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HIGHER EDUCATION TRAJECTORIES
AND SOCIAL ORIGIN
IN GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES:
A COMPARATIVE SEQUENCE-ANALYTICAL
APPROACH

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Abstract

Students' higher education trajectories as holistic educational processes are an underresearched aspect, particularly in the German context. This cumulative thesis fills this gap by investigating students' trajectories through bachelor's degree courses in German and US higher education. In terms of methodology, it is based on a sequence-analytical approach using two student panel data sets (the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS) and the US Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS)) and comprises a literature review and three empirical research articles, each providing a different theoretical and conceptual angle.

Higher education is a non-compulsory educational phase, implying students are granted more autonomy and more choice but also require more personal responsibility to plan a path through higher education. As such, it is assumed that parents' cultural resources – defined here as higher education-specific knowledge – and economic resources shape students' trajectories to enable them to proceed through their studies in a more continuous or linear way and prevent students from experiencing complex trajectories, such as delays, interruptions or detours.

To begin with, the literature review, constructed as a narrative review with systematic elements, captured the state of research on higher education trajectories by reviewing peer-reviewed journal articles from a wide range of mainly higher education research journals. It revealed that this research area is rather heterogeneous and dominated by studies focusing on the United States.

Research articles one and two employ similar research strategies – sequence analyses followed by cluster analyses. Stressing the relationship between parents' resources and students' trajectories, the first article concentrates exclusively on students in German research universities, whereas the second also considers students at universities of applied sciences. Overall, these studies reveal that

the trajectories of students at the universities of applied sciences are more often linear, while the opposite applies to students at research universities and students of low social origin, pointing towards the hypothesised effect of parental resources. Furthermore, students of low social origin are more likely to follow a linear standard trajectory when studying at a university of applied sciences compared to at a research university.

In the third paper, based on the premise that trajectories are systematically shaped by the institutional context of the higher education system, students' trajectories in German and US higher education are compared, allowing to simultaneously a view on system-level characteristics and national idiosyncrasies.

US higher education provides almost universal access, is very marketised and highly differentiated, thereby accommodating diverse demands and heterogeneous student groups. By contrast, German higher education, based on public funding and regulation, early ability tracking and low permeability, restricts access and provides an overall much less diversified study offering. Consequently, research article three revealed that students' trajectories are overall less standardised in US higher education – but this differs greatly by higher education sector, whereas the trajectories of students in the (selective) research universities are overall more standardized. Furthermore, the social origin differences were quite pronounced in the United States, whereas the social origin effect was almost nonexistent for students in German higher education in this study (based on a different sequence-analytical approach). Remarkable, though, remains the finding that students' trajectories are less linear at German research universities compared to the universities of applied sciences – even more so among students of low social origin – while US research universities facilitate linear trajectories. Overall, this dissertation provides an important

contribution to the state of research on link between social origin, students' trajectories and how this link is mediated by the institutional context of the respective higher education system.

Zusammenfassung

Studierende sind während ihrem Studium mit einer Reihe von Entscheidungen konfrontiert, z.B. bezüglich ihrer inhaltlichen Schwerpunktsetzung, wie sie Erwerbstätigkeit und Studium kombinieren möchten oder ob und wann sie einen Auslandsaufenthalt durchführen möchten. Der Fokus der bisherigen Forschung zu diesen Bildungsentscheidungen und den daraus resultierenden Verläufen lag dabei vor allem auf der Untersuchung singulärer Ereignisse und Übergänge, wie zum Beispiel Transitionen von einer Bildungsetappe in die nächste oder Studienabbrüchen. Im Gegensatz dazu sind Studienverläufe als ganzheitlicher Bildungsprozess im deutschen Hochschulkontext bisher wenig erforscht.

Daher ergänzt diese kumulative Dissertation den Forschungsstand um eine holistische Perspektive auf Studienverläufe (einschließlich Studienabbrüchen, -unterbrechungen, -dauer und Fachwechseln). Dazu wurden die Studienverläufe von Bachelorstudierenden im deutschen und amerikanischen Hochschulsystem auf Basis zweier Längsschnittstudien, der Studierendenkohorte des deutschen Nationalen Bildungspanels (NEPS) und der amerikanischen *Beginning Postsecondary Students* (BPS) Panelstudie, mittels Sequenzanalyse rekonstruiert.

Insgesamt besteht die Dissertation aus vier Forschungsartikeln und einem Rahmentext. Ein bereits veröffentlichter Artikel liefert einen systematischen Überblick über den internationalen Stand der Forschung zu Studienverläufen, während sich drei empirische Studien mit dem Zusammenhang von sozialer Herkunft, Hochschulkontext und Studienverläufen befassen. Dabei unterscheiden sich Studienverläufe grundsätzlich von vorherigen Bildungsprozessen: ein Hochschulstudium ist eine nicht obligatorische und weniger regulierte Bildungsphase als vorherige; Studierende können ihr Studium zu einem gewissen Grad individuell zu gestalten. Dies erfordert zum einen mehr Eigeninitiative und proaktive Planung, aber auch Ressourcen – sowohl ökonomische als auch im

Sinne von Wissen und Information. Je nach Hochschulkontext unterscheidet sich jedoch der Grad der individuellen Gestaltungsfreiraume – und somit auch die Bedeutung der individuellen Ressourcenausstattung.

Der erste empirische Artikel konzentriert sich daher auf die Mikro-Ebene der Studierenden an deutschen Forschungsuniversitäten und untersucht, wie die mit der sozialen Herkunft einhergehenden kulturellen und ökonomischen Ressourcen Studienverläufe prägen. Eingebettet in die historische Entwicklung einzelner Organisationstypen im deutschen Hochschulsystem befasst sich die zweite empirische Studie mit der Frage nach systematischen Unterschieden in Studienverläufen und deren Ursachen an deutschen Forschungsuniversitäten und (Fach-)Hochschulen. Die dritte empirische Studie vergleicht Studienverläufe im deutschen und amerikanischen Hochschulsystem mit einem Schwerpunkt auf sozialer Ungleichheit und der „vermittelnden“ Funktion des institutionellen Hochschulkontexts.

Insgesamt zeigt sich, dass Studierende an deutschen (Fach-)Hochschulen häufiger lineare Studienverläufe aufweisen als Studierende an deutschen Forschungsuniversitäten – und dies gilt insbesondere für Studierende niedriger sozialer Herkunft. Der deutsch-amerikanische Vergleich ergab, dass Studienverläufe im deutschen Hochschulkontext insgesamt standardisierter sind als im ressourcen-intensiveren, differenzierten amerikanischen Kontext. Einerseits verfügen Studierende in den USA über mehr Möglichkeiten zur individuellen Gestaltung ihres Studienverlaufs, andererseits prägt die soziale Herkunft Studienverläufe jedoch wesentlich stärker als im deutschen Hochschulsystem.

Zusammengefasst liefert diese Dissertation zum einen eine theoretisch-konzeptionelle Annäherung an Bildungsentscheidungen im Hochschulkontext jenseits der „großen“ institutionellen Übergänge und betrachtet Studienverläufe im Kontext von unterschiedlichen

Ausgangslagen und institutionellen Strukturen. Zum anderen ergänzt sie die Hochschul- und Studierendenforschung methodisch um die sequenzanalytische Rekonstruktion von Studienverläufen.

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