

Between ethnic options and ethnic boundaries – Recent Polish and Turkish migrants' identification with Germany*

Claudia Diehl

University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany

Marion Fischer-Neumann

University of Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany

Peter Mühlau

Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland

Ethnicities

2016, Vol. 16(2) 236–260

© The Author(s) 2016

Reprints and permissions:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1468796815616156

etn.sagepub.com



Abstract

We describe migrants' early patterns of identification with the receiving society and explain why these differ by migrants' origins. Using longitudinal data from a novel survey among recent immigrants from Poland and Turkey in Germany enables us to analyse the nexus between social assimilation, ethnic boundaries and identification more directly than previous studies.

Theoretically, we start out from assimilation theory and its assumption that migrants' identification with the receiving country is a consequence of their preceding social and cognitive assimilation and from the literature on ethnic boundaries.

Results suggest that Turkish new migrants start out with higher levels of identification with Germany than Poles. Over time, however, their national identification decreases while it increases for Poles. This is partly explained by the fact that Turkish migrants' social assimilation stagnates; more importantly, only Turks perceive more rather than less discrimination and value incompatibility over time.

*This work uses data from the international project 'Socio-Cultural Integration Processes of New Immigrants in Europe' (SCIP) that was generously funded by the NORFACE Research Programme on Migration.

All authors have contributed equally to this article.

Corresponding author:

Claudia Diehl, University of Konstanz, Universitaetsstrasse 10, Konstanz 78465, Germany

Email: claudia.diehl@uni-konstanz.de

While both groups' identificational integration with the receiving country thus starts out from different conditions, they do not show a fundamentally dissimilar pattern with respect to the consequences of assimilation and discrimination for their national identification. Yet, the negative impact of the latter is stronger for Turks than for Poles, reflecting the greater salience of ethnic boundaries for this group.

Keywords

Assimilation, discrimination, recent migrants, identification, assimilation theory

Introduction

There is a renewed interest in migrants' 'emotional' or 'identificational' integration in the receiving societies (Joppke, 2007). This is not only reflected in the public debate on some, mostly Muslim migrant groups' alleged unwillingness to become full and loyal members of their receiving societies. There is also a substantial body of research in sociology, psychology and social psychology on migrants' identity patterns, on the factors influencing them and on their consequences, e.g. on psychological well-being, out-group attitudes or political engagement (Fischer-Neumann, 2014; Verkuyten and Martinovic, 2012). Some studies are based on experimental research (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000: 103ff.), others rely on survey data, for example from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). These studies mostly analyse the correlates of identity types or profiles using cross-sectional data (Schwartz, 2005: 299). They evince considerable inter-individual variation in ethnic and national identities. Correlates on the individual level include education (Zimmermann et al., 2007), proficiency in both the receiving and sending countries' languages (Esser, 2009), contact to majority and minority members (De Vroome et al., 2014; Leszczensky, 2013), citizenship status (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010) and experiences of discrimination (Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2007). Intergroup variation seems to be substantial as well, with some groups identifying more strongly with the receiving or sending country than others (Diehl and Schnell, 2006; Zimmermann et al., 2007). On the group level, ethnic group size, the degree of ethnic replenishment, residential segregation (Esser, 2004; Jiménez, 2008), as well as the salience and the nature of ethnic group boundaries play an important role (Verkuyten, 2005: 159).

In this paper, we will describe and explain early changes in recently arrived migrants' identification with the receiving country. Doing so will provide insight into a very dynamic phase in migrants' identities that has so far remained a black box in integration research. Migrating to a new country is a typical change in social context that social identity theorists have described as a trigger for changes in identity and their meanings (Howard, 2000: 379; Owens et al., 2010: 488): New – alternative or overarching – 'ethnic options' (Waters, 1990) are opening up as assimilated (e.g. 'German' or 'American'), hyphenated (e.g. 'Turkish-German') or pan ethnic (e.g. 'European') identities. Depending on their experiences

in the host society, e.g. discrimination due to their ethnic background, migrants may decide to distance themselves from or to embrace these new – or their old – identities.

We will focus on migrants' identification with the receiving country – i.e. their 'national' identification (see Verkuyten and Martinovic, 2012) or their 'identification/assimilation' (Gordon, 1964: 71) – rather than with their country of origin for theoretical, empirical and policy reasons. Theoretically, it can be assumed that being exposed to a new context affects migrants' identification with the receiving country more than their identification with the country of origin. After all, it seems unlikely that migrants abandon their homeland identity right away, even though this may happen in the long run. In turn, empirical evidence for reactive ethnic identities, although a prominent concept, is yet very scarce (Diehl and Schnell, 2006), and if it happens at all, it will probably not happen right after migrating to a new context but over time or in the next generation (Hansen, 1962; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Moreover, from a policy perspective, it seems important that new members of a society develop some sense of belonging to their new homeland and to understand which factors can hamper this process. Compared with this, the question of whether they maintain their ethnic identifications and thus develop some sort of 'dual' identity or abandon their old ties and identifications and become 'assimilated' seems less important. However, we will take into account findings from previous studies showing that there is an empirical correlation between these two – analytically separate – dimensions of identification (Skrobanek, 2009; Verkuyten and Martinovic, 2012; Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2007) by briefly presenting some preliminary findings on this issue in our conclusion.

Our analyses are based on novel data from a two-wave survey among recently arrived immigrants in Germany. We will assess how and why these patterns differ inter-individually and between migrants from various origins. In particular, we will analyse to which extent differences in migrants' identity trajectories reflect their ongoing cognitive (referring mostly to language acquisition) and social (referring mostly to making friends with majority members) assimilation processes as well as their group-specific reception contexts. Notably, differences in the nature of ethnic boundaries will be more salient for some immigrant groups than for others. By analysing longitudinal data collected among newly arrived migrants, our study moves beyond existing research in several respects. To our knowledge, no study on ethnic identity has so far focused on migrants who have moved to Europe only recently.

In the following, we will describe in further detail the theoretical arguments that guide our research and present existing empirical findings. These relate to changes in migrants' identification with the receiving country in general and to the role of their assimilation in other spheres and their experiences and perceptions of discrimination in particular. This section will be followed by a description of the ethnic groups under consideration here and the corresponding reception contexts and climates they face in Germany. Along with this, we will present our theory-driven expectations

about both groups' early identity trajectories. Based on this we will present our data, empirical findings, and finally sum up and discuss our results.

Theoretical background and existing findings

Theoretically, migrants' ethnic identities are examples of 'collective' or 'social identities', two terms that are often used interchangeably (Owens et al., 2010: 490). According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), social identity is 'that part of a person's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel, 1981: 255). There are many ways to measure immigrants' identities, most importantly, ethnic labelling and self-categorisation, the sense of belonging to a group, ethnic behaviour and in-group attitudes (Phinney and Ong, 2007). Many empirical studies on immigrant identities focus on their 'ethnic' and 'national' identifications, the former referring to migrants' identity as a member of the country of origin and the latter referring to their identification with the country of destination (Verkuyten and Martinovic, 2012).

Migrants' identification with the reception context: theoretical arguments. . .

When it comes to explaining if and why migrants identify with their new receiving country a canonical and simple answer is that this 'just happens' over time. Inter-individual and intergroup variations in the pace of this process are due to migrants' differential exposure to contexts and contacts that promote or hamper their identification with both contexts. This was the idea behind Milton M. Gordon's famous dictum that migrants' identification with the receiving country is the last and final stage of their integration process that follows more or less 'naturally' '[. . .] once structural integration has occurred [. . .]' (1964: 81). Migrants who have acquired the necessary language skills and left the ethnic niches of the receiving country's labour market meet majority members and enter the majority society's primary groups ('structural assimilation' in Gordon's terms). Once this step has been completed, their identification with the receiving country will automatically increase.

Gordon argues that this process might take several immigrant generations to be completed, implying that he had a rather long-time span in mind. But the idea that acculturation and social ties with majority members promote migrants' identification with the majority country can also be applied to first-generation migrants' national identification.¹ In order to come to testable conclusions about different groups' identity trajectories it is necessary, although, to identify the general mechanisms that are at work behind Gordon's assumption (see also De Vroome et al., 2014).

Migrants' *acculturation* can be considered to be the first step in their assimilation process. It has been argued that skills in the majority language influence migrants' identification with the receiving context (Walters et al., 2007) because they are a precondition for contacts with natives. Another important mechanism is that

speaking the receiving country's language comes along with a greater exposure to its values, norms and practices. Furthermore, language is an important means to indicate belonging and solidarity and to demarcate identities (Miller, 2000). It has also been argued that speaking the language of the receiving country increases minority members' similarity with majority members and that this enhances their identification with the latter (Hochman and Davidov, 2014: 346).

The relationship between *social assimilation* and national identification has also received some attention. One mechanism described in the sociological literature is based on the assumption that contacts with natives signal to minority members that ethnic boundaries are permeable and that belonging to the majority is a feasible strategy (Leszczensky, 2013, for a similar argument on the role of majority contacts in the naturalisation decision see Diehl and Blohm, 2003). According to SIT, permeability of intergroup boundaries is the main precondition for low status group members to abandon devalued group memberships/identities and to become members of higher status groups, which, in turn may foster positive social identities and psychological well-being (Tajfel, 1978). Verkuyten and Martinovic thus argue that in an '[...] intergroup group structure with permeable group boundaries, ethnic minority group members tend not to use strategies of ethnic identification and social competition, but rather national identification and individual mobility' (2012: 93).

Signalling permeability of ethnic boundaries is, however, not the only mechanism that links social and identificational assimilation. Interaction with majority members may again come along with increasing exposure to receiving society's norms, values and social practices and – for some groups more than for others – with the pressure to adopt these, including a national identification (Lubbers et al., 2007; Schulz and Leszczensky, 2015). Furthermore, contacts with natives offer opportunities to obtain social approval for declaring or showing loyalty to the receiving country (Esser, 2009: 360).

More recent theoretical approaches to migrants' adaptation emphasise the role of salient ethnic boundaries – i.e. socially relevant ethnic distinctions that matter in a given reception context (Wimmer, 2008: 975) – in migrants' assimilation process. Salient boundaries come along with some degree of social closure so that minority members' access to resources is limited, in other words: they are discriminated against by majority members (Wimmer, 2008: 980). In line with this argument, proponents of classical and neo assimilation theory have conceded that *discrimination* can slow down the integration process (Alba, 2005; Gordon, 1964: 78). It can affect both migrants' motivation to identify with the receiving country and their opportunities for doing so (Esser, 2009: 360). Feeling as an integral part of the receiving country may not only become less attractive if it is perceived as being exclusionary and discriminatory but will also reduce perceived opportunities to receive social approval for visible signs of loyalty. As a consequence, 'assimilation [...] as a strateg[y] for individuals to 'shift sides' and escape a minority stigma [...]' (Wimmer, 2008: 19) may be perceived as not being an option by individuals who feel discriminated against. This could negatively affect their readiness to identify with the majority.

While salient ethnic boundaries often come along with ethnic discrimination that may in turn hamper migrants' identification with the receiving society, another consequence of ethnic boundaries is also noteworthy. According to Alba, salient or, in his terminology, 'bright' boundaries involve social and cultural distinctions that are 'unambiguous, so that individuals know at all times which side of the boundary they are' (Alba, 2005: 22). Minority members who perceive substantial cultural distances between majority and minority may find it difficult to identify with the majority population unless they have abandoned old loyalties and identifications (Schulz and Leszczensky, 2015; see also Fleischmann et al., 2013: 215). Such a 'crossing' of group boundaries is, however, unlikely to happen among recent first generation migrants. Things look different for minority members who face 'blurry' boundaries (Alba, 2005: 22). For these groups, the characteristics of majority and minority group do not seem to be mutually exclusive. Thus, it should be considerably easier for them to identify with the receiving country rather soon after their arrival. Salient ethnic boundaries may manifest themselves in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour – and migrants' perceptions hereof – as well as in alleged incompatibilities between the characteristics of minority and majority. Both mechanisms can thus be expected to link bright ethnic boundaries directly to lower levels of identification with the receiving country.

...empirical evidence and open questions

Several studies have analysed the relationship between migrants' cognitive and social assimilation, discrimination and perceived incompatibilities between majority and minority culture on the one hand and their identification with the latter on the other hand. Previous studies based on cross-sectional data show that migrants' cognitive and social assimilation is associated with higher national identification especially for first generation migrants (De Vroome et al., 2014: 21). Hochman and Davidov (2014) show that migrants' cognitive assimilation, i.e. their proficiency in German, has a positive effect on their identification with Germany.

A recent longitudinal examination of the relationship between migrants' social assimilation and their identification with the receiving society among German born adolescents with Turkish background revealed that social assimilation and identification are unrelated once unobserved heterogeneity and reverse causality are taken into account (Leszczensky, 2013). The author concedes, however, that causal effects might occur at earlier stages in life. Esser (2009) did not find an unambiguous relationship between contacts with natives and migrants' identification with Germany in his longitudinal study based on data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) either.

Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009: 121) show in their longitudinal study that there is in fact a negative relationship between experiences of discrimination and national identification among FSU migrants in Finland but not between discrimination and ethnic identification. De Vroome et al. (2014: 21) come to a similar conclusion and argue that perceived acceptance or rejection by the majority strongly influences

immigrants' sense of national belonging. Schulz and Leszczensky (2015) show that salient ethnic boundaries counteract the positive effect of native friends on migrants' identification with the majority.

The studies reviewed so far have in common that they study the relationship between migrants' cognitive and social assimilation, discrimination and national identification not at the beginning of the assimilation process but give a snapshot of this relationship at a later – and necessarily rather arbitrary – stage of their stay in the receiving country. Others look at this relationship among second-generation migrants which makes a lot of sense because they were born in the receiving country and an 'identification gap' between this group and majority members is more puzzling than between immigrants in a narrower sense of the word (i.e. those who immigrated themselves) and the latter. However, these studies cannot answer the question of whether some migrants' lower (or higher) levels of identification with the receiving country existed already right after or even before immigration or evolved during their course of their stay.

Furthermore, with a few exceptions (Esser, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Leszczensky, 2013), the studies mentioned so far have looked into the relationship between assimilation, discrimination and identification based on cross-sectional data. Even though they shed much light on the phenomenon under consideration here, they cannot test any assumptions about causal relationships between different dimensions of the assimilation process.

And finally, the arguments and findings presented so far refer to the general mechanisms triggering or hampering migrants' identification with the receiving country and focus on migrants in general or on specific groups but they do not study group differences systematically (for a recent study on these differences see Schulz and Leszczensky, 2015). We argue, however, that it needs to be taken into account that new immigrants' adaptation process starts out from group-specific circumstances. In this respect, an ethnic group's degree of residential and labour market segregation, linguistic and cultural distance, overall educational level as well as the nature and strength of ethnic group boundaries appear to matter most.

In order to come to testable conclusions about the identity trajectories for the groups under consideration here, we will now turn to describing the migration history, immigrant population and the reception context for recent migrants from Turkey and Poland to Germany.² Based on this, we can formulate specific expectations that guide our empirical analysis of both groups' early integration trajectories.

Poles and Turks in Germany: expected results

Contemporary newcomers from Turkey or Poland enter into rather distinctive trajectories of Germany's post-war history of immigration. There are now about 2.8 million German inhabitants with Turkish migration background, thus constituting the second largest single immigrant group in Germany (Ethnic Germans being the largest). The pioneer migrants were predominantly male low skill

labour migrants who came to fill the German economy's labour demand in the 1950s and 1960s. After a recruitment stop in 1973, family members joined them and settled permanently in the Federal Republic. Family reunion is still the most important migration motive among Turks (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2010: 206). There are also a considerable number of Turkish migrants coming to Germany to pursue post-secondary education, and a few Turkish skilled migrants have arrived under the new governmental policy of attracting high-skilled immigrants.

In contrast, while it is true that large numbers of Polish speakers had migrated from the former Eastern Prussian provinces to the industrial centres in the West Germany before the first World War, today's 640,000 or so persons with Polish migration background have mainly arrived in the post-communist period – either as 'Ethnic Germans' (*Aussiedler*) or as workers or students (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2010: 37ff.). Since Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, Poles have received new rights to freedom of movement within the wider European Union, though Germany restricted labour migration from Poland until May 2011.

Poles and Turks differ with regard to their ethnic group's size and ethnic institutional completeness. Given their numbers, especially in some larger German cities such as Berlin or Cologne, new coming Muslim Turks enter institutionally more complete ethnic communities than Poles. Germany's Turks also have been found to have comparatively few interethnic friendships, even in the second generation and even compared with Turks in other European cities (Crul and Schneider, 2012: 389). In a similar vein, both groups differ with respect to the nature and strength of ethnic boundaries they face upon arrival. Social distances on behalf of natives are particularly strong for Turks (Blohm and Wasmer, 2008) who also more often experience discrimination than non-Muslim immigrants (Hans, 2010) such as Poles. After all, ethnic boundaries tend to be defined religiously in Europe (Foner and Alba, 2008; Zolberg and Woon, 1999) and stereotypes about groups' alleged unwillingness to adapt and contribute to German society and culture are quite widespread (for an example see Sarrazin, 2010). New arrivals with a Muslim background such as Turks will thus soon be confronted with the vivid debate about the incompatibility between Islam and Western culture that has clearly gained momentum during the last decade. This is not the case for Poles in Germany. The critical public discourse on immigration from Eastern Europe to Germany focuses mostly on Romanians and much less so on Poles.

In sum, Poles join a rather well-integrated group of co-ethnics in Germany whereas Turkish migrants' assimilation proceeds slower than for other groups. Furthermore, salient ethnic boundaries exist mostly between Turkish migrants and the majority population in Germany but not between Polish migrants and Germans. Starting out from the theoretical arguments outlined above and our description of group specific reception contexts we can now formulate specific expectations about both groups' patterns of early changes in ethnic and national identities (for a summary of our expected results see Figure 1).

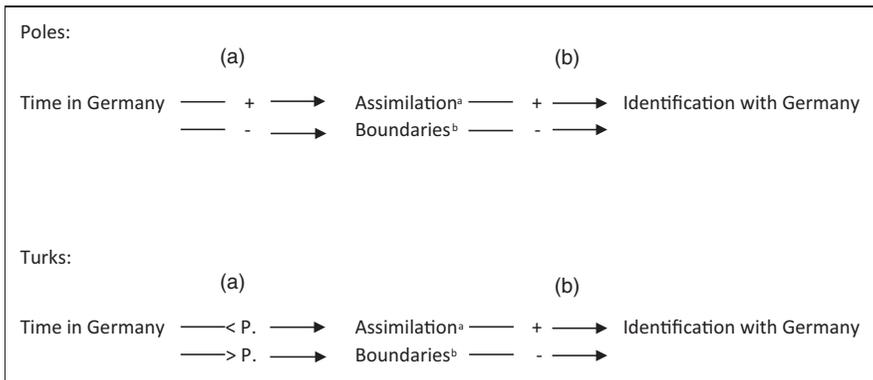


Figure 1. Relationship between time in and identification with Germany for Polish and Turkish new immigrants: expected results.

^aAssimilation refers to cognitive and social assimilation. ^b Boundaries refer to perceived discrimination and value incompatibilities between majority and minority.

Given the different natures of ethnic boundaries that Turkish and Polish migrants face in Germany, we assume that Poles show a rather ‘classical’ pattern of social and cognitive assimilation and low perceptions of discrimination and group differences. We expect Turks, in turn, to assimilate socially and cognitively slower than Poles and to perceive more discrimination and group differences as a consequence of more salient ethnic boundaries than Poles.

Notwithstanding these initial differences, we further expect to find support for the assumption from assimilation theory that identification with the receiving context is generally stronger among those individuals who speak the language and interact with natives. Based on the boundary approach, we also expect that experiences of discrimination and perceptions of strong cultural differences between majority and minority are associated with lower levels of identification with the residence country – for both Poles and for Turks.

Data and analytical strategy

In our empirical analyses, we draw on data from a unique dataset produced in the international survey project on Socio-cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP) that was funded by the NORFACE Research Programme on Migration (Diehl et al., 2015). The SCIP project is a two-wave-panel study of selected migrant groups in which about 7000 recent migrants aged between 18 and 60 were surveyed in four European destination countries – Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom and Ireland. Migrants with a maximum stay of 1.5 years were interviewed soon after their arrival and as many as possible were re-interviewed again another 1.5 years later.³ To analyse group differences, Poles as a rather recent immigrant group to these destinations, and Turks/Pakistanis/Moroccans as groups representing the classical labour/colonial

migration to Western Europe, were included in the SCIP survey. These groups contribute greatly to the share of migrant population in the four countries (for a detailed description of the methodological setup of the project see Gresser and Schacht, 2015). In Germany, immigrants from Turkey and Poland having stayed in Germany up to 1.5 years were interviewed in Turkish and Polish CAPI-interviews. Initially, a random sample was drawn from population registers in five large cities.

Migrants' identificational integration is measured using the ISSP identity questions (full questionnaire available at: <http://www.scip-info.org>): *How important is the following to your sense of who you are/ how proud are you of [...]?* Answer options included, among others [...] the country where you were born?, [...] your current country of residence? These items are measured using a 4-point scale that were combined into an additive index ranging from 2 to 8 (very proud/important-not proud/important at all).⁴ As mentioned in the introduction, we will concentrate on migrants' identification with their receiving country.

The independent variables are measured as follows: *How well would you say you understand/speak/read /write German when someone is speaking to you? (1 = not at all, 4 = very well)* (cognitive assimilation); *Let us talk a little more about the people who are important to you personally and who you feel close to that live in Germany. Please do NOT include your parents, your husband/wife or your children, but you CAN include other relatives. For up to four persons mentioned it was asked (among others): Is the background of this person Polish/Turkish, German, or some other group?* As a second indicator migrants were asked: *How often do you spend time with Germans? (1 = never, 6 = daily)* (social assimilation).

Levels of discrimination are operationalised by perceived group discrimination rather than by individual experiences of discrimination since it can be assumed that discrimination can hamper migrants' identification if they think that members of their group are discriminated against – even if they personally haven't experienced any discrimination: *Some say that people from Poland/Turkey are being discriminated against in Germany. How often do you think Polish/Turkish people are discriminated against in Germany? (1=never, 5=very often)*. In the SCIP survey, migrants' subjective perceptions of salient group differences were asked directly. Their approval of the item: *The values of Poles/Turks and Germans are irreconcilable/ totally different (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)* thus serves as a second indicator for salient ethnic boundaries.

Time spent in Germany is measured in months. Every migrant was interviewed twice but for reasons related to the practicalities of sampling and fieldwork the time migrants' had already spent in the country at the time of their first interview ranged from 1 to 15 months.⁵ This enables us to analyse the relationship between migrants' assimilation, experiences of discrimination and identification in more detail than by just comparing wave 1 and wave 2 interviews. Independent of that, the time span between the first and the second interview was a minimum of 15 months and varies little between respondents.

We start out by examining if changes in migrants' identification with Germany differ between Poles and Turks over time. Based on this, we estimate a set of random effect regressions to utilise the between and within variation of time spent in Germany.⁶ Doing so, we analyse if group-specific trajectories reflect early experiences in those factors theoretically expected to trigger migrants' identification with the receiving context, namely their social and cognitive assimilation and their early perceptions of exclusion. These regressions are conducted separately for the two groups to allow that both groups react differently to assimilation and exclusion. By running both, regressions of assimilation and exclusion on time, in a first step, and of identification on time, assimilation and exclusion in a second step we can 'decompose' the total time effect into a direct (time→identification) and an indirect (time→assimilation/exclusion and assimilation/exclusion→ identification) effect. Finally, we illustrate our findings by simulating how identity trajectories of Turks would look like if they experienced Poles' levels of assimilation and exclusion or reacted to these experiences as Poles do.

Findings

In order to get a grasp of the general patterns of identificational integration for Poles and Turks, we display Polish and Turkish migrants' identification with the receiving country in Figure 1 as a function of the time spent in Germany.⁷ As expected, both groups show different patterns of adaptation during their first 3 years in Germany (Figure 2).

In the beginning of their stay, Turkish migrants identify more with Germany than Poles' but this changes over time: Turkish migrants' identification with the reception country stagnates later on and eventually decreases and after about 24 months, they show slightly *lower* levels of identification with Germany than Poles. The latter group's identification with the reception context continuously increases over time.⁸

While this basic pattern does indeed provide at least some support for the expectation that Turks' identity trajectories deviate from the pattern predicted by assimilation theory, it is yet unclear which processes underlie the declining identification of Turks with Germany. A closer look at the group averages of the model variables (see Table 1) yields several salient differences: only Poles show rising levels of identification with Germany between the two waves. To provide a full picture of both groups' identity patterns, we also display mean values for identification with Poland/Turkey. These reveal that while Turks identify somewhat stronger with Turkey than Poles with Poland, both groups show a slight though non-significant increase in their identification with the country of origin over time. This may point to a heightened salience of the homeland identity after migration. Fewer Turks than Poles are working, a finding that is likely to reflect the different migration histories of Poles and Turks to Germany: Poles come mostly to Germany to work and study whereas Turks come mainly to

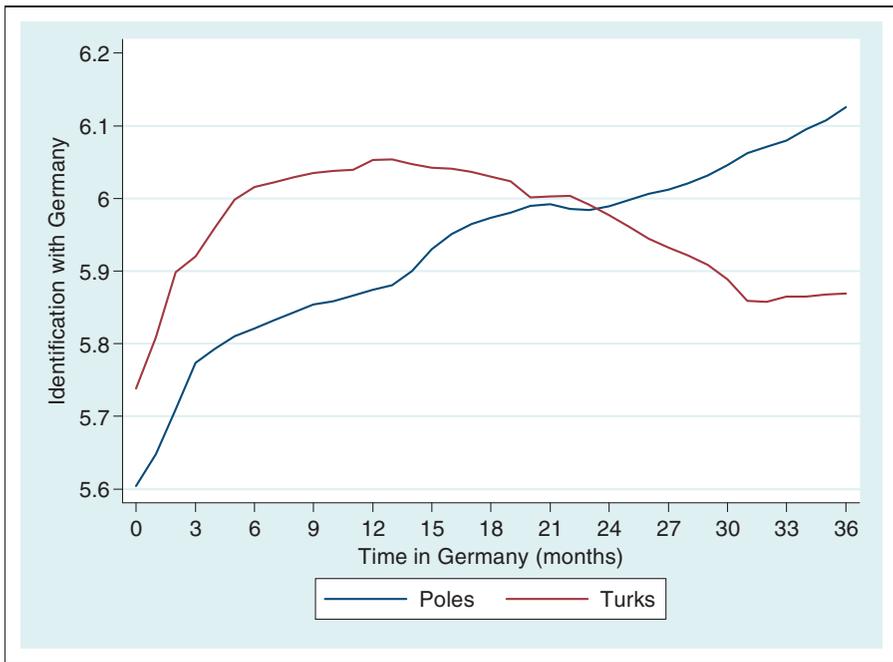


Figure 2. Identification with Germany for Poles and Turks by time in Germany in months (means).

join their families already living in Germany. Accordingly, many immigrated as spouses.

With respect to the indicators for migrants' early social and cognitive assimilation, results show that Poles and Turks have similar German skills in wave 1 but that Turks improve their proficiency in German more between waves 1 and 2, possibly related to the fact that they know more German speaking co-ethnics when they arrive. The picture is mixed with respect to both groups' social assimilation: Poles spend more time with Germans than Turks and this gap widens over time. However, more Turks than Poles have Germans among their best friends.

The indicators for the ethnic boundaries suggest a group specific pattern: Turks and Poles perceive similar degrees of group discrimination at the beginning of their stay but these perceptions increase significantly over time only for Turks, whereas they remain stable for Poles.⁹ Perceived value incompatibility is substantially higher for Turks than for Poles in wave 1 and tends to increase over time for Turks but remains stable – at comparatively low levels – for Poles.

We will now turn to our multivariate analyses in order to study the relationship between migrants' early cognitive and social assimilation, their experiences of discrimination and their identity trajectories. We ran separate random effects regressions on both, the indicators of assimilation and discrimination and on migrants' identification using multiply imputed datasets.¹⁰ Results including calculated

Table 1. Descriptives and means of variables in wave 1 and wave 2 (balanced panel).

	Poles (n = 590)		Turks (n = 432)		Total (n = 1022)	
	Mean		Mean		Min	Max
	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 1	Wave 2		N
Identification						
Identification with Germany (add. Index)	5.85	6.04 ^b	6.02	5.94	2	8
Identification with country of origin (add. Index)	6.34	6.48	6.73 ^a	6.80 ^a	2	8
Time						
in Germany in months	8.52 ^a	28.38 ^{ab}	6.73	26.7 ^b	0	41
Age at immigration	32.4 ^a	32.4 ^a	28.5	28.5	16	60
Ethnic Turk	0	0	0.76	0.76	0	1
Female	0.56 ^a	0.56 ^a	0.45	0.45	0	1
Education						
Primary or less	0.032	0.033	0.17 ^a	0.16 ^a	0	1
Secondary	0.47 ^a	0.46 ^a	0.38	0.38	0	1
Tertiary	0.50	0.51	0.45	0.46	0	1
Employment status						
Working	0.57 ^a	0.66 ^{ab}	0.21	0.39 ^b	0	1
In education	0.19 ^b	0.15	0.30 ^{ab}	0.22 ^a	0	1
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)	0.81 ^a	0.85 ^{ab}	0.70	0.78 ^b	0	1
Cognitive and social assimilation						
German language skills (mean Index)	2.40 ^a	2.68 ^b	2.35	2.74 ^b	1	4
Time spent with Germans	4.96 ^a	5.10 ^a	4.26	4.31	1	6
Number of German friends	0.41	0.50	0.58 ^a	0.67 ^a	0	4
Perceived value incompatibility	2.66	2.62	3.30 ^a	3.37 ^a	1	5
Experiences of group discrimination	2.74	2.72	2.75	2.92 ^{ab}	1	5

^aSignificantly larger for Poles (Turks) than Turks(Poles) ($p < 0.05$).
^bSignificantly increase/decrease between Wave 1 and Wave 2 ($p < 0.05$).

indirect and total effects¹¹ are summarised in Table 2 (for full models see Appendix A1, M1–5 and Appendix A2).

Overall, the total effect of *Time in Germany* confirms that over time, Turkish migrants' identification with Germany decreases significantly, while it increases substantially for Poles (see last row in columns 10 and 12 in Table 2). These effects are significantly different between both groups. Furthermore, Table 2 reveals that over time, Turks and Poles cognitive assimilation increases, for Turks even stronger than for Poles. However, social assimilation increases only for Poles but not for Turks. Multivariate results confirm that both groups also show a different pattern in terms of their experiences of discrimination: over time, Turks perceive more group discrimination whereas this is not the case for Poles (see columns 2 and 4 in Table 2).

With respect to the impact of migrants' early assimilation and their experiences of discrimination on their identification, the patterns look again similar for both groups (see columns 6–9 in Table 2): Migrants' early cognitive assimilation is unrelated (Poles) or weakly related (Turks) to their identification with Germany, whereas social assimilation enhances both groups' identification with the receiving context. Discrimination diminishes their identification with Germany but this effect is substantially larger for Turks than for Poles. This finding could be related to the greater salience of ethno-religious boundaries for Turks than for other migrants that turn perceptions of discrimination into something more threatening for Turks than for Poles – possibly because they point to a larger societal problem and more severe social exclusion. The finding that the perception of value incompatibilities diminishes only Turks' identification with Germany but not Poles' sense of national belonging points in the same direction. Obviously, these incompatibilities are more fundamental in nature for Turks than for Poles.

The direct effects of time in Germany on identification are somewhat attenuated when taking the indicators of cognitive and social assimilation as well as ethnic boundaries into account (see second last row in columns 10 and 12 in Table 2). However, the relative size of the direct effect of time in Germany on identification with Germany remains quite large, especially for Turks (see columns 10 and 12 in Table 2). This is partly related to the fact that the indirect effects of cognitive assimilation and discrimination point in opposite directions and counterbalance each other. Obviously, the variables under consideration here (and the measurements used!) can only account for a small proportion of the overall trend in Turkish and Polish migrants' identification with Germany over time. We will come back to this in our conclusion.

In Figure 3, a simulation is presented that shows how *the decline* in Turkish migrants' national identification (not identification itself!) with Germany would decrease (or increase) if they experienced similar degrees of assimilation and discrimination and showed similar reactions to these processes than Poles.¹² Turkish migrants' decline would be by about 30% smaller if their perceptions of group discrimination and value incompatibilities were as low as Poles' perceptions. Their decline in identification with Germany would be about 18% smaller if they were as

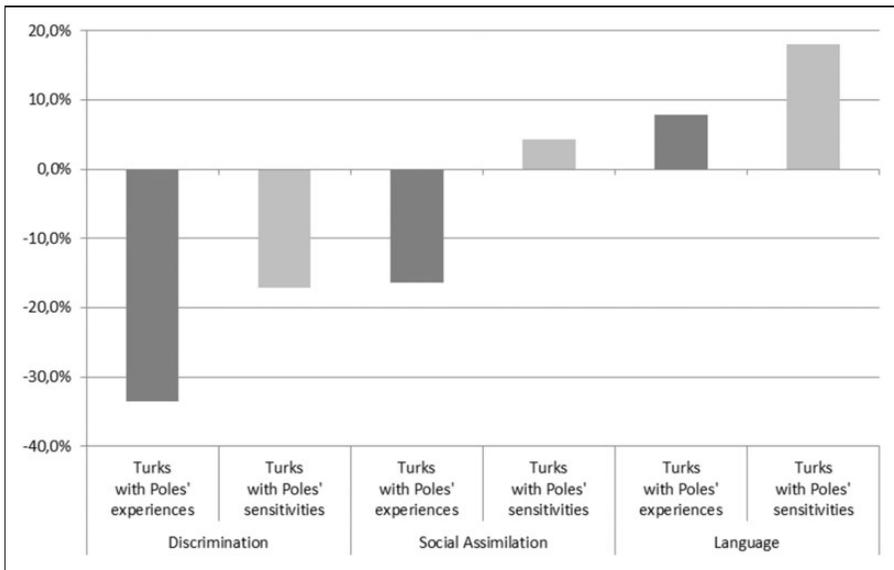


Figure 3. How would it affect Turkish migrants' decline in identification with Germany if they showed Polish migrants' patterns of assimilation and discrimination? (Simulation based on table 2).

resilient to discrimination and perceived value incompatibilities as Poles. Turkish migrants' identification with Germany would also be higher if their social assimilation progressed as fast as Polish migrants' assimilation. Since Turkish migrants' assimilate faster cognitively, i.e. learn German quicker, and since cognitive assimilation tends to enhance Turkish migrants' identificational assimilation, the decline in their identification with Germany would be even more pronounced if they learned German as slowly as Poles do. To put it differently: the fact that Turkish new migrants learn the language faster than Poles attenuates the decrease in Turkish migrants' identification.

Conclusion

Our analyses of Polish and Turkish migrants' early patterns of identification with the receiving country have revealed some interesting and significant differences between these groups. Most importantly, only new migrants from Poland show an increasing identification with Germany over time, whereas this is not the case for Turks. In fact, their national identification decreases.

Theoretically, we have argued that both groups' identificational integration has started out from rather different conditions: As non-EU immigrants, Turks arriving in Germany join an ethnic group that lags behind other minority groups with respect to their cognitive, structural and social assimilation. Since immigration

from Turkey is still heavily network based, it can be expected that newcomers show a similar pattern of comparatively slow integration into the status systems and social networks of the majority. Moreover, Turks arriving in Germany join an ethnic group that is in the centre of a heated societal debate on integration, that is met by natives with comparatively high levels of social distance and that faces discrimination more often than other groups.

Based on assimilation theory and the literature on ethnic boundaries, we expected that both groups' identity trajectories start out from very different conditions but there is no reason to assume that the basic mechanisms leading to migrants' identification with the majority differ a great deal for newcomers from Poland and Turkey: On the one hand, their assimilation in other spheres should enhance both groups' identificational integration with the receiving country, on the other hand, discrimination and perceived value incompatibilities – reflecting bright ethnic boundaries – should hamper it.

Overall, our analyses confirm these expectations: over time, both groups show a clear pattern of cognitive, i.e. language, assimilation. While Poles assimilate socially during their first months in Germany this process stagnates for Turks. However, the most pronounced difference between the groups is that the share of individuals who feel that their group is discriminated against increases among Turkish immigrants. In addition, Turks' comparatively strong perceptions of value incompatibilities between Germans and Turks stagnate over time.

While both groups' identity trajectories thus start out from rather different conditions, they do not show fundamentally dissimilar patterns with respect to the consequences of assimilation and discrimination. The former increases migrants' identificational assimilation and the latter hampers it even though the negative impact of discrimination is stronger for Turks than for Poles.

By looking at new migrants, we have been able to study the nexus among social assimilation, discrimination and identification more directly than previous studies. Most importantly, we could demonstrate that Turkish migrants' comparatively low level of identification with Germany does not exist from the very beginning but evolves over time and reflects rising levels of discrimination and a stagnating process of social assimilation. However, our results show that the indirect effect of discrimination and social assimilation is quite small. That is, even if Turks experienced less discrimination and established more contacts with natives they would not show a pattern of rising national identification as Poles do – but their decline in identification with Germany would be less pronounced.

There are several possible answers to the question of which factors could account for this. First of all, it is possible that our model is misspecified, i.e. other factors than the ones under investigation here explain this finding. While we think that no alternative theoretical approaches are at hand – the arguments of the proponents of the Theory of Segmented Assimilation (e.g. Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) mainly refer to migrants' stable or even reactive identification with the sending context – we conducted some additional analyses not presented here in order to look into several alternative ideas.

First of all, we included a very rough indicator for migrants' structural integration in our models (in the more current sense of migrants integration the educational system and the labour market). We have not done this in our original analysis since structural integration is a tricky concept for first-generation migrants. What does it mean – finding a job, finding a 'good' job or finding a job with many German colleagues? We decided to go for finding a job which is an indicator for migrants' labour market participation that may imply greater exposure to receiving society's values, norms and practices. However, results show that Turks lower rates of inclusion in the labour market do not explain their declining levels of identification with Germany. This is in line with previous findings that labour market integration influences migrants' identification only indirectly via an increase in migrants' social assimilation (De Vroome et al., 2014).

We also included migrants' religiosity (religious attendance) in our analyses. Even though we do not see any reason to argue that being religious, especially an attachment to Islam, needs to hamper migrants' identification with the receiving society directly (and not indirectly by evoking discrimination), this is a popular argument. However, we found migrants' religiosity to be unrelated to their identification with the receiving country. And finally, we included migrants' identification with the country of origin in our analyses. If both identities were incompatible as some authors suggest (see Berry et al., 2006 for the European context), a slight increase in newcomers' identification with Poland and Turkey (compare Table 1) would be reflected in a slight decrease in their identification with Germany. Unlike several other studies (e.g. Yagmur and Van De Vijver, 2012) we found, however, that both identity types are positively correlated for both groups of recent migrants. In this respect, our findings confirm the argument by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009: 108) who state that 'it seems that among minority groups negative attitudes towards the national out-group may be related to other factors than in-group identification'. Last but not least, we replicated our analyses by conducting fixed (with time measured by wave) rather than random effect models (results available upon request) and this leads to the same conclusions.

Despite all these checks, the picture we have outlined here is preliminary and it is quite possible that Turkish migrants' identification with Germany gains momentum later on. However, our analyses show that Turkish migrants' early patterns of identification with the receiving country are influenced by their early experiences in Germany. Since these are quite different from the experiences of Poles, both groups' identificational integration trajectories become more dissimilar over the time period considered here. Even though the differences are not large, our analyses have been able to link these initial differences in migrants' identification trajectories to those factors that are described in the literature as hampering the process of adopting new identities, namely perceiving discrimination and value incompatibilities between the home- and the receiving culture and staying apart from the social cliques and networks of majority members. One could argue that migrants' identifications can be considered to belong to the realm of private choices that may have little relevance for their eventual integration in the status systems of the

receiving country. Things look different, of course, when these choices reflect feelings of exclusion and salient ethnic boundaries rather than what Mary Waters once called ‘ethnic options’.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank Matthias Koenig, Lars Leszczensky and Mieke Maliepaard for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. We argue that for new migrants, their labour market integration is less important and difficult to capture empirically, for more details see the discussion in the conclusion.
2. This following paragraph describing recent migration patterns of Poles and Turks in Germany is partly taken from Diehl and Koenig (2013) and their analyses of new migrants’ religious adaptation that is also based on SCIP data.
3. Panel mortality was high due to the high mobility of this group not only within Germany but also between Germany and the sending countries. Even though large efforts were undertaken to re-interview migrants after 1.5 years only about 45% could be re-interviewed. Lasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009) report similar rates; in the US New Immigrant Survey panel mortality was equally high (according to an email exchange with the NIS project director in March 2014).
4. Cronbach’s α for identification with the country of origin is 0.72 for both samples and for identification with Germany is 0.74 (Poles) and 0.71 (Turks).
5. During fieldwork, addresses were stepwise assigned to interviewers and new addresses were only issued when the target persons that were issued first were either interviewed identified as “not-at-homes” or refusals or their addresses were found to be non-existent. There is thus little reason to assume that migrants interviewed earlier differed systematically from those interviewed later on (see Gresser and Schacht, 2015).
6. Since there is little variation in the time span between the two interviews, fixed effect regressions only allow us to estimate the difference in national identification between the two waves and not as a function of time in the residence country. The estimated effects for social and cognitive assimilation and discrimination and value compatibility are consistent in the random effect model as are the group differences between the effects.
7. The graph depicts the cross-sectional relationship between time in Germany and national identification based on the pooled data of respondents partaking at both waves. The plots have been somewhat smoothed using locally weighted regressions.
8. This holds regardless of whether the respondent has spent time in Germany before migration.

9. Results not displayed here show that personal experiences of discrimination are even lower for Turks than for Poles in wave 1 (with 29 versus 36% having felt discriminated against) but they increase significantly for Turks but decrease for Poles over time (to 32 versus 41% resp. in wave 2).
10. Missing values due to item non-response were multiply imputed using chained equations. Results refer to the analysis of five imputed datasets using Rubin's (1987) combination rules. In comparison to other missing data techniques, multiple imputation is more efficient, reduces potential bias in the estimation of coefficients (if missing values are not completely random but to some degree correlated with the vector of observed variables), and estimates standard errors that reflect the uncertainty of the missing information correctly (Allison, 2002).
11. Total effects are calculated as sum of the direct and indirect effects.
12. By recalculating the effects for Turks using the 'Polish' coefficients of the regressions of the relevant mediation variables on time ('experience') or the 'Polish' coefficients of the regressions of identification on the mediator variables of interest ('sensitivity'). The predicted change of the identification of the Turks between t0 and t1 ($It1(T)-It0(T)$) is the product of the coefficients for the mediation variables and the change in the mediation variables over time: $It1(T)-It0(T) = B(T)(M_{t1}(T) - Mt0(T))$. The same holds ceteris paribus for the Poles: $It1(P) - It0(P) = B(P)(M_{t1}(P) - Mt0(P))$. The simulated change for Turks 'with the experiences of Poles' is then: $B(T)(M_{t1}(P) - Mt0(P))$, the simulated change for Turks 'with the sensitivities of Poles' is then: $B(P)(M_{t1}(T) - Mt0(T))$, expressed as a percentage of the observed change in identification of the Turks.

References

- Alba R (2005) Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1): 20–49.
- Allison PD (2002) *Missing Data*. Thousand Oaks California: Sage.
- Berry JW, Phinney JS, Sam DL, et al. (2006) Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology* 55(3): 303–332.
- Blohm M and Wasmer M (2008) Einstellungen und Kontakte zu Ausländern [Attitudes and contacts with foreigners]. In: Noll H, Habich R (eds) *Datenreport 2008: ein Sozialbericht für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, pp.206–214.
- Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2010) *Migrationsbericht 2008*. Nürnberg: Bundesministerium des Innern Referat Öffentlichkeitsarbeit.
- Crul M and Schneider J (2012) Conclusions and implications: The integration context matters. In: Crul M, Schneider J, Lelie F (eds) *The European Second Generation Compared: Does the Integration Context Matter?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp.375–404.
- De Vroome T, Verkuyten M and Martinovic B (2014) Host national identification of immigrants in the Netherlands. *International Migration Review* 48(1): 76–102.
- Diehl C and Blohm M (2003) Rights or identity? Naturalization processes among "Labor migrants" in Germany. *International Migration Review* 37(1): 133–162.
- Diehl C, Gijsberts M, Güveli A, et al. (2015) *Socio-Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP) – Data file for download*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.

- Diehl C and Koenig M (2013) God can wait – New migrants in Germany between early adaptation and religious reorganization. *International Migration Review* 51(3): 8–22.
- Diehl C and Schnell R (2006) Reactive ethnicity or assimilation? Statements, arguments, and first empirical evidence for labor migrants in Germany. *International Migration Review* 40(4): 786–816.
- Ersanilli E and Koopmans R (2010) Rewarding integration? Citizenship regulations and the socio-cultural integration of immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5): 773–791.
- Esser H (2004) Does the “New” immigration require a “New” theory of intergenerational integration? *International Migration Review* 38(3): 1126–1159.
- Esser H (2009) Pluralisierung oder assimilation? Effekte der multiplen Inklusion auf die Integration von Migranten. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 38(5): 358–378.
- Fischer-Neumann M (2014) Immigrants ethnic identification and political involvement in the face of discrimination: A longitudinal study of the German case. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(3): 339–362.
- Fleischmann F, Phalet K and Swyngedouw M (2013) Dual identity under threat: When and how do Turkish and Moroccan minorities engage in politics? *Zeitschrift für Psychologie* 221(4): 214–222.
- Foner N and Alba R (2008) Immigrant religion in the US and Western Europe: Bridge or barrier to inclusion? *International Migration Review* 42(2): 360–392.
- Gaertner SL and Dovidio JF (2000) *Reducing Intergroup Bias: The Common Ingroup Identity Model*. Philadelphia, PA: Taylor & Francis.
- Gordon MM (1964) *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gresser A and Schacht D (2015) *SCIP Survey-Methodological Report*. Konstanz. Available at: www.scip-info.org (accessed 2 November 2015).
- Hans S (2010) *Assimilation oder Segregation? Anpassungsprozesse von Einwanderern in Deutschland [Assimilation or segregation? Processes of adaptation of migrants in Germany]*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Hansen ML (1962) The third generation in America. *Commentary* 14: 492–500.
- Hochman O and Davidov E (2014) Relations between second-language proficiency and national identification: The case of immigrants in Germany. *European Sociological Review* 30(3): 344–359.
- Howard JA (2000) Social psychology of identities. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 367–393.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti I, Liebkind K and Solheim E (2009) To identify or not to identify? National disidentification as an alternative reaction to perceived ethnic discrimination. *Applied Psychology* 58(1): 105–128.
- Jiménez TR (2008) Mexican immigrant replenishment and the continuing significance of ethnicity and race. *American Journal of Sociology* 113(6): 1527–1567.
- Joppke C (2007) Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe. *West European Politics* 30(1): 1–22.
- Leszczensky L (2013) Do national identification and interethnic friendships affect one another? A longitudinal test with adolescents of Turkish origin in Germany. *Social Science Research* 42(3): 775–788.
- Lubbers MJ, Molina JL and McCarty C (2007) Personal networks and ethnic identifications: The case of migrants in Spain. *International Sociology* 22(6): 721–741.
- Miller JM (2000) Language use, identity, and social interaction: Migrant students in Australia. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 33(1): 69–100.

- Owens TJ, Robinson DT and Smith-Lovin L (2010) Three faces of identity. *Sociology* 36(1): 477.
- Phinney JS and Ong AD (2007) Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 54(3): 271–281.
- Portes A and Rumbaut RG (2001) *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Rubin DB (1987) *Multiple Imputation for Nonresponse in Surveys*. New York: Wiley.
- Sarrazin T (2010) *Deutschland schafft sich ab: Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen*. Deutsche: Verlags-Anstalt.
- Schulz B and Leszczensky L (2015) Native friends and host country identification among adolescent immigrants in Germany: The role of ethnic boundaries. *International Migration Review*. Epub ahead of print n/a. DOI: 10.1111/imre.12163.
- Schwartz SJ (2005) A new identity for identity research: Recommendations for expanding and refocusing the identity literature. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 20(3): 293–308.
- Skrobanek J (2009) Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity and the (re-) ethnicisation of youth with a Turkish ethnic background in Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(4): 535–554.
- Tajfel H (1978) *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel H (1981) *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire], New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Verkuyten M (2005) *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Verkuyten M and Martinovic B (2012) Immigrants national identification: Meanings, determinants, and consequences. *Social Issues and Policy Review* 6(1): 82–112.
- Verkuyten M and Yildiz AA (2007) National (dis) identification and ethnic and religious identity: A study among Turkish–Dutch Muslims. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 33(10): 1448–1462.
- Walters D, Phythian K and Anisef A (2007) The acculturation of Canadian immigrants: Determinants of ethnic identification with the host society. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 44(1): 37–64.
- Waters MC (1990) *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. CA: Berkeley.
- Wimmer A (2008) The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory. *American Journal of Sociology* 113(4): 970–1022.
- Yagmur K and Van De Vijver FJR (2012) Acculturation and language orientations of Turkish immigrants in Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 43(7): 1110–1130.
- Zimmermann L, Zimmermann KF and Constant A (2007) Ethnic self-identification of first-generation immigrants. *International Migration Review* 41(3): 769–781.
- Zolberg AR and Woon LL (1999) Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural incorporation in Europe and the United States. *Politics & Society* 27(1): 5–38.

Appendix

Table A1. Turkish and Polish assimilation and perceptions of discrimination and value incompatibilities (random effect panel regression).

	German language skills		Time spent with Germans		Number of German Friends		Perceived value incompatibility		Experiences of group discrimination	
	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks
Time in Germany in months/10	0.114*** (0.010)	0.178*** (0.015)	0.074* (0.034)	-0.065 (0.050)	0.044* (0.021)	0.030 (0.029)	-0.014 (0.024)	0.039 (0.036)	-0.011 (0.022)	0.098** (0.033)
Ethnic Turk	-	0.092+ (0.053)	-	0.303 (0.192)	-	0.057 (0.095)	-	0.051 (0.109)	-	0.036 (0.114)
Female	0.374*** (0.053)	-0.040 (0.054)	-0.030 (0.095)	-0.615*** (0.158)	0.245*** (0.073)	0.146+ (0.088)	0.054 (0.070)	-0.002 (0.092)	0.097 (0.065)	0.232* (0.103)
Age at immigration/10	-0.135*** (0.024)	-0.149*** (0.042)	-0.041 (0.047)	-0.136 (0.116)	-0.035 (0.034)	-0.032 (0.057)	0.014 (0.034)	-0.060 (0.067)	-0.052+ (0.031)	0.121+ (0.073)
Education (ref.: secondary)										
Primary or less	0.077 (0.121)	-0.192*** (0.072)	0.426** (0.130)	-0.246 (0.234)	0.064 (0.173)	0.008 (0.112)	0.120 (0.204)	-0.117 (0.125)	0.129 (0.148)	-0.201 (0.141)
Tertiary	0.155*** (0.044)	0.003 (0.051)	-0.082 (0.092)	0.330* (0.154)	0.195** (0.062)	0.198* (0.083)	-0.141* (0.063)	-0.220* (0.093)	0.049 (0.061)	0.203* (0.096)
Employment status (ref.: working)										
In education	0.326*** (0.052)	0.066 (0.057)	0.000 (0.114)	-0.009 (0.185)	0.082 (0.090)	0.022 (0.107)	-0.216* (0.094)	-0.110 (0.113)	-0.211** (0.075)	0.232+ (0.120)

(continued)

Appendix

Table A1. Continued

	German language skills		Time spent with Germans		Number of German Friends		Perceived value incompatibility		Experiences of group discrimination	
	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks	Poles	Turks
Other (e.g. unemployed, retired)	-0.038	-0.066	-0.958***	-0.632***	-0.128	-0.017	-0.059	0.021	-0.086	0.028
Constant	(0.048) 2.473***	(0.052) 2.640***	(0.138) 5.300***	(0.172) 4.961***	(0.089) 0.272*	(0.091) 0.484*	(0.082) 2.734***	(0.106) 3.541***	(0.073) 2.872***	(0.109) 2.047***
Sigma (e)	0.304	0.380	1.142	1.407	0.687	0.792	0.817	1.012	0.725	0.880
Sigma (u)	0.560	0.410	0.722	1.047	0.616	0.571	0.442	0.460	0.474	0.713
N	1041	748	1041	748	1041	748	1041	748	1041	748
n	590	432	590	432	590	432	590	432	590	432

Source: SCIP 2010–2013. Note: Standard errors in parentheses; unstandardised effects; + $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A2. Panel regression models: Turkish and Polish migrants' identification with Germany.

	Random effects			
	Poles		Turks	
Time in Germany in months/10	0.084**	(0.030)	-0.083+	(0.049)
Ethnic Turk	-	-	-0.210	(0.140)
Female	0.241*	(0.100)	0.101	(0.134)
Age at immigration/10	0.176***	(0.044)	0.031	(0.094)
<i>Education (ref.: secondary)</i>				
Primary or less	0.250	(0.170)	0.415*	(0.173)
Tertiary	-0.269**	(0.090)	-0.381*	(0.151)
<i>Employment status (ref.: working)</i>				
In education	0.004	(0.120)	0.098	(0.169)
Other	0.121	(0.110)	0.207	(0.143)
German language skills	0.029	(0.074)	0.107	(0.119)
Time spent with Germans	0.087**	(0.032)	0.112**	(0.037)
Number of German Friends	0.039	(0.038)	0.158**	(0.057)
Perceived value incompatibility	-0.001	(0.046)	-0.132**	(0.048)
Experiences of group discrimination	-0.078	(0.050)	-0.188***	(0.051)
Constant	4.833***	(0.358)	6.268***	(0.518)
R ² overall	0.063		0.122	
R ² within	0.029		0.069	
R ² between	0.082		0.131	
Sigma (e)	0.874		1.146	
Sigma (u)	0.892		0.888	
N	977		709	
n	576		427	

Source: SCIP 2010–2013. Note: Standard errors in parentheses; unstandardised effects. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.