

Immigrants' emotional identification with the host society: the example of Turkish parents' naming practices in Germany

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Abstract

The naming practice of immigrants is studied as an example of their emotional identification with the host society and with the society of origin. Since first names can be chosen freely and at no cost, they are a good indicator for the parents' desired form of acculturation. With data from the project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children" it is analysed if Turkish parents in Germany choose a first name for their child which is common only in Turkey, only in Germany or in both countries. This first name choice represents a separated, an assimilated or an integrated emotional identification of the parents. Most of the parents choose a Turkish name for their child, but girls are more frequently given names that are common in both cultures than boys, while German names are only rarely chosen. Inter-marriage strongly decreases the probability for separation in naming and especially increases the probability for the integration option, while the presence of a parent with the German citizenship enhances assimilation stronger than integration. More traditional and religious families tend to choose rather a Turkish name. The results of the first name choice are compared to analogous analyses of the respondents' identity, which is the usual indicator of immigrants' emotional identification. In principle the effects are similar, but the proportion of integration is considerably higher in the identity choice than in the name choice.

1. Introduction

The integration of immigrants in the host society has been discussed in the sociological literature for decades now and builds one main research field of migration sociology in general. It has been observed that integration or assimilation not always takes place for all immigrant groups in all countries – sometimes not even by the third or later generation. Different aspects of integration have been differentiated: a structural, cultural, social and emotional dimension of integration (cf. Esser, 2006: 8). Although these aspects are probably (at least partly) mutually dependent, it is often assumed that the immigrants' emotional identification with the host society is rather the last step in the integration process (cf. Nauck, 2001). Immigrants' emotional identification has often been regarded as of minor importance in comparison to the other aspects of integration, since especially the structural dimension of placement in the educational system and the labour market is seen as crucial for the understanding of ethnic inequality. The emotional identification, on the other side, seems to

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be restricted to private feelings and mere symbolic actions without any “real” consequences with respect to group inequality. Rather “only” the individual psychological well-being is affected by such feelings. Diversity on the dimension of emotional identification is often welcomed since in this respect pluralism without inequality seems possible. The reason is that emotional aspects of integration refer to characteristics that are only horizontally evaluated (like different cultural tastes) and not vertically (such as professional prestige). But this assumption does not remain unchallenged. Recently, even economists address the topic of immigrants’ emotional identification and explore its consequences for labour market outcomes (e.g. Nekby & Rödén, 2007).

The emotional integration of immigrants has mostly been studied in terms of ethnic identity. Usually ethnic identity is measured by items about the sense of belonging, feelings and attitudes towards the own ethnic group (cf. Phinney, 1990, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). This ethnic (or minority) identity is contrasted to the national (or majority) identity which refers to the corresponding feelings and attitudes towards the host society. Thus identity is conceptualized in a two-dimensional framework with four possible combinations (cf. Berry, 1997): *Integration* refers to a strong ethnic but also a strong national identity. *Assimilation* means a strong national but only weak ethnic identity, while the opposite combination is titled *separation*, a strong ethnic but weak national identity. Lastly, *marginalization* implies that both identities are weak. Much of the research about immigrants’ ethnic identity comes from cross-cultural psychology. Taking the identity theory of Tajfel as a point of departure, the formation of an ethnic identity and its consequences for various psychological outcomes (like individual’s well-being or self-esteem) are examined in this research perspective. A limitation of studies using identity as a measure of the immigrants’ emotional identification is, that they have to rely on self-reported evaluations of the respondents. As with other attitudes and beliefs, it is not clear how strong these self-reported evaluations are related to real behaviour. There might also be some over-reporting of having an integrated identity since this alternative might seem most socially desirable. Thus it is recommendable to study the emotional identification of immigrants not only in terms of their identity, but also to use a more concrete behavioural indicator. A good indicator in this respect could be the naming practices of immigrant parents.

The selection of a first name for a child is an important cultural decision for immigrant parents (Sue & Telles, 2007). First names are markers not only of the personal but also of the

social identity (Gerhards & Hans, 2006). A child's first name signifies which identity the parents want for their child. Parents can choose the first names of their children freely (with some minor restrictions in some countries) and at no cost. Therefore, the selection of a first name for a child expresses the pure preferences of the parents. Gerhards and Hans (2006: 4-5) argue that giving a child a first name that is common in the native population represents a *voluntary* and *desired* identification of immigrants with the host society. But in contrast to other indicators of identification, naming practices measure real behaviours and not only attitudes or intentions. Therefore first name selections are more concrete and might be better indicators of immigrants' emotional identification. It should also be noted that although the act of naming itself involves no cost for the parents, the naming has long-term consequences for the child. Studies in the United States have shown that people with a typical "black name" have to face discrimination in the labour market (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) and housing market (Carpusor & Loges, 2006). Thus naming really represents a *relevant* decision for immigrant parents with serious consequences.

This article examines first name choices of parents with a Turkish migration background in Germany. It is analysed if parents prefer a Turkish name for their child, a German name or a name that is common in both cultures. These choices represent a separated, an assimilated or an integrated emotional identification. The data for the empirical analyses are part of the project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", in which 625 Turkish families living in South-West Germany were surveyed in 2007. The immigrants' first name choice is compared to their identity choice which is the "classical" indicator of the immigrants' emotional identification. A summary and discussion of the results is given in the last section.

II. The emotional identification of immigrants

2.1. The acculturation of immigrants: concepts and dimensions

One of the most used terms in the description of immigrants' inclusion (or exclusion) in the host society is Berry's concept of *acculturation strategies* (Berry et al., 1986; Berry, 1991, 1997). Throughout this paper only the concept of *individual acculturation* is addressed (which Berry names "psychological acculturation") which refers to individual changes in attitudes, values, behaviours and cultural identity as a result of intercultural contact. This is differentiated from acculturation on a group level, which will not be further addressed here. In plural societies with various cultural groups, the individuals have to deal with the issue of

how to acculturate (Berry, 1997: 9-12). This basic idea of Berry will be used in a broader sense here for the question of the inclusion or exclusion of immigrants in general. On the one side, there is the question of “cultural maintenance”, that means the immigrants have to evaluate how important an ethnic identity and ethnic characteristics are for themselves. On the other side, the value to be included into the larger society has to be evaluated. When these two basic questions are considered simultaneously, four strategies are possible (see table 1): *integration* (inclusion in both the host society as well as the ethnic group), *assimilation* (inclusion in the host society, but not in the ethnic group), *separation* (inclusion in the ethnic group, but not in the host society), and *marginalization* (inclusion in neither the ethnic group nor the host society).

-- Table 1 about here --

These principal strategies can be applied in different domains. Four dimensions will be differentiated here (cf. Esser, 2006: 8): a structural, cultural, social and emotional dimension of inclusion/exclusion. The *structural dimension* refers to placements in positions (e.g. educational outcomes or occupational positions), the *cultural dimension* means the acquisition of specific skills and knowledge (e.g. language skills), the *social dimension* deals with contacts and social relations between the members of the different groups (e.g. intermarriage, ethnic composition of friendship networks), and finally the *emotional dimension* refers to the identification of the individuals (e.g. identity, naming practices). All four strategies can be applied in all four domains leading to various possible combinations (e.g. an immigrant could be structurally assimilated, culturally and socially integrated, and emotionally separated). However, in this article only the emotional dimension will be addressed in more detail, differentiating between *emotional integration*, *emotional assimilation*, *emotional separation* and *emotional marginalization* as possible outcomes.

The application of this acculturation scheme to immigrant parents' naming practices is quite straightforward (see table 1): Parents, who choose a first name for their child which is common in the native population of the host society but uncommon in the society of origin (native name), are regarded as emotionally assimilated. A first name which is common only in the society of origin, but not in the host society (ethnic name) implies emotional separation, while a first name which is common in both cultures indicates emotional integration. The case of “marginalization” in naming is assumed to be very rare, in this case a name would be

chosen that is neither common in the host society nor in the society of origin (e.g. a very idiosyncratic or even self-invented name or a name which is common only in other countries to which the parents have some other affiliation).

2.2. Determinants of immigrants' identity

In most studies the emotional identification is operationalised by the individual's identity. Usually this is measured by asking the respondents about their sense of belonging, their feelings and attitudes towards the culture of their ethnic group and the culture of the host society. In some studies identity is modelled as a linear process, where immigrants either choose to identify with the culture of the host society or with the culture of their ethnic group (opposing identities). Other studies use the two-dimensional conceptualisation that has been introduced in the last section (see table 1). But despite the theoretical two-dimensionality of the identity variable with the four possible outcomes integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization, the empirical analyses are mostly conducted in a way that do not adequately model this identity choice.

One of the most comprehensive studies about immigrants' identity has been done by Walters et al. (2007) using the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) in Canada. As dependent variable immigrants' self-reported ethnic identification is used classifying immigrants who report only "Canadian" as their ethnicity as "assimilated", immigrants who report "Canadian" as well as another ethnic group as "integrated" and the rest as "neither assimilated nor integrated" (thus the categories separation and marginalization are collapsed here). A multinomial logistic regression of the identity type reveals that none of the variables relating to economic success (employment status, occupation, earnings) are statistically significant. Also the respondent's sex, education and marital status show no significant effect on the identity type. A significant effect can be found for the time since migration: A longer time since migration enhances the probability of an assimilated identity and decreases the probability of an integrated or separated/marginalized identity. Using a non-official language at home significantly decreases the probability of having an assimilated identity in comparison to the "rest" category, but the probability of an integrated identity is not affected by the language use. A very strong relationship can be found with the voting behaviour: Especially not being eligible to vote in the past election strongly increases the probability for a separated/marginalized identity. The experience of discrimination significantly reduces the probability of an assimilated identity in comparison to a separated/marginalized identity. Finally the proportion of ethnic friends in the

respondent's network has a clear impact on the identity: The lower the proportion of ethnic friends, the lower is the probability of a separated/marginalized identity and the higher is the probability of an assimilated identity, while the probability for an integrated identity is not affected. This study has the advantages of a large number of cases and many control variables. The use of a multinomial logit model allows studying the differential effect of the independent variables on the different identity outcomes. A limitation of this study (as well as of most other studies) is the use of cross-sectional data which does not allow conclusions about the causality of the relationships.

Two of the independent variables in the study of Walters and his colleagues are also often examined in the psychological research about immigrants' identity: the contact to natives and members of the own ethnic group and the immigrants' language use. One of the most robust findings is that the degree of in-group and out-group interaction has a strong impact on the identity formation. Phinney et al. (2001) report that the frequency of social interaction with peers from their own ethnic group has a strong positive influence on the ethnic identity of adolescents in immigrant families in Los Angeles. In a study of adolescents with a Russian migration background in Finland, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (1998) show that the contact frequency with native Finns in different domains positively influences their degree of Finnish identity, while the contact with Russian peers has a significant positive effect on their Russian identity. Another frequently studied determinant of immigrants' identity is their language proficiency and use. Phinney et al. (2001) report a significant positive influence of the ethnic language proficiency on the ethnic identity. In contrast to this result, in the study of Vedder (2005) with Turkish and Surinamese youth in the Netherlands no significant correlation between ethnic language proficiency and ethnic identity could be found. Similarly, in the study of Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (1998) neither the immigrants' proficiency in the Russian nor in the Finnish language are significantly related to their identity. But the frequency of language use proved to be a strong determinant of their identity: A higher usage of Finnish has a strong positive effect on the Finnish identity, while a higher frequency of Russian language use positively influences the degree of Russian identity.

Also the economic literature recently addresses the topic of immigrants' identity. For example Nekby and Rödén (2007) use Swedish data to analyse the determinants of immigrants' identity. The authors estimate the strength of minority identity and majority identity separately using the other identity measure as an independent variable. They find that the

degree of identification with the Swedish culture has no significant effect on the strength of the ethnic identity, while the ethnic identity has a significant non-linear negative effect on the majority identity (individuals who have a medium degree of ethnic identity have the lowest degree of majority identity). The authors also find that women are more likely to have a strong ethnic and national identity than men. The marital status and children have no significant effect on either identity variable. The educational effect does not show a consistent pattern: Men with some university education have the highest level of minority identity, while this is true for women with upper-secondary education. There is no significant effect of education on the strength of majority identity. The current and past labour market status is not significantly related to the respondents' identity, but positive expectations of future employability significantly enhance the strength of majority identity. Finally, the Swedish language proficiency has a significant positive impact on the degree of majority identity.

With data from the German Socio-economic Panel (GSOEP) Zimmermann et al. (2006) estimate the effects of some pre- and post-migration characteristics on the national and ethnic identity of first-generation immigrants in Germany. They find that a higher education in the home country significantly decreases the majority identity, but otherwise the effects of the educational dummies are rather inconsistent and mostly insignificant. There are some differences between ethnic and religious groups. The age at migration has a significant positive effect on the ethnic identity for women; in all other cases it is not significant. More years since migration significantly enhance the majority identity for women, but not for men. Also the effect of marriage is different for males and females: Being married significantly reduces the strength of majority identity for women (but not for men), while it significantly enhances the strength of minority identity for men (but this effect is non-significant for women). In another study Zimmermann et al. (2007) try to account for the two-dimensionality of the identity variable. However, the focus of their study lies on the question if immigrants deviate from a linear model of identity (linear means either the option "separation" or "assimilation"). Taking a separated identity as an assumed starting point for all immigrants, they study if immigrants develop a marginalized identity, an identity which follows the linear model (either separated or assimilated) or an integrated identity. The authors assume an ordinal structure of these categories (implying that integration is "higher" or "better" than assimilation or separation). Because assimilation and separation are collapsed into one category, the results are hard to interpret. But the authors also use binary probit analyses for the categories integration and marginalization (compared to all other identity types). More

years since migration significantly increase the probability of having rather an integrated identity than any other form of identity. An earlier age at migration also enhances the probability of an integrated identity, but this effect is significant only for female respondents. The effect of the education is again rather inconsistent. Muslims are significantly less likely to have an integrated identity than the reference group of other non-Christian and nonreligious persons.

It has to be concluded that the previous research literature cannot answer the question of the main determinants of immigrants' identity very detailed and the results are often inconsistent. Mostly the two-dimensional dependent variable has not been treated adequately in empirical analyses to answer the questions what leads to an integrated, assimilated, separated or marginalized identity. So far it seems that structural variables (like education or occupation) do not play a major role in explaining immigrants' identity. A longer time since migration seems to be related to the adoption of the national identity – but it remains unclear if this leads to an assimilated or an integrated identity. The role of language proficiency is also not clear, but more frequent use of the host language seems to enhance the national identity. But especially with this indicator the question of the direction of causality arises. One of the clearest results shows that the frequency of social contacts with natives and members of the own ethnic group are related to the immigrants' identity; but here again the direction of causality remains open.

2.3. Determinants of first name choices

Only a few studies so far deal with the question of immigrant parents' naming practices. But there are various studies that examine parents' naming preferences in general and especially trends over time periods. Some of the first studies deal with the question of naming children after relatives (e.g. Rossi, 1965). It has been found that boys and first-born children are more likely to be named after kin than girls and later-born. Also the massive shift away from kin naming over time is studied (Smith, 1985). Trends in naming reflect social processes. In Germany, Gerhards and his colleagues have studied processes like individualisation, secularisation and the loss of significance of kin relationships in naming patterns (Gerhards, 2003; Gerhards & Hackenbroch, 1997). Also social differences in name choices have been detected. Parents with different educational and occupational qualification levels differ in their naming preferences (Lieberson & Bell, 1992; Lieberson, 2000; Gerhards, 2003; Gerhards & Hackenbroch, 1997). All these studies show that the parental choice of a first

name for their child is far from being a “random” or a pure idiosyncratic decision. Parents’ “taste for a name” underlies various cultural and social influences, although the parents might hardly be aware of these in the moment of decision making.

The analysis of ethnic differences in naming practices has started quite early in the case of naming differences between Afro-Americans and whites in the United States (e.g. Eagleson & Clifford, 1945). The first names choices of Afro-Americans and whites were not very different until the 1960s, but after that time the naming pattern changed strongly with Afro-Americans increasingly adopting distinctively “black names” (Lieberson & Mikelson, 1995; Fryer Jr. & Levitt, 2004). This pattern appears to be most consistent with the rise of the Black Power movement. Fryer Jr. and Levitt (2004) also found out, that variables indicating a lower socioeconomic status are associated with Afro-American parents’ choice of a “black name”. This link between lower socioeconomic status and the choice of “black names” has increased over the time between 1960 and 2000.

Studies of immigrant parents’ naming practices are rare. Lieberson (2000) reports a strong thrust towards assimilation among most immigrant groups in the United States. But he points out that “earlier tastes” still work and are reflected in “new tastes” of immigrants (e.g. the strong preference of Mexican Americans for an a-ending sound in girls’ names, see Lieberson, 2000: 190). Lieberson mentions the use of the English form of names that are also common in the society of origin as one common shift towards assimilation. But this naming pattern could also be interpreted as a form of integration, since the cultural link to the own ethnic group is not abandoned. Lieberson also finds differences between immigrant groups: In white immigrant groups the prominent names for children overlap substantively with those favoured by native whites. In contrast, the name choice of Mexican Americans immigrants is very dissimilar to that of Anglo Americans; especially boys are given traditional names. But the overlap to Anglo American names is much higher for U.S. born Hispanics than for foreign-born Hispanics, which the author interprets as a sign of assimilation over generations.

This generation effect is also found by Sue and Telles (2007). The authors study the degree of “Spanishness” of first names that children from Hispanic parents are given in Los Angeles in 1995. To measure the “Spanishness” of a first name they created an ordered variable ranging from 1 (English name that is not translatable into Spanish) to 5 “Spanish name that is not translatable into English”. A comparison of the top 500 popular names between Hispanic

immigrants, U.S.-born Hispanics and non-Hispanics shows clear differences between these three groups in the expected way: Immigrant Hispanics give their children the most Spanish names, followed by U.S.-born Hispanics, who still choose more Spanish name than non-Hispanics. There are also remarkable differences by the gender of the child: Daughters are less likely to receive Spanish names than boys (in both groups of Hispanics). Sue and Telles (2007) also analyse the determinants of the “Spanishness” of children’s names by using ordered logistic regressions separated by gender of the child. They find significant effects for the parents’ birthplace/ethnicity categories which confirm the descriptive results: The most Spanish name is given to the child when both parents are foreign-born Hispanics. The degree of Spanishness becomes smaller, the closer the birthplace/ethnicity combination is to that of non-Hispanics. These results also show the strong influence of intermarriage. A significant negative effect of mother’s education is found as well as a significant negative effect of the educational difference between father’s and mother’s education (meaning that children receive less Spanish names if the father has a higher educational level than the mother). The proportion of Hispanics in the neighbourhood significantly increases the Spanishness of boys’ names, but has no effect on girls’ names.

In the study of Gerhards and Hans (2006) the assimilation in naming practices of three immigrant groups in Germany is analysed using data of the German Socio-economic Panel (GSOEP). The authors categorise the children’s first names on the basis of the question if the name is common in Germany and/or in the country of origin. Four categories are differentiated: 1.) first names that are only common in Germany, but not in the country of origin, 2.) first names that are common in both countries, 3.) first names that are common in the country of origin, but do exist in German in a similar phonetic, 4.) first names that are common in the country of origin but not in Germany. There are clear differences between the immigrant groups in their naming practice: More than 90 percent of the Turkish parents choose a name for their child that is only common in their home country but not in Germany. This is only true for 46 percent of the parents from Ex-Yugoslavia and 37 percent of the parents from South-Western Europe (Spain, Italy and Portugal). From the first names of the parents it is clear, that there are only few names that are common (at least in similar forms) both in the Turkish and German culture, while this pool of shared names is larger for the other two immigrant groups. A logistic regression with the dependent variable “first name common in Germany” shows that the differences between the immigration groups are no longer significant once the parental religious affiliation is controlled. Christians have a significantly

higher chance to choose a name that is common in Germany than individuals without a religious affiliation, while Muslims have a significantly lower chance. A higher education of both parents enhances the probability of choosing a name common in Germany, while the income of the household has no effect. If the child has the German citizenship, the chance for choosing a name that is common in Germany is significantly increased.

III. Data and operationalisations

The data for the empirical analyses are part of the project “Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children”. German and Turkish families with a 3-4 year old child were randomly selected from data of registration offices in 30 German cities and communities of a local region in South-West Germany. A letter describing the study was sent to the families (Turkish families received this letter in German and Turkish) and after this the families were contacted by interviewers to arrange a date for the interview at their homes (in form of a computer assisted personal interview). The interview was conducted with the parent that spends the most time with the child (this was the mother in about 95 percent of the cases). Turkish families were contacted by bilingual interviewers and the parents could choose their preferred language for the interview. The families were surveyed in the first half of the year 2007. Altogether 1281 families were interviewed, but here only the sub-sample of 625 children with a Turkish migration background is used.

The first name of the 3-4 year old target child in each family is known from the data of the registration offices. But also the first names of all siblings have been asked during the interview. To have more cases in the empirical analyses, every child in a family with a Turkish migration background is used as one case and family-clustering is controlled. Only children born in Germany are included in this dataset. The children’s first names have been categorised by Turkish and German native speakers in a similar way as in the study of Gerhards and Hans (2006). The leading question has been if a name is common in Germany and/or in Turkey (irrespective of its linguistic origin) and four categories are differentiated:

- 1.) Separation: The first name is common in Turkey, but not in Germany.
- 2.) Integration: The first name is common both in Turkey and Germany. In this category all names are summed up that are either identical used in both societies or exist in similar forms. Because of the small number of cases it is not further differentiated if the Turkish or the German variant of a name is used.

- 3.) Assimilation: The first name is common in Germany, but not in Turkey.
- 4.) Marginalization: The name is neither common in Germany nor in Turkey.

The analyses of the parents' first name choices are compared to the analyses of the respondent's identity since both are assumed to be indicators of the immigrants' emotional identification. For the analyses of the identity, each respondent of the parental interview constitutes one case. The respondents have been asked two questions about their sense of belonging to the host country and to the country of origin (adopted from the questions in the German Socio-economic Panel):

- "To what degree do you think of yourself as German?"

- "To what extent do you feel connected with the country of your or your family's origin?"

The answer categories are 1 "not at all", 2 "barely", 3 "in some respects", 4 "mostly" and 5 "completely". The categories 1 and 2 are collapsed into one labelled "low", the category 3 represents a "medium" degree of identity, and the categories 4 and 5 are summed up into the category "high"

From the cross-tabulation of these two questions the four identity types are constructed:

- 1.) Separation: Respondents who have a low German identity, but a medium or high Turkish identity.
- 2.) Integration: Respondents who have at least a medium value in both identity questions.
- 3.) Assimilation: Respondents who have a low Turkish identity, but a medium or high German identity.
- 4.) Marginalization: Respondents who have a low value in both identity questions.

A major problem for the analyses of the determinants of parents' first name choice for their child is the time lag between the choice situation and the interview. The name choice has been taken place years ago in most cases and the families' situation at that time is mostly unknown. For that reason the analyses are restricted to variables which can be simply calculated for the time of each child's birth (like the time since migration) and to variables which can be assumed to be rather constant in time. So the parents' educational level and citizenship at the time of the interview are used as proxies for these variables at the time of the name choice. The error here might not be too large since the educational level and citizenship of adults usually change only rarely. The parent's mother tongue is also regarded as time-constant and having German as mother tongue is used as a proxy for the parent's German proficiency, which is only a very rough indicator. A dummy variable indicating if the child's mother was

wearing a headscarf during the interview is used as a proxy of the general level of religiousness and traditionalism in the family which is also assumed to be rather constant in time. This is of course a very problematic operationalisation and the results of this indicator should be treated with care. For comparison reasons, (nearly) the same set of independent variables is also used for the analyses of the respondents' identity. Table 2 gives an overview of the independent variables and the final number of cases (only cases with full information on all model variables).

-- Table 2 about here --

IV. Results

Table 3 shows the distribution of Turkish parents' naming practices. The vast majority (82.5 percent) of the Turkish parents choose a first name for their child which is only common in Turkey but not in Germany (ethnic name) and thereby represents a separated emotional identification. About 12.5 percent of the parents have selected a first name that is common in both cultures (integration) and only 4 percent have chosen a name that is only common in Germany (native name, assimilation). As expected, only a few names fall into the marginalization category. These are mainly first names which are common only in other countries (e.g. Italian) and may be the result of intermarriages of a Turkish and e.g. an Italian parent. These cases will be dropped in the further analyses. The distribution of the children's first names is similar to the results of Gerhards and Hans (2006) for Turkish immigrants in the GSOEP data, although there are even more choices of ethnic names in the GSOEP. There are very striking differences in the distribution of boys' and girls' first names. Boys are given ethnic names more often than girls – the difference is about 10 percent points. Instead of ethnic names, girls are more frequently given names that are common in both cultures, while there is virtual no gender difference in the choice of native names.

-- Table 3 about here --

In Table 3 also the distribution of the respondents' identity is reported. Here again, separation builds the largest category (60.5 percent). 27.5 percent of the respondents are classified as having an integrated identity, while only 7 percent have an assimilated identity. Five percent of the parents score low on both identity questions and therefore fall into the marginalization category. So the principal pattern in the distribution of the two indicators of immigrants'

emotional identification is similar. But it is noteworthy that there is more integration and less separation in immigrants' identity than in their naming practices. Thus the naming practice may be a "harder" indicator for emotional identification with the host society.

A descriptive characterisation of the parents with different naming practices is given in table 4. Parents with different naming preferences hardly differ in respect to their educational level. But there are clear differences in the other characteristics. Inter-marriage occurs in only three percent of the families who choose an ethnic name for their child, but in 16 percent of the families who prefer a name that is common in both societies and in 34 percent of the families with an assimilated naming choice. At least one parent has the German citizenship in 39 percent of the families who prefer an ethnic name, but in 56 percent of the families with an integrated and even in 87 percent of the families with an assimilated naming preference. There is at least one parent with German as mother tongue in only six percent of the families with a separated naming preference, while this proportion is 22 percent for the families with an integrated naming choice and 40 percent for the families with an assimilated naming choice. The difference between the groups in respect of their mean religiousness or traditionalism (measured by the mother wearing a headscarf) is similar: In families with an assimilated naming preference only four percent of the mothers wear a headscarf, while this is true for 38 percent in the group with a separated naming preference. The parents who prefer ethnic names are on average about four years shorter in Germany than the other groups. The mean age of arrival in Germany is about age ten for parents with integrated or assimilated naming preferences, while the parents with preferences for an ethnic name have on average arrived in Germany at age 13.5. Thus it can be concluded that Turkish parents with different naming practices also clearly differ in other characteristics.

-- Table 4 about here --

The results of multivariate analyses about the parents' naming choice are reported in table 5. The first two columns show the results of logistic regressions with binary dependent variables. In model 1 the choice of a German first name is analysed (name is common in Germany or not). Girls have a 2.5 times higher chance of receiving a name that is common in Germany than boys ($e^{0.95}=2.59$). The parents' educational level has no significant effect on the probability of choosing a German name. Inter-marriage has the strongest influence on the naming practice: The odds for a German first name are 3.6 times higher for families with one German parent than for families without a German parent. If at least one parent has the

German citizenship, the probability for choosing a German name is also significantly increased. Having German as mother tongue also positively influences the choice of a German name, but this effect is not statistically significant when all other independent variables are controlled. More religious and traditional values in the family seem to decrease the probability of giving the child a German name as indicated in the significant negative effect of the headscarf variable. Parents who have been in Germany longer tend to have an increased probability of choosing a German name (but this effect is only significant with $p=0.06$), while the age of arrival in Germany has no additional effect. In model 2 the choice of a name that is common in Turkey is analysed in an analogous way. There is no significant difference in the probability of getting a Turkish name between boys and girls. The other independent variables work just in the opposite direction compared to model 1: Intermarriage strongly decreases the odds for a Turkish name as well as the German citizenship of a parent. In more traditional and religious families, Turkish first names are more frequently given to the children. The other independent variables do not have a significant effect.

-- Table 5 about here --

As a next step, the full naming decision is analysed using a multinomial logit model. The three outcomes separation (1), integration (2) and assimilation (3) in the parents' first name choice are considered simultaneously. The results are reported in table 5, model 3. Column (a) shows the log-odds of choosing a name that is common in both cultures (outcome 2) rather than an ethnic name (outcome 1), while column (b) contrasts the choice of a native name (outcome 3) to the choice of an ethnic name (outcome 1). The third column (c) shows the choice of the assimilation (3) rather than the integration (2) option in naming. This third column is redundant, but nevertheless presented for a better overview of the results. Because the coefficients in multinomial logistic regressions are hard to interpret, the changes in the probabilities for the three outcomes dependent on changes of the independent variables are presented in table 6. Also the results of Wald tests of the overall significance of the independent variables are reported.

-- Table 6 about here --

The probability for girls to receive an ethnic name is 12 percentage points lower than for boys if all other independent variables are set on mean. This exactly corresponds to the 12

percentage points higher probability of girls to be given a name that is common both in Germany and Turkey. In contrast to this, the choice of a German name is not at all influenced by the child's sex. So boys and girls are equally likely (or better to say: unlikely) to receive a native name, while parents choose the integration option in naming more frequently (and therefore the separation option less frequently) for girls' than for boys' first names. This gender difference is illustrated in figure 1 which also shows the effect of the years since migration. It can be seen that the probability for a German name is very low for both boys and girls and that this is independent of the parents' length of stay in Germany at the time of the child's birth. The time since migration only affects the probability of choosing rather a name that is common in both societies than an ethnic name. Figure 1 also shows that the gender difference in naming becomes larger with a longer time since migration.

-- Figure 1 about here --

The effect of intermarriage on the naming choice is quite straightforward. If one parent is German, the probability for the choice of an ethnic name is 18 percentage points lower than in families without a German parent (if all other variables are set on mean). On the other side, the choice of the integration option and to a lesser extent also the choice of the assimilation option is enhanced. Having the German citizenship also increases the probability for integration and assimilation in naming and decreases the probability of separation. But in contrast to the influence of intermarriage, the German citizenship of a parent favours rather assimilation than integration in the name choice. The joint effect of intermarriage and the German citizenship is presented in figure 2. Here it can be seen that the influence of the German citizenship on assimilation is especially strong in families with a German parent. More traditional and religious values in the family as indicated by the mother wearing a headscarf lead to a higher probability for an ethnic first name and lower probabilities of a name that is common in both cultures and a native name. The parents' education, their age of arrival in Germany and having German as mother tongue do not show any significant effects, as it has already been the case in the binary logistic regressions.

-- Figure 2 about here --

The same analyse strategy is used for the examination of the parents' identity. The results are presented in table 7. The first two columns show the results of ordered logistic regressions

with the level of German identity (model 1) and Turkish identity (model 2) as dependent variables. Model 3 shows the results of a multinomial logistic regression with the three identity types as outcomes. The results are in principal similar to those of the naming choice. The strongest predictor of the respondents' identity is having a German spouse. When all other variables are set on mean, the presence of a German spouse reduces the probability of a separated identity by 55 percentage points while it enhances the probability of an integrated identity by 35 percentage points and the probability of an assimilated identity by 20 percentage points (table with changes in probabilities not shown). So the effect of intermarriage on identity is much stronger than on the name choice. The only other variable with a significant effect on the identity is the German citizenship. Again the effect is similar to the one in the name choice model but stronger. The effects of the other variables are not statistically significant, but show similar patterns than in the name choice model.

-- Table 7 about here --

V. Summary and discussion

The emotional identification of immigrants is regarded as a two-dimensional concept. Using Berry's (1997) scheme, four types of emotional identification can be differentiated: emotional separation, emotional assimilation, emotional integration and emotional marginalization. These four possible outcomes have mostly been studied with regard to the immigrants' identity, but the two-dimensionality of this construct has usually not been adequately addressed in the empirical analyses. A further limitation of these studies is the reliance on self-reported evaluations of the respondents. As with other attitudes and beliefs, it is not clear how strong these self-reported evaluations are related to real behaviour. In this paper another indicator of immigrants' emotional identification is proposed which is only rarely used until now: the naming practice of immigrant parents. Since first names can be chosen freely and at no costs, they express the pure preferences of the parents. Using naming practice as indicator of immigrants' emotional identification also has the advantage that it represents concrete behaviour with long-term relevance.

With data from the project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children" the first name choices of Turkish immigrants in Germany have been analysed. It has been shown that most of the parents have chosen a Turkish name for their child. This means that emotional separation is the most frequent type of the Turkish immigrants'

emotional identification. This finding is also supported by the distribution of the immigrants' identity: Most respondents have a high ethnic and simultaneously low German identity and therefore a separated emotional identification. But the proportion of individuals with a separated emotional identification is much larger in the case of the naming choice (more than 80 percent)) than in the case of the identity choice (60 percent). This indicates that naming might be a "harder" indicator for immigrants' emotional identification with the host society. About 12 percent of the parents have chosen a first name for their child that is common both in Germany and in Turkey. The integration option is more common in the case of the immigrants' identity choice where more than a quarter of the respondents have indicated high values in both the Turkish and the German identity. Finally, assimilation in naming and identity is the least frequent type (not counting marginalization which is even less frequently chosen). So the order of the identification types is equal for the naming and for the identity choice, but there is more separation and less integration in the immigrants' naming practice than in their identity.

One of the most interesting results is the gender difference in the Turkish immigrants' naming practice: Girls are given first names that are common in both countries three times more often than boys while they get ethnic names less frequently. This corresponds to the results of Lieberman (2000) and Sue and Telles (2007) who have reported a higher use of more traditional (ethnic) first names for boys than for girls in Mexican American families. This gender difference in naming is not easy to interpret. One possibility is that parents want traditions to be continued especially by their male offspring. This argument is in line with the general finding of more traditionalism in naming boys while girls' names are more influenced by actual fashions (see Lieberman & Bell, 1992; Lieberman, 2000; Rossi, 1965). Males are more likely to be carrier of the family line (also see Sue & Telles, 2007). Another interpretation is that parents want to protect especially their daughters from possible discrimination in their later lives (see Sue & Telles, 2007: 1411). If parents assume that an ethnic name could potentially elicit discrimination and if parents especially want to protect their daughters, this could lead to more assimilation in girls' first names. Here a first name that is common in both cultures might be especially attractive for parents: This name can bring the desired "protection" in the host society while at the same time the ethnic traditions can be maintained. Finally, there is the possibility that the gender difference in naming is due to different name pools for boys' and girls' names. There might just be more girls' names available that are common in the host country as well as in the country of origin. And the

gender difference in naming might just reflect this opportunity structure. With the present data, it is not possible to decide which of these reasons drive the gender difference in immigrants' naming practice. This question remains open for further research.

Because of data limitations, the influence of only a few independent variables on the immigrant parents' naming choice could be analysed. From this limited set of explanatory variables, intermarriage has the largest impact. The presence of a German parent strongly decreases the probability to choose a Turkish name and especially promotes the choice of a first name that is common in both societies. This result is also in line with the finding of Sue & Telles (2007) who have found a strong effect of intermarriage on the degree of assimilation in naming. The effect of the German citizenship of a parent is different from the intermarriage effect since it favours the assimilation option over the integration option. More traditional and religious orientations in the family seem to increase the probability of choosing an ethnic name, but this finding should be seen cautiously and should be replicated with a better operationalisation of this indicator. Altogether the results point to the importance of the parents' migration biography for their naming choice. But these variables might be seen only as antecedent conditions for the "real" causal mechanisms and therefore represent just proxy variables. It is possible that other processes like the immigrants' cultural and social acculturation are the real important forces in the naming choice. Thus other possible explanatory variables like the parents' social contacts, their language use, and their cultural knowledge should be addressed in future research in more detail.

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Tables and figures

Table 1: Berry's acculturation strategies and its application to naming practices

| | | Inclusion into the host society? / Is the first name common in the host society? | |
|---|-----|---|---|
| | | No | Yes |
| Inclusion into the ethnic group? / Is the first name common in the society of origin? | No | <i>Marginalization / Unusual name</i> | <i>Assimilation / Native name</i> |
| | Yes | <i>Separation / Ethnic name</i> | <i>Integration / Name common in both cultures</i> |

Source: Berry 1997: 10; own modifications and extensions

Table 2: Overview of the independent variables

| | First name choice | Identity choice |
|--|---|---|
| Sex | Sex of the child (1: girl, 0: boy) | -- ^a |
| Education (in years) | Highest educational level of both parents | Respondent's educational level |
| Intermarriage | One parent with German background ^b | German spouse: The respondent's spouse has a German background ^b |
| German citizenship | At least one parent with German citizenship | Respondent with German citizenship |
| German as mother tongue | At least one parent with German as mother tongue | Respondent with German as mother tongue |
| Religiousness/ traditionalism in the family | Mother is wearing a headscarf during the interview | Mother is wearing a headscarf during the interview |
| Years since migration | Years since migration at the time of child's birth (mean of both parents) | Years since respondent's migration at the time of the interview |
| Age at arrival in Germany | Age at arrival in Germany (mean of both parents) | Respondent's age at arrival in Germany |
| N | 1257 / 1246 ^c | 577 / 548 ^c |

Notes:

a) The respondent's sex is not used as independent variable, since only very few fathers are interviewed.

b) German background means that the parent as well as his/her parents are born in Germany.

c) All cases / cases without the marginalization category, which is dropped in later analyses.

Table 3: Distribution of children's first names and respondents' identity (in percent)

| Acculturation strategy | Children's first names | | | Respondents' identity |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| | Boys | Girls | All | |
| (1) Separation | 87.56 | 77.20 | 82.50 | 60.49 |
| (2) Integration | 6.53 | 18.57 | 12.41 | 27.56 |
| (3) Assimilation | 4.51 | 3.91 | 4.22 | 6.93 |
| (4) Marginalization | 1.40 | 0.33 | 0.88 | 5.03 |
| Total | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| N (number of cases) | 643 | 614 | 1257 | 577 |

Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Table 4: Characteristics of the parents with different naming preferences (means)

| Parents' characteristics | Categorization of child's first name | | | All |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| | (1) only Turkish | (2) Turkish and German | (3) only German | |
| Highest level of education (in years) | 9.40 | 9.68 | 9.89 | 9.46 |
| Intermarriage (one parent with German background) | 0.03 | 0.16 | 0.34 | 0.06 |
| At least one parent with German citizenship | 0.39 | 0.56 | 0.87 | 0.43 |
| At least one parent with German as mother tongue | 0.06 | 0.22 | 0.40 | 0.10 |
| Mother with headscarf | 0.38 | 0.21 | 0.04 | 0.35 |
| Years since migration at the time of child's birth (mean of both parents) | 14.51 | 18.52 | 18.92 | 15.20 |
| Age at arrival in Germany (mean of both parents) | 13.55 | 10.50 | 10.03 | 13.02 |
| N | 1037 | 156 | 53 | 1246 |

Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Table 5: Determinants of children's first names (results of binary logistic regressions and multinomial logistic regression)

| | (1) Binary logit | (2) Binary logit | (3) Multinomial logit | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| | German first name | Turkish first name | (a) 2 vs. 1: T+G vs. T | (b) 3 vs. 1: G vs. T | (c) 3 vs. 2: G vs. T+G |
| Child's sex (girl) | 0.95 (0.17) ** | 0.24 (0.32) | 1.25(0.20)** | 0.06 (0.31) | -1.18 (0.35) ** |
| Education (in years) | -0.06 (0.05) | 0.08 (0.10) | -0.05(0.04) | -0.09 (0.10) | -0.05 (0.10) |
| Intermarriage | 1.29 (0.41) ** | -1.53 (0.62) * | 1.03(0.44)* | 1.91 (0.64) ** | 0.88 (0.68) |
| German citizenship | 0.59 (0.21) ** | -1.82 (0.54) ** | 0.29(0.20) | 1.85 (0.55) ** | 1.56 (0.54) ** |
| German as mother tongue | 0.50 (0.34) | -0.62 (0.54) | 0.44(0.38) | 0.73 (0.53) | 0.29 (0.61) |
| Headscarf | -0.88 (0.23) ** | 2.25 (1.06) * | -0.64(0.22)** | -2.34 (1.05) * | -1.70 (1.08) |
| Years since migration | 0.04 (0.02) + | 0.01 (0.04) | 0.05(0.02)* | 0.00 (0.04) | -0.05 (0.04) |
| Age at arrival | 0.02 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.04) |
| Constant | -2.70 (0.70) ** | 3.67 (1.35) ** | -3.27(0.67)** | -3.76 (1.39) ** | -0.48 (1.35) |
| N | 1246 | 1246 | 1246 | | |
| Pseudo-R ² | 0.1427 | 0.2085 | 0.1509 | | |

Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Notes: Regression coefficients from binary logistic models (1 + 2) and multinomial logistic model (3) with standard errors in parentheses. The standard errors are adjusted for family clusters.

** p ≤ 0.01, * p ≤ 0.05, + p ≤ 0.10.

Table 6: Changes in predicted probabilities of the naming outcomes and Wald tests for overall significance of the independent variables

| Change in the independent variable | Change in probability for | | | Wald test |
|--|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) only Turkish | (2) Turkish and German | (3) only German | Chi ² (df) |
| Child's sex (girl) ^a | -0.12 | 0.12 | -0.00 | 38.96 (2) ** |
| Highest level of education (in years) ^b | 0.01 | -0.01 | -0.00 | 1.46 (2) |
| Intermarriage (one parent with German background) ^a | -0.18 | 0.12 | 0.06 | 11.57 (2) ** |
| At least one parent with German citizenship ^a | -0.06 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 12.01 (2) ** |
| At least one parent with German as mother tongue ^a | -0.06 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 2.76 (2) |
| Mother with headscarf ^a | 0.08 | -0.05 | -0.03 | 13.51 (2) ** |
| Years since migration at the time of child's birth (mean of both parents) ^b | -0.03 | 0.03 | -0.00 | 6.14 (2) * |
| Age at arrival in Germany (mean of both parents) ^b | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.89 (2) |

Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Notes: Predicted values from model 3, table 5. All other independent variables are set on mean.

a) Change of the independent variable from 0 to 1.

b) Change of the independent variable from half a standard deviation under the mean to half a standard deviation above the mean (-+sd/2).

Results of the Wald test: ** p≤ 0.01, * p≤ 0.05.

Table 7: Determinants of respondents' identity (results of ordered logistic regressions and multinomial logistic regression)

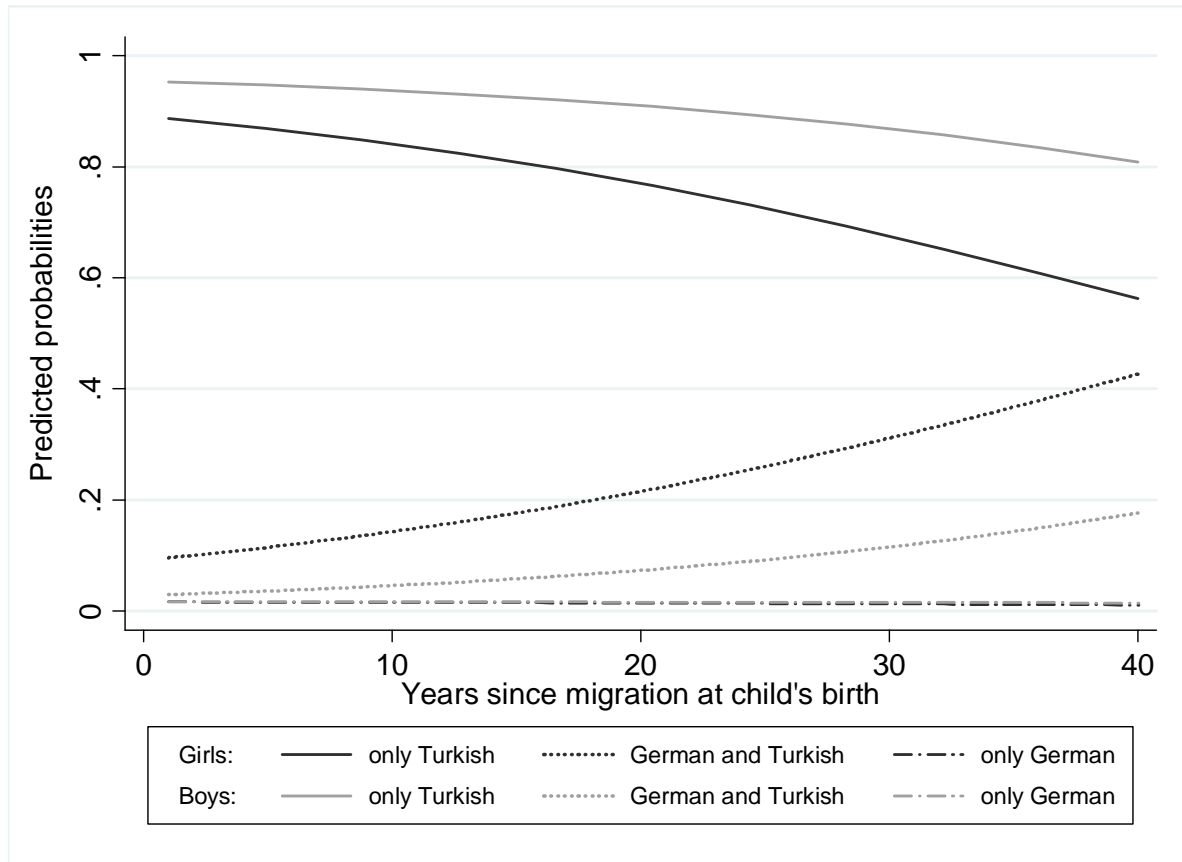
| | (1) Ologit | (2) Ologit | (3) Multinomial logit | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| | German identity | Turkish identity | (a) 2 vs. 1: T+G vs. T | (b) 3 vs. 1: G vs. T | (c) 3 vs. 2: G vs. T+G |
| Education (in years) | 0.05 (0.04) | 0.00 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.08 (0.07) | 0.05 (0.07) |
| German spouse | 1.77 (0.47) ** | -1.57(0.52) ** | 2.54(1.11) * | 3.37 (1.23) ** | 0.83 (0.61) |
| German citizenship | 0.69 (0.21) ** | -0.89 (0.23) ** | 0.57 (0.24) * | 1.27 (0.42) ** | 0.70 (0.42) + |
| German as mother tongue | 0.89 (0.49) + | -0.07 (0.54) | 0.61 (0.52) | 0.66 (0.76) | 0.05 (0.67) |
| Headscarf | -0.47 (0.21) * | 0.44 (0.23) * | -0.40(0.23)+ | -0.67 (0.46) | -0.27 (0.47) |
| Years since migration | 0.04 (0.02) + | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.03(0.02)+ | 0.05 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.04) |
| Age at arrival | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.02(0.02) | -0.00 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.04) |
| Cutpoint 1 | 1.73 (0.70) | -3.06 (0.78) | | | |
| Cutpoint 2 | 3.50 (0.71) | -1.30 (0.78) | | | |
| Constant | | | -1.62(0.73) * | -4.39 (1.40) ** | -2.77 (1.41) * |
| N | 548 | 548 | 548 | | |
| Pseudo-R ² | 0.1240 | 0.0843 | 0.1264 | | |

Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Notes: Regression coefficients from ordered logistic models (1 + 2) and multinomial logistic model (3) with standard errors in parentheses.

** p≤ 0.01, * p≤ 0.05, + p≤ 0.10.

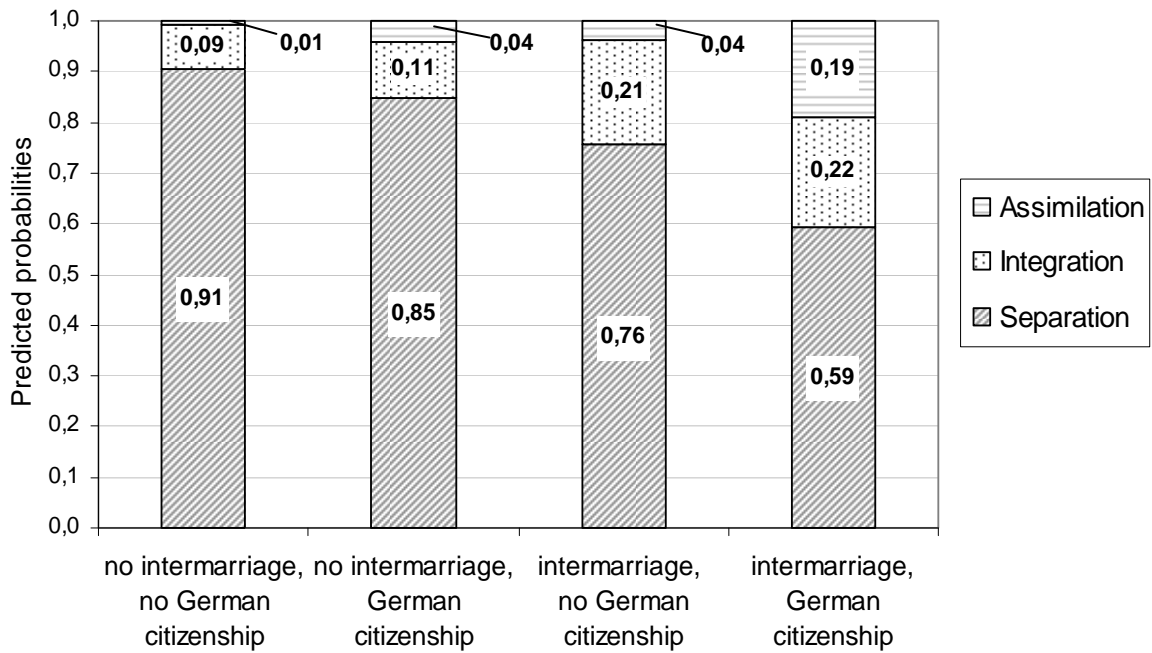
Figure 1: Predicted probabilities of naming outcomes by child's sex and parents' length of stay in Germany at child's birth



Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Notes: Predicted values from model 3, table 5. All other independent variables are set on mean.

Figure 2: Predicted probabilities of naming outcomes by intermarriage and German citizenship



Source: Project "Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children", own calculations

Notes: Predicted values from model 3, table 5. All other independent variables are set on mean.