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Defining ethnic, national, and dual identities: Structure, antecedents, and consequences of multiple social identities of Turkish-origin high school students in Germany

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Abstract

The number of immigrants and children born to immigrant parents in Europe has risen steadily. Related to debates as to how best integrate immigrants, research points to the importance of investigating the structure as well as antecedents and consequences of immigrants' multiple identities. Here, we explore the relationship between three different identities endorsed by adolescent Turkish-origin immigrants in Germany: *ethnic identity* (i.e., Turkish identity), *national identity* (i.e., German identity), and *dual identity* (i.e., German–Turkish identity). In two studies, Turkish-origin adolescents in Germany (Study 1: N = 91, age: M = 15.18, SD = 0.97; Study 2: N = 95, age: M = 15.26, SD = 0.90) completed measures of multiple identities, contact with native Germans, and feelings of being integrated in Germany. Results show that adolescents' dual identity was positively related to their national identity but negatively related to their ethnic identity. Ethnic and national identities were also negatively related. Further, when Turkish-origin students had more contact with native Germans, they felt more at home in Germany, mediated by their national and dual identity. Results are discussed in terms of the role that identity construction plays in the integration of immigrants into host societies.

KEYWORDS

contact, dual identity, integration, multiple identities, Turkish immigrants

1 | INTRODUCTION

The number of immigrants, and especially the number of children and adolescents born to immigrant parents, has risen steadily in European countries within recent decades (OECD/European Union, 2015). Consequently, integrating

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immigrants into a multicultural society is a major challenge of the 21st century (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014). Within the ongoing debate about immigrant integration, social–psychological and acculturation research points to the importance of investigating the structure, antecedents, and consequences of immigrants' multiple social identities (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Accordingly, we explore the relationships between different social identities of adolescent Turkish-origin immigrants in Germany. Further, we investigate the effect of contact with the host society on the different identities and examine consequences of the identities on immigrant students' feelings of being integrated in Germany. We focus on Turkish-origin immigrants because they are the largest immigrant group in Germany, constituting 18% of all immigrants (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012).

2 | INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

As a consequence of increased migration, more and more children and adolescents grow up in ethnically diverse contexts and have to deal with different cultures on a daily basis. Many immigrants have therefore internalized more than one culture as part of their identity (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). In the present work, we focus our attention on three types of immigrants' identity: ethnic, national, and dual. We use the term ethnic identity when referring to the immigrants' identity based on their country of origin (i.e., Turkish identity), national identity when referring to the identity based on the host society (i.e., German identity), and dual identity when referring to the identity based on a (hyphenated) combination of both (i.e., German–Turkish identity; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Exploring the relationships between immigrants' different social identities is important because the perceived incompatibility between a person's identities can affect well-being and can cause stress (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002; Matschke & Fehr, 2015), and a dual identity can have positive effects for immigrants, such as better coping with the psychological stress of migration (e.g., Berry, 1997; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

Earlier acculturation research mostly addressed the relationship between immigrants' different identities by focusing on the relative importance of ethnic and national identity separately and defining dual identity as high levels of both ethnic and national identity (e.g., Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016), generally understanding it as a two-dimensional construct (e.g., Phinney et al., 2001). More recently, researchers have argued that dual identity should be measured more directly, as the combination of both identities can be "more than––and qualitatively different from––the sum of its parts" (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016, p. 2). Further, the combination of high levels of ethnic identity and moderate levels of national identity might be sufficient to indicate a sense of dual identity (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). We combine these perspectives by directly assessing immigrants' ethnic, national, and dual identity (i.e., a hyphenated combination of both the ethnic and the national identity).

One important factor influencing the relationship between immigrants' ethnic, national, and dual identity is the perceived incompatibility of identities resulting from intergroup conflicts and greater sociocultural distance between the groups, as well as incompatible norms and values attached to each identity (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Hirsh & Kang, 2016; Schulz & Leszczensky, 2016; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). This means that the greater the perceived distance between groups and the perceived incompatibility of values, the more likely are individuals to experience social identity conflict (e.g., Hirsh & Kang, 2016). Further, research suggests that the national context matters for the perceived compatibility of ethnic and national identities. Whereas both identities tend to be correlated positively for most ethnic groups in settler countries such as Canada and the United States, they tend to be correlated negatively in historical nonsettler countries such as the Netherlands (e.g., Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016, Study 1, but see also Study 2; Phinney et al., 2001; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). They can also vary depending on local intergroup contexts (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016). Historically, the maintenance of cultural heritage and a superordinate national identity are accepted simultaneously in settler countries (e.g., Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Nonsettler countries, however, more often promote assimilation to the host societies' culture (e.g., Joppke, 2004). This climate in nonsettler countries also makes it more likely that

immigrants feel a stronger attachment to their ethnic in-group than to the host society or an integrated dual identity. In line with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), an emphasis on assimilation can be perceived as a threat to immigrants' identity, resulting in a need to reassert their threatened minority identity (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). This theorizing corresponds with research showing that immigrants in nonsettler countries often endorse an ethnic identity more strongly than a national or dual identity (e.g., Diehl & Schnell, 2006; Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016; Phinney et al., 2001).

Taken together, the research suggests that specific situational variables such as intergroup relations and the compatibility of norms influence the strength of each of the three identities and determine whether immigrants perceive their ethnic and national identities to be compatible. We explore this issue for Turkish-origin adolescents in Germany, a nonsettler country in which German and Turkish norms and values are often perceived as incompatible (e.g., Röhr-Sendlmeier & Yun, 2006), by measuring all three identities separately. Based on earlier research showing that the national and ethnic identity of Turkish immigrants in Europe correlate negatively (Leszczensky, 2013; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), we predict a negative relationship between Turkish immigrants' national and ethnic identity in Germany. Furthermore, we predict that Turkish-origin adolescents will report higher values of ethnic than of national and dual identity. Finally, extending existing literature in important ways, we consider how each of the three identities—national, ethnic, and dual—relates to the other two, providing more insight into the identity structure of adolescent immigrants in Germany.

3 | ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF ETHNIC, NATIONAL, AND DUAL IDENTITIES

In addition to investigating the relationship between Turkish immigrants' multiple social identities, we are also interested in antecedents and consequences of these identities in order to better understand how identity processes are related to immigrants' integration into the host society. We focus on two antecedents of national, ethnic, and dual identity that are associated with specific consequences concerning immigrants' successful integration: contact with members of the host society and perceived discrimination. On the one hand, contact with members of the host society strengthens immigrants' national identity (e.g., Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2011; Schulz & Leszczensky, 2016) and thus might facilitate a combination of national and ethnic identity into a dual identity (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016, Study 1). Accordingly, we argue that having more contact with members of the host society not only increases immigrants' national and dual identities but also is related to their feelings of being integrated and at home in Germany. This prediction is in line with a recent longitudinal study with early adolescent immigrant students demonstrating that fostering equality, and inclusion is associated with a stronger mainstream orientation (Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver, & Eckstein, 2016). As both a national and dual identities indicate some identification with Germany, we predict that the relationship between contact and being integrated will be mediated by immigrants' national and dual identities. In contrast, feelings of being discriminated against by host society members will likely decrease immigrants' perceived fit and sense of belonging to German society (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Therefore, we argue that greater perceived discrimination will be associated with weaker national and dual identity but stronger ethnic identity (e.g., Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016).

4 | THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The present work builds on and extends existing research by investigating the relationship between three different social identities and their antecedents and consequences for adolescent Turkish-origin immigrants in Germany. We understand identity development as a dynamic process in which an individual moves from childhood through a phase of exploration to a relatively stable identity at the end of adolescence (Phinney, 1989). We therefore argue that it is

especially important to investigate identity processes in adolescents, because that is a critical phase of identity development (Nesdale, 1999).

We tested the following hypotheses in two questionnaire studies in German high schools with Turkish-origin adolescents: (a) Turkish-origin adolescents will report higher levels of ethnic than of national and dual identity; (b) ethnic and national identity will be negatively correlated; (c) perceived discrimination will be related to stronger ethnic identity and weaker national identity; and (d) contact with members of the host society will be related to stronger feelings of being at home in Germany, mediated by higher levels of national and dual identity. In addition, we explored the relationships between all three identities measures: dual, ethnic, and national identities. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were investigated in both studies; Hypotheses 3 and 4 were only investigated in Study 2.

5 | STUDY 1

5.1 | Method

5.1.1 | Participants and procedure

In total, 190 students (102 male) in four 9th grade and four 10th grade classes of three schools (Realschule[1]) participated in the study. Two versions of the questionnaire were developed: one version for Turkish-origin students and one for all other students. All students received both questionnaires and were instructed to choose one version based on whether they had a Turkish migration background or not. We used this self-categorization in addition to the provided demographic information (i.e., in which country they themselves, their parents, and grandparents were born), to define the sample of Turkish-origin students. Ninety-one students were categorized as Turkish-origin immigrants (52 male) and constitute the sample for our analyses.[2] Age ranged from 14 to 18 years ($M = 15.18$, $SD = 0.97$).

Prior to data collection, teachers and principals from all participating schools gave consent. The study was conducted during school hours with teachers present. An experimenter (female native German university student) invited students to participate in the study on a voluntary basis. Students gave verbal consent and were informed that data collection was anonymous and confidential and that the data would be used for scientific purposes only. Questionnaire completion took between 35 and 45 min. Students were then debriefed.

5.1.2 | Materials

With limited time for data collection, we used single-item measures (Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013, also see Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016) of students' ethnic, national, and dual identities with the same stem item for each: "I feel (Turkish/German-Turkish/German)." All items ranged from 1 = *do not agree* to 5 = *completely agree*. Two items measuring contact with native Germans ("It is important to me to have contact with Germans in everyday life."; "In everyday life I have a lot of contact with Germans." assessed on the same 5-point scale were strongly correlated; $r = .70$), and thus were aggregated in a single contact scale. Finally, demographic information (including gender, age, and migration background) was assessed.[3]

5.2 | Results

5.2.1 | Levels and interrelations of identities

A repeated measures analysis of variance including the three identity measures was significant, Wilks' Lambda = 0.20, $F(2,51) = 103.13$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .80$. Least significant difference post hoc tests supported Hypothesis 1: Participants reported higher ethnic ($M = 4.20$, $SE = .14$) than national identity ($M = 1.60$, $SE = .13$; $p < .001$), higher ethnic than dual identity ($M = 3.20$; $SE = .20$; $p = .001$), and higher dual than national identity ($p < .001$).

The more Turkish participants felt, the less German they felt, $r(54) = -.28$, $p = .040$, and the less German–Turkish, $r(55) = -.45$, $p = .001$. The more German–Turkish they felt, the more German they also felt, $r(53) = .38$, $p = .005$. Thus,

in line with Hypothesis 2, whereas participants' German and German–Turkish identities appear to be compatible, their German and Turkish identities appear to be incompatible. Similarly, their Turkish and German–Turkish identities appear to be incompatible.

5.2.2 | Contact

To test the expected relationships between contact and ethnic, national, and dual identities, we conducted three regression analyses while controlling for z-standardized age, gender (dummy coded: men = 0, women = 1), and the other two identities. First, we tested whether contact predicted feeling German (national identity). The regression model was significant, $F(5, 46) = 3.42$, $p = .010$, explaining about 27% of the variance. The coefficient for contact was significant ($\beta = .28$, $p = .038$), and the coefficient for feeling German–Turkish (dual identity) was marginally significant ($\beta = .26$, $p = .085$); all other coefficients were nonsignificant, all $ps \geq .295$. Thus, the more and better contact Turkish-origin students reported with native Germans, the more German they felt themselves. In both other regression models, the effect of contact on feeling Turkish and on feeling German–Turkish was nonsignificant ($p \geq .251$).

5.3 | Discussion

Study 1 provides insights into the relationship between the ethnic, national, and dual identities of adolescent Turkish-origin immigrants in Germany. Consistent with Hypothesis 1 and earlier research on the relative importance of the identities, results showed that endorsement of ethnic identity was stronger than endorsement of national identity. Endorsement of dual identity was between that of ethnic and national identities. Further, in line with Hypothesis 2 and earlier research (e.g., Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; but see Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016, Study 2), ethnic and national identities appear to be incompatible. The more adolescents felt Turkish, the less German they felt. Interestingly, we also found that dual identity was positively related to feeling German and negatively related to feeling Turkish.

The results also provide further evidence for the importance of intergroup contact (e.g., Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and thus partly support Hypothesis 4. As in earlier work, contact with Germans was positively related to how strongly students endorsed being German (e.g., Agirdag et al., 2011; Schulz & Leszczensky, 2016) and was unrelated to the students' ethnic identity. We did not find an effect of contact on participants' dual identity.

One limitation of the present study was that not all students understood that they were supposed to answer all the three identity items. Out of the 91 participants, only 57 participants filled in all identity items. Therefore, a second study was conducted to overcome this methodological problem and to replicate the results of Study 1. Further, Study 2 tested two additional hypotheses: (3) Perceived discrimination predicts stronger ethnic identity and weaker national identity and (4) contact with members of the host society predicts stronger feelings of being at home in Germany, mediated by national and dual identities.

6 | STUDY 2

6.1 | Method

6.1.1 | Participants

In total, 279 students (135 male, 5 unspecified) in five 9th grade and six 10th grade classes at five schools (four Realschulen and one Gesamtschule) participated in the study. As in Study 1, we used the self-categorization of participants as Turkish-origin immigrants in addition to demographic information to define the group of Turkish-origin students. Ninety-five students were categorized as Turkish-origin immigrants (41 male) and constitute the sample

of our analyses. Their age ranged from 14 to 18 years (M = 15.26, SD = 0.90). As in Study 1, principals, teachers, and students gave consent prior to data collection. Participants took 35–45 min to answer the questionnaire, and were debriefed afterwards.

6.1.2 | Procedure and materials

We slightly reframed the *identity items* by asking participants to indicate <u>how much</u> they felt themselves to be a Turk, a German–Turk, and a German (1 = *very much* to 5 = *not at all*) instead of asking them simply if they felt they were a Turk, a German–Turk, and a German (all items were recoded so that high values indicate strong agreement). Participants were explicitly instructed to answer all three items.

Students were asked (a) whether they think it is important to have contact with Germans, (b) whether they have a lot of contact with Germans, (c) whether they like having contact with Germans (ranging from 1 = *totally agree* to 5 = *totally disagree*; recoded) and (d) how many German friends they have (ranging from 1 = *none* to 5 = *many* [six or more]). Items were aggregated into a *contact scale* (α = .80).

Participants were instructed to think about their ethnic group and answer seven items (adapted from Noh & Kaspar, 2003) with regard to this group in order to assess *perceived discrimination*: "Because I am a member of my group I am 1) treated rudely, 2) treated unfairly, 3) threatened, 4) ignored or excluded, 5) getting into quarrels, 6) called names (all ranging from 1 = *totally agree* to 5 = *totally disagree*; recoded), and 7), at least one person of my family was treated badly because we are from Turkey" (this item ranged from 1 = *has happened a lot* to 5 = *has never happened*; recoded). The scale had a satisfactory reliability (α = .83). Participants then filled in demographic information (including gender, age, and migration background), and two items measuring their *feelings of integration* ("I feel more comfortable in Turkey than in Germany." recoded, and "Germany is my home."). Because of a relatively low correlation between the two items, $r(91)$ = .45, we decided to not build an *integration scale* but to focus on the second item as an indicator of students' feelings of being integrated in Germany.[4]

6.2 | Results

6.2.1 | Levels and interrelations of identities

Again, we used a repeated measures analysis of variance including the three identity measures. There was a significant effect of identity, Wilks' Lambda = 0.28, $F(2,88)$ = 112.15, p < .001, η_p^2 = .72. In line with Hypothesis 1, least significant difference post hoc tests revealed that participants reported higher ethnic (M = 4.02, SE = .12) than national identity (M = 1.88, SE = .11; p < .001), higher ethnic than dual identity (M = 3.40; SE = .12; p = .003), and higher dual than national identity (p < .001). As in Study 1, results supported Hypothesis 2: The more participants felt Turkish, the less they felt German, $r(91)$ = −.44, p < .001, and the less they felt German–Turkish, $r(90)$ = −.51, p < .001. The more they felt German–Turkish, the more they also felt German, $r(90)$ = .37, p < .001.

6.2.2 | Contact

We conducted regression analyses similar to those in Study 1. For feeling German as an outcome, the model was significant, $F(5,84)$ = 7.04, p < .001, explaining about 29.5% of the variance. The coefficients for contact (β = .23, p = .032) and for feeling Turkish were significant (β = −.26, p = .020); all other coefficients were nonsignificant. Thus, the more and better contact with native Germans that the Turkish-origin adolescents reported, the stronger was their national identity.

For feeling German–Turkish (dual identity) as the outcome, the model was also significant, $F(5,84)$ = 9.30, p < .001, explaining about 36% of the variance. The coefficients for contact (β = .23, p = .024), and for feeling Turkish (ethnic identity) were significant (β = −.37, p = .001), and the coefficient for gender was marginally significant (β = .17, p = .053); all other coefficients were nonsignificant. The more and better contact Turkish-origin students reported having with native Germans, the higher was their dual identity. For feeling Turkish, the regression coefficient for contact was nonsignificant (β = −.16, p = .118).

6.2.3 | Perceived discrimination

Contrary to Hypothesis 3, regression analyses showed that perceived discrimination was not related to national identity ($\beta = -.003$, $p = .972$), ethnic identity ($\beta = -.02$, $p = .850$), or dual identity ($\beta = -.01$, $p = .937$).

6.2.4 | Mediation models for feeling integrated

Based on the positive relationship of contact with members of the host society and participants' national and dual identities, we tested Hypothesis 4, namely, that the relationship of contact with native Germans and feeling at home in Germany was mediated by participants' national and dual identity (Process Model 4, Hayes, 2013, 50,000 bootstrap samples). As can be seen in Table 1, contact predicted national identity ($a_1 = .51$), which in turn predicted feeling at home ($b_1 = .31$). A bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the specific indirect effect ($a_1 b_1 = .16$) was above zero (.04 to .35). Contact also predicted dual identity ($a_2 = .42$), which in turn predicted feeling at home ($b_2 = .33$). The confidence interval for this specific indirect effect ($a_2 b_2 = .14$) was also above zero (.02 to .30), as was the total indirect effect through both mediators (.30; CI: .14 to .50). Contact did not predict feeling at home independent of the mediators ($c' = .23$).

7 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

We investigated the interrelations, antecedents, and consequences of multiple social identities of Turkish-origin adolescents in Germany in two studies. Consistent with earlier research (e.g., Diehl & Schnell, 2006), the results showed that Turkish-origin students in Germany report higher levels of ethnic identity than of dual identity and higher levels of dual identity than of national identity. Concerning the relationships among the identities, results supported earlier research showing that ethnic and national identities were negatively related (e.g., Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; but see Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016, Study 2). In addition, dual identity was negatively related to ethnic identity but positively related to national identity. Because the Turkish-origin adolescents are living in the German context, there might be assimilative pressure for them to adapt to German social norms. One way to maintain their connection with the ethnic group while simultaneously adhering to German social norms (in order not to be considered deviant) would be to form a dual identity that is close to the mainstream culture and its social norms. If two social identities provide incompatible behavioural norms, identity conflict arises, which can result in psychological stress and tension (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Hirsh & Kang, 2016). Construing a dual identity in a way that is perceived to compatible with the national identity might be a strategy to cope with potential conflicts of multiple social identities.

In the present work, our participants reported very low levels of national (German) identity, much lower than adult immigrants reported in earlier research (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016). This difference might be due to the specific age group we investigated. Earlier research showed that only a minority of immigrant adolescents adopts a strong

TABLE 1 Parallel multiple mediator model

		Consequent										
		M1				M2				Y (feeling at home)		
Antecedent		Coeff	SE	p		Coeff	SE	p		Coeff	SE	p
X (contact)	a_1	0.51	0.13	.001	a_2	0.42	0.09	<.001	c'	0.23	0.16	.144
M1 (national ID)		-	-	-					b_1	0.31	0.13	.229
M2 (dual ID)		-	-	-					b_2	0.33	0.17	.053
Constant	i_{M1}	1.46	0.52	.007	i_{M2}	0.27	0.31	.391	i_Y	0.65	0.54	.229
		$R^2 = .15$				$R^2 = .14$				$R^2 = .26$		
		$F(1, 86) = 14.99$, $p = .001$				$F(1, 86) = 20.76$, $p < .001$				$F(3, 84) = 10.91$, $p < .001$		

orientation towards the host society (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006) and that the formation of ethnic and national identities is highly dependent on the cultural and national context (e.g., Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). The results underline the specific challenge of identity development for adolescent immigrants in nonsettler countries (e.g., Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

In line with earlier research, both studies showed positive associations between contact and Turkish-origin students' national identity but no negative association with ethnic identity. This result, however, is in contrast with recent work showing differences in the effect of contact on national identity for different immigrant groups in Germany (Schulz & Leszczensky, 2016). In this previous research, the authors showed that only under certain preconditions (i.e., low perceived discrimination and low perceived sociocultural distance between the two cultures) does contact positively affect national identity. In a large sample of adolescent immigrants, Schulz and Leszczensky (2016) found that a higher share of native German friends was associated with a stronger national identity only among ethnic Germans and immigrants from former Yugoslavia and Southern Europe. This relationship was not found for Turkish and Polish immigrants. Perhaps because reported discrimination was relatively low in our study, contact had a more positive effect. Future work should explore possible reasons for these inconclusive results in more detail. Also, in Study 2, somewhat surprisingly, perceived discrimination was not related to any of the three identities. Again, this might be due to the low mean level of perceived discrimination in our sample ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.70$; on a 5-point Likert scale), which might suggest a floor effect.

In Study 2, we found evidence for a mediation model showing that contact with the host society was positively related to participants' feelings of being at home in Germany, via their national and dual identity. As earlier work showed that cultural isolation can increase perceived cultural distance (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), we suggest that having frequent and positive experiences of contact with the host society can be understood as an indicator of a good social network within the host society. Thus, by increasing immigrants' national and dual identities, this network should lead to stronger feelings of being at home in Germany. The results of the present work extend existing research showing that both national and/or dual identities contribute to Turkish-origin adolescents' feelings of being at home in Germany and thus support the notion that a dual identity can have positive effects for immigrants (e.g., Berry, 1997; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). These results imply that it is important for the integration of adolescent immigrants to foster contact with members of the host society and thus help build high levels of national and dual identities that can increase immigrant students' feelings of being integrated and at home in Germany. In line with earlier work (e.g., Schulz & Leszczensky, 2016), these findings speak for the importance of interethnic friendships and point towards the problems that segregated neighbourhoods and schools can create.

The results of our two studies add to the knowledge about the role that a dual identity plays for the integration of immigrants into host societies. We found that the dual identity of Turkish-origin adolescents was positively linked to their national identity and played a role similar to national identity in predicting feelings of being integrated into Germany. Despite this positive relationship with national identity, we argue that assessing dual identity separately—instead of measuring it as a combination of high national and ethnic identity—adds important knowledge in telling us the degree to which immigrants are successfully integrating different elements of both identities into one unique identity. Interestingly, we found that the strength of Turkish-origin adolescents' dual identity was between that of their ethnic and national identities. This further supports the claim that the dual identity is more than the sum of its parts (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016) and that each identity can be attached to distinct norms and values (e.g., Hirsh & Kang, 2016). Future research should therefore investigate whether divergences in these norms and values attached to the different identities lead to social identity conflict for Turkish-origin adolescents in Germany, which might affect their feelings of being at home.

7.1 | Limitations

Although the present results add to and extend existing literature, several limitations need to be mentioned. First, in line with earlier research, we interpreted the negative correlation between immigrants' national and ethnic identities

as incompatibility of these two identities. However, we did not investigate whether participants themselves felt a sense of conflict with regard to their multiple identities, or whether they see them as incompatible. Further, we did not test whether this incapability has any consequences for the immigrants, such as reduced well-being. Further research should investigate these questions.

Second, because of time constraints for data collection, we measured each identity with a single item (e.g., "I feel German/Turkish/German–Turkish."). Although there is ample precedent for this single-item approach (e.g., Postmes et al., 2013; and see Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016), complex identities might be better understood by using more items (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004).

Third, the contact measure used in both studies combined quality and quantity of contact. Earlier research showed that it is often useful to differentiate between these two components of contact (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schaafsma, Nezlek, Krejtz, & Safron, 2010). However, in the present work, we were interested in the combined effect of quality and quantity of contact with members of the host society. As the items were highly correlated (Study 1: $r = .70$; Study 2: $\alpha = .80$), we decided to combine them into a single contact scale in order to assess the effect of frequent, positive contact. However, further research could include more complex measures of contact so that various aspects of quantity and quality of contact can be measured, and their relationship with ethnic, national, and dual identity, examined more fully.

Finally, the present results should be treated with some caution, as cross-sectional studies do not provide information about causal relationships. Based on previous research and theory, we made predictions about the direction of relationships between our variables, but it might be possible that the causal direction could be reciprocal or even reversed. Therefore, future research should investigate causality with longitudinal studies.

8 | CONCLUSION

The integration of immigrants into Western societies is a major issue in the 21st century (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014); especially for adolescent immigrants, as balancing their ethnic heritage with the culture of the host society can be challenging. The present results showed that adolescent Turkish-origin immigrants in Germany report higher levels of ethnic than dual and national identities and that their national and ethnic identity seem to be incompatible. Contact with the host society positively influenced immigrants' feelings of being at home in Germany via their national and dual identities. We conclude that the degree to which a society values diversity might contribute to immigrant adolescents' perceptions that their different identities are more or less compatible, and that national and dual identities together may be a more feasible path towards greater integration into the host society.

ENDNOTES

[1] German schools have three educational tracks: lower (Hauptschule), middle (Realschule), and higher (Gymnasium); sometimes the lower and the middle track schools are integrated in one school (Gesamtschule). We conducted the present study in the middle track.

[2] As only 57 participants correctly followed the instructions and filled in all three identity items, most of the analyses are based on these participants.

[3] We also assessed contact in different situations such as school and leisure time, prevention and promotion focus, collective self-esteem, collective action support, stereotypes and meta-stereotypes about participants' ethnic groups, wish to stay in Germany or to move to Turkey after finishing school.

[4] We also assessed collective self-esteem, stereotypes, meta-stereotypes, relative deprivation, social ties to Turkey, equality of opportunity, self-efficacy, and religiosity.

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