Religion, Identity and Adaptation among Children of Immigrants in Four European Countries

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Dedicated to my late father, Prof. Dr. Daniel Hong, and my mother, Susy Hong

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it takes a village...

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Summary

The topic of immigrant integration in European society has been a major and hotly debated theme that has dominated media and political discussions, and the long-term outlook for the children of immigrants is of particular interest for immigration scholars and policymakers alike. Due to concerns of economic stability and societal cohesion, it is not surprising that the fate of the children of immigrants is one of the most important issues when discussing the future of Western Europe. Against this background, it is timely to explore the adaptation of this rapidly growing group.

This dissertation focuses on two oft-discussed themes in understanding and explaining adaptation outcomes- religiosity and identity. Three central questions guide this dissertation: (i) What are determinants of identity for the children of immigrants in Europe, and how might identity vary depending on religiosity and context? (ii) What implications does identity have for the adaptation of minority youth? (iii) What is the relationship between religiosity and school performance, and how might this relationship be influenced by religious peers?

Although religion and identity have both been extensively explored in immigrant literature, its treatment is far from conclusive in Europe, as much of the findings have been based on adult first- and second-generation immigrants, been limited to one or two countries, and has often only focused on individual variation and singular aspects of identity. Moreover, previous literature has largely ignored the role of religious peers. In order to address these gaps, this dissertation unifies several broad theoretical streams- assimilation theory, segmented assimilation theory, and acculturation- in order to comprehensively explore how the roles of religiosity and identity affect the adaptation of minority youth.

In response to calls to explore how the "political fiction" of a nation becomes a "powerful, compelling reality" (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:11), these three studies test the assumptions of whether religion and ethnic attachment are disadvantageous or conducive to adaptation, as well as how migrant youth reconcile seemingly conflicting identities in contexts that might not be welcoming. Towards this end, the first study of this dissertation examines the relationship between religiosity and identity and the conditions under which immigrants express various forms of identity. Building upon previous identity literature, this study goes beyond more simplistic views of identity to examine the possible presence and coexistence of multiple identities and to find cases and the

circumstances under which youth express single or combined ethnic and national identities. I analyze generational status, religiosity, and school context of the migrant sample in the first wave of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU). Results of multilevel logistic regressions find no evidence for either assimilation or ethnic revival among second generation students in comparison with first generation students. A clear relationship was also found with religiosity and identity, with more religious students more likely to express integrated or separated identities and less likely to have assimilated identity, in line with the perception of incompatibility between religion and assimilation. Results also find support for the role of perceived discrimination and ethnic diversity in identity.

The second study of this dissertation goes further to examine what identity means for migrant youth. Rather than focusing on the influence of either one aspect of identity (ethnic or national identification), this study takes a more comprehensive approach by comparing types of acculturation identity and their relationships to adaptation. Among other findings, results indicate that assimilated identity was not necessarily the most advantageous or beneficial strategy for immigrant adaptation compared with integrated identity, supporting a segmented assimilation perspective on the merits of bicultural identities. Moreover, acculturation identity worked in divergent directions for the delinquent behavior of European and non-European students, suggesting that identity works in different ways across groups.

The final study in this dissertation tests the arguments of religion as a "bridge versus barrier" for immigrant adaptation through an analysis of the relationship between religiosity and school performance for adolescents in three European countries, which vary in their accommodations of religious rights- Netherlands, England, and Germany. Findings challenge the premise of religion as a barrier in Europe, finding that religiosity and religious peers is either inconsequential for school performance, such as in the case of Germany, or even associated positively with school outcomes, such as in the Netherlands. I contend that the dichotomy of the "bridge versus barrier" framework of religion is overly simplistic and outline suggestions for future research.

Chapter 1
Introduction

the audacity of equality: the children of immigrants

In his critically acclaimed inaugural stand-up special in May 2017, American comedian Hasan Minhaj recalls the prejudice and death threats he and his Muslim family received immediately in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Watching his father silently sweep the broken glass in front of their California home after their car windows were smashed, Minhaj is suddenly filled with rage. As he turns to his father for a reaction, he notes the resignation in the stoic patriarch's voice as he tells his son, "This is the price we pay for being here." In this moment, he is reminded that he and his father come from two different generations; while his father views the hardships and inequalities they experience as an unavoidable rite of passage and an immigrant "American dream tax," Minhaj describes himself- as someone born and raised in the United States- as one having the "audacity" to demand equality[1]. Almost one year later across the Atlantic, Iranian-born German comedian Enissa Amani sits on a panel on a popular political debate show, "Hart aber fair," (*Hard but fair*), where she engages in a heated discussion with several of the panel members on the controversial and polarizing topic, "Does Islam belong in Germany?" Recounting her experiences growing up in Germany as an Iranian refugee, she makes a case for a new, multicultural, pluralistic Germany and declares, "Ich bin auch Deutschland" ("I am also Germany.").[2]

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[1] Minhaj, Hasan & Storer, Christopher. 2017. *Homecoming King.* Davis, CA: Netflix. May 23, 2017.

[2] Schulte, Jürgen. 2018. *Hart aber fair.* Cologne, Germany: WDR Fernsehen. April 9, 2018.

As the children of immigrants are coming of age, the themes and questions of belonging and identity are consistently raised across both sides of the Atlantic in political debates and, as seen in the above examples, in media and entertainment. At its essence, the debates surrounding immigrant integration can be broken down to questions of belonging in society and of matching up to- or equalling- the expected outcomes of the mainstream. While the status as "migrant" is somewhat clearer for the foreign-born, first generation of immigrants, the place that their native-born children occupy in society is not always as simply defined.

The outlook for the children of immigrants is of particular interest for policymakers and immigration scholars alike. In the last several decades, aging populations, labor force needs, wars and political persecution abroad, and changing legislation have led to more fluid borders and subsequent immigrant flows in Europe, bringing several European countries on the top of the list of the immigrant receiving destinations in the world.[3] Along with these major demographic changes, there has been growing concern regarding "parallel societies," segments of the population that remain isolated and disenfranchised on the outskirts of society, as well as fears of economic burden, the cultivation of an underclass, concurrent increases in crime, and religious radicalization. It is thus not surprising that the fate of immigrant children is one of the most important issues when discussing the future of Western Europe. Against this background, it is timely to explore the adaptation of this rapidly growing group.

In general, successful integration into the host society has been viewed as a time-dependent process; according to classical assimilation theories, the temporal point of migration and the duration of residence of an individual or of a group should eventually give way to a level playing field (Gordon 1964; Warner & Srole 1945). The children of immigrants can call the destination country their birthplace and theoretically grow up without the barriers of language, accents, and different educational systems and norms. Subsequent generations of immigrants are thus equipped to navigate through society and have access to opportunities that were not available or possible for their parents. For the children of immigrants who have the advantages associated with being born in the destination country, the gap between natives and migrants should balance out over time. The theoretical expectations seemed intuitive, but descriptive evidence of immigrant

[3] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. 2016. International Migration Report 2015: Highlights.

outcomes over time shows that this is not always the case for some groups (Gorodzeisky et al. 2017). So what are explanations for these disparities?

There are several aspects that characterize the dialogue regarding the unequal outcomes of immigrants in Europe. This dissertation addresses two topics of contention that consistently dominate the discussion on immigration- religion and identity. Regarding the topic of immigrant religiosity, in stark contrast to the secular European landscape, religions outside of the traditional and familiar Judeo-Christian faiths are often perceived as archaic institutions and potential threats to societal cohesion. Much of the debate surrounding religion focuses on the apparent incompatibility of minority religion in Europe and centers around fears of cultural tensions, radicalization, and the disintegration of Western values and ideologies. Not a day goes by without headlines discussing the issue of immigrant integration in the West, and with recent, large-scale movements of asylum seekers and refugees, immigration has been framed as a crisis in political discussions and media. Given the public perception of Muslim immigrants as failing to integrate in Europe, coupled with the widespread view of Islam as irreconcilable with Western society, the challenges of integration have been at the forefront of public concern in Europe, especially as immigrant flows continue to increase.

Much of the discussion surrounding assimilation can also be linked to questions of identity- do immigrants feel they belong, do they identify with the majority culture, and do they view the host country as their home? This dissertation seeks to empirically test widespread presumptions about what immigrant adaptation looks like in Europe, find explanations for variant outcomes, and examine under what conditions religion and identity crystallize as matters of importance for the outcomes of immigrant children.

Three central questions guide this dissertation: (i) What are determinants of identity for the children of immigrants in Europe, and how might identity vary depending on religiosity and context? (ii) What implications does identity have for the adaptation of minority youth? (iii) What is the relationship between religiosity and school performance, and how might this relationship be influenced by religious peers?

In this chapter, I will briefly delineate the concepts and theoretical definitions that serve as the foundation of this dissertation. I will also give a brief overview of the previous work on immigrant religiosity and identity that this research is situated in, as well as the importance of considering contexts when analyzing these processes. I will then elaborate on the agenda and aforementioned research questions that underlie this

dissertation, the data source, and the contribution that this research makes to previous work. Table 1 at the end of this chapter illustrates an overview of the three studies.

Adaptation and "fitting in: Concepts and Definitions

The focus of this dissertation is the adaptation of the children of immigrants. A very broad definition of immigrant adaptation refers to the process of change and "fitting in" as a member of the new context and host society (Ward et al. 2001; Maydell-Stevens et al. 2007). This dissertation thus perceives adaptation as successfully functioning in the environment (Ward et al. 2001). Several aspects of adaptation have been defined in previous work; this dissertation focuses on two broad aspects in particular: sociocultural adaptation and psychological adaptation (Ward et al. 2001). Sociocultural adaptation refers to the acquisition of abilities, knowledge, and skills necessary to successfully navigate the context, such as school performance, relationships, and behavior, while psychological adaptation refers to the affective side of the experience, such as general satisfaction and well-being (Abu-Rayya 2013).

Most of the dissertation refers to the children of immigrants as minority youth, migrant youth, children of migration, or children of immigrant background. The term second generation immigrant is sometimes referred to based on previous typologies (Jacob & Kalter 2013) and refers to those who were born in the host country with two foreign-born parents. Analyses also include information on first generation (born outside of survey country) and 2.5 generation (one parent born in the host country, one parent born abroad). Native students, or majority students, refer to individuals who are born in the host country and whose parents and grandparents were also born in the host country. While chapters 2 and 3 only focus on the migrant sample of the data, native students comprise the reference group in the analyses in chapter 4.

The concept of religiosity is based on four key self-described aspects of the adolescent's experience- the self-categorization of the adolescent's religious denomination (affiliation), the importance that the individual ascribes to the religion (salience), the active engagement in a religious community (attendance), and the personal religious practices one partakes in (prayer). This research gives considerable attention to

the subgroup of Muslim immigrants, which refers to respondents who self-identity as Muslim and mark Islam as their religious denomination.[4]

When referring to identity, there are several general frameworks in the literature of understanding how ethnic and national identity are defined; this dissertation focuses on an understanding of identity as the attachment and sense of belonging that an individual feels towards a group, whether it be one's heritage group or the mainstream (Phinney 1992; Jasinskaja- Lahti et al. 2009), based on the individual's self-categorization as well the degree to which the individual feels a part of this group.

Religion and identity- what does it matter?

The goal of this dissertation is to examine the relationship between religiosity and identity and the consequences that these aspects, as well as contextual factors, have for migrant youth. What implications do individual belief systems about one's world, as well as the groups one belongs to, have on human behaviour and outcomes? The following section will outline the relevance and theoretical mechanisms for religion and identity for adaptation.

Immigrant religiosity and adaptation

The incorporation of religion in understanding social processes and human behavior is no stranger to sociological theory and research. Two seminal sociological examples of the study of religion as a catalyst for social processes are the works of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, both considered part of the canonical works in sociology and omnipresent examples in introducing students to the field. From Durkheim's use of religion[5] in understanding variation in suicide rates to Weber's study[6] of the influence of the Protestant ethic in driving economy and industry, the first applications of sociological

[4] Regarding immigrants who originate from majority-Muslim countries, the merit of attributed denotations can also be argued, as members of the host country may widely categorize immigrants as Muslim whether or not they subscribe to the doctrine. However, the focus of my research is primarily on self-identifying Muslims, due to the mechanisms of religious participation that can be accessed through membership and relationships.

[5] Durkheim, E. (1997). *Suicide: A study in sociology.* G. Simpson (Ed.) & J.A. Spaulding (Trans.). New York: Free Press.

[6] Weber, M. (1958). *Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Scribner.

inquiry have been built upon how the study of the mechanisms of religious beliefs and communities can shed light on macro- and micro-processes. When I began work on this dissertation, I assumed that arguing for the inclusion of religion in immigration research was just "preaching to the choir" to sociologists, given the historical role of religion in influential sociological works, as well as the simple fact of the high religiosity of the majority of immigrants in the West and the contentious nature of minority faiths. However, the hypothesized role of religion in influencing integration was often met with skepticism. The mechanisms and relevance of religion on hard integration outcomes, such as economic or educational attainment, were often brought into question, considering the secular landscape of Europe, where religion is often viewed as an archaic remnant of the past that is on the decline in the face of a modern society.

However, given the central role of religion in many immigrants' lives, religiosity can function as a distinctive boundary and mechanism of transmission, socialization, or social closure. For highly religious groups, religion is a key part of group identity and everyday life (Connor 2012). Besides the functional and practical resources that a religious community can provide in facilitating assimilation and integration into a host culture, a considerable number of studies have highlighted the role and salience of religion among immigration populations in maintaining ethnic customs and subcultures, promoting group solidarity, and offering spaces to teach children the language and to transmit traditions to the next generation (Cao 2005; Chen 2005; Min 2005; Bankston & Zhou 1996). In her case study of Muslim women in Norway, Predelli (2004) describes religion as a malleable, flexible resource and a dynamic tool kit employed by immigrants to support and sustain beliefs and practices. Literature on religion and immigration has also focused on the profound impact that religiosity can have in constructing identities and in transmitting attitudes to children, particularly regarding attitudes towards family and social behaviors (Cadge & Ecklund 2007). Some findings also suggest that religious communities enable second generation immigrants to maintain and reinforce ethnic identities as well as construct and renegotiate new multidimensional identities that differ from the first generation (Cadge & Ecklund 2007). Religious beliefs often play a central role in determining activities, behavior, and decisions, and the pursuit and formation of friendship networks and relationships are also often influenced by religious faith and practices. On the other hand, religion can also be perceived as a location insulated from the outside world with beliefs that could run counter to the norms and values of the host

society. In either case, whether positive or negative, the influence of religion for immigrants cannot be denied.

Previous work has also established that immigrants tend to be more religious than the native population, particularly among less educated, unemployed, and newly arrived immigrants (Van Tubergen 2011; Warner 2007). While we acknowledge that the term immigrant encapsulates a heterogeneity of backgrounds and characteristics, research has found that there is a tendency for some immigrant groups to also become more religious after moving to a new land, as they seek out ethnic religious communities for support and networks, as well as a possible reaction or means of coping to the trauma or disruption of immigration (Chen 2005, Van Tubergen 2011). Furthermore, for minority religions, religiosity has also been observed to remain salient across generations in Europe with no indication of significant decline (Jacob & Kalter 2013).

Though religiosity is prevalent among migration literature, with the exception of a few studies (Connor & Koenig 2013, Carol & Schulz 2018), immigrant religiosity is more frequently analyzed as an outcome to explore trends rather than as a potential predictor. Moreover, the majority of literature in Europe has focused on the religiosity of adult immigrants (Phalet et al. 2018). This study addresses this gap by focusing on the impact of adolescent immigrant religiosity on their adaptation. Qualitative work on Muslim youth and identity formation in America emphasize the importance of studying religiosity during adolescents (Chaudhury & Miller 2008), noting that adolescence is a time when the religious dogma one is socialized into becomes examined, questioned, and adopted as part of their own personal faith. Preadolescence and adolescence is thus seen as a time period where individuals begin to identify and establish attachments to a religious system as their own rather than of their parents. During this time, they may notice that the value systems, beliefs, and religious culture are at odds with what their peers at school espouse as well as what is taught in the classroom, and they are thus challenged to understand how their faith fits with their role in society.

Moreover, while a number of studies have focused on immigrant and minority identities based on race and ethnicity, a growing interest has focused on the implications of religious identity. The relationship between identity and social group memberships has been explored as a salient component in understanding an individual's behavior, decisions, and outcomes, and more attention has been given to the multiple categories in which people simultaneously identify with (Verkuyten & Martinovic 2012). As a social identity rooted in a system of beliefs, religion is often a central component of the self-identification of

many immigrant groups (Van Tubergen 2011; Warner 2007). Religious identity is unique from other types of self-identification in that it shapes and influences psychological processes and worldviews and generally tends to ascribe meaning, purpose, or sense of importance in people's lives. In addition, religion typically offers prescriptive teachings and worldviews regarding moral and social matters (Verkuyten et al. 2012). Some findings also suggest that religious communities enable second generation immigrants to maintain and reinforce ethnic identities as well as construct and renegotiate new multidimensional identities that differ from the first generation (Cadge & Ecklund 2007).

Muslim youth in Europe

A substantive part of this research focuses specifically on the outcomes of Muslim high school students. The religious lives of Muslim immigrants have been consistently framed as a problem and obstacle in discussions of immigrant integration in Europe, and Muslim immigrants are viewed in some European countries as the least accepted minority group (Verkuyten & Thijs 2012). Islam has been described as forming a "bright boundary" that sharply distinguishes Muslim groups from native populations with traditions, practices, and ideologies that are viewed as “backwards” and “irreconcilable” with Western culture (Alba 2005). Concern over the integration of Muslim immigrants coupled with negative stereotypes in the media have given rise to anti-Muslim sentiment or Islamophobia in some European countries. Fear of Muslim influences on the cultures of European host societies have led to criticism of Muslims for their adherence to religious and cultural traditions and public outcries against Muslim practices, such as the wearing of headscarves, the building of mosques, or the possibility of incorporating Islam into school curriculums (Voas & Fleischmann 2012).

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the hostility that Muslim immigrants face, the generational transmission of religiosity and religious identities among Muslims tend to remain consistently stable and salient across generations (Jacob & Kalter 2013), in contrast to other religious groups, which tend to show decreased religiosity across generations. As Muslims in Europe tend to regard their religion as a salient and integral part of their lives and a major influence in their worldviews (Jacob & Kalter 2013; Connor 2012), religion can also have an impact in shaping Muslims' perception and understanding of self. Religious beliefs and religious group membership also offer unique and highly influential components to an individual's identity through providing moral

principles and guiding authorities for one's life, explanations to unanswerable questions, and a sense of greater meaning or purpose or a means to interpret and understand one's experiences (Ysseldyk et al. 2010), which can be particularly appealing to individuals who may feel disenfranchised or marginalized by the greater society. Religion may also be a coping mechanism to endure or to ascribe meaning to discrimination or hardships they may be encountering in the host country. The unique case of Muslim immigrants as a visible religious outsider in Europe, combined with hostility in certain environments due to negative sentiment towards Muslims, immigrants, or religiosity in general, may explain why Muslim immigrants may identify even more strongly with their religious group.

The identity of minority youth and its potential implications

Immigration scholars have long speculated a link between identity and integration; however, much of the work has been limited to a few groups of adult immigrants in one or two countries or has only focused on one aspect of immigrant identity. Additionally, although there are a number of studies devoted to the development and construction of identity in Europe, little is known about how identity varies within and between schools as well as its subsequent implications and consequences. This dissertation aims to bridge this gap in the following ways: 1) to explore determinants of identity for adolescents across several countries, 2) to examine conditions under which adolescents might describe various forms of identity, 3) and to test what the impact that identity might have on adaptation outcomes.

For second generation immigrants, the issue of identity, and how they view, understand, and perceive themselves and their sense of belonging, is another complex theme of the immigrant experience. Born and raised in the host country yet keenly aware of their cultural and ethnic distinctions, the children of immigrants often carry multiple identities that are not static but rather changing over time and in various contexts. Even if they espouse and internalize the values, language, and culture of their host country, they may still be regarded as foreigners and aliens in the country of their birth. In the case of Europe, which is still coming to terms with what a multicultural society means and where ethnic identity historically and often legally precluded civic identity, both national identity and ethnic identity trigger mental schemas at the visceral level that complicate the process in which identity is formed. For example, in the German context, the notion of feeling strongly German can be composed of cultural values, thought processes, tastes

and preferences, ideologies, and behaviors that an immigrant child growing up in the country could possibly identify with; however, other "markers" that give away a person's heritage, such as physical appearance, accent, and name, may signal differences or serve as occasional reminders at both the individual and social levels. Claims to a particular identity can theoretically be confirmed or rejected by the environment and social interactions that a youth experiences.

Multicultural countries with high shares of immigrants, such as the United States and Canada, generally allow for hyphenated self-definitions that capture the multiple identities that second generation immigrants hold and do not necessarily view ethnic and national identities as incompatible (i.e. African-American, Chinese-American, Indo-Canadian) (Asher 2008; Sundar 2008; Mahtani 2010). However, in the majority of countries, where ethnicity and nationality are often viewed as one and the same, hyphenated self-definitions are less commonly utilized and not a part of the social norms and everyday language. Despite the possibility that some second-generation immigrants may perceive the sharp contrast between their own culture and their parents' culture and instead feel closer to the culture of the host society, it is possible that some contexts might be less conductive for dual identities (Andreouli & Howarth 2012).

Against this background, the rejection of national identity has been examined in previous work, finding that discrimination can foster intentional disidentification with the mainstream and negative sentiment towards majority group members (Schmitt & Branscombe 2002). In other words, feeling unwanted leads minorities to reject and disassociate from the mainstream and impinges on motivation to belong to the majority society, which may in turn exacerbate negative sentiment from majority members who may condemn minorities for not desiring to integrate. This phenomenon highlights the complex dynamics between minorities and majority group members and the landscape they are residing in.

Regarding the impact of identity, the relationship between identity and immigrant outcomes has been explored in several studies with mixed results, from characteristics of mostly low-income immigrant school children in America (Portes and Rumbaut 2001) to studies on labor market outcomes of non-EU immigrants in Europe (Bisin et al. 2011). Analyses of the European Social Survey have suggested labor market penalties for first- and second- generation immigrants who hold a strong ethnic identity in Europe; despite no statistical differences on employment probability between second-generation immigrants and natives, presence of a strong ethnic identity correlated with lower

chances of finding a job. On the other hand, a study of immigrants in Germany, which distinguished between different degrees of identification, only found differences among immigrant women, specifically depending on whether they were assimilated or integrated (Zimmermann et al. 2007). In light of these findings, this dissertation bridges literature on both ethnic and national identity to examine possible advantages or penalties associated with various forms of identity.

The importance of context

While both religious beliefs and identity are analyzed at the individual-level, the formation of both aspects cannot be understood without situating them in the contexts that they are located in (Andreouli & Howarth 2012; Connor 2009; Brubaker & Cooper 2000). Religious belief systems are transmitted and crystallized in the context of communities and affected by structural factors on both the macro- and meso-level. Identity is understood and constructed in relation to the groups and interactions that the individual comes across. The reception or hostility of any given environment, as well as the prevailing attitudes or perspectives, can interact with the complex processes of identity formation as well as the potential consequences of identity. Thus, the importance of examining group and contextual processes cannot be overstated.

In previous work, social scientists have questioned whether contexts that are unreceptive or even hostile towards minorities might foster stronger or weaker attachments to their minority religious or ethnic groups. For example, research has generally found that in contexts where discrimination and immigrant threat perception are high, or when assimilation is strongly emphasized, Muslim groups tend to develop stronger religious and ethnic identities, suggesting that hostility or anti-Muslim sentiment reinforces minority identity and the possible rejection of the host culture (Verkuyten et al. 2012). These commitments and attachments to the minority group (the religious community in this case) may also solidify an individual's sense of belonging and solidarity with others when living in an unreceptive or hostile environment

Given the dynamic nature of religiosity and identity in interacting with contextual forces, it is appropriate to study the influence of the school context when focusing on the outcomes of adolescents. Schools are generally viewed as a crucial context for socialization, where children spend the majority of their day and where norms and values

are instilled. In addition, schools are often the place where minority children and adolescents meet peers from other backgrounds, learn distinctions between ethnic groups and made aware of their own minority statuses and the perceptions other groups may have towards them. The composition and location of a school can have a significant impact on the way students understand and identify with groups, by cultivating ethnic pride and empowerment through shared experiences with peers or by fostering either a sense of belonging or a disassociation with the majority group (Sabatier 2008). The composition and profile of a school context can thus have potentially significant influences on the formation and influence of an individual's religious beliefs or beliefs about oneself. A minority student in a more homogeneous school context may be more likely to receive "microaggressions" or regular reminders of his or her minority status, which may arguably reinforce dis-identification or cultivate assimilation into the mainstream. More diverse student bodies could either reinforce social closure and subsequent in-group/out-group tensions through more opportunities of homophilous relationships, or they could foster a more receptive environment towards various confessions and identities that might in turn encourage the co-existence of multiple identities. This study will examine how and in what direction context matters regarding the identity and outcomes of minority adolescents.

Research Agenda and Questions

As outlined in the introduction, this dissertation builds upon three specific questions that focus on determinants of identity and the implications of identity and religion in understanding immigrant adaptation.

Chapter 2, "Determinants of identity: The influence of generational status, religiosity, and school context on immigrant identity in Europe," examines the relationship between religiosity and identity and examines how religion might serve as a mechanism in transmitting or weakening ethnic or national identity. Moreover, the study investigates cases and conditions where youth might hold multiple identities, identifying attachments to both their host country and ethnic background.

Furthermore, this paper examines determinants of identity by analyzing the generational status, religiosity, and school context of minority youth in Europe. At the descriptive level, how do children of immigrants identify themselves, and how do their

religious beliefs and religious salience relate to their ethnic and national identities? Do their identities correspond to the expectations of classical assimilation theory, or is there evidence of ethnic reactivity in Europe? Are there significant differences between the identities of highly religious and non-religious immigrants, and how might perceptions of discrimination influence identity constructions? And under what conditions do minority youth hold multiple identifiers?

Once we get a picture of what identity looks like among adolescents in Europe, the next chapter then addresses what identity might mean for adolescent outcomes. Chapter 3, "Does identity matter for adaptation? The implications of acculturation identity for adolescent adaptation," examines the impact of identity for outcomes. A very general overview of the outcomes of immigrants in Europe informs us that immigrants tend to have lower overall academic, occupational, and economic outcomes in comparison to natives, and an ethnic identity penalty has been observed (Kislev 2017). Is there an advantage associated with national identity versus combined identities?

The striking aspect of segmented assimilation theory and its corresponding literature is that there have been cases of second generation immigrant groups in America that have been able to reconcile dual identities and even use them to their advantage, navigating through the cultures of their ethnic and host countries by cherry-picking aspects of each culture that might be beneficial for them (Portes & Zhou 1993). Are there similar cases in Western Europe? If not, are there significant contextual factors, selection effects, or immigrant group characteristics that could possibly explain for this?

While chapter 3 focuses on establishing a relationship between identity and adaptation, Chapter 4, "The religiosity and school performance of adolescents in the Netherlands, Germany, and England," seeks to analyze the relationship between religiosity and educational outcomes. More specifically, I examine the functional role of religiosity for school performance, as well as the context-dependent influence of religiosity and religious peers for Muslim second-generation immigrants. The approach of this paper is to empirically test the general presumption of a minority religious penalty among Muslim immigrants as well as to seek to answer the overall question: does religiosity help or hinder successful performance in the school setting?

Data source

In order to answer the questions of these three studies, data was used from the "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries" (CILS4EU) (Kalter et al. 2013). This data is a comprehensive study of immigrant parents, children, and teachers in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden and the first standardized panel study on children with immigrant backgrounds in Europe. Children of immigrants and natives were surveyed between 2010 and 2012 for waves 1 and 2, and a three-stage stratified sampling design was employed in order to oversample schools with higher shares of immigrant students (Dollmann et al. 2014). Two classes were randomly selected from each school, and all students in the classes were surveyed, with relatively high response rates (e.g. ranging from 80.5% in England to 91.1% in the Netherlands for wave 1) (Geven 2016).

As the first of its kind, this dataset contains a substantial sample of migrant students with a rich set of information that enables the exploration of the research questions in this dissertation on a large scale.

Contribution

There is no shortage of literature on religion and identity in immigrant adaptation, but despite the longstanding inquiry, many of the conclusions that have been drawn have focused on adults of migrant background or are limited to one or two countries (Phalet et al. 2018). The majority of scholarly work on immigrant religiosity in Europe has focused on religiosity as an outcome variable or approached religiosity as an obstacle. With the exception of a few studies (Connor & Koenig 2013; Carol & Schulz 2018), religiosity in Europe has either been ignored as inconsequential for hard integration outcomes or has been generally framed as a hindrance to successful integration. And although identity research has proliferated in the last few decades, most studies have examined one aspect of identity (either ethnic or national) in Europe and have not considered the possible

combinations of identity that immigrants can express[7] on a large scale. Furthermore, the influence of school context on these individual processes has been largely ignored in the literature.

The central aim of this research is to contribute to the literature on immigrant adaptation in the following ways: first, I bridge the gap between ethnic identity and national identity studies by including combinations of adolescent identity in several European countries through the acculturation model. Second, I analyze whether differences are attributable to religiosity and identity across various groups (generational status, country of origin). Much of the previous work on migrants has portrayed them as a monolithic group and ignored this diversity, thus producing an incomplete picture of adaptation. In response, I conduct separate analyses within the migrant sample in order to disentangle group differences. Building on work on co-ethnics, I address a glaring gap in the literature by focusing on the influence of minority religious peers on school outcomes. Moreover, I examine the role of contextual forces at the school level in driving individual processes for minority adolescents. And finally, I use large-scale data of adolescents in several European countries.

The three studies in this dissertation will seek to provide a more in-depth and focused understanding of the interactions among religion, identity, school context, and adaptive outcomes of second generation immigrants. The final chapter of this dissertation concludes with an overview and discussion of my research findings, practical implications, and the proposed areas of future research. The findings of these studies contribute to the field through identifying conditions under which religiosity and ethnic identity can be viewed as advantageous to adaptation through providing beneficial networks and promoting solidarity, or conversely, through obstructing adaptation through maintenance of social closure and limitation of potential resources and capital. Moreover, by comparing schools across countries, this dissertation examines how environment may influence these individual relationships and processes. It is with these three studies that I hope to explore how the children of immigrants "fit in" the societies they live in.

[7] for some notable exceptions, see Nekby et al. (2009) and Zimmerman (2007) for acculturation identity and labor market outcomes for immigrants in one national context, Sweden and Germany respectively

Table 1. Overview of dissertation

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
Title	Determinants of identity: The influence of generational status, religiosity, and school context on immigrant identity in Europe	Does identity matter for adaptation? The implications of acculturation identity for adolescent adaptation	The religiosity and school performance of adolescents in the Netherlands, Germany, and England
Research Question	What are determinants of identity for the children of immigrants in Europe, and how might identity vary depending on religiosity and context?	What implications does identity have for the adaptation of minority youth?	What is the relationship between religiosity and school performance, and how might this relationship be influenced by religious peers?
Outcomes	Acculturation identity (assimilated, integrated, separated, marginalized identities)	School Performance (math, English, and survey country grades), well-being, self-reported delinquent behavior	School Performance (math, English, and survey country grades)
Independent Variables	Generational status, individual religiosity (affiliation, attendance, salience, and prayer), perceived discrimination; share of migrant students	Acculturation identity; routine activities; self-control; share of migrant students	Individual religiosity (affiliation, attendance, salience, and prayer); share of Muslim students in the school
Data	Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)	Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)	Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)
Method	Mixed effects logistic regression models	Multilevel models	Multilevel models

Chapter 2
Determinants of identity: The influence of generational status, religiosity, and school context on immigrant identity in Europe

Abstract

This paper examines determinants of identity by analyzing the generational status, religiosity, and school context of minority youth in Europe. The first part of this study focuses on the presumptions of assimilation theory for identity in Europe by testing for generational differences and evidence of ethnic revival in various forms of identity. This study also explores the influence of religion- which has often been perceived as a hindrance to integration- and school context on the types of identities students express. Moreover, rather than focusing on singular ethnic or national identities, this study utilizes the fourfold acculturation model to examine the various possibilities of identity that migrant youth can express. The questions are explored using the migrant sample of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU; England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden). Results of multilevel logistic regressions challenge previous presumptions of identity among migrant youth and find no strong evidence for either assimilation or ethnic revival among second generation students compared with their first generation peers. However, evidence of assimilation is observed among students with a foreign-born and native parent. Religious salience, perceived discrimination, and high ethnic diversity at the school-level are also associated with a lower likelihood of assimilated identity and higher likelihood of integrated and separated identities, suggesting the social and contextual nature of identity formation.

Keywords

national identity, ethnic identity, assimilation, acculturation, religiosity, perceived discrimination

Introduction

How immigrants view themselves and relate to the culture and country they live in has been a topic of interest for researchers and policymakers alike, and the importance of identity in gauging the success of immigrant integration and the adaptation of minorities has been extensively researched in migration literature. In the European context, a long-standing narrative about the isolation of immigrants living on the fringes of society, rejected and disenfranchised by the majority, or perhaps, rejecting the host culture in turn, has been exacerbated with fears of religious radicalization. Legislation regarding citizenship and naturalization, as well as a lack of consensus on how to receive and handle immigrant streams, have further complicated this story and contributed to the perception on the minority side of being a lifelong guest, foreigner, and alien in the land (Voas & Fleischmann 2012).

Against the backdrop of these concerns, there has been a myriad of attempts to understand how and why immigrants express identification with the host country or with their country of origin. Much of the literature on immigrant identity is based on theories of assimilation versus reactive ethnicity, minority religiosity, or perceived discrimination in efforts to explain the variation in identity across groups. This study aims to understand identity by unifying these theoretical streams in order to comprehensively test whether the patterns and mechanisms of identity align with the predominant conceptions of how identity works among immigrants in the European context. Moreover, the majority of identity literature focuses on adults; however, research on child development suggests that exploring the identity of children and teenagers is important in understanding how identity is formed and established (Chaudhury & Miller 2008; Phalet & Fleischmann 2018). Erik Erikson's oft-cited work on racial and ethnic identity also describes adolescence as a critical stage in identity development and self-discovery (1968). Given the fact that the children of immigrants are born and raised in the country of residence, it is reasonable to assume that they would be more likely than their parents to identify with the host culture or hold dual identifiers. They are cognizant of their own ethnic and cultural differences from the majority, yet they are also presumably aware of the differences that their upbringing in the host country bring in comparison with their parents or with residents in their country of origin. Based on previous literature, generational status is expected to be positively correlated with assimilated identity, and immigrant groups with less cultural and social distance are also expected to be more

likely to identify with the majority society. Yet what makes immigrant youth more likely to ascribe to one singular ethnic (or national) identifier? What factors determine immigrant identity?

The central goal of this study is to explore competing theoretical expectations of identity of minority youth and examine how identity varies across generation, religion, and school context. What factors determine immigrant identity, and how does identity differ between different generational groups? Is minority identity weaker in children with immigrant backgrounds who are born in the host country, as opposed to those who come later, or is it more salient, and how does identity vary depending on religiosity and school?

In order to address these questions, this study will explore the identities of immigrant youth in Europe, where several countries in recent decades have been receiving larger numbers of immigrants and increasing in diversity in ethnic groups, cultures and confessions. Towards this end, I examine determinants of the ethnic and national identities of a large migrant sample of high school students in four European countries: England, Germany, the Netherlands, and England. Given the salient role of religiosity in identity for adult immigrants in Europe (Verkuyten et al. 2012), whose religiosity is often perceived as an isolating form of social closure that hinders integration with the majority (Foner & Alba 2008), I also explore the relationship between religiosity and identity for minority youth. And finally, in light of the contextual nature of identity and the importance of school as a location of identity formation (Kunst et al. 2012; Agirdag et al. 2010), I analyze the influence of school context on identity.

The first part of this study examines the presumptions of classical assimilation theory for identity in Europe. We can reasonably expect that later generations are more likely than first-generation immigrant youth to self-identify with the host country. Why then, might second generation immigrant youth weakly identify with or not identify at all with the country and culture in which they grew up in? Moreover, rather than focusing on only one aspect of identity, or viewing national versus ethnic identity as diametrically opposed, this study analyzes various possibilities of identity through the acculturation model, which acknowledges that individuals might identify with both or neither groups. Findings in this study challenge the presumptions of assimilation theory and ethnic reactivity for second generation immigrants and lend partial support to the influence of religiosity and perceived discrimination and the role of school context on acculturation identity.

Theoretical background- understanding immigrant identity

Identity has been perceived as a means of finding and making sense of one's place and worth in society (Sabatier 2008). Conceptual frameworks of identity have modeled both ethnic and national identity on a continuum with possibilities of intersection (Berry 1997; Phinney et al. 2001). The relationship between ethnic and national identity can thus be inverse (Verkuyten & Yildiz 2007), positive (Gong 2007), or independent of one another and rather determined by a range of other factors (Sabatier 2008). Theoretical models, as well as research findings, have suggested that identity of minorities and immigrants can be influenced by socioeconomic background, family and friendships, neighborhoods, and macro-level factors (Sabatier 2008; Leszczenskzy et al. 2016; Phinney et al. 2001; Supple et. al 2006, Markus & Hamedani 2007; McCrone 2002). Identity can thus be defined and understood not only by personal characteristics, but also in relation to the larger framework and context in which one is situated. In other words, identity is simultaneously individual and contextual in nature (Tajfel 1979; Oakes et al. 1994).

Generational status and identity

Classical assimilation theory offers a neatly linear explanation of immigrant identity, which views the development and evolution of identity in direct proportion to the generational status and duration of residence in the country for immigrants and their children (Gordon 1964; Platt 2013; Maliepaard et al. 2010). As migrants presumably settle, learn the language, work, and bear children and grandchildren, a common view is that their perception of self and the world around them converges over time as the host country becomes *their* country and the country of origin becomes more foreign. Cultural values, norms, behaviors, traditions, and attachments to their ethnic group gradually give way to the host culture, and under this perspective, it takes several generations until the group "arrives." Based on the tenets and expectations of classical assimilation theory, identity has often been perceived as a linear continuum that should inevitably shift from ethnic to national identity across time and generations (Platt 2014; Maliepaard et al. 2010).

This vantage point still permeates the collective perception of immigrants. According to this perspective, an individual who has been born and raised in the host country and who has only known the majority culture should naturally relate to it in some way. Under this framework, it is reasonable to assume that national identity will be stronger and more prevalent with each generation, while ethnic and religious ties may weaken as identity gradually approach and mirror that of the majority population (Gordon 1964; Van de Vijver & Phalet 2004). Moreover, previous work has found that the integration outcomes of children of intermarriage were “halfway” between immigrant and native students, suggesting a gradual assimilation towards natives along generations (Kalmijn 2015).

But there are factors that muddle and complicate this story. Cultural distance, reception and "warmth of welcome," anticipated and perceived discrimination, and social networks are just some of the many factors attributed to the formation and development of identity (Verkuyten 2007; Leszczenscky et al. 2013). What are possible explanations, then, when later generations of immigrants do not feel ties to the country of their birth, especially when there are significant tendencies and patterns for certain groups? There has, for example, been some evidence of "ethnic revival" or "reactive ethnicity," where descendants of immigrants indicate stronger ethnic attachments than their parents, possibly due to hostility and discrimination that they encounter (Rumbaut 2008). Two studies by Diehl & Schnell (2006) and Platt (2014) explore whether the tendency of ethnic reactivity or generational assimilation is observed among several minority groups Europe, namely Turkish immigrants in Germany (Diehl & Schnell 2006) and South Asian immigrants in the UK (Platt 2014). However, neither paper found strong evidence for ethnic reactivity among the respective groups or contexts explored.

Conversely, perceived discrimination has been found as a determinant of reactive ethnicity as well as oppositional identity among Turkish students in disadvantaged schools in Germany (Celik 2015). In some cases, the felt hostility or alienation in the country of residence may result in an intensification of ethnic identity in subsequent generations. Studies on identity have pointed to perceived discrimination attributing to the phenomenon of "national dis-identification"; in other words, when one feels rejected by the majority, they will use their agency to reject the majority in turn (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009). There are therefore a number of potential factors that may disrupt a seamless assimilation into the majority culture and the expected decline of minority identity. This study will thus test for both possibilities- the presence of assimilation or reactive ethnicity

for immigrant identity. Moreover, in light of theories on national dis-identification, *I hypothesize that perceived discrimination will be negatively related to assimilated identity and positively related to separated identity.*

Religion and identity

In recent years, more attention has been given to the religiosity of immigrants in understanding identity and the crucial role religiosity plays in the belief systems, values, norms, and communities of many immigrants in Europe, who are also more likely to be more religious than the majority society (Hoon & van Tubergen 2014). Differences in ethnic identity among adult immigrants have been identified across groups and contexts (Bisin et al. 2011; Zimmermann et al. 2007), and as a salient part of identity for a large number of minorities in Europe, religiosity offers one explanation for these differences. The role of religion in immigrant integration, or conversely, isolation, has been an oft-discussed topic in both public and academic dialogue. In stark contrast with both the secular and Judeo-Christian traditions that simultaneously characterize the European landscape, minority religions outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition have been viewed as incompatible with Western culture and perceived as heightening closure from society, intensifying identity with one's minority group, and obstructing the path to identification with the country and eventual assimilation (Foner & Alba 2008).

The unique nature of religious attachment and commitment is that the group affiliation shapes and determines one's belief about how one should live and perceive the world around them (Verkuyten et al. 2012; Ysseldyk et al. 2010). For many immigrants in Europe, the exclusion of religiosity in studying immigrant identity may thus mean potentially overlooking a major component of an individual's life that assigns meaning and worth, which can be particularly salient for a group that might feel like outsiders in society, particularly among Muslim groups.

Unlike other religious groups, which tend to show decreased religiosity across generations, the generational transmission of religiosity and religious identities among Muslims tend to remain consistently stable and salient across generations (Jacob & Kalter 2013). First- and second-generation Muslim immigrants overall also tend to be more religious than the host population, and religious identity is often a major and unifying part of their identity, particularly among less educated, unemployed, and newly arrived

immigrants (Van Tubergen 2011; Warner 2007). The identity of Muslim immigrants is of particular interest for immigration scholars, as the structural and cultural integration of Muslim immigrants are consistently depicted as a problem in Europe (Foner & Alba 2008). Muslim immigrants are viewed in some European countries as the least accepted minority group (Verkuyten & Thijs 2012; Voas & Fleischmann 2012), and Islam has been described as forming a "bright boundary" that sharply distinguishes Muslim groups from native populations with traditions, practices, and ideologies that are viewed as irreconcilable with Western culture (Alba 2005).

In general, the studies on Muslim religiosity youth and identity in Europe have found that religiosity tends to determine ethnic and national identifications and that Muslim religious identity tends to be the primary identity above other identities (Verkuyten et al. 2012; Verkuyten 2007). In addition, strong associations have been found between religious and ethnic identity among Muslims; Muslims were more likely to have strong ethnic attachments when religious identity was also strong (Phalet et al. 2008; Güngör et al. 2012). Previous literature has found a positive relationship between secularization and adaptation to host society (van Tubergen 2007) as well as a negative relationship between ethnic and national identity among second generation immigrants (Verkuyten et al. 2012). Although second-generation Muslim immigrants were observed to have stronger national identity and weaker religious and ethnic identities when compared to their parents (Verkuyten et al. 2012; Phalet & Güngör 2009), national identity has been observed to be lowest among Muslim youth compared with their peers (Fleischmann & Phalet 2018), lending support to the perception of Muslim exclusion in Europe.

Yet rather than painting one group as a monolithic construct, it is worthwhile to examine how levels of religiosity and identity vary and to what extent the context in which one is situated in makes a difference. For minority youth who are struggling to reconcile both aspects of their identities- identification with the country of their parents and the host country- religiosity might be a refuge from which they draw meaning and make sense of the world. In contexts where they encounter or perceive hostility towards their ethnic or religious groups, religious communities might also offer a place where they feel they belong. The unique case of Muslim immigrants as a visible religious outsider in Europe, combined with hostility in certain environments due to negative sentiment towards Muslims, immigrants, and/or religiosity in general, may explain why Muslim immigrants may identify even more strongly with their religious group. For minorities

whose religiosity is perceived to be at odds with the majority culture, the compatibility of immigrant religiosity and national identity is thus called into question.

I thus hypothesize that higher religiosity will be associated negatively with assimilated identity and positively with separated identity.

Determinants of acculturation identity

Much of the literature on religiosity and identity has focused on singular ethnic or national identities. Being born and raised in the host country, however, could arguably result in several possible pathways of identity, which are moderated by the experience as a child of immigrants- a strengthening of majority identity and weakening of minority identity, a strengthening of minority identity and weakening of majority identity, or a simultaneous strengthening of both identities (Berry 1997; Nekby et al. 2009). It is still unclear how immigrant youth reconcile identities that might, in some contexts, be perceived as diametrically opposed to one another at face value (for example, feeling strongly Muslim and strongly German). Unlike a context such as the United States, which has a longer history of receiving migrants, lacks a clear ethnic identity as a nation, and allows for the hyphenation of and thus co-existence of ethnic and national identities ("African-American," "Chinese-American," etc.), it is uncertain whether strong ethnic identity and strong national identity can be viewed as compatible for all immigrant groups in Europe. Are there groups that are less likely to express identification with both groups and more likely to express identification with the ethnic or national group? As a group notoriously depicted as an other and outsider, are religiously devout Muslim youth less likely than other groups to view their ethnic and national identities as compatible and able to co-exist? And under what circumstances might they be more likely to express identification with both their ethnic and national groups?

In order to examine the various possibilities of adolescent identity, this study draws on the acculturation framework, in which the affiliation to one's ethnic group as well as to the nation is captured in a four-fold framework. Under the perspective of acculturation, ethnic identity and national identity are not only conceived of as separate entities or as inversely related to one another but are acknowledged as co-existing and interrelated processes, which could also include the possible rejection of one or both forms of identity. This framework yields four possible outcomes of identity- rejection of both the heritage and majority culture (marginalized), identification with only the heritage

culture (separated), identification with both the heritage and majority culture (integrated), and identification with only the majority culture (assimilated). Although the acculturation framework has been criticized for oversimplifying the complexity of the ethnic and national identity processes (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh 2001), this framework is an appropriate way, under the restrictions of survey data analysis, to explore the various possibilities of identity that this study is aiming to address.

The role of context in understanding identity

Literature has also established that national identification is partly influenced and shaped by context and can also be more dominant in public domains (Vadher & Barrett 2009; Burke & Kao 2013). As an environment where adolescents learn cultural and social norms, interact with and befriend peers, and meet students who come from different backgrounds, the school context has been perceived as a crucible where national identity is forged (Rumbaut 1994; Lam & Smith 2009). The composition and diversity of the student population influences the visibility and accessibility of other minorities and can also subsequently influence one's understanding of social standing and self. A more diverse environment might potentially strengthen one's ethnic identity through contact with other minorities, while a less diverse environment might promote assimilation and strengthened national identity for minorities. This was observed in Agirdag et al.'s (2010) paper on school ethnic composition and national identity in Belgium; ethnic heterogeneity was associated negatively with national identification for minorities but positively associated for natives. One explanation might be that distinctions appear clearer and more salient in more heterogeneous environments.

However, an alternative argument could hypothetically be made based on the aforementioned previous work on ethnic revival. Being one of very few minorities in a given context could amplify the felt differences from the majority population and lead to a strengthening of ethnic identity, while being in a more diverse context may allow an individual to perceive and define oneself in other ways outside of one's immigrant identity, leading to a weakening of ethnic identity. This logic could also apply to religious minorities. For the non-Muslim population, ethnic identity and religion might seem indistinguishable, as the nuances and differences within an out-group are blurred in an "all are the same" amorphous category. While there may be intersections and overlap between ethnic and religious identities for Muslim immigrants, it is also likely that

differences in degree of religious commitment are more apparent for in-group members. In the same vein, although minorities may notice and be more likely to befriend peers of the same ethnic and racial descent based on homophily, it is also likely that in-group members notice the distinctions between first- second- and 2.5 generation members that are not as apparent to members of the majority.

These perceived differences however, may be dependent on the school context. Given the uniqueness and complexity of second generation immigrant identity, a comparison of adolescents across various school contexts can potentially provide insight into the adaptation process of subsequent immigrant generations and between immigrant groups. For pupils who attend diverse schools in, for example, Germany, they may be more aware of their "Germanness" when surrounded by a variety of coethnic or minority peers who have recently migrated. Yet in schools with a smaller share of migrants, students might be reminded more often of their differences from the native majority. On the other hand, it is also reasonable to assume that students would be more likely to adapt to national identity when surrounded by native students. This study will test for both possibilities.

Method

This study will first test determinants of identity in order to see whether the identity of minorities reflect patterns of classic assimilation through comparing identities between generations. This study will then examine the relationship between the religiosity and identity of immigrant children, and whether minority religiosity is compatible with national identity in the European context. In order to understand whether and in what direction the environment might influence the identity of adolescents with immigrant backgrounds, this study also includes school's share of migrants in the analyses.

These research questions are explored through secondary data from the first wave of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU), which is a cross-national school-based dataset that samples adolescents from England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden and is the first standardized data set of immigrant youth in Europe (Kalter et al. 2013). Students with migration backgrounds and native students were surveyed between October 2010 and July 2011, and a three-stage stratified sampling design was used so that schools with higher shares of immigrant

students were overrepresented in the sample (Dollmann et al. 2014). Two classes were randomly selected from each school, and all students in the classes were surveyed. For the purposes of this study, only the migrant sample was used for the main analyses.

Measures

In order to analyze determinants of ethnic and national identity, an outcome measure of acculturation identity was created based on the survey questions, "How strongly do you feel (survey country member)?", which measured the extent to which the respondent identified with the host country with a 4-point scale, and "How strongly do you feel you belong to this group?", which was a follow-up question that referred to the ethnic group selected by the respondent. Those who selected (0) "not at all strongly" or (1) "not very strongly" were denoted as having a "weak" attachment to the respective ethnic or national group, while the answer choices (2) "fairly strongly" or (3) "very strongly" were denoted as having a "strong" attachment to the respective group. Immigrant respondents who did not select an ethnic group at all were also coded as "weak" in ethnic attachment. The variable acculturation identity was then created with the following categories: assimilated (weak ethnic identity, strong national identity), marginalized (weak ethnic identity, weak national identity), separated (strong ethnic identity, weak national identity), integrated (strong ethnic identity, strong national identity).

Independent variables were related to the students' generational status, religiosity, and micro- and meso-level controls. Generational status was defined as 1st generation (born outside the survey country), 2nd generation (born in the survey country with immigrant parents), 2.5 generation (born in the survey country with one native-born parent and one foreign-born parent). Religiosity was measured using the variables of religious affiliation, religious attendance, religious salience, and prayer. The variable religious affiliation was comprised of four categories: no religion, Muslim, Christian, and Other Religion. Religious attendance was based on the question, "How often do you visit religious meeting places?" with answer choices recoded into a 4-point scale: (0) "Never," (1) "Occasionally (less than once a month)," (2) "At least once a month," and (3) "Regularly (every week or daily)."[8] Religious salience referred to students' responses to the question, "How important is religion to you?", with answer choices, (0) "Not at all

[8] The variables religious attendance, religious salience, and prayer were analyzed as quasi-continuous variables

important," (1) "Not very important," (2) "Fairly important," and (3) "Very important." Prayer referred to respondents' frequency of prayer, (0) "Never," (1) "Occasionally," (2) "At least once a month," (3) "At least once a week," (4) "One to four times a day," and (5) "Five times a day or more." The variable perceived discrimination was also included to see whether it is not religiosity or school indicators but rather respondents' perception of discrimination and unfair treatment in school that explain students' identity; this variable was coded as (0) "Never," (1) "Sometimes," (2) "Often," and (3) "Always." The variables were tested for multicollinearity with a variance inflation factor of 1.84.

Controls included age, age at migration, gender, country of origin, parents' highest occupational prestige (ISEI score), parent's highest level of education, and country/track. Country of origin was collapsed into 6 categories by region: North/South/West Europe (reference), Eastern Europe, Caribbean & African, Arabic, Asian, and Other/Unknown. Country dummies were created for England and Sweden, while dummies were created for country and track for the Netherlands and Germany (based on categorizations defined by Geven et al. 2016). The educational tracks for Germany consisted of Hauptschule (basic track), Realschule (intermediate), Gymnasium (pre-university), Comprehensive (varying abilities), Gesamtschule (several tracks), and Special Needs (students with special needs). The educational tracks for Netherlands consisted of VMBO-BK (basic), VMBO-GT (vocational), HAVO (senior secondary education), and VWO (pre-university). The school-level indicator of share of migrants was calculated by proportion of students with an immigrant background and divided into three categories: low (<33%), medium (34%-66%), high (>67%).

Results

Given the important role of school context in shaping and influencing identity, this study uses multilevel logistic regression of students nested in schools, which enables the analysis of both student-level and school-level characteristics on student's identity. In this case, the main variables of interest are generational status and religiosity across schools, as well as variation of the share of migrants at the school level on identity. Separate analyses were conducted for each identity outcome in order to estimate the log odds of a student having assimilated, integrated, separated, or marginalized identity.

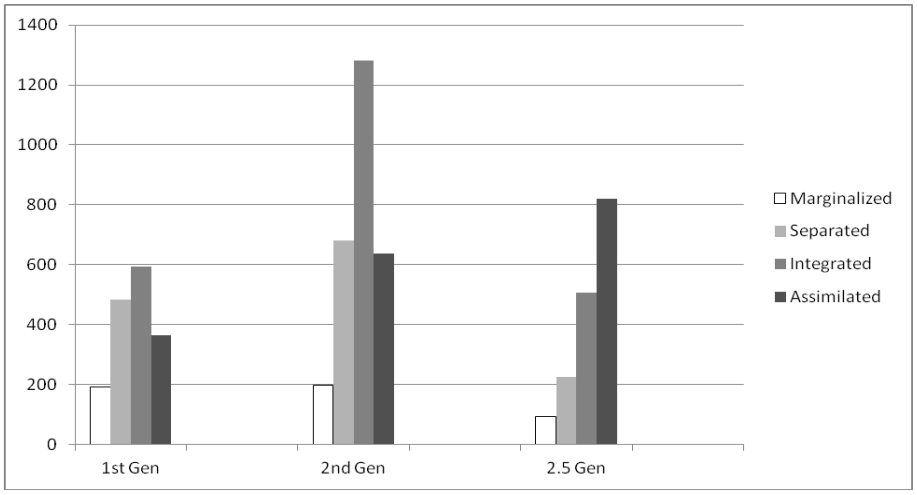
Descriptive Results

The migrant sample is comprised of 6,073 students of immigrant background.[9] Both first and second generation students most frequently identified strongly with both the majority and their ethnic groups, while 2.5 generation students most frequently expressed strong identification with only their national group. Second generation students also make up the highest proportion of students with integrated and separated identities. Similar shares of first generation and second generation students express marginalized identities.

Table 2. Respondents' self-identification by generational status, row percentages, unweighted

	Marginalized	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Total
1st Generation	193	483	593	365	1,634
	39.96	34.8	24.92	20.03	26.91
2nd Generation	198	681	1,280	638	2,797
	40.99	49.06	53.78	35.02	46.06
2.5 Generation	92	224	507	819	1,642
	19.05	16.14	21.3	44.95	27.03
Total	483	1,388	2,380	1,822	6,073
	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 1. Distribution of acculturation identities by generational status



[9] For the purposes of this study, only the migrant sample is analyzed; however, Table 1 of the Appendix shows the cross-tabulations of national identification for the whole sample and includes native students' national identification for comparison. Descriptive results show a slight tendency for the magnitude of national identification to increase by generation, with 2.5 generation students approaching the national identification of native students.

Table 3. Sample Means by acculturation identity

Sample Means	Marginalized	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated
Religious attendance	1.18	1.47	1.43	0.96
Religious salience	1.96	2.29	2.23	1.52
Prayer	1.87	2.21	2.16	1.36
Age	15.99	15.98	16.02	15.94
Age of Migration	15.99	15.98	16.02	15.94
Female	3.96	3.95	1.90	1.08
Parent education	0.40	0.50	0.54	0.56
Parent ISEI	2.31	2.13	2.32	2.32
Share of migrants	51.65	49.69	51.14	52.69
	1.05	1.26	1.20	0.82

Multivariate Results

Tables 4 and 5 display the results of the mixed effects logistic regression predicting the probability of ascribing to assimilated, integrated, separated, and marginalized identity, based on several individual and contextual measures. Model 1 for each table examines the net influence of generational status on identity in order to test whether patterns of assimilation or ethnic revival are observed in the sample after controlling for sociodemographic variables and country. (See appendix for the complete tables with controls). Results show that the second generation is significantly less likely to have assimilated identity than the first generation, even after controlling for religiosity and school context, while 2.5 generation students (those with one native-born, one foreign-born parent) are significantly more likely than the first generation to have assimilated identity. However, this significant effect drops after inclusion of other variables of interest. Generational status is not significant in predicting integrated identity; however, consistent with the presumption of assimilation, 2.5 generation students are significantly less likely than first generation students to identify solely with their ethnic identity; i.e. separated identity. The second generation is also significantly more likely than the first generation to have marginalized identity and identify with neither their national nor ethnic groups.

Model 2 examines the relationship between religiosity and identity. Contrary to expectations as well as to previous literature, Muslim affiliation is not significantly

related to any of the identity outcomes. Religious salience, however, is significantly associated with the assimilated, integrated, and separated identities of minority students. More specifically, students who personally regard religion as important are less likely to have sole affiliation with the majority group (assimilated) and are more likely to have both ethnic and national affiliation (integrated) or sole ethnic affiliation (separated). Results also suggest that religious activity and prayer are not additional correlates of identity.

Finally, Models 3 and 4 in the tables include share of migrants in school and students' individual perception of discrimination in the school, respectively, in order to test whether some of the differences in identity across students might actually be explained by a reaction to felt hostility or unfair treatment in the school setting rather than religiosity itself. Migrant students attending schools with a high proportion of students with migration background (over 2/3) are significantly less likely to report assimilated identity than students in schools with lower shares of migrants, while students in schools with a proportion of 1/3 migrant students or higher are more likely to express integrated identity than their counterparts who attend schools with lower shares of migrants (less than 10%). The share of migrants was not significant in predicting separated or marginalized identity. Moreover, in line with the hypothesis, perceived discrimination was highly significant in predicting identity; the perception of unfair treatment in the school was associated with a lower probability of assimilated and integrated identity and a high probability of separated identity.

The results are discussed in-depth in the following section.

Table 4. Results of mixed effects logistic regression predicting assimilated and integrated identity

	Assimilated (national identity)				Integrated (national+ethnic identity)			
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 1b**	**Model 2b**	**Model 3b**	**Model 4b**
Background								
Generational Status (ref. 1st Gen.)								
2nd Generation	-0.52**	-0.34*	-0.32*	-0.32*	0.08	0.00	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
2.5 Generation	0.41**	0.28+	0.27+	0.28+	-0.23	-0.17	-0.15	-0.14
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)								
No Religion (Ref.)								
Muslim		-0.23	-0.19	-0.18		0.06	0.01	0.01
		(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)		(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Christian		0.13	0.14	0.14		0.11	0.10	0.11
		(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Other		-0.27+	-0.25	-0.25		0.48**	0.45**	0.44**
		(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)		(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Religious salience		-0.33**	-0.33**	-0.33**		0.15**	0.14**	0.13*
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		-0.07	-0.07	-0.07		0.07+	0.07+	0.07+
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Prayer		-0.05+	-0.05	-0.05		0.00	0.00	0.00
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)								
34%-66%			-0.17	-0.17+			0.23*	0.22*
			(0.10)	(0.10)			(0.10)	(0.10)
>67%			-0.31**	-0.32**			0.37**	0.36**
			(0.11)	(0.11)			(0.11)	(0.11)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)								
Sometimes				-0.07				-0.17*
				(0.08)				(0.08)
Often				-0.46**				-0.16
				(0.15)				(0.14)
Always				-0.73*				-0.73*
				(0.36)				(0.36)
Constant	-1.13**	-0.23	-0.10	-0.02	-1.04**	-1.61**	-1.77**	-1.69**
	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)
N	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352
Aic	4968.94	4815.17	4811.43	4804.29	5301.86	5263.64	5255.41	5252.22

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01.
Controlled for age, age of migration, gender, country of origin, country/school type, parents' occupation, highest parent's education

Table 5. Results of mixed effects logistic regression predicting separated and marginalized identity

	Separated (ethnic identity)				Marginalized (neither national or ethnic)			
	Model 1c	**2c**	**Model 3c**	**Model 4c**	**Model 1d**	**Model 2d**	**Model 3d**	**Model 4d**
Background								
Generational Status (ref. 1st Gen.)								
2nd Generation	0.10	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.46*	0.47*	0.46*	0.46*
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
2.5 Generation	-0.60**	-0.53**	-0.53**	-0.55**	-0.14	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)								
No Religion (Ref.)								
Muslim		0.20	0.20	0.19		0.32	0.31	0.28
		(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)		(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Christian		0.16	0.16	0.15		-0.23	-0.23	-0.27
		(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)		(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Other		-0.12	-0.12	-0.11		0.27	0.26	0.23
		(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)		(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Religious salience		0.30**	0.29**	0.30**		-0.09	-0.10	-0.1
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)		(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		0.01	0.01	0.01		-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Prayer		0.01	0.01	0.01		0.06	0.06	0.06
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)								
34%-66%			0.04	0.05			0.02	0.02
			(0.12)	(0.12)			(0.15)	(0.15)
>67%			0.02	0.04			0.08	0.10
			(0.12)	(0.12)			(0.15)	(0.16)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)								
Sometimes				0.26**				0.20+
				(0.09)				(0.11)
Often				0.58**				0.27
				(0.15)				(0.19)
Always				1.18**				0.42
				(0.30)				(0.40)
Constant	-0.94**	-1.68**	-1.70**	-1.88**	-2.44**	-2.20**	-2.22**	-2.33**
	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.43)
N	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352	4352
aic	4333.94	4286.20	4290.03	4265.29	2812.25	2804.59	2808.17	2809.20

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01
Controlled for age, age of migration, gender, country of origin, country/school type, parents' occupation, highest parent's education

Conclusion

The way identity shifts or evolves across generations is rooted in a number of individual, social, and contextual factors. This study revisits and tests several competing theoretical explanations to seek a more comprehensive understanding of immigrant identity in Europe. Towards this end, this study focuses on the dimensions of generational status, religion, and school context in order to understand how adolescents with migration backgrounds in Europe view and categorize themselves.

There are several limitations to this study. Due to the cross-sectional design of this study, as well as the confines associated with secondary survey data, this study makes no causal claims about identity but rather tests under what conditions a significant link exists. Some studies perceive identity as a setting-specific phenomena that switches for example, between home and school or groups, and these studies treat and analyze identity in turn (Burke & Kao 2013), yet this study focuses only on self-categorized identity in the school setting, which limits this study from being able to make more general conclusions about identity. Survey questions on identity have also been criticized as one-dimensional, a question asked in a single moment and unable to capture the nuance and complexity of a multi-faceted concept. Additionally, by combining two separate items on ethnic and national affiliation into one integrated identity variable, this study cannot make any claims of conscious dual identification on the part of the respondent, in contrast to survey questions which directly ask about dual identities (Fleischmann & Verkuyten 2016). And finally, the cross-sectional data of this particular study allows only for a comparison of generations at one point in time rather than a comparison of say, parents' identity with their descendants, which prohibits conclusions on identity transmission, since several generations are being compared at the same point in time. However, comparing groups growing up in the same time period and school conditions enables us to rule out unobserved factors specific to the time period or *Zeitgeist* at the time, which could theoretically contribute to differences between the identity of parents and children.

Despite the limitations of using survey data, this study contributes to the discussion of identity in several ways. By revisiting the question of whether generational assimilation or ethnic reactivity is observed among a large-scale sample of minority youth

in Europe, this study finds a unique case regarding the identity of the second generation which runs counter to the perspective of national versus ethnic identity. Contrary to expectations of generational assimilation, the second generation is actually significantly less likely than the first generation to express assimilated identity, yet they are also not significantly more likely to express separated ethnic identity. In other words, we do not see evidence of generational assimilation or ethnic revival among the second generation in compared with first generation students. Moreover, we see that second generation students are more likely than first generation students to express marginalized identity, i.e. express affiliation with neither their ethnic nor their national group.

One possible explanation for this is that group membership and sense of belonging might be less clear for the second generation than it is for the first generation, who are not born in the survey country and may not have expectations of belonging to the nation. Second generation youth who are born in the host country might be more likely to feel different from both their native peers as well as from members of their heritage groups, such as their first generation peers or their parents. In addition, this study finds stronger evidence of generational assimilation among the 2.5 generation, who are more likely to be assimilated and less likely to have a separate ethnic identity as their first generation peers. Although the 2.5 generation is more a reflection of intermarriage (one native-born and one foreign-born parent) rather than assimilation across generations, this analysis also contributes a comparably finer-grained analysis of groups that distinguishes the 2.5 generation, who make up a substantial group (27.03% of the migrant sample) and reveal meaningful significant variation. As children of intermarriage or transnational marriage, one explanation for their outcomes is that they are children of more assimilated parents. Given the role of religiosity as well as value transmission in predicting intermarriage (Carol 2013; 2014), future research could also take a closer look at how the 2.5 generation reconcile both ethnic and national identities in these countries as well as the role of parents in their identity formation.

Results of this study also find partial evidence of a relationship between religiosity and identity that aligns with expectations. Religious affiliation in and of itself is not a major determinant of identity; in the case of Muslim students, after controlling for other sociodemographic variables, identifying as a Muslim is not a significant predictor for ethnic and/or national identity compared not identifying with a religion at all. Religious attendance and prayer are also inconsequential for identity, which challenges previous work on religious activity and identity. The only consistently significant indicator of

religiosity is an internal measure: Immigrant youth who have higher religious salience and personally view religion as important are less likely to have assimilated identity and more likely to have integrated or separated identities. Although religious minority youth are more likely to express ethnic identity (separated) or with both their national and ethnic groups simultaneously, they are less likely to express sole national identity (assimilated).

When we turn to school context in understanding identity, we find that the influence of the migrant composition in schools also makes a difference, as immigrants in more diverse schools are less likely to express singular national identity and more likely to express both identities. Share of migrants was positively associated with integrated identities but nonsignificant for separated identity This suggests that students in more diverse settings are more likely to view identification with both the majority and minority cultures as compatible and makes a case for the inclusion of more school-level factors in future studies as crucial in understanding identity formation. While this study focused on the share of migrants in the school, it would also be worthwhile to examine the presence of coethnics in predicting identity in future research.

In line with literature on national dis-identification (Verkuyten & Yildiz 2007; Kunst et al. 2012; Fleischmann & Phalet 2016), the influence of perceived discrimination on identity suggests that students who feel more hostility are more likely to reject the host culture in turn. Moreover, the negative relationship between perceived discrimination and integrated identity implies that students who feel discriminated against may also not feel it is possible to identify with both groups. Future studies could explore this area further by analyzing the role of school reception further, such as through average measures of perceived discrimination or attitudes towards minorities, in explaining identity differences.

Because of great variability among the sample sizes of ethnic groups, this study did not focus on specific ethnic groups; however, it would be worthwhile to explore the different experiences of ethnic groups and their identities, particularly in regards to cultural distance with the majority. Both national identity and ethnic identity might be linked with mental schemas at the visceral level that complicate the process in which identity is understood and formed. In the European context, the notion of feeling strongly Swedish, German, British, or Dutch can be composed of cultural values, thought processes, tastes and preferences, ideologies, and behaviors that an immigrant child growing up in the country could possibly identify with; however, other "markers" that give away a person's heritage, such as physical appearance, accent, and name, may signal differences or serve as occasional reminders at both the individual and social levels.

Claims to a particular identity can theoretically be confirmed or rejected by the environment and social interactions that a youth experiences.

Identity is undoubtedly a complex but useful component in exploring individual behavior and decisions, and an analysis of the relationships between various identities can shed new insights on the adaptation of immigrant groups. Although the empirical evidence from this paper does not find strong support to the theoretical view of assimilation or ethnic revival for the second generation compared with the first generation, students with a foreign-born and native-born parent are more likely to have assimilated identity. A comprehensive study of later generations- 3rd, 4th, 5th generations- in the future could shed more light on whether assimilated identity is truly the final destination of immigrants, regardless of their ethnic background and religion. The way immigrants perceive themselves and their belonging to their social groups and to the society at large- as well as how environment affects these perceptions- may also be key to understanding and predicting immigrant integration processes over time.

Chapter 3
Does identity matter for adaptation? The implications of acculturation identity for adolescent adaptation

Abstract

This study examines the influence of identity for the adaptation outcomes of immigrant children in the European context. Using the immigrant sample from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU), this study examines how identity is related to the outcomes of school performance, well-being, and delinquency of high school students. Results from multilevel models lend partial support for the theorized role of acculturation identity. No relationship between identity and grades was established; however, integrated identity associated positively with well-being compared with assimilated students, thereby challenging the notion that sole national affiliation is the most advantageous acculturated identity strategy in the case of Europe. In addition, separate analyses of European and non-European immigrant students produced divergent results. While the ethnic identity of students with non-European backgrounds was negatively associated the delinquent behavior, separated students of European background reported higher delinquency compared with their assimilated counterparts, suggesting that acculturated identity works in different ways between immigrant groups.

Keywords

adaptation, acculturation, school performance, delinquency, well-being, immigration

Introduction

An underlying presumption of the widely applied acculturation framework is that individuals can form and combine complex types of attachments to dominant and minority groups, and the rejection of one's ethnic heritage in favor of the receiving country is no longer viewed as the pinnacle of integration. Previous literature has explored how various types of identity can be related to adaptation outcomes, such as occupational attainment (Bisin et al. 2011), interpersonal relationships (Mok et al. 2007), and mental health (Berry et al. 2006). Moreover, several studies have suggested positive relationships between biculturalism- identification with both ethnic and national groups- and adaptation, attributing these associations to the ability to navigate more than one social world and adapt to cultural streams that may counter the acculturative stress associated with an unfavorable context of reception. However, meta-analyses have challenged the influence of bicultural identity (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez 2013; Rudmin 2003), while findings on the relationship between ethnic or national identity on integration outcomes have been mixed and point to possible context- and group-specific effects of identity. Negative relationships between ethnic identity and labor market consequences have been found in the case of Europe (Bisin et al. 2011; Battu & Zenou 2010), while other studies have suggested that strong ethnic identity can in some cases have positive effects on the outcomes of certain minority groups (Gong 2007; Nekby & Rödin 2010).

The affiliations and group memberships that immigrant youth describe illustrate the way immigrant youth perceive themselves in relation to the majority society and can potentially lend insights into differences in adaptation among immigrant groups. Adolescence has been perceived as a critical time where youth are developing their sense of self (Chavous et al. 2003), and the consequences of social identity and group affiliations have been of particular interest among researchers and have been explored extensively in the literature (Phinney 1990). The mixed findings in the literature suggest that there are a number of conditions that influence identity, and the limitations in previous studies highlight the need for better data, particularly on youth identity and outcomes. The primary objective of this study is to understand the acculturation strategies of immigrant youth in the European context and test how these identities relate to their adaptation, particularly when introducing contextual factors that may affect the implications of immigrants' sense of self. The central question of this study is: What are

the consequences of identity for the adaptation outcomes of immigrant children in Europe? In order to address this question, this study utilizes Wave 2 data from the immigrant sample of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU). Findings from this study point towards the positive advantages of integrated identity over assimilated identity for well-being, while divergent results are found regarding identity and delinquent behavior for European versus non-European immigrants, suggesting that the mechanisms of identity might work in significantly different ways across groups. The following section will review the theories of assimilation and acculturation in understanding identity, as well as relevant findings regarding the consequences of ethnic, racial, and national identity for minority youth.

Theory and Literature Review

Adolescents with immigrant backgrounds who are born and grow up in the host country have the burden- or advantage, depending on the theoretical perspective- of negotiating and developing multiple identities and sharing affiliations with both their minority group and the group of their country of residence. Classical assimilation theory presumes an inverse relationship between ethnic identity and successful outcomes; immigrants are expected to eventually discard attachments to their heritage culture over time in favor of the host country in order to reach the final goal of successful assimilation (Gordon 1964; Victor & Nee 1997; Gans 1973). Early immigration scholarship also assumed that immigrants would eventually assimilate into the host society, and according to these theoretical expectations, it is reasonable to expect that second- and third-generation immigrant children will fare academically and economically better than their first-generation parents, given the fact that they are born in the host country and presumably do not have the same challenges of language and cultural barriers as their parents (Gordon 1964). Several European countries have historically leaned towards an assimilative narrative regarding immigration and multiculturalism, with assimilation perceived as the ultimate goal for immigrants in the pursuit of a stable society (Verkuyten et al. 2012; Scholten & Holzhacker 2009). Theories of segmented assimilation and acculturation, however, challenged this perspective, pointing to the ability of immigrants to form attachments to multiple cultures and the potential benefits of simultaneously

retaining advantageous aspects of both the host and origin countries (Portes & Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997).

Yet differences remain for some immigrant groups across generations, and socioeconomic disparities do not always fully account for persistent minority penalties. In contrast to some immigrant groups in the United States, who have been found to outperform their native peers in school, immigrant children have generally been found to have lower educational performance than their non-immigrant counterparts in Europe (Baysu et al. 2011; Heath and Brinbaum 2007).

In order to understand this variation in adaptation, the identity of minority youth has been examined extensively in the literature. The multiple, and sometimes conflicting, findings on the relationship between identity and adaptation highlight the complexity and challenge in studying these relationships.

Identity has been associated with positive outcomes through fostering well-being and cultivating a sense of belonging (Phinney et al. 2001), which facilitate better academic outcomes, while negative influences of identity have been linked to the formation of maladaptive strategies such as oppositional identities and awareness of negative minority stereotypes (Baysu et al. 2011). And in opposition to both perspectives, recent findings have also suggested that identity is insignificant and inconsequential in immigrant outcomes, which can be explained by a large number of other factors (Rotheram-Borus 1990; Leszczensky 2013).

Ethnic Identity and Acculturation

Despite the myriad of mixed findings, there is a large body of literature dedicated to the salience of ethnic identity. A strong ethnic identity has been positively linked with educational outcomes and has been perceived as promoting happiness, self-esteem, school adjustment, resilience and adaptation, as well as a counteragent to potentially negative effects of identity threat, discrimination, or social barriers for adolescents from different ethnic groups (Gong 2007; Wakefield & Hudley 2007; Rumbaut 1994; Phinney et al. 2001; Cavazos-Rehg & DeLucia-Waack 2009; Derks et al. 2006; Berry et al. 2006; Kiang et al. 2006; Oyserman et al. 2006; Spencer et al. 2001). Research on racial and ethnic identity indicate that stronger, more developed identity is correlated with higher self-esteem and academic motivation, lower depression, and lower delinquent or antisocial

behavior (Wakefield & Hudley 2007; Phinney et al. 2001; Yasui et al. 2004; Lee et al. 2003; Nesdale et al. 1997).

On the other hand, several studies, particularly in the economics literature, have found strong ethnic identity to be negatively correlated with educational and occupational attainment, confirming evidence of an "ethnic penalty" in line with classical assimilation perspectives (Bisin et al. 2011; Bisin et al. 2008; Constant & Zimmermann 2007). One argument could be that a salient ethnic identity might indicate a lack of integration or separation and social closure from the majority culture, or that awareness of negative perceptions and devaluation of one's minority group might negatively impact one's educational outcomes through lower motivation and academic engagement and personal subscription to negative stereotypes (Baysu et al. 2011; Chavous et al. 2003; Battu & Zenou 2010).

Implications of Identity

Acculturation describes the extent to which individuals with immigrant backgrounds wish to be engaged with their host society and maintain their culture of heritage, and how these dimensions can be interrelated or independent from one another. The acculturation framework has thus been utilized in order to understand the various possible ways in which immigrants develop and form identities, rather than focusing on one dimension of identity (Berry 1980; Phinney 1990). The two-dimensional theoretical framework produces four possible acculturation strategies, which are defined based on an individual's ethnic and national attachments (Berry 1997). *Integration* describes dual strong attachments to both the origin and host society cultures (strong ethnic and strong national identity), while *assimilation* refers to having a strong attachment solely with the host culture, with weaker background cultural maintenance and attachments (weak ethnic and strong national identity). *Separation* refers to a strong sole identification with the heritage or background culture and weak identification with the country of settlement (strong ethnic and weak national identity), while *marginalization* describes the absence of attachment or identity to either the culture of heritage or the culture of the host society (weak ethnic and weak national identities) (Berry 1997; Berry et al. 2006).

The acculturation identity framework thus enables the exploration of the sense of self and belonging of immigrant youth in a more nuanced analytical approach, as it allows

for the interaction of the majority and heritage cultural orientations. It has often been assumed that assimilated identity would be the most useful or advantageous acculturation strategy for immigrants in order to eventually match their non-immigrant peers (Matute-Bianchi 1986; Park 1914; Gordon 1964), and indeed, national identity has also been consistently associated positively with adaptation and adjustment outcomes of ethnic minorities in studies in the United States (Berry et al. 2006; Alba & Nee 2003). However, previous literature has also challenged whether assimilation poses advantages for educational achievement, pointing to evidence of both immigrant optimism and accommodation without assimilation (Kao & Thompson 2003; Kao & Tienda 1995; Gibson 1988). In some cases, assimilated identity could also be an indicator of loss of contact with ethnic background and culture and assimilation into mainstream values which might antithetical to the higher educational aspirations that are typically found among many immigrant groups. Moreover, ethnic identity has been associated with positive academic outcomes when combined with national identity, and immigrants with integrated identity have found to have higher academic achievement over immigrants with only assimilated identity (Nekby et al. 2009), thus challenging the notion that sole national identification is the most desirable destination in an immigrant's integration journey.

Moreover, the assumption of much of the acculturation literature is that an integrated identity is most advantageous for minority students, allowing youth the potential to access the "best of both worlds" and engage with the majority society while maintaining roots, relationships, and sense of self in the ethnic and heritage culture. Integrated identity, or dual identification to both the majority and heritage cultures, has been found in some studies to be more beneficial than assimilated identity (Nekby et al. 2009; Portes & Rumbaut 1990; Olneck 1995), possibly due to the fact that integrated individuals have the ability to navigate through various cultures and have potential support networks and resources from multiple sources. Integrated identity has been associated with a number of positive outcomes, such as stronger school performance (Olneck 1995), better adaptation and adjustment (Berry et al. 2006; Virta & Westin 1999), and more motivated socialization of children when the parents are integrated versus assimilated (Portes & Rumbaut 1990).

The encouragement and affirmation of both ethnic and national identities was also found to improve academic outcomes for African American and Latino students (Oyserman et al. 2006). Integrated identity was also associated with higher educational

achievement for second generation youth in Germany (Schüller 2015) as well as for immigrant men in Sweden compared with assimilated men (Nekby et al. 2009), and integrated individuals have also been described as having greater cognitive and intellectual capacity and flexibility (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez 2013; Benet-Martinez et al. 2006).

Furthermore, two separate studies on migrant identity in Germany and Sweden found a positive association between occupational outcomes and both integrated and assimilated identity, suggesting the beneficial role of national identity, either alone or in tandem with ethnic identity, compared with immigrants who have weak ties to their majority culture (Constant & Zimmermann 2007; Nekby & Rödin 2010). On the other hand, despite the many benefits of biculturalism heralded in the literature, some findings also show that integrated identity is not always linked with the most beneficial immigrant outcomes, citing the burdens associated with trying to balance or reconcile more than one culture (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez & 2013; Rudmin 2003).

Literature on minority identity in the United States has also focused on racial identity in exploring how individuals' sense of self is related to their group, as well as how they interpret and engage with their environment and surroundings (Chavous et al 2003). While this study focuses on the ethnic and national identity of immigrant youth, findings gleaned from racial identity literature also offer potentially useful insights on the impact of minorities' sense of self. In one study, separated identity was shown to be more advantageous for West Indians in the face of stereotype threat than integrated identity for Afro-Caribbean immigrants (Deaux et al. 2007), which could possibly be explained by the uniqueness of African American identity and race relations in the fragile United States context. Cultural socialization that fostered a strong racial identity among African-American students was found to be associated with better academic performance (Wang & Huguley 2012), while parental socialization that encouraged pride in one's ingroup and educated youth on awareness of racial inequality was associated with stronger school outcomes (Bowman & Howard 1985).

Although the aforementioned studies focus on racial identity rather than ethnic identity, they highlight the sense of empowerment, agency, and sense of belonging that a strong identity may bring for minority students that might counteract perceptions of discrimination or feelings of alienation. The groups that an individual relates to and identifies with, whether they be majority or minority groups, indicate the sense of

belonging and place that he or she perceives, which can thus influence their performance, satisfaction, and behavior.

This may be one example of how identity can work as a mechanism for influencing adaptation for minority students. For example, the acknowledgement and affirmation of the value of one's minority group may buffer identity threat and feelings of alienation and promote solidarity and confidence in the school context. The negative effects of additive experiences of discrimination on the academic achievement of minority youth have also been longitudinally demonstrated (Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002; Benner & Kim 2009), and experiences with racial and ethnic discrimination and micro-aggressions have been shown to produce cumulative negative effects over time, which predicted declines in disengagement from the school, worse school performance, and depressive symptoms (Benner & Kim 2009). Both strong ethnic and racial identity can be seen as protective in response to exclusion and perceived discrimination. Segmented assimilation research has also found potential resources and advantages in certain ethnic communities, which foster a strong ethnic identity in youth and contribute to academic success despite minority status (Benner & Kim 2009; Zhou & Bankston 1994). In addition, ethnic homophily, which has been associated with ethnic density, have been linked with lower delinquency (Geven et al. 2016). Along the same lines, it can reasonably be assumed that a strong ethnic identity could also be linked with lower delinquency by promoting a sense of belonging, which could lower the likelihood of deviant and delinquent behavior.

Research Questions

There are a number of studies that have sought to understand the individual and social factors that might explain the educational and economic outcomes of immigrant youth. However, this current study expands on this literature by looking at the influence of acculturation identity of youth on several adaptation measures in several European countries. The central premise underlying the research questions of this study is that understanding how minority youth perceive themselves in relation to their group membership and their place in the greater society can lend insights into how they engage and perform in the school context. This study seeks to answer two broad questions: how might identity- a personal and psychological affiliation- matter for the adaptation

outcomes for immigrant children in Europe? And based on work on integrated identity, are immigrant children in Europe who identify strongly with both their ethnic and national cultures more successful and better adapted in school, or are their minority counterparts with singular identities "better off"?

This study analyzes the relationships between identity and adaptation outcomes through several academic and non-academic measures: well-being (psychological adaptation), and school performance and delinquent behavior (sociocultural adaptation) (Ward et al. 2001). How do the adaptation outcomes of assimilated youth compare with those of integrated, marginalized, or separated youth? In light of previous evidence (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez 2013; Nekby et al. 2009), I expect ethnic identity to be beneficial for students with immigrant backgrounds when combined with national identity, so that integrated individuals will have higher well-being and school performance than their counterparts who only have assimilated identities.

Regarding identity's theorized protective effects against maladaptive behavior, proponents of biculturalism could contend that students who identify more with their heritage culture might be more likely to be in networks that exert higher social control. Moreover, as noted in the literature, integrated students might be more adaptable by demonstrating more social and cognitive flexibility in being able to identify with both worlds, compared with students who are more assimilated and identify solely with the majority (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez 2013). In line with these arguments, I expect that integrated minority students will be less likely to engage in maladaptive behavior and delinquency, given the fact that they are less likely to feel like outsiders and have a higher sense of belonging in the school. Due to possible between-group differences within the immigrant youth population, this study also conducts separate analyses of non-European and European students within the migrant sample. The hypotheses are tested based on data from the immigrant sample of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey of Four European Countries (CILS4EU).

Methods

Data

The migrant sample of Wave 2 of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU) was used for the analyses. This data is a

comprehensive study of immigrant parents, children, and teachers in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden and the first standardized panel study on children with immigrant backgrounds in Europe. Children of immigrants and natives were surveyed between 2011 and 2012, and a three-stage stratified sampling design was employed in order to oversample schools with higher shares of immigrant students (Dollmann et al. 2014). Two classes were randomly selected from each school, and all students in the classes were surveyed. Only Wave 2 was used due to complete information on the grades of students from all four countries.

Measures

The outcomes of school performance, well-being, and delinquent behavior were measured by average school grades, general life satisfaction, and self-reported delinquent behavior. Grades were harmonized across all four countries by averaging the self-reported math, English, and survey country language grades and converting to a 4-point scale, with higher numbers indicating better grades. England was the only country with two (rather than three) academic subjects of math and English.

Regarding well-being, students were asked to indicate on a scale of one to ten how satisfied they were with life. Delinquent behavior was measured using the sum of three questions, where students indicated "Yes" or "No": "Have you done the following things in the past 3 months? (1) Deliberately damaged things that were not yours, (2) stolen something from a shop/from someone else, (3) carried a knife or weapon" (alpha=0.61). The range of responses to this additive scale were thus 0 (no delinquent behavior in the last three months) to 3 (student indicated yes to all three items).

Identity was measured based on the survey questions, "How strongly do you feel (survey country member)?" and "How strongly do you feel you belong to this group?" (referring to ethnic group selected by respondent). Those who selected (0) "not at all strongly" or (1) "not very strongly" were denoted as having a "weak" attachment to the respective ethnic or national group, while answer choices (2) "fairly strongly" or (3) "very strongly" were denoted as having a "strong" attachment to the respective group. Immigrant respondents who did not select an ethnic group at all were coded as (0) "weak" in ethnic attachment. The variable *acculturation identity* was then created with the following categories: assimilated (weak ethnic identity, strong national identity),

marginalized (weak ethnic identity, weak national identity), separated (strong ethnic identity, weak national identity), integrated (strong ethnic identity, strong national identity).

Independent covariates included family situation, leisure time activities, self-control, subjective material deprivation, as well as sociodemographic controls of age, age of migration, migration background, gender (female), country of origin, parent's education and occupational prestige (ISEI), as these measures have also been common sources of variation in previous studies. Family situation was measured using two items that ask whether respondents live with both biological parents and the reason for respondents not living with both biological parents. These two items were combined to create a family situation variable with options divorced or separated, parents never married or living together, parent no longer alive, parent abroad, and moved out/other.

Based on literature on determinants of delinquent behavior, students were also asked how often they partake in a range of specific activities in their leisure time, based on answer choices that were coded to (0) Never, (1) Less often, (2) Once or several times a month, (3) Once or several times a week, (4) Every day. These activities were divided into criminogenic and non-criminogenic activities based on the likelihood that participation would be unsupervised, in groups, and involve potential public and social situations that could foster delinquent behavior (Kroneberg 2018). Criminogenic activities include going to the cinema, pub, bar, nightclub, party, concert, and DJ event, while non-criminogenic activities include visiting relatives, reading a non-school related book, participating in an extracurricular club (such as sport, music, or drama), going to a museum, or reading a newspaper. Because the use of leisure time could also be associated with characteristics or behavior associated with well-being and school performance, they are included as covariates for all three outcomes.

The variable self-control was created by combining information on how much students agreed on a 5-point scale with the following three statements: (1) I have difficulties concentrating, (2), I can put my plans into action, and (3) I can influence my future. The answer choices were recoded to range from (0) Strongly Disagree, (1) Disagree, (2) Neither agree nor disagree, (3) Agree, (4) Strongly agree. Response to item 1 (“I have difficulties concentrating”) was thus reverse-coded to maintain that higher values indicate higher self-control. All three items were combined and averaged into one variable. Students' subjective material deprivation was measured through one question asking whether the respondent missed out on activities with one's friends because he or

she could not afford them, with answer choices ranging from (0) never, (1) sometimes, or (2) often/always.

Migration background is comprised of four categories: born outside the survey country (1st generation), born in the survey country (2nd generation), child of transnational marriage (2.5 generation), child of intermarriage (2.75 generation). Students without migration background were not included in the analyses. Country of origin was collapsed into 6 categories by region: North/South/West Europe (reference), Eastern Europe, Caribbean & African, Arabic, Asian, and Other/Unknown. The parent with the highest educational level was used, as well as parent's highest occupational prestige, based on the ISEI scale.

Country dummies were created for England (reference) and Sweden, while Netherlands and Germany included dummies for country and track (Geven et al. 2016). The educational tracks for Germany included Hauptschule (basic track), Realschule (intermediate), Gymnasium (pre-university), Comprehensive (varying abilities), Gesamtschule (several tracks), and Special Needs. The educational tracks for Netherlands included VMBO-BK (basic), VMBO-GT (vocational), HAVO (senior secondary education), and VWO (pre-university).

The share of migrants was added to the analyses in order to examine whether differences in educational achievement could be explained by the diversity and ethnic composition of the school. Share of migrants were calculated by proportion of students with an immigrant background and divided into three categories: low (>33%), medium (34%-66%), high (>67%).

Results

The distribution of acculturation identities by country of origin is illustrated in Table 6. Integrated is the most frequent type of identity for almost all groups except European students, who in turn have the highest share of assimilated identity. Immigrants from Arabic countries have the highest share of separated identity, while the highest share of marginalized identity is also found among immigrants from African or Caribbean countries. Table 7 displays the distribution of acculturation identity by non-European and European students of migration backgrounds. Cross-tabulations show that the most

frequent identity of the non-European migrant sample is integrated identity, while the most frequent identity of the European migrant sample is assimilated identity.

Descriptives

Table 6. Respondents' self-identification by country of origin, column percentages, unweighted[10]

	Marginalized	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Total
NWS-Europe	46	128	198	394	766
	9.52	9.22	8.32	21.62	12.61
East Europe	98	277	380	321	1,076
	20.29	19.96	15.97	17.62	17.72
Black (Caribbean)	70	179	323	237	809
	14.49	12.9	13.57	13.01	13.32
Arabic	170	665	1,091	474	2,400
	35.2	47.91	45.84	26.02	39.52
Asian	58	99	301	252	710
	12.01	7.13	12.65	13.83	11.69
Other/Unknown	41	40	87	144	312
	8.49	2.88	3.66	7.9	5.14
Total	483	1,388	2,380	1,822	6,073
	100	100	100	100	100

Table 7. Respondents' self-identification of non-European and European migrants, row percentages, unweighted[11]

	Marginalized	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Total
Non-European	339	983	1,802	1,107	4,231
	8.01	23.23	42.59	26.16	100
European	144	405	578	715	1,842
	8	21.99	31	38.82	100
Total	483	1,388	2,380	1,822	6,073
	7.95	22.86	39.19	30	100

[10] See Appendix for figure
[11] See Appendix for Figure

Table 8. Sample Means by acculturation identity

Sample Means	Marginalized	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated
Grades	2.71	2.64	2.74	2.79
Well-Being	6.50	6.82	7.17	6.96
Delinquency	0.61	0.66	0.41	0.52
Age	15.99	15.98	16.02	15.94
Age of Migration	3.96	3.95	1.90	1.08
Female	0.40	0.50	0.54	0.56
Parent education	2.31	2.13	2.32	2.32
Parent ISEI	51.65	49.69	51.14	52.69
Live with both parents	0.64	0.72	0.72	0.62
Criminogenic routine activities	1.12	1.17	1.17	1.23
Non-criminogenic routine activities	1.26	1.42	1.56	1.43
Self-control	2.65	2.73	2.70	2.73
Share of migrants	1.05	1.26	1.20	0.82

Table 8 also shows some of the unweighted sample means by identity. Regarding our outcome measures, integrated and assimilated students have respectively higher average grades, higher well-being and lower delinquency than students with separated or marginalized identities. Marginalized and separated students were also on average older when they migrated. Moreover, separated and integrated students are in schools with relatively higher shares of migrants compared with marginalized and assimilated students.

Multivariate Results

In order to examine the relationship between identity and adaptation more closely, and to see whether these relationships remain after sociodemographic variables are accounted for, multilevel regressions were conducted of students nested in schools (Table 9).[12] The hierarchical nature of the data reduces bias by enabling simultaneous analysis variables at the individual and school level. These models show the relationship of acculturation identity with the outcome measures of school performance, well-being, and delinquency. Sample weights were added to correct for the stratified design.

Contrary to expectations, identity did not predict school grades in the gross models (Table 9, Model 1, 1b, and 1c) or in the net models (Table 9, Model 2, 2b, and 2c), suggesting no systematic differences between assimilated identity and the respective acculturation identities of marginalized, separated, and integrated identity when it comes to school performance, thereby also suggesting no apparent advantage of assimilated identity for grades. Two of the strongest predictors for grades are students' use of leisure

[12] See appendix for full table with controls.

time and relative deprivation, which also show to be important variables of interest for the other outcomes as well.

Although results do not confirm a relationship between identity and school performance, results on well-being and delinquency were consistent with expectations. Integrated identity was positively correlated with well-being in comparison with assimilated individuals and only slightly reduced when introducing other controls (Figure 3), while marginalized identity was significantly negative related to well-being. Integrated students also had lower delinquent behavior compared with assimilated students, implying the benefits of retaining heritage identity. However, when adding additional covariates in model 2c, integrated identity loses significance (Figure 4). The addition of leisure time and involvement in public and social activities (such as going to the cinema, pub, bar, nightclub, party, concert, and DJ event) is consistent with expectations and explains the differences in delinquent behavior among students. Moreover, students' who often or always report subjective material deprivation are also more likely to participate in delinquent behavior (Table 6). This suggests that in this case, identity is not as important in explaining adolescent behavior as it initially appears but may rather be associated with other significant predictors of delinquency.

Figure 3. Well-being, 95% confidence intervals

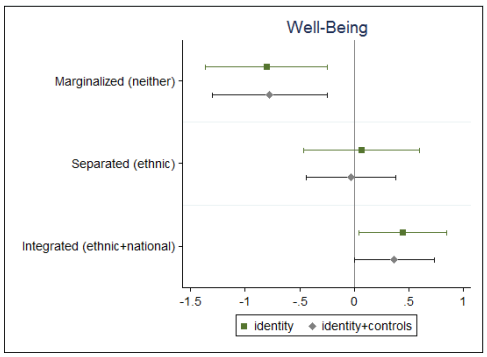
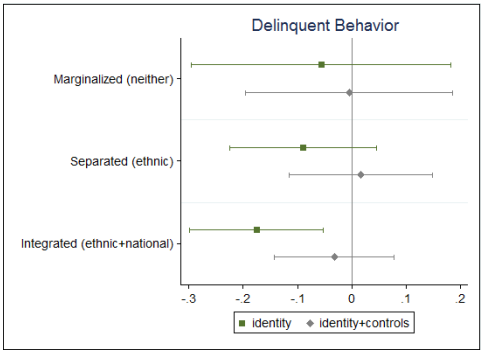


Figure 4. Delinquent behavior, 95% confidence intervals



Not surprisingly, family situation also plays a critical role in the adaptation of students. Students who do not live with either of their biological
parents do more poorly in school and are more likely to participate in delinquent behavior, while parents' marital status, or lack thereof, is also linked with delinquent behavior (Table 9, Model 2c).

Separate regressions were also estimated for students from European and non-European backgrounds in the sample in order to see whether the implications of identity might differ between groups, especially considering the fact that the cultural distance (and in many cases, phenotype and physical appearance) of European students is closer to that of the host country. While identity remained insignificant for non-European students' school performance, both marginalized and separated identities were negatively related to grades compared with assimilated European students, although the significance of separated identity disappears once other variables are added to the model. In addition, a higher share of migrants in the school was associated negatively for the grades of European migrant students, where European students with migration backgrounds in schools with more than 2/3 students of migrants had lower school grades.

Table 9. Multilevel regressions of grades, delinquency, and well-being predicted by acculturated identity

	Grades		Well-Being		Delinquent Behavior	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 1c	Model 2c
Acculturated Identity						
Assimilated (national identity) (Ref.)						
Marginalized (neither identity)	-0.16	-0.07	-0.80**	-0.79**	-0.06	0
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Separated (ethnic identity)	-0.07	0	0.17	0.07	-0.09	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Integrated (ethnic+national)	-0.01	0.02	0.35+	0.31+	-0.18**	-0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Age		-0.04		0		-0.01
		(0.04)		(0.14)		(0.05)
Age of Migration		-0.01		0.03		0
		(0.01)		(0.03)		(0.01)
Female		0.10*		-0.46*		-0.21**
		(0.05)		(0.20)		(0.05)
Generational Status						
1st Generation (Ref.)						
2nd Generation		-0.04		-0.12		-0.05
		(0.05)		(0.33)		(0.10)
Child of transnational marriage		-0.12+		-0.31		0.05
		(0.07)		(0.33)		(0.09)
Child of intermarriage		-0.02		-0.32		0.13
		(0.06)		(0.32)		(0.10)
Parents' ISEI		0.20*		0		0.13
		(0.09)		(0.39)		(0.15)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)						
Primary education		-0.07		0.01		-0.11
		(0.13)		(0.53)		(0.18)
Secondary education		0.01		0.66+		-0.21
		(0.12)		(0.39)		(0.16)
University education		0.03		0.77+		-0.25
		(0.13)		(0.42)		(0.17)
Country of Origin (ref. NWS Europe)						
East Europe		0.03		-0.3		-0.1
		(0.07)		(0.21)		(0.12)
Africa/Caribbean		0.02		-0.09		-0.19*
		(0.06)		(0.20)		(0.08)
Arabic		-0.08		-0.12		-0.18+
		(0.06)		(0.21)		(0.09)
Asian		0.08		-0.36		-0.24**
		(0.06)		(0.28)		(0.08)
Other/Unknown		0.02		-0.05		-0.15
		(0.09)		(0.29)		(0.13)
Country/Track (ref. England)						
Germany-Hauptschule		-0.28**		0.24		0.20+
		(0.08)		(0.27)		(0.11)
Germany-Realschule		-0.42**		0		0.03
		(0.06)		(0.24)		(0.1)
Germany-Gymnasium		-0.24**		-0.34		-0.05
		(0.07)		(0.32)		(0.14)
Germany- Comprehensive School		-0.44**		0.14		0.04

		(0.13)		(0.23)		(0.21)
Germany-Combination School		-0.29**		-0.1		-0.08
		(0.08)		(0.26)		(0.1)
Germany-Special needs		-0.06		-0.03		0.37
		(0.12)		(0.59)		(0.28)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK		-0.30**		0.87**		0
		(0.06)		(0.21)		(0.12)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT		-0.41**		0.73**		0
		(0.06)		(0.22)		(0.15)
Netherlands-HAVO		-0.54**		0.63*		-0.25*
		(0.08)		(0.29)		(0.12)
Netherlands-VWO		-0.47**		0.37		-0.20+
		(0.06)		(0.28)		(0.11)
Sweden		-0.49**		0.54**		-0.09
		(0.06)		(0.17)		(0.08)
Family situation (Parents together ref.)						
Divorced or separated		0.01		-0.24		0.12
		(0.04)		(0.21)		(0.08)
Parents never married		-0.21		0.06		0.37*
		(0.13)		(0.30)		(0.17)
Parent no longer alive		-0.01		-0.78		-0.12
		(0.10)		(0.52)		(0.11)
Parent abroad		-0.27+		-0.12		-0.06
		(0.15)		(0.27)		(0.14)
Moved out/other		-0.12		-0.24		0.39*
		(0.08)		(0.77)		(0.19)
Criminogenic routine activities		-0.10*		0.08		0.25**
		(0.04)		(0.12)		(0.06)
Non-criminogenic routine activities		0.18**		0.43**		-0.1
		(0.03)		(0.13)		(0.06)
Self-control		-0.01		0.02		0.21**
		(0.03)		(0.20)		(0.06)
Missing out (ref. never)						
Sometimes		-0.28+		-1.89*		0.39+
		(0.15)		(0.85)		(0.23)
Often/always		-0.06+		-0.57**		0.12*
		(0.04)		(0.16)		(0.06)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)						
34%-66%		0.02		0.05		-0.06
		(0.04)		(0.13)		(0.06)
>67%		-0.06		-0.02		0.03
		(0.04)		(0.15)		(0.06)
Constant	2.82**	3.47**	7.70**	6.78**	0.5**	0.17
	(0.03)	(0.68)	(0.12)	(2.63)	(0.04)	(0.98)
lns1_1_1	-0.98**	-1.24**	-0.03	-0.13**	-0.7**	-0.81**
Constant	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.12)
lnsig_e	-0.86**	-0.92**	0.65**	0.61**	-0.4**	-0.49**
Constant	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
N	2812	2812	2932	2932	2827	2827
aic	165933.36	147566.69	623926.58	611428.88	288247.57	266643.42

Standard errors in parentheses, +p<0.10, *p<0.05, **p<0.01

Table 10. Multilevel regressions of grades (European and non-European immigrants)

	Grades Non-European		Grades European	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Identity (ref. Assimilated- nat. identity)				
Marginalized (neither identity)	-0.05	0.03	-0.35*	-0.22*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.1)
Separated (ethnic identity)	-0.04	0	-0.25**	0.12
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Integrated (ethnic+national)	-0.04	-0.01	0.02	0.04
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Age		-0.02		-0.11+
		(0.03)		(0.06)
Age of Migration		-0.01		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Female		0.03		0.12
		(0.05)		(0.08)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation		-0.02		-0.05
		(0.07)		(0.12)
Child of transnational marriage		-0.08		-0.12
		(0.08)		(0.13)
Child of intermarriage		0.08		-0.11
		(0.07)		(0.12)
Parents' ISEI		0.35**		-0.03
		(0.08)		(0.19)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education		-0.06		-0.03
		(0.15)		(0.23)
Secondary education		0.01		-0.02
		(0.14)		(0.27)
University education		0.06		-0.1
		(0.14)		(0.27)
Country of Origin				
NWS Europe		.		0
				(.)
East Europe		.		0.01
				(0.08)
Africa/Caribbean		0		.
		(.)		
Arabic		-0.07		.
		(0.05)		
Asian		0.13*		.
		(0.06)		
Other/Unknown		0.02		.
		(0.1)		
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule		-0.31**		-0.31*
		(0.08)		(0.12)
Germany-Realschule		-0.35**		-0.58**
		(0.07)		(0.11)
Germany-Gymnasium		-0.25*		-0.30**
		(0.12)		(0.1)
Germany- Comprehensive School		-0.60**		-0.04
		(0.21)		(0.13)
Germany-Combination School		-0.29**		-0.40**
		(0.09)		(0.13)
Germany-Special needs		0.01		.
		(0.13)		
Netherlands-VMBO-BK		-0.28**		-0.33**
		(0.06)		(0.12)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT		-0.40**		-0.46**
		(0.06)		(0.11)
Netherlands-HAVO		-0.48**		-0.70**
		(0.08)		(0.14)
Netherlands-VWO		-0.45**		-0.47**
		(0.07)		(0.11)
Sweden		-0.51**		-0.51**
		(0.06)		(0.09)

Table 10 (*Continued*)

Family situation (ref. Parents together)				
Divorced or separated		-0.06		0.11
		(0.06)		(0.07)
Parents never married		-0.31+		0.13
		(0.16)		(0.25)
Parent no longer alive		0.07		0.28*
		(0.13)		(0.13)
Parent abroad		-0.15		0
		(0.1)		(0.11)
Moved out/other		-0.01		-0.25*
		(0.12)		(0.12)
Criminogenic routine activities		-0.11*		-0.10*
		(0.05)		(0.05)
Non-criminogenic routine activities		0.16**		0.17**
		(0.03)		(0.06)
Self-control		0.01		-0.02
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Missing out (ref. never)				
Sometimes		-0.2		-0.1
		(0.15)		(0.28)
Often/always		-0.05		-0.09
		(0.04)		(0.08)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		0.06		-0.03
		(0.05)		(0.06)
>67%		-0.01		-0.19*
		(0.05)		(0.07)
Constant	2.81**	3.08**	2.86**	5.04**
	(0.04)	(0.59)	(0.05)	(1.09)
lns1_1_1	-0.88**	-1.15**	-0.76**	-0.86**
Constant	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
lnsig_e	-0.92**	-1.00**	-1.00**	-1.07**
Constant	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.06)
N	1942	1942	870	870
aic	93969.21	78597.83	46323.87	38645.1

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Table 11. Multilevel regressions of well-being (European and non-European immigrants)

	Well-being Non-European		**Well-being** European	
	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b	Model 4b
Identity (ref. Assimilated- nat. identity)				
Marginalized (neither identity)	0.01	-0.04	-1.2	-0.9
	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.84)	(0.92)
Separated (ethnic identity)	0.56	0.34	0.04	-0.06
	(0.35)	(0.24)	(0.68)	(0.57)
Integrated (ethnic+national)	0.65*	0.60*	0.17	0.2
	(0.33)	(0.25)	(0.38)	(0.34)
Age		-0.11		-0.33
		(0.15)		(0.31)
Age of Migration		0.06*		0.04
		(0.03)		(0.06)
Female		-0.32		-0.2
		(0.25)		(0.31)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation		0.18		-0.55
		(0.32)		(0.63)
Child of transnational marriage		-0.5		0.82+
		(0.40)		(0.49)
Child of intermarriage		0.51		-0.84+
		(0.34)		(0.51)
Parents' ISEI		-0.47		-0.12
		(0.51)		(0.54)
Highest Parent's education				
Primary education		-0.03		-1.19
		(0.60)		(1.45)
Secondary education		0.81+		-0.99
		(0.45)		(1.28)
University education		1.08*		-1.24
		(0.49)		(1.31)
Country of Origin				
NWS Europe		.		0
				(.)
East Europe		.		-0.3
				(0.33)
Africa/Caribbean		0		.
		(.)		
Arabic		0.22		.
		(0.20)		
Asian		-0.18		.
		(0.27)		
Other/Unknown		-0.05		.
		(0.27)		
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule		-0.07		0.96*
		(0.35)		(0.45)
Germany-Realschule		-0.39		0.64
		(0.41)		(0.42)
Germany-Gymnasium		-1.16*		0.22
		(0.47)		(0.36)
Germany- Comprehensive School		0.1		1.62*
		(0.34)		(0.78)
Germany-Combination School		-0.46		0.45
		(0.29)		(0.48)
Germany-Spec. needs		-0.09	.	
		(0.68)	.	
Netherlands-VMBOBK		0.74**		1.31*
		(0.23)		(0.58)
Netherlands-VMBOGT		0.43+		1.66**
		(0.24)		(0.50)
Netherlands-HAVO		0.35		0.9
		(0.40)		(0.56)
Netherlands-VWO		0.04		1.13*
		(0.28)		(0.57)
Sweden		0.13		1.23**

		(0.20)		(0.35)
Family situation (ref. Parents together)				
Divorced or separated		-0.31		-0.02
		(0.26)		(0.38)
Parents never married		0.18		0.04
		(0.51)		(0.53)
Parent no longer alive		-1.26*		0.06
		(0.51)		(0.95)
Parent abroad		-0.16		0.63
		(0.26)		(0.87)
Moved out/other		-1.02		1.31+
		(0.83)		(0.77)
Criminogenic routine activities		0.14		-0.05
		(0.16)		(0.30)
Non-criminogenic routine activities		0.39**		0.67**
		(0.13)		(0.24)
Self-control		0.07		0.22
		(0.26)		(0.29)
Missing out (ref. never)				
Sometimes		-2.56**		-1.57
		(0.95)		(1.23)
Often/always		-0.70**		-0.54+
		(0.17)		(0.28)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		0.30+		-0.06
		(0.18)		(0.23)
>67%		0.28		-0.28
		(0.22)		(0.30)
Constant	7.30**	7.63**	7.86**	12.64*
	(0.21)	(2.93)	(0.23)	(4.92)
lns1_1_1	0.25**	0.12+	0.34**	0.39**
Constant	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
lnsig_e	0.60**	0.53**	0.57**	0.51**
Constant	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.08)
N	2038	2038	894	894
aic	388463.22	375554.99	218359.7	212888.07

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Table 12. Multilevel regressions of delinquency (European and non-European immigrants)

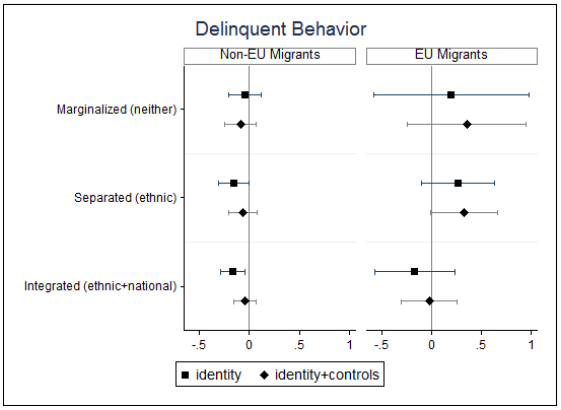
	Delinquency Non-European		**Delinquency** European	
	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b	Model 4b
Identity (ref. Assimilated- nat. identity)				
Marginalized (neither identity)	-0.05	-0.09	0.2	0.36
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.4)	(0.3)
Separated (ethnic identity)	-0.15*	-0.07	0.27	0.33+
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.19)	(0.17)
Integrated (ethnic+national)	-0.17**	-0.04	-0.17	-0.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.2)	(0.14)
Age		0.02		-0.05
		(0.05)		(0.14)
Age of Migration		0		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.02)
Female		-0.11+		-0.46**
		(0.06)		(0.09)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation		-0.06		-0.19
		(0.08)		(0.28)
Child of transnational marriage		0.05		-0.08
		(0.10)		(0.23)
Child of intermarriage		0.14		0.15
		(0.11)		(0.24)
Parents' ISEI		0.28*		-0.16
		(0.12)		(0.31)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education		-0.23		0.77+
		(0.22)		(0.42)
Secondary education		-0.23		0.25
		(0.21)		(0.35)
University education		-0.28		0.3
		(0.22)		(0.36)
Country of Origin				
NWS Europe		.		0
		.		(.)
East Europe		.		0.02
		.		(0.15)
Africa/Caribbean		0		.
		(.)		.
Arabic		0		.
		(0.07)		.
Asian		-0.06		.
		(0.08)		.
Other/Unknown		0.04		.
		(0.11)		.
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule		0.35*		0.09
		(0.14)		(0.16)
Germany-Realschule		0.19		-0.06
		(0.16)		(0.16)
Germany-Gymnasium		-0.09		0.15
		(0.13)		(0.23)
Germany- Comprehensive School		0.2		-0.42
		(0.22)		(0.44)
Germany-Combination School		-0.07		0
		(0.10)		(0.17)
Germany-Special needs		0.41		-0.07
		(0.34)		(0.1)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK		0.09		-0.01
		(0.14)		(0.27)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT		-0.08		-0.03
		(0.12)		(0.27)
Netherlands-HAVO		-0.14		-0.1
		(0.17)		(0.28)
Netherlands-VWO		-0.14		-0.31+
		(0.12)		(0.16)
Sweden		0.04		-0.09
		(0.08)		(0.13)
Family situation (ref. Parents together)				
Divorced or separated		0.06		0.05

		(0.07)		(0.18)
Parents never married		0.67*		-0.02
		(0.28)		(0.26)
Parent no longer alive		-0.27*		0.1
		(0.13)		(0.26)
Parent abroad		0.03		-0.59
		(0.16)		(0.45)
Moved out/other		0.61**		0.35
		(0.17)		(0.35)
Criminogenic routine activities		0.23**		0.30*
		(0.08)		(0.12)
Non-criminogenic routine activities		-0.11*		-0.01
		(0.05)		(0.14)
Self-control		0.18**		0.23+
		(0.06)		(0.13)
Missing out (ref. never)				
Sometimes		0.60*		0.36
		(0.27)		(0.36)
Often/always		0.05		0.23*
		(0.05)		(0.11)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		-0.08		-0.07
		(0.07)		(0.1)
>67%		0.01		-0.19
		(0.08)		(0.12)
Constant	0.51**	-0.32	0.49**	0.25
	(0.05)	(0.89)	(0.11)	(2.34)
lns1_1_1	-0.63**	-0.69**	-0.39**	-0.46**
Constant	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.07)
lnsig_e	-0.58**	-0.65**	-0.40**	-0.50**
Constant	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.08)
N	1983	1983	844	844
aic	157432.89	144108.44	103284.27	92941.51

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

As for well-being, integrated identity was positively related to well-being for non-European students and persisted even after adding controls, aligning with previous literature and suggesting that the combination of a strong ethnic and national identity is conducive to the overall well-being of non-European students, as opposed to discarding ethnic identity in favor of assimilation. Conversely, there were no such differences observed among European students. This suggests that in contrast to non-European students, there is no significant advantage in maintaining an ethnic identity for European students, even when combined with national identity for their overall well-being, and having an assimilated identity has no apparent advantage as well. It could indicate that identifying with one's minority or majority group might mean different things for a European versus a non-European student. In addition, although marginalized identity was negatively related to well-being for European students, this association did not hold in the full model, again suggesting that identity is not as significant for European students. For non-European students, other negative predictors of well-being include whether a student experienced a loss of a parent and relative deprivation, while examples of non-criminogenic leisure time activities were associated positively with well-being for both non-European and European students (Table 11).

Figure 5. Delinquent behavior of non-European and European students, 95% confidence intervals



Finally, through looking at possible predictors of delinquency separately for European and non-European students, we see again how identity can work in different ways between these groups. Strong ethnic identity- both alone or in combination with national identity- is associated with lower delinquent behavior among non-European students, in comparison to assimilated non-European students. These associations disappear, however, when accounting for students' use of leisure time, subjective deprivation, and other variables of interest, again suggesting that identity does not hold up in explanatory power for adolescent delinquency. On the other hand, for the European migrant sample, salient ethnic identity is a strong predictor of delinquent behavior even after controlling for other associated predictors of delinquency (Table 7, Model 4c). Separated identity was associated with higher delinquency in comparison with assimilated students of European background.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to examine the implications of acculturation identity for immigrant youth in Europe and to see whether these associations hold when including other possible predictors of adaptation. Through using assimilated students as a comparison group, findings from this study examine the influence of acculturation identity strategies and in some cases, such as in the case of well-being, challenge the classical assimilation presumption of an inverse relationship between ethnic identity and immigrant adaptation. In addition, this paper contributes to the identity literature, which often called for the need for better data (Burke & Kao 2003, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez 2013), by going beyond simpler regressions in previous studies through augmenting its models with information from a rich and comprehensive data set that is the first of its kind. In this way, this paper was able to test the influence of identity on adaptation by using information that was unavailable in previous literature. Moreover, this study goes further by examining potential variation across meso-contexts and between groups, through the inclusion of contextual variables and through conducting separate analyses of European and non-European students.

Although findings show no strong link between identity and school performance for the migrant samples, the nonsignificance also suggests that there is no apparent advantage of assimilated identity over other forms of identity when it comes to school

grades. We do, however, see the significance of identity persist for students' well-being, even when including other possible explanations of adaptation. The fact that marginalized students reported significantly lower happiness compared with assimilated students underscored the importance of some sort of connection or relation with a group for overall well-being. Furthermore, the fact that integrated students were significantly happier than their migrant peers with assimilated identity supports the theorized benefits of biculturalism and having connections with both the heritage and majority group, as opposed to just the majority.

When examining the relationship between identity and adaptation for both non-European and European students, another interesting story emerges: Findings reveal that the influence of acculturation identity diverges between groups. Most notably, integrated identity remained significant for the well-being of just the non-European sample (in comparison with their assimilated non-European peers), and for this group, retaining both ethnic and national identity was associated with higher well-being compared with assimilated students who only identified with the majority group. In other words, for non-European students, maintaining identity with their ethnic group appears to be more meaningful, and those who can simultaneously identify with their ethnic group as well as the majority group are happier than their assimilated counterparts. For students with migration background within Europe, however, such differences between integrated and assimilated students are not observed.

When examining explanations for the variation in delinquency between European and non-European migrant students, there are several noteworthy observations. Among European students, separated students are significantly more likely to engage in delinquent behavior than assimilated students. For the non-European sample, assimilation into the mainstream may mean a higher likelihood of partaking in deviant behavior, while their ethnic peers who maintain a strong affinity to their minority group might be more likely to adhere to the norms and values of their group that might discourage or sanction such behavior. That these associations can be explained by use of leisure time suggests that separated and integrated students may also be less likely to engage in activities that foster or enable delinquent behavior. For the European migrant sample, however, separated identity has the opposite effect, where a positive net association is observed between strong ethnic identity and delinquency. Compared with their assimilated peers, holding onto a strong minority identity is linked with higher delinquent behavior.

Why might identity work in different ways for these two groups? In order to make sense of the results, it may be helpful to revisit the differences that motivated the splitting of the sample in the first place. For migrant students who originate outside of Europe, culture, physical appearance, religion, and language are more visibly and obviously different or "foreign" from that of their host country, compared to the experiences of students who migrate within Europe. For European students, on the other hand, the cultural distance from native students might be closer, the boundary might be more blurred, and the lack of more obvious visible markers of their "foreignness" might enable them to adapt to the host culture with more ease; in these cases, either maintaining or losing attachment to one's ethnic group might not be as meaningful. It might also be possible that migrating within Europe means less of a sense of loss and subsequently less of a feeling of responsibility to maintain and transmit the culture and identity of one's country of origin.

Moreover, the findings from this study suggest that the apparent significance of identity for delinquency disappears once other potential predictors on the causal path are introduced. The use of leisure time, in the form of criminogenic or non-criminogenic routine activities, was a significant explanatory variable for all three outcomes. The addition of leisure time and involvement in public and social activities (such as going to the cinema, pub, bar, nightclub, party, concert, and DJ event) may suggest a more dynamic and active social life but may also be linked with important unobserved characteristics such as personality traits, susceptibility to peer pressure, and friendship networks. The possibility of unobserved heterogeneity therefore cannot be ruled out, such as individual personality traits or resilience or parental and teacher socialization, which may be driving results and offer alternative explanations to the outcome differences.

This is one of several limitations that could not be addressed in this study. The influence of unobserved factors may be independent of context and may influence how a person may respond to discrimination compared with others, so the findings of this study should be interpreted with caution. Since the outcome measures are self-reported, we cannot rule out the possibility that items such as grades or delinquent behavior might be over- or under-reported due to social desirability biases or lapses in memory. Due to the limitations of cross-sectional data, can also definitely conclude whether assimilated identity is a byproduct or a direct cause of adaptation. In addition, there are also questions regarding the complexities of measuring national identification, as immigrant youth in Europe might internalize and embrace aspects of the host culture but still not identify with

the country on a survey question. There is also debate whether combining high ethnic and high national identification is an appropriate indicator of dual or integrated identity (Neumann-Fischer 2015; Fleischmann & Verkuyten 2015; Verkuyten & Martinovic 2012; Simon & Ruhs 2008). The combination of ethnic and national identity may produce different results compared with a single measure of dual identity, and it would thus be worthwhile to examine whether and how a single dual-identifier is related to the adaptation outcomes in this study. Future research could also take a closer look at between-group variation by splitting the samples further into ethnic groups, based on the demographics and migration history of the respective host countries in question so that the choice of groups is made in a meaningful way.

Chapter 4
The religiosity and school performance of adolescents in the Netherlands, Germany, and England

Abstract

Based on the theoretical arguments of the context-dependent role of religion as a "bridge" or "barrier" for immigrant outcomes, this study examines the relationship between religiosity and school performance in three European countries that vary considerably in their accommodation of Islam rights- the Netherlands, Germany, and England. Using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU), this study analyzes the influence of religion and presence of religious peers on students' school performance through multilevel modeling. Results cast doubt on the premise of religion as a barrier in Europe, with some individual religiosity indicators having positive implications for school grades, as in the case of the Netherlands and England, or having no relevant consequences for students, such as in the case of Germany. Moreover, through distinguishing practicing and non-practicing Muslim students, results in the Netherlands show that religious peers are positively associated for the school performance of religiously devout students. Findings suggest that there may be resources or advantages in religious communities that are accessed by active engagement.

Keywords
adaptation, acculturation, religiosity, school performance, second generation immigrants

Introduction

A substantial body of literature has devoted to the outcomes of the children of immigrants and has examined evidence of assimilation over time, revealing significant variances across integration contexts, structures of opportunity, country immigrant reception, and immigrant groups (Alba 2006; Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Reitz 1998; Brinbaum & Lutz 2017; Castles 2010). In the last fifteen years, more attention has been dedicated to the formation and influence of religiosity on the immigrant adaptation experience, particularly of Muslim immigrants in the United States and in Europe (Jacob & Kalter 2013; Foner & Alba 2008; Cadge & Eckland 2007). It has been theorized that the relationship between religiosity and immigrant integration is starkly different between these two contexts- religiosity has been viewed as either a potential medium for resources and capital that facilitates integration (*bridge*), or as a mechanism of social closure that hinders integration (*barrier*) (Foner & Alba 2008; Connor & Koenig 2013). The general perspective of immigrant religiosity in the European context, with its modern secularism and traditional Judeo-Christian roots, is that it is not conducive to successful integration and leaves little room for minority religions that are often portrayed as outsiders who are fundamentally at odds with Western culture.

The fate and successful integration of Muslim immigrants thus remains a controversial and pertinent topic in the public sphere. Since Muslim immigrants tend to be more religious than other immigrant groups, and because the religiosity of Muslim immigrants does not appear to be diminishing anytime soon (Jacob & Kalter 2013; Diehl et al. 2009), studying the influence of Muslim religiosity on immigrant outcomes is warranted. The central aim of this study is to explore the relationship between minority youth religiosity and school performance. This study is based on the following research questions: What is the relationship between religiosity and school performance, and how might this relationship be influenced by school context? In light of previous research, which found beneficial resources in minority networks and religious communities in America, are there conditions, if any, where religiosity can function as a bridge for immigrant youth in the European context?

In order to address these questions, this study analyzes the religiosity and school grades of high school students in Europe. This study aims to contribute to the literature in three ways: First, using large-scale data of adolescents in three European countries, I examine several measures of individual religiosity on school performance in Europe.

Second, based on previous work on coethnics, I explore the influence of Muslim religious peers for Muslim students. Third, rather than studying European countries as one unit, I differentiate between three European countries- the Netherlands, Germany, and England, in order to see whether the effects of religiosity vary depending on accommodation of religious rights.

Theoretical Considerations and Previous Research

In the last decade, segmented assimilation theorists have been urged to incorporate religion into their models (Warner 2007), contesting that religion is the central component of the identity of many immigrant groups (Bisin et al. 2008), and that immigrants are more likely to be religious (van Tubergen & Sindrad'ottir 2011). Segmented assimilation posits that assimilation among children of immigrants can be either upward or downward, depending on contextual factors and/or immigrant group characteristics (Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Portes & Zhou 1993), while selective acculturation describes the immigrant's retention of the traditional values of their culture of origin which they view potentially positive or necessary to their success and accomplishments, highlighting the agency and choices of immigrants in the integration process (Portes and Zhou 1993). These assimilation perspectives are useful in understanding the pathways and trajectories that religious children of immigrants may take, as they hold onto certain values and belief systems transmitted by their parents while simultaneously adapting to certain aspects of the host society, particularly those that could be beneficial to their adaptation in school or their respective social networks.

There have been several papers that have discussed the relationship between religion and integration by considering the contexts that might influence the impact of religion, such as the religious landscape of the host country and the historical and political relationships between the state and religious groups (Connor & Koenig 2013; Foner & Alba 2008). And while literature on immigrant religion has proliferated in both America and in Europe, there has been a noticeable contrast in the way sociological studies in each context have approached immigrant religiosity. In contrast to the United States, where religion is viewed as a bridge in aiding the integration of immigrants, even for immigrants outside the Judeo-Christian heritage, religion has often been framed as a barrier in Western Europe (Koenig 2007; Alba 2006). Connor & Koenig (2013) constructed a more

nuanced theoretical framework in understanding the impact of religion on immigrant integration, identifying two potential context-dependent mechanisms of religion- as an "ethnic marker prompting exclusion and discrimination, or as social organization providing access to tangible resources" (31).

The general arguments for the context-dependent, "America=bridge, Europe=barrier," concept are that America on a whole is more religious in its social fabric and offers more of a "free market" for various religions and cultures, while Europe, with its high secularism and restrictive religious rights, institutionally and socially defines religions outside of the mainstream as religious "others" (Connor & Koenig 2013; Foner & Alba 2008; Alba 2005). In addition, there are notable sociodemographic differences between the immigration streams that originate from Muslim-majority countries and migrate into America and Europe. While larger shares of Muslim immigrants in Europe have historically remained more disadvantaged than natives, the average mosque-attending Muslim in the United States has a higher education and household income than the national average (Foner & Alba 2008). While there may be selection effects at work that explain differences between the socioeconomic profiles of Muslim immigrants in the United States and in Europe, the relative success of American religious Muslims indicate that religiosity is not a barrier to integration in their case.

The context-dependent notion of "bridge" versus "barrier" offers an appealing theoretical puzzle for social scientists. However, this study challenges this dichotomy, arguing that the mechanisms that are often cited in the literature are not theoretically limited to an American versus European context. A number of studies have discussed the salience of religion and religious organizations in the identities and experiences of immigrants as well as in the assimilation process, and one can argue that the theoretical benefits of religion that are often touted in American literature are not necessarily context-dependent. For example, religion has been described as a "balm for the soul," with findings suggesting significantly positive associations between religiosity and better health and emotional outcomes (Connor 2012). Because of the life disruptions, challenges, and even trauma that immigrant groups experience in entering a new country, religious communities have also been viewed as a potential place of refuge and opportunity for making contacts with other coethnics (Bankston & Zhou 1996).

The focus of this research is not on the contents of the doctrine and belief systems of Islam, but rather on the role of religion and the communities that it produces. The functionality of religion has been described by Hirschman (2004) as three R's: refuge,

respectability, and resources. Although the act of migration has been linked to a disruption in religious behavior and habits and thus subsequent declines, religious communities have been described as offering a refuge for those who experienced the trauma and challenges of uprooting oneself to a new land by providing a network of people who have undergone the experience themselves (Voas & Fleischmann 2012). Religious communities can also potentially be an environment where immigrants feel respected and even occupy positions of leadership or service, which is particularly meaningful to immigrants who may have experienced downward mobility or feel anonymous and looked down upon in society due to struggles with language and culture as foreigners. Religion can also potentially provides resources, information, and networks that can be beneficial for immigrants in adapting and adjusting to the country (Foner & Alba 2008; Hirschman 2004).

This has been confirmed in much of the literature on integration and adaptation in the United States. Religiosity was found to be positively associated with adolescent academic achievement in the United States, depending on the concordance of parent and children's level of religiosity (McKune & Hoffmann 2009), or explained through higher educational expectations through church participation (Regnerus 2000). Moreover, a relationship between religious participation and increased network closure has also been established, further highlighting the crucial social role of religion in family's and children's lives (Smith 2003).

However, significant differences have also been found across religious groups and countries regarding the salience of religion in either aiding or obstructing the assimilation process. In contrast to the United States, the dialogue on Muslim immigrants in Europe consistently discusses their failure to assimilate into European society and the inability to reconcile Muslim values and identities with European culture (Voas & Fleischmann 2012; Foner & Alba 2008; Zolberg & Woon 1999). European scholarship has focused on the role of religion as a barrier to immigrant assimilation in European contexts, through exacerbating social closure from host societies, posing "religious penalties," and creating parallel societies with little room or opportunity for the upward mobility that can only be obtained through engagement with mainstream society (Fleischmann & Phalet 2010; Alba 2005). In addition, an argument can be made that religious commitments take time away from learning skills, language, and activities that promote successful integration, such as finding or advancing in a job, or, in the case of high school students, studying for school.

There is evidence to support religious penalties for first generation immigrant religious minorities in Western Europe; however, recent research has found that these disadvantages are diminished with the second generation (Connor & Koenig 2013). These findings do not necessarily suggest that religion offers advantages in second generation occupational achievement, in contrast with findings in the United States, but they bring into question the notion of religion as a boundary for immigrant integration. Due to differences across macro- and meso- contexts, it is worthwhile to further explore the mechanisms of religion for immigrant assimilation in Europe. Moreover, recent research has also found conditional positive effects of religion, such as prayer or religious attendance, for the school performance of adolescents in Germany (Carol & Schulz 2018).

Presence of Coethnics and Religious Peers

Along with religiosity, this study draws from previous work on coethnics in order to explore the relationship between religiosity and school performance. Studies on high minority concentration in the United States and Europe have produced mixed findings; high ethnic minority density was often related to lower school and health outcomes, perpetuated by high segregation (Albrecht et al. 2005), while some studies have found positive effects of coethnic presence under certain conditions, such as higher educational by way of increased well-being and feelings of solidarity, and reduced feelings of alienation and problem behavior (Fleischmann et al. 2012; Bygren & Szulkin 2010; Fleischmann et al. 2012:1516; Geven et al. 2016). The explanation is that students are more likely to feel like they belong to the school and have an easier time making friends when there is a higher share of coethnics.

Unlike studies on ethnic density in the past, which glossed over between-group differences by treating ethnic density as one variable and consistently found negative effects of minority concentration, Fleischmann et. al. (2012) also distinguished between the effect of high minority concentrations on native populations and the effect on coethnics, finding positive effects of coethnics on educational attainment among second generation immigrants in Belgium. Positive outcomes have also been conditionally found for second generation ethnic communities, when there were existing resources, capital, networks, and community characteristics that were beneficial (Kroneberg 2008). The influence of minority peers in potentially counteracting perceptions of discrimination is especially relevant in light of literature on minority status stresses, which examined the

role of perceived discrimination among minority students in America, finding that awareness of the negative stereotypes associated with minority status were linked with lower academic outcomes(Nora & Cabrera 1996; Smedley et al. 1993). Several studies have also observed a positive influence of ethnic and racial neighbourhood composition or presence of coethnic classmates on students' educational achievement and outcomes (Fleischmann et al. 2012; Georgiades et al. 2007; Peetsma et al. 2006).

Similar to the theoretical mechanisms underlying the influence of coethnics, this study focuses on religious peers and the possible influences of minority religious peers on school outcomes. Under this perspective, what difference does it make for a minority- a devout Muslim student - to be in a school with a high share of Muslim peers? Homophily theory presumes that people have a tendency to form friendships with people based on similarities in beliefs, opinions, and behavior (McPherson et al. 2001). Although Muslim religion affiliation and ethnicity are often collinear, it can be argued that for the most religiously devout, religious values and beliefs may in some ways supplant ethnic identity and be a major point of reference in determining friendships and relationships. In the high school context, friendship networks of religious peers could theoretically influence grades through tighter intergenerational closure and the maintenance of social control through parents who see each other at the mosque, or through norms, studying behavior, aspirations, and even competition. Behavior normalized through religion and religious communities, such as adherence to rules and authorities, might transfer over to other contexts such as school. In addition, one could argue that peer effects could indirectly impact grades through influencing attitudes towards studying behavior, doing well in class, and taking school seriously.

In studies that have compared immigrant religiosity across various national contexts (such as in comparisons with the United States and Canada), Western Europe has often been analyzed as one monolithic unit in exploring the role and utility of religion in integration, despite the fact that European countries can be quite varied in their context of reception and accommodation of religious rights (Carol 2016; Carol & Koopmans 2013; Torrekens & Jacobs 2016). Using political claims analysis of news media, Carol & Koopmans (2013) developed a typology of several European countries based on the accommodation of religious rights for Muslims. Results found considerable differences in how the countries incorporate Islam, with the Netherlands and England having the highest accommodation of Islam rights and Germany located in an intermediate position among countries. In light of these differences, this study distinguishes between the Netherlands,

Germany, and England in its analyses in order to see whether the mechanisms of religiosity work in different ways in these contexts.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

In light of the literature on religion and immigration, the central question of this research article is, what is the relationship between religiosity and academic achievement of adolescents in Europe? Even in the Western European context, where religion is typically viewed as a barrier to integration, are there resources available in highly religious networks that might reduce minority disadvantage? Previous work has found mixed findings of high minority concentration on educational outcomes. However, much of the literature focuses on ethnic concentration and the influence of minority coethnics, due to the salience of ethnicity in the American context. It has been argued that religion may be a brighter boundary than ethnicity in Europe when it is a minority religion, and because religious identity is consistently very salient among Muslim groups, I focus on Muslims as the minority group and look at the effects of Muslim religiosity and the presence of Muslim peers on high school students. I focus on the school context, because as an institution where adolescents spend a substantial part of their day, schools provide an environment where norms, values, attitudes, and aspirations are learned and transmitted through friends and classmates (Bygren & Szulkin 2010).

Given the literature on resources found in minority networks and communities, this study investigates the relationship between the Muslim population in high schools and individual students' school performance, net of other predictors of grades. For the purposes of this study, the specific tenets of Muslim ideology and doctrine are not examined; rather, the central aim of this study is to examine the functional role of religious communities, where networks and relationships are bound by the same belief systems and may trigger mechanisms of support and solidarity that could potentially counter minority disadvantage and feelings of alienation. In addition, since religion has been described as a potential source of refuge, respectability, and resources for immigrants (Hirschman 2004), it can be argued that these mechanisms for adaptation could also be accessed by high religious attendance. Because Muslim groups tend to be much more religious, the communities will most likely be characterized by more

committed members and possibly more tight-knit social networks than other, less active organizations.

On the descriptive level, I expect that the children of Muslim immigrants in this study will generally have lower school grades than their non-Muslim counterparts, as Muslim first-generation immigrants in Europe tend to have lower rates of structural integration. However, because of the possible role of religion as a refuge and resource for immigrant minorities, I also posit that higher religiosity, internalized through religious salience and practiced through active religious attendance, will have positive effects for Muslim students on school performance. Furthermore, in light of the literature on the positive effects of coethnics/minority peers on minority school outcomes, I hypothesize that higher concentrations of Muslims in a school will be associated with higher school grades for individual Muslim students, due to the larger presence of minority peers who may counteract possible feelings of alienation as a minority group member and reduce perceptions of discrimination. I expect that this effect will be stronger for religiously active Muslim students, because they may potentially have more contact and networks with their respective religious communities.

Method

In order to test the hypotheses and explain school performance gaps between Muslims and their non-Muslim peers, average school grades are predicted with a two-level multilevel model of students nested within schools. Multilevel analysis is used to analyze the relationships between individual-level variables, school characteristics, and student outcomes, which could be otherwise biased in ordinary regression modeling due to underestimated standard errors (Hox 1998; Snijders & Bosker 1999). In addition, multilevel modeling is often an appropriate method in analyzing students in school contexts and is frequently employed in education literature, as it accounts for heterogeneity across schools and allows the effects of both individual and school-level variables to be tested in one model as well as for the testing for interactions between the two levels. A comparison of a two-level fixed intercept model and a two-level random intercept model show that inclusion of random intercepts provides a significantly better fit in analyzing student school performance.

Data and Measures

This study uses secondary data from Wave 2 of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU), which is a unique longitudinal study of immigrant parents, children, and teachers and the first comprehensive and standardized panel study on children with immigrant backgrounds in Europe. The research questions are explored through the Dutch, German, and British samples of the second wave, which interviewed children of immigrants and native peers between 2011 and 2012 and utilized a three-stage stratified sampling design in order to oversample schools with higher shares of immigrant students (Dollmann et al. 2014). Two classes were randomly selected from each school, and all students in the classes were surveyed. Wave 2 data was used due to complete information on the grades of students from all four countries, which is not yet available in other waves.

The analysis includes both immigrant and native high school students. The dependent variable *school performance* was measured using the mean of the combined self-reported math, English, and survey country language grades.[13] Grades were all coded so that higher numbers mean better grades; in the cases of England and Germany, grades were reversed coded for more intuitive interpretation, where 1 is recoded to either 4 (for England) or 6 (for Germany) as the highest possible grade. Only math and English grades were reported for England. Grades in the Netherlands remained on a scale from 0-10, with 10 being the best grade. The range of grades for each country can be seen in Table 14.

The explanatory variables include religiosity and presence of religious coethnics. Religiosity was measured by *religious affiliation, frequency of religious attendance, and religious salience*. Religious affiliation was categorized as no religion (reference group), Muslim, Christian, and Other. Religious attendance ('How often do you visit religious meeting places?') was recoded into a 4-point scale: 0 “Never” (reference group) 1 “Occasionally” (less than once a month) 2 “At least once a month” and 3 “Regularly”

[13] Although the use of average grades rather than the grades of one subject is debatable, I include all three grades in order to have a more comprehensive measure of students’ overall performance in the school and not just performance in one particular subject, which could be influenced by individual skills or interests.

(every week or daily).[14] Religious salience ('How important is religion to you?') was recoded into a binary variable: 0 “not important” and 1 “important.” Prayer referred to respondents' frequency of prayer, 0 “Never,” 1 “Occasionally,” 2 “At least once a month,” 3 “At least once a week,” 4 “One to four times a day,” and 5 “Five times a day or more.” The variance inflation factor was calculated for the variables of each country in order to test for multicollinearity, with a VIF score of around 3.

The contextual variable *presence of religious peers* was measured calculating the mean proportion of Muslims in the school sample and categorised as low (less than 10% Muslim students), medium (10-30% Muslim students) and high (over 30% Muslim students).

A number of background variables are included as controls in the analysis. *Socio-demographic variables* include gender, age, age at migration, and immigrant background, and because children's school performance is known to be correlated with parents' education and socioeconomic status (employment status, and occupation), parent background variables are also included. Age was calculated by subtracting the birth year from the year the survey was administered (either 2011 or 2012). Parents' socioeconomic status (SES) was measured using variables of highest parental education and highest occupational status (ISEI). The variable immigrant background is broken into four categories: 1) born outside of survey country (first generation), 2) born in survey country with two foreign-born parents (second generation), and 3) child of transnational marriage (where grandparents are foreign-born), and 4) child of intermarriage (where one grandparent is native-born) (Dollmann et al. 2014).

Age of migration indicates the age when respondent arrived in the survey country, and native respondents were recoded as 0. In order to focus on the effects of religious affiliation and religiosity separately from possible effects related to national or ethnic origin indicators, a country origins variable is also used as a control, which was collapsed into larger categories of seven regions: North/South/West Europe, Eastern Europe, Caribbean and Africa, Arabic, Asian, and Other/Unknown.

School type was also controlled for in the analyses for countries that have a tracking system. German schools were categorized into lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*), intermediate secondary school (*Realschule*), comprehensive school/Rudolf-Steiner schools, schoosl with special needs, upper secondary school

[14] Religious attendance and prayer were analyzed as quasi-continuous variables.

(*Gymnasium*). For the Netherlands, separate categories were created for the school types: first year high school (*Brugklas),* the most basic vocational track (*VMBOB-B),* follow-up vocational tracks (*VMBOB-G),* the senior secondary education track (*HAVO),* and for the pre-university track (*VWO*). Listwise deletion of cases were used for missing values which resulted in a final sample of 2193 students nested in 96 schools in the Netherlands, 2747 students in 130 schools in Germany, and 1905 students in 92 schools in England.

Results

Descriptive Results

About 40.39 percent of the sample have an immigrant background, and approximately 11.26 percent were not born in the survey country. Muslim students comprise about 17.5 percent of the sample, and the average proportion of Muslims in each school sample is 0.18, with Germany having the highest average proportion of Muslims (0.24). An overview of the unweighted distribution of additional variables for each respective country is presented in Table 13. Figure 6 displays the distribution of the share of Muslim students in each of the three countries.

Descriptive statistics also illustrate the differences between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents[15] across variables of interest (Table 14). As expected, there seems to be a minority religious penalty associated with Muslim religious affiliation and school grades; average grades are significantly lower for Muslim students compared with non-Muslim students in Germany and in England, while there are no significant differences in grades between these two groups in the Netherlands. The data also highlights significant differences in religiosity, indicating consistently higher religiosity among Muslims, who are much more likely to view religion as important and to attend religious services significantly more frequently than their non-Muslim counterparts.

In light of these descriptive findings, the effects of religiosity and religious peers on school performance are analyzed in order to explain religious penalties, after controlling for other relevant factors. Table 15 presents the results of multilevel estimates

[15] For the sake of brevity and because of the study's focus on Muslim students, descriptive statistics only focus on comparisons between Muslims and non-Muslims.

TABLE 13
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Variable	Description	Min	Max	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev
Outcome variable						
Average Grades (EN)	Math, English grades	1	4	3113	3.05	0.61
Average Grades (GE)	German, Math, English grades (reverse coded for interpretation)	1	6	4120	4.11	0.71
Average Grades (NL)	Dutch, Math, English grades	0	10	3210	6.66	1.01

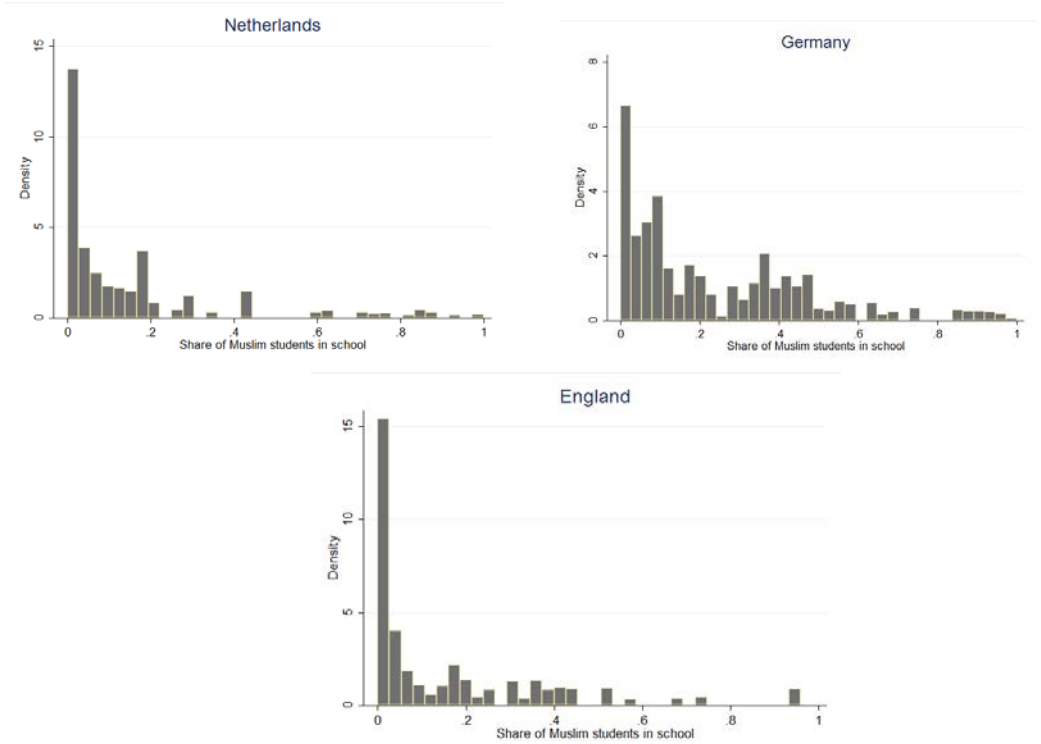
				England		Germany		Netherlands	
Background	**Description**	**Min**	**Max**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev**
Gender	Gender of respondent (1=Female)	0	1	0.48	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.50
Age	Age of respondent	13	25	15.95	0.69	16.00	0.86	15.77	0.81
Age of migration	Age first moved to country	0	18	1.17	3.32	0.58	2.26	0.47	2.27
Parent's Education	Highest parent's education	0	3	2.27	0.80	2.11	0.60	2.15	0.62
Parent's ISEI	Highest parent's ISEI	11	88.96	53.81	20.28	45.92	18.74	51.09	19.00
Individual Variables									
Muslim	Muslim Religious Affiliation	0	1	0.15	0.36	0.23	0.42	0.14	0.34
Christian	Christian Religious Affiliation	0	1	0.37	0.48	0.58	0.49	0.24	0.43
Other	Other Religious Affiliation	0	1	0.09	0.28	0.05	0.22	0.07	0.25
No Religion	No Religion	0	1	0.40	0.49	0.13	0.34	0.55	0.50
Religious Salience	How important religion is to respondent	0	3	1.03	1.15	1.07	1.01	0.66	0.99
Religious Attendance	How frequently respondent visits religious services	0	3	1.46	1.15	1.52	1.04	1.17	1.02
Contextual Variables									
Proportion of Muslims	Mean number of Muslims in sample by school	0	1	0.16	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.15	0.22

TABLE 14
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS BY MUSLIM RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	England		Germany		Netherlands	
Variable	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**
Outcome variable						
School Performance	3.071	2.933*	4.16	3.943*	6.676	6.617
Background						
Gender	0.492	.417*	0.507	0.503	0.52	0.482
Age	15.97	15.84*	15.956	16.155*	15.96	16.156*
Age of migration	1.034	1.847*	0.478	.887*	0.315	1.458*
Parent's education	2.328	2.134*	2.195	1.86*	2.202	1.769*
Parent's ISEI	55.676	48.062*	49	38.87*	52.53	42.9*
Individual Variables						
Religious Attendance	0.858	1.988*	0.874	1.707*	0.494	1.701*
Religious Salience	1.225	2.792*	1.205	2.56*	0.926	2.702*
Contextual Variables						
Proportion of Muslims	0.099	.456*	0.158	.461*	0.091	.441*
School SES	0.447	.358*	0.551	0.551	0.276	0.262

Note: Descriptive statistics are unweighted
Source: CILS4EU Data
*t-test difference of $p < 0.05$
between Muslim and non-Muslim students

Figure 6. Share of Muslim students in schools, distributions in the Netherlands, Germany, and England



of predictors of average school grades. Sampling weights were added due to the stratified nature of the data, which oversampled schools with high shares of immigrants.

After controlling for sociodemographic variables (see appendix for covariates), religiosity variables are inserted in order to estimate effects of religious affiliation, religious attendance, and religious salience on school grades. The variable proportion of Muslims in the school is also introduced in the first model to examine the effect of Muslim concentration for the whole sample, while the subsequent two models for each set test the hypotheses for Muslim students regarding presence of religious peers by interacting Muslim religious affiliation with the variables religious attendance and proportion of Muslim students.

Contrary to expectations, there appears to be no significant disadvantage of Muslim religious affiliation on grades in any of the three countries. Muslim religious affiliation is inconsequential for Netherlands and Germany after controlling for background characteristics, and the negative effect of Muslim affiliation also disappears for England once school characteristics are introduced in Model 2c. In the case of the Netherlands, religious attendance is positively associated with school grades for the whole sample, which persists across all specifications. When introducing the three-way interaction of Muslim affiliation, religious attendance, and share of Muslims in Model 3, two interesting results emerge. The three-way interaction shows a positive coefficient, indicating a positive association of religious peers on school grades for Muslim students who attend religious services. However, for nominal Muslim students who have zero religious attendance, as observed in the two-way interaction, there is a negative effect of religious peers for school performance (Model 3), suggesting that religious peers are only beneficial for those who are actively engaged in the religious community (Figure 7).

Surprisingly, in the case of Germany, both individual religiosity and religious peers are non-significant for school performance for the whole sample, indicating that the positive or negative mechanisms of religiosity are not as consequential for academic achievement in the German context. In England, prayer is positively related to academic achievement and persists across all specifications. Interestingly, the lower-order term of the three-way interaction in Model 3c, which indicates the net effect of the share of Muslims for religiously devout, non-Muslim students is negatively related to school performance for England. This unexpected result raises the question of whether this is a reflection of religious tensions or hostilities between students of faith that has implications for school performance.

The findings on individual religiosity do not align with assumptions in previous work that minority religions pose a penalty for immigrants in European contexts. Estimates for religious attendance either are insignificant, or in some cases, seem to generally support the religion as a 'bridge' mechanism. Despite the common perception that Western Europe is generally a much more secular landscape than that of America, results suggest that Dutch students participate in religious services more frequently also perform slightly better in school, while prayer was correlated with higher grades in the case of England (England).

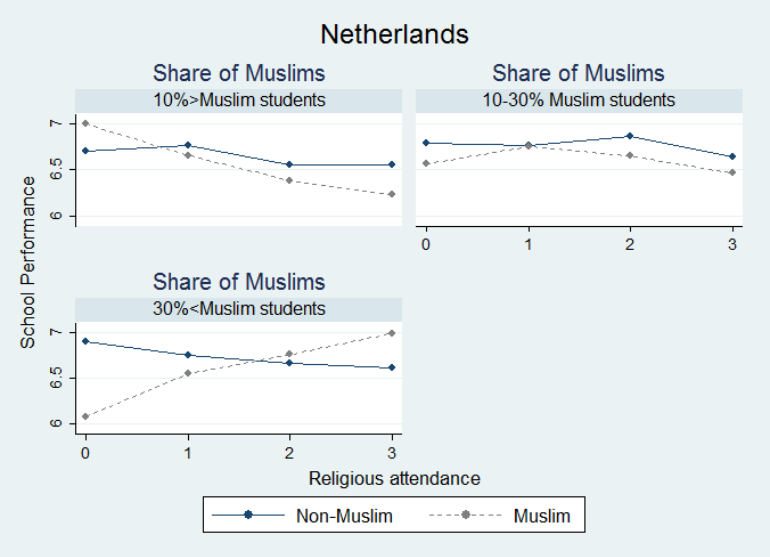
However, a negative association is observed among Muslim students in higher-share Muslim schools, albeit for nominal Muslim students who do not attend religious services. In contrast, a positive link is found between Muslim peers and grades for religiously devout Muslim students. Figure 7 illustrates the conditional nature of these effects; for Muslim students in schools with a low proportion of Muslim religious peers, students seem to do better when they are not religiously active. This negative effect may support explanations of enforcing boundaries and social closure from other students.

TABLE 15. RESULTS OF MULTILEVEL REGRESSION OF AVERAGE GRADES IN THE NETHERLANDS, ENGLAND AND GERMANY

	Netherlands			Germany			England		
Grades	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1b)	(2b)	(3b)	(1c)	(2c)	(3c)
Religiosity (ref. no religion)									
Muslim	-0.05	0.04	0.19	-0.08	-0.11	-0.13	-0.24*	-0.26	-0.07
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.37)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.21)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.24)
Christian	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.04	0.04	0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Other	0.30*	0.30*	0.31*	0.01	0.02	0	-0.14+	-0.14+	-0.15+
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)	0.09*	0.09*	0.09*	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	0.03	0.03	0.06*
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Religious salience	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Prayer	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	0.03+	0.03+	0.04+	0.04*	0.04**	0.04**
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Proportion of Muslims									
10%> (Ref.)									
10-30%	-0.14	-0.13	-0.11	0.03	0.03	0.02	-0.11	-0.11	-0.08
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
30%<	0.10	0.22	0.40	0.03	0.02	-0.04	0.03	0.02	0.13
	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Interactions									
Muslim x Share of Muslims		-0.13	-0.53*		0.03	0.18		0.02	0
		(0.14)	(0.27)		(0.07)	(0.12)		(0.10)	(0.15)
Muslim x Religious attendance			-0.10			0.01			-0.17
			(0.13)			(0.10)			(0.15)
Religious attendance x Share of Muslims			-0.38			0.15			-0.20*
			(0.28)			(0.17)			(0.10)
Muslim x Religious attendance			0.30*			-0.1			0.06
x Share of Muslims			(0.13)			(0.07)			(0.10)
Constant	8.24**	8.24**	8.23**	5.62**	5.61**	5.60**	2.66**	2.66**	2.74**
	(1.12)	(1.12)	(1.11)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.48)
lns1_1_1	-1.11**	-1.11**	-1.09**	-1.21**	-1.21**	-1.19**	-1.39**	-1.39**	-1.38**
Constant	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)
lnsig_e	-0.37**	-0.37**	-0.37**	-0.50**	-0.50**	-0.51**	-0.77**	-0.77**	-0.77**
Constant	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
N	2193.00	2193.00	2193.00	2747	2747	2747	1905	1905	1905
aic	271085.68	271041.19	270687.34	746790.85	746755.05	745939.76	289926.59	289916.38	288384
chi2	198.91	198.37	224.95	227	234.86	246.15	167.89	172.14	179.09

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01
Controlled for age, age of migration, country of origin, parents' SES, school SES

Figure 7. The relationship between religious attendance and school performance for non-Muslim and Muslim students in Dutch schools with low-, medium-, and high-share Muslim schools. Predicted values from Model 3 (Table 15)



However, in schools with a high share of Muslim students (30% or more), there is a significant difference between mosque-attending and non-mosque attending Muslim students. Those who do not attend religious services seem to do worse in school than their non-Muslim peers, while Muslim students who regularly attend religious services do significantly better. Results suggest that high religious attendance is beneficial for Muslim students who are in high-share Muslim schools but conversely not beneficial for students in low-share Muslim schools. This suggests that the advantages of religiosity are only available to actively religious Muslim students, rather than those who only identify but do not attend religious services.

Conclusion

Public concern over the integration of Muslims has consistently dominated discussions of Europe's immigrants, and the outcomes of immigrant Muslim youth are pertinent to the dialogue of integration across generations. This study contributes to the scholarship on immigrant religiosity through testing minority religious penalties as well as possible factors that may mediate for religious disadvantage.

The central aim of this study is to highlight the role of religiosity on immigrant outcomes and explore conditions where religion may function as a bridge in a context where boundaries are "bright" for religious minorities and where religion generally poses a barrier for immigrant outcomes. The empirical findings of this study challenge the notion of religion as a barrier to integration in Europe. Findings indicate that religiosity is either inconsequential for school performance, as in the case of Germany, or positive, as seen through religious attendance in Netherlands and through prayer in England. Although the general perception of minorities in Europe is of disadvantage and ethnic and religious penalties, the models demonstrate that lower academic achievement is more likely to be explained by sociodemographic characteristics, such as parents' occupation (see appendix for controls). In this case, religion is either advantageous for students, or the role is neither a "bridge" nor a "barrier" and disputes the widely held notion that higher religious participation is linked with negative outcomes in contexts with "bright" boundaries, such as in Europe.

This study also presents a more nuanced understanding of the mechanisms of religiosity and immigrant outcomes by comparing the effects for religious and nonreligious Muslim students. By examining the differential effects of religious peers on Muslims and disentangling religious affiliation and religious attendance, the results indicate that religiosity is advantageous for practicing Muslim students who are actively participating in the religious community, rather than nominal Muslim students, as observed in the Netherlands. One possible explanation for this is that the emotional benefits or resources of being with Muslim peers might only be accessed through active engagement with the religious community. These findings support recent literature on the presence of minority peers and imply the possibility of advantages or resources in religious communities that positively influence school outcomes, such as solidarity with students with the same identity and religious affiliation or academic motivation.

This study encountered some limitations. Since grades are self-reported, they may be subject to bias or error, and as noted by previous researchers, over-reporting of grades is most common among students with lower average grades, so the results may be upwardly biased for students with lower grades (Pong & Hao 2007). Moreover, because this study only examines one wave of the CILS4EU, as other available waves did not include all country grades at the time of the analysis, we cannot make any causal inferences on the relationship between religiosity and school outcomes. In light of previous research, which has found that lower SES can predict higher religiosity of adult

immigrants, due to more time and more financial insecurity (Van Tubergen & Sindradottir 2011), this study cannot conclusively claim that lower grades do not cause higher religious participation. While less likely, one cannot rule out the possibility that lower-performing students tend to convert to Islam or that higher-performing non-Muslim students tend to become more religiously active. Moreover, due to data limitations, this study only focused on three countries. It would be worthwhile to compare findings across more European countries in the future and see how contextual variation on a larger scale, such as in religious rights accommodation and openness towards Islam, might be reflected in the results.

In light of the positive association related to religiosity in the Dutch and British context, it would also be worthwhile to explore the implications of religiosity and religious communities further. The positive effect of religious activity for students might be explained by a number of unobserved factors, such as family cohesiveness and solidarity, higher social engagement, and higher civic participation, or individual characteristics associated with church attendance, such as self-discipline or conscientiousness. And although this study controlled for possible ethnic and racial factors through variables of country origin, there may be additional indicators or characteristics related to Muslim groups, such as cultural explanations, that may be relevant to school outcomes and are also worth exploring in future research. Moreover, the varying results across the three countries in this study raise the question of whether differences in context, such as accommodation of religious rights, influences whether religion can be advantageous to immigrant outcomes.

The findings of this study offer additional insights into the dialogue on immigrant religiosity and present a more nuanced understanding of the role of religion on immigrant outcomes in Europe, as results partially cast doubt on the “bridge versus barrier” dichotomy. Since Muslim immigrants remain a growing part of Europe's population, and given the fact that Muslim religiosity does not appear to be diminishing anytime in the near future, the study of religiosity and minority religious peers will continue to be a relevant research area in migration research.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The topic of immigrants and the facilitation of their integration into European society has been a major theme in media, political platforms, and academic research. On the extreme end, news of terrorist attacks, and the recent influx of refugees fleeing war have heightened fear, ethnic tensions, and perceived threat towards Muslims. On the pragmatic end, researchers, policymakers, and legislators are grappling with the question of how to handle the new waves of immigrants and the subsequent integration challenges in the future, especially regarding a group that has historically been viewed as incompatible with Western liberal culture and democratic societies. And among the public, whether they are aware or not, both immigrants and natives are experiencing a changing society and culture.

The general perception of immigrants in Europe ranges from a view of a disadvantaged group in need of "catching up", or under more extreme perspectives, as a financial burden and potential threat to society. The religion of immigrants- namely, Islam- has been a hotly debated issue, particularly regarding the compatibility of Islam with the secular European landscape and its historically Judeo-Christian traditions.

The purpose of this dissertation is to understand and make a case for the relevance and importance of religion and identity in understanding immigrant adaptation. The three studies in this dissertation can largely be summed up into two simple questions: *What do*

the religiosity and identity of the children of immigrants look like in Europe? And do their religiosity and identity matter?

This dissertation addresses questions of how the roles of religiosity and identity affect the adaptation of immigrant youth and the strength and direction of these influences in various settings in Western Europe, where much of the immigration debate is currently taking center stage. Although the areas of religion and identity have been extensively explored in immigration literature, its treatment is far from conclusive. The three studies test predominant theoretical assumptions of whether religion and ethnic and national attachments are disadvantageous or conducive to positive adaptation outcomes for second generation youth, as well as how second generation youth reconcile seemingly conflicting identities in contexts that might not be welcoming. Findings show that the adaptation of children of immigrants is, well, complicated. Assimilation is not always clean and linear across generations, mechanisms vary depending on the group or the context, and catchy theoretical puzzles of bridges and barriers are not always empirically supported.

Chapter 2 examined how the children of immigrants navigate multiple identities and cultures, and how their context influences their sense of belonging and how they perceive and categorize themselves. Moreover, chapter 2 sought to identify the conditions under which immigrants expressed simultaneous versus singular identities. Building upon previous identity literature, this study goes beyond more simplistic views of identity to examine the possible presence and coexistence of multiple identities and to find cases and circumstances how youth combine ethnic and national identities.

Through analyzing generational status, religiosity, and school context, this study found no evidence for either assimilation or ethnic revival among second generation students in comparison with first generation students. Though second generation adolescents are born in the host country, they were significantly less likely to express sole strong national identity than their peers who were born abroad. Moreover, second generation students were most likely to be marginalized, expressing identity with neither their ethnic nor their national group. These findings suggest that the struggle to define oneself or reconcile identity might be the most challenging for adolescents who are born in the country and who have foreign-born parents.

A clear relationship was also found with religiosity and identity, with more religious students more likely to express integrated or separated identities and less likely to have assimilated identity, in line with the perception of incompatibility between

religion and assimilation. Results also find support for the role of perceived discrimination and ethnic diversity in identity. What we know from previous work is that ostracization and hostility towards minorities pushes them even further away from society. This phenomenon is supported by results in chapter 2, where we see perception of discrimination as one of the strongest predictors in identity- students who perceived higher discrimination were less likely to have assimilated or integrated identity and more likely to have separated identity. In other words, the more minorities feel discriminated against, the less likely they will identify with the host country that they perceive is rejecting them. Furthermore, being around other minorities also reduces the likelihood of assimilated identity and increases the likelihood of identifying with both heritage and majority groups, highlighting the role of ethnic diversity in facilitating dual identities.

Chapter 3 examines what identity means for migrant youth. Rather than focusing on either ethnic identity or national identity, this study takes a more comprehensive approach by comparing acculturation identity strategies and their relationships to adaptation outcomes. Among other findings, assimilated identity was not necessarily the most advantageous or beneficial strategy for immigrant adaptation compared with integrated identity, supporting a segmented assimilation perspective on the merits of bicultural identities. Moreover, acculturation identity worked in divergent directions for the delinquent behavior of European and non-European students.

The first finding supports previous work that integrated individuals- those who can identify with both cultures - have more successful and happier outcomes, possibly through greater adaptability or cognitive flexibility to navigate easily through multiple worlds (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez 2013), or through the benefits, capital, and resources available through selective acculturation. The second finding indicates a clear distinction in the adaptation experiences of European and non-European immigrants. Adolescents with a non-European background were more likely to report delinquent behavior when they were assimilated, suggesting that maladaptive or risky behavior can be associated with assimilation into the mainstream, For adolescents with a European migrant background, however, a strong ethnic identity was associated with delinquent behavior, suggesting that the protective effect of ethnic identity against delinquency is only present for non-European groups.

Chapter 4 examines the relationship between religiosity and school performance for adolescents in Europe. This study contributes to current literature through analyzing the relationship between religiosity and school performance of adolescents in several

European countries, as well as the inclusion of Muslim peers for Muslim students, which has been largely ignored in the literature. Moreover, this study distinguishes between the Netherlands, Germany, and England and finds that religion works in different ways in each of these contexts. Although the topics of Islam and immigration are not without controversy in the Netherlands, it is noteworthy that religiosity is associated positively with school performance in this context. Given the fact that the Dutch context is on the higher end regarding inclusiveness and accommodation of Muslim religious rights (Carol 2016; Carol & Koopmans 2013), perhaps the context is more receptive in allowing religion to have positive implications for school outcomes. The theorized advantages of religiosity that are described in American literature- such as in providing resources, social support, and sense of meaning- could also be argued for the positive associations found in chapter four of this dissertation. Moreover, the positive associations of religious attendance and religious peers are only observed among Muslim students who are religiously active and thus presumably have access to the potential benefits of their community through their engagement, in contrast to Muslim students who are not active at all and whose school performance is negatively related to share of Muslim peers, suggesting an isolation from this community.

Furthermore, the fact that religiosity is irrelevant for the school grades of the German sample and has partially positive associations with grades in England further cast doubt on the perception that religion is a barrier to integration in Europe. While this is a popular premise embraced by the media and scholars and exacerbated by concerns of parallel societies and insular religious communities, we can assume that much of the religious penalties observed in Europe are most likely linked with the sociodemographic characteristics of Muslim groups rather than the religiosity itself. And in some cases, such as for Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands, religiosity can surprisingly be associated with positive outcomes.

It has been argued that the secular landscape and structural and institutional differences towards religion in Europe make it a less conducive environment for religion to be a "bridge," in contrast with the religious, Tocquevillian social fabric that characterizes the United States (Connor & Koenig 2013). However, the findings of this research bring into question whether religion and adaptation might not be as irreconcilable and incompatible in the European context as expected. Based on the empirical findings of these studies as well as the findings from previous research in Europe, I contend that the dichotomy of religion as a "bridge" versus "barrier" is over-

simplistic for such diverse contexts as the United States and Europe. It would be a worthwhile endeavor to study the effects of religiosity longitudinally for various measures of immigrant integration.

Furthermore, the language of this theoretical framework contributes to the depiction of religious migrants as perpetual outsiders in Europe, which may not be helpful regarding a group whose religiosity is not showing signs of waning any time soon. As described in chapter 4, previous work on American congregations have found that they have been sites for social activism and civic involvement for disenfranchised minorities, as well as spaces for social networks, resources, and even language courses for newly arrived immigrants. Religious communities often comprise more active and engaged members than that of other types of associations and organizations, due to the fact that their congregants are committed to and unified by a common religious belief system. When we think about practical implications regarding the future of immigrants in Europe, cooperation with religious communities might be one solution in allowing religion to "bridge" the gap between migrants and natives and facilitate successful integration.

The general takeaway from the findings of these three studies is that religiosity, ethnic identity, and national identity do not necessarily have to be at odds or inversely related with one another to mean positive adaptation outcomes for immigrants. With concerns of the outlook and stability of Europe partially resting on the fate of its immigrants, perhaps a paradigm shift will be necessary in the collective understanding of what belonging to society means. There have been calls to explore how "political fiction" of a nation becomes a "powerful, compelling reality" (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:11). This academic endeavor is one response to this exhortation to take a deeper look at how societal processes interact with religion and identity and the subsequent meanings that these can have for immigrant life.

Appendix

Appendix Table A. Respondents' national identification by generational status, row percentages, unweighted

	National identity				
	Not at all strongly	Not very strongly	Fairly strongly	Very strongly	Total
1st Generation	323	512	811	242	1,888
	17.11	27.12	42.96	12.82	100
2nd Generation	388	809	1,562	545	3,304
	11.74	24.49	47.28	16.5	100
2.5 Generation	119	257	962	617	1,955
	6	13.15	49	31.56	100
Native	113	447	2,961	7,345	10,866
	1.04	4.11	27.25	67.6	100
Total	943	2,025	6,296	8,749	18,013
	5.24	11.24	34.95	48.57	100

Appendix Table B. Multilevel logistic regressions predicting assimilated identity

Assimilated identity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Background				
Age	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Age of Migration	-0.13**	-0.12**	-0.12**	-0.12**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	-0.05	-0.05	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation	-0.52**	-0.34*	-0.32*	-0.32*
	-0.15	-0.16	-0.16	-0.16
2.5 Generation	0.41**	0.28+	0.27+	0.28+
	-0.15	-0.16	-0.16	-0.16
Country of origin (ref. NWS Europe)				
Eastern Europe	-0.42**	-0.26*	-0.30*	-0.29*
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Black (Caribbean + African)	-0.55**	-0.28*	-0.24+	-0.24+
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Arabic	-0.80**	-0.25+	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Asian	-0.12	0.08	0.12	0.12
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Other/Unknown	0.02	-0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Turkish			-0.73**	-0.73**
			(0.15)	(0.15)
Parents' ISEI	0.57**	0.45*	0.45*	0.45*
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education	-0.18	-0.23	-0.18	-0.17
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Secondary education	-0.1	-0.2	-0.17	-0.16
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
University education	0.08	-0.01	-0.01	0
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule	-0.21	-0.37*	-0.18	-0.23
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Germany-Realschule	0.13	-0.18	-0.01	-0.03
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Germany-Gymnasium	0.42*	0	0.13	0.12
	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Germany- Comprehensive School	0.46	0.25	0.4	0.37
	(0.37)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.36)
Germany-Combination School	-0.06	-0.25	-0.07	-0.12
	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Germany-Special needs	0.39	0.33	0.43	0.4
	(0.45)	(0.44)	(0.45)	(0.44)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK	-0.17	-0.36+	-0.28	-0.29
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	0.48*	0.16	0.24	0.23
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Netherlands-HAVO	0.27	-0.11	-0.07	-0.08
	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)

Netherlands-VWO	0.40+	0.01	0.05	0.05
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Sweden	0.15	-0.15	-0.13	-0.12
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)				
No Religion (Ref.)				
Muslim		-0.23	-0.19	-0.18
		-0.15	-0.15	-0.15
Christian		0.13	0.14	0.14
		-0.12	-0.12	-0.12
Other		-0.27+	-0.25	-0.25
		-0.16	-0.16	-0.16
Religious salience		-0.33**	-0.33**	-0.33**
		-0.05	-0.05	-0.05
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		-0.07	-0.07	-0.07
		-0.05	-0.05	-0.05
Prayer		-0.05+	-0.05	-0.05
		-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)			-0.17	-0.17+
34%-66%			-0.1	-0.1
			-0.31**	-0.32**
>67%			-0.11	-0.11
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)				
Sometimes				-0.07
				-0.08
Often				-0.46**
				-0.15
Always				-0.73*
				-0.36
Constant	-1.13**	-0.23	-0.1	-0.02
	-0.26	-0.28	-0.28	-0.29
N	4352	4352	4352	4352
aic	4968.94	4815.17	4811.43	4804.29

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Appendix Table C. Multilevel logistic regressions predicting integrated identity

Integrated identity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Background				
Age	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age of Migration	-0.03	-0.03+	-0.03*	-0.04*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.13+	0.14*	0.13+	0.13+
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation	0.08	0	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
2.5 Generation	-0.23	-0.17	-0.15	-0.14
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Country of origin (ref. NWS Europe)				
Eastern Europe	0.62**	0.58**	0.60**	0.59**
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Black (Caribbean + African)	0.55**	0.40**	0.38**	0.36*
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Arabic	0.79**	0.67**	0.57**	0.55**
	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Asian	0.58**	0.43**	0.41**	0.41**
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Other/Unknown	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Turkish			0.31*	0.33**
			(0.12)	(0.12)
Parents' ISEI	-0.22	-0.14	-0.13	-0.13
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.05
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Secondary education	0.03	0.06	0.05	0.03
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
University education	-0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule	-0.96**	-0.92**	-1.03**	-1.00**
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Germany-Realschule	-0.91**	-0.79**	-0.89**	-0.87**
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Germany-Gymnasium	-0.39+	-0.17	-0.25	-0.24
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Germany- Comprehensive School	-1.14**	-1.09**	-1.19**	-1.15**
	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.40)
Germany-Combination School	-0.56**	-0.51**	-0.61**	-0.58**
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Germany-Special needs	-0.16	-0.07	-0.12	-0.09
	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK	0.40*	0.40*	0.36*	0.34+
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	-0.15	-0.01	-0.06	-0.06
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Netherlands-HAVO	-0.04	0.11	0.09	0.07
	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Netherlands-VWO	-0.34	-0.16	-0.18	-0.2

	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Sweden	-0.39**	-0.31**	-0.32**	-0.34**
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)				
No Religion (Ref.)				
Muslim		0.06	0.01	0.01
		(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Christian		0.11	0.1	0.11
		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Other		0.48**	0.45**	0.44**
		(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Religious salience		0.15**	0.14**	0.13*
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		0.07+	0.07+	0.07+
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Prayer		0	0	0
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%			0.23*	0.22*
			(0.10)	(0.10)
>67%			0.37**	0.36**
			(0.11)	(0.11)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)				
Sometimes				-0.17*
				(0.08)
Often				-0.16
				(0.14)
Always				-0.73*
				(0.36)
Constant	-1.04**	-1.61**	-1.77**	-1.69**
	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)
N	4352	4352	4352	4352
aic	5301.86	5263.64	5255.41	5252.22

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Appendix Table D. Multilevel logistic regressions predicting separated identity

Separated identity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Background				
Age	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Age of Migration	0.06**	0.05**	0.05**	0.05**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0	0	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation	0.1	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
2.5 Generation	-0.60**	-0.53**	-0.53**	-0.55**
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Country of origin (ref. NWS Europe)				
Eastern Europe	-0.01	-0.14	-0.12	-0.13
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Black (Caribbean + African)	0.14	-0.06	-0.09	-0.1
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Arabic	0.18	-0.15	-0.27	-0.28+
	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Asian	-0.26	-0.24	-0.26	-0.27
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)
Other/Unknown	-0.28	-0.26	-0.28	-0.29
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Turkish			0.28*	0.28*
			(0.13)	(0.13)
Parents' ISEI	-0.34	-0.27	-0.26	-0.26
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education	-0.04	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Secondary education	-0.17	-0.13	-0.15	-0.15
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
University education	-0.32	-0.29	-0.28	-0.29
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule	0.76**	0.84**	0.75**	0.77**
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Germany-Realschule	0.70**	0.84**	0.77**	0.76**
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Germany-Gymnasium	0.22	0.40+	0.33	0.33
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Germany- Comprehensive School	0.45	0.61	0.53	0.53
	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)
Germany-Combination School	0.65**	0.73**	0.65**	0.68**
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Germany-Special needs	-0.5	-0.56	-0.61	-0.61
	(0.57)	(0.57)	(0.57)	(0.58)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK	-0.23	-0.04	-0.08	-0.07
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	-0.15	0.04	0.01	0.01
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Netherlands-HAVO	0.16	0.45+	0.44+	0.44+
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Netherlands-VWO	0.14	0.4	0.38	0.39
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)

Sweden	0.2	0.36*	0.35*	0.35*
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)				
No Religion (Ref.)				
Muslim		0.2	0.2	0.19
		(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Christian		0.16	0.16	0.15
		(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Other		-0.12	-0.12	-0.11
		(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Religious salience		0.30**	0.29**	0.30**
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		0.01	0.01	0.01
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Prayer		0.01	0.01	0.01
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%			0.04	0.05
			(0.12)	(0.12)
>67%			0.02	0.04
			(0.12)	(0.12)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)				
Sometimes				0.26**
				(0.09)
Often				0.58**
				(0.15)
Always				1.18**
				(0.30)
Constant	-0.94**	-1.68**	-1.70**	-1.88**
	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)
N	4352	4352	4352	4352
aic	4333.94	4286.2	4290.03	4265.29

Standard errors in parentheses

Appendix Table E. Multilevel logistic regressions predicting marginalized identity

Marginalized identity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Background				
Age	-0.1	-0.11	-0.11	-0.11
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Age of Migration	0.11**	0.12**	0.12**	0.12**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	-0.20*	-0.21*	-0.21*	-0.21*
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Generational Status (ref. 1st Generation)				
2nd Generation	0.46*	0.47*	0.46*	0.46*
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
2.5 Generation	-0.14	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Country of origin (ref. NWS Europe)				
Eastern Europe	-0.26	-0.34+	-0.34+	-0.31
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Black (Caribbean + African)	-0.05	-0.14	-0.13	-0.11
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Arabic	-0.32+	-0.56**	-0.53*	-0.50*
	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Asian	-0.41+	-0.61*	-0.60*	-0.60*
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Other/Unknown	0.37	0.36	0.36	0.36
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Turkish			-0.07	-0.1
			(0.19)	(0.19)
Parents' ISEI	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.02
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education	0.39	0.34	0.35	0.37
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Secondary education	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.48
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
University education	0.39	0.36	0.36	0.37
	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule	1.08**	1.07**	1.09**	1.08**
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Germany-Realschule	0.92**	0.91**	0.93**	0.93**
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Germany-Gymnasium	-0.25	-0.22	-0.21	-0.2
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.37)	(0.37)
Germany- Comprehensive School	1.08*	1.04*	1.06*	1.05*
	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.43)
Germany-Combination School	0.70**	0.69**	0.71**	0.68*
	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Germany-Special needs	0.36	0.23	0.24	0.23
	(0.64)	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.65)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK	-0.60+	-0.61+	-0.60+	-0.52
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.37)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	-0.24	-0.23	-0.22	-0.2
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Netherlands-HAVO	-0.7	-0.75+	-0.74+	-0.71
	(0.44)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)
Netherlands-VWO	-0.07	-0.08	-0.08	-0.05

	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)
Sweden	0.62**	0.63**	0.63**	0.66**
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)				
No Religion (Ref.)				
Muslim		0.32	0.31	0.28
		(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Christian		-0.23	-0.23	-0.27
		(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Other		0.27	0.26	0.23
		(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Religious salience		-0.09	-0.1	-0.1
		(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Prayer		0.06	0.06	0.06
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%			0.02	0.02
			(0.15)	(0.15)
>67%			0.08	0.1
			(0.15)	(0.16)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)				
Sometimes				0.20+
				(0.11)
Often				0.27
				(0.19)
Always				0.42
				(0.40)
Constant	-2.44**	-2.20**	-2.22**	-2.33**
	(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.43)
N	4352	4352	4352	4352
aic	2812.25	2804.59	2808.17	2809.2

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Appendix Table F. Multilevel logistic regressions predicting ethnic identity of migrant and native students

Ethnic identity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Background				
Age	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.07
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age of Migration	0.03*	0.03	0.02	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.08	0.06	0.05	0.05
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Generational Status (ref. Native)				
1st Generation	2.17**	1.97**	1.98**	1.98**
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
2nd Generation	2.34**	1.95**	1.91**	1.90**
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
2.5 Generation	1.68**	1.61**	1.58**	1.58**
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Country of origin				
NWS Europe	0.19	0.18	0.2	0.2
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Eastern Europe	0.60**	0.42*	0.47**	0.44*
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Black (Caribbean + African)	0.78**	0.43*	0.43*	0.41*
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Arabic	0.99**	0.47**	0.32+	0.29
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Asian	0.49**	0.26	0.27	0.26
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Other/Unknown	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Turkish		0.35**	0.35**	0.35**
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Parents' ISEI	-0.38*	-0.31*	-0.31*	-0.30+
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education	-0.12	-0.05	-0.09	-0.12
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Secondary education	-0.29	-0.2	-0.22	-0.25
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
University education	-0.34+	-0.25	-0.26	-0.28
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule	0.14	0.04	-0.06	-0.01
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Germany-Realschule	-0.01	0.08	0.01	0.03
	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Germany-Gymnasium	-0.23	0.04	-0.01	0
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Germany- Comprehensive School	-0.5	-0.39	-0.46	-0.43
	(0.31)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)
Germany-Combination School	0.15	0.13	0.05	0.1
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Germany-Special needs	0.21	0.05	0.01	0.05
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK	0.30+	0.46**	0.43**	0.42**
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	-0.42**	-0.14	-0.17	-0.17
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Netherlands-HAVO	-0.22	0.11	0.09	0.09
	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Netherlands-VWO	-0.52**	-0.19	-0.21	-0.21
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)

Sweden	-0.33**	-0.17+	-0.17+	-0.19+
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)				
No Religion (Ref.)				
Muslim		0.07	0.07	0.08
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Christian		0.50**	0.51**	0.51**
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Other		0.51+	0.50+	0.51+
		(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)
Religious salience		0.43**	0.44**	0.44**
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)				
Occasionally (Less than once a month)		0.59**	0.61**	0.66**
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.12)
Once a month or more		0.21+	0.18	0.45**
		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Frequently		0.01	0.02	0
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Prayer		0.40**	0.41**	0.38**
		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		0.04	0.02	0.03
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
>67%		-0.05	-0.09	-0.08
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Share of Muslims (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		0.06	0.01	0.03
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
>67%		0.03	0.04+	0.04+
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Muslim*Share of Muslims			0.49**	0.52**
			(0.13)	(0.13)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)				
Sometimes				0.02
				(0.12)
Often				0.91**
				(0.24)
Always				-0.59**
				(0.12)
Constant	-1.88**	-2.86**	-2.83**	-2.83**
	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
lns1_1_1	-0.86**	-1.13**	-1.12**	-1.16**
Constant	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)
N	11668	11668	11668	11668
aic	9009.28	8730.86	8717.42	8694.71

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Appendix Table G. Multilevel logistic regressions predicting national identity of migrant and native students

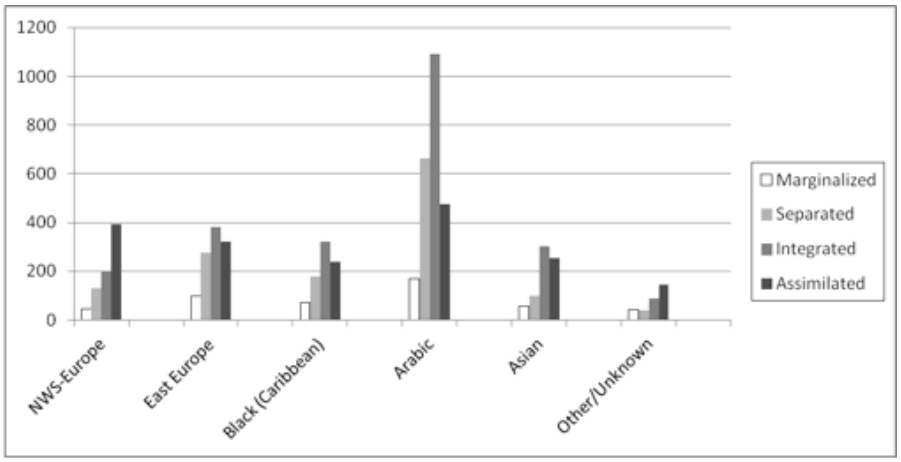
National identity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Background				
Age	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age of Migration	-0.11**	-0.11**	-0.11**	-0.11**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.06
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Generational Status (ref. Native)				
1st Generation	-1.99**	-1.90**	-1.90**	-1.89**
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
2nd Generation	-2.35**	-2.17**	-2.14**	-2.13**
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)

2.5 Generation	-1.54**	-1.52**	-1.49**	-1.49**
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Country of origin				
NWS Europe	0	-0.01	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Eastern Europe	0.03	0.18	0.15	0.14
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Black (Caribbean + African)	0.07	0.31	0.31	0.3
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Arabic	-0.03	0.45*	0.54**	0.53**
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Asian	0.54**	0.67**	0.66**	0.67**
	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Other/Unknown	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Turkish		-0.22**	-0.21**	-0.21**
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Parents' ISEI	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.02
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)				
Primary education	-0.1	-0.12	-0.1	-0.1
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Secondary education	0.06	0	0.01	0.01
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
University education	0.16	0.11	0.12	0.12
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Country/Track (ref. England)				
Germany-Hauptschule	-0.79**	-0.81**	-0.74**	-0.75**
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Germany-Realschule	-0.46**	-0.53**	-0.48**	-0.48**
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Germany-Gymnasium	0.18	0.04	0.08	0.07
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Germany- Comprehensive School	-0.3	-0.34	-0.3	-0.29
	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)
Germany-Combination School	-0.37*	-0.40*	-0.34*	-0.36*
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Germany-Special needs	-0.12	0.07	0.1	0.11
	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)
Netherlands-VMBO-BK	0.30+	0.19	0.21	0.18
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	0.46**	0.31+	0.33+	0.31+
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Netherlands-HAVO	0.29	0.12	0.13	0.11
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Netherlands-VWO	0.3	0.11	0.12	0.11
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Sweden	0.08	-0.05	-0.05	-0.06
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Religious Affiliation (ref. No Religion)				
No Religion (Ref.)				
Muslim		-0.31**	-0.31**	-0.31**
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Christian		-0.70**	-0.70**	-0.70**
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Other		-1.26**	-1.25**	-1.25**
		(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Religious salience		-0.09	-0.1	-0.11
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)				
Occasionally (Less than once a month)		-0.16	-0.17+	-0.26*
		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Once a month or more		-0.24+	-0.23+	-0.24
		(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)
Frequently		0.19+	0.17+	0.17+

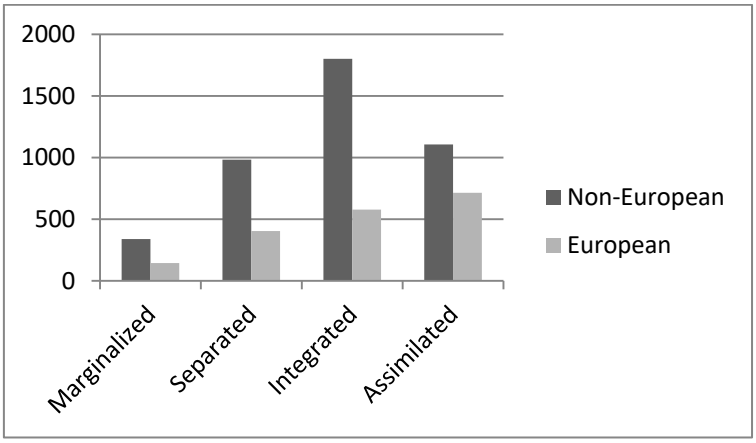
		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Prayer		0.05	0.04	0.04
		(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Share of Migrants (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		0.14+	0.15+	0.15+
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
>67%		-0.03	0	0
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Share of Muslims (ref. <33%)				
34%-66%		0.32**	0.36**	0.35**
		(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
>67%		-0.05*	-0.06*	-0.06*
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Muslim*Share of Muslims			-0.29*	-0.27*
			(0.12)	(0.12)
Perceived Discrimination (ref. Never)				
Sometimes				0.08
				(0.13)
Often				0.3
				(0.26)
Always				-0.02
				(0.13)
Constant		2.68**	2.66**	2.67**
		(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
lns1_1_1	-0.94**	-1.02**	-1.03**	-1.03**
Constant	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
N	11818	11818	11818	11818
aic	8013.94	7888.13	7884.64	7888.41

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

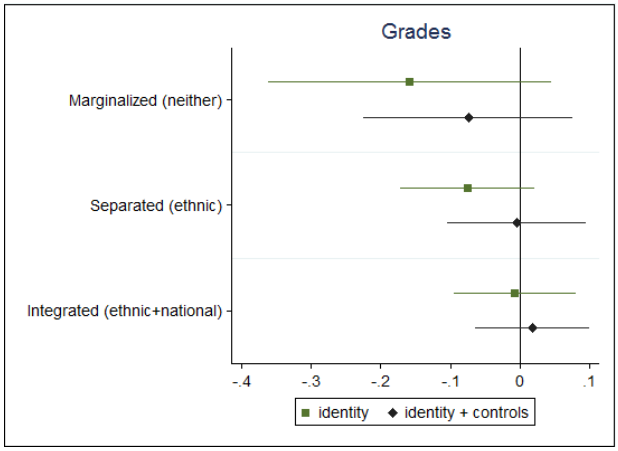
Appendix Figure A. Distribution of acculturated identities, country of origin



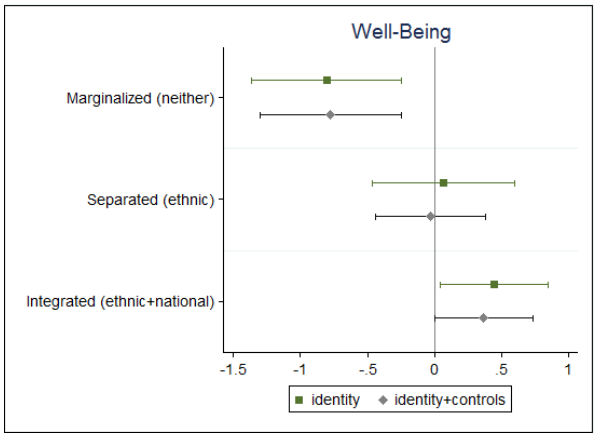
Appendix Figure B. Distribution of acculturated identities, non-European and European migrants



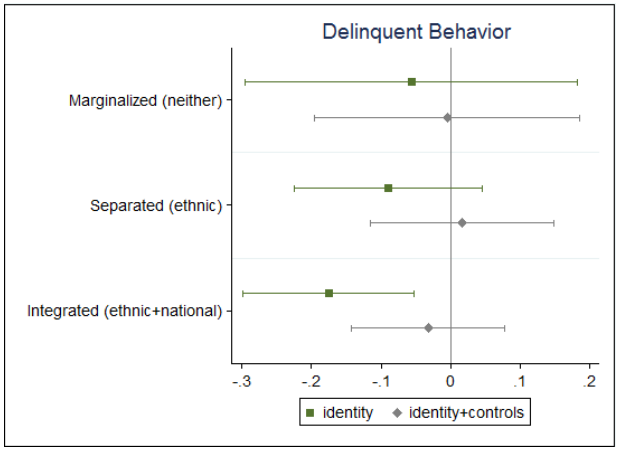
Appendix Figure C. Grades, 95% confidence intervals



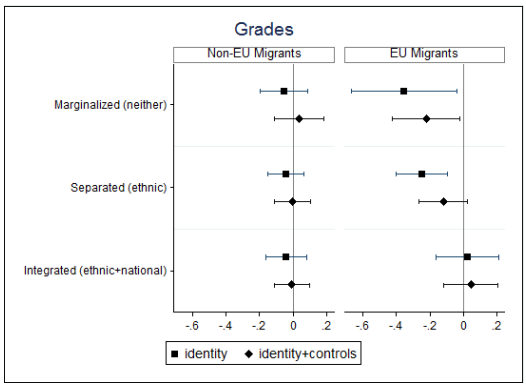
Appendix Figure D. Delinquent behavior, 95% confidence intervals



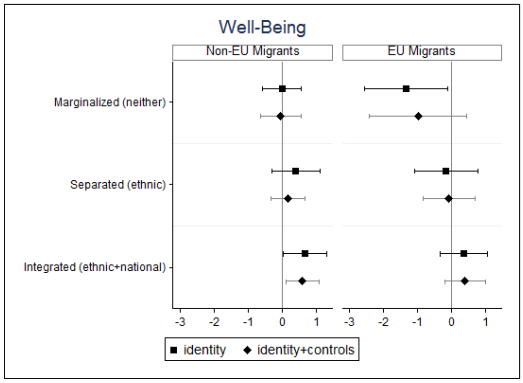
Appendix Figure E. Delinquent behavior, 95% confidence intervals



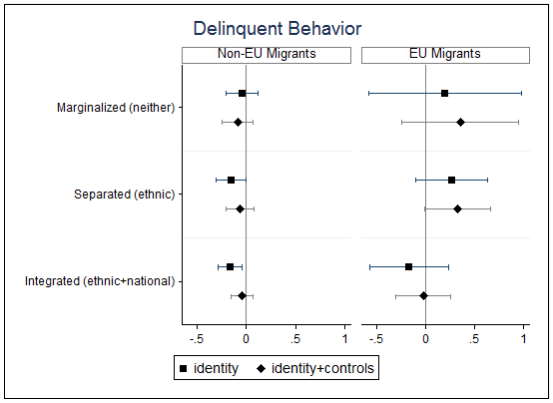
Appendix Figure F. Grades of non-European and European students, 95% confidence intervals



Appendix Figure G. Well-being of non-European and European students, 95% confidence intervals



Appendix Figure F. Delinquent behavior of non-European and European students, 95% confidence intervals



Appendix Table H. Multilevel regressions of average math, English, and Dutch grades (Dutch sample)

	Netherlands				
Grades (Math, English, Dutch) NL	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Background					
Female	0.19**	0.18*	0.18*	0.18*	0.18*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Age	-0.12	-0.11+	-0.11+	-0.11+	-0.11+
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Age of migration	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
School Type (ref. VMBO-BK)					
Netherlands-VMBO-GT	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Netherlands-HAVO	-0.31**	-0.30**	-0.29**	-0.29**	-0.27*
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Netherlands-VWO	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Generational Status (ref. Native)					
1st Generation	0.55+	0.65*	0.65*	0.63*	0.65*
	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.30)
2nd Generation	0.44*	0.53*	0.53*	0.52*	0.52*
	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.25)
child of transnational marriage	0.02	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12
	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)
child of intermarriage	0.26	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32
	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.26)
Country of origin					
NWS Europe	-0.25	-0.31	-0.31	-0.31	-0.31
	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)
Eastern Europe	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)
Black (Caribbean + African)	-0.28	-0.38	-0.38	-0.39	-0.38+
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Arabic	-0.30	-0.29	-0.29	-0.29	-0.25
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Asian	-0.24	-0.31	-0.31	-0.31	-0.30
	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Other/Unknown	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Parents' ISEI	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)					
Primary education	0.35	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.36
	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.26)
Secondary education	0.33	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.35
	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.23)
University education	0.31	0.30	0.30	0.3	0.33
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Religiosity (ref. no religion)					
Muslim					
		-0.05	-0.05	0.04	0.19
Christian		(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.37)
		0.09	0.09	0.09	0.10
Other		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
		0.30*	0.30*	0.30*	0.31*
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
		0.09*	0.09*	0.09*	0.09*
Religious salience		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
		-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03
Prayer		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
		-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07
Proportion of Muslims		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
10%> (Ref.)					

10-30%			-0.14	-0.13	-0.11
			(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
30%<			0.10	0.22	0.40
			(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.26)
Interactions					
Muslim x Share of Muslims				-0.13	-0.53*
				(0.14)	(0.27)
Muslim x Religious attendance					-0.10
					(0.13)
Religious attendance x Share of Muslims					-0.38
					(0.28)
Muslim x Religious attendance					0.30*
x Share of Muslims					(0.13)
Constant	8.25**	8.23**	8.24**	8.24**	8.23**
	(1.20)	(1.12)	(1.12)	(1.12)	(1.11)
lns1_1_1	-1.09**	-1.08**	-1.11**	-1.11**	-1.09**
Constant	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)
lnsig_e	-0.36**	-0.37**	-0.37**	-0.37**	-0.37**
Constant	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
N	2193.00	2193.00	2193.00	2193.00	2193.00
aic	273127.09	271086.29	271085.68	271041.19	270687.34
bic	273240.95	271234.31	271245.08	271206.29	270869.52
chi2	82.47	175.19	198.91	198.37	224.95

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Appendix Table I. Multilevel regressions of average math, English, and German grades (German sample)

	Germany				
Grades (Math, English, German) GE	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Background					
Female	0.08+	0.07+	0.07+	0.07+	0.07+
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age	-0.10**	-0.10**	-0.10**	-0.10**	-0.10**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age of migration	-0.03+	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
School Type (ref. Hauptschule)					
Realschule	-0.19**	-0.20**	-0.19**	-0.19**	-0.18*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Gymnasium	0.1	0.1	0.11	0.12	0.12
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Combination school	-0.07	-0.06	-0.04	-0.04	-0.02
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Comprehensive school	-0.16*	-0.16*	-0.15*	-0.15*	-0.15*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Special needs	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04
	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Generational Status (ref. Native)					
1st Generation	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.3
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
2nd Generation	0.09	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.1
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
child of transnational marriage	-0.11	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08
	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
child of intermarriage	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15
	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)
Country of origin					
NWS Europe	-0.14	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15
	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
Eastern Europe	-0.06	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Black (Caribbean + African)	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1
	(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)
Arabic	-0.19	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14	-0.13
	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Asian	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Other/Unknown	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Parents' ISEI	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)					
Primary education	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.28
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Secondary education	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.22
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
University education	0.30	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.27
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Religiosity (ref. no religion)					
Muslim		-0.08	-0.08	-0.11	-0.13
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.21)
Christian		0.04	0.04	0.04	0.03
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Other		0.01	0.01	0.02	0
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Religious salience		-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01

		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Prayer		0.03+	0.03+	0.03+	0.04+
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Proportion of Muslims					
10%> (Ref.)					
10-30%			0.03	0.03	0.02
			(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
30%<			0.03	0.02	-0.04
			(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.11)
Interactions					
Muslim x Share of Muslims				0.03	0.18
				(0.07)	(0.12)
Muslim x Religious attendance					0.01
					(0.10)
Religious attendance x Share of Muslims					0.15
					(0.17)
Muslim x Religious attendance					-0.1
x Share of Muslims					(0.07)
Constant	5.71**	5.64**	5.62**	5.61**	5.60**
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)
lns1_1_1	-1.20**	-1.21**	-1.21**	-1.21**	-1.19**
Constant	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
	-				
lnsig_e	0.50**	-0.50**	-0.50**	-0.50**	-0.51**
Constant	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
N	2747	2747	2747	2747	2747
aic	748542.3	746787.1 7	746790.8 5	746755.0 5	745939.7 6
bic	748672.51	746952.8 8	746968.4	746938.5 1	746140.9 8
chi2	163.86	226.94	227	234.86	246.15

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Appendix Table J. Multilevel regressions of average math and English grades (England sample)

	England				
Grades (Math, English) EN	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Background					
Female	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Age	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age of migration	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Generational Status (ref. Native)					
1st Generation	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
2nd Generation	0.01	0	0	0	0.01
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
child of transnational marriage	-0.1	-0.12	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)
child of intermarriage	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Country of origin					
NWS Europe	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Eastern Europe	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Black (Caribbean + African)	0	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Arabic	-0.05	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Asian	0.12	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Other/Unknown	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Parents' ISEI	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Highest Parent's education (ref. less than primary education)					
Primary education	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.28
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Secondary education	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.22
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
University education	0.30	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.27
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Religiosity (ref. no religion)					
Muslim		-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.26	-0.07
		(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.24)
Christian		-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Other		-0.14+	-0.14+	-0.14+	-0.15+
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Religious attendance (ref. Never)		0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06*
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Religious salience		0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Prayer		0.04*	0.04*	0.04**	0.04**
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Proportion of Muslims					
10%> (Ref.)					
10-30%			-0.11	-0.11	-0.08
			(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
30%<			0.03	0.02	0.13
			(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Interactions					
Muslim x Share of Muslims				0.02	0

				(0.10)	(0.15)
Muslim x Religious attendance					-0.17
					(0.15)
Religious attendance x Share of Muslims					-0.20*
					(0.10)
Muslim x Religious attendance					0.06
x Share of Muslims					(0.10)
Constant	2.77**	2.65**	2.66**	2.66**	2.74**
	(0.52)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.48)
	-				
lns1_1_1	1.38**	-1.38**	-1.39**	-1.39**	-1.38**
Constant	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)
	-				
lnsig_e	0.75**	-0.77**	-0.77**	-0.77**	-0.77**
Constant	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
N	1905	1905	1905	1905	1905
aic	295178.07	289925.8 6	289926.5 9	289916.3 8	288384
bic	295278.01	290059.1 2	290070.9 5	290066.2 9	288550.5 7
chi2	107.89	166.28	167.89	172.14	179.09

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

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