

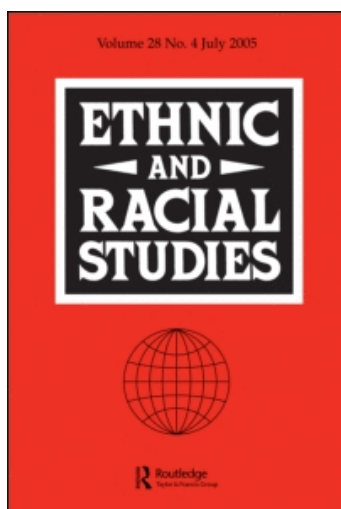
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# Immigrant integration: comparative evidence from the United States and Germany

Hermann Kurthen and Barbara Schmitter Heisler

## Abstract

In the comparative literature on immigrant integration, Germany and the United States are frequently placed in distinct and opposing regime categories. Using cross-sectional data from the 1997 German Socio-Economic Panel and the 1997 Panel of Income Dynamics, we compare the process of integration of four generational cohorts of Turks in Germany and Mexicans in the United States, focusing on markets, welfare, and culture. The comparative analysis of the data supports Gary Freeman's 'patchwork' hypothesis that integration in Western democracies is happening not monolithically, or in a linear fashion, but rather in the form of irregular patchworks. The specific patchworks revealed by our data include some progress toward integration, in particular in the market sector, as well as stagnation, and perhaps exclusion, in others.

**Keywords:** Immigration; integration; United States; Mexican Americans; Germany; Turkish Germans.

## Introduction

In the face of large-scale immigration and increasing ethnic diversity the integration or lack of integration of newcomers has taken centre stage in North America and Europe. As politicians and policy makers grapple with how to promote integration while still allowing for ethnic diversity and expression, social scientists who seek answers in the existing literature soon discover that despite the fact that the theoretical and analytic potential of systematic cross-national research has been widely recognized, it remains largely unfulfilled (Koopmans and Statham 2000; Favell 2001; Kurthen 2002).

Beginning with Roger Brubaker's influential 1992 study comparing Germany and France, comparative work on immigrant integration has

focused on identifying national differences in the politics of belonging and citizenship (Brubaker 1992; Schnapper 1992; Castles and Miller 1993; Favell 1998). The broad theoretical goal of these studies has been to develop typologies of national models of immigrant integration, or philosophies of integration (Favell 1998). Although existing typologies and models differ somewhat in terms of the number and specifics of the types identified, they have been based on the proposition that the process of immigrant integration (or exclusion) is shaped primarily by a country's history, ideology of nationhood, and associated citizenship regime.

While it seems natural for social scientists seeking to identify, categorize, and generalize more or less clear-cut patterns or philosophies of integration, the national models approach has imposed limits on the theoretical and empirical potential of comparative research. In addition to the methodological difficulties inherent in seeking to highlight differences between distinct and identifiable types while minimizing or disregarding possible similarities (Freeman 2004), the national models approach fails to consider 'a plethora of context specific and ad hoc policies' (Joppke and Morawska 2003a, p. 8) that do not fit into any coherent national integration philosophy. Nor does the focus on political citizenship capture the effects of host society differing institutional arrangements (Engelen 2006). Indeed, individual country studies and recent comparative research on labour markets, welfare states, education, and housing suggest that a country's citizenship regime, while important, does not determine the degree of integration or exclusion of newcomers in these important societal sectors (Reitz 1998; Böcker and Thränhardt 2003; Joppke and Morawska 2003b; Freeman 2004; Engelen 2006; Joppke 2006; Penninx, Berger and Kraal 2006).

Although the limits of the national models approach have become increasingly apparent (Joppke and Morawska 2003b; Freeman 2004; Joppke 2006; Schmitter Heisler 2006), comparative empirical research on immigrant integration focusing on factors other than nationhood and citizenship has lagged behind. As Favell (2001) has noted correctly, such research confronts several methodological and conceptual problems, in particular the collection of relevant data sets and the difficulties inherent in comparing existing data sets. Although we recognize these difficulties, we believe that it is time to explore the feasibility of a comparative empirical study using existing data sets.

For our comparison we have chosen the United States and Germany, for theoretical and empirical reasons. The two countries are among the most important countries of immigration today and have been the subject of a large amount of research literature. In the national models literature, they have also been identified as belonging to opposing integration regimes (Brubaker 1992; Faist 1995; AAAS

1996; Zolberg and Smith 1996; Bade and Weiner 1997; Münz and Weiner 1997; Kurthen, Fijalkowski and Wagner 1998).

## **Theory, methods and data**

### *Theory*

Our comparison is guided by Gary Freeman's conceptualization of integration as a process that takes place in a complex 'patchwork of multidimensional frameworks' (Freeman 2004, p. 946; see also Entzinger 2000; Entzinger and Biezeveld 2003; Schmitter Heisler 2007).<sup>1</sup> Freeman identifies four integration sectors: states, markets, welfare, and culture. While these sectors are not fully independent of one another, integration may proceed at a different pace and to a different degree in each sector, i.e. immigrants may be more integrated in one sector while they are less integrated in another. As such, a country's overall 'integration framework' is expected to be a mixed bag, 'not fully assimilationist, pluralist or multicultural' (Freeman 2004, p. 960).

Freeman attributes considerable importance to the state sector, arguing that immigration and citizenship policies are important sources of 'the incorporative experience of migrants' (Freeman 2004, p. 950). While we agree with this argument, we focus on the other three sectors (domains) of *market*, *welfare*, and *culture*. Although their importance in the integration process has been widely recognized, these have been less subject to empirical comparative analyses.

We conceptualize integration empirically as a process leading to parity between foreign-born newcomers (including their native-born descendants) and established populations (native-born for more than three generations) where the end result – integration – is the economic and social congruence between those groups in terms of statistically measurable empirical indicator averages (OECD 2005).<sup>2</sup> Following Bader, we define integration descriptively as a process

involving more than one generation by which individuals and groups which have not formerly been part of state-societies to various degrees and in different societal fields, *over time* come to occupy similar social and economic positions as the predominant ethnic group(s) and partake fully in the social and political life of that society. (Bader 1997, p. 3)

### **Data**

Our data are taken from two nationally representative panel data sets, the 1997 German Socio-Economic Panel [GSOEP] ([www.diw.de/gsoep](http://www.diw.de/gsoep)) – and the 1997 Panel Study of Income Dynamics [PSID]

([www.psidonline.isr.umich.edu](http://www.psidonline.isr.umich.edu)) – for the United States. Although they are now ten years old, at the time we started our research in 2003, the 1997 samples were the most recent complete and accessible data sets, providing a reasonable selection of similar integration indicators in the above three sectors. The unit of analysis for this study is the individual.

To control for differences between immigrant populations in the two countries we compare Turks in Germany and Mexicans in the United States, the numerically largest and on average least integrated immigrant populations in the two countries.<sup>3</sup> In 2002 Mexicans represented 30 per cent (9.8 million) of all foreign-born and 3.4 per cent of the US population (United States Department of Labor – Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002). Turks represented 26 per cent (1.9 million) of all foreign-born in Germany and 2.4 per cent of the German population (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002). Finally, Turks and Mexicans share many similar demographic characteristics, including age distribution, educational attainment, occupational position, household size, and labour market participation (Sen 1989, 1994; Faist 1995; United States Commission on Immigration Reform 1997; Kurthen, Fijalkowski and Wagner 1998; see also Tables 1 and 2).

From the PSID 1997 cross-sectional sample we selected 8,831 native-born and non-immigrant US citizens and 591 Mexican immigrants; the 1997 GSOEP data included 3,908 native-born Germans and 442 Turkish immigrants from the former Western area of what is now unified Germany.<sup>4</sup> We chose only persons between the ages of 20 and 65 in 1997, since this is the prime age group of persons active in the labour force generating individual income and more likely living outside of their parents' home. When comparing immigrants to natives (benchmark) we used sample weights to compensate for possible representation bias since immigrants were over-sampled.

While these data sets are useful, they also impose limits that only future surveys may be able to overcome. First, not all GSOEP and PSID variables are fully comparable because of differences in definition and coding, and several indicators for integration are only available for one or the other country. Second, there is no control for the aggregate characteristics of Mexicans and Turks at the time of their arrival in the country of destination and we are unable to assess the long-term legacies of such characteristics. Third, although we use panel data, we infer integration processes across time by comparing statistical means of selected integration indicator variables across generational cohorts. Thus we approximate but do not truly measure longitudinal processes. Fourth, we were unable to further breakdown our samples into subcategories (such as manual or office workers) because groups would become too small for a meaningful statistical analysis. Fifth, the sample population for 'occupational status',

**Table 1.** *Sample characteristics of GSOEP variables (weighted)*

Variable description	Range	All Turks		All natives	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Demographics</b>					
<sup>a</sup> Age	20–65	39.74	13.33	43.44	12.58
<sup>a</sup> Gender	1 Male, 0 Female	.52	.50	.49	.50
<b>Market integration</b>					
<sup>a</sup> Labour force participation in per cent	1 In labour force or unemployed 0 Not working or other	.65	.48	.73	.45
<sup>a</sup> Ganzeboom's International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI) of 1988	16–88	33.11	10.48	46.61	15.08
<sup>a</sup> Treiman's occupational prestige scale of 1990	13–78	34.43	10.75	43.94	12.09
<sup>a</sup> Working full-time in per cent	0 Part-time, 1 Full-time	.87	.33	.78	.42
<sup>a</sup> Not employed in per cent	1 Not working/not employed, 0 Employed	.16	.36	.08	.27
<sup>a</sup> Hourly labour income	1–46 in Deutsche Mark	11.37	5.12	13.74	6.55
<sup>a</sup> Post-government household income	0–146,958 in Deutsche Mark	25,299	12,810	30,863	17,438
<sup>a</sup> Household poverty rate in per cent	1 Poverty <11,426 Deutsche Mark 0 Above poverty level	.12	.32	.09	.29
<sup>a</sup> Owning a home in per cent	1 Owner, 0 Tenant	.18	.38	.50	.50
<sup>a</sup> Average rooms per person	0–10	.91	.68	1.66	.99
Mean housing size in household per person in square metres	2–320	21.98	15.25	43.07	26.25

**Table 1** (*Continued*)

Variable description	Range	All Turks		All natives	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Mean housing unit size in household per person in square metres	2–320	21.67	15.07	43.84	25.71
Welfare integration					
<sup>a</sup> Welfare recipients in per cent	1 Yes, 0 No	.03	.16	.02	.13
Living in government subsidized housing in per cent	1 Yes, 0 No	.27	.44	.11	.32
Cultural integration					
<sup>a</sup> Education years	7–18	9.29	2.09	11.77	2.56
Host language proficiency index	Speaking and writing in German versus origin language: 1 No German, 4 Not different, 7 Only German	3.19	1.15		
<sup>a</sup> Household size	1–11	3.98	1.68	2.65	1.24
<sup>a</sup> Married in per cent	1 Married, 0 Not married	.78	.42	.60	.49
Identification with Germany	Scale from 1 Barely to 5 Completely	2.28	1.10		
Mutual visits between Germans and immigrants index	1 No visits, 2 and 3 Visits from or to Germans but not mutual, 4 Yes, mutual visits	3.33	1.18		

<sup>a</sup>Comparative PSID/GSOEP variables.

Note: Variables used for adjustment with GLM UNIANOVA with interaction terms were: Age, Gender, Marital status, Household size, Education years, Labour force participation, Household poverty rate, Welfare receipt, Post-government household income, Speaking/writing German versus origin language index. Missing or invalid values were either inferred from previous or later sample years or substituted with generational cohort mean values.

**Table 2.** *Sample characteristics of PSID variables (weighted)*

Variable description	Range	All Mexicans		All natives	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Demographics</b>					
<sup>a</sup> Age	20–65	35.96	11.15	40.34	11.63
<sup>a</sup> Gender	1 Male, 0 Female	.49	.50	.48	.50
<b>Market integration</b>					
<sup>a</sup> Labour force participation in per cent	1 In labour force or unemployed 0 Not working or other	.65	.48	.79	.41
<sup>a</sup> Ganzeboom's International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI) of 1988	16–90	36.65	16.40	46.16	15.55
<sup>a</sup> Treiman's occupational prestige scale of 1990	13–78	35.90	12.70	43.43	13.02
<sup>a</sup> Working full-time in per cent	0 Part-time, 1 Full-time	.65	.48	.67	.47
<sup>a</sup> Not employed rate in per cent	1 Not-working/not employed, 0 Employed	.46	.50	.11	.32
<sup>a</sup> Hourly labour income	0–186 in US\$	15.92	15.03	19.62	14.90
<sup>a</sup> Post-government household income	1–509,703 in US\$	27,570	25,426	44,958	35,650
<sup>a</sup> Household poverty rate in per cent	1 Poverty <US\$ 13,237 0 Above poverty level	.34	.47	.09	.29
<sup>a</sup> Owning a home in per cent	1 Own or buys home, 0 Pays rent	.53	.50	.71	.46
<sup>a</sup> Average rooms per person	0–20	1.62	1.28	2.62	1.54
<b>Welfare integration</b>					
<sup>a</sup> Welfare recipients in per cent	1 Yes, 0 No	.35	.48	.15	.35
Residing in public owned housing in per cent	1 Yes, 0 No	.02	.13	.04	.03



**Table 2** (*Continued*)

Variable description	Range	All Mexicans		All natives	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Government pays rent partially or all in per cent	1 Yes, government pays all or part of rent, 0 No	.02	.13	.03	.16
Received government heating subsidy in per cent	1 Yes, 0 No	.04	.19	.02	.15
Amount of heating subsidy per person in US\$	0–500	2.01	14.21	1.81	17.17
Cultural integration					
<sup>a</sup> Education years	0–17	11.16	2.80	13.18	2.20
Host language proficiency index	Speaking & writing & reading: 0 No English, 3 No difference, 6 Only English	3.48	2.50		
<sup>a</sup> Household size	1–10	4.09	1.92	2.84	1.37
<sup>a</sup> Married in per cent	1 Married, 0 Not married	.60	.49	.60	.49
Mexicans planning to naturalize index	Household head and wife: 1 Not plan to naturalize next 5 years, 2 Yes, plan, 3 Already naturalized, 4 Naturalized at birth	2.25	.87		
Mexicans naturalized in per cent	0 Household head and wife not naturalized, 1 Yes	.23	.42		

<sup>a</sup>Comparative PSID/GSOEP variables.

Note: Variables used for adjustment with GLM UNIANOVA with interaction terms were: Age, Gender, Marital status, Household size, Education years, Labour force participation, Household poverty rate, Welfare receipt, Post-government household income, Plan to naturalize index (if applicable), Citizenship (if applicable), Speaking/reading/writing English versus origin language index. Missing or invalid values were either inferred from previous or later sample years or substituted with generational cohort mean values.

‘prestige’, ‘hourly labour income,’ and ‘full-/part-time working’ was smaller than for other indicator variables. To avoid statistically unacceptable small cell numbers we did not include these as independent variables in the General Linear Model [GLM] means adjustment procedure. Finally, the limitations of our data constrain the choice of the research design and our methods, which are inductive and descriptive in nature.<sup>5</sup>

### **Sector indicators and generational cohorts**

The PSID and GSOEP data yield the following sector indicators.

1. *Market sector integration:*

- a. Labour market: Labour force participation in per cent, Ganzeboom’s International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status [ISEI], Treiman’s occupational prestige scale,<sup>6</sup> and Working full-time in per cent;
- b. Income: Hourly labour income, Post-government household income;<sup>7</sup>
- c. Poverty: Households not in poverty in per cent;
- d. Housing: Owning a home in per cent, Average rooms per person, Mean housing unit size in household per person in square metres (Germany only), Mean housing size in household per person in square metres (Germany only).

2. *Welfare sector integration:*

Welfare recipients in per cent, Government-subsidized housing in per cent (Germany only),<sup>8</sup> Government pays rent partially or all in per cent (US only), Residing in public-owned housing in per cent (US only), Received government heating subsidy in per cent (US only), Amount of heating subsidy per person in US\$ (US only).

3. *Cultural sector integration:*

Years of education, Host language proficiency index, Identification with Germany (Germany only), Planning to naturalize (US only), Mutual visits between Germans and immigrants (Germany only).

4. *Generational cohorts:*

There is considerable consensus among migration scholars that the time of arrival in the host country, the prevailing economic and social conditions (Borjas 1985; Alba, Handl and Mueller 1994), the age at immigration, and the length of residence (Chiswick 1978; Neidert and Farley 1985; Esser and Friedrichs 1990; Borjas 2006) affect the integration process. We assume that tight labour market conditions and expanding educational opportunities in the period immediately following World War II

likely had a positive effect on the integration process of immigrants arriving during this period. We also expect that long-term residence, arrival at a young age, and birth in the receiving country positively affect the process of integration. Therefore, we identify three generational cohorts: *1.0*, *1.5*, and *2.0*.<sup>9</sup>

To take account of host society changes in sectors such as education or labour market conditions we operationalize the *time period* of arrival of successive generations as *cohorts*. Cohort ‘A’ refers to individuals born between 1932 and 1958 and – in the case of immigrants – to those arriving in the host societies between 1943 and 1960 at age 11+ (generation 1.0). Cohort ‘B’ refers to natives and immigrants born between 1959 and 1977, and – in the case of B1.5 and B1.0 immigrants – arriving after 1960. Finally, B2.0 immigrants are offspring of ‘A’ cohort parents born in the host society between 1959 and 1977.

We used the year 1959/60 as cut-off point between the two cohorts for two reasons. First, changes in US admission policies and domestic demand after 1960 significantly increased the size and type of immigration from Mexico and eventually triggered large family migration – as in Germany where the Turkish ‘guestworker’ program was transformed into *de facto* immigration. In addition it makes sense to separate cohorts, because earlier immigrants, such as cohort ‘A’ compared to cohort ‘B’, often act as trailblazers removing objective and subjective integration obstacles and therefore improving the degree and speed of integration of successive immigrant cohorts in areas such as a host society’s cultural acceptance of newcomers, immigration and citizenship policies (Brubaker 1992), anti-discrimination legislation (Joppke 1999), ethnic infrastructure, and networks (Portes 1995).

Following this conceptualization, we distinguish four generational cohorts – A1.0, B2.0, B1.5 and B1.0 – and rank them in descending order of their expected degree of integration (see also Alba, Handl and Mueller 1994). Thus, because they have been in the host country for longer periods, earlier A1.0 immigrant generational cohorts are listed ahead of the later arriving B1.0 and B1.5 cohorts. We position the B2.0 generational cohort in between those generational cohorts because its members share characteristics with ‘parental’ A1.0 cohort members. Born in the host country, B2.0 generational cohorts have better opportunities to acquire the host country language, education, and other social and cultural capital characteristics, compared to later B1.5 and B1.0 arrivals. But as B2.0 members are comparatively younger, in some sectors (such as labour markets) their degree of integration lacks behind the A1.0 as well as the B1.0 and B1.5 generational

cohorts. Our conceptualization yields GSOEP and PSID groupings, sequencing, and sample sizes as listed in Tables 3 and 4.

### **Statistical procedures and measurement methods**

To evaluate the process of integration we compare parity ratios derived from weighted statistical means for native benchmark groups and immigrants in each sector across generational cohorts (treated as factor variables) using a General Linear UniAnova Model analysis with SPSS.<sup>10</sup> The estimated adjusted and weighted marginal means of our GLM analysis reveal the position of each immigrant generational cohort if they had on average the same characteristics as the comparable equivalent native cohort population in each country. Our adjustment includes independent variables typically considered relevant for integration, such as age, gender, marital status, household size, and human capital – the latter measured by years of education, and host language proficiency (Alba 1990; Carliner 2000; Chiswick and Miller 2002; Dustmann and Van Soest 2002; Shields and Wheatley Price 2002; Dustmann and Fabbri 2003; South, Crowder and Chavez 2005; Esser 2006). Because they interact with each other and can be considered outcomes as well as causes, these variables are treated as (dependent) sector indicators as well as independent variables.<sup>11</sup> By controlling for these variables, these adjustments provide a measure of the relative progress of each immigrant cohort and a gauge of how an immigrant cohort compares to a composite average mainstream population, ultimately allowing us to assess the comparative degree of integration within and between the two countries.

Our GLM comparison method is not without limitations since differences between the adjusted means of the native and the immigrant cohorts may also result from sample and data errors, such as selection or (non)response bias. Furthermore, we cannot control for the impact of variables not included in our adjustment, such as parent education, work experience, residential location, social ‘capital’, motivation, or unmeasurable factors such as discrimination or preferences. Until better, larger, and more representative, comparable, and longitudinal data sets become available, our analysis remains a preliminary attempt to provide empirical evidence and theoretical support for redirecting the comparative analysis of the process of immigrant integration and draw attention to the need to systematically group and compare selected empirical indicators.<sup>12</sup>

*Adjusted means* were calculated by controlling mean scores with average characteristics of ‘A’ and ‘B’ cohorts using age, gender, marital status, household size, education, labour force participation, household poverty, post-government household income, welfare receipt, and host language proficiency.<sup>13</sup>

**Table 3.** 1997 GSOEP – German Socio-Economic Panel sample

Compare	Label	Generational cohort	N	N <sup>a</sup>
1 benchmark	A cohort of German natives	‘A’ cohort native Germans born in Germany 1932–1958 and age 39–65 [Benchmark group for immigrant generational cohort A1.0]	2,162	1,531
2 benchmark	B cohort of German natives	‘B’ cohort native Germans born in Germany 1959–1977 and age 20–38 [Benchmark group for immigrant generational cohorts B1.0, B1.5, and B2.0]	1,746	1,360
3 with 1	A1.0 Turks	‘A’ cohort Turkish immigrants born 1932–1958 and age 39–65 arriving in Germany between 1943 and 1960 at age 11+ (Generation 1.0)	180	96
4 with 2	B2.0 Turks	‘B’ cohort Turkish immigrants born in Germany between 1959 and 1977 to ‘A’ cohort parents, age 20–38 (Generation 2.0)	50	37
5 with 2	B1.5 Turks	‘B’ cohort Turkish immigrants born 1959–1977 and age 20–38 arriving in Germany between 1960 and 1998 at age 1–10 (Generation 1.5)	76	56
6 with 2	B1.0 Turks	‘B’ cohort Turkish immigrants born 1959–1977 and age 20–38 arriving in Germany between 1960 and 1997 at age 11+ (Generation 1.0)	136	84
		All cohorts	4,350	3,164

<sup>a</sup> Occupational status, prestige, not employed, hourly labour income, and full-/part-time working variables had smaller sample sizes.

**Table 4.** 1997 PSID – Panel Study of Income Dynamics sample

Compare	Label	Generational cohort	N	N <sup>a</sup>
1 benchmark	A cohort of US natives	‘A’ cohort native non-immigrant US citizens born in US 1932–1958 and age 39–65 [Benchmark group for immigrant cohort A1.0]	4,175	2,824
2 benchmark	B cohort of US natives	‘B’ cohort native non-immigrant US citizens born in US 1959–1977 and age 20–38 [Benchmark group for immigrant cohorts B1.0, B1.5 and B2.0]	4,656	2,568
3 with 1	A1.0 Mexicans	‘A’ cohort Mexican immigrants born 1932–1958 and age 39–65 arriving in US between 1943 and 1960 at age 11+ (Generation 1.0)	171	45
4 with 2	B2.0 Mexicans	‘B’ cohort Mexican immigrants born in US between 1959 and 1977 to ‘A’ cohort parents, age 20–38 (Generation 2.0)	71	32
5 with 2	B1.5 Mexicans	‘B’ cohort Mexican immigrants born 1959–1977 and age 20–38 arriving in US between 1960 and 1998 at age 1–10 (Generation 1.5)	91	43
6 with 2	B1.0 Mexicans	‘B’ cohort Mexican immigrants born 1959–1977 and age 20–38 arriving in US between 1960 and 1997 at age 11+ (Generation 1.0)	216	20
		All cohorts	9,380	5,532

<sup>a</sup>Occupational status, prestige, not employed, hourly labour income, and full-/part-time working variables had smaller sample sizes.

*Parity ratios* were calculated by dividing adjusted immigrant mean scores with that of adjusted equivalent native 'A' or 'B' cohort means as benchmarks. Parity ratios reveal the degree of integration for the different generational cohorts in the three sectors in the United States and Germany controlled for demographic variables. They tell us (1) to what extent migrants occupy similar positions to individuals of non-migrant background, and (2) the direction of change between generational cohorts on indicators in the three sectors of labour market, welfare, and cultural integration. Because parity ratios are standardized they allow for comparisons between and within indicators, sectors, generational cohorts, and countries. It is, however, important to note that parity ratios are only representative for the samples and years from which we drew our data. In addition, the variables we used for adjustment and the calculation of parity ratios represent only a limited number of possible indicators from the universe of variables that make up integration as a multidimensional process in time and space.

Parity ratios close to or above 100 indicate statistical means parity between migrants and equivalent native cohorts if migrants 'on average' had attained the characteristics of natives. This allows us to infer that integration is possible, though it does not allow us to draw conclusions about individuals or group variances. Since this is a statistical exercise, it does not explain or predict why migrants do not yet have the same characteristics as natives, the nature or cause of the disparity and obstacles to equality, nor when and how parity is achievable. Parity ratios therefore should only be considered as indications of difference or similarity after controlling for a number of important social characteristics. For example, a score of 65 for A1.0 Mexicans for 'Hourly Labour Income' indicates that even after adjustment the mean for this immigrant generational cohort is 35 per cent lower than that of the native US benchmark 'A' cohort. From this we tentatively may conclude that A1.0 Mexicans, even if they have many characteristics equivalent to native non-immigrant Americans, do not achieve parity on this indicator and possibly face a variety of obstacles, which are beyond the scope of this research.

To summarize parity outcomes for single indicators across generational cohorts, we calculated the *Parity Indicator Average* [PIA]. A PIA score of 100 for years of education means that the average of four Mexican generational cohort parity scores indicates parity with native US sample respondents, indicating overall 'integration' if one controls for the same characteristics as native US citizens.

To assess the comparative overall position of migrants relative to non-immigrant natives across all indicators and all generational cohorts we also calculated the *Parity Summary Index* [PSI], the average of all PIAs for (sub)sectors with comparable indicators. The

PSI score (116) for Mexican immigrants and for Turkish immigrants (112) in the sector 'Labour Market' indicates that across generations and across all four indicators both immigrant groups have reached parity with natives.

As indicated above, we hypothesize that integration parity for migrants with non-migrant populations generally increases with generational cohorts. Since integration is multifaceted and multi-dimensional, we expect that the move toward parity will vary across sectors within and between countries. As indicated above, we do not assume that integration happens in a linear fashion or evenly for generational cohorts, groups, and individuals. Rather than considering it as a finite outcome, we are interested in the average degree and speed of integration, using empirical measures to assess the integration processes in the three sectors identified.

We now turn to examining our descriptive empirical findings in the context of hypothesized integration trends derived from the literature (see Model, Fisher and Silberman 1999 for a similar approach).

## **Hypotheses**

Following Freeman's conceptual framework as well as empirical findings from previous research, we expect to find some trends toward integration over time and generational cohorts in both Germany (Thränhardt 1995; Esser 2003; Hinrichs 2003, Özcan 2004) and the United States (Bean et al. 1994; Alba and Nee 1999; Hirschman 2001; Alba and Nee 2003; Bean, Brown and Rumbaut 2006). Considering all three sectors together, we expect these trends to be somewhat more pronounced in the United States for two reasons. First, the United States has a long history and tradition of accepting migrants and – in addition – policies and attitudes that are more tolerant, pluralist, and less discriminatory (Lipset 1996). Germany is a more recent and more reluctant immigration country, still struggling with its status at the time of the survey.<sup>14</sup> Second, although Mexicans and Turks are among the more marginalized and least integrated immigrant groups, the fact that Mexican migration to the United States has a longer history than Turkish migration to Germany provides Mexican immigrants with greater social and political capital as part of an established Latino community. Given the shorter history of Turkish migration to Germany and the more recent development of a Turkish community, we expect Mexicans to fare somewhat better overall.

Beyond these general trends, we also expect to find differences between the two countries in the degree and direction of our indicators in each sector for each generational cohort. For example, in the market sector, we expect less integration over time in Germany than in the United States, reflecting Germany's more controlled and less flexible



labour market structures and highly institutionalized credentialism, and the United States' more flexible labour market, especially in the low wage sector, low degree of unionization and lower degree of credentialism. On the other hand we expect more integration in the welfare sector in Germany, reflecting the more generous and more inclusive German welfare state, potentially compensating for the lower degree of labour market integration. In the cultural sector we expect Mexicans to be comparatively more integrated than (Muslim) Turks. While Mexicans continue to face a variety of institutional barriers, especially in education and housing, there is evidence that they are assimilating in the cultural realm (Telles and Ortiz 2008), whereas Turks in Germany have confronted considerable barriers in this realm (Gomolla and Radtke 2002; Hinrichs 2003; Fertig 2004; Özcan 2004; Statistisches Bundesamt 2005).

## **Findings**

### *Market sector integration*

PSI scores across cohorts and indicators in the market sector do not show substantial differences in the overall degree of integration of Turks and Mexicans. Yet, while labour market indicators reflect trends toward integration in both countries, the housing and poverty indicators reflect considerable disparities. For income, Turks remain below parity, while Mexicans have reached parity.

### *Labour market*

Turks and Mexicans score similarly on all five PIA labour market indicators. Beyond these parity averages, however, we find variations between generational cohorts for each of the four labour market indicators.

Labour force participation parity ratios are similar and, with the exception of A1.0 Turks whose parity ratio is 88, they are above parity for all generations of Turks and Mexicans. The below parity ratio of A1.0 Turks is contrary to the hypothesis that earlier immigrants should be more integrated. An explanation might be that A1.0 'guestworker' Turks drop out of the labour force at an earlier age than Mexicans because they have better or earlier (disability) old age retirement insurance.<sup>15</sup>

Our data for occupational status, measured by Ganzeboom's ISEI index,<sup>16</sup> support the hypothesis that parity is possible for Turks and Mexicans. The exception is B1.0 Turks with a parity ratio of 77. This may be due to their lack of education years (parity 87) but could also be a result of difficulties in fully translating their education into an

appropriate occupational position, perhaps because of non-recognition of educational credentials, language barriers, discrimination, and other reasons.

To measure occupational prestige we used Treiman's occupational prestige scale derived from the ranking of occupational positions, a measure that is considered reliable and which is widely used in comparative research. Prestige typically correlates with other socio-economic and class stratification measures and involves evaluative judgements on the general desirability of occupations. Like Ganzeboom's ISEI, Treiman's prestige scores range from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest). After adjustment the parity ratio for A1.0 Turks is 128, but it is below parity for B2.0 (98), B1.5 (93) and B1.0 (92) generational cohorts, suggesting that integration increases with length of residence.

For the Mexican A1.0, B2.0 and B1.5 generational cohorts we find the opposite trend, raising questions concerning the length of residence hypothesis. In this context, it is interesting to note that the prestige scores for A1.0 Mexicans are below parity, even after adjustment, although their ISEI and years of education are about parity. In other words, there is some evidence that this generational cohort is unable to translate their education and occupational position into equivalent prestige, perhaps as a result of their confinement to low prestige occupations?<sup>17</sup>

The indicator full-time employment shows that Mexicans – and to a lesser degree Turks – are as likely to be employed full-time as native populations. The notable exception is the B1.5 Mexican generational cohort (65). This generational cohort (following a separate evaluation not listed here) includes high percentages of part-time workers (perhaps many still enrolled in education), a fact that is also reflected in their above parity scores on welfare receipt. To some extent, B1.5 therefore represent an atypical group compared to B2.0 and B1.0 generational cohorts, and further research is needed to establish if this finding can be generalized or is a particular effect of the PSID sample.

### *Income*

Parity indicators for hourly labour income reveal different patterns in the two countries. In Germany the hourly labour incomes for the two first generations (A1.0 and B1.0) are above parity, whereas this is not the case for B1.5 and B2.0 generational cohorts which are younger, still in education or training, or in less well paid positions in Germany's more hierarchically ordered occupational system. The Mexican trends reflect the occupational prestige scale findings indicating that earlier A1.0 immigrants confined to less prestigious jobs also earn comparatively lower wages.

Parity scores for post-government household income contradict assumptions that income inequality between migrant generational cohorts in the United States is markedly greater compared to Germany. For Turks only the B1.0 cohort scores are above parity after adjustment corresponding to their parity ratios on hourly labour incomes. The household income data for B1.0 and B2.0 cohort Mexicans are below and for A1.0 and B1.5 above parity. The latter finding may be related to the higher human capital endowments of A1.0 and B1.5 Mexican cohorts (see also the education indicator in Table 5) and warrants further investigation.

### *Poverty*

After adjustment, non-poverty rates for A1.0, B2.0 and B1.0 Mexican generational cohorts remain below parity, a finding which is also reflected in the comparatively lower Mexican PIA score. It is of interest to note that for B2.0 and B1.0 Mexicans and A1.0 Turks low non-poverty parity scores coincide with below parity post-government household incomes. But low non-poverty parity scores also coincide with high household incomes in the case of A1.0 Mexicans and B1.0 Turks. These seemingly contradictory findings suggest a U-shaped income polarization among A1.0 Mexicans and B1.0 Turks with a large segment of migrants living in poverty (defined as less than 40 per cent median household income) and another segment with high average incomes.

### *Housing*<sup>18</sup>

In the housing sector we observe significant differences between Turkish and Mexican generational cohorts. For Mexicans homeownership and average rooms per person are above or close to parity for A1.0 and B2.0 but considerably below parity for B1.5 and B1.0 generational cohorts. While these data give some support to the integration hypothesis, they also point to considerable barriers for more recent immigrants even after adjustment. For Turks the trend for both housing indicators is the opposite and follows the direction of household income parameters. Homeownership and average rooms per person are above parity for the most recent B1.0 Turkish immigrants whereas the A1.0 and B2.0 generational cohorts remain further removed from parity. The other three housing indicators follow similar patterns with lower parity scores for the A1.0 generational cohort. While this finding contradicts the hypothesis that integration increases with length of residence, it is not surprising in the context of the history of 'guestworker' migration in Germany.

**Table 5.** *Parity Indicators,<sup>a</sup> Parity Indicator Averages,<sup>b</sup> and Parity Summary Index<sup>c</sup> of the Market integration sector*

	Turkish immigrants					Mexican immigrants				
	A 1.0	B 2.0	B 1.5	B 1.0	PIA	A 1.0	B 2.0	B 1.5	B 1.0	PIA
Labour market integration										
3.1 Labour force participation in per cent	88	149	123	136	124	123	104	133	150	128
3.2 Ganzeboom's International Socio- Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI) of 1988	117	110	101	77	101	99	97	100	103	100
3.3 Treiman's occupational prestige scale of 1990	128	98	93	92	103	85	101	107	95	97
3.4 Working full-time in per cent	113	99	122	140	119	168	135	65	181	137
PSI-Parity Summary Index					112					116
Income integration										
3.5 Hourly labour income	118	67	78	147	102	65	96	135	118	104
3.6 Post-government household income	95	34	42	108	70	106	89	130	86	103
PSI-Parity Summary Index					86					104
Poverty integration										
3.7 Household non-poverty rate in per cent	59	107	107	86	90	74	93	111	60	84
PSI-Parity Summary Index					90					84
Housing integration										
3.8 Owning a home in per cent	9	9	37	117	43	127	98	48	43	79
3.9 Average rooms per person	68	75	140	137	105	100	95	57	53	76
3.10 Mean housing unit size in household per person in square metres (Germany only)	73	73	94	134	93					

**Table 5** (*Continued*)

	Turkish immigrants					Mexican immigrants				
	A	B	B	B	PIA	A	B	B	B	PIA
	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.0		1.0	2.0	1.5	1.0	
3.11 Mean housing size in household per person in square metres (Germany only)	91	76	95	139	100					
PSI-Parity Summary Index (not 3.10/11)					74					78

<sup>a</sup>Parity Indicators are calculated by dividing adjusted means of Turks respectively Mexicans by the adjusted means of equivalent non-immigrant native cohorts using weighted sample values.

<sup>b</sup>The Parity Indicator Average (PIA) measures the average of each individual indicator across all four generational cohorts.

<sup>c</sup>The Parity Summary Index (PSI) is a measure of all PIAs within a (sub)sector.

Note: 3.2 and 3.4: All adjusted without 'Labour force participation' variable; 3.5: Mexicans B1.0 and B1.5 adjusted without 'Naturalization plan' variable; 3.8: Mexicans B1.5 adjusted without 'Plan to naturalize' variable.

**Table 6.** Parity Indicators,<sup>a</sup> Parity Indicator Averages,<sup>b</sup> and Parity Summary Index<sup>c</sup> of the Welfare integration sector

	Turkish immigrants					Mexican immigrants				
	A 1.0	B 2.0	B 1.5	B 1.0	PIA	A 1.0	B 2.0	B 1.5	B 1.0	PIA
Welfare integration										
4.1 Welfare recipients in per cent	84	92	97	26	75	81	117	267	37	125
4.2 Living in government-subsidized housing in per cent (Germany only)	159	399	314	208	270					
4.3 Residing in public-owned housing in per cent (US only)						164	35	133	27	90
4.4 Government pays rent partially or all in per cent (US only)						194	47	143	24	102
4.5 Received government heating subsidy in per cent (US only)						37	78	38	25	45
4.6 Amount of heating subsidy per person in US\$ (US only)						58	54	49	0	40
PSI-Parity Summary Index (not 4.4 to 4.6)					173					106

<sup>a</sup>Parity Indicators are calculated by dividing adjusted means of Turks respectively Mexicans by the adjusted means of equivalent non-immigrant native cohorts using weighted sample values.

<sup>b</sup>The Parity Indicator Average (PIA) measures the average of each individual indicator across all four generational cohorts.

<sup>c</sup>The Parity Summary Index (PSI) is a measure of all PIAs within a (sub)sector.

Note: 4.1: Turks adjusted without 'Host language proficiency' variable; 4.6: Mexican A1.0 adjusted without 'Plan to naturalize' variable.

**Table 7.** *Parity Indicators,<sup>a</sup> Parity Indicator Averages,<sup>b</sup> and Parity Summary Index<sup>c</sup> of the Cultural integration sector*

	Turkish immigrants					Mexican immigrants				
	A 1.0	B 2.0	B 1.5	B 1.0	PIA	A 1.0	B 2.0	B 1.5	B 1.0	PIA
Cultural integration										
5.1 Education years	90	100	107	87	96	104	100	120	76	100
5.2 Host language proficiency	38	65	59	45	52	42	86	54	31	53
5.3 Identification with Germany (Germany only)	74	47	64	57	60					
5.4 Mutual visits between Germans and immigrants (Germany only)	79	89	96	81	86					
5.5 Mexicans planning to naturalize (US only)						60	100	59	60	70
PSI –Parity Summary Index					74					74

<sup>a</sup>Parity Indicators are calculated by dividing adjusted means of Turks respectively Mexicans by the adjusted means of equivalent non-immigrant native cohorts using weighted sample values.

<sup>b</sup>The Parity Indicator Average (PIA) measures the average of each individual indicator across all four generational cohorts.

<sup>c</sup>The Parity Summary Index (PSI) is a measure of all PIAs within a (sub)sector.

Note: 5.2: To calculate a language proficiency parity ratio we postulated that all natives had complete language proficiency; 5.3: To calculate identification parity we postulated that all natives completely identified with Germany; 5.4: Turks without adjustment. To calculate parity, we postulated that all natives had mutual visits; 5.5: To calculate parity, we assumed all natives had planned to naturalize; 5.6: Mexican A1.0 adjusted without 'Naturalization plan' variable. To calculate parity, we assumed all natives were naturalized.

### *Welfare*

Parity summary scores (PSI) for comparable indicators are 173 for Turks and 106 for Mexicans, showing significant differences between the United States and Germany which reflect differences in welfare state protection against the vagaries of work and life, such as unemployment, poverty, housing, and health risks, and, more general, income inequality. But compared to market sector indicators, welfare indicators are more difficult to interpret. High parity scores may indicate greater eligibility (better welfare provisions) but also greater need. It is therefore difficult to say if the comparatively higher Turkish scores for living in government-subsidized housing or the above parity scores of Mexicans receiving government transfers reflect better integration or not. It could also be interpreted as stronger dependency on government aid and subsidies and as an expression of weaker market integration.

In the American context the above parity scores of Mexican B2.0 and B1.5 migrants' welfare receipt would indicate a lack of integration. In the German context, the below parity scores of Turks suggest a similar lack of integration.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, for the indicator living in government-subsidized housing, the Turkish data are reversed. Even after adjustment, the participation of Turks in this entitlement is above parity, reflecting low homeownership and below parity household income.

In the case of Mexicans, above parity welfare receipt, in particular for the B2.0 generational cohort, is consistent with their lower income parity and lower non-poverty parity. Counterintuitive is the finding for the B1.5 generation with above parity welfare receipt as well as above parity rates for income and households in non-poverty, a finding that warrants further investigation in the future. The remaining four welfare indicators are consistent only for B1.0 Mexicans. First, the low parity scores for the B1.0 generation may indicate a negative effect of 1995 welfare reforms on welfare eligibility of more recent and not yet naturalized newcomers. Second, we observe particularly high parity figures for rent subsidies and residence in public-owned housing for the A1.0 and B1.5 Mexican generational cohorts. Overall, the strong participation of A1.0 Mexicans in public-owned housing and rent subsidies is surprising. In the American context it provides some empirical support for the slow process of Mexican immigrant integration. Although parity ratios for living in government-subsidized housing are considerably above average for Turkish immigrants, they are exceedingly high for the B2.0 and B1.5 generational cohorts. Previous studies have shown that the housing sector in Germany plays an important role in the integration process (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration 2005). Our data on subsidized housing and those on housing integration discussed above indicate some progress in this sector.



*Cultural integration*

In the cultural sector, the PSI reveals no difference between Turks (74) and Mexicans (74). Although the PIA values vary, the variations follow a similar pattern for each indicator for Turks and Mexicans. Of particular interest are our two indicators, years of education and host society language proficiency, for which we have comparable data. In both cases, the B2.0 and B1.5 generational cohorts reach parity. The fact that B2.0 and B1.5 Turks and Mexicans can achieve parity indicates that integration through the educational system can work in both countries, regardless of substantial differences in how this is achieved. Other research supports the notion that in the long run the educational attainment of successive immigrant generations in both countries will improve on average (Alba 1998; Hinrichs 2003; Sohn and Ozcan 2006).

Host country language proficiency is widely recognized as an important indicator for cultural integration and the key to greater socioeconomic integration. Our data for this important indicator reveal similar parity scores for Turks and Mexicans (PIA for Mexicans 53 and for Turks 52), reflecting continued deficiencies in language proficiency. While scores are highest for the B2.0 generational cohorts in both cases, the parity gap is smaller for Mexicans (86) than for Turks (65). The low parity ratios for the A1.0 Turkish generation (38) indicate that, even after adjusting for other characteristics, the first guestworker generation remains culturally distant from the host society. Parity ratios for A1.0 Mexicans are similarly low. The data suggest that while the B2.0 Mexican generational cohort is somewhat more integrated than the B2.0 Turkish cohort, language integration remains problematic in both countries.

Our remaining cultural indicators are used only for illustrative purposes to gauge integration within each country. For Germany, the indicator identification with Germany shows low parity ratios across all generational cohorts. It is highest for B1.5 (64) and A1.0 (74) but low for B2.0 (47) generational cohorts. In contrast, the indicator mutual visits shows higher parity scores for Turks born (B2.0) and educated (B1.5) in Germany whose host language proficiency scores are the highest. Host language proficiency and social contact scores for the A1.0 'guestworker' cohort and the more recent B1.0 immigrants clearly demonstrate the interactive effects of language proficiency and social contact. However, the low identification with Germany indicates that Turkish migrants of the second generation continue to feel excluded. Although the indicator 'planning to naturalize' for Mexicans is not strictly analogous to the indicator 'identification with Germany' for Turks, it suggests that identification and cultural integration of

successive Mexican generational cohorts – even after adjustment – remained elusive too at the time of the surveys in 1997.<sup>20</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Our comparative analysis of integration indicators in three sectors – market, welfare, and culture – does not support the national models paradigm that would place the United States and Germany in distinct and opposing integration regimes, or the notion that immigrants, in this case Mexicans, in the United States are significantly more integrated than Turkish immigrants in Germany. Instead, our findings provide support for Gary Freeman's 'patchwork' hypothesis, that integration in Western democracies is happening not monolithically, or in a linear fashion, but rather in the form of irregular patchworks. The patchworks revealed by our data include some progress toward integration, in particular in the market sector, as well as stagnation, and perhaps exclusion, in others.

Our analysis reveals shared trends as well as country-specific differences. Against the different institutional and historical backgrounds of both countries, a general pattern of integration convergence of immigrants, dependent on entry period, entry age, and length of residence, is visible. However, this needs to be differentiated. While we observe trends of indicator parity (indicating integration after adjustment particularly for younger B2.0 and B1.5 immigrant cohorts) in several areas of the labour market sector, our findings are more ambivalent in the welfare sector and less optimistic in the cultural sector.

Our data reveal a mixed bag of integration and marginalization for the A1.0 generational cohorts in both countries. Contrary to expectations about the integrative effect of increased length of residence, the A1.0 generational cohorts appear to be the least integrated overall. This suggests that length of residence may not be able to overcome initial disadvantages for immigrants with low human, social and economic capital. In contrast, our data analysis of the B1.5 and B2.0 generational cohorts reveals clear trends toward integration for 'B' cohorts in both countries, although this trend is somewhat more pronounced for B2.0 Mexicans than for B2.0 Turks. B1.0 generational cohorts are more integrated than A1.0 migrants in both countries. Yet, even for 'B' cohorts this trend is uneven across subsectors as migrants continue to lag behind in housing, poverty, welfare, and host language proficiency.

While our data seem to confirm country-specific differences in speed and degree of integration (measured by parity ratios for example in the welfare integration sector), these differences need to be more comprehensively explained by the underlying institutional arrangements and patchwork of *ad hoc* policies that shape the process of

integration in Western democracies at the turn of the century (Joppke and Morawska 2003b; Freeman 2006).

Some findings were consistent with our hypotheses and country studies of Germany and the United States as well as other comparative studies (Dörr and Faist 1997; Kurthen, Fijalkowski and Wagner 1998; Santel and Hollifield 1998; Reitz et al. 1999; Alba, Schmidt and Wasmer 2000; Fertig and Schmidt 2001). Other outcomes were more surprising, pointing out the need to reconsider engrained stereotypes about typical country-specific integration paths, and – more importantly – the need for more systematic comparative research and above all for better data. While European scholars have more recently taken up the challenge to develop a comprehensive interdisciplinary and comparative research program focusing on ‘Europe’s migration and integration challenges’ (Penninx, Berger and Kraal 2006; see also [www.imiscoe.org](http://www.imiscoe.org)), a comprehensive, comparative analysis that includes non-European, traditional immigration societies, such as the United States, could provide additional and perhaps different insights. While such a project confronts considerable hurdles associated with data collection, funding, and the need to bridge the different approaches and traditions of migration studies that have evolved in Europe and the United States (Morawska 2003), it also promises to deliver new theoretical insights into the complex and multifarious processes of immigrant integration/exclusion in advanced industrial societies.

## Notes

1. Our comparative approach is based on the generally accepted notion that the integration/assimilation of immigrants is neither linear nor unidimensional, but represents a process that takes place over time along a variety of different avenues and at different speeds (Gordon 1964; Gans 1992; Portes 1995; Alba 1998).
2. Conceptualizing integration as a multifaceted and multidimensional process we make no assumptions concerning the exact time involved to achieve integration/parity and we do not preclude that the process can be reversed, or come to a standstill. Rather than considering it as a given fact with a finite outcome we are more interested in the average degree and speed of integration.
3. While other groups such as Cambodians have on average lower socioeconomic status compared to Mexicans, Mexicans stand out for their low status and large numbers.
4. Since the immigrant population of the eastern part of Germany (the former GDR) was and is very small, our restriction carries little significance.
5. Painstaking efforts were undertaken to make the generational cohorts and the major dependent and independent variables comparable and to fill in missing data. For both data sets we used data triangulation methods to infer information from related variables, from identical variables of previous or later panel years, or by assigning mean values in case of a few missing data. Currencies of income and hourly wage measures were not converted because of the difficulty of comparing earnings levels across nations. For more detailed information about the variables used, please contact Hermann Kurthen.
6. For measuring occupational status we use the internationally accepted and widely used International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) classification developed

by Ganzeboom and Treiman (1988/1990) and the Treiman Prestige scale (Treiman 1977). These measures have been demonstrated to be reliable and valid classification schemes for comparing socioeconomic stratification across developed nations.

7. According to the PSID-GSOEP Cross-National Equivalent File Codebook 1980–2003 the Post-Government Household Income variable represents the combined income after taxes and government transfers of the head, partner, and other family members.

8. In the 1997 PSID survey the welfare receipt question asked household heads and spouses if they received any form of public welfare transfer payments in the previous year, such as AFDC, ADC, SSI, welfare, unemployment benefits, workman's compensation, etc. In the case of GSOEP it asked about social assistance (Sozialhilfe) which represents a form of constitutionally embedded means-tested income for individuals in need unable to help themselves and intended to prevent extreme forms of poverty.

9. The term generation is the most common approach to reflect entry age differences and successive ancestral lineages after a person entered the host country (Gans 1992; Rumbaut 1997; Alba 1998). The first (1) generation refers to individuals arriving as adults, looking for employment/refuge or as dependants of immigrant parents during their youth (in our study defined as age 11+). The 1.5 generation refers to those immigrating with their parents or relatives at pre-youth age (in our study defined as arriving at age 1–10). The second (2) generation represents the children of first generation immigrants, born and fully schooled and educated in their formative years of adolescence in the host country.

10. The GLM Univariate procedure provides regression analysis and analysis of variance for one dependent variable by one or more factors and/or variables. The factor variables (generational cohorts) divide the population into groups. Using the General Linear Model procedure, one can test null hypotheses about the effects of independent factor variables on the means of dependent variables. One can investigate interactions between factors as well as the effects of individual factors, some of which may be random. In addition, the effects of covariates and covariate interactions with factors can be included. In our case we substituted overall population indicator means (dependent variable) for each generational cohort (independent variable), controlling for covariate means of independent variables such as age, gender, marital status and years of education, and interacting sector variables such as welfare receipt, language proficiency, etc., as mentioned in the previous section.

11. We did not use non-working rates, occupational status, prestige, hourly labour income, and full-/part-time labour status as independent variables in our means adjustment because the limited sample sizes of these variables would have made our GLM models statistically unreliable.

12. On request we can supply tables and information about observed and adjusted GLM means with and without host language proficiency.

13. Note that both the native benchmark group (citizens without recorded immigration or 'guestworker' backgrounds up to the third generation) and the immigrant samples were 'representative' for socioeconomic status, gender, age, and other variables, and are therefore comparable. Any further disaggregation (which we considered) would create a host of definitional and data weighing problems and also unduly reduce the size of our sample (sub)groups while not increasing the reliability of our findings. Similarly, the inclusion of other countries would add to our limitations and is not considered practicable for our approach and purpose.

14. Our data reflect conditions before the liberalization of the German naturalization law in 2000 (see also Kurthen 2006).

15. See Siegrist et al. (2007).

16. The ISEI index measures occupational status insofar it relates to the (indirect) effect of education on income.

17. See Toussaint-Comeau, Smith and Comeau (2005).

18. While these data say nothing about the quality of the homes or their location and neighbourhood (residential segregation) characteristics, they provide some indicator for integration/exclusion.

19. This issue cannot be seriously considered without understanding national differences in welfare systems and ideologies. Because eligibility for the comparatively meagre welfare benefits in the US is strongly means-tested – and because non-profit charities, such as churches, and community organizations are also heavily involved in helping workers, families or children in need and in emergencies – welfare receipt in the US does indeed signify a lack of integration into mainstream employment and life. This is quite different in the German welfare state system (and other Western European countries) where welfare receipt and housing subsidies are far less likely to be means-tested, are less socially ostracizing, and often coincide with otherwise mainstream employment and lifestyles. In this case, high parity levels mean greater eligibility for immigrants, and insofar greater integration into the system. On the other hand it also implies above average compensatory need but also a chance to overcome temporary setbacks through welfare receipt and a good chance to be re-integrated in regular employment and labour markets.

20. Since our data were collected in 1997, changes in American immigration and welfare legislation have contributed to an increase in naturalization among Mexican immigrants (Passel 2007). In the German case, the reform of citizenship laws in 2000, introducing an element of *ius soli*, has also increased identification with Germany (Uslucan 2004; Kaya 2005; Anil 2007; Constant et al. 2007).

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