Title: National and Ethnic Identity Formation in German Immigrant Youth Author: Max Reason, MA. – University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Intro: Since the end of the Second World War, multiple streams of migration have sent migrants from across the Eurasian continent into Germany, each occurring at different periods of time and for myriad reasons. As these streams have waxed and waned over the last seven decades, the population of Germany has become more and more heterogeneous and the native population has had to contend with this change within the historical backdrop of a nation defined solely, and sometimes violently, by lineage. For the migrants and their children, this has meant navigating the social climate of a nation in which they are very aware of their "foreignness" years, and even generations, after their initial migration into Germany. However, not all migrant ethnic groups within Germany experience their minority status in the same way. Shifting geo-political contexts, movements towards globalization, acute historical events, and demographic changes have all altered the social understanding of which groups are "able" to be in Germany, and which groups are not. The different ways in which the social and historical contexts of Germany have impacted the lived experiences of the nation's minority ethnic groups have differentially shaped the way in which members of these groups create their identities, form their values, engage in cultural behaviors, and interact with the native majority.

Focusing on youth experiencing the transition from the "demographically dense" (Rindfuss 1991) period of adolescence into the adult life course, this dissertation will aim to understand how German residents with a migration background (Migrationshintergrund, i.e., those in the first, second, or third generation of migration) express their identity through attitudes, values, and behaviors, and how these expressions of identity change over the early life course. This dissertation will look at both the formation and expression of national (German) and ethnic (sending nation) identity, as these two identities have been found to exist independently of one another in immigrant youth (Berry 2006). It will also take into account the historical and contemporary aspects of modern Germany that may lead to different identity formations and trajectories between adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds. Macro-, meso, and micro-level factors unique to a given place and time are experienced differently by different ethnic origin groups, which leads to heterogeneous identity formations and expressions between these groups (Deaux 2006). For the particular chapter I wish to present at PAA, I will focus on the self-identification of Germans with a migration background towards both their German national identity and their ethnic identity. Additionally, I will look at ethnic group heterogeneity in the factors that determine selfidentification and the trajectory of self-identification through adolescence and into adulthood. The rest of this abstract will be concerning this particular chapter.

<u>Data</u>: Data for the proposed dissertation will come from the German sample of Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study in Four European Countries (Cils4EU). Cils4EU began sampling 14-year old adolescents in Germany through in-school questionnaires during the 2010/2011 school year. All schools in Germany enrolling students in the 9th grade, i.e. the modal grade for 14-year-olds in the country, were included in the sampling frame. The sample was stratified to account for the different school types in the German education system and in order to ensure a large sample of youth with migrant backgrounds. At Wave I, surveys were also conducted with parents of the respondents and the teacher that taught the class the respondent was in. These additional surveys allow for household- and school-level information on the respondents. Since the initial survey, annual re-interviews have been conducted with the initial respondents. As many of these respondents are no longer in school, subsequent waves have shifted from in-school surveys (waves 1 and 2) to in-home surveys (wave 3), to mail or web surveys (wave 4 and 5). At the fifth wave, respondents were between 19 and 21 years old.

<u>Analytic sample</u>: For this dissertation, the analytic sample will include any respondent with a migration background from four sending nations or regions. These are Turkey, the countries of the former Soviet Union, Poland, and the southern European countries of Western Europe (Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Italy). Each group has experienced unique historical circumstances in the 70 years since Germany has

become a migrant receiving state, including the push and pull factors that led them to Germany and the reception they have received from the native German population since they have become established minority populations (Meyers 2004). These differences in historical context have had lasting effects that translate into differences in understandings of identity and group membership within individuals and between groups (Deaux 2006). Ultimately, the main exercise of this dissertation is to analyze differences in identity formation and expression between these groups and to understand how historical and contemporary contexts shape these processes.

<u>Variables</u>: The two dependent variables for this chapter will be *German Identity* and *Ethnic Identity*. At each wave of the Cils4EU data collection, respondents were asked "How strongly do you feel German" (*Wie serh fühlst du dich als Deutsch(r)?*), to which they answered on a four-point Likert scale of "Very strongly", "Fairly strongly", "Not very strongly", and "Not at all strongly". For *Ethnic Identity*, respondents were asked at each wave to state whether or not they felt that they were part of an ethnic group besides Germans. If they stated they did feel like part of another group, they were asked "How strongly do you feel you belong to this group" (*Wie serh fühlst du dich dieser Gruppe zugehörig?*), to which they answered on the same Likert scale as the *German Identity* question.

Due to the focus of the Cils4EU data on the integration of migrant youth in Germany, there are a wide range of important independent variables collected from the respondents that measure the macro-, meso-, and micro-level factors that are known to determine self-identification with both an ethnic and national identity. Additionally, because the parents and the teachers of the respondents also filled out surveys at Wave I, information is available for the household and school in which the respondent spent their childhood. Information on parental attitudes and identity also allows this dissertation to investigate parental attitudes toward integration, and how this leads to the intergeneration transmission of national and ethnic identity.

<u>Methods</u>: In order to investigate the macro-, meso-, and micro-level determinants of self-identification to both national and ethnic identities, data from all five waves will be pooled together before random-effects models will be run in which the two dependent variables (*German Identity* and *Ethnic Identity*) are regressed on school, parent, and respondent variables that are established determinants of identity within the migrant acculturation literature (Cabassa 2003). These random-effects regressions will be carried out for each migrant ethnic group. **Table 1** shows the list of independent variables that will be regressed on each measure of self-identification. This will be done for each ethnic group sub-sample.

After the random effects regressions are carried out on the pooled sample of respondents for each focal ethnic group for each measure of identity (ethnic and national self-identification), determinants (independent variables) that are found to significantly predict self-identification to each of these identities will be used as co-variates in linear latent growth curve models to investigate how this measure of identity shifts over the adolescent period and into early adulthood. Because each linear latent growth curve model will be run within ethnic group, comparisons of identity trajectories can be made between groups to understand how this process differs among youth with different ethnic migration backgrounds. **Figure 1** shows a path diagram of the proposed linear latent growth curve models. Latent variable α indicates the intercept of the growth curve, while β is the latent curve of the growth model. Variable x_{it1} is the self-identification variable for each respondent at time 1, while each subsequent x variable is for each respondent at time 2-5. Y_i is a list of time-invariant co-variates that were shown to be predictors of self-identification among the given ethnic migrant group in the random effects regressions previously run, while Z_{it1} - Z_{it5} are the time variant covariates that were significantly associated with self-identification in the random effects regressions. \mathcal{E}_{it1} - \mathcal{E}_{it1} are the error terms for the self-identification variables and ψ is the correlation between the intercept and the slope term.

<u>Going forward</u>: Currently, I am in the process of compiling and cleaning the data before carrying out the final statistical tests (random-effects models and latent growth curve models), however preliminary

results from descriptive statistics show great heterogeneity between groups. **Table 2** shows descriptive statistics for several variables that showcase these group-level differences. First, looking at the proportion of each migrant group that falls into each category of school migration background percentage, Turkish adolescents have both the highest rates of being in very-low and very-high segregated schools (.30 and .54 respectively), while other groups have a much more even distribution between school migration background percentage. Turkish adolescents also have the lowest level of German citizenship and the highest levels of sending nation citizenship (because of duel-citizenship, the sum of these proportions is greater than one). For former USSR and Polish adolescents, this relationship is switched, with high levels of German citizenship and low levels of foreign citizenship. Finally, at Wave 1, attitudes towards Germans is amoung for Turkish adolescents, while European migrant adolescents have much warmer attitudes towards native Germans.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 show the mean value of the dependent variable by wave for each focal ethnic group. Each Wave was collected roughly annually, so this represents change from year-to-year for these ethnic migrant German youth, starting around age 14. For the item "How strongly do you feel [sending nation]?" (Figure 2), differences between groups are relatively stable across waves, apart from a u-shaped fluctuation across waves for the Polish adolescents. Turkish adolescents have the strongest feelings of belonging to their origin nation at all waves. For the item "How strongly do you feel German?" (Figure 3), the three European migrant ethnic groups had similar means across waves, with slight variation at Wave 1 closing by Wave 3. Turkish migrants had a much lower mean at all waves. Interestingly (or perhaps not given the long Jus Sanguinis understanding of citizenship that has been the backbone of German citizenship law until very recently (Brubaker 1990)), at all waves for all groups, mean attachment to a sending nation is higher than mean attachment to the German nation. This, despite that fact that 84 percent of the sample was born in Germany.

Works cited

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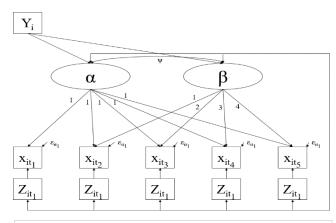
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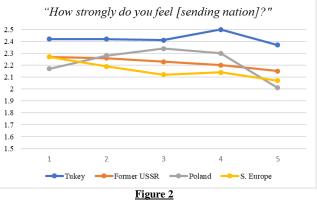
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Table 1: List of independent variables for random effects regressions on respondent self-identification with German and Ethnic identity School Percent of school with a migration background* Variables (Wave I) Parent Self-identification* variables Desire to live permanently in Germany* (Wave I) German citizenship status* German language ability* Ethnic language ability* Ethnic language used in household* Use of Ethnic language with child* Educational attainment* Respondent Gender* variables Generational status* (Waves I-V) German citizenship status Ethnic language ability Ethnic language use Frequency of interaction with Germans at school Frequency of interaction with co-ethnics at school Frequency of interaction with Germans in neighborhood Frequency of interaction with co-ethnics at school Portion of neighborhood that is German Gender attitudes Attitudes towards social issues (Co-habitation, divorce, abortion, homosexuality) Importance of maintaining ethnic customs/traditions Feelings towards Germans Feelings towards co-ethnics Importance of religion Frequency of religious service attendance Frequency of praying Pro-German attitudes Pro-migrant attitudes *Time-invariant variables

Figure 1: Path diagram of linear latent growth curve model





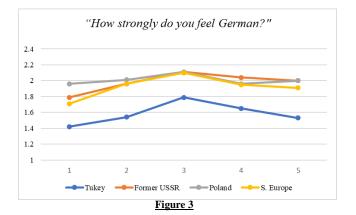


Table 2: Descriptive statistics for selected independent variables

	Turkey	Former USSR	Poland	S. Europe
Variable	Mean/Prop	Mean/Prop	Mean/Prop	Mean/Prop
Percentage of school with migrant background				
0-10%	0.30	0.11	0.10	0.05
10-30%	0.17	0.30	0.40	0.33
30-60%	0.26	0.28	0.23	0.24
60-100%	0.54	0.29	0.27	0.38
Percent with [sending nation] citizenship	0.68	0.36	0.34	0.50
Percent with German citizenship	0.50	0.84	0.87	0.67
Attitudes towards Germans (0-10, at Wave I)	6.30	7.22	7.67	7.29
n	1,010	378	226	385