion, active citizenship and employment. These include literacy, numeracy, science and foreign languages, as well as transversal skills and key competences (…) Early acquisition of these skills is the foundation for the development of higher, more complex skills which are needed to drive creativity and innovation. These skills need to be strengthened throughout life, and allow people to (…) cope with complexity and uncertainty.

Generally, the conveyed and perceived function of education appears to be culture and context-bound from a socio-cultural, political, economic perspective. Accordingly, it differs naturally over time, which is also confirmed by the respondents of this study.
Formal education has to fill a wide range of (social) roles, that move beyond instruction. Thus, several (SG1) respondents recall education explicitly as conveyed ticket to freedom and resort from the (rural) home context, that implied limited professional opportunities, often polarising among them:

(SG1) I lived in a small town (…) with approximately 6000/7000 inhabitants, studying was very important. I remember, my mom always told me: If you want to get out of here, you have to study. (…) The only thing that can take you away from the country to make a good life is to study. (...) She never forced us, me or my sister, to study (...) but we kept it always in mind: I have to leave. Because if I stayed in the country, I could either become a teacher, or I could do farm work. (…) You had to study to be able to go because if not, what would you have done in the city?

As confirmed by a further SG1 respondent, it appears that the collectivization politics, implemented in the 1950s and 60s in Romania and focusing on a re-localisation of the rural population to forward the process of industrialisation in the urban centres (Stan and Erne 2014), had a significant impact on parental educational strategies, in particular regarding the conveyed interrelation between instruction and mobility:

(SG1) I think this has been something, that was set by the dictatorship. Because they made the farmers move, and life in the countryside was difficult. And if you are in the city without having studied, you cannot have a job that you like.

With the governmental promotion of industrial employment and the resulting shift in rural and urban population patterns, education was thus implicitly promoted as the way out of a potential (social) dilemma. Also, in former Eastern Germany the State took a central role in promoting education on the one hand, in distributing the educational rights and privileges to elected on the other hand. Consequently, parents in Ex-GDR were much less involved in the final decisional processes about the formal educational trajectory of their children, which went beyond academic performance (cf. Ch. 3.3.3).

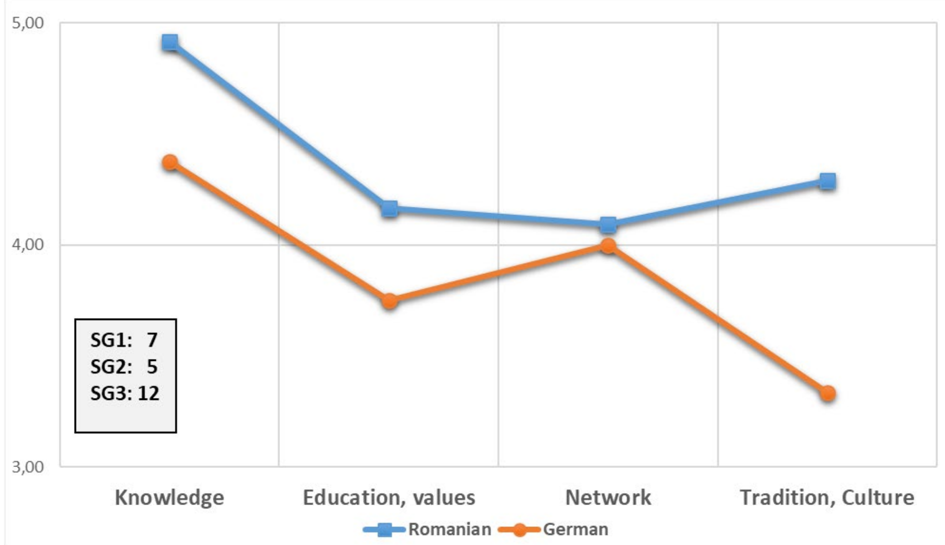
(SG3) None of my parents have any academic qualifications, they did not study and don't have a high school diploma. I heard the word 'Abitur' from my classmates for the first time in the seventh grade, and then I always used it as a guide to pursue this educational path. So, I was not oriented towards studying (…) I was oriented towards a job or my parents have largely left that in the hands of the state, as it was the case in the GDR. It was common for the state to take on this role. And the parents accepted it very gratefully that they didn't have to deal with it so much. I think that the state also played a major role in promoting talent (…). Actually, I think the state played a bigger role than my parents.

Whereas parental involvement in educational matters and decisions was rather secondary in Socialist States (cf. Ch. 3.3.3) it received increasing importance in post-1989 developing national contexts (Dumbraveanu 2015). Contemporary, the conveyance of knowledge may be guided by school, but cannot neglect the central agency of the student's home context for their understanding and implementation. The role played by parents and caretakers, the 'co-educators', and their involvement in formal education is crucial in the educational trajectory of students. Their increasingly requested involvement and prioritised role leads thus to a growing demand of collaboration among educators and caretakers. Cultural capital of parents plays a major role for the involvement in institutional-driven formal education; language obstacles entail miscommunications and misunderstandings that often result in a mismatch of expectations for both parties. Insufficient cultural and structural knowledge linked to the formal environment remain the most pressing blockades within the school context of their children and the dialogue with educators (Hornby and Blackwell 2018; Reay 2004).
This 'cooperation pattern' suggests however a negotiation on role distribution between school and home contexts, which should be considered for eventual requests and policy formulations. On this account, a small-scale survey was proposed to all study participants of this inquiry and will be discussed in the following section.

6.1.1 The expected role and responsibility of formal educational institutions

Respondents were accordingly asked to rank the responsibilities and function of school according to their personal priorities and expectations. The questions involved the items (1) Transmission of knowledge, (2) Education and value transmission, (3) Providing and stabilising a network, (4) Transmission of tradition and culture on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Fig. 6.2: Delegated role to and assumed responsibility of formal educational institutions



Knowledge transmission was ranked as most important responsibility of school education by all sample groups.

Tab. 6.1: Responsibility of school_knowledge

Knowledge transmission	SG1	SG2	SG3
	4,86	5	4,38

However, Romanian respondents (SG1 and SG2) allocated with an average of 4,92 more importance to this indicator than their German counter group, who emphasised social learning and talent fostering as leading expectations towards the schooling institution.

(SG3) School is primarily relevant as location of social learning, not so much as a place of knowledge transmission. I even believe that the children would have more content with a private teacher, but what school has to convey is life in a community and living together with other children in their class, whether they like each other or not. I see school rather as an institution of social learning.

(SG3) The main task of school is to generate passion, to see talent and to develop a passion from the talent as much as possible. (…) That's what makes the difference today. You can be good, you can learn a lot, but you are always worse than someone who has learned just as well as you and who has a passion for it.

Partly concordant refers one SG1 participant to school as hub for talent and (hidden) skills that need to be unveiled but also for new knowledge acquisition.

(SG1) I don't see a normal life without studying. Most young people today say: why should I go for a diploma for, I won't need it … but that's not true. Because school shapes you and makes you discover abilities that you didn't have before or that you maybe didn't know to have. (…) if you don't study you will never have curiosity in you ... you have to study ... you live, you have to study.

With respect to the cultural dimension 'power distance' that will be central for the enquiry in this chapter, the discrepancy observed between both country groups is partly corroborated by Hofstede's claims and observations. Knowledge transmission points to a one-way process, where

information is conveyed from the sender to the receiver. This would comply with the common understanding of learning in strong power distant cultures, that allocate the share of responsibility for the learning process mostly to the learner and ascribe accordingly also unsatisfying learning results to the students. Student involvement requested is minimal, they are rather expected to learn-by-watching. One study participant settles this assumption with a critical reference to the educational system in Romania:

(SG1) In Romania they study more (…) maybe the same things that are studied here in the fourth grade, they have already done it in the second. They are much further ahead. However, this does not mean that it is a better system, because it is very much based on studying by heart. I remember it too. (…) Nobody asks you what you think though. Yeah, at the university they'll ask you what you think? But you are not able to develop your thinking, because no one in school taught you. The teacher arrives, makes his front-of-class lesson, you listen, take notes, then you take the exam and that's it.

This stands in contrast to the apprehension process through criticism and dialogue in form of a learning-by-doing principle as promoted on the counterpart in low-power-distance cultures. Successful learning is thus stimulated by a two-way mutual communication approach and depends on both parties (Cortina et al. 2017; Hofstede 2011; Rienties and Tempelaar 2013; Sugahara and Boland 2010).
This notion is very interesting in the light of Italy's assigned value of 50 for Power Distance, which puts it in the middle position between Germany (35) and Romania (90), and the critical assessment of the Italian educational system respectively compared to the Romanian and German school organisation. Accordingly, the majority remarks teaching methods that focus rather on knowledge acquisition than training or cultivation and thus provide for theory-laden input without practical reference. Against obverse assumptions, the latter is surprisingly often assessed positively from a comparative perspective to Germany.

(SG3) The school is a great transmitter of knowledge, maybe a little too much, the students have to learn a lot, but (...). But I rarely met people who know as much as Italians, those who were doing well at school. Even now, when I go to the museum with my daughter (...) I find it fascinating what she knows from her schooling (...) how she can explain cultural things with the knowledge she obtained in school. (…) Currently my daughter is doing an exchange at a German Gymnasium (…) She says they only discuss in the German class, nothing else is done. Somehow, she would have hoped to do and learn something else. (…) I believe that a German school may actually have deviated from this pure imparting of knowledge and somehow wants to convey more and other things...it's more liberal, but I think it maybe made the German school a little too easy.

Most SG3 study participants further criticize the excessive amount of homework and the administrative organisation of the Italian school system, which represents in turn one of the reasons for the massive after-school workload, other than the applied methodological principles. The long vacation terms must be compensated by an increased work load during the school term.

(SG3) I do not agree at all with the amount of homework. Firstly, it ruins their life and secondly, the social differences come out even more ... because if you don't have a background, you don't do any homework and then you stay even more behind.

(SG3) I am not at all that kind of father who would check home works. Actually, at school I complained that there is home work at all, because I believe that the teachers are paid to convey the contents to the children in the time they have available. And I think that today it is much more important that the children have time in family, where you do something together, so homework should not be the main focus…

With regard to the Romanian counter group, it can be generally noted that the majority is very satisfied with the Italian school system as far as concerns the transmission of knowledge and the request of personal efforts in both contexts, in and after school.
However, with respect to teaching methodology and grading, several respondents criticise a lack of transparency within the evaluation system. The importance of formal evaluation and the need for uniformity and structure to avoid uncertainty (cf. Ch. 2.3.2 and Ch. 5) is underlined by the following excerpt of a SG2 study participant:

(SG2) Here in Italy, when you are in Kindergarten you have a certain approach. When you go to elementary school, the settings change, when you go to middle school again. And when you go to high school even more. And the university is just another world. So, it's not a very coherent system in my opinion. One has to understand how it works and adapt. It depends too much on teachers. What I struggled the most with here is that the evaluation system for children is not uniform, it is personal, it depends on the teacher, it is not objective. (…) There [in Romania] the rating system for example it much easier to understand. If you do what you are asked to do, if you satisfy all the requests you have the highest grade. If you don't, they take away points. It is not the same in Italy.

This example represents the general positive attitude of most SG1 and SG2 interviewees towards the Romanian pre-and post-reform Romanian educational system. This is considered very hard and selective, in particular for the transition to secondary school and higher education ("*If you want a good faculty in Bucharest, you must be close to perfection*", SG2). Own socialisation experiences and partial upbringing of their children in the (post-reform) Romanian educational system have presumably grounded the tendency towards a strong and strict study ethos and methodologies. Cortina et. al (2017) corroborate this notion from a comparative perspective between Western and Eastern cultures: "While the widespread opinion in the West is that learning should be an enjoyable experience in its own right, Eastern cultures tend to emphasize the austerity of the learning process and the joy that comes from reaching the aspired educational goal."
In this vein, the following quote from a SG1 respondent underlines the personal preferences of education when referring to the chosen school for her son in Italy:

(SG1) It is an excellent school, very hard, as we like it, so in this way the kids must study.

A differentiated vision of work load implies also different expectations for the roles of the protagonists in and out of the class room. Accordingly, the educator in a power-distant learning scenario is considered to have an omni-comprehensive knowledge base, that is not put in question and highly respected in contrast to rather low hierarchical structures among students and educators in low-power distant cultures (Sugahara and Boland 2010). Even though these rather polarising descriptions and images appear hyperbolic and overstated they have been partly corroborated by respondents and their memory of authority in their own childhood (SG1), their preferences to avoid ambiguous situations and their corresponding view of educators in formal learning environments today (SG2):

(SG1) Perhaps there was too much respect for authority. (…) When we grew up we were taught to obedient to the authorities. One thing that here in Italy is much less pronounced. Here everyone does quite as they please and authority is truly relative. So, there is a cultural difference from this point of view. (…) However, it was easier somehow. In the moment that there was mutual respect and respect for authority you had actually a more linear world to operate. Instead here [in Italy] it depends very much on the person.

(SG2) If I tell my daughter something and she replies: but the teacher said another thing, I make her do what the teacher said. I don't insist on my point because I want her to respect what the teacher said. Because if it is something that is closely related to the school you must respect what the teacher said.

When it comes to parental involvement in the knowledge acquisition process two patterns appear for the German target group. Parents, especially if professional teachers themselves, separate both roles rather consequently:

(SG3) I don't convey that much myself, I express my opinion, but I don't really convey knowledge now, she learns that at school. (...) At home I am not a teacher.

However, the other rather apparent tendency, frequently observed also for Romanian parents, goes toward compensation of contents and skills that are not covered by the school curricula or that countervail the child's interest and advancement compared to peers in school. Accordingly, formal knowledge is conveyed rather informally (cf. Ch. 6.3) at home by the parents:

(SG3) [Transmission of formal knowledge], I leave that to the school above all, also because my son already brings a lot by himself. So, we actually have the problem that he is a little underchallenged in school and I then try to balance what the school neglects. For example, mathematics, he really enjoys mathematics. And then we do it playfully at home (...) without a plan, without a program, without books or something, but rather playfully.

Regarding interaction with the teacher and involvement of the parent as protagonist of the educational scenario outside school, it can be observed that there is a stronger tendency for participation of the Romanian study participants opposed to their German counter respondents. Accordingly, support with after-school work, either by parents or externally, and the implementation of control and information mechanisms, such as electronic diaries, are assessed quite differently, as exemplified by the following excerpts:

(SG1) I was very happy [with the chosen school in Italy], but I looked also after my son. If I didn't see grades in the diary, I called the teacher, I called the piano teacher, I called the math teacher because I knew he had problems.

(SG3) There is no tutoring, it's my daughter's responsibility. But that's a conscious decision, you should do it yourself. If she needs help, she can ask, but otherwise it's up to her. (…) [In school] I have to check, because I always have to sign ... and now in the Liceo it is total surveillance, so I have to check everything on the website, I know if she was too late, I know if she had an entry ... I don't have to talk to my daughter anymore. (…) I don't think it's good at all, because I think it leads to a lack of independence. I want my daughter to grow up, and that includes her becoming independent from me, and that also includes making mistakes.

This leads to the question of value transmission and the assumed responsibility of school and home context for its conveyance. Traditionally, school plays a major role in the socialisation process and is thus actively involved in the life course shaped through the migratory experience (Colombo and Santagati 2014, Ricucci 2010). Independence and autonomy have been repeatedly mentioned indicators that are considered essential for the individual development by all study participants. The second indicator of the implemented small-scale survey thus asked if value and norm transmission as part of socialisation should be central responsibility of the school.
As Arnett (1995: 618) emphasises "the heart of socialisation lies in the boundaries that cultures set on the development of individuals". It thus underlies the expectations of and interaction with others in society, that define and legitimize a value and norm system. Individuals learn these social expectations in earliest childhood and adapt them through parental and institutional guidance accordingly. Subsequently, the individual's attachment and relation with familial and institutional components influence socialisation processes accordingly, which renders it in turn context-and culture bound (*Ibid.*). As "schools define an institutional context where power distance (i.e., social hierarchy) shapes social relationships" (Cortina et al. 2017: 8), it can be presumed that experienced value and norm transmission, a role distribution and delegation of responsibilities in school are represented in the parental expectations for own children.
Both country groups (SG1, SG2 and SG3) placed value and norm transmission as part of the socialisation process to acquire certain behaviour and belief systems (Arnett 1995) on third position. However, there was a substantial difference in weighted importance notable. Accordingly, respondents from Romanian mixed couples (SG2) ranked this indicator much lower than their national peers with Romanian partners (SG1) and the German SG3.

Tab. 6.2: Responsibility of school_values and norms

Value and norm transmission	SG1	SG2	SG3
	4,71	3,4	3,75

Arnett (*Ibid.)* defines three main goals of the socialisation process, which are firstly impulse control, secondly, a future role preparation with regard to occupation, gender etc., and thirdly the creation of a value system and thus a framework for priorities in life.
In general, all respondent groups consider a consolidated set of values and norms, which translates in socially accepted good behaviour and decent manners in formal and informal situations, as important soft skills (*"They are very important…they are the key to the world, you have to know how to behave"* SG3).
On this account, most Romanian respondents confirm along core values such as altruism and diligence also an utmost importance allocated to obedience and respect for elderly in all social environments and milieus, and had been legitimised by both, school and family.

(SG1) For us school and the parents were on the same level, it was the same culture. You had to walk straight, to study, to obey and to respect. But respect not only for the person in front of you… respect for the parents, for the school, for teachers, respect for nature, respect for everything around what has built by somebody.

Even though the majority of Romanian respondents are convinced that school and family should closely collaborate within primary and secondary socialisation and rely on the same principles, they also maintain that socialisation and value creation should occur in first place in family. Indeed, several respondents refer to a common expression in Romania, stating that the first seven years are

the most important in life for education, as this is the time when "you learn everything". The timespan from birth to the 7th year of life refers to the pre-school timespan, which did not require obligatory instruction (cf. Ch. 3) and which consequently spent most respondents from SG1 and SG2 within their families. One SG1 respondents exemplifies this credo and tells why she re-organised the school attendance of her child in order to stick to her personal value system and priorities:

(SG1) (...) first of all [transmission of values occurs] in the family. That is also the reason why I have not left my children, when they attended elementary school, eating in the canteen for three years. I noticed that they really lacked good manners. And I said: it appears that in school they do not look at this aspect. It was not easy, because I had to run, take them to school in the morning, run to work, run to pick them up in the lunch break, take them home, prepare something to eat for them and then take them back to school. (...) for three years this was not easy, but I would say that I gained a lot in education.

It appears that major responsibility is charged to family, even though surveillance and involvement of school is also expected.
The German counter group located the transmission of values and rules generally in family, which should be however corroborated through interaction in school.
As transnational social spaces assume the existence of transnational networks, which in turn change traditional reference frames for interaction (Fürstenau 2016), all interviewees were asked if school should function as facilitator for network construction for their children but also for parents. The item was generally rated very important and necessary by all sample groups with 4,09 as average value from SG1 and SG2 compared to a value of 4,0 from the German responders.

Tab. 6.3: Responsibility of school_network

Network building	**SG1**	**SG2**	**SG3**
	4,17	4,0	4,0

However, there can be observed several differences among both target groups.
Firstly, German respondents tend to put central importance into a parental network built at school. It must be noted in this context, that this assumption is even more evident for parents who send their children to international schools, that reveal a high share of other foreign, often German, parents. In this vein, school represents a hub of expats that offers "*a very colorful mix of lots of interesting people who are interesting for various reasons*" (SG3), that encounters other than the children's also the parent's need for inclusion, integration and cultural exchange in the host society. The bi-national and -cultural parental couple encounter thus not only families with similar constellations and trajectories but have also the possibility to change perspective within the transnational and cross-cultural milieu.
One particular example for this kind of milieu is the Spinelli School in Turin that has been founded as comprehensive European international educational project, operating since 1996. The public schooling institution includes all classes from primary to secondary education and is enclosed to the public ("European") Kindergarten that follows the same principle, i.e. focus on multilinguistic and intercultural instruction, with particular focus on German, French and English. It presents an exceptional project for transnational careers, that is usually not offered by state schools (*Ibid.*). All school levels, from Kindergarten to elementary-, middle, and high school are located in the same neighbourhood and trigger accordingly other decisions to move. Indeed, it has been noted that children and schooling render a social network more important on the one hand, facilitate its construction on the other hand and may further stimulate "residential clustering" (Scott 2019). This

has been the case for one SG3 interviewee who refers to the school project as very happy circumstance to build a longstanding network, which goes beyond acquaintance status.

(SG3) When we entered to this European kindergarten, for me, so actually for me, not even for the child, but for me personally, a world opened up. After a little while we moved here to this area (...) and that's when I started to build up a social network of friends, which was very important for me personally because (...) we don't have any grandparents here who provide support in any way.

A further example how school may impact amplify existing nets and cross-link contacts is exemplified by another SG3 respondent:

(SG3) Later through school we got to know more and more Germans and then several friends (...) also married Germans. In this respect, a small German clique has already established itself, it is very well networked, we all like each other very much.

On the other hand, most German respondents consider school a central location for their children to establish networks, even though other possibilities for contact-building located in non-formal and informal learning, are considered equally valid and important.
Also, Romanian respondents consider school one of the major locations for their kids when it comes to building friendships. The majority reports that their children did not have experienced discrimination at any time of their stay in school, partly due to a stable network that they had established with their classmates. A preference for class composition is always multi-ethnical and multi-cultural with a stable share of non-foreigners and Italian nationals. One reason for this is the missing participation of foreign parents in class events, discussions and thus a lack of interaction.
The reference to foreign and national students opens also the discussion on the fourth and last indicator of a potential function of school. The transmission of tradition and culture as integral part of the hard and soft curriculum was ranked the second most important role of school from the Romanian respondent groups (4,29 on average), whereas considered slightly more important by the SG1 compared to their binational peer-groups SG2.

Tab. 6.4: Responsibility of school_tradition and culture

Transmission of tradition and culture	SG1	SG2	SG3
	4,36	4,20	3,33

In contrast, the importance of conveying tradition and culture, which implicates also religion in part, within the schooling context was ranked on the last position by the German sample group. Interestingly, this finding reflects the role of religion for the Romanian and German sample groups in everyday life (cf. Ch. 3.3.2). Indeed, several German respondents emphasised that in particular religious education and value transmission should not be part of the school curriculum and mission. On contrast, Romanian respondents are rather favourable to spiritual education, as expected from prior notions on the Romanian religious affiliation, and to the transmission of traditions and customs.

(SG3) Traditions yes, because in any case if children are part of a nation, or live in a nation, they must feel part of that nation. Religion, yes, because in any case I am a believer and I find that Christian teachings (...) are important because it helps both brotherhood, tolerance, altruism and love for the others. It gives healthy principles for growth.

With respect to traditions and cultures, there is a preference for dialogue between cultures in school. Several respondents from both country groups maintain that the curriculum in school should consider civic education a compulsory subject that entails education on multiethnicity and exchange about different cultures and religions, and which should also actively involve students:

(SG3) It is nice when children become ambassadors, in the sense that the tradition they experience at home is also actively represented in class.

This section has considered parental expectations towards schooling contexts with particular reference to four pre-defined indicators. It turns out that knowledge transmission is generally the central responsibility delegated to school. In general, it appears that expected and appreciated methodologies applied in school for skill and competence training differ in the amount of input, after-school workload and amount of time dedicated to school in general. Especially Romanian interviewees from both sample groups evidence the need for collaboration between parents and school, which refers in particular to common guidelines, principles and priorities for value transmission.

6.1.2 The importance of educational capital

Skills acquisition and training are attended by skills recognition, which has received increased attention in the latest decades on European socio-political level (cf. Ch. 2.2.2). Considering the manifold implications of recognition when it comes to learning and training (Werquin 2010), corresponding acknowledgements may also occur informally, i.e. the registration that learning has taken place, in corresponding environments (e.g. family) or in a rather formal way by institutions. The formal recognition of education through institutionalised cultural capital in form of academic titles in turn, certificates or records contributes to the economic value of the labour force, self-recognition and in collectivistic societies additionally also to social acceptance and praise (Hofstede 1993). This is confirmed by several respondents from SG1 and SG2 who recall performance awarding at the end of each school in Romania term as common and important practice for recognition and social tribute in their own infancy.

(SG1) We received always awards in school, we were always good examples for the other how we were kept clean and polite and for our excellent school results. My brothers, actually one of them, always took the first award.

Socialisation experiences and familial habitus appear to be central for the formulation of own priorities towards educational and institutionalised cultural capital. Indeed, responses of all three sample groups reveal a rather linear development of own thought patterns and attitudes towards academic titles. These are rooted in value transmission received from own parents and society, and the consequent own educational trajectory, as the following examples from all sample groups show.

(SG1) Among all 10 siblings in my family, 7 are graduates. We come from parents with relatives with very high functions. (…) For me, the study is the most important part in education. I think that this describes the real prosperity…and not a house or a car that you by for your child…Give him the opportunity to study…with a degree he can have whatever he wants.

(SG2) For us, as children, it [school] had always been our job. The maximum ideal was: you go to university, then you do the job you like and you are fulfilled. (…) my father was an Engineer (…) it

was a common thing in Romania, at the educational level. Who was doing good in school, had to do the faculty, because otherwise it was a waste. (…) Of course, I would like them [my children] to do so. (…) I think that for a person, study is fundamental. Also continuing studies. Because that gives you a chance to open your mind. In my opinion it is one of the fundamental traits that we have. But this is not so much shared by my children. (…) I was unable to convey this importance to them. They give more importance to themselves and their well-being, which is not related to the study.

The social value and appreciation of institutionalised capital in pre-1989 Romania is well-recalled and also projected into present. Educational capital in form of academic titles represents accordingly a conventional, legally guaranteed and enduring certification for cultural competence (Bourdieu 1983) and is in line with a tendency towards high uncertainty avoidance (cf. Ch. 2 and 5) accordingly appreciated by the Romanian sample group. Accordingly, it can be observed a very high degree of attention for school success and participation and the corresponding sensibility for qualifications, which is also corroborated by other studies (Ricucci 2010).
However, for mixed couples, there seems to be less necessity of academic titles in formal education than for the counter SG1. The interplay of family and education represent one of the most important instruments for integration into society in thought and behavioural patterns of the transnational families (Ambrosini 2008; Bonizzoni 2007; Ricucci 2010). This, but also a presumably lower overall uncertainty avoidance index (Hofstede 2001, 2011) in mixed families may explain less rigidity for formal educational capital.

(SG1) My father was a manager in a large company, and then my mom worked in a bank. In those days in Romania, before the revolution, the title was very important, it offered you a higher social position. The money didn't matter so much, so it wasn't the financial aspect, but it was the respect you had if you had a higher degree. (…) It was very important. And we also passed this on to our son (...) My son is studying at the university and (...) I want him to become an excellent engineer, to follow his dad (...).

(SG2) Now as a mother I am very torn apart. If you are an idiot, the title is worth nothing. (…) I want her to study, but not because she has to get good grades. I want her to be reasonable and to reflect things.

The same linear tendency for the allocation of importance to institutional capital works also in a reverse form, if formal instruction and titles did not play a central role, as the following citation exemplifies. The SG3 transnational parents have both pursued an academic career, even though the respondent was not pushed to it by her family.

(SG3) [School and academic titles had] Very little, almost no meaning. My parents were both workers, and I'm the first in the family who went to a university and that was already the maximum they could have ever imagined.

Thus, education and cultural capital are not necessarily linked to school and academic titles for the respondents. The latter are indeed rather envisaged as means to an end on the path to self-realisation, in which institutionalised capital may be converted and employed according to the Bourdieusian (1983) concept.

(SG3) [For me] *Academia and academic titles actually have no meaning in terms of content, but it is rather that they open doors. So, and that's what they're there for, like keys. When I step into a house*

with them, then I have to see for myself what to get out of it. So that means I get opportunities through grades and titles and which ones I then actually take is a completely different question.

In a similar vein, the attitude of an SG3 respondent towards institutionalised capital assumes a rather applied approach to education and corresponding credentials, and appreciation of vocational training. It is repeatedly confirmed by another SG3 study participant that approaches to formal education and aligned certification are rooted in the own trajectory and life course. Following on a prior vocational training, the respondent completed secondary school and university education afterwards. Building on “migrant-specific capital” (Erel 2010) the emigre established a career in a multinational company and works today in a managerial position. Academic titles have a relative meaning for him:

(SG3) I actually don't care about titles. (...) I'm also a graduated engineer (...) In Italy the title of the ‘Ingegnere’ is almost sacred. I recently told the secretary: ‘Okay, I'm an engineer, but you can leave out the title.’ Because you are simply an engineer, either you have it or you don't have it.

Interestingly, even though all respondents confirm that educational decisions are commonly agreed and taken by both caregivers, the significance of education and related capital is always outlined from a self-perspective. Thus, parental couples with differing academic qualifications or trajectories have different opinions on their importance and are exposed to a continuous negotiation when it comes to decision-making processes, such as for the school choice (Reay 2004). This issue will be treated in the following section.

6.1.3 Decision-making indicators and processes for school choice

Drawing on international research (Contini and Azzolini 2016; Trevena et al. 2016) that inquired parental strategies for school-related choices in transnational families it can be presumed that decisions on formal educational institutions are grounded in personal priority sets. Those are subject to multiple external and internal (familial) factors, among which social status, culture, own socialisation and educational experience, available capital sources and existing networks which condition random or informed choices. The last issue is crucial, especially if decisions for educational (formal) institutions must be taken at the beginning upon arrival in the new host context, as most migrants face a double-sided integration challenge: the integration into the host community, and to the own ethnic community in the country of destination (King and Lulle 2016). Both networks are crucial to establish bridging and bonding capital (Putnam 2000) to stimulate the exchange of information and to reinforce identities and solidarity, which is presumed to have a substantial impact on educational choices and the definition of preferences. Indeed, the majority of study participants of both national groups confirms that information provided by informal contacts and networks contributed significantly to their choice of school.
However, the network constellation is central for the transmission of information, options and provide for different dynamics within priority-forming and decision-making processes (*Ibid.*). Whereas mixed families create a stock of new capital that bridges both cultural backgrounds and requires thus a continuous negotiation of codes and policies within family, transnational families with the same national background would rather strengthen “in-group loyalty”.
From a comparative analysis of both Romanian sample groups it appears that all SG1 families have chosen public institutions for their children, starting from pre-school education to high school. Logistics are the main indicator for choice.

On contrast, 4 out of 5 study participants from SG2 decided for semi-private or private educational institutions for their children. As "school represents the passepartout to understand how the socio-economic integration paths are oriented" (Ricucci 2010: 120) it appears that this discrepancy roots on the one hand in economic on the other hand in social capital available to the parents. In line with the migration motivation and trajectory of SG1 participants, it is hence presumed that the combination of financial means, habitus and corresponding network builds the choices and decisions of the parents. It appears that these indicators may be further shaped by the transnational familial composition and thus the merge of different socio-cultural backgrounds that contribute to corresponding choices and decisional strategies. In this regard, Fürstenau's (2016: 75) notion that "the state school is an institution which, in the context of the emergence of nation-states in the nineteenth century, contributed to the construction of national communities through cultural homogenisation, and which traditionally adheres to the norms of the nation-state" seems to be relevant. Accordingly, this rather nationalistic imprint and approach create categories of traditional students, to which children, who grow up in a transnational context and dispose accordingly different cultural capital stocks compared to those who don't, do not comply (*Ibid.*). As a result, private and transnational oriented learning environments present additional, tailor-made solutions for families that dispose the necessary economic means.
Most SG1 and SG2 parents underline the importance of activities in school that go beyond playing in pre-school and beyond formal learning in school. Again, Romanian respondents confirm the significance of knowledge input and early learning, as exemplified by the following excerpt, told by a SG2 respondent, who explains her expectations for pre-school:

(SG2) For me, the child's serenity was mainly important, what they eat, the activities they did (…) But there, they did nothing but colour, cut out… I would have wanted that they learned a foreign language. (...) I would have liked that they did more sports (...) But I would bring him to all the activities outside of the kindergarten. When talking within my neighbourhood, I actually have a very bad opinion about public schools. (...) in comparison, I find that in the school where my son goes, despite the tuition I pay, students are more disciplined, they study more, they are far ahead…

As the Romanian respondents, also German study participants can be divided into two groups for the choice of educational institutions. The preference of SG3 study participants is clearly given to public institutions for economic and ideological reasons.
Approximately half of the study sample send their children to the priory mentioned public Spinelli "European" School. With the focus on German language and culture, the possibility of study exchanges with Germany, and the option to receive corresponding German titles, the Spinelli School represents for many German transnational families an attractive solution and provides additionally a network with other (German) transnationals.

(SG3) I didn't want to send my children to a private or the American school. It was important to me, and I would do it the same way again, the children go to a local school. The positive thing about the Spinelli School is that they still have this additional German branch. But I would never send my children to private schools in order to stay in this [exclusive] environment. I think it is important for them to live the local life and to be also educated according to the standard and national context where we live.

Whereas most SG3 families have a clearly defined national context of residence, one transnational migrant family lives in Italy and approximately 4 months per year in Germany. The chosen lifestyle is grounded in the parent's professional affiliation, that allows for a certain flexibility of residence.

Indeed, the choice of the educational institution for their children was one opportunity to change in-family mobility patterns and residence. Considerations of class status and related "migration-specific capital" (Erel 2010) determined the decisional strategies of this SG3 transnational family who thought for a long time whether their children should go to school in Germany or Italy:

(SG3) When the children go to the foreign school here [in Turin], they have a completely different environment that they encounter than the other way around. (…) My migration background here is completely different from the migration background someone has who goes to Germany for whatever reason and goes to a foreign school in Germany because their children want to speak their native language.

The local, public Spinelli school, that has a focus on foreign language training, welcomes up to 40% of foreign students, i.e. children with at least one parent of German, French or English nationality, in their school. Accordingly, the status of an Italian school is maintained by the obligatory frequency of at least 60% Italian students (or other nationalities), but the status as international learning environment is held up by the other ceiling. Accordingly, it serves as gatekeeper to reconfirm class and national status as well as cultural prestige in the host context. These dynamics are however not transnationally transportable, which may impact accordingly educational preferences by transnational migrant families.
The other part of the SG3 study sample tends to choose other public schools, which are mainly selected due to logistic convenience and also based mainly on information received from the personal network. It is repeatedly confirmed by the majority of German respondents that private schooling is associated with an exclusive, privileged and protective learning environment. One mother from SG3 describes her decision against a private institution as follows:

(SG3) We didn't want them to grow up in such a sheltered environment. We wanted them to be confronted with all the advantages and disadvantages that school brings along…restless students, (...) boring teachers, so that they don't experience such a selected environment, which actually has nothing to do with reality.

Only one SG3 respondent deviated from the majority trend for decisions related to the compulsory schooling. The German-French transnational family decided for a private French school for his children, even though they had started with the European Kindergarten, and thus bilingual education in German and Italian. The decision to switch to a private school was rooted in the parent's nationality and downshifted other decisional indicators, such as logistics. As migration had occurred for labour opportunities, both parents were newly introduced into the Italian educational system and also lacked proficiency in Italian. Accordingly, educational support with formal learning, as increasingly requested by school today, and cultural rooting played an important role for the final decision of the adequate school:

(SG3) That was a difficult decision (...) the question was whether we should continue with the European school (...) or whether we should take a completely normal local school, where we could also safe time with the logistics, or whether we should choose the French school. We looked at a few schools (...) the decision to go to the French school had also to do with the fact that we thought we would like to give the children a cultural, traditional root that at least plays a role in one of our cultural contexts. And that that also from home we would be able to give support.

The final decision was challenging, as the school "*that had been frequented for decades by the Turin Bourgeoisie*" *(SG3)* is perceived rather elitist, where children are pushed to academic performance and highly-stimulated to engage in extra-scholastic activities.

With regard to post-compulsory school term or the final stage of upper secondary education, several SG3 respondents considered the option to send their children to boarding schools for the sake of foreign language instruction, experiences abroad and cosmopolitan education opportunities.

(SG3) What we could imagine would be (...) a one or two year stay in a boarding school, in a school abroad. (...) maybe two years in Germany, there are good boarding schools in Switzerland or in England. (…) I think at one point we are naturally developing in a direction where all distances no longer play a role. That means you have to feel at home everywhere and wherever you are. In this respect, I think (...) that it makes perfect sense that a process of cutting off the cord takes place so slowly where you say that you are there for 2 years now, or 1 year in boarding school. Of course, you can do this in an international context, where you can improve the languages. (…) We don't want to take care of our children until they retire, as customary in Italy, and neither the other way around, but we want them to stand on their own two feet very quickly.

The consideration of a study period abroad as driver towards soft (independence, autonomy) and hard skill (linguistic knowledge) acquisition is thus part of intra-familial negotiations on investments of the children's and parent's future. Culture-and context-bound images play along as indicators for diversity due to the status of transnational family.
It appears that the role of capital forms (Bourdieu 1983) for educational decisions change or are inverted over time and in relation to the educational stage, as priority sets change or a differently pronounced, as for example the acquisition of foreign language skills.

Whereas this section considered preferences and delegations allocated to school as formal learning environment from the parental perspective, the next subchapter reflects its role, the significance of institutional cultural capital and priorities for school choice from an institutional view.

6.1.4 Excursus: Transnational formal learning environments

The preceding sections focused on preferences and delegations to the formal education (environment) and considered transnational parents in the host context who have implemented a more or less accentuated transnational educational model.
Drawing on one of the grounding assumptions of this work, namely that circulating mobility may be favoured and promoted through mutual collaboration between home and host context towards synergizing transnational capital, a shift of perspective deemed relevant. Transnational education is rather often provided and supported by international (private) schools for qualified migrant families and "appears to be reserved for social elites" (Fürstenau 2016: 72). It thus compensates and adds elements that are often lacked in traditional schooling contexts (*Ibid.).* In order to complete the picture of this subchapter, it was thus retained useful to firstly include an institutional view from a transnational educational environment towards parental decisions. Secondly, it seemed necessary to put the lens to the sending context that might (re)transform to a receiving country, in case of return migration.
In line with these assumptions, this last section presents a comparative analysis on the Romanian-Italian School "Aldo Moro" located in Bucharest and the German-Italian School "Leonardo da Vinci" in Munich. Both private schools represent exceptional pedagogical projects that focus on bilingual

and transnational learning and teaching; they are unique in their concept in the Balkan states and in Germany.

Image 6.1 Scuola Italiana Aldo Moro, Bucarest

Source: Photo taken by the researcher

Image 6.2 Deutsch-Italienische Schule Leonardo da Vinci, Munich

Source: Photo provided by the school

The following data presented has been retrieved from semi-structured interviews that have been conducted with staff from the Leonardo da Vinci School and the Italian-Romanian School in Bucharest; all respondents are of Italian origin and have been emigrated to Germany and Romania respectively several years ago.

Fig. 6.3: Principal characteristics of both schooling institutions

	Scuola Italiana Bucarest Aldo Moro, Romania	*Leonardo da Vinci Schule München, Germany*
Status	Private	Private
Foundation	1975	2013
Financing	Small subventions from the Italian State, tuition fees	Sponsored by German organisations and local companies, tuition fees
Education cycles	Primary and Secondary education (up to Gymnasium)	Primary and Secondary education (up to Gymnasium)
Cost	2.000-4.000€ (depending on educational level)	3.600-5.100€ (depending on educational level)
Language of instruction	Italian	bilingual (German/Italian)
Students	120	208
Staff	Romanian/Italian	German/Italian
Class composition	Mostly Italian-Romanian and Romanian families	Italian-, German-, bilingual-and mixed (transnational) families
Parental motivation	Skill training (towards study abroad), family in Italy, educational system, maintaining ties with Italy	School system, linguistic preferences, maintaining of language and culture

Source: data provided by the respondents

Whereas the Italian school Aldo Moro looks back on a tradition of almost 50 years in the Bucharest context, the Leonardo da Vinci school has been founded only a few years ago. Both institutions offer the entire educational cycle from elementary school to the gymnasium and pursue different linguistic policies for instruction. Whereas the Aldo Moro school teaches exclusively in Italian, which is facilitated by linguistic proximity to the Romanian language, the Leonardo da Vinci School in Munich maintains a bilingual concept that envisages Italian and German as languages for

instruction. These strategic decisions are also reflected in the mission of the institutions, that are relatively Italo-centric for the Romanian school and rather internationally straightened for the German-Italian school, that never aimed to be "a school that is only intended for Italians (…) and is therefore also of interest to German families". Drawing on this institutional mission and the envisaged target groups of students, the school aligns external educational collaborations accordingly with South Tyrol, as region where German and Italian is spoken, and with diverse European countries besides Italy, "*otherwise it would be too one-sided*".
On the opposite, the Romanian peer school focuses on international study exchanges with Italy or they visit schools abroad, which are however transnational Italian schools. Regular staff trainings and updates are provided for the teachers by experts in the educational field from Italy.
In line with this, result according economic maintenance politics and measures. Whereas the Leonardo-da-Vinci School is economically sustained by local German companies[3], the Romanian school receives small subventions from the Italian state and auto-finances its activities with tuition fees.
Within these premises, both schools differ distinctively in terms of student population and parental motivations for their enrolment. This is conditioned to a significant extent by the diverse mobility patterns and social structure in the countries.
Accordingly, the Aldo-Moro School hosts mainly Italian-Romanian mixed families on the one hand, and children with both Romanian parents on the other hand, with a rising tendency in the last years. Many of the Romanian parents want to maintain the link with the family members who migrated to Italy, because "*maybe there is the cousin who doesn't speak Romanian at all, because his parents have spoken in Italian ever since they moved, and they don't understand each other if they go to see them*". Other parents have already spent a certain time in Italy and think about to return in the near future or to send their children to study and want to prepare them accordingly.
In particular parents who have experienced also other educational systems or whose children had unpleasant experiences in Romanian schools choose the Romanian-Italian institution due to its inclusive character. The respondent describes the Romanian school in general as "*very competitive where the vote counts a lot".* In this vein, students with learning difficulties are rather separated than integrated, which brings an additional pressure to both, students and parents.

(EDU) Teens are often anxious and stressed. They just want a 9 or a 10[4]. I came with my background and gave rather low marks, because a 9 or 10 didn't match the demands, and they rebelled. They did not accept it. (…) It seems that only the end counts, the goal, and they want to achieve it by any means ... and here we talk about corruption among others.

A few children of Italian families are enrolled due to temporary working activities of their parents in Romania, who prefer to insert their offspring in the same educational system of their home country to facilitate the integration upon their return to Italy.
The school does indeed design curricula upon indications of the Italian Ministry of Education and provides thus for learning contents and academic titles that are recognised in Italy. This institutional decision has a positive and a negative effect on student registrations. On the one hand "*Many enrol their children because they believe that the Italian school system is still a valid system, at least for primary school, which forms the basis to continue eventually their studies then in Italy*".

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[3] https://www.ldv-muenchen.de/it/la-nostra-scuola/sponsor.html
[4] The referential framework is the Italian grade system on a 10 point-scale, with 6 points being the minimum to pass an exam.

On the other hand, it affects especially the choices of international (qualified) migrant families negatively and thus also the international character of the institution. Families that stay in Romania for a limited amount of time, due to professional motivations, normally prefer one of the international schools in Bucharest. As they envisage constant local transfers, they prioritise English as language of instruction and a multicultural learning environment to facilitate the integration of their children in other national contexts.

There is a high fluctuation in the "school of passage" as called by the interviewee, because class and faculty composition are tightly linked to parents', spouses' or even own mobility of the students and teachers. Parents' decisions to leave the country are often rooted in professional motivations. Whereas in the 1990s a significant share of Italians came to Romania for business (Vacaru 2013) several investments were made by themselves and Romanians. However, the lack of qualified staff who speaks Italian represents a substantial barrier for ongoing business relations, and one of the reasons for relocation of investors and their kids accordingly.

On contrast, as anticipated priory, the student population of the Leonardo-da-Vinci-School represents a more international and diversified picture. The respondent indicates indeed that approximately half of the students come from German/Italian transnational families, and one third have both Italian parents. The residual 20% are shared in equal parts by German students (both parents of German origin) and mixed families with diverse nationalities. Whereas the latter refers to students coming from national contexts where "*Italian plays a major role or where Italian is considered the language of the elite, which for example the case in South-America*", German families send their children predominantly for "lifestyle" and structural preferences. These include the fondness for the Italian language and culture as "*families spend their summer vacation in Italy or have a residence there*" and the appreciation of the continuous and integrated educational cycles. The German-Italian School envisages a transfer from primary to secondary education without exam, which provides a system of continuity for the families. Accordingly, the school has observed by now a relatively low fluctuation among students, even though this data is relative due to the short existence of the institution and must be confirmed on a later point in time.

The data provided by the interviewees allowed for a comparative analysis of the transnational schooling contexts. Due to the different socio-economic structure in both countries and the thus resulting diversity in mobility and migration patterns both schools have different targets. It appeared a strong interrelation between the mission of the schools and their applied strategies for attracting the targeted student population, such as linguistic policies, school system, school activities etc. Interesting in this regard was how diversified the role of Italy on socio-cultural, economic and political level is, holding a central role in the Romanian context and a rather subordinated in Germany. Data further evidenced the strong correlation between parental decisions for the formal educational milieu and familial lifestyle and preferences and show the strong interdependency with their mobility projects. It is further noted that transnational education in formal contexts goes beyond student formation but clearly affects also parental dispositions, thought patterns and familial habitus. Exemplified by the discourse on grading, expectations on performance assessment and importance of formal evaluation, students not only convey socio-cultural thought-and behavioural patterns but expose at the same time in-family socialised values and norms. As Hofstede (1986: 301) already outlined in his research more than 30 years ago, "teacher and student are an archetypal role pair in virtually any society. When teacher and student come from different cultures (…) many perplexities can arise." Within the realms of possibility, transnational education means thus also a change of perspective and a questioning of existing structures that affects students and their parents.

6.2 Non-formal learning in after-school organisations

This section draws on the assumption that family is embedded in an institutional role system that determines hierarchies, functions of its members and thus their interaction. This role system is defined by society (*Ibid.*) and family as facilitator for non-formal learning is correspondingly strongly context-bound.
Non-formal training can occur in a number of arrangements and contexts, such as at work, in community centres and organisations. For the sake of this study investigations focused on non-formal education in transcultural organisations.
As D'Angelo (2015: 83) remind us associations as "open spaces for socialisation" have a central role for the integration process of migrants in general, and for socio-emotional, economic and cultural aspects linked to the migration in particular, as they promote the interests and culture of the community.
This is a quite particular and evident difference between both samples of Romanian (SG1 and SG2) and German families (SG3). None of the latter was involved in a transcultural organisation, and language and 'cultural' education is mainly pursued by the core family in the host context and by school. Instead, after-school programs were common and integrative part of the educational trajectory in Socialist Romania, as additional motor knowledge transmission, regardless of the social status, as one respondent recalls from her childhood:

(SG2) When we were children we went to an afterschool programme in the village in the afternoon. There were several painting-, sewing-, guitar workshops. The system offered these possibilities to go there for free. And this helped us a lot to learn many things. Here unfortunately you have to pay for everything and this does not seem right. Because there were many people out there…the poor…the rich… They were all the same and had the chance to go there. It helped a lot because in any case there were many people who did not go beyond eighth grade (...) it was a second education after school.

As outlined in Ch. 3 (cf. Ch. 3.3.3) the educational system in Communist Romania was completely centralised and directed to build a strong and efficient workforce. This objective had necessarily repercussions on familial dynamics, whereas long working hours needed to be compensated with efficient child care, in line with the state's ideological objectives (Tagsorean 2017). Accordingly, after-school programs presented a common and efficient measure for state-directed education and formation of the future working class. It can be thus presumed that these experiences in their own socialisation have built the habitus that corroborates the positive attitude of Romanian parents towards non-formal education by organisations.
The transmission and cultivation of the L1 language is delegated by the majority of Romanian respondents to mainly two institutions: firstly, to family, besides the parents often kinship left behind in Romania, usually the children's grandparents, where they spend several months per year; secondly, to transcultural organisations. Outsourcing of language education is thus observable in the daily education, where the offspring participates in after-school programs to acquire competences in their parent's mother tongue. Often, corresponding courses are linked to the involvement in cultural associations, where "young people's identities are polished, sometimes being called into question" and where children can express themselves (Ricucci 2016: 91). Those provide for a targeted educational offer and thus reinforce the transcultural space for the community. Parents, in particular mothers, are often themselves involved on voluntary base in activities of the organisation.

(SG2) I am part of the Italo-Romanian socio-cultural association, where I am volunteering, so I spend my time on a Romanian language workshop for Elementary school children and teach them to write and read in the Romanian language. (…) We also have books and manuals that are sent from the ministry in Bucharest that we use. (…) Also, my children are attending this language workshop.

On contrast for transmission of the L1 language German respondents lean predominantly on formal education in school and training at home. However, several SG3 respondents attach particular importance to the development of writing skills and thus decide for organised training courses in addition to school education.
Foreign language instruction is mostly delegated to the schooling context and part of informal learning arrangements (cf. Ch. 6.3) for what concerns German respondents. The Romanian counter group(s) benefit comparatively more from organised learning units in after-school programs to train foreign languages. Other than that, SG1 and SG2 interviewees report, that also other leisure- and educational activities such as diverse sports, literature or theatre are delegated to after-school organisations or private providers. In contrast to the German respondents, there is an increased interest, necessity and favour for non-formal learning activities to compensate lacunas in the formal system and eventual competence or time lacks in family. It seems from the enquired sample that the interest for extra-curricular formation and the actually implemented activities are particularly high for SG2, which is presumably owed to the differing migration motivation and familial composition, and thus the corresponding capital stocks available to the families.
It turns out that the parents are also interested in the formal recognition, thus certification of the training. Interestingly, choices of activities and interests are often delegated to the children themselves to stimulate the passion for learning, even though final decisions are steered by the parents.

(SG2) She does gymnastics and English. And she does a reading course. For English she takes a course with a native English speaker, privately after school. Now she will also have to take the exam to have her first license. (…) The choices of activities are made by my daughter, last year she did theatre, then she skated. We always choose based on the offer of activities we find. I make sure that she does what she wants but is slightly addressed. (…) [It is important] because it's good for the brain to know. As a language now she has Romanian, Italian, English and she surely will have another language... the average Italian does not understand any English (...)in Romania 90% of people speak at least one other language, if not more.

(SG2) As a child I wanted to play sports, I wanted to do handball, but I was very short. Then I wanted to play the piano, but they didn't have the money to buy the piano for me. Today I actually bought a piano for my daughter. In fact, she studies piano, she takes singing lessons, she has English, she does swimming, she does a lot of things. Everything that I have missed, now she does. But without forcing her. If she does not want to do it, she won't do it. (…) She has an activity every day. Saturday and Sunday, she does homework or we go to the mountains or somewhere else.

It appears that the German counter group has almost contrasting considerations regarding the need for and benefit of different activities in non-formal education through external organisations or private lessons, that should be accordingly limited in quantity.

(SG3) I think a child should not do more than one activity and this activity is done for at least 1 year or 1 season. I just don't want to overwhelm the children, they are sometimes in school until 5 pm.

(SG3) All the activities that are done here, are so that I can put my children somewhere, because I don't have the time right now (...) I think the children here are overloaded with things to do and they are always animated (...) they are not free. A child has to learn English in kindergarten and so on … (…) Our child does 1 activity per week and not more.

German respondents further critically remark the increasing institutionalisation of sport and the emphasis on performance and achievement that is given by formal and non-formal learning environments rather than on recreation and exercise.

(SG3) My mother taught me to swim. Today there is a organised course for every activity… everything is institutionalized.

With regard to content, German respondents clearly prioritise sport as extra-curricular activity, and the majority of children of all interviewed SG3 participants participates in one after-school sports activity. This preference is mainly due to two reasons: firstly, most SG3 parents aim to compensate the perceived school's shortcoming of adequate physical education, secondly, certain sport activities are often chosen in accordance with parent's own hobbies and preferences for their recreation. Several respondents revealed their choices explicitly as strategies to spend time with the family and create a common passion that becomes part of the familial identity.
Another common interest for extra-curricular education is music. A quite common strategy that was observed for the for musical instruction is that parents decide to learn and become trained with their children, i.e. with the same method, timeframe and in the same organisation. Accordingly, choices for methods and contents are even more guided in accordance with the parent's interests for themselves, their prior knowledge and skills bases and capabilities.

(SG3) I love operas, I also take piano lessons now, together with my little daughter.

This section has discussed the significance allocated to non-formal learning activities, the chosen settings and according decisional dynamics. Demarcations of non-formal and informal learning are often blurry and prevent from clear distinctions on where organised, intentional learning ends and when it becomes incidentally (London 2011; Tuschling and Engemann 2006). Indeed, even though projected learning outcomes and objectives in non-formal education may forecast expectations, presumably they won't however delimit the learning experience of the individual to the outlined contents.

6.3. Informal learning in family

Informal learning occurs from experiences and points thus to an unstructured, unintentional, uncertified and non-predictable self-learning process, which is up to the learner's initiative and interest (London 2011; Rogoff et al. 2016). The learner elaborates impressions and information in different areas and thus acquires knowledge and competences from primary experience, which makes informal learning biographical and socio-culturally-dependent. In this vein, the informal learning environment, such as family, may stimulate the apprehension process of the learner with corresponding initiatives and provisions (Dohmen 2001).
The collected data has been analysed following the presumption that the familial constellation (socio-cultural background, parental profession, age and nationality, ethnicity and accordingly familial composition, caretaker roles) have a strong agency on the negotiated familial strategies and priorities for knowledge transmission. The resulting organisation of occasions in designed settings

thus determine the climate and stimulate hence opportunities for informal learning (Rogoff et al. 2016). This assumption will be exemplified and evidenced by the data available on the transmission of language, cultural awareness and civic competences in the host context (which has been outlined regarding its contents and parental motivations in chapter 5).
A distinguished strategy of language use is observable within the intra-familial strategies of the Romanian sample group (SG1). All respondents confirm the priority of learning the host language themselves and transmitting it to their children. This choice is mostly grounded in a profoundly perceived desire for integration in the receiving society. The majority of respondents confirms to speak both languages within family, also following institutional instructions, mostly from teachers, recommending Italian to be the first mother tongue of the child for the sake of successful integration.
Interestingly, even though both parents being Romanian mother tongue speakers, most respondents report that Italian as host country language is also used for conversations in family along with the parental Romanian mother tongue, even though both migrants revealed significant lack of corresponding linguistic competences.
This linguistic dilemma within transnational Romanian families has been critically observed by one SG2 respondent who argues for a consequent bilingual education in family and the focus on the parental mother tongue in the informal learning environment:

(SG2) As Romanian parents tend to not give enough importance to this aspect, children grow up without knowing the Romanian language. (...) They do not transmit the Romanian language, it is a problem in the Romanian community (...) because some parents (...) think that they just come here to make money, they are with their children, they do not have a very accurate life plan. But they get along. And they tell us: But it is more important that (s)he integrate well in school. So, we speak in Italian. And (...) in fact, even with a speech therapist I worked for bilingualism, because this is a false idea. Because as a Romanian, if you speak to your children in Italian, you hardly speak it correctly. So, you don't teach them the Italian language correctly, but they don't learn Romanian either. And some children reach the age of eight or nine and they face problems...

In contrast to the Romanian interviewees of SG2 most German respondents (SG3) reveal that their partners have no or very little knowledge of their spouse's mother tongue, which leads to the establishment of a language hierarchy that is applied in the familial context. Accordingly refer most German respondents to a "table language", which is Italian and spoken in conversations when both parents are present:

(SG3) With the children I speak German when I'm alone with them and in Italian when my husband is around. The table language is now Italian, as my husband understands only very little German.

But also if the non-migrated parents speaks both languages well, there are explicitly negotiated rules that determine the in-family communication for the sake of learning opportunities:

(SG3) I speak German, my husband speaks German with me but Italian with his children and my children speak German with me and Italian with their father. We speak two languages at the table.

The majority of Italian partners from Romanian interviewees are reported to have very good to fluent linguistic skills, being able to understand and participate in conversations in Romanian language, if they occur in the familial context or with kinship in the country of origin. Linguistic

proximity of both languages and historical relationships between Italy and Romania are presumed to have an important share in this occurrence.
However, even where a continuous transmission and use of German or Romanian as first mother tongue has been pushed in informal learning environments, most respondents confirm that their children explicitly reveal preferences of their language use. Accordingly, the language of their country of residence, for the majority also country of birth and country of origin of one parent, is preferred for study and leisure, for the utilisation of media, as books or TV and for conversations in the familial context, even though speaking to the migrated parent.
With respect to the linguistic competence training of their children, the most respondents (SG1, SG2 and SG3) consider foreign language instruction in Italian formal educational contexts inadequate and not coherent with their needs and wants. As German respondents prioritize also for language training the rather practical "learning-by-doing" approach (cf. Ch. 5) choices in the informal setting provide for mother-tongue language training through experience. Accordingly, native speakers are inserted in the family context (e.g. au-pairs, foreign-language babysitter) or medial contents are provided in original language:

(SG3) And my husband is very firm about that, he put them in front of English films from very early on and said: If you're already watching TV and turning into zombies, then at least do it in English, and (...) then he turned on Peppa Pig and the other things they were watching, in English. Of course they didn't like that at the beginning.

Also Romanian respondents report to have watched TV in original foreign language in their own childhood, which has contributed to their acquisition of foreign language knowledge.
Informal foreign language attainment through mobility is favoured by all respondents; it is effectively planned (cf. Ch. 6.1) or has been implemented mostly by German interviewees though, who sent their children abroad to learn the foreign language and cultural aspects in everyday situations:

(SG3) And I was always telling the children that they will have to go abroad at some point in high school because they have to learn English, because you can't really learn English here (…) Yes, and where can you learn English? So England is out of question, otherwise their mother would show up (...) at least once a month in England (...) USA…that's no English, then Canada (...) or New Zealand are the only countries left. (...) I always told my son: you have to want it yourself, otherwise you won't go. You have a sponsor, but you have to want it yourself. (…) And then last year, he went to New Zealand for six months (…) He left as a rascal, he came back as a man. And this is also what I was actually expecting.

In the context of cultural awareness, the practice of (religious) traditions and the transmission of corresponding knowledge is, similar to the training of the Romanian language, largely outsourced to family members who stayed behind in Romania. Most children spend several months per year with their ancestors and experience Romanian culture and traditions in their parent's country of origin, or in some cases also their own country of birth. Transnational relations to family in Germany exist on a regular basis, however visits do not exceed the duration of a vacation and are realised as familial endeavour. It appears hence that the German sample group does not rely to this extent on the kinship network and hence provides a different range of informal learning opportunities in their country of origin. As a result, children of SG3 respondents spend on average less time with family of their migrated parent in the source country and transcultural identity and knowledge are thus transmitted directly and for the most part by the parents. Accordingly, it appears a different

allocation of delegations for all involved members, which may be partly explained with the individualistic and collectivistic understanding of familial relations that last over time. As exemplified in the following excerpt, familial ties in the country of origin come along with familial obligations and thus new (informal) transcultural learning opportunities:

(SG1) Just recently she went to Romania for a family wedding, where it is very important to be present. We haven't gone for years because we didn't have the money. But now I told her: 'Learn at least a little about traditional dances, stay with grandma and aunt and your cousins, so you get in touch with the traditions. Meanwhile, also she will have to pass on something to her own children one day.

It further emerges from discourses of the respondents that especially mixed families (SG2) tend to spatially and temporally distinguish the transmission of cultural capital and awareness. Whereas they focus on the Romanian language and culture when sending their offspring several months per year abroad to Romania, Italian traditions and customs have precedence when living the transnational family life in Italy. In the following excerpt, the respondent explains that, even though praying consistently with her child, the inter-generational transmission of other religious practices has not succeeded in the transcultural space that she created with her migration to Italy.

(SG2) My mom was very fond of traditions and continues them today. I am the one who lost them. I can't carry them forward. I take my daughter to Romania to pass on some Romanian culture to her. She came to Romania for Easter, she saw from her grandmother how eggs are painted. We spend the holidays one year in Romania, and the other year here. My daughter mainly learns Italian customs.

This tendency is less notable for the German sample group. All SG3 study participants confirm that German customs are a central element of the transcultural lifestyle that is maintained in Italy. This way of living is corroborated by regular visits to the migrant parent's country of origin, especially for the celebration of important traditional feasts (in particular Christmas).
The significance to the venue is given mostly for the sake of tying with family and friends and for transmitting cultural rituals, which depend on the local and familial context and are not necessary bound to religious traditions.

(SG3) We celebrate Christmas always in Germany (...) it is very important. We have our rituals how Santa Claus comes to us ... There has been a lot of discussion about going to Sicily for Christmas, but that's not an option at all for me.

Other visits to Germany are conducted during the year. Interestingly, several respondents confirm to visit their home country not as a complete family unit, but rather as single parent with their children, which is often justified by logistic and organisational reasons but also as being part of the responsibility of the migrated parent.

(SG3) I represent the German culture and life, so with my children I go to Germany for one month every year and in the German part of Switzerland, because my sister lives there.

The interviewees were also asked how cultural and general knowledge was transmitted in their childhood at home and which learning contexts and opportunities are provided for their own offspring today.

In most cases it is referred to the transmission of general knowledge during the respondents' childhood in the home context through informal conversations with parents and family members and news in TV and media. For their own children it appears again that in particular for the Romanian respondent groups the acquisition and transmission of general knowledge, that expands from politics, to history, to art and music, is of utmost importance and generally seen as part of the cultural standard equipment they aspire for their children.

(SG2) We watch a lot of documentaries, we read a lot of books, we are currently making the album of culture. There are trading stickers on paintings… let's say it is a first basis for giving a culture, a trans-culture between paintings and art history. In Romania, this is part of the general culture. I don't support ignorant people. I can't understand that one doesn't have the faintest idea what the capital is. For example now I'm playing a game with my daughter in the car where we name the countries the cars we see on the street come from… for example the Citroen comes from France... and so on. You have to keep your brain busy.

It appears that literature is particularly stimulated as method for "auto-education" and thus informal learning. Respondents also avail themselves increasingly of new media and advanced possibilities for communication and travel.
Indeed, most interviewees from all sample groups consider traveling a means and stimulator of in-family informal learning that cannot be substituted by formal instruction.

(SG2) What I can give them that the school does not offer is meanwhile the opportunity to travel and to get to know new places, new people and different cultures.

The knowledge on different cultures, transmitted in formal, non-formal and informal contexts has been considered by all respondents of utmost importance. Along with these intercultural competences come social "life" skills, and thus the interpersonal competencies that constitute the cohabitation and interaction within our contemporary society. They are thus integral part of formal, non-formal and informal instruction that occurs in social processes from one generation to another (London 2011). In a diachronic perspective, the transmission of social competences is starkly impacted by own educational experiences in the corresponding socio-political context that guide strategies and priorities for the upbringing of children. They are thus prioritised to be acquired and cultivated through direct experience and applied soft skill training to foster adaptability to diverse settings.

(SG3) At the moment we are very much focused on learning from experience, so we bring them into a wide variety of contexts (...) and put them in a lot of different situations (...) In the last summer vacation we were in Sri Lanka for four weeks and did volunteer work there for a project. I am always looking for opportunities in which the children can gain very specific experiences. Be it for an afternoon in the ice cream parlour, where you can see how ice cream is made, or be it through sporting activities that can bring them into many different contexts. (…)

The respondent further emphasises the often adult-centric view on learning and accordingly how a change of perspective would enhance potential learning outcomes and stimulate reciprocal learning.

(SG3) Yes, that [traveling] is something that is very important to us, what we have always done a lot. And what surprises me again and again ... that the children have a completely different view of

other cultures. So, there are things that are important to me that I want to convey to the children, but they take something completely different from it. For example, when we participated at this project in Sri Lanka, we were in a school there. The majority of the children had no shoes, which was extremely shocking for me to see and experience (...) and my children immediately said: 'Are we allowed to take off our shoes? Why can they run barefoot and we have to keep our shoes on?' Those are that moments when you realize, ok, they have a completely different view to the situation. Or the Buddha, who is always happy and Jesus was always so sad. Then they asked me: 'Why does Jesus always cry? The Buddha always laughs and is happy.' These are then very concrete experiences.

In this context, also the change of the adult perspective with respect to gender is interesting and illustrated by another experience from an SG3 respondent. Accordingly, are handcrafts such as knitting are categorized as typical female activity for a certain age group on the one hand, but would be an appreciated universal skill, independently from gender or age bracket, for young children to be taught in school. This German respondent criticises in this context the theoretical approach for learning and training in Italy and compares with competence sets of young children in Germany:

(SG3) We have (…) a house in the countryside, and for me it is just important that my child learns to make a fire or to carve. (…) In Italy everything is so very theoretical (...) I can give you an example. That was 3 years ago, on my mother's 80th birthday. The neighbours were invited to her birthday party, they have a child who is 1 year older than my son. (...) And what had he brought with him ... a boy ... they just had textiles at school and he sat in the corner and crocheted. Where do you find this here?

This subchapter has focused on contexts and occasions for informal learning that are intentionally and unconsciously provided by parents for their children. The range of informal learning is wide and thus this section tackled selected issues such as language learning in the host and home country, the transmission of cultural awareness in diverse spheres and the conveyance of so-called life skills as part of civic competences.
The next section presents a case study, that unites the three preceding subchapters by challenging the distinction between formal, non-formal and informal learning, as one SG1 respondent has shared familial experiences with home schooling.

6.3.1. A peculiar case-study: Home schooling in the host context

Children in general are artists, they are musicians, they are engineers, they are anything you want. If you know how to explain them things, they love everything. They are lovers of knowledge, they have lived from this acquaintance since they were born and they nurture from those experiences, from all experiences, also from the unpleasant ones, of course.
(respondent[5])

Following the principles of constructivist pedagogy (Neuman and Guterman 2016), and thus customized and individualized curricula and learning environments (Mandel 2020) parental education seems to substantially question the concepts of formal-, non-formal and informal education and its outlined demarcations. Active parental involvement in schooling and (non)formal

[5] Reference of this study.

knowledge and competence transmission has become a valid and legitimate alternative to traditional learning processes in dedicated educational settings and institutions. Even though home schooling had existed for thousands of years, it gained popularity in the last decades and has received increasingly academic attention since the 1970s (Ray 2010, 2017). In this regard it is crucial to separate home schooling from private education, which is mainly distinguished by the knowledge and competence transmitter and thus teaching protagonist. Whereas home schooling is based on parent-led instruction that may be certified by institutional examinations, private education involves professional teachers and classes. The numbers of home schoolers are accordingly rising on global level, and increase accordingly in Central and Eastern European countries as well. In Romania 300 families had decided for home schooling in 2015, often due to different beliefs, worldviews, disagreement with the public educational or social system (Mandel 2020).
The latter has been the central concern of one SG1 family. Both parents decided for home schooling when moving to Italy with their three children, out of prior conviction for the pedagogical method and to protect their children against discrimination in the host context.

I always favoured home schooling. (…) In Romania we had firstly enrolled him in a private Italian school and it did not go well. And so we took him out (...). He is a very smart child, he cannot sit still though, so school was not for him. And then we started with home schooling. (…) When we then came here [to Italy], they told us it couldn't be done, but only because they didn't know how it worked. According to the law, there is the possibility of home schooling. Then they told me that it was possible to set up a parenting school, if there were other families. Then I couldn't find other families, we were in a Romanian community, and so I had to send him to school.

The family's child was thus inserted in an institutional educational system upon the family's arrival in the host context, even though he had been priory got used to the home schooling. The bureaucratic and legal barrier for the educational preference had not been envisaged prior to departure and thus did not contribute to the decisional process of the migration.
However, upon arrival in the host destination and insertion in the local school context, the family perceived increasingly discrimination which led to a consistent and insisting attitude towards parent-led schooling and instruction. All Romanian respondents (SG1 and SG2), who were asked about the integration dynamics of their children in the formal educational context, confirmed positive experiences and no perception of discrimination in school. In contrast to the SG1 home schooling family, all other study participants lived in the urban context of the Turin region, most of them in highly-diversified and international city quarters. Further to this, the majority of interviewed study participants came to Turin before the birth of their children, which allocates their offspring to the category of 2nd generation immigrants compared to the 1.5 generation (Rumbaut 1994) home schooler. Additionally, discrimination is a very sensitive and subjectively perceived issue by both, the parents and the children, and thus led to different dynamics and consequences as also confirmed by the respondent.

There was a lot of racism (...). But children don't think like we do (...) he didn't live this experience as we did. Because we are adults and have seen it with different eyes. If another child says to your son: 'you are a gypsy' it hurts you a lot, especially when you see their parents standing by who do not even react, who actually support their child when saying something like that. (…) After we had also another bad experience ... bad for us, for him it was normal, thinking that everyone goes through the same, but for us parents, I don't know if we are overprotective, because for others it was not the same, anyway, then we decided that it was enough. That we couldn't take it anymore. Why should we bear all this? And then got along very well at home.

Formal and non-formal home-education implies a lifestyle change for the entire family (Mandel 2020), that may imply quite a few benefits but require several changes and paradigm shifts for traditional role and responsibility patterns other than pedagogical measures. The learning process (content, times and methods) may be organised in a structured, unstructured or hybrid mode. The latter points to planned contents and methods but inconsistent and flexible schedules (Neuman and Guterman 2016). The unstructured way of home-based learning refers instead to an unplanned and spontaneous training, that is free of pre-conceptualised performance and assessment patterns and thus up to the learner and familial members. The interviewed family has negotiated the latter education model that focuses on individual learning needs and wants, but relies on formal and informal learning techniques and contexts:

They are free from morning to night. I always tell them: you are on vacation. Because they home school, and so they have free time. They are the ones who decide when they have to do things. (…) So, I'm not counting the hours they learn. Because learning doesn't mean that I sit down at the table and say: 'Now let's learn (...). It is a continuous game. (...) It is a continuous teaching, because if we go for example outside and see some butterfly, then we try to understand what its name, where it comes from, and so on. And by doing so, they learn, because they learn with pleasure without me saying: 'Now you have to sit down at the table. Let's make a drawing of the butterfly and then see what it is called.' They would refuse for sure.

Image 6.3 Home schooling activities - STEM

Image 6.4 Home schooling activities - Reading and Writing

Image 6.5 Home schooling activities STEM II

Image 6.6 Home schooling activities - Art

Source: All photos were provided by the respondent

The created learning environment relies thus on the personally set priorities and needs of the learners and the caretakers, and may span from formal instruments and methods to informal techniques and contexts, or as the respondent puts it:

Parental education means that you teach the child according to his needs, his times and according to his passions.

Home-schooling may facilitate parental-steered learning contents and preferences that may be determined according to own preferences and educational socialisation.
The home-based education of the Romanian family is organised and conducted by both parents and supported by internet and online devices. Even though, informal learning situations are prioritised, formal certifications frame and finalise the chosen form of education.

There are online sites that are just made for home schoolers, and they are free. Then there are also official certificates, for example Cambridge, which we also did in part. And the official qualifications, as for example the A-level, they acquire them in English, and do the necessary exams in the embassy.

A brief insight into this educational decision, different as approach and method towards the understanding of learning and knowledge from those chosen by all other SG-respondents, aimed to remind on the permeability of learning types and environments. Home schooling puts several traditional pedagogical concepts and cultural dimensions into question by stressing the maximalistic view of lifelong learning. This appoints the same significance to lifelong and lifewide education and encompasses thus education outside of traditional contexts (Tuschling and Engemann 2006). Additional compared research on the quality and quantity of knowledge and skills acquisition through home-schooling of both, children and parents, may open further floors to transversal and hybrid educational models that do not distinguish but rather unite formal, non-formal and informal education.

CONCLUSION

With his concept of inner globalisation, Ulrich Beck referred to the illusion that makes us believe "that everything that happens inside of a nation-state is being produced in the nation-state" (Beck 2001). We neglect to see that our daily life is created by dynamics that are bound to and depend on transnational flows. Increasing mobility, triggered by a rising demand and competition of labour, creates new transnational spaces that affect all processes in our daily life. A cosmopolitan society entails potential benefits and synergies on socio-cultural, political and economic level through a continuous co-creation of knowledge and skills and should be accordingly valorised. This entails new understandings of transnational spaces, networks and capital that move beyond traditional paradigms (Fürstenau 2016).

This is where international research on skilled labour and this project with its focus on qualified movers as traders of (transnational) competences tie in. In the light of circulating intra-European mobility, multi-disciplinary scholarship has put increased efforts into research on the international competition for high-skilled professionals (Hansen and Hauff 2019; Jaeger 2019; Werding 2019). They suggest that proficient valorisation strategies, which influence migration decisions on various levels and attract the brightest among the European brains, should thus build on recent studies that encourage brain mobility and thus the practice of free movement. In order to stimulate rethinking it is thus imperative to forward research on preferences and strategies that build decisions of potential movers.

Central to that assumption which led through this thesis was a prior consideration of the actual players in the European scenario of (labour) migration. Considering the morphology of the contemporary highly-skilled mover (Scott 2016), recent works (Coccia and Ricci 2019) encourage us to overthink confined categories that do not coincide with reality. This implies a shift from the exclusive image of the elitist professional who engages in labour mobility to sell skills and competences, to the very middle-class (skilled) migrant who moves for a variety of reasons, that span from socio-cultural to economic necessities. Existing classifications on migration types become thus increasingly blurry and outdated (King and Lulle 2016). For a realistic presumption of their wants and needs, demographic characteristics of the skilled migrant in general, and the socio-political and economic life-course-shaping background of movers in the European basin must underlie corresponding analyses on decisional strategies.

On the basis of these criteria, this research has put its lens on education as central indicator for migration decisions and the building of transnational spaces. Valorisation measures that focus on educational opportunities as a driving force for positive decision-making towards mobility and permanence in the host country, should thus consider the socio-cultural element in the migratory life-trajectory.

The leading question pointed hence to the role of education, in terms of competence and knowledge transmission, from a dual perspective: firstly, in the home country, and thus as driver for the migration expectations and linked choices, as international scholarship has repeatedly suggested the agency of children and family in decisional processes for migration. Secondly, in the host context for the migrants and their offspring. The latter was of central concern for the formulation of educational preferences (and thus deriving needs and expectations) under consideration of the familial habitus and cultural identity in the socio-political European context. The purpose of this study was thus to investigate on parental strategies for education in a transnational context and to examine their coherence with EU endeavours to closely link education to (social and spatial) mobility.

Building on these premises, the qualitative data from Romanian and German migrants in the Turin Metropolitan Area provided a promising basis for a comparative analysis. Because of (rather than

despite) the substantial heterogeneity with regard to socio-cultural, economic, political and migratory background, Romanian and German qualified migrants provided an excellent study sample for the investigation. Relying on the assumption of polarizing preconditions in both national contexts, the Hofstedian cultural dimension theory (Hofstede 1986, 1993, 2001) was chosen as the leading explanatory key model for the enquiry on parental educational preferences in the light of "migrant subjectivities and identities" (Brettell 2015: 149) in the host country.

It is important to highlight that this work was built on a personal and autobiographical experience and research interest. This supported the negotiation processes in the field as well as analysis and understanding of data in a very positive way. The researcher's socio-cultural and demographic background guided further the elaboration of several methodological strategies in the course of the data collection. Accordingly, after several interviews conducted with respondents of the Romanian sample group, the researcher decided for a personal field trip to Romania, to get an impression of the milieu. Implemented ethnographic techniques such as participant and field observation in Romania complemented the knowledge base and was accordingly not retained necessary in the German context.

On basis of the introduced research framework all relevant findings will be concluded in the following assumptions[1] on the interrelation of education and mobility towards: firstly, migration decisions and trajectories, secondly, cultural capital transmission and thirdly, the choice of learning arrangements.

The interrelation of mobility – capital – culture in (qualified) migration

INADEQUATE RECOGNITION OF SKILLS PRESENTS A CENTRAL BARRIER FOR MOBILITY TRAJECTORIES

Migration patterns, experiences, expectations and strategies cannot be analysed detached from their counterparts, but must be understood in correlation with the intersecting class, migrant status and generation. In fact, what distinguishes professionals of SG1 and 2 from SG 3 is the recognition, validation and consequently the use of their "nationally inflected forms of cultural capital" (Erel 2010: 648), thus competences.
At the time of Romania's entry in the European Union more than half of all Romanian immigrants left their home country with a normally unstable and underpaid job. Romania revealed one of the highest in-work poverty risks in Europe even during the 'Balkan Tiger period' (Stan and Erne 2014). In Italy, most of them found work, which would generally not correspond to their qualifications and the skills acquired in the job they left behind in Romania (Mara 2012).
Indeed, occupational and thus skills match became a double-edged sword. Whereas the EU-membership implied new mobility patterns and the actual right to move legally as well as opportunities to enter the labour market, the public perception and treatment by employers did not consequently alter (Ricucci and Schroot 2020, Stan 2009). Ambrosini (2020) refers to the 5Ps that translate in precarious, socially penalized, not prestigious, painful and perilous when referring to labour trajectories of immigrants in the Mediterranean area. In this context it is noteworthy, that the educational level of post-socialist Romanian labour migrants in Europe was higher in the beginning immigration waves and decreased in later periods. With the permitted access to the Schengen area in 2002, quantity and profiles of Romanian migrants changed, which was interrelated

[1] Not following the order of the preceding chapters, but display the string of arguments.

with the decreasing significance of social and economic capital necessary for the envisaged mobility abroad (Stan 2009).

International research (Brandi 2010; Nowicka 2012; Ricucci and Schroot 2020; Vouyioukas and Liapi 2013; Pittau 2019) maintains that a significant share of qualified workers is not occupied in appropriate working sectors but rather face realities of professional underutilisation. Deskilling and skill mismatch is commonly interrelated with the devaluation or non-recognition of the migrant's educational capital and employment-related skills, bureaucracy, linguistic barriers, gender and ethnic discrimination. Skills match of workers, and thus "a highly efficient way to use workers' potential" (Eurofound 2017: 107) has become one of the most urgent challenges at the labour market to encounter labour productivity and economic growth on macro level, and consequently incomes, job security and satisfaction for the individual. According to data provided by the EWCS questionnaire in 2015, 43% of all workers in the EU are under-or overskilled, i.e. their skills do not match with the occupational profile of the work they are executing (*Ibid.*).

Even though Italy reveals a rather low risk of migrant exclusion from the labour market, it provides, compared to several European neighbour states as UK or Ireland, for more barriers to access qualified work and occupational fields (Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi 2019). Indeed, the majority of the Romanian sample has not succeeded yet to insert themselves in the local labour market in accordance to their qualification and job experiences brought from their home country.

In the context of successful migration and in accordance with European policy-making, scholars (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Crul and Schneider 2010) agree upon the interrelation of education, selection and the linked expectation of upward mobility. In other words: Education may counteract downward mobility, even though this constitutes an unreliable rule in reality. Upward and downward mobility over the migratory life course trajectory is an ambiguous and contested concept, especially when talking about skilled migration from disadvantaged national contexts and aspired escalator effects (Gans 2009; Scott 2019).

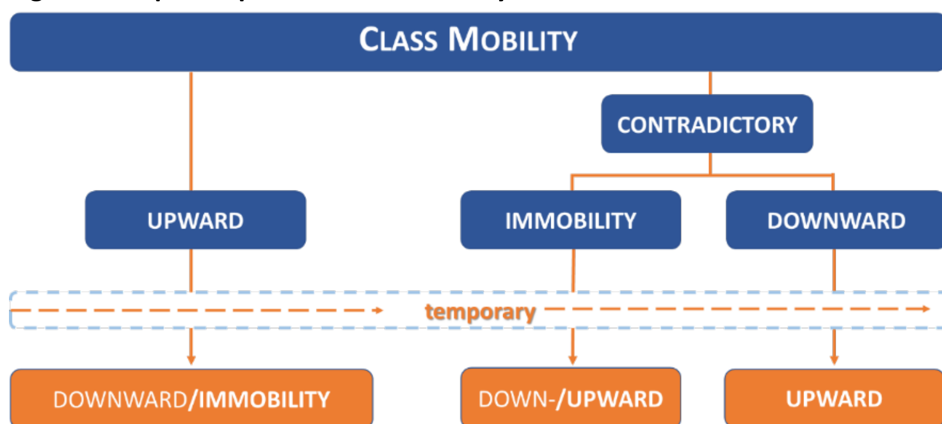
Findings of this study confirmed that social mobility develops often in contradictory form and migrants experience not automatically the desired effects of migration, as better jobs and increased economic capital compared to the home country. Quite the reverse, social mobility is often displayed with a bottom-up approach to the professional trajectory, which pronounces the brain waste phenomenon in academic literature and public discourses. Hence, the migrant leaves a higher professional level and educational class to become employed in low-status work segments. This socio-professional descending in the host country may be however equalled with an ascending socio-economic mobility in the home context. The same occurs for occupation in the same job segments in home and host country which may come along with a significantly higher economic advantage. This may lead to contradictory professional trajectories that are not coherent with class status (determined by social and economic indicators), which is exemplary for both sample groups, however less detrimental for the German community.

As expected, skill mismatch and recognition translated very differently for the Romanian and German country groups and exposed the latter advantaged. Several Romanian SG1 respondents experienced a skill mismatch that resulted in de-skilling professional insertion in the local labour market. Even though most members of their transnational Romanian and German peer groups (SG2 and SG3) worked also in jobs that were not coherent with their prior formal educational trajectory and credentials, this did not result in similar harsh professional status changes.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION FOR THE MIGRATORY TRAJECTORY IS DETERMINED BY THE (INITIAL) OVERALL MIGRATION MOTIVATION AND ASPIRATIONS FOR CLASS MOBILITY IN THE HOST CONTEXT

The graph exemplifies reported trajectories of all respondents in which the initial class status results dynamic, context-bound and temporary.
Its interdependence with the migration motivation is central, as economically driven migrations are presumed to put diverse priorities to socio-economic mobility in the host country than lifestyle migrations. Other than a priority it might be defined a necessity, as those SG1 and 2 respondents classified as economic migrants referred to the migration as the only solution for decent life conditions.

Fig. 5: Exemplified paths of class mobility in the host context[2]



Data has evidenced an interrelation between migrant's stage in life, the migration motivation and respective preferences for personal (professional) development on two levels.
Firstly, if the overarching migration motivations were guided by class aspirations and investments for the own offspring (born in the home country), temporary downward mobility, de-skilling or delayed gratification (Scott 2019) became more acceptable. This accounted however in particular for economically motivated migrations, as lifestyle movers in the sample groups underlined that a change of class status and thus social mobility was no priority within their decisional process in the pre-departure phase.
Secondly, economically and professionally motivated migrants considered both important in the host context, the parental and the children's educational development. Instead, 'love migrants' (King 2002) generally focused more on their children's competence development than on their own training or career goals in the host context, at least temporarily.
However, it would be simplistic to pronounce solely economic capital as driving force for and benefit of upward mobility. Human capital investments and gains, such as linguistic skills, social capital as well as self-confidence are grounding to integrate and pursue mobility in the host context. International research (Mihai and Novo-Corti 2020; Scott 2019) corroborates this notion and underlines that the definition of class status must move beyond national borders as it is transnational in constitution for several migration patterns and thus determined through diverse modes of capital accumulation and utilization.
This is confirmed by findings for the study sample under investigation. It could be indeed observed that the majority of all sample groups benefitted from linguistic capital, that had been accumulated

[2] Where not mentioned otherwise, all following graphs and tables in this chapter are own elaborations and included to visualise concepts and arguments.

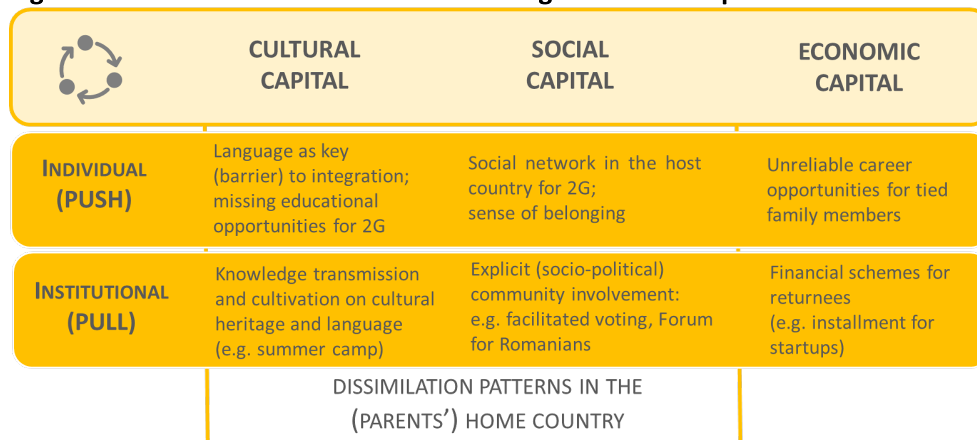
over time in the host context, for better job opportunities. This is also due to the location of the case study that provides for a labour market (and society) which is rather restricted to the local language compared to other international and more cosmopolitan urban contexts. Consequently, language represents a strong indicator for social and professional integration (barriers).
It seems plausible to presume for mixed couples that an established supporting network and relational system, less ethnical bias and thus an accelerated linguistic integration are some of the main issues that impact the socio-professional insertion of the transmigrant in the host context. In reverse, another interesting finding in this study pointed to the professional integration of the Italian partner into the immigrant community. Indeed, in transnational SG2 families the spouse's adequate mastery of the Romanian language entails important benefits. Besides obvious advantages for familial communication and language policies, corresponding linguistic skills open professional niches for Italians. Thus, services and transnational consulting in Romanian language for clients in the socio-economic segment or for patients in the medical sector provides for a highly appreciated transnational perspective for both, the service provider and user.
Croitoru (2018: 95) reminds us that "any analysis of individuals' work trajectories must pay careful attention to general tendencies in the labor market. For example, contemporary tendencies toward 'de-industrialization' and 'flexibilization' provide more room for individuals' agency within the labor-market context". Indeed, with respect to the occupational fields it has been observed that a prominent labour segment for German skilled migrants is the teaching profession in primary and secondary school, as well as in Higher Education. The stable economic relations with Germany and the status of the German language in the educational context determine the demand and supply ratio for German mother tongue language instructors in the formal and non-formal education sector. This provides thus an attractive solution for career changer, since their "mothertongue status" works often as door-opener and renders recognition procedures more flexible.

A TARGETED CIRCULATING OR RETURN MIGRATION IS CONCEIVABLE IF CONDITIONS IN THE HOST CONTEXT ARE COMPATIBLE WITH CORRESPONDING ENDEAVOURS IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The analysis of the interrelation between education and migration was conducted from a three-dimensional perspective, i.e. as indicator for firstly, migration from home to host context, secondly, for life quality in the host context, and thirdly, for return migration from host to home context (or onward). The latter included both, an individual and institutional perspective, exemplified by SG1/2 respondents and the former Ministry of Romanians abroad[3]. Central findings have been summarised in the graph below and were opposed accordingly as (institutional) pull and (individual) push factors with respect to the building and transmission of diverse capital forms.

[3] Today transnational activities with the Romanian diaspora have been delegated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Fig. 6: Indicators for Return and Onward Migration – exemplified on the Romanian case



It is evident from the results that Romanian study participants deem the transmission of cultural heritage to their offspring highly important, no matter if the emigration from Romania took place before or after their children were born. They refer to consistent transnational strategies to forward cultural socialization of their children and to maintain intensive ties with the origin culture. Concrete and most common measures include the preservation of a very tight and continuous contact with family members who stayed back in Romania, or the sustainment of traditional practices and the local dialect.

In the same vein however, respondents from SG1 and SG2 also confirm the significance of language and social networks as a barrier (push factor) for a comeback to the source country. The lack of linguistic skills (for second generations), inadequate educational standards in the country of origin and the leaving behind of an established (trans- and international) contact net represent main barriers on individual level to consider a long-term return to Romania. Interestingly, even though several respondents reported that migration had always be planned to be limited in time, main reasons that keep most of them in the host context are related to their children and potential challenges for them in country of their parents.

Particular focus was thus put by the government on the cultivation of the Romanian mother tongue and heritage to tie diasporas worldwide to their homeland to render return migration a valid option and facilitate a reinsertion in the context of origin. Transnational activities are thus pursued in the host context by cultural associations sustained by the Romanian government funds and devoted to the preservation of Romanian cultural identity.

Further, community involvement of those who left and those who stayed fosters the building of social capital and homeland attachment. Implemented measures by the Romanian government, such as facilitated voting schemes for their countrymen abroad, as well as information campaigns and forums for networking and exchange, aim thus to strengthen ties with the community of origin. Those strategies for the accumulation, maintenance and transfer of social and cultural capital may lead to a development or intensification of dissimilation patterns and thus nurture perceptions of belonging or be(com)ing different towards either home or host society.

A discourse on belonging presupposes a discourse on identity. The altering significance of country, context and culture for the concept of identity becomes evident when applied to 1st and 2nd generation migrants. What means home for the parent(s) (1G) could mean host for their children (2G) and vice versa, even though to different degrees, as the intensity of the emotional sense of belonging may vary. These affective and rational ties can be determined by different factors, such as the time of residence (Muxel 2009), evolving and consolidated social capital or by its juridical allocation to a national identity. It remains hence a rather dynamic concept and appears to be interdependent with the identities of linked lives (Findlay et al. 2015). All children in transnational

families seem to guide accordingly the sense of belonging of their parents up to a certain extent. Firstly, as decisive life course event and thus trigger for numerous decisional processes, secondly as mediating force between the native and foreign parent in mixed families or thirdly between the foreign parent(s) and the host society. Consequently, in the context of parental decisions for their children's educational and cultural capital these aspects play a significant role.

For the majority of migrants, job opportunities and thus economic capital play a central role. A scenario with missing career options for themselves and tied family members in the home country (especially after a complex professional trajectory in the host context) would therefore lead to a reduction or lack of economic capital and thus contradict initial decisions of economically driven migrations. Accordingly, the Romanian government has put in place several actions and funding schemes to provide a capital and investment stock for potential returnees in their country of origin.

THE ROLE OF (PRIMARY AND EXTENDED) FAMILY IN THOUGHT AND BEHAVIOURAL PATTERNS TOWARDS RETURN OR CIRCULATING MOBILITY IS CULTURE-BOUND

In a comparative perspective of both country groups three major issues appear relevant, especially when analysed through an individualistic/collectivistic lens, for notions on the correlation between familial and potential return dynamics:

Firstly, the impact of life-course events.

Occurrences during the life course, such as childbirth, wedding etc. constitute in most SG1 and SG2 cases both, a motivation for emigration from and against returning to the home context on a long-term scale. In contrast to this, potential thoughts on return migration of SG3 respondents appeared increasingly at the time when they built a family. Due to facilitated professional integration of SG3 respondents, considerations to go back to the country of origin were dominated and guided by dissatisfaction about educational rather than labour opportunities in the host country.

Secondly, the agency of education as driving force.

Whereas their offspring's missing linguistic skills represent one of the major push factors for return migration of SG1 and SG2 respondents, education in general, especially with regard to the educational infrastructure, has been turned out one of the major pull indicators for SG3 participants to return in their home country. Language is not considered a barrier for living in the country of origin; the majority of SG3 parents focus on mother tongue instruction from the beginning of childhood, familial efforts and educational strategies are often linked to and coherent with the choice of respective educational institutions.

Interestingly, both national sample groups distinguish significantly in thought patterns towards integration in case of return or onward mobility. In accordance with Hofstede's (2001: 209) presumption that "in some cultures, individualism is seen as a blessing and a source of well-being; in others, it is seen as alienating", several Romanian respondents indicated the preoccupation on how their children would get along in their country of origin and if they would integrate to the society. This was not the case for their German counter group, who were in favour to send their children to Germany or abroad.

Thirdly, the role of family within return decisions.

Potential intentions for return migration of SG3 respondents are less or not at all linked to family and those 'left behind' but rather to individually perceived life quality and commodities. The role of secondary family for decisional processes regarding migration decisions is much less pronounced than in their Romanian counter group. Most SG1 and SG2 refer to an initially stark desire for return migration, which is linked to a strong affection to what was left behind. In fact, the missing of family members and beloved ones are linked to nostalgic images of their home countries and represent the central motivation for return migration. A central element that should be considered in this

context are economic remittances. Several SG1 and SG2 respondents mentioned the financial support for their family, in particular those, who had initially left for economic reasons. [4]

Priorities for the conveyance of cultural capital in transnational families are strongly shaped by socio-cultural background and familial habitus of both parents

The study observed preferences and strategies for the accumulation of cultural capital, whereas investigations sampled the three macro categories language, religion and civic competences.

With reference to the overarching question if and how migration works on capital transmission, and thus educational decisions in the host context, it results that the socio-cultural background and cultural socialisation of both parents play a decisive role for the formulation of preferences. Both national sample groups differed significantly within their educational priorities and strategies and thus confirmed the culture and context-boundedness of education. Drawing on initial assumptions, it was confirmed that the familial habitus from a diachronic perspective and thus own socialisation experiences reflect in parental educational practices and defined priority sets for their own children. Consequently, the expected reality in the host context is significantly guided by socialized norms, values, cultural ideals and ideas that travel along.

For the investigated 'lifelong' and 'lifewide' dimensions three major conclusions can be drawn for the diverging preference sets for knowledge and value transmission:

Firstly, there is a stark focus of the Romanian sample group on knowledge acquisition and cultivation in formal and non-formal contexts and building of a comprehensive skill base. This is expressed in preferences for substantial input of learning contents in school, but also in after school work or extra-curricular activities. Learning is considered an essential and integral part of life to be cultivated in all educational environments.

In contrast, even though German respondents rely on school as main transmitter of knowledge, there is less focus on input. With reference to non-formal education, there is a tendency towards cultivation of competences rather than accumulation, which is exemplified in less preference for after-school work or extra-curricular activities. Those are not considered essential to complement the learning process but rather chosen for leisure purposes.

Secondly, the maintenance of a cultural capital base with a strong focus on common knowledge and religion is central for the majority of Romanian respondents (SG1 and SG2) in order to strengthen their national (and regional) identity. It results that their children usually spend a considerable amount of time with their Romanian family in the country of origin of their parents. Most respondents rely indeed on collectivist educational styles and have formulated a bi-local socialisation as intentional and long-term strategy. A complex of folkloristic elements such as language, customs, music and art are thus conveyed in family, either in the home or host context, or in non-formal arrangements. Cultural and religious associations that promote the maintenance and cultivation of Romanian cultural heritage represent an important learning environment. Most of the time Romanian parents are volunteering in these organisations and switch continuously roles between caretaker and trainer, or teacher.

[4] Generally, the majority of financial transfers to the country of origin are destined to support family members with daily living expenses; according to Mara's (2012) investigation this accounted for 82% of the remittances sent home by female Romanian migrants. The collectivistically embedded transnational responsibility is thus grounded in commonly agreed decisions of all family members (in)directly involved in the migration. Interesting is indeed the gender aspect that comes with the transmission of remittances. Ambrosini (2015) finds evidence in his research that the sending and processing of economic remittances is driven by gender, whereas women result to be more active in the sending process, transmitting higher amounts than their counterparts. Additionally, also recipients differ: male migrants send economic remittances predominantly to their spouses, women dispatch rather to their mothers, presumably also caretakers of other family members along transnational care chains.

German respondents put much less focus on identity building through religious and folkloristic elements, but focus more on language. This may be due to the professional involvement in German language teaching of several respondents (and presumable the majority of German transmigrants in Italy) and to the German language status. With reference to the knowledge conveyance, extended family in the home country of the transmigrants is much less involved and in coherence with rather individualistic familial relations and educational delegations. There is also no evidence about a similar involvement of Germans in cultural organisations and according non-formal knowledge transmission.
Thirdly, Romanian respondents were more favourable of active parental involvement into (non)formal educational processes than their German counter respondents. A tight collaboration between school and family for value transmission was pronounced and preferred by SG1 and 2, whereas SG3 would have favoured an increased independence between (non)formal and informal learning contexts.
Resulting from this, diverging expectations create different needs and wants related to the educational offer in formal and non-formal contexts and underlying conditions to access them. Illustrated on the Romanian case, most parents reported that after-school activities are favoured, exploited and considered necessary to complement lacunae of other formal and informal learning arrangements. However, the accessibility of non-formal education and related benefits are interdependent with structural circumstances of the national formal education. The organisation of the school system in Italy provides for instance for rather long vacation periods (compared to other European countries) and the curricula are built accordingly. Accordingly, children spend longer hours in school than peers in other national contexts, and after-school programs are not integral part of the formal educational environment. As a result, they must be integrated on organisational and economic level into the children's educational schedule which results in a rather unbalanced proportion between formal, non-formal and informal education.
In the context of transnational education and corresponding environments it can be thus concluded that a better understanding and consideration of culture-specific thought and behavioural patterns in all related processes would favour significantly the communication and interaction between all protagonists involved.
In this vein, corresponding school contexts had the possibility to recognise and elaborate transnational capital (Fürstenau 2016) and lift the quality and outcomes of instruction significantly. As a further consequence and in view of mobility this could thus stimulate knowledge transfer, social remittances[5] and finally brain circulation between home and host contexts.

TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATION IN FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS MAY POSITIVELY HAMPER THE TRANSFERABILITY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR BOTH, 1ST AND 2ND GENERATION MIGRANTS

There is a rising academic interest for familial investment strategies to increase the transferability of their capital into the host context. This aims thus to provide a solid base for choices in the home context, and increasing promising returns on the receiving end (Danzer and Dietz 2008). Accordingly, investments a priori and a posteriori migration are central and may point to the temporal and spatial dimension of the migration choices. A prior accumulation or intensification of cultural capital, as for instance with language or professional training in the home country, could thus indicate intentions of growing existing capital stocks for an envisaged migration experience on a rather long-term scale.

[5] Research on socio-cultural remittances (Levitt et al. 2016, Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011) emphasizes the circular flow that transports the migrant's experiences made prior to the mobility into the migratory trajectory and thus significantly determines developments in the host society and thus remittances sent back to the home country.

On this account it has been hypothesised that transnational schools in the country of origin play an important role for upcoming migration endeavours. Cultural-linguistic instruction, context-bound school systems and methods as well as transferable institutional capital are presumed to be guiding and convincing arguments for movers-to-be and their children in preparation of the familial migration.

Further to this, institutionalised transnational education unites teaching and training methods from two cultural backgrounds as well as contents that have been negotiated for both purposes, the home and the target country. This implies, that culturally defined role distributions (e.g. student/teacher) and linked delegations as well as parental preferences are considered.

In this regard one cultural dimension that has been used for analytical purposes in the study seems particularly relevant. 'Power distance' shapes social relationships among agents of educational institutions, who can be subordinates and ordinates, i.e. student and teachers, children and parents, or equals. These relations are however not generated out of personal traits or values but within interactions in the institutions, which in turn are based on cultural ideas (Cortina et al. 2017, Mihai and Novo-Corti 2020). Consequently, dialogues and interactions among representatives of diverse educational contexts, i.e. parents or caretakers of the child and institutional educators (teachers, trainers) must be negotiated towards a collaboration and common interests of the child's well-being. This endeavour can become more challenging if students have experienced diverse educational environments, which is particularly the case with onward or circulating migration, in national contexts that reveal very different, even polarising, power-distance-rapports among them. They must thus mediate interaction and communication dynamics, additionally to the challenge of integrating into the host society. The same applies for the relationship with educators that is not merely challenged by communication barriers and mutual comprehension but additionally by a misleading perception and understanding of role patterns. These challenges may be intercepted by transnational education in corresponding formal learning environments that legitimates through intercultural mediation and accordingly interprets divergences.

However, targeted and institutionalised transnational education in formal learning environments seems still to be relegated to private schools. The investigation on the Italian-Romanian School in Bucharest and the Italian-German School in Munich brought interesting findings. It further corroborated the assumption that the transferability of transnational capital may be hampered by schooling institutions under certain circumstances and considering context-specific barriers, some of which will be exemplified by the Romanian case briefly in the following.

Firstly, the transnational school in Romania is with an annual tuition fee up to 4000 € and the average monthly salaries in the country only accessible for small segment of the average population, even though the cost is considered to be moderate compared to other international schools in Romania. Findings within this study confirm the widely acknowledged interdependence between socio-economic capital and school choice. Whereas economic capital plays an important role for the first decisional level regarding school status (private vs. public), social capital determines second-level decisions regarding the institution and location. Both transnational schools included in the study are (semi)private and represent thus an access limitation for an important share of families.

Secondly, the impact of cultural and national habitus, built on collective memory, must be considered for the decision on the institutional status. After the Romanian educational system was adopted post-1948 to Marxist-Leninist ideologies, education had become a matter of the state and private institutions were closed down (Birzea 1996; Szakacs 2018) and have been re-introduced only a few decades ago. It can be thus presumed that they are rather unassertively accessed by the broad population. Accordingly, the major student population of the Romanian transnational school is represented by mixed Italian-Romanian families, and children of Romanian parents. Most of them have either family in Italy or are returnees, who want to maintain existing ties or plan on a circulating

mobility. This issue is very interesting considering the before mentioned necessity of perpetuating the transmission of cultural knowledge to and from the host country to raise cultural awareness. A formation in a transnational institutional and informal context may thus contribute significantly to the flow of remittances between host and home country and prepare in particular second generation for the possibility to live in both contexts.
By contrast, the transnational school in Germany points to a different target that is coherent with the demographic situation and the migration patterns for the region, that can be in particularly observed in Munich. As one of the most attractive locations in Germany for internal and international migration, the urban context represents a central industrial pole and traditional migration destination for Italians, also due to the geographic proximity. Accordingly, the school observed that the majority of enrolled students come from mixed German-Italian families or have both parents of Italian nationality. Thus, the migration flow is expected and confirmed on reverse, and transnational formation would thus refer to post-migratory training (of Italian immigrant children), if applicable.
However, even though both schools differ substantially on structural and institutional level, as well as with regard to their contextual embedment, the principle remains the same. Formal transnational education may valorise capital that is generated in transnational families and contribute in maintaining ties with the parent's home country.
In the light of the before mentioned new or hampered emergencies on the labour market, that forecast a lack of certain skills and particular professional profiles in most European regions, mobility streams are likely to change direction and morphology. Thus, a shift of traditional thought patterns on European migration, such as a priori postulated south-north or east-west flows, should be considered and increase accordingly studies on the efficiency of transnational education in the different contexts.

Closing remarks

This research project departed from the question on how to attract brains and contribute to an international circulation of skills in the European space.
According to the report prepared for the Knowledge Economy Programme by McVerry and Rüdiger (2007) European skilled workers spend an average time of 12 years on the same job, 50% of them spend 5 years and more in the same company. Consequently, Europe's skilled work force is highly specialised and trained intensively to become leading experts in their fields. Policies must thus take the positive long-term effect for economic growth and social cohesion into account and build upon it. This becomes increasingly imperative when considering that a high share of European skilled workers is occupied in the segments of social work, education and health. In the light of the ongoing health emergency, that forecasts an immense demand of qualified labour within the next years in these fields, there should be an increasing investment of efforts to re-define the potential and power of education to embark on the future.
The results of this work have corroborated two major issues.
Firstly, skills and competences of an important share of middling transnationals, (highly) qualified in both contexts - host and home - but valorised in none of them, are hardly visible in the receiving country. This situation accounts often for several years until self-confidence, linguistic skills and a personal network forward social and professional integration. Other skilled laborers, who reach the country under more favourable circumstances are often forced to work in other job segments, partly incoherent to their background, but may at least reformulate their competences.
Secondly, besides their own educational and professional trajectory in the host context, we must not forget that transnational parents decide about the competence formation of their children, who

build a potential future skill base for Europe. Key findings of this study confirm that parental strategies for knowledge transmission and corresponding choices are strongly culture-bound and thus differ considerably among them in a highly diversified society. These issues are further hampered by research (Robila 2011) that suggests a strong correlation between the experienced migratory trajectories and the academic performance of the second generations in the receiving context. Investigations on dynamics of thought and behavioural patterns, embedded in and partly evolved from the experienced migratory trajectories, are thus crucial.

The focus of current endeavours for the attraction of qualified labour seems to be pointed on the accumulation of new resources, because the prevailing ones are not recognized. Accordingly, substantial efforts should be invested to understand and consider cultural peculiarities related to (educational) choices and to tap the full potential of the transnational capital stock that is built by our highly diversified society.

This research concludes that the state of beneficial brain mobility can be approached, if a continuous process of skill recognition, skill valorisation through synergy building and reciprocal competence transmission takes place. This is what renders lifelong learning imperative, in particular in the context of the contemporary exceptional circumstances our global society is currently facing.

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