Joachim Schroeder

2. Transnational perspectives on migration, employment and education[1]

Introduction. The concept of transnationalism and the approach of transnationalism research gained a great deal of dynamism in the 1990s. Initially, in the US context, and then later in Europe. Very different concepts of transnationalism and transnationalisation are used in different individual disciplines. The use of the term is often diffused and transnationalism is at risk of degenerating into a "catch-all and say nothing" word (Pries 2008: 3).

Particularly in the area of analysis of international migration phenomena, there exists a wide range of innovative approaches to transnationalisation research, mainly focusing on analysis of cross-border everyday social practice and the establishment of transnational communities and social spaces. In the last number of years a vast number of individual contributions, collections and special issues of magazines focused on the subject. Numerous conferences were held on it, and various research groups were launched. Many sociological studies particularly, in the field of migration research begin from the finding that the transnationalisation of migration policies, which is accompanied by and is in response to, the increasing transnationalisation of practices of migration itself, also demands a realignment of migration research towards 'transnational approaches' (cf. Hess 2005). Transnational migration as such, is an old phenomenon, but a new type of international migration is emerging in terms of quantity and quality.

Transnationalisation. This is not completely new in historical terms, but it is something new that has emerged in the past decade in the context of increasing international movements of goods, people and information. This process is widening and deepening, with the formation of relatively long-term, densely packed, pluri-local, cross-border relations between social practices, symbol systems and artefacts. These emerging cross-border formations may have mainly economic, cultural or political dimensions – as a rule, their dynamism is determined by complex interactions between these dimensions (Pries 2008: 44 et seq.).

These transnationalisation processes have led to feelings of belonging together, common cultural roots, interlinking in communication, working relationships (ibid.). They have an impact on everyday living and on the related organisations and societal orders and regulations, and may lead to the formation of close-knit, stable *social structures and social spaces*, going beyond the borders of national states. Transnational migration contributes in these different facets to change in socio-cultural perceptions and life concepts, political identities, borders and orders, financial transfer and local economic development.

---

[1] **A faulty version of this text was published in Maren Gag et al. (Eds.) (2011): Globalisation and Opportunities: Vocational Education for Transnational Careers, Radom: Institute for Sustainable Technologies, pp. 10-21. Two missing titles have been added to the bibliography, and passages which were copied verbatim from these publications are now marked as quotations. We regret for any harm caused.**

The transnationalisation paradigm is understood in migration research, as an epistemological and methodological construct that covers development at a political and conceptual level. It also provides an insight into new and old strategies of migrants, which could not have previously been explained by conventional social and cultural approaches to migration research (cf. Hess 2005). In the perspective of transnationalism, migration becomes a new key dimension into human existence, providing a sociological diagnosis of current social transformations (cf. Pries 2008: 196). The following sections are also intended to demonstrate that the productivity of a transnational perspective in migration research may be doubted in individual cases.

Transmigration – a 'new' migration type? Research into vocational education has historically operated under the assumption that efforts to provide training in work skills to migrants should be aimed at equipping migrants for work, or integration into employment system of the host country. In many cases, there existed a priority goal to provide skills that would prepare migrants to return to their country of origin. This 'space conflict' between orientation to two different, nationally defined labour markets; that of the country of immigration and that of the country of origin, is a common theme in international employment and educational policy. Sometimes in the background and sometimes in the foreground.

This approach assumes that migration is a one-off event, and above all that it is a transitional event in the life development of mobile people, *aimed either* at permanent settlement in the new country *or* at return to the "old country". Whilst this may be true for some migrants, there are others for whom return is neither possible nor desirable, for a wide range of reasons. In addition, their lives may be characterised by a number of migration movements. Such *transnational migrants* often move around for years or even decades between their country of origin and the country of migration, or between a number of cities, regions, countries and continents. The conventional educational institutions are not in a position to respond adequately to the development of these kinds of transnational lifestyles, and the majority of existing employment market programmes gives no consideration at all to this kind of lifestyle. This has fatal consequences.

Migration research has clearly demonstrated that educational biographies and the working careers of migrants potentially operate on a transnational basis (Lutz 2007). This insight has far-reaching consequences for general and vocational education and training and raises the question of which places, regions or countries this education and training should relate to. "The conventional concept of the "immigrant" is also called into question by Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992, 1997) in their fundamental contributions to transnationalism as the new paradigm for migration research. The old concept evokes images of a definitive break, of a process of uprooting, of turning away from the old patterns, and the painstaking process of acquiring a new language and new culture. In contrast to this model, they describe a 'new type' of transmigrants, who are relatively self-determined, and move actively in transnational social fields" (Niedrig/Schroeder 2004: 86):

"Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously" (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992: 1 et seq.).

Thus migrants from Afghanistan for example are often linked into global social networks, which stretch between their country of origin, through transit countries (e.g. Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Russia), the country of exile (e.g. Germany) – which is often not the same country for the different members of the family – and the countries of onward migration

(e.g. USA, Canada). Within these network relationships, they act with great skill and gain, living 'globally', sometimes here and sometimes there, as shown in the following example.

Life in a transnational network of relations
K Khaled ● Female and ▲ Male members of the family

	Afghanistan	Pakistan	Russia	Germany	Austria
1975	● ▲ ● ▲ ● ▲ K (●) ▲ ▲				
1988	● ▲ ● ▲ ● ▲ ▲	K	● K ● ▲ ▲		▲
1991	● ▲ ● ● ▲ ▲		● ● ▲ ▲	▲ K	▲
1997	● K ● ● ▲ ▲ ● ▲ ▲ ●		● ● ▲ ▲	▲ ●	
2001			● ● ▲ ▲	▲ ● K ● ▲	▲K
2004		K ▲ ▲	● ● ▲ ▲	▲ ● ● ▲ ▲	
2005			● ● ▲ ▲	▲ ● ● ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲	K

The transnationally organised family shown here is presented from the perspective of *Khaled* a man born in Afghanistan in 1975. He grew up in a multi-generation family, with his parents and two older sisters, (one of whom had two sons of her own), and two older brothers, and a younger sister born in 1976.Because of the civil war and corresponding acts of terrorism in Afghanistan, *Khaled, aged 13* fled to Pakistan in 1988 to escape forced conscription by the Taliban. After a few months in a refugee camp in Pakistan, he made his way to Russia, where his second oldest sister had been living for a few years as a single mother with her three children. Meanwhile, his oldest brother was living as a recognised refugee in Austria.
Khaled turned up in Germany in 1991, where he initially lived in accommodation for asylum seekers, and then in his own rented rooms. His second oldest brother recently came to Germany and is living about 100 km away from *Khaled.*
In 1997 his father died, and *Khaled* was sent back to Afghanistan to take over the role of male head of the family, and to look after his mother, his sisters and their children who were still living there. When the oldest brother was diagnosed with life-threatening cancer in 2001, *Khaled* was sent to Vienna to provide care for him. In 2004, the family decided that he should find two nephews living in a camp in Pakistan, and take them to his brother living in Germany, who was now married and had two children of his own. After a stay of nearly one year in Pakistan, he managed to find the children and take them back to Germany. Fairly soon after that *Khaled* went to Vienna, where he remains.

A family order of this nature is depicted in migration research as a *transnational social network relationship*, which typically has the following characteristics:

- Individuals grow up, go to school, and work at different places in different countries. The family relations are widespread and internationally distributed (*pluri-locality* and *transnationality*);

- The social ties are very stable, not only appearing at family celebrations, but as relatively reliable and resilient networks, with high and binding reciprocal expectations (*obligation relationship*);
- Within these transnational social network relationships there is ongoing circulation of money, goods and people, especially children, and for organisation of mutual support (*resource transfer*);
- Transnational social network relationships should not be interpreted as cultural or ethnic phenomena, but rather as a means of securing existence (*survival strategies*).

***Khaled*'s educational and working career**		
1980-1987	Afghanistan	Primary school
1987-1988	Afghanistan	Secondary school
1988-1992	Afghanistan, Pakistan, Russia	No school
1992-1993	Germany	6 language courses German (Volkshochschule)
1993-1994	Germany	Vocational preparation year
1994-1995	Germany	1 year vocational training school
1995-1996	Germany	1 year training as nursing auxiliary
1997-2000	Afghanistan	3 years training as nurse
2001	Germany	Work as nurse
2001-2002	Austria	Holiday granted in Germany, to care for brother
from 2004	Austria	Work as nurse
2004-2008	Austria	Evening school
Since 2008	Austria	Studying for degree in medicine

Reconstruction of the educational career of the young man shows a pattern, which is on the one hand remarkably focused, as a 14-year old illiterate, *Khaled* had already decided that he wanted to become a doctor, and he is now studying medicine. On the other hand, the course of his education can at best be described as "modularised", seeking and acquiring some education here and there, but an education that was marked by many interruptions. It also shows the basic problem that inclusive educational systems can no longer be developed in national state contexts, but complex migration biographies like this call for educational spaces which are likewise organised in a pluri-local and transnational way if they are to give those affected any real chance of education.

Transnational social spaces. Analyses conducted in migration research show that remaining for a number of years in one place in the world is a typical life practice only for possibly a very small section of people. For many others, migration is the dominant biographical experience. Historically, there are various forms of migration, from one city to another and long-distance migration, continuing right into the present in various forms of organisation of social space. With migration for working purposes or of refugees, in transnationally organised social relationships, as experienced in the forms of diaspora, in extended family networks, in ethnic communities, and also in new forms of social networks. This leads us to assume that there are a large number of historically and culturally formed practices in the organisation of social life connections, and also very different socially structured spaces in individual biographies. Individuals sometimes are spending a longer time in one place, sometimes changing location in rapid succession, and perhaps even living in two places simultaneously. Educational sciences attempt to capture this social phenomenon through the concept of *transnational social spaces*.

Transnational social spaces. "These are the new social network relationships, which are geographically/spatially diffuse or multi-local, and at the same time constitute a social space which is not only transitory, but is both an important reference structure for social

positions and positioning, and also determines everyday practical life, biographical and working projects and identities of the people concerned, and at the same time extends beyond the social context of national societies" (Pries 1997: 34).

"The definition of this theoretical construct […] fits into a social-science view of migration, which emphasises the creative and positive impulses for society as a whole and criticises the European employment and educational systems. Traditional migration research favours a dichotomous view of migration – *either* the migrants are here only on a provisional basis and have to be prepared for their return to their culture of origin (maintenance of return capability) *or* they are going to stay here, and they need to adapt to the host society (promotion of integration) […]" (Niedrig/Schroeder 2004: 81). The construct of 'transnational social spaces' emphasises that migrants are simultaneously involved in intensive social relations at a number of locations, at the same time and on an ongoing basis.

Farid. Farid fled from Iraq as a 14-year-old. Initially he found refuge with relatives somewhere in Russia. He stayed there for nearly two years, working in a small electrical appliances shop owned by his uncle. Then he returned to Iraq for a short period, but was unable to find his family who had remained there. He discovered that they had probably been killed in the civil war. Farid decided to go to his older sister in Switzerland, but did not succeed. The smugglers who were to take him there took him to Germany instead. The authorities refused to allow him to transfer to Switzerland within the framework of international family reunification, despite the fact that Farid was still a minor at that time. Therefore, he stayed in Germany, took his junior high-school leaving certificate, and began training as a motor mechanic. He married a woman from Syria, who had long been living in Germany. Her siblings had established their own livelihoods in the USA Argentina, Saudi-Arabia and India. Farid and his wife are now considering where they should emigrate to; they only know that they do not want to live in Germany (intolerable) or in Iraq (impossible).

"A number of writers take a largely optimistic view of transnationalisation of social relations. Emphasising mainly the creativity and self-determination of such pluri-local relations. But some indicate that such 'transnational social spaces', like all social spaces, are constituted in relationships of dominance and mastery, which are pervasive there […] Thus, Mecheril and Plösser reach the following conclusion in their analysis of the [life situation] […] of migrants in Germany (Niedrig/Schroeder 2004: 81 et seq.): "The positioning possibilities of people in these 'transnational spaces' (Pries) are certainly not 'free'. So increasing de-localisation and de-nationalisation does not mean emancipation of the new 'transnational' social spaces from social and societal constraints and structures" (Mecheril/Plösser 2000: 5).

There is dramatic evidence for this objection through work with refugees. Whether or not migrants can make productive use of the transnational dimension of their biographies depends above all on the political and legal framework conditions are stratified in nature and confer varying rights to different categories of migrants. The rights accorded are particularly restrictive for asylum seekers and "tolerated persons". Therefore, teaching and social work with migrants has account for the tensions between the transnational dimension and the legal limitations, i.e. migration takes place in what is potentially a cross-border space, providing corresponding economic, social and cultural resources. However, it is a limited, supervised, and in some cases restrictively structured social space.

Sushil. I am 24 years old, and I come from Afghanistan. I fled from there with my family to Germany 9 years ago. I had seven years of schooling in Afghanistan. After arriving in Hamburg, I had one year of preparation class, and then attended the *Realschule*; after two years I obtained my certificate. Then I attended a *Gymnasium*, and obtained the *Fachabitur*. I was 21 years old at the time. For the next two years I applied for training places. I got offers

for two training places, but as a *Geduldeter* I could not get a work permit, so I was not able to start the training. At the beginning of 2006 the *Ausländerbehörde* threatened to deport me, and sent me to the German Red Cross for counselling my return. The counsellor was very kind and sent me on to a training project in EQUAL. They found a placement for me in a restaurant. The General Manager offered me a training place starting on 1st of August 2006. That was an additional training place, but despite that the *Ausländerbehörde* wanted to deport me in June. My deportation was stopped only by means of discussions between my counsellor in the sub-project, the coordination organisation, and the Ministry, so that my application was processed. Then they gave me the assurance that I would able to stay. From then on, I was able to concentrate on my training, without having fear that I would be deported during the training. For the first time, I had the opportunity to do what I wanted, and to show what I can do. My results at school and at work are good. The only difficult point is that I do not get vocational training support like the young Germans.

According to Pries, differentiation is needed in the concept of national state 'container societies' which are based on a "double exclusive interlinking of geographical space and social space" (Pries 2008:116), whereby there is only one geographical space per social space, and only one social space per geographical space. On the basis of recent research this has to be viewed in a different way. There are examples of *over-layering of social space in the same geographical space* and likewise *pluri-local extension of social spaces covering several geographical spaces* (cf. Pries 2008: 116 et seq.). So, the principal challenge is to move away from the traditional thinking of the traditional images of the sovereign national container societies, which are more or less stable in themselves and more or less self-sufficient, but without denying the binding potential of geographical spaces as national states. The concept of transnationalisation continues to view national states and societies as basic analytical reference units, and assumes that they continue to exercise a structuring force, whist at the same time viewing the new (and old) social-space interrelations beyond and above these social and geographical linkages in the form of container societies. This implies moving beyond methodological nationalism, i.e. the "assumption that the national/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer/Glick-Schiller 2002: 302).

Transnational mobility and national-state educational institutions are increasingly coming into conflict. The general school and vocational training system operates on the assumption, presumed to be natural, that an individual gains education by going through stages which build on one another, in one and the same educational space, understood as the national territory of which that individual is a citizen. However, it is evident from migration biographies that educational careers are more likely to be pursued on a fragmented basis, crossing national borders. There are also many counselling concepts, funding programmes, political statements and laws which fail to take account of transmigrants, and do not see their educational, training and employment needs as transnational projects. So needs oriented counselling, education and training concepts are on trial here. Many vocational training programmes are designed exclusively from the perspective of the two-way option, i.e. their concepts are based on promotion of return and assistance for integration.

Transnationalism and gender. The transnational circulation of people, ideas, goods and products, coupled with the global establishment of new communication systems and forms of knowledge bring movement into the conditions and possibilities of social coexistence (Pries 2008). Migrations across national borders are changing the relationships between the sexes in the countries of origin and in the host countries (Lenz 2003). The process of transnationalisation challenges normativity, i.e. the complex interaction of discourses and practices that constantly renegotiates what is considered normal, right and just in relations between the sexes (Lutz 2007). So transnationalisation may be regarded as *one* decisive impulse in new formation of the gender order, and at the same time gender relations

have a major influence on transnationalisation processes. We hear of the "gender revolution" (Beck et al. 2001: 23) or even the "End of Patriarchalism" (Castells 2002: 147).

However, the transnational perspective indicates conflict and contrary developments. Women continue to have poor quality of life worldwide, in terms of life expectancy, literacy rate, access to education, and annual income (United Nations Development Programme 2007). The gender specific distribution of work, one of the central pillars of any gender order, continues, and is reinforced by transnational migration processes (Lutz 2007). Differences between women also point to a number of conflicts of interest beyond the question of gender, and the question of whose conditions of life are being improved at whose expense.

So processes of transnationalisation are by no means gender-neutral. In fact they are linked to gender relations in a range of different and often conflicting ways: "Globalization processes are interrelated with gender in various and contradictory ways. On the one hand, they contribute to the erosion of national gender orders. Thus, they are part of the transformations that may open futures for new gender contracts. On the other hand, they are forming in the context of deep historical inequality" (Lenz 2003: 21).

This is particularly evident in gender-sensitive consideration of migration movements ('Feminisation of migration'; cf. for example Lutz 2005: 66 et seq., Lenz 2003: 27) and the accompanying change in conditions of work: "The successful exploitation of global markets by female migrations results not only in new migration patterns and new gendered labour markets but is also an important agent for transformations of gender relations" (Dannecker 2005: 655).

So it is often demanded that transnationalisation processes be regarded as gendered processes, having the inherent potential to generate changes in long-term, fundamental definitions and boundaries with respect to gender, and to open them up, or to reify and close them. As early as the beginning of the 1990s, Patricia R. Pessar and Sarah J. Mahler repeatedly pointed out 'male bias' in migration research in general, and specifically in trans-nationalisation research (making women 'invisible' by implicit focus on the 'male migrant' as the normal case):

"Gender has been regularly sidelined in scholarly research on international migration over the past 100 years. The same pattern holds, regrettably, for the more recent breakthroughs in migration studies led by early proponents of the transnational framework" (Pessar/Mahler 2003: 812 et seq.).

Fundamental empirical surveys and differentiated theoretical concepts are needed for consistent and fruitful analysis. Further research is needed to determine how gender relations change in the transnationalisation processes, what structures are created, what specific political and social and symbolic configurations are established, and what concepts and tools can be used to describe these developments. What cultural, social and political contexts in transnationalisation processes are decisively structured by gender and as a function of gender relationships and under what conditions do *transnational, cross-border migrations* lead to a transformation of gender relations?

What does "transnational perspective" mean? As explained above "the 'transnational perspective' in sociological migration research has become established by critical distinction from a perspective, which, implicitly and unquestioningly assumes that the 'social space' (cf. Pries 1997: 27) of a society is the same as its geographical territory. But such 'methodological nationalism' in social-science research is not capable of perceiving and analysing migration-induced phenomena of community formation which crosses national borders (cf. Wimmer/Glick-Schiller 2002). The classic 'migration research' methods are based on a container-type space concept, perceiving migratory movements as one-way

migration from one container-space to another. That leads to one-sided focus on migration motives on the one hand, and on integration and assimilation processes in the host society on the other (cf. Pries 1997: 30 et seq.). In contrast, transnationalism research views itself as a new, complementary and corrective perspective to research, looking at the phenomenon of multiple, multi-directional migration – the accompanying 'complex social network relations'. This rapidly leads to 'transnational social spaces' which are described as 'a new area of social life that runs crosswise compared with the society of the host country and the country of origin' (cf. Goebel/Pries 2003: 37)" (Fürstenau/Niedrig 2007: 240 et seq.).

It is therefore proposed that, in the Leonardo project, we should take a systematic *transnational perspective* in our approach to the conditions of life, educational needs and future wishes of social groups, which, are subject to relatively uniform labour market and educational exclusion structures in the EU. We should examine whether free scope can be found in access to the employment systems; and we should ask what approaches of vocational promotion have proven successful, and what recommendations can be derived from that.

"Representatives of traditional migration sociology defend the claim that they can describe all forms of migration process adequately with an assimilation and integration theory (expanded where necessary) (cf. Alba/Nee 1999; Esser 2001). Their criticism of the concept of transnational migration draws our attention to (unanswered) […] questions [and unspecified differentiations] […] (Fürstenau/Niedrig 2007: 241). So, if our Leonardo project is to link onto these insights of social sciences, described as new forms of migration and specific strategies of migration, which in turn are said to have consequences for the design of social institutions, then a transnational perspective should give greater understanding of migration and a view of general and vocational education which is decidedly based on the social location. It is advisable to consider the following differentiations and objections, among others.

Firstly, transnationalism research refers to the fact that transnational migration leads to specific patterns of growing up (biographisation) and adopting of space (spacing) of children, teenagers and younger and older adults (Ecarius 1997, Löw 2001). Transnational social spaces are generally seen as 'adult social spaces', with no differentiation by *age group* or age-specific access to resources. But it seems quite plausible to assume that social spaces are subdivided into historically grown and constantly changing age-specific social fields, which cannot be used by all social players regardless of age. On the contrary, it is possible to describe social spaces of children, of adolescents, young adults, adults, and of older people, which differ from one another in their range of opportunities in their resources, in their access and exclusion rules, and in their institutional structures, etc. In the course of biographical development, the individual thus has to move through these age-specific social fields.

Secondly, we have "to consider the issue of inter-generational stability of transnational social spaces. Critics say that the 'transnationalists' are doing nothing more than observing the well-known old transition phenomena; strong social links with the society of origin are typical of 'first generation' immigrants. They argue that; final social decoupling from the country of origin and simultaneously integration in the host society will be completed in the second or at the latest in the third generation. Continued social integration into the ethnic group of origin would imply undesirable 'ethnic segmentation' in the host society and would generally be viewed as a sign of failure in migration (cf. Esser 2001: 103). The question arises in this context of the possibilities and forms of intra-generational stability of transnational social spaces […] [and] what position transnational orientation can have for socialisation and educational careers" (Fürstenau/Niedrig 2007: 241).

Thirdly, another criticism is directed "at the neglect of social inequality in trans-nationalism research, i.e. the question of how far an immigrant succeeds in the equal

allocation of the resources of the host society (cf. Bommes 2002: 95). Participation could be regarded as successful *structural assimilation* where it is positive, and would practically rule out continued integration in the ethnic society of origin because, though multiple integration is theoretically conceivable, it is highly improbable in practical terms (cf. Esser 2001: 99)" (Fürstenau/Niedrig 2007: 241). Clarification has to be sought on "how social positioning "in terms of inclusion and exclusion can be addressed in the context of transnational mobility, implying a questioning of what multiple integration means. An important consideration here would be an analysis of education and training careers and orientations. The relevant literature has so far concentrated on employment biographies and transfer of economic capital. This consideration would put educational biographies in the spotlight and on the accumulated cultural capital and its transferability**"** (ibid.: 242).

Fourthly, the current debate has not only led to demands to take gender specifics into account, but has also given rise to a controversy as to whether the *heteronormative gender order* created in the process of socialisation is reproduced or transformed by transmigration (Taherifard 2007, Thielen 2009). It is apparent that the everyday life practice of many people is still decisively characterised by heteronormative patterns, despite the loosening of these patterns as celebrated by the media. Naturalising, biological interpretations of relationship patterns, family models, gender roles and sexual orientation remain the standard, and form the basis for structuring and restructuring processes of gender differences and hierarchical gender order.

Fifthly, the current debate on 'transnational education' is examined from two perspectives (Fürstenau 2004): One, with a particular focus on the life experiences of migrants who grow up in socially disadvantaged settings and in politically and legally regulated systems (*minority formation*). The second analyses focuses on how young people from a wealthy background utilise the opportunities of the globalised educational market which are available and open to them (*elite formation*). These two perspectives should not be seen as a dichotomy, but as being linked together at the level of players and institutions, in order to recognise the function of education with the new positionings in the social space evoked by transmigration (social upgrading and downgrading).

Sixthly, transnationalism research on education assumes that educational careers tend to be 'modularised' under conditions of transnational migration, i.e. education is acquired with interruptions at some stages, and often in roundabout ways. In national state order patterns, 'educational space' and 'territory' are the same; but transnational migration requires institutional educational spaces to be decoupled from national-state territories, creating trans-national educational spaces which help to give the individuals present in a territory increased options to meet their demand for education (ZfE 2004, Parreira 2006, Ioannidou 2008). There exists a conflict between transnational ways of life and national-state legislations and social institutions.

Many migrants enter educational institutions of the host country that are still unable to respond to 'lateral entrants'. This is because the prevailing assumption is that children and young people go through just *one* educational system *without interruptions*, i.e. the educational system of the host country. They are faced with educational systems which are only just beginning to show any interest in migrants at all, and are very slow at permitting access to higher levels of training and correspondingly well paid employment. They are faced with employment systems, which, in the last decade have become more accessible in the European context, but have become increasingly closed to migrants from outside the EU (third country nationals). These migrants are unable to develop life careers which repeatedly span national borders, because the social systems which they are necessarily dependent upon remain rooted in national-state logic and as a result tend to exclusion.

Bibliography

Alba, Richard; Nee, Victor 1999: Rethinking Assimilation. Theory for a New Era of Immigration. In: Hirschmann, Charles et al. (Ed.): The Handbook of International Migration. New York.

Beck, Ulrich et. al. 2001: Die Modernisierung der Moderne. Frankfurt/Main.

Bommes, Michael 2002. Migration, Raum und Netzwerke. In: Olmer, Jochen (Hrsg.) (2002). Schriften des Instituts für Migrationsfroschung und interkulturelle Studien, Heft 11, Osnabrück, 91-105.

Bommes, Michael 2003: Der Mythos des transnationalen Raumes. In: Tränhardt, Dietrich; Hunger, Uwe (Hrsg.): Migration im Spannungsfeld von Globalisierung und Nationalstaat. Wiesbaden, 90-116.

Castells, Manuel 2002: Das Informationszeitalter. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur. Opladen.

Dannecker, Petra 2005: Transnational Migration and the Transformation of Gender relations: The Case of Bangladeshi Labour Migranets. In: Current Sociology 53 (4) 2005, 655-674.

Ecarius, Jutta 1997: Lebenslanges Lernen und Disparitäten in sozialen Räumen. In: Ecarius, Jutta; Löw, Martina (Hg.): Raumbildung – Bildungsräume. Über die Verräumlichung sozialer Prozesse. Opladen, 33-62.

Esser, Hartmut 2001: Kulturelle Pluralisierung und strukturelle Assimilation: das Problem der ethnischen Schichtung. In: Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft 7 (2), 97-108.

Fürstenau, Sara 2004: Transnationale (Aus-)Bildungs- und Zukunftsorientierungen. Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung unter zugewanderten Jugendlichen portugiesischer Herkunft. In: Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft 7 (2004) 1, 33-57.

Fürstenau, Sara; Niedrig, Heike 2008: Jugend in transnationalen Räumen. Bildungslaufbahnen von Migrantenjugendlichen mit unterschiedlichem Rechtsstatus. In: Geisen, Thomas; Riegel, Christine (Hrsg.): Jugend, Partizipation und Migration. Orientierungen im Kontext von Integration und Ausgrenzung. Wiesbaden, 239-259.

Glick-Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda; Szanton-Blanc, Cristina (Ed.) 1992: Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered. Vol. 645, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences. New York.

Glick-Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda; Szanton-Blanc, Cristina 1997: From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. In: Pries, Ludger (Hrsg.), 121-140.

Goebel, Dorothea; Pries, Ludger 2003: Transnationale Migranten und die Inkorporation von Migranten. In: Swiaczny, Frank; Haug, Sonja (Hrsg.): Migration – Integration – Minderheiten. Wiesbaden, 35-48.

Hess, Sabine 2005: Globalisierte Hausarbeit. Au-pair als Migrationsstrategie von Frauen aus Osteuropa. Wiesbaden.

Hoerder, D; Hébert, Y.; Schmitt, I. 2006: Negotiating Transcultural Lives: belongings and social capital among youth in comparative perspectives. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Homfeldet, H.G.; Schröer, W.; Schweppe, C. (Hrsg. 2008): Soziale Arbeit und Transnationalität. Herausforderungen eines spannungsreichen Bezugs. Weinheim/München.

Hunner-Kreisel, Christine; Schäfer, Arne; Witte, Matthias D. (Hrsg.) 2008: Jugend, Bildung und Globalisierung. Sozialwissenschaftliche Reflexionen in internationaler Perspektive. München/Weinheim.

Ioannidou, Alexandra 2008: Governance-Instrumente im Bildungsbereich im transnationalen Raum. In: Hartz, Stefanie; Schrader, Josef (Hrsg.): Steuerung und Organisation in der Weiterbildung. Bad Heilbrunn, 91-110.

Lenz, Ilse 2003: Globalization, Gender, and Work: Perspectives on Global Regulation. In: Review of Policy Research 20 (1) 2003, 21-44.

Löw, Martina 2001: Raumsoziologie. Frankfurt am Main.

Lutz, Helma 2005: Der Privathaushalt als Weltmarkt für weibliche Arbeitskräfte. In: Peripherie 25 (97) 2005, 65-87.

Lutz, Helma 2007: Vom Weltmarkt in den Privathaushalt. Die neuen Dienstmädchen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung. Opladen.

Mecheril, Paul; Plößer, Melanie 2000: Semantiken räumlicher Positionierung. Selbstverständnisse Migrationsgezeichneter. In: Bukow, W.-D.; Nikodem, C.; Yildiz, E. (Hrsg.): Auf dem Weg zur Stadtgesellschaft. Die multikulturelle Stadt zwischen Neuorientierung und Restauration. Opladen, 127-144.

Niedrig, Heike; Schroeder, Joachim 2004: Bildungsperspektiven jugendlicher Transmigranten. Chancen und Barrieren im Bildungswesen aus Sicht afrikanischer Migrantenjugendlicher in Hamburg. In: Oßenbrügge, Jürgen; Reh, Mechthild (Eds.): Social Spaces of African Societies. Applications and Critique of Concepts about "Transnational Social Spaces". Hamburg, 77-109.

Oswald, Ingrid 2006: Neue Migrationsmuster. Flucht aus oder in die „Überflüssigkeit"? In: Bude, Heinz; Willisch, Andreas (Hg.): Das Problem der Exklusion. Hamburg, 200-224.

Parreira do Amaral, M. 2006: The Influence of Transnational Organizations on National Education Systems. Frankfurt am Main.

Pessar, Patricia R.; Mahler, Sarah J. 2003: Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender in. In: International Migration Review 37 (3) 2003, 812-846.
Pries, Ludger 1997: Neue Migration im transnationalen Raum. In: ders. (Hrsg.): Transnationale Migration. Soziale Welt, Sonderband 12, Baden-Baden, 15-44.
Pries, Ludger 2008: Die Transnationalisierung der sozialen Welt. Sozialräume jenseits von Nationalgesellschaften. Frankfurt/Main.
Taherifard, Maryam 2007: Sittlichkeit und Sinnlichkeit. Weibliche Sexualität im Iran. Königstein im Taunus.
Thielen, Marc 2009: Wo anders leben? Migration, Männlichkeit und Sexualität. Münster.
United Nations 2007: Human Development Programme 2007. New York.
Vertovec, Steven 2003: Conceiving and researching transnationalism. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies 22 (2), 447-462.
Wimmer, Andreas; Glick-Schiller, Nina 2002: Methodological nationalism and beyond: national-state building, migration and the social sciences. In: Global networks 2 (4), 301-334.
Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft 2004: Schwerpunkt: Transnationale Bildungsräume. Heft 1.