

# Identificational Orientations Among Three Generations of Migrants in France

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Version: July 6, 2022

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## Abstract

Scholarship on migrant identity increasingly shows that migrants can – and often do – construct multifaceted identities. Yet, questions around migrant identity formation remain contested in France, given a strongly assimilationist policy context that (in theory) precludes multiple identification. This paper explores intergenerational patterns of migrant identification in France using a nationally representative sample of 1<sup>st</sup>, 1.5, and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants in France from five diverse sending regions in the Trajectories and Origin (TeO) Survey. The researchers conduct a latent profile analysis to identify qualitatively different unobserved (or latent) categories of migrant identification based on observed responses to questions of identification and belonging. These analyses suggest there are five distinct “identificational orientations” among migrants: *assimilated*, *active bicultural*, *othered bicultural*, *detached bicultural*, and *ethnic*. While the assimilated and ethnic categories provide some support for a traditional assimilation framework, biculturalism is widely prevalent and multifaceted: Okai and Behrman identify three distinct varieties of biculturalism (active, othered, and detached). They also provide evidence of segmentation in identificational assimilation by region of origin and conduct multivariate analyses that shed insight into the experiences that correlate with different identificational orientations. Their findings question the presumed threat of strong ethnic identification to France’s national cohesion and offer starting points for future research on how complex identities are formed within strongly assimilationist receiving contexts like France.

*This paper is supported with a grant from the National Science Foundation sponsor# SES 1918274. The authors are grateful to the Centre Maurice Halbwachs for granting access to the data [Trajectoires et origines (TEO)— version complete—2008: (2008, fichier electronique), INED et INSEE (producteur), Centre Maurice Halbwachs (CMH, diffuseur)]. We are grateful to Abby Weitzman, Chris Maggio, Mónica Caudillo, Jeylan Erman, and Elwood Carlson for helpful comments on earlier versions of the manuscript.*

## **Introduction**

Questions of immigrant identification and assimilation have been at the forefront of heated debates among academics, policy makers, media, and the public throughout Europe and North America in recent decades. In the sociological literature on migration, the extent to which immigrants personally identify with their country of origin as opposed to destination is a commonly used measure of their incorporation into receiving contexts (Gershon and Pantoja 2014). Many believe this measure can reveal identification patterns that have negative consequences for national identity and culture (Alexander 2001). Skeptics in particular express concern that multiculturalism can “dilute national cultures [and] foster a host of closely associated social ills” (Ehrkamp and Leitner 2006a:1592). Whether positively or negatively, a broad consensus exists that immigrant identification remains consequential to our understanding of incorporation.

In France, the focus of this manuscript, the relationship between migrant identity and incorporation has been especially contested (Beaman 2017; Koenig 2005; O’Connor and Faas 2012). The French model of migrant incorporation has been characterized by a Republican ideology that emphasizes that all French citizens pursue sameness (Favell 2016; Rogers Brubaker 1992). Former French president Nicholas Sarkozy articulates this assimilationist ideology: “If you want to become French, you speak French, you live like the French and you don't try and change a way of life that has been ours for so many years” (Reuters 2021). Encapsulated in this statement is a strong assumption that being French entails strong identification with France and the “French way of life.” In practice, the French state adopts a “colorblind” policy that does not officially recognize religion, race, or ethnicity at any administrative level (Beaman and Petts 2020). Migrants—like all other citizens—are supposed to

prioritize their “French” identity over other types of identities in the public sphere. As Simon (2015) notes, the fact that France does not collect racial or ethnic statistics reflects a long-standing ideal that migrants and their descendants should be fully integrated into France and hyphenated identities are not strictly speaking supposed to exist.

Drawing on the perspective that migrant identification is complicated and multi-dimensional, this paper explores patterns of migrant identification in France using a nationally representative sample of 1<sup>st</sup>, 1.5, and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants in France in the Trajectories and Origin (TeO) Survey. The migrants in our sample come from five major sending regions (North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Turkey, Southeast Asia, and Southeast Europe) which comprise many of the major migratory flows into contemporary France (INED 2021). We conduct a latent profile analysis to identify qualitatively different unobserved (or latent) categories of migrant “identificational orientations” based on observed responses to questions of identification and belonging. We borrow the concept of “orientations” from scholarship that considers how individuals weigh different identity-related and experiential attributes in the construction of self-definitions (Cheek et al. 2013; Kulis et al. 2016). The latent profile approach allows us to go beyond a singular focus on whether respondents “feel French” to explore how respondents’ identificational orientations incorporate complicated (and contradictory) views on identification and belonging. In a series of descriptive and multivariate analyses, we demonstrate heterogeneity in identificational orientations by migrant generation and region of origin and explore the experiences that correlate with different types of identificational orientations. In doing so, we situate different patterns of identificational orientation as part of and resulting from broader social processes related to immigrant incorporation.

## **Migrant Identification: A Set of Intersecting Frameworks**

Incorporation. Integration. Assimilation. Acculturation. Identification. All these terms relate to and concern how migrants are influenced by their contact with host cultures. Scholarship on incorporation explores how migrant groups are integrated into a host nation's stratification system (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011), transform and/or preserve heritage practices from origin countries (Killian and Hegtvedt 2003), and develop identities and understandings of self that can play a crucial role in the incorporation process (Mazzoni et al. 2019). In what follows we focus on identificational research, including the theoretical roots, conceptual evolution, and ongoing debates related to identification as a dimension of incorporation.

### *From Identificational Assimilation to a Multiple-Identification Perspective*

Perhaps the most significant debate in migrant identity research revolves around questions of how migrants incorporate their host country into their sense of self. This debate finds its roots in the Classical Assimilation Theory (CAT) that has dominated scholarship on migrant identity. In his seminal work, Gordon's (1964) proposes "identificational assimilation", or personal identification with the destination setting, as a key stage in the overall process of incorporation into a host context. Empirical works that stemmed from this tradition operationalized identificational assimilation through what is referred to as the "national identification model", where studies either explored the social factors that predicted identification with the destination nation among migrants or explored the relationship between different types of identities (see Kunovich (2009)). Two assumptions of CAT, however, are heavily criticized. First, CAT presumes that assimilation is a linear progression that ends with the

convergence of migrant and native populations without distinction (Rumbaut 1997). Second, CAT positions identification with the host and origin countries in an oppositional binary, giving way to the belief that migrants experience “divided loyalties” that are irreconcilable with one another (Schlenker 2016). Critics argue that these assumptions maintain assimilation as a static, unidimensional concept in which convergence with mainstream host culture is the only outcome. Some also question the usefulness of assimilation as a contemporary concept (Glazer 1993), especially given the realities of war, economic depression and exclusionary migration policies that characterized the historical moment in which the concept developed (Jiménez 2008). Others argue, however, that distinguishing between the institutional nature of assimilation and the interactive quality of acculturation (or the processes through which migrants learn the values, norms, and customs in the destination) can preserve “assimilation” as a tool to explore the (dis)continuities between older and newer immigrants (Gans 2007).

Multiple identification theorists, however, reject assimilation as the sole organizing basis of migrant integration. Robert Park’s (1928) notion of “cultural hybrids” and Redfield et al.’s (1936) view of acculturation beyond assimilation suggests that scholars have long been aware that linear assimilation may not be the only way to conceptualize migrant integration. Scholars also reject the belief that a strong ethnic identity necessarily includes rejecting the host country (Berry 1970; Zak 1973). Instead, multiple identification theorists propose that migrants have a myriad of ways to reconcile identification with host and origin countries, including cognitively simple dual identification and more complex representations like hyphenated identities (Verkuyten et al. 2019). Mensah and Williams (2015) for example, distinguish between Canadian, ethnic, and dual identification among a sample of African migrants in Canada. In the United States, Lien, Conway, and Wong (2003) demonstrate complex variation in

identification—ranging from single-ethnic to a pan-regional hybrid identity—amongst a sample of Asians living in five metropolitan areas.

Research in the multiple-identification tradition has bifurcated primarily by method. Quantitative research has focus on the types of identities migrants possess. Berry (1997), for example, derived four categories of acculturation: (1) assimilation, in which migrants acquire the receiving culture and reject the origin culture; (2) separation, in which migrants reject the receiving culture and retain the origin culture; (3) integration (or biculturalism), in which migrants accept the receiving culture, and retain the origin culture; and (4) marginalization, in which migrants reject both the receiving culture and the origin culture. Scholars working in the tradition of Berry's acculturation model have also increasingly used cluster-based analysis methods (including latent class analysis) to identify distinct patterns of acculturation and adaptation based on observed measures of attachment and belonging (Chia and Costigan 2006; Schwartz and Zamboanga 2008). Other scholars, however, have focused on hybridization as qualitative process, exploring it through in-depth interview-based explorations of dual citizenship (Yanasmayan 2015), individual hybrid identities (Asher 2008) and even multi-hyphenated identities that integrate ethnic, national origin and host origin identities (Ali and Sonn 2010). In both quantitative and qualitative work on multiple identification, the organizing belief is simple: a theory of assimilation is necessarily incomplete because migrant identification varies within and across groups, depending on how individual and social factors intersect to shape a migrant's identity.

### *Trajectories of Identification Across Migrant Generations*

Early intergenerational assimilation theory, which also originated from Gordon's initial framework, posits that identificational assimilation should become more pronounced in the

second and third generation, a theory which has been supported in many multi-generational empirical studies of how identification changes over migrant generations (Diehl and Schnell 2006; Forrest, Johnston, and Siciliano 2020; Verhaeghe et al. 2020). In tandem, this research presumes ethnic identity and ethnicity erodes in later generations (Duncan and Trejo 2011; Emeka 2019). Scholars see this erosion in ethnic identity both as evidence of assimilation and a challenge to empirical research as ethnic attrition on surveys increases.

Some scholars contend that theories of intergenerational identificational assimilation do not adequately account for differences in intergenerational change amongst immigrant groups. Alternative theories like segmented assimilation theory, however, try to account for these inadequacies. In their seminal paper, Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that socio-economic background, external circumstances, and acculturation experiences can lead to diverse trajectories of integration into a host country's social stratification structure, including downward assimilation into low-skill low-paying jobs and even potentially deviant lifestyles. These divergences are not simply about structural stratification; they may also encompass a related notion of "segmented identificational assimilation" (Rumbaut 1994). In the segmented identificational assimilation model, the same factors that shape integration into a host country's stratification system can also affect whether later-generation migrants assimilate into oppositional identities associated with racialized minorities (Portes and Zhou 1993), construct resilient and positive ethnic identities, or develop reactive ethnic identities (Rumbaut 1994).

A range of explanations exist for how ethnic identities persist intergenerationally. One subset of scholarship argues contextual social factors, such as language skills (Portes and MacLeod 1996), residential concentration (Conzen 1979) and cultural portals (Ferrera 2017) help reinforce ethnic identity among later-generation migrants. Other scholars assert that constant in-



flows of migrants (e.g. “immigrant replenishment”) actually sharpen group boundaries and reify the central nature of ethnic identity for later-generation migrants (Jiménez 2008). Cultural consumption of transnational media such as Telenovelas (Rios 2003), Bollywood films (Durham 2004) and Korean films (Oh 2012) can also help later-generation migrants (re)construct ethnic identities they deem authentic.

### *The Multidimensionality of Migrant Identity*

Perhaps the most theorized and widely deployed dimensions of migrant identification are identification with origin and destination settings. In survey research, these concepts are typically measured with questions on whether the respondent “feels” or “identifies” with the host nation (referred to as “national identification”) and/or the origin nation or ethnicity (referred to as “ethnic identification”). Both national and ethnic identification are commonly treated as symbolic, rooted in an individual’s “affective attachment” to host and origin countries (Davis 1999). Not all scholars agree however, that these measures capture a symbolic unidirectional notion of attachment to host and origin country. For example, commitment to a nation can be normative and require minimal emotional involvement, or even functional with neither emotional nor material benefits (Delamater, Katz, and Kelman 1969). Research on instrumental citizenship (Bauböck 2019), strategic assimilation (García 2014), reactive ethnicity (Rumbaut 1994) and affiliative ethnic identity (Jimenez 2010) represent a few perspectives in which national and ethnic identity are interwoven with more functionalist and normative concerns of migrant life.

Research has also conceptualized additional ways that migrants can relate to a place of origin, notably through the concept of belonging. Unlike national and ethnic identity, which focus on a person’s bond to an imagined construct like a nation, belonging captures an

individual's personal feelings of attachment, inclusion, acceptance and security (Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2015). Research delineates – with mixed success – between place attachment (Pollini 2005) and social inclusion (de Vroome, Verkuyten, and Martinovic 2014). Place attachment is concerned with when and why migrants feel at home in a place (Youkhana 2015). Social inclusion, on the other hand, focuses on the role of others in creating belonging. Feelings of acceptance and integration by others is the central concern to studies on social inclusion (Hellgren 2019). This scholarship on belonging highlights the importance of feeling accepted by a community (Cichocka 2021) and being ascribed a national identity by others (van Heelsum and Koomen 2016) to a individuals' own perceptions of inclusion.

Increasingly, scholars are moving beyond a focus on singular measures of identity or belonging to consider how these diverse constructs interact and overlap to construct multidimensional forms of migrant identification. The idea of multidimensional identities finds its roots in collective identity research, where scholars have rejected unidimensional understandings of racial (Sellers et al. 1998), gender (Egan et al. 2001) and increasingly migrant (Grant 2016) identities. Several empirical studies have sprung from this interest in presenting a more complex representation of migrant identities using survey-based research. In their descriptive analysis of the INED survey for example, Simon and Tiberj (2018) reveal a subset of migrants who experience a strong sense of belonging in France despite having low national attachment to France. Their analysis shows how focusing on a singular measure of belonging might overlook more complex and multifaceted patterns of migrant identification.

### *Integrating Identificational Frameworks: Locating Our Case Study*

Our survey of the extant literature on migrant identity leads to three overarching propositions that organize our understanding of the identificational aspect of incorporation. First,

migrant identification with host and origin countries entails multiple (even seemingly contradictory) dimensions and a great deal of variation exists in how individuals identify both within and across immigrant groups. Second, an intergenerational perspective is crucial to understanding patterns of identification among migrants. Lastly, identificational incorporation is multidimensional, comprised of identification *and* belonging (including place attachment *and* social inclusion). Though each of these propositions has been explored independently, few studies bridge all three principles to create a multidimensional understanding of intergenerational identificational incorporation amongst an entire migrant population. Indeed, most quantitatively-oriented studies that adopt a multiple identification perspective using latent class or cluster analyses rely on small non representative convenience samples, limiting generalizability (Chia and Costigan 2006; Schwartz and Zamboanga 2008).

France provides a particularly interesting case study to explore questions of migrant identification given that state policy on immigration coalesces in many respects with the tenets of Classical Assimilation Theory. While the French Republican ideal means that anyone can, in theory, become French, emphasis on assimilation has led to conflict about whether religious, ethnic, and racial minorities should be able to acknowledge these aspects of their identities in public arenas. Tension over this topic has manifested itself in prominent debates over the wearing of religious symbols in schools and public spaces (Killian 2003) and led to ongoing discussions about the place for multiculturalism in French society and whether immigrants can have hyphenated or dual identities (Laborde 2001; May 2016). Questions remain about whether such a strongly assimilationist policy context precludes dual or hyphenated identities (Amirault and Simon 2006; Simon and Beaujeu 2018).

In contrast to the Republican ideology and discourse, scholars of migrant identity in

France suggest that emphasis on “assimilation” overlooks the complexity and multidimensionality of migrant identification. Simon (2012) shows that reports of feeling at home in France among migrants are systematically higher than reports of feeling French, suggesting that personal investment in place cannot be conflated with national attachment. Other analyses also find that factors associated with immigrant integration are associated with increased reports of “feeling French” and “feeling at home in France” among minoritized migrant groups, whereas negative experiences (such as discrimination, or police stops) have the opposite effect (Maxwell and Bleich 2014; Terrasse 2019). Qualitative studies of migrants in France indicate that even those integrated into the economic and legal structures of the country continue to face racial and ethnic discrimination that denies their “cultural” citizenship, leaving them in the position of perpetual “citizen outsiders” (Beaman 2017). Taken together, these studies indicate a need for work that highlights the multidimensionality of migrant identification in France, even in a policy context focused on identificational assimilation. To this end, our empirical analyses construct typologies of “identificational orientations” that capture the multidimensional ways that migrants value different dimensions of identity and belonging.

## **Data and Sample**

We use the Trajectories and Origin (TeO) Survey in France, a large nationally representative cross-sectional survey (with an immigrant oversample) managed by the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) and the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED)<sup>1</sup>. Nationality at birth and place of birth information from the 2007 French Census was used to construct a representative sample of individuals born abroad or in DOM (Département d’Outre-Mer) but residing in France (immigrants) at time of survey, as well as a

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<sup>1</sup> Publicly available data is available for download after a short application process: <http://quetelet.progedo.fr/>

“control group” who are native born.<sup>2</sup> Drawing a sample of individuals with at least one foreign-born parent (descendant) was more challenging, given the French census does not ask questions about parents’ origin. To address this, 300,000 names were drawn from the census, matched to their birth certificates, and searched in town hall registers to create a sampling frame of 20,000 persons born in France to a foreign-born parent (immigrant or not) and 1,300 persons born to parents from in a French DOM.

In total, the survey was administered to 21,761 working adults living in Metropolitan France between 2008 and 2009, covering a rich array of topics including migration histories, social and family environment, access to socioeconomic resources and cultural affiliations, discrimination, identification, and linkages to origin countries. Persons born in France to a parent born abroad, as well as those of Turkish, Sub-Saharan and Southeast Asian origin were over-sampled. We conduct a listwise deletion to identify a sample of respondents with full information on the variables in our analyses (Appendix A Table 1). In our analyses, we focus on sub-samples of 1<sup>st</sup> generation (i.e. arrived after age 16), 1.5 generation (i.e. arrived before age 16), and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (i.e. born in France to one or more migrant partners) respondents from (1) North Africa (n= 3,622), (2) Sub-Saharan Africa (n=2,040), (3) Southeast Asia (n=1,159), (4) Turkey (n=1,103), and (5) Southern Europe (n=3,849) (Table 1). Respondents were not sampled by familial unit, which limits our ability to speak about intergenerational change. We speak only to broad differences between generations, not any direct influence of one generation over another.

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<sup>2</sup> DOM are territorial authorities of the French Republic that are located outside of mainland France.

## Measures

### *Identificational Orientations*

To construct identificational orientations, we draw on four measures that encapsulate an individual's relationship to their social reality as a migrant (Bielewska 2021; Boland 2020; Ehrkamp and Leitner 2006b; Simon and Tiberj 2018). First, to capture symbolic attachment to France we include responses to the statement: (Q1) "I Feel French". Second, to capture symbolic attachment to the origin country we use responses to the statement: (Q2) "I Feel [My Origin Country/Parent's Origin Country)].<sup>3</sup> Third, to capture belonging as place attachment we rely on responses to the statement: (Q3): I Feel at Home in France. Fourth, to capture belonging as a perception of inclusion we include responses to the statement (Q4): I Feel Seen as French. Responses to each statement takes the form of a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Responses of "don't know" or "don't wish to answer" are excluded from the analyses because there is no straightforward way to include them in the Likert scale.<sup>4</sup> Importantly, these four measures allow us to address core questions regarding the relationship between national and ethnic identity, the degree of coupling between national identity and belonging, as well as the extent to which place attachment and inclusion operate in tandem with one another.

### *Correlates of Identificational Orientations*

In our multivariate analyses, we explore how key social and demographic variables correlate with distinct identificational orientations. We focus on three categories of variables: (1)

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<sup>3</sup> Question is adjusted for migrant generational status as appropriate.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix A Tables 1-3 provide additional information on the frequency of these types of responses and conduct logistic regression analyses of how those respondents who provide "don't know"/ "don't wish to answer" responses are different from other respondents on observed characteristics.

experiences that promote social and institutional inclusion into French society (e.g. citizenship, education, language etc.); (2) experiences that correspond with exclusion from French society (e.g. discrimination, racism etc.); (3) experiences that maintain linkages with the origin country (e.g. translational practices etc.). The following is a list of variables included in these analyses. (Appendix B provides a more detailed description of variable creation)

*French citizenship:* A binary indicator to designate French citizenship based on self-reported French citizenship at the time of the survey.

*Educational attainment:* A categorical measure of attainment including the following categories: (1) less than secondary school, (2) some secondary school, (3) secondary diploma, and (4) higher education.

*Migrant status of partner:* A categorical measure to indicate: (0) no partner, (1) immigrant partner, (2) descendant partner and (3) native partner.

*Language(s) spoken at home:* A categorical measure of self-reported languages spoken at home including: (1) only French; (2) only a foreign language; (3) multiple languages including French; and (4) multiple languages excluding French.

*Discrimination:* A categorical measure of self-reported frequency of past experiences with unequal or discriminatory treatment including (1) often, (2) sometimes, and (3) never.

*Racist insults:* A categorical measure of experiences with racist insults including (1) never experienced, (2) never experienced but maybe will in the future, (3) experienced racist insults over a year ago, and (4) experienced racist insults in the last 12 months.

*Muslim:* A binary indicator of whether the respondent identifies as Muslim.

*Transnationalism:* Following the approach of past scholars (Beauchemin, Lagrange, and Safi 2018; Safi 2018), we construct a scale based on number of transnational engagements with

the origin country (e.g. return visits, contact with family or friends abroad etc.) with categories for high, moderate and low transnational activity.

We also control for core demographic characteristics including a continuous measure of age at survey, a binary indicator of respondent gender, and a binary indicator of residence in Paris.

### **Analytic Strategy**

The overarching objective of our analysis is to identify different typologies of “identificational orientations” that encompass multiple (even conflicting) views on identification and belonging. To this end, we conduct a latent profile analysis which identifies qualitatively different unobserved (or latent) categories (or classes) of respondents based on observed respondent characteristics (Hagenaars and Halman 1989). We create different latent classes of identificational orientations based on observed measures of identification and belonging among migrant respondents. In doing so we extend descriptive scholarship that has highlighted the multidimensionality of migrant identity in France (Simon and Tiberj 2018) by using a method that allows us to derive distinct typologies of identification by simultaneously combining multiple measures of identification and belonging.

The latent profile analysis consists of three main steps (Vermunt and Magidson 2016): (1) identifying the optimal number of latent classes; (2) assigning respondents to latent classes based on their posterior probability of class membership; and (3) exploring the social and demographic variables that correlate with class membership. In what follows we go through each of these steps in further detail.



First, we identify the optimal number of latent classes by starting with a one-class model and increasing the number of classes by one in every subsequent model (Weller, Bowen, and Faubert 2020).<sup>5</sup> To select a model, we assess a range of fit statistics, including: Akaike information criterion (AIC), Bayesian information criteria (BIC), Change in BIC (% change BIC), Likelihood ratio test (LRT) and Log Likelihood. Smaller values on these fit statistics suggest better fit in the model (see Table 2 for model-fit statistics). We find that a five-category model reaches convergence and has the lowest fit statistics (LL: -7410.9; LRT <0.0001; BIC: 15065.4).<sup>6</sup>

Second, we assign respondents to latent classes based on their posterior probability of class membership. This approach also allows us to generate latent profile means – the average mean value of each question about identification and belonging for each of the five identificational orientations– to help us understand how the five orientations are similar and different from each other on our core measures of identification and belonging (Clark and Muthén 2009). We also show descriptively how different orientations vary over region of origin and migrant generation.

Third, we explore the social and demographic variables that correlate with class membership. To this end, we treat each identificational orientation generated by the latent

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<sup>5</sup> We begin by generating a one-class through six-category model for evaluation. We found that maximum likelihood estimation, however, did not reach convergence for the six-category model, and so excluded it from consideration.

<sup>6</sup> One area of concern was that the % change in BIC seemed to be decreasing until the four-category model – suggesting a declining explanatory shift with additional classes – but that percentage becomes a 5% decrease between a four-category and five-category model. To confirm the comparative fit of these two models, we generate class probabilities for each class model and use these to classify respondents (see Table 4 in Appendix A). We do these classifications at decreasing probability thresholds from 0.9 to 0.5, with 0.5 being the accepted minimum threshold for classifying unambiguously. We find that a five-category model classifies more respondents than the four-class model at every probability threshold of classification. Additionally, at the minimum threshold of 0.5, the five-category model classified the full sample of respondents. Based on these checks, we adopt the five-category model for our analysis and classify each respondent using the minimum probability threshold.

profile analysis as a binary outcome variable and run regression analyses of how social and demographic variables predict membership in each of the five latent profile categories. For ease of interpretation, we use linear probability models for these analyses. Due to the cross-sectional nature of our data, we make no claims about the directionality of the relationship between the explanatory variables and the identificational orientations.

## **Results**

### *Descriptive Overview: Measures of Migrant Identification and Belonging*

Our analyses center around four different measures of migrant identification and belonging: feeling French (national identity), feel one's origin country (ethnic identity), feeling at home in France (place attachment), and feeling seen as French (sense of inclusion). Table 3 presents results of a polychoric correlation matrix, which provides insight into the correlations between these four measures.<sup>7</sup> National identity is strongly positively correlated with place attachment (0.65) and a sense of inclusion (0.64). Likewise, place attachment is moderately positively correlated with a sense of inclusion (0.54). On the other hand, ethnic identity is negatively (though more weakly) correlated with national identity (-0.31), a sense of inclusion (-0.35), and place attachment (-0.24). Taken together, these correlational analyses suggest a positive (though far from perfect) relationship between national identification and belonging, and a negative relationship between national and ethnic identification that is perhaps not as strong as a strict assimilationist view might suggest.

There is also considerable regional and intergenerational heterogeneity in patterns of identification and belonging (see Appendix A Table 5). Descriptive statistics, for example, show

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<sup>7</sup> A traditional correlation matrix assumes that a variable is continuous, rather than an expression of an underlying continuous attribute. The polychoric correlation better approximates the correlation based on the underlying attribute of an ordinal variable.

that Southeast Europeans record the highest levels of feeling seen as French across all three generations (from mean of 2.24/4 in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation to 3.60/4 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation). Since each of the identification and belonging measures ranges from 1 (strong disagreement) to 4 (strong agreement), average values that are close to 1 represent strong rejection of the statement in question and average values that are closer to 4 represent strong agreement with the statement in question. In contrast, Sub-Saharan Africans record the lowest levels of feeling seen as French across all three generations (from mean of 1.94/4 in the first generation to 2.47/4 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation). There are also substantial regional differences in intergenerational patterns of identification and belonging (see Appendix A Table 6). Southeast Asians and Southeast Europeans, for example, most closely conform to traditional theories of intergenerational assimilation, with increasingly strong positive national identity and belonging amongst later generations. In contrast, Turkish respondents show the smallest intergenerational decrease in attachment to origin country. These descriptive statistics further support the notion that there is a complex landscape of identificational incorporation patterns across migrant region of origin and generation.

#### *Latent Profile Analysis: Identificational Orientations of Migrants*

Although standalone measures of identification provide important preliminary information about patterns of each dimension, they tell us little about migrants' "identificational orientations", which may encompass multiple (even conflicting) views on identification and belonging. In the next step our analysis we adopt a latent profile approach that identifies five distinct classes of respondents based on observed measures of identification and belonging. To better explicate the orientation that each class represents we look at the mean values of the four identificational measures for each of the five latent classes (Figure 1). Based on these mean

values, we label the five classes as: (1) ethnic; (2) assimilated; (3) actively bicultural (4) detached bicultural; and (5) othered bicultural. In what follows, we provide additional information about each of the five classes.

The ethnic class, which makes up 18% of respondents, represents an identificational orientation characterized by strong identification with country of origin and weak identification with country of destination. Respondents in the ethnic class identify firmly with their origin country (mean of 3.5/4), do not feel French (mean of 1.5/4), and do not feel that others see them as French (mean of 1.7/4). Nonetheless, even ethnic class members possess a moderately strong sense of feeling at home in France (mean of 2.9/4), which suggests belonging is not incompatible with strong ethnic identification. As would be predicted by Classic Assimilation Theory, ethnic identification is much stronger in the first generation and falls over generations across migrant groups (Figure 2). Still, there is heterogeneity in intergenerational patterns of ethnic identification by region of origin. For example, among first generation Southern Europeans and Turks levels of ethnic membership are similar (about 55-56% respondents in each group). However, patterns of ethnic membership in the second generation are strikingly different for these two groups; about 24% of second-generation Turks exhibit ethnic class membership compared to only about 5% of Southern Europeans.

Respondents in the assimilated class, which is comprised of 20% of respondents, represent an identificational worldview characterized by strong identification with country of destination and weak identification with country of origin. Assimilated class members feel deeply French (mean of 3.99/4) and strongly at home in France (mean of 3.9/4). Assimilated class members also feel seen as French by others (mean of 3.62/4), and strongly reject identification with country of origin (mean of 1.4/4). Consistent with Classic Assimilation

Theory, assimilated class membership is low in the first generation (ranging from about 4-8% of respondents depending on region of origin) and grows in the 1.5 and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation. Still, there is considerable variation in assimilated membership in the second generation, ranging from a high of about 43% of Southern Europeans to a low of about 8% of Turks (with North Africans, Sub-Saharan Africans, and South Asians in between at about 25-30% of respondents).

While respondents in ethnic and assimilated classes identify strongly either with origin *or* destination, most respondents (60%) fell in one of three classes which identify similarly with *both* origin and destination settings. In this respect, our findings coalesce with past scholarship on dual identification that documents the existence of “biculturalism” amongst migrants. However, we expand on extant research by documenting quantitatively using a representative data that there are in fact multiple typologies of bicultural respondents, which we call actively bicultural, detached bicultural, and othered bicultural.

Actively bicultural respondents (25% of the sample) demonstrate very strong identification with France (mean of 3.99/4) *and* country of origin (mean of 3.5/4), whereas detached bicultural respondents (24% of the sample) demonstrate moderately strong identification with both France (mean of 2.99/4) and their country of origin (mean of 3.12/4).<sup>8</sup> Othered bicultural respondents (11% of the sample) resemble actively bicultural respondents in their strong identification with both France (mean of 3.99/4) and their origin country (mean of 3.66/4). However, they differ from their actively bicultural counterparts in one major respect: they have very low agreement with the statement that other people see them as French (mean of 1.5/4 compared to mean of 3.6/4 for actively bicultural respondents and 2.6/4 for detached bicultural respondents). Despite these differences, all three groups share strong agreement with

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<sup>8</sup> We refer to the latter group as “detached” to capture overall lower strength of all forms of identification that are nonetheless far from rejection.

feeling at home in France (means of 3.9, 3.4, and 3.6 for active, detached and othered bicultural classes respectively).

As Figure 2 shows, membership in the actively bicultural class increases across migrant generations, except for North Africans where membership in this class is fairly stable across generations. However, there is important variation in actively bicultural membership by region of origin: whereas about 40% of the Southern European second generation fall into the actively bicultural class, only 22-29% of the second generation from the other four regions fall into this category. Detached bicultural membership remains relatively stable over generations among North Africans, Sub-Saharan Africans, and Southeast Asians, though it increases across generations among Turks and decreases over generations among Southern Europeans. Othered bicultural membership also remains stable over generations, except for Turks (where it increases) and Sub-Saharan Africans (where it increases between the first and 1.5 generations but decreases in the second generation). There are also stark region-base differences in othered cultural membership: only about 2% of the Southern European second generation fall into the othered bicultural category compared to 15-20% of North African and Sub-Saharan African and 10% of Turkish and Southeast Asian second-generation members.

#### *Multivariate Analysis: Correlates of Identificational Orientations*

Our latent profile analysis distinguished five identificational orientations among migrants to France and highlighted important variation in the prevalence of these orientations by migrant generation and region of origin. Yet, as Table 4 shows, there is considerable heterogeneity in our sample in experiences that may correlate with different types of identification (e.g. experience of racist insults, practices of transnationalism, French citizenship etc.). To provide

more context on how the five orientations are distinct Table 5 shows a series of linear probability models of the social variables that correlate with each of the five orientations.

Model 1 and 5, which focus on assimilated and ethnic class membership, provide insight into the experiences that correspond with these orientations. As the two models show, many of the correlates of assimilated class membership operate in the opposite direction of the correlates of ethnic class membership. For example, French citizenship and higher education – both experiences that promote access to mainstream French social institutions – are associated with a 5- and 6- percentage point higher probability of assimilated identification and a 22- and 7- percentage point lower probability of ethnic identification respectively. In contrast linkages to origin countries – including high transnational activity and speaking foreign languages at home other than French – are negatively associated with an assimilated orientation and positively associated with an ethnic orientation. Racism – both recent experiences and fears of future experiences – is associated with a 8- and 4 percentage lower probability of an assimilated orientation, and a 4- and 3- percentage point higher probability of an ethnic orientation. Compared to first generation migrants, 1.5- and second-generation migrants have a higher probability of an assimilated orientation respectively and a lower probability of ethnic orientation, which reinforces Classic Assimilation Theories about changes in identificational orientations over migrant generations.

Models 2-4 focus on the three categories of bicultural class membership (actively, othered, and detached) in which respondents are characterized by similar levels of identification with both origin and destination settings. One major commonality across all three bicultural classes is that regular transnational activity is positively associated with class membership: high (compared to low) transnational activity is correlated with a 10-percentage point higher

probability of being in the actively bicultural class, a 2-percentage point higher probability of being in the othered bicultural class, and a 7-percentage point higher probability of being in the detached bicultural class. These findings sit in contrast to Model 1, where high (compared to low) transnationalism was associated with a 28-percentage point lower probability of being in the assimilated class.

There are, however, important differences between the three bicultural classes that may help explain why sense of inclusion is higher among actively bicultural respondents compared to their othered and detached bicultural counterparts. Notably, experiences of discrimination and racism are negatively associated with the probability of actively bicultural membership, and positively associated with the probability of othered and detached bicultural membership. In part, these differences in experiences of racism and discrimination may be related to the differences in racial, ethnic and religious background of respondents who comprise the different orientations. Respondents in the actively bicultural group have a significantly higher probability of being from Southern Europe compared to all other regions (and thus may be more likely to be racialized as white), whereas respondents in the othered and detached bicultural groups have significantly higher probabilities of being from Asia or Africa compared to Southern Europe (and thus may be more likely to be racialized as non-white). Likewise, being Muslim is associated with a 7 and 3 percentage point higher probability of being in the othered or detached groups, though no significant probability with being in the actively bicultural group.

The results presented in Table 5 also provide insight into how the detached bicultural class is distinct from other bicultural groups. Though French citizenship is associated with a higher probability of actively bicultural or othered bicultural membership, it is not significantly associated with detached bicultural membership. These results suggests that formal inclusion via



citizenship is more important for predicting forms of biculturalism characterized by strong national identification with France. Detached bicultural class members are also associated with higher probabilities of having dual-foreign born parents, higher probabilities of speaking a foreign language at home, and higher probabilities of having a partner who is a first or second-generation migrant. Strong interpersonal linkages with cultural worlds beyond France—coupled with higher probabilities of experiencing racism and discrimination—may help account for more moderate attachment to France and French identity reported by detached bicultural members.

Overall, the intergenerational patterns in biculturalism reinforce past work on the prevalence of bicultural identities across migrant generations, thereby complicating the classic assimilationist perspective. On one hand, there is evidence that active biculturalism grows between generations: compared to first generation migrants, 1.5- and second-generation migrants are associated with a 6- and 7- percentage point higher probability of actively bicultural membership. Being in the 1.5 generation (compared to the first generation) is associated with a 3-percentage point increase in the probability of othered bicultural membership, but the association between second generation and othered bicultural is null. Furthermore, generational status is not significantly associated with detached bicultural membership.

## **Discussion**

Drawing on the premise that migrant identification is multifaceted, multidimensional and intergenerationally diverse this paper established distinct types of identification orientations amongst three generations of migrants in France from five distinct sending regions. Our latent profile analyses suggest there are five distinct “identification orientations” among migrants in our sample: *assimilated*, *active bicultural*, *othered bicultural*, *detached bicultural* and *ethnic*.

While the assimilated and ethnic categories provide some support for a traditional assimilation framework, biculturalism is also widely prevalent in our sample (about 60% of respondents), a striking finding given the assimilationist French policy context in which dual or hyphenated identities are not (in theory) supposed to exist.

A key contribution of our study is to show that biculturalism is not a monolithic category among migrants in France. Instead, we identify three distinct varieties of biculturalism (active, othered, and detached) all of which are characterized by dual identification with host and origin country. Active biculturalism, which is characterized by strong identification to host and origin, strong place attachment, and strong sense of inclusion, closely aligns to existing paradigms. However, we also document the prevalence of othered biculturalism whereby a strong sense of exclusion co-exists alongside a strong bicultural identity and attachment to France. The existence of the othered bicultural category highlights the importance of taking a multiple dimensional perspective that includes measures of identity, place attachment, *and* inclusion. If we had focused on measures of identity and place attachment, but not inclusion, we may have overlooked this category of respondents. In this respect, our findings provide population-level support to qualitative research that suggests strong feelings of French identity and attachment can co-exist with a sense of social exclusion in shaping migrants' self-conceptions (Beaman 2016). Furthermore, our detached bicultural category, which is characterized by moderate identification to host and origin, moderate place attachment, and a moderate sense of inclusion, highlights the importance of assessing the strength of identification and belonging when assessing identificational incorporation. Once again, this category of respondents might have been entirely overlooked if we had focused on binary measures of respondent identification with host and origin rather than a likert scale measure that captured strength of identification.

Contrary to the broad dominance of assimilatory ideology, there is great regional variation in identificational orientations among migrants in France, ranging from the intergenerationally assimilatory (Southeast Europeans + Southeast Asians) to the uneven (North and Sub-Saharan Africans) and the persistently ethnic (Turkish). Perhaps least surprising is the high degrees of assimilation and active biculturalism that exist amongst Southeast Europeans. The historical construction of European migration as “unproblematic” has created systemically favorable conditions for their integration into France (Eremenko, el Qadim, and Steichen 2016). The comparatively strong intergenerational persistence of ethnic orientations amongst Turkish respondents aligns with the diaspora’s strong and continued involvement in transnational activity to its homeland, and community ideas that advocate “integrate but not assimilate” (Baser and Féron 2022). In contrast, the high occurrence of othered bicultural and ethnic orientations amongst later generation Sub-Saharan Africans aligns with understandings of how high unemployment and discrimination rates perpetuate a dual identification alongside a strong sense of exclusion amongst Sub-Saharan Africans (Tesfai 2020). Shaped by distinct positionalities within the French nation, and differing relationships to their homeland, our paper makes clear that our understanding of migrant identification must account for and take seriously the phenomenon of segmented identificational assimilation.

Applying the latent class analysis method to a nationally representative sample was a major strength of our analysis given that past applications of this type of approach have focused on small non-representative samples (Chia and Costigan 2006; Schwartz and Zamboanga 2008). Yet, it is important to recognize the limitations of our approach. First, our multivariate analysis of the correlates of identificational orientations represented associations only and we make no claims about directionality. For example, higher transnationalism might lead to lower

probability of assimilated identification, or those with assimilated identification could be less likely to practice transnationalism (and so on). Second, our use of cross-sectional data meant that we captured individuals at only one point in their lives. It is possible (and likely) that identification changed over the life course of respondents in our sample as individual circumstances and broader social contexts also change. Finally, some scholars have raised concerns that latent classes will differ across data sets, migrant groups, and social contexts, rendering comparison complicated (Carlson and Güler 2018). Arguably however, the idiosyncratic nature of the latent profile approach might also offer new comparative opportunities, such as the opportunity to explore how similar social experiences differentially facilitate migrant identity formation in diverse receiving contexts. Future research could apply this method to multi-country surveys of migrant populations to see if some of classes that we uncover—such as the othered or detached bicultural categories—are unique to the French case. For example, it would be substantively interesting to see if similar categories of biculturalism emerge in receiving contexts—such as the UK, Canada, or the US—that have formalized or de-facto multicultural narratives of migrant incorporation.

The findings of our study speak to ongoing debates about multiculturalism in the French context. Our results support the work of Simon (2012), who establishes that migrants who maintain a strong identificational connection to their origin can also strongly identify with France. It is also worth noting that even migrants in our sample with an ethnic orientation maintain place attachment to France. It follows those symbolic representations of “otherness” – such as wearing a religious symbol – need not inherently threaten a unified French identity; in fact, some migrants may see performing their ethnic cultures as part of a diversified definition of French national identity. Assimilationist narrative that dominates French public discourse,

however, reify ideas about threatened identity that do not reflect the reality of how migrants in France negotiate identificational orientations to France. Building on Jean Beaman's (2016) work on the citizen outsider status of North Africans in France, our findings show that more nuanced representations of identification may be a path to challenging dominant assimilationist paradigms. Qualitative research on how migrants balance public performances of assimilation while maintaining strong ethnic ties, for example, could help challenge assumptions about the threat of ethnic identity to national cohesion.

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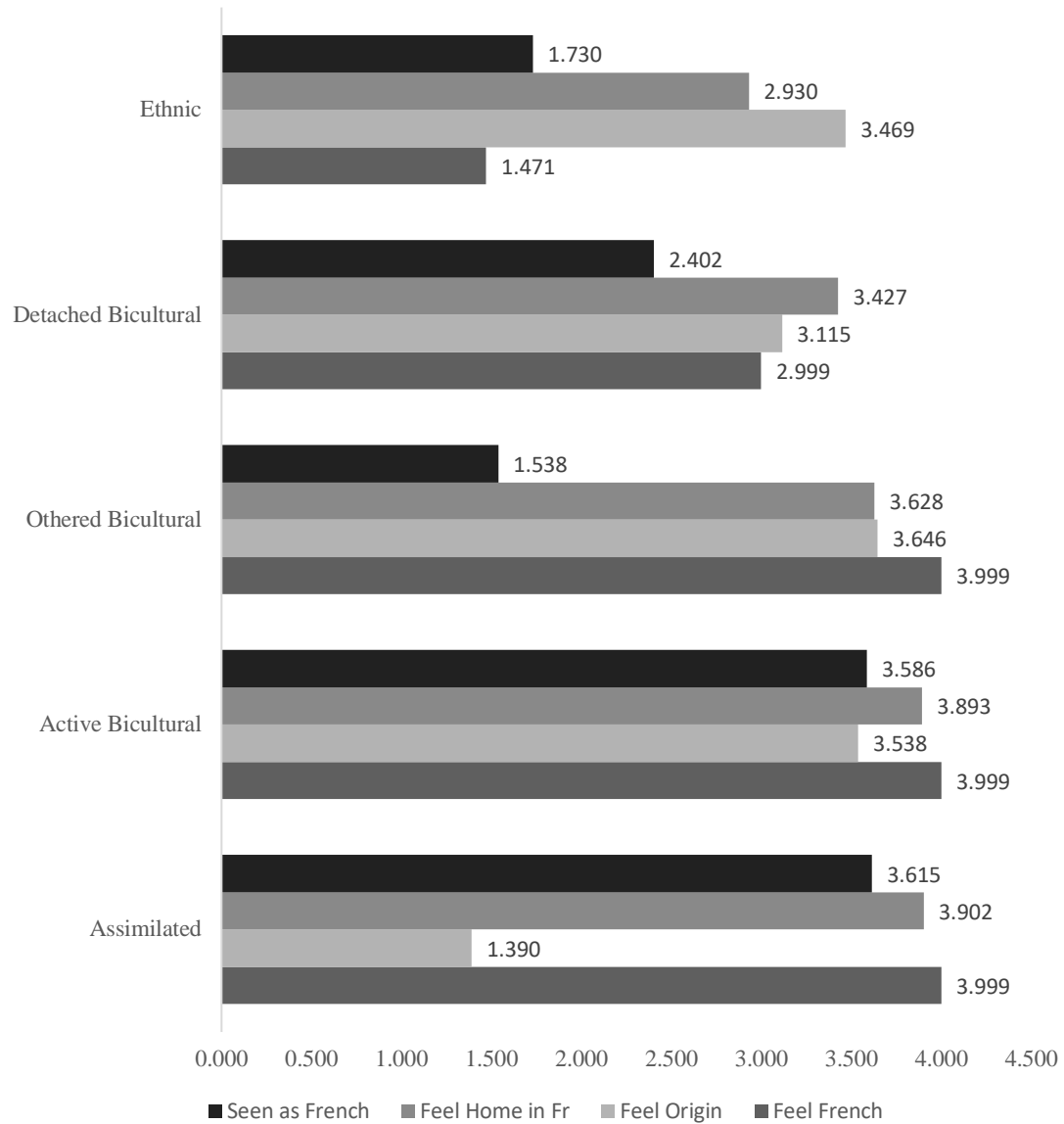
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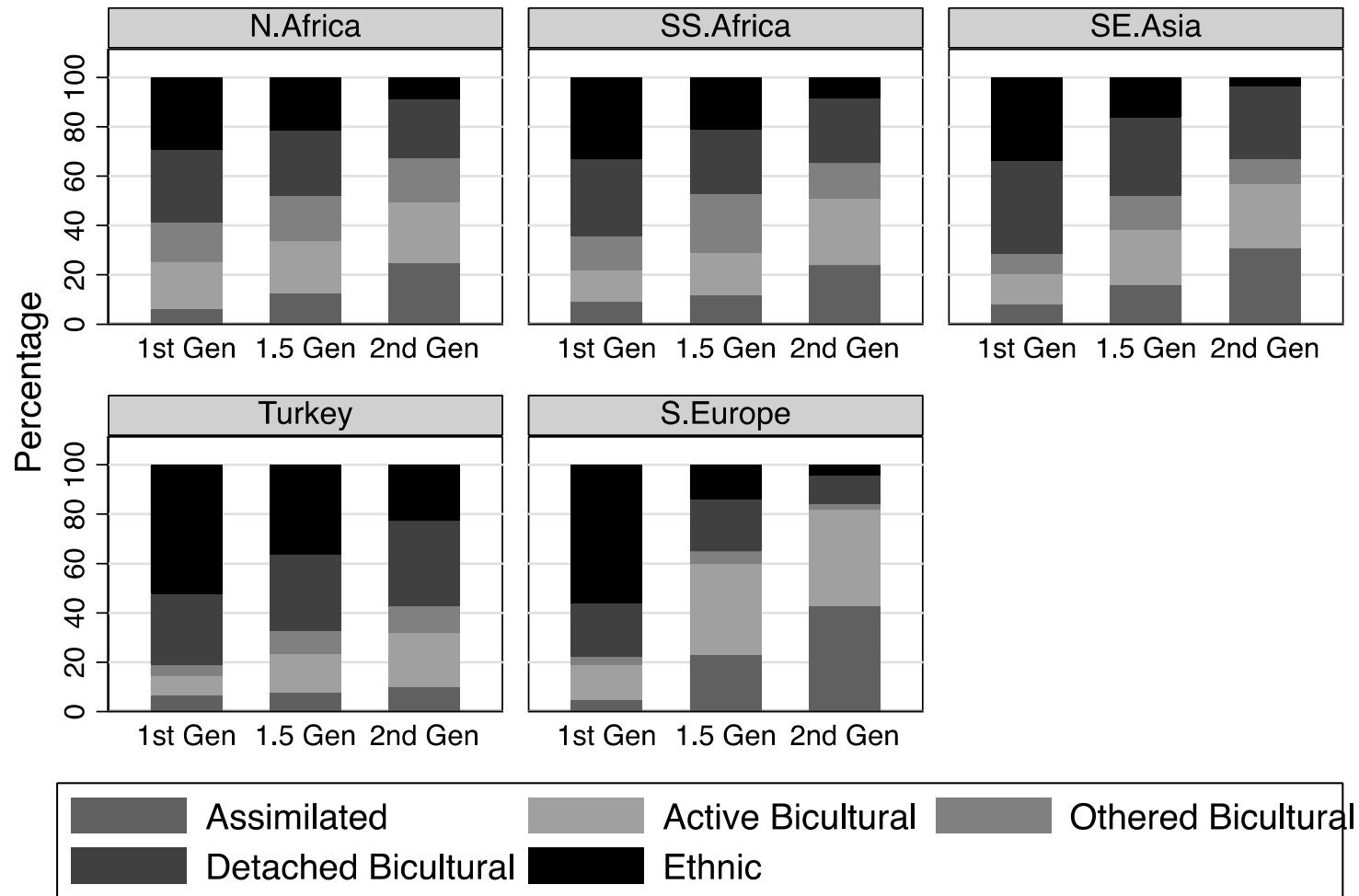
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Figure 1: Means of measures of identification and belonging for each of the five classes generated in the latent profile analysis



Notes: Created by the authors using data from TeO; uses sampling weights provided by TeO.

Figure 2: Percentage of respondents in each of the five identificational orientations disaggregated by region of origin and migrant generation



Notes: Created by the authors using data from TeO; uses sampling weights provided by TeO.

Table 1: Percentage of respondents in each of the five identificational orientation disaggregated by region of origin

	<b>N. Africa</b> (n=3,622)	<b>SS. Africa</b> (n=2,040)	<b>SE. Asia</b> (n=1,159)	<b>Turkey</b> (n=1,103)	<b>S. Europe</b> (n=3,849)
<b>Assimilated</b> (20.5%)	17.1	13.5	19.1	8.8	31.0
<b>Active Bicultural</b> (25.3%)	21.4	17.6	21.5	15.0	37.2
<b>Othered Bicultural</b> (11.29%)	18.2	16.3	11.0	7.6	3.3
<b>Detached Bicultural</b> (24.4%)	26.4	28.8	32.3	30.3	16.2
<b>Ethnic</b> (18.6%)	16.8	23.8	16.1	38.4	12.4

*Notes:* Uses sampling weights provided by TeO

Table 2: Fit statistics for latent profile models ranging from one class (top row) to six classes (bottom row)

<b>Number of Classes</b>	<b>Log Likelihood</b>	<b>LRT</b>	<b>AIC</b>	<b>BIC</b>	<b>% Change BIC</b>
<b>1</b>	-16587.733	-N/A	33191.465	33250.454	N/A
<b>2</b>	-15239.588	2696.29 ( $<0.0001$ )	30505.175	30601.032	-7.97%
<b>3</b>	-14408.038	1663.10 ( $<0.0001$ )	28852.076	28984.800	-5.28%
<b>4</b>	-14113.617	588.84 ( $<0.0001$ )	28273.234	28442.826	-1.87%
<b>5</b>	-13280.817	1665.60 ( $<0.0001$ )	26617.634	26824.094	-5.69%
<b>6</b>	-13280.817	0.00 (1.000)	26617.634	26824.094	-0%

*Notes:* Uses sampling weights provided by TeO; highlighted row (5 classes) indicates our preferred model.

Table 3: Polychoric correlation matrix of measures of identification and belonging

	<b>Feel French</b>	<b>Feel Origin</b>	<b>Feel at Home in France</b>	<b>Feel Seen As French</b>
<b>Feel French</b>	1			
<b>Feel Origin</b>	-.314	1		
<b>Feel At Home In Fr</b>	.654	-.237	1	
<b>Feel Seen As Fr</b>	.641	-.349	.545	1

Table 4: Descriptive statistics of explanatory variables used in multivariate regression analyses.

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<b>Migrant Generation</b>			
1st Gen	.28	0	1
1.5 Gen	.19	0	1
2nd Gen	.53	0	1
<b>Region</b>			
N. Africa	.31	0	1
SS. Africa	.17	0	1
SE Asia	.1	0	1
Turkey	.09	0	1
S. Europe	.33	0	1
<b>Transnational Activity</b>			
Low	.06	0	1
Moderate	.33	0	1
High	.62	0	1
<b>Freq. of Discrimination</b>			
Never	.75	0	1
Sometimes	.2	0	1
Often	.06	0	1
<b>Ever Experienced Racism</b>			
Never	.36	0	1
Never, Maybe in Future	.28	0	1
Yes, >1yr Ago	.26	0	1
Yes, Last 12mths	.1	0	1
<b>Language(s) Spoken</b>			
Only French	.2	0	1
Only Foreign Lang	.33	0	1
Several Lang incl. Fr	.4	0	1
Several Lang excl. Fr	.07	0	1
<b>Friends of Same Origin</b>			
First Gen	.47	0	1
Both Parents Imm	.33	0	1
Mom Imm	.07	0	1
Dad Imm	.13	0	1
<b>Migrant Partner</b>			
No Relationship	.29	0	1
Immigrant	.3	0	1
Descendant	.11	0	1
Native	.31	0	1
<b>Level of Education</b>			
Less than Secondary	.31	0	1
Some Secondary	.28	0	1
Secondary Diploma	.22	0	1
Higher Education	.19	0	1



**Demographic Statistics**

Age at end of 2008	35.29	18	60
French Citizen	.74	0	1
Female	.51	0	1
Live in Paris	.33	0	1
Muslim	.38	0	1

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*Notes:* Uses sampling weights provided by TeO

Table 5: Multivariate regression analyses of the association between social/demographic variables and identificational orientations (outcomes are binary indicators of whether the respondent belongs to the category in question); Linear Probability Models (LPM).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Assimilated	Actively Bicultural	Othered Bicultural	Detached Bicultural	Ethnic
<b>Generation</b>					
[Ref=1 <sup>st</sup> Gen]					
1.5 Gen	.04*** (.01)	.06*** (.02)	.03** (.01)	-.01 (.02)	-.12*** (.02)
2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	.07*** (.02)	.07** (.03)	.01 (.01)	-.02 (.02)	-.12*** (.02)
<b>Region of Origin</b>					
[Ref=Southern Eur]					
North Africa	.07*** (.02)	-.11*** (.02)	.06*** (.01)	.02 (.02)	-.05*** (.01)
Sub-Saharan Africa	.02 (.02)	-.1*** (.03)	.08*** (.01)	.05*** (.02)	-.05*** (.02)
Southeast Asia	-.06*** (.02)	-.11*** (.02)	.04*** (.01)	.13*** (.02)	.01 (.02)
Turkey	.1*** (.02)	-.16*** (.02)	-.02* (.01)	.03 (.03)	.05** (.02)
<b>Freq. of Discrimination</b>					
[Ref= Never]					
Sometimes	.01 (.01)	-.09*** (.02)	.02* (.01)	.04*** (.01)	.02 (.01)
Often	-.02 (.02)	-.17*** (.02)	.11*** (.02)	-.03 (.02)	.11*** (.02)
<b>Ever Experienced Racism</b>					
[Ref=Never]					
No, Maybe in Future	-.04** (.02)	-.01 (.02)	.03*** (.01)	0 (.01)	.03*** (.01)
Yes, More than 1yr Ago	-.07*** (.02)	-.03* (.02)	.06*** (.01)	.04*** (.01)	.02 (.01)
Yes, Last 12 Mths	-.08*** (.02)	-.03 (.03)	.07*** (.02)	0 (.02)	.04** (.02)
<b>Transnational Activity</b>					
[Ref=Low]					
Moderate	-.13*** (.03)	.07** (.03)	.01 (.01)	.05*** (.02)	0 (.01)
High	-.28*** (.03)	.1*** (.03)	.02* (.01)	.07*** (.02)	.08*** (.01)
<b>Immigrant Parents</b>					
[Ref=Both Parents]					
Migrant Mom	.14***	-.06	-.01	-.06***	-.01

	(.04)	(.04)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
Migrant Dad	.18***	-.11***	-.01	-.05***	0
	(.03)	(.04)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
<b>Migrant Partner</b>					
[Ref=Native]					
No Relationship	0	-.02	-.01	.03**	0
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Immigrant	-.03	-.06***	.02*	.06***	0
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Descendent	-.06***	-.01	.01	.05***	.01
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
<b>Language(s) Spoken</b>					
[Ref=Only French]					
Only Foreign Lang	-.17***	-.01	.05***	.05***	.08***
	(.04)	(.04)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
Several Lang incl. Fr	-.14***	.05	.03***	.04***	.01*
	(.03)	(.03)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Several Lang excl. Fr	-.12***	-.01	.02	.03	.07***
	(.04)	(.04)	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)
<b>Citizenship</b>					
Citizen of France	.05***	.12***	.08***	-.02	-.22***
	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
<b>Level of Education</b>					
[Ref=< Secondary School]					
Some Secondary	.04**	.01	0	-.01	-.05***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Secondary Dip	.04**	0	.02	0	-.06***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Higher Education	.06***	0	0	.01	-.07***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
<b>Demographics</b>					
Age at end of 2008	0***	0	0**	0***	0***
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Female	.02	-.03*	-.03***	0	.04***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Live in Paris	.02	-.04***	.01	.02	0
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Muslim	-.12***	.02	.07***	.03**	.01
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
Constant	.28***	.18***	-.13***	.19***	.48***
	(.04)	(.06)	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)
Observations	11773	11773	11773	11773	11773
R-squared	.31	.08	.09	.06	.23

Standard errors are in parentheses

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

*Notes:* Each column corresponds with a separate model with a different outcome variable. All analyses use sampling weights provided by TeO.

## **Appendix A**

**Table 1: Count of Missing Values by Variable**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Missing Values</i>	<i>% Missing</i>
<i>Feel French</i>	286	2.11
<i>Feel Origin</i>	423	3.12
<i>Feel at Home in Fr</i>	224	1.65
<i>Feel Seen as French</i>	698	5.15
<i>Transnational Activity</i>	0	0.00
<i>Freq. of Discrimination</i>	73	0.50
<i>Ever Experienced Racist Insults</i>	51	0.38
<i>Experienced Racist Insults in 12mths</i>	51	0.38
<i>Language(s) Spoken</i>	15	0.11
<i>Parents' Migrant Background</i>	0	0
<i>Migrant Partner</i>	1	0.01
<i>French Citizen</i>	0	0.00
<i>Level of Education</i>	372	2.75
<i>Age</i>	0	0.00
<i>Female</i>	0	0.00
<i>Paris</i>	0	0.00
<i>Muslim</i>	0	0.00
<i>Generation</i>	0	0.00

Original Sample = 13,548  
Final Sample = 11,773  
Total Missing Values = 1,775 (13.1%)

**Table 2: Types of Missing Values for Measures of Identification and Belonging**

<b>VARIABLE</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>	<b>DON'T KNOW</b>	<b>DON'T WISH TO ANSWER</b>
<b>I Feel French</b>	13,548	43 (0.36%)	243 (1.79%)
<b>I Feel My Origin</b>	6,886	26 (0.38%)	86 (1.25%)
<b>I Feel My Mother's Origin</b>	5,450	17 (0.23%)	122 (1.62%)
<b>I Feel My Father's Origin</b>	2,112	8 (0.38%)	33 (1.56%)
<b>I Feel At Home In France</b>	13,548	57 (0.42%)	219 (1.23%)
<b>I Feel Seen As French</b>	13,548	42 (0.31%)	656 (4.84%)

**Table 3 Logistic Regression Analysis of the Social/Demographic Variables that Predict “Don’t Know” or “No Answer Responses (Outcomes are Binary Indicators of Whether the Respondent Answers “Don’t Know” or “No Wish to Answer”. Results Presented as Odds Ratios.**

	<b>Don’t Know</b>	<b>No Wish to Answer</b>
<b>Generation</b>		
[Ref=1 <sup>st</sup> Gen]		
1.5 Gen	-.04 (.37)	.07 (.17)
2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen	-.98* (.53)	-.13 (.29)
<b>Region of Origin</b>		
[Ref=Southern Eur]		
North Africa	1.74*** (.44)	.65** (.3)
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.12** (.45)	.62*** (.19)
Southeast Asia	.18 (.64)	.4* (.24)
Turkey	1.29** (.52)	.58** (.29)
<b>Freq. of Discrimination</b>		
[Ref= Never]		
Sometimes	.77** (.34)	.11 (.16)
Often	1** (.4)	.08 (.2)
<b>Racism</b>		
Racist Insults Ever	-.9** (.4)	-.09 (.17)
Racist insults last 12 mos	-.35 (.52)	.09 (.19)
<b>Transnational Activity</b>		
[Ref=Low]		
Moderate	2.14** (.84)	.99*** (.34)
High	1.92** (.8)	.9*** (.32)
<b>Immigrant Parents</b>		
[Ref=Both Parents]		
Migrant Mom	-1.18 (.8)	-.05 (.27)
Migrant Dad	-1.12* (.64)	.53 (.36)
<b>Migrant Partner</b>		

[Ref=Native]		
No Relationship	1.69*** (.48)	-.15 (.21)
Immigrant	1.19*** (.39)	-.03 (.28)
Descendent	.41 (.56)	-.17 (.23)
<b>Language(s) Spoken</b>		
[Ref=Only French]		
Only Foreign Lang	-.32 (.5)	1*** (.33)
Several Lang incl. Fr	-.79 (.54)	1.05*** (.33)
Several Lang excl. Fr	-.11 (.57)	1*** (.31)
<b>Citizenship</b>		
Citizen of France	.25 (.28)	-.28* (.14)
<b>Level of Education</b>		
[Ref=< Secondary School]		
Some Secondary	1.61*** (.52)	.01 (.18)
Secondary Dip	.41 (.42)	.15 (.24)
Higher Education	.2 (.51)	-.04 (.28)
<b>Demographics</b>		
Age at end of 2008	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Female	-.87** (.37)	.28** (.14)
Live in Paris	-.28 (.25)	-.06 (.18)
Muslim	-.97*** (.32)	-.1 (.25)
Constant	-8.47*** (1.17)	-5.09*** (.68)
Observations	13057	13057

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

Notes: Uses sampling weights provided by TeO

**Table 4: Proportion of Sample Classified Using a Decreasing Threshold**

Probability Threshold*	4-CLASS MODEL		5-CLASS MODEL	
	N-Classified	% Of Sample	N-Classified	% Of Sample
<b>0.9</b>	9204	78.2	9585	81.4
<b>0.8</b>	10767	91.5	10916	92.7
<b>0.7</b>	11577	98.3	11226	95.4
<b>0.6</b>	11616	98.7	11610	98.6
<b>0.5</b>	11730	99.6	11773	100

\*The minimum threshold for unambiguous classification is a probability of 0.5

**Table 5: Means for Each Dimension of Identity and Belonging by Generation and Region**

	<b>1st Generation</b>			
	Feel French	Feel Origin	Feel at Home	Seen as French
N.Africa	2.93	3.50	3.51	2.20
SS.Africa	2.85	3.36	3.14	1.94
SE.Asia	2.83	3.19	3.44	2.09
Turkey	2.30	3.28	3.23	2.02
S.Europe	2.33	3.59	3.45	2.24

	<b>1.5 Generation</b>			
	Feel French	Feel Origin	Feel at Home	Seen as French
N.Africa	3.24	3.09	3.58	2.34
SS.Africa	3.16	3.22	3.35	2.18
SE.Asia	3.28	2.79	3.66	2.42
Turkey	2.79	3.22	3.49	2.37
S.Europe	3.46	2.99	3.77	3.32

	<b>2nd Generation</b>			
	Feel French	Feel Origin	Feel at Home	Seen as French
N.Africa	3.54	2.88	3.59	2.65
SS.Africa	3.41	2.98	3.39	2.47
SE.Asia	3.62	2.72	3.68	2.88
Turkey	3.07	3.25	3.51	2.64
S.Europe	3.76	2.58	3.81	3.60



**Table 6: Difference in Means Between First- and Second-Generation Migrants by Region**

	Feel French	Feel Origin	Feel at Home	Seen as French
N.Africa	0.61	-0.61	0.08	0.44
SS.Africa	0.56	-0.38	0.25	0.53
SE.Asia	0.79	-0.47	0.24	0.79
Turkey	0.77	-0.03	0.28	0.62
S.Europe	1.43	-1.00	0.36	1.36

## **Appendix B**

We explore how varying measures correlate with different patterns of identification across migrant generations and regional groups. In the following section, we provide more detail on how each measure was constructed for this analysis.

### *French Citizenship*

We use the citizenship variable calculated in the survey and combine the French by birth and French by acquisition. Alternative measures disaggregating citizenship by birth, reintegration or acquisition were tested, but issues of correlation with generation and similar results made these non-ideal variables. Our final variable is a binary indicator of whether a respondent was a French citizen at the time of the survey.

### *Educational Attainment*

Educational attainment is based on: a respondent's *level of schooling* (for the second and 1.5 generations) or their *level of schooling upon arrival in France* (for the first generation). Educational attainment in our final analysis is coded into four levels: less than secondary school, some secondary school, secondary diploma, higher education.

### *Migrant Status of Partner*

We combine answers about a respondent's partner's migrant status and their relationship status. We do so to ensure respondents are not included simply because they are not in a relationship. For simplicity, children of immigrants or DOM native-born were grouped together as descendant partners. Individuals who had had selected no relationship were coded as zero. The final variable has four categories: no relationship (0), immigrant (1), descendant (2) and native (3).

### *Language*

We explore family language socialization using the variable *Types of language Listed*. This variable is based on responses to the question: *What language or languages did your mother/father speak to you when you were a child?* We use the variable calculated in the survey. This divides language spoken into four categories: only listed French (0), only listed foreign languages (1), listed several languages including French (2), and listed several languages excluding French (3)

### *Discrimination*

Accounting for France's well-documented color-blind approach to migrant identification, we use a generic question about everyday discrimination to assess social exclusion: *"During the past five years, do you feel you have been submitted to unequal or discriminatory treatment?"* We retain the original frequency scale for our analysis, which allowed respondents to select from three possible responses: 'often', 'sometimes', and 'never'.

### *Racist Insults*

We also distinguish between forms of exclusion by differentiating between discrimination and racism. The racism variable combines respondent answers to three questions:

*During your life, have you ever been the target of insults or of racist terms or attitudes?  
If yes, have you experienced racist insults in the last 12 months?*

*Do you think you could one day be a victim of racism, even if this has never happened to you personally?*

Respondents were given the future question only if they answered no to the first question and second questions. Our single measure captures the four possible answers that individuals could have provided: Never (0), No, Maybe in Future (1), Yes, More than 1 Year Ago (2), and Yes, Last 12 months (3).

### *Transnationalism*

We focus on transnational practices that entail a direct linkage with the origin country. we construct an index of transnational activity based on 11 forms of transnational engagement:

1. *Contact with family or friends* who live in country other than France, a DOM or a TOM
2. Respondent's *membership to an association uniting members from the same country*, DOM or TOM as respondent or his or her parents
3. Respondent's *participation in elections* of a country other than France, of which he or she was a citizen
4. Respondent's *interest in national politics* of DOM or TOM of respondent's or parents' origin
5. *Possession of or investment in a business or a company* in DOM-TOM or a foreign country
6. *Donations for a collective project* in DOM or country of origin
7. *Use of media* of his or her (parents) DOM-TOM or of his or her (parents) country of origin
8. *Return visit* to DOM-TOM or country of origin since settlement in metropolitan France
9. *Possession of land, of a dwelling* in a DOM-TOM or country other than France
10. Are you *planning to settle one day* in DOM-TOM or country other than France?
11. *Place of burial* (metropolitan France / their or their parents' country of origin)

For each type of engagement, respondents were coded zero if they did not report engaging in the activity and one if they did at any degree. We then count up how many activities each respondent participates in to create a continuous scale of transnational activity. Respondents in the top third of the scale scores were coded as high transnationalism, respondents in the middle third were coded as low transnationalism, and respondents in the bottom third were coded as lower transnationalism. Alternative measures, including a continuous count measure and factor analysis, were tested for robustness, and yielded similar results (available upon request).

### *Other Variables*

We include a continuous measure for the *age* of respondents at the end of the year the survey was administered, which ranged from 18 to 60 years old.

We also control for gender using a dummy variable where *female* is coded as 1.

We include an indicator variable for whether a respondent selected *Muslim* as their religious identity.

We include an indicator for whether respondents *live in Paris* at the time of the survey.

