

Schools: Bridges or Barriers to Immigrant Inclusion?

School Climate and Immigrant Students' National Identity in 13 European Nations

by

Norman Paul Gibbs, Jr.

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved March 2022 by the  
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Carole Basile, Chair  
Margarita Pivovarova  
Jeanne M. Powers

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2022

## ABSTRACT

For immigrant youth, the development of national identity has been linked to a broad range of positive long-term outcomes, not only for these youth themselves but also for their children and grandchildren. However, the social ecosystems in which these young people live can positively or negatively impact the development of national identity—and, therefore, affect their integration into the settlement nation. Both national policy contexts and the daily interactions of students in their schools have been found to play a role in immigrants' beliefs about and attachment to their settlement nations. In this dissertation, I explore the relationship between immigrant students' sense of national identity, school climate, and the national policy contexts in which those schools are located, seeking to understand the degree to which school climate factors may counteract the influence of national policy contexts. Using hierarchical linear regression, I combine data on 13 European nations from the 2016 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study and from the European Union's Migrant Integration Policy Index, analyzing the relative predictive strength and significance of a range of factors, including indices of national immigration policy, student demographics, and school factors, such as student-teacher relationships, peer relationships, and participatory engagement in the democratic processes of the school. While I find significant and positive relationships between national policy indices and immigrant students' national identity, I find that school climate has a larger predictive strength for immigrants' national identity than national policy contexts, pointing to the role that schools can play as countercultural sites of national incorporation in which immigrant children develop strong and positive identification with their settlement nations.

## DEDICATION

### *For My Family*

We have shared a life that has bridged nations and spanned years,  
we have experienced the challenges and the joys of settling into a new nation,  
and, amidst the changes, we have found refuge and identity in our home.

This work is the product of our journey together,  
and our experiences are its inspiration.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work builds on the efforts of the many educators and students who were responsible for the ICCS dataset analyzed in the present study. I am particularly grateful to the thousands of young people in 2015 whose responses to the ICCS questionnaire have helped us understand a bit more about their experiences in schools.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the community here at Arizona State University that has supported the present work, and particularly to my committee members. Dr. Carole Basile, my committee chair, has been a personal and professional encouragement since our first phone conversation in early 2018. She provided early guidance on pivoting my dissertation research design due to COVID-19 restrictions on international travel—guidance that has proven to be both prescient and essential to a timely completion of this dissertation. Dr. Margarita Pivovarova’s mentorship over the past four years has played a formative role in my life, and she gave this newcomer to statistics the confidence to explore a challenging new methodology. The magnitude of her support and patience are not easily quantified. And Dr. Jeanne Powers’ helpful feedback and direction early in my program inspired me to begin sharing my work. Her encouragement to submit a conference proposal on the topic discussed here provided the first occasion in which I presented some of my findings in a public setting. In addition, I am grateful to Cristy Guleserian and the Principled Innovation team for their friendship, support, and thought partnership. In conceptualizing school climate throughout this study, I saw many connections to our work. For these individuals and for the many others at MLFTC who have dedicated their careers to the success of young people, I am grateful to have been part of a community that shares such a compelling vision of schools as sites of inclusion and flourishing for all learners.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The role of schools in the civic integration of immigrant children has become increasingly important amidst a rising tide of immigration. From 2010 to 2019, the world's migrant community rose from 221 million to 272 million—roughly 3.5% of the world's total population (IOM, 2019). Within this context, schools serve as bridges for the integration of immigrant populations in their settlement nations. Prior research has investigated the role of schools as a focal point for national integration, highlighting classrooms as “microcosms of society” (Wiseman et al., 2019, p. 6) through which immigrant youth come to understand their new national context and where new arrivals can learn the socio-linguistic ingredients for success in their new nations (Baltaci, 2017; M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In schools, students encounter a sociological ecosystem in which school-based experiences shape students' understanding of the nation-state and their relationship to it (Beirens et al., 2007; Bronfenbrenner, 1993; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Karakos et al., 2016). For immigrant children, therefore, the school is a critical site of national incorporation.

Yet, while schools provide a key context in which an immigrant student's sense of settlement nation identity may be shaped within the new country (Beirens et al., 2007; Kia-keating & Ellis, 2007), schools can also be double-edged swords: unwelcoming school environments may stress immigrant students' nascent links to their countries of settlement, while inclusive environments may strengthen their sense of belonging and national identity (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Pavlopoulos & Motti, 2012). Complicating this process of national identity formation are the larger national contexts in which the

schools are situated: nations vary in the openness of their laws to migration, and restrictive, nationalist policy contexts further complicate the integration of immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006a; Helbling, 2013). Both schools and nation-states, working at different levels within the social world of young people, create formative experiences which influence immigrant youth's psychosocial adaptation within the settlement nation (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

In this study, I investigate how school climate moderates the influence of national migration policies on immigrant youths' sense of national identity. I use data from the 2015 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) and the 2016 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) to explore how inclusive school climate factors—e.g., peer relationships or participatory practices, such as involvement in student government—moderate the relationship between national policy contexts and immigrant students' sense of national identity within their countries of settlement.

### **Problem and Significance**

Understanding how schools may contravene national attitudes toward migrant outgroups has significance for the socio-emotional health of immigrant student populations. As Byun and Kim (2019) found, in nations in which national migration policies were less inclusive, school-aged nationals were more likely to respond negatively to questions such as “members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities” and “all ethnic/racial groups should have an equal chance to get a good education.” Policy environments such as these reinforce to immigrant youth and their non-immigrant peers the notion that immigrants are outsiders to the national society—and the emotional impact of these perceptions can be powerful. In a study of immigrant

children in the United States, Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2009) found that non-immigrant children often communicate to immigrants that they are members of an undesirable outgroup rather than respected members of a national community. Asking their participants to complete the sentence, “Most Americans think that we \_\_\_\_\_,” Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco found that the majority of their sample of over 400 immigrant students responded with negative responses, such as:

“Most Americans think that we are stupid.” (ten-year-old Haitian girl)

“Most Americans think that we can’t do the same things as them in school or at work.” (ten-year old Mexican girl)

“Most Americans think that we are useless.” (fourteen-year-old Dominican girl)

(C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009, pp. 96–97)

The cumulative effect of these negative outgroup perceptions is to collectively raise the emotional bar which immigrant children must clear on the path to successful, healthy integration into a settlement nation (Sam, 2006; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). Further, the attitudes of the broader society toward immigrants shape the attitudes of non-immigrant students in within schools. According to Kim and Byun’s (2019) findings, the attitudes of non-immigrant students are significantly associated with the tenor of national policies, reinforcing the role of national mood in predicting these exclusionary dispositions and challenging immigrants’ self-perceptions as members of the national ingroup. Over the long term, the persistent exclusion of immigrants from the national ingroup identity has been linked to poor psychosocial adaptation (Berry et al., 2006b; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009) and multigenerational social alienation and economic decline (Berry et al., 2006b; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Schools seeking to

protect the psychological health of their immigrant students and to point them onto a long-term path toward social integration, therefore, may seek to better understand the degree to which school climate may counteract the national mood through the development of social ecosystems which foster the development of immigrant students' sense of national identity.

### **Purpose and Research Question**

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate to what extent schools may moderate the impact of national policy on the healthy formation of immigrant children's sense of national identity. I explore how inclusionary processes in schools—in particular, immigrant students' involvement and confidence in student voice and the quality of relationships within the school—moderate the larger policy context, allowing immigrant students to perceive themselves, with their non-immigrant peers, as part of the national community, thus fostering their sense of national identity with their settlement nations. I reason that the inclusionary practices and characteristics of schools mitigate the effects of the national context of reception on immigrant students' sense of national identity. Specifically, I ask the following research question: *How does school climate moderate the effects of national policy contexts on immigrant students' sense of national identity?*

### **Organization of the Dissertation**

I begin in Chapter 2 with a review of the literature in which I situate national identity formation within the theoretical frameworks of social identity theory and ecological systems theory. I discuss the role of school climate as a key component of creating inclusive learning environments in which immigrant students' national identity formation can flourish. I conclude the chapter by describing how individual student

characteristics and, ultimately, the national policy context also contributes to the process of shaping the national identity of immigrant students. In Chapter 3, I establish the methodology used in the study. I begin with a discussion of the dataset and variables used, and I explain the choice and use of multilevel modeling as my analytic approach. In Chapter 4, I communicate the results of the multilevel analysis for multiple subpopulations, including analyses by region and gender. I also provide an analysis for eight different MIPEX policy subindices and analyses of two additional related outcome variables. In Chapter 5, I close with a discussion of these results and implications for policy and practice.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I begin by outlining a theoretical framework that identifies social identity theory as a framework for understanding national identity. I then describe the notion of ecological systems theory and explain how social systems—and specifically school systems—contribute to identity-forming processes. Next I describe how schools serve as a key proximal context that mirror larger discourses about immigration within society, informing immigrant students’ beliefs on their perceived membership in the national community and shaping their sense of national identity. I highlight relevant research on how school climate can serve as a context for inclusion, with attention to studies that have proposed a connection between the establishment of inclusive school environments for immigrant students and both strong teacher-student and peer relationships and the establishment of democratic school structures. I close with a discussion of several factors that complicate the formation of immigrants’ national identity, including demographics and the national policy context.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

##### **The Formation of Identity: Social Identity Theory**

As a branch of social psychology—which focuses on how beliefs and behaviors are shaped by interactions with others and how group interactions form self-understandings (F. H. Allport, 1924, 1942)—social identity theory (SIT) is concerned with the way that people’s beliefs about themselves and others are influenced by their interactions with the society around them, and particularly in the way that those

interactions contribute to their understanding of group identities, one of which is national identity (Hernandez, 2009; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1985; Turner et al., 1979; Verkuyten, 2006, 2012, 2018).

Social identity theory grew out of early experimental studies conducted by Tajfel (1981) in which participants were randomly assigned to groups and then observed as they interacted with each other over time. Tajfel found that groups of individuals—individuals who had no contact with each other previously—categorized in-group and out-group identity markers on seemingly arbitrary distinctions, such as eye color, or artistic preferences (Huddy, 2001). These distinguishing traits sometimes hardened into derogatory prejudices of the outgroup (the opposing group) or of positive beliefs about one's ingroup (the group to which one belongs). These experiments demonstrated the way that these newly formed identities were malleable and opened lines of research on what factors may contribute to identity formation (Carter, 2013; Doosje et al., 1995; Haslam et al., 1992). While later research has sought to demonstrate that some identities are slow to change (Huddy, 2001), these studies continue to build on the underlying proposals of SIT that individuals appropriate identities, whether through external assignment or personal appropriation (Tajfel, 1981; Turner et al., 1987).

Tajfel's interest grew to include research around intergroup conflict, or the ways in which an increasingly strong in-group identification led to greater rejection of outgroups, with the degree of outgroup attitudes being related to one's ingroup identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1985). Later research has attempted to refine an understanding of the conditions under which the rejection of an outgroup might take place, with some studies finding that strong ingroup identification does not in all cases lead to outgroup



rejection (Grigoryan, 2016). While a research around intergroup conflict theory remains robust and has sometimes been thought to be synonymous with social identity theory (Böhm et al., 2020; Hogg, 2016), a second line of research also developed within social identity theory, centered on the factors which influence the likelihood that people will consider themselves to be members of a particular group (Turner et al., 1987). I discuss this second line of research below.

### *Self-categorization and ascriptive identities*

Key to the present study is SIT's perspective on the role of individual belief formation in the positioning of one's own sense of identity. Tajfel and Turner described this process as "self-categorization." While Tajfel's later interests focused on theorizing intergroup conflict and outgroup rejection, Turner, his students, and successive researchers have further developed the understanding of self-categorization (Haslam & Turner, 1992, 1995; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Huddy, 2001; Leonardelli & Toh, 2015; Turner et al., 1987; Turner & Onorato, 1999; Turner & Reynolds, 2012). Although some have described SIT without the notions of intergroup conflict and outgroup rejection as "SIT-lite" (McGarty, 2001, p. 174) or a "reductionist misreading" of SIT (Reicher, 2004, p. 921), SIT researchers studying self-categorization theory either do not concern themselves primarily with outgroup rejection or do not see this as a necessary corollary of self-categorization (Huddy, 2001).

In his work, Turner sought to describe the cognitive processes which lead human beings to perceive themselves as in or out of a group by drawing similarities or contrasts between themselves and the "prototypical" members of those groups (Hogg et al., 1995; Lakoff, 2007). Under SIT, as individuals compare themselves to prototypes of different

groups—e.g., “Asian” or “American” or “Asian-American”—they choose to accept, reject, or appropriate group identities, or they may seek to move the boundaries of group acceptance or recast themselves as members of an entirely new group (Doosje et al., 1995; Haslam et al., 1992; Liebkind, 2006). At the same time, however, society may also ascribe unsolicited group memberships to individuals or undesirable qualities to their groups, and, despite one’s attempt to leave a group behind or redefine it, the larger society may not acknowledge an individual’s efforts at self-recategorization. Refusal to extend group membership to a newcomer can be psychologically traumatic, often reinforcing the message that the group to which that individual belongs has been rejected by the larger society (Liebkind, 2006).

Thus, identity formation happens through an interaction of self-categorization and external ascriptions in which individuals negotiate their understanding of the group(s) to which they belong (Reimer et al., 2020). Some identities, such as those drawn from religion or the professions, are often viewed as voluntaristic, a distinctive feature of postmodern society in which the flexibility of identity is increasingly self-determined. Further, as societal beliefs change, the ascriptive and voluntaristic components of some identities remain contested and in flux, depending on the societal context (Butler, 1990; Cadge & Davidman, 2006; Käll, 2015) However, other identities, such as one’s ethnicity, remain largely ascriptive (Giddens, 1991). Further, over time, some identities for individuals in a state of transition—such as national identity and ethnic identity in van Heelsum and Koomen’s (2016) study of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands—can move from strongly associated to weakly associated over time. The strength—or

“salience”—of these identities is therefore affected by context (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Reimer et al., 2020; Turner et al., 1987).

For instance—and moving now toward the notion of national identity—within France, identity markers (e.g., physical appearance, language, occupation) might strengthen the salience of boundaries between individuals of French and Romani ethnicities. Yet both French and Romani immigrants newly arrived in the United States might be marked more by a more salient identity of “immigrant,” with the distinction between the French and Romani immigrants having much lower salience for Americans. Given this hypothetical scenario, neither French nor Romani immigrants would be members of the national ingroup, as a more salient identity would be ascribed to them (Böhm et al., 2020). Thus, the national context influences the persistent salience of social identities and creates limitations for those who wish to move voluntaristically toward a new identity (Gustavsson, 2019; Verkuyten, 2006).

These ascriptive identities shape not only others’ perceptions of an individual but also the individual’s perception of oneself. As children grow up, they observe and copy the social patterns (or “scripts”) that they see around them and associate certain scripts with others’ perceived group memberships as well as their own (Appiah, 1998, 2007; Garcia, 2010; Overwalle, 2009). Those scripts become norms by which their attitudes are shaped, shaping even their own self-understanding as they perceive others assigning them to groups (Garcia, 2010; Pettigrew, 1991; Simon & Pettigrew, 1990). Thus, within the individual’s process of self-categorization, the social context largely facilitates the degree to which one senses a shared membership with a group. This interplay is a central dynamic in the formation of immigrants’ sense of national identity.

## *National Identity*

Described by Benedict Anderson (1991) as an “imagined community” and by Huddy & Khatib (2007) as “a subjective or internalized sense of belonging to the nation” (p. 65), national identity is a sense of belonging within a national group, shaped by values, practices, borders, citizenship, or ethnic heritage (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Windari, 2021). Both emotional attachments to and positive assessments of the national community affect the strength of one’s sense of identification with the nation (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). As a fundamental social identity, self-categorization into the national group is influenced by the interplay of the individual imagination (Anderson, 1991) and the inclusionary or exclusionary social ascriptions imposed by members of the national community. As such, national identity possesses both ascriptive and voluntaristic components (Berg & Hjerm, 2010; Jaskułowski, 2010; Kymlicka, 2015; Matafora et al., 2021; Roshwald, 2015).

**Ethnic Identity.** In its ascriptive form, Smith (1991, 2000, 2011) held that national identity can be formed along the lines of race or shared ethnicity as an ethnic identity. In times of mass migration, this ethnic core identity may be accompanied by what Smeekes et al. (2015) describe as “national nostalgia” (p. 54), a longing for home or for the past. Under this view, as members of the ethnic core sense that their communities are changing with the influx of immigrants, they begin to feel alienated from those times when they believe that their identities were the strongest and hostile toward those immigrants whom they may blame for their sense of alienation. Ethnic identity in this sense, particularly in nations who have historically remained ethnically homogenous, remains at the core of national identity and highly impermeable for those immigrants

whose racial dissimilarity limits their ability to pass as a member of the ethnic core (Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Ford, 2011; Fox, 2013; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Sniderman et al., 2004). This is true in more heterogeneous contexts, as well, as has been the case with the American descendants of African slaves—forced migrants—who, after many generations, remain alienated by racial difference from America’s white, European-descent ethnic core (Park, 1914; Park & Miller, 1921; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Such ethnic identities derive emotional bonds from traditional notions of national identity, such as shared memories, a shared history—whether real or imagined—a shared language, or a shared biological descent (B. Anderson, 1991; Silova, Mead Yaqub, et al., 2014; Silova, Yaqub, et al., 2014).

**Civic Identity.** Smith (1991, 2000, 2011) also described the notion of “civic” identity, distinguishing between national and ethnic identities as characteristic of the development of modern Western nation-states. In this voluntaristic notion of national identity, an individual appropriates a national identity on the basis of shared values. In Western democratic nations, the adoption of civic values—such as belief in essential liberties, democratic processes, capitalism or socialism—is a critical component of the process whereby an individual comes to claim a national identity (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Kymlicka, 2015). This civic identity was described by Örkény (2011) as a bond that forms along civic lines rather than along ethnic lines, drawing upon shared political and legal norms and upon other civic beliefs. This “instrumental” identity (Orkeny, 2011, p. 41) or “liberal nationalism,” as described by Kymlicka (2000, 2011) and Gustavsson and Miller (2019) is akin to Habermas and Walzer’s concept of a “thin” national identity in modern Western democracies (Walzer, 2019)—an identity which moves

transnationally with little regard for ethnicity and invites would-be immigrants to become part of a nation which finds its identity not in blood and soil but in constitutional values and democratic ideals (Habermas, 1994).

Civic identity allows even those who have strong ethnic attachments to an imagined community to extend some level of participation to anyone who adheres to a set of shared political ideals (Kymlicka, 2015). Researchers studying national identity have found this to be case in both European and North American nations, finding that diverse ethnic groups are nevertheless able to claim a national identity, finding pride in symbols such as the national flag or pride in a nation's achievements or values, despite lacking an ethnic in-group identity (Breton, 2015; Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Matafora et al., 2021). These researchers have found that national identity is closely associated with one's sense of affective attachment to the country. In many Western democracies, these attachments develop quickly among young immigrants, with little regard to ethnic identity. For example, in a study of national identity in 10 Eastern and Western European nations, Huddy and Del Ponte (2019) found that, in nine out of the 10 nations, national pride was positively and significantly correlated with having more positive attitudes toward immigration. Civic identity thus casts a broad net in modern democracies, moving beyond ethnic identity and incorporating both those with deep ethnic roots as well as newcomers into the imagined community of the modern state.

**Group Norms in Civic Identity.** Under SIT, identification with a group is signaled by enacting those normative behaviors (or “scripts”) that are typically—or “prototypically”—associated with members of that group (Garcia, 2010; Hertel & Kerr, 2001; Hogg & Reid, 2006). The culture built up around these normative behaviors can be

vast, depending on the group—for instance, ethnic identity may be associated with clothing, sense of humor, manner of speech, preferences for food, etc. (Appiah, 1998; Fabrykant & Magun, 2016). When self-identifying with a group, this conformity to the group’s prototypical norms is an essential mechanism for increasing the salience of one’s group membership, justifying that membership both to the oneself and to others (Hogg & Reid, 2006). As the bonds of identity are strengthened, SIT holds that in-group identity increases the likelihood that someone will draw from this “social scriptorium” (Appiah, 2007, p. 21) a set of behaviors or attitudes which are seen as normal and expected. As signals of civic identity, behaviors such as school participation, political activity, positive assessments of the nation, voting, or affection for national symbols often—though not always, as in the unique context of Germany in this last case, for instance (Matafora et al., 2021)—signal the adoption of these normative scripts (Fabrykant & Magun, 2016). Thus, as immigrants move toward a settlement nation identity, this movement is demonstrated in the adoption of the norms associated with that nation’s shared civic identity (Huddy, 2016). Based on this understanding, then, immigrant students with stronger national identity are likely to be more committed to the civic behaviors that serve as symbolic markers of identification with that nation.

**The Dynamic Permeability of National Identity.** National identity has been conceived of in terms of its permeability—what Walzer described as “thick” and “thin” national identity in modern Western democracies (Walzer, 2019). In this sense, conceived as concentric rings, with an ethnic core at the center and civic identity on the outside, nations that emphasize ethnic identity are conceptualized as having a thick national identity, requiring common biological ancestry, place of origin, or sense of common

heritage. In other nations, national identity is thinner and more permeable, broadening the circle of the national ingroup through a highly salient civic identity, providing common ground for all who share this civic identity and space for cohabitating the same national identity with members of the historic ethnic community (Kostakopoulou, 2006; Simonsen & Bonikowski, 2020; Walzer, 2019). While strong ethnic and land ties may bind some notions of national identity around an ethnic core which remains the exclusive club of those bound by blood and soil (Banting et al., 2019), civic ties may also bind diverse groups together, forming a larger circle of native born and immigrant people who share a common political culture. This wider circle of national identity may, given a national policy discourse which publicly commits the nation to inclusivity, invite newcomers to participate in this shared identity.

Researchers have sought to understand the conditions in which non-immigrants open up space within the national identity for newcomers of multiple ethnicities. In some cases, particularly in the United States and Canada, the national imagination may sometimes conjure its national identity explicitly in terms of diversity—as “a nation of immigrants.” In the United States, for instance, minority ethnic identities have been found to be mechanisms by which participants bond together and strengthen their sense of belonging within the national community, thus leveraging their outgroup ethnic identity to strengthen their national ingroup identity (de la Garza et al., 1996; Sidanius et al., 1997). Indeed, research has found that a thinner, more permeable national identity offers a context of reception in which immigrants are most likely to integrate and become successful over the course of generations. Portes et al.’s (Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993) segmented assimilation theory describes the



multiple pathways that immigrant integration can take within a country. Based on data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), a 10-year longitudinal panel study of over 5,000 immigrant children to the U.S. from age 14 to age 24, Portes and his colleagues found that immigrants and their succeeding generations are most likely to become socioeconomically successful in a settlement nation when that nation offers a context in which some immigrants can adopt the national identity of the settlement nation while still feeling a positive connection with their family's historic ethnic identity. Such contexts of reception, the researchers found, provide exceptional opportunities for migrant integration.

Over time, nations may change in the degree to which their permeability is thick or thin. Smith writes, "In practice, these types frequently overlap, and a given national state will often display ethnic as well as civic components in its form of nationalism, sometimes in a historical layering, or its nationalism may move some way from one type to another and back" (A. D. Smith, 1998, p. 212). As geopolitical conditions change, such as in the case of rising nationalism in some European nations over the past decade, ethnic identity may be reasserted, resulting in a thickening of national identity and a disregard for membership in the nation's civic identity, while other nations may experience a thinning out with increasing permeability. This has been illustrated in the movements of national civic and ethnic identities within the European Union in the years following the dissolution of the Soviet bloc. Örkény's (2011) findings from 10 years of data drawn from the International Social Survey Programme reflect a movement among older European nations towards a sense of pragmatic nationalism, in which immigrants are perceived not so much as a threat toward ethnic identity but toward personal economic

interests, while among post-Communist nations there was evidence of a resurging ethnic core as these nations explored their new national identities. In some cases, such as in the Baltic nations (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia), this strengthening of the ethnic core resulted in the reclassification as immigrants of Baltic-born families of Russian descent, some of whose families had been in the countries for generations (Chinn & Kaiser, 1996; Geddes & Scholten, 2016). In Bhatia and Ram's (2009) study of the shifting ground of national identity, the authors describe how, following 9/11, members of the Sikh community in the United States who had previously been considered to be well-integrated Americans were now mistaken for Arabs, left outside their national identity by the encircling wagons of the ethnic core. Civic identity was no longer enough. The authors wrote that, for these migrants, their "identity suddenly moves in the zone of being different, of not belonging, of being the other" (Bhatia & Ram, 2009, p. 145). Thus, due to changing contexts, immigrants who previously understood themselves to be members of the national ingroup based on civic identity may suddenly find that their national society has recategorized them as outsiders, based on ethnic identity. This movement in and away from the ethnic core demonstrates the way that national identity is complexly layered based on political contexts.

While some immigrants find that civic identity opens the door to membership in the national ingroup, others may find that a highly salient racial identity keeps them distanced from the national ingroup due to the resistance of the ethnic core (Kostakopoulou, 2006; A. D. Smith, 1991). Kostakopoulou writes, "Cultural diversity and the incorporation of newcomers and settlers of various origins is achieved by modernizing national citizenship, that is to say, by introducing changes at the fringe,

thereby leaving the core of national citizenship intact” (Kostakopoulou, 2006, p. 87). In thick citizenship, this can lead to long-term alienation. While, with the rise of mass migration, national identity in an increasingly heterogeneous country may become thinner as the nation comes to emphasize its shared political ideology, it may nevertheless contain a historic ethnic core to which membership is admitted only after multiple generations of institutionalization. An ethnic core may push back against a particular ethnicity’s claims to national identity, emphasizing a salient racial prototypicality of the national ingroup. Runfors’s (2016) study of Syrian immigrants in Sweden captures this experience of having an emotional attachment to the nation of settlement yet feeling alienated from identity by racial barriers:

I see myself as a Syrian and as an immigrant. I do not feel Swedish. But, at the same time I love this country. And I have many Swedish qualities, values and ways of thinking. But we have black hair. We are not Swedish. It’s very difficult in Sweden because if you are an immigrant you cannot become Swedish (Runfors, 2016, p. 1856).

The permeability of that national identity can also vary, depending on racial difference. In some cases, exclusion from the national ingroup can last even after centuries of shared presence, with immigrants’ descendants exposed to generations of discriminatory treatment. For such immigrants and their descendants, Portes et al. (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993) found that this racially-selective impermeability can lead to multigenerational socioeconomic decline and to the development of ethnic communities which fail to fully adopt a strong national identity. According to what Portes and his colleagues described as “segmented assimilation” theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993),

immigrant outcomes depend on factors exogenous to immigrants and their families, including the nature of racial discrimination in the settlement society and the existence of integrationist national policies for immigrants and ethnic minorities (Portes, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 2008). In their research, Portes and Zhou (1993) found that exclusionary national policies, coupled with racism, led to the formation of long-term, multigenerational ethnic outgroup communities that failed to integrate immigrant children into the socioeconomic prosperity of the national ingroup. In the presence of continued ethnic discrimination and limited legal recourse, Park and Miller observed, “the separateness will continue” (1921, p. 306).

Thus, national identity’s thick and thin, ascriptive and voluntaristic, ethnic and civic dimensions result in multiple layers of belonging, depending on the context of reception. As Hochman et al. (2016) wrote,

Whereas the ethnic dimension views national membership as predetermined, implying impermeable boundaries, the civic dimension implies more permeable boundaries based on voluntaristic markers that allow new members to join the ingroup. Taken together, these different logics of national membership explain readiness to exclude/include non-ethnic migrants (p. 67).

In my discussion of ecological systems theory below, I describe immigrant students’ adaptation to their settlement nations and the role of social contexts in supporting immigrants’ self-categorization into that settlement nation’s identity.

### **Situating Identity Formation: Ecological Systems Theory**

A principal tenet of SIT is the notion that identity formation happens within social systems, and our own process of self-categorization depends on the nested social contexts

that surround us (Reicher, 2004). As discussed above, the process of self-categorization depends on the prototypical options available within our social ecosystems and the flexibility with which people allow themselves and others to be equated to those prototypes (Haslam et al., 1992). Thus, the social ecology plays a critical role in identity formation. To describe this interactive process with a nested social context that includes both schools and nation states and their respective roles in the development of children's sense of social inclusion, I turn to ecological systems theory.

Developmental psychology—in which ecological systems theory is situated—describes the adaptation of human beings to their environment, with an emphasis on the changes that occur within children over the course of time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; R. M. Lerner et al., 2011; R. M. Lerner, 2012; Masten, 2006). Within developmental theories, Uri Bronfenbrenner's influential "bioecological" model portrays the child at the center of concentric rings of a social "ecosystem," beginning with the child's own genetic composition (thus, the "bio-" prefix) and emanating to the family and to the proximal institutions (or "microsystems") with which the child has regular interaction, such as the neighborhood, religious institutions, or schools. Beyond these microsystems are "exosystem" influences such as city and state governments which, though more distant, nevertheless influence the lived experiences of children by mediation through proximal institutions like schools and families. At the highest level are "macrosystems"—cultural scripts or beliefs which shape the actions of individuals at all levels of society, from national lawmakers to neighborhood friends. Within ecological systems theory, the successful adaptation of the child is influenced through interactions with this complex ecosystem.

Successful adaptation is measured in psychological wellbeing (e.g., optimism, lack of depression, etc.) as well as in the achievement of age-appropriate developmental tasks. In adolescence, developmental tasks for immigrant children (as for native children) include general accordance with the legal and social conventions of the larger society and of the school, positive social interactions with family as well as with ethnic and native members of the community, success in school and in other everyday responsibilities, and the emergence of civic dispositions, including—key to the present study—a sense of national identity (Masten, 2006; McCormick et al., 2011; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006). Considered from the perspective of SIT, these normative practices and beliefs also signal the young person’s self-categorization as a member of the national ingroup. Over time, successful adaptation in these important areas help to position immigrant children for what Portes et al. (Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993) refer to as “upward assimilation.”

### ***National Identity and Immigrant Adaptation***

Combining social identity theory with ecological systems theory, John Berry’s model of psychological acculturation (1994, 1995, 2003, 2006; Berry et al., 2006) centers on the intergroup strategies both immigrants and non-immigrants employ as they encounter each other in cultural contact situations. Some cultural contacts result in challenges which may be easily overcome with behavioral changes; however, at other times, cultural contact may produce conflicts which are more difficult to resolve, resulting in acculturative stress. The resolution of this stress results in adaptation (Berry, 1970, 1995, 2006b). Thus, by focusing on immigrant children’s capacity to overcome these stresses and thereby achieve healthy adaptation, this acculturative model builds

upon the developmental model outlined above (Sam & Oppedal, 2003). Berry, building on SIT and developmental systems theory (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012), argues that the combination of endogenous strategies and exogenous factors—such as structural resistance in the context of reception (e.g., racism, economic conditions, educational and social opportunities, etc.) or the presence of support structures (e.g., the group inclusion of friends, families, or schools)—help create adaptation outcomes which are reflected in immigrant children’s psychological wellbeing and their socioeconomic success in the settlement society (Berry, 2013). The management of these changes is crucial to the long-term success of the immigrant, and failure to manage those changes often results in depression, anxiety, feelings of isolation or marginalization, and accompanying psychosomatic responses (Berry, 1995, 2006b). If, however, the social ecology supports the immigrant youth in surmounting the challenges of migration, healthy adaptation and identification with the national ingroup is achieved.

Berry argues that immigrant youth generally employ one of four strategies in the process of acculturation, which in turn are accompanied by corresponding strategies employed by the larger society (Table 1). He describes the first of these acculturation strategies as (1) *integration*, in which youth maintain their ethnic identity and adopt a settlement nation identity, seeking to understand and be understood within the context of the settlement society. In this case, the national ingroup into which they are acculturating responds with *multiculturalism*, making allowances for their ethnic identity. A second strategy, which Berry terms (2) *assimilation*, is employed by immigrants who adopt the identity and culture of the settlement nation while making no attempt to preserve the ethnic identity of their heritage. This is often the outcome when the expectation of the

receiving community is what has historically been described as a “*melting pot*,” a strategy which, as discussed in the preceding sections, can be exceptionally hard when an immigrant’s racial distance from the ethnic core is substantial (Ford, 2011; Runfors, 2016; Sniderman et al., 2004; Waters, 1990). The third acculturation strategy identified by Berry is (3) *separation*, in which immigrants respond to acculturation stress by separating themselves from the settlement society and maintaining minimal contact with it. Berry argues that this response is not optimal for psychosocial adaptation but may nevertheless be the only reasonable response in situations in which migrants encounter high levels of resistance in the settlement society—indeed, it may be the best recourse that some immigrant youth might have for preserving their psychological health (Berry, 2006b). For example, in Piontkowski et al.’s (2000) secondary analysis of data from a 13-nation, 7-year study of over 11,000 immigrant and national youth and their parents—the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY; see Berry et al., 2006a)—Piontkowski et al. found that Turkish youth responded to German nationals’ discriminatory attitudes by selecting the separation strategy. Finally, a (4) *marginalization* acculturative strategy would be employed by youth who have become disconnected from their heritage identities yet who are unable to adopt the settlement nation’s identity or are rejected by the national ingroup (Bourhis et al., 1997; Schmitz, 2004; Ward, 2001; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Ibrahim and Heuer (2013) have described this state as identity “diffusion” in which immigrants are left with no concrete sense of ethnic or national identity. Berry (2013) finds that integration is the preferred strategy employed by most migrants, while assimilation is often preferred by refugees and separation by indigenous peoples and sojourners; in no studies does Berry find that



marginalization was immigrants’ preferred strategy. Table 1 reflects the combination of the strategies employed by both the national ingroup and immigrants (Berry, 2013).

Table 1

*Acculturative Strategies*

<i>National ingroup strategies</i>		<i>Immigrant strategies</i>
Multiculturalism	↔	Integration
Melting pot	↔	Assimilation
Segregation	↔	Separation
Exclusion	↔	Marginalization

*Note:* Adapted from Berry, 2013.

Thus, the nested social contexts—e.g., the microsystem of the school or the macrosystem of the nation—in which immigrant youth are situated play a role in influencing their identity formation (Brezicha & Miranda, 2022; Golash-Boza & Valdez, 2018). In the next section, I discuss how school climate serves as a key proximal context, mirroring or contesting the larger discourses within society that inform immigrant students’ beliefs on their perceived place within the settlement nation’s community (Brezicha & Miranda, 2022).

***School Climate***

Based on the prior sections—whether immigrant or not—the school is a primary site of proximal influence in which young people learn about the society outside the home. Interactions with adults and peers help them establish an understanding of the social norms by which these social ecosystems operate, and they understand their place

within those ecosystems by interactions with others who influence their self-identification as a member of one or more groups. The way that others in the school accept or reject immigrants' attempts to self-identify into the national ingroup influences their successful adaptation to their settlement nation. Positive factors within this proximal context may contribute to a stronger sense of ingroup identification, helping them move from an environment in which they perceive themselves as foreign to an environment in which they believe they belong. Thus, the environment of the school itself—the school's "climate"—plays a critical role in the healthy integration of all students into the norms of the larger society.

While studies on school climate date back to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, broader interest in the subject developed in the early 1980s when researchers began to shift their attention toward schools' organizational characteristics and toward student perceptions (Chirkina & Khavenson, 2018; J. S. Coleman et al., 1982; Kreft, 1993; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Thapa et al., 2013). Often employing multilevel modeling, this new generation of studies combined existing lines of research on student background (an "input-output" model; Kreft, 1993) with a new approach that sought to better understand the specific school practices that drove variation between school outcomes. These studies largely adopted Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model, a theoretical framework which continues to dominate this field of research (Lenz et al., 2021; Thapa et al., 2013). Cumulatively, the findings of this research have consistently pointed to the ecosystem effects of schools on students' socio-emotional wellbeing, academic success, and long-term adaptation to the norms of democratic society (R. Berkowitz et al., 2017; Grazia & Molinari, 2021; Lenz et al., 2021; Lewno-Dumdie et al., 2020; Thapa et al., 2013). Policymakers have sought to

leverage this research to promote practices that create school ecosystems which advance inclusion and the holistic wellbeing of students (Cowan et al., 2013; European Commission, 2022; USDOE, 2021).

School climate has been variously described as a “convergence of a school’s characteristic academic atmosphere, community of interpersonal relationships, physical and emotional safety, and institutional structure” (Lenz et al., 2021, p. 48), “individual perceptions of moral, relational and institutional aspects of school life” (Grazia & Molinari, 2021, p. 561), or “a broad, multi-dimensional construct that represents the quality and character of school life” (Lewno-Dumdie et al., 2020, p. 1). As a single authoritative definition of school climate has yet to emerge (J. Cohen et al., 2009; Wang & Degol, 2016), I adopt the National School Climate Council’s widely-used definition of school climate:

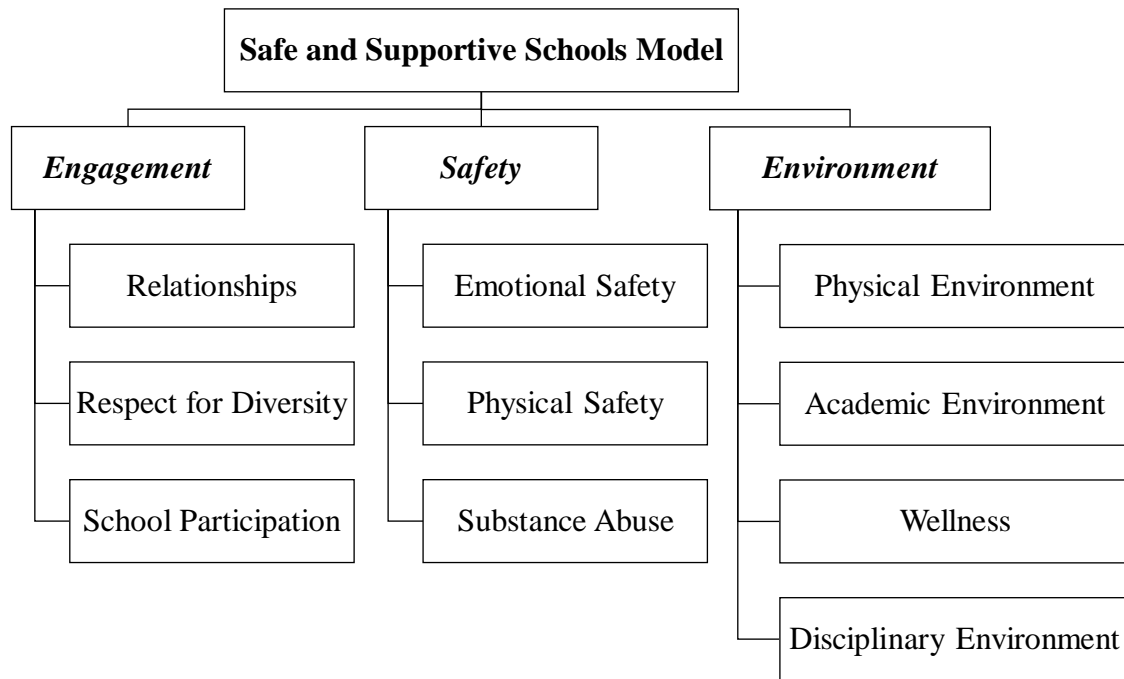
School climate refers to the quality and character of school life. It is based on patterns of school life experiences and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching, learning and leadership practices, and organizational structures. A sustainable, positive school climate fosters youth development and learning necessary for a productive, contributing and satisfying life in a democratic society. This climate includes norms, values and expectations that support people feeling socially, emotionally and physically safe. People are engaged and respected. (NSCC, 2007, p. 5)

While the specific components that factor into school climate vary depending on the specific interests of researchers and organizations (Grazia & Molinari, 2021; Wang & Degol, 2016), an influential taxonomy promoted by the United States Department of

Education’s National Center on Safe and Supportive Learning Environments (USDOE, 2021) operationalizes school climate as a three-part model of engagement, safety, and environment (Lewno-Dumdie et al., 2020; Thapa et al., 2013). This model is presented in Figure 1, below.

Figure 1

*USDOE Safe and Supportive Schools Model*



Note: Adapted from USDOE, 2021.

Within the framework shown in Figure 1, school *engagement* refers to the quality of the relationships in the school (both between teachers and students and between students themselves), the reflection of appreciation among the school’s constituents for the unique ethnic identities of the students in the school, and the participatory “opportunity” structures (Gray et al., 2018) designed to foster intergroup interactions and

student agency in shaping the daily experiences of school life. School *safety* refers both to students' physical safety (e.g., protection from bullying, sexual assault, fights, shootings, etc.) and to their emotional safety (e.g., safety from cyberbullying, verbal harassment, hate speech, provision of counseling services, etc.), as well as to the degree to which they are sheltered from the availability of addictive substances in the school—substances which rapidly lead to the deterioration of students' physical and emotional safety. School *environment* refers to the health and safety of the physical and virtual structures in which schooling takes place, the libraries and other learning resources available to students, and to the policies and procedures which create an orderly, fair, and civil environment for learning (USDOE, 2021; Wang & Degol, 2016).

The scope of this framework is vast, encompassing a large cross-section of educational policy, practice, and research which fit into one or more of these categories. Thus, the evidential base for school climate is expansive, and the publication of systematic reviews and meta-analyses have continued apace after the four decades of work which comprise the current generation of research on school climate (Ascorra et al., 2019; R. Berkowitz et al., 2017; Bradshaw et al., 2021; Grazia & Molinari, 2021; Lenz et al., 2021; Lewno-Dumdie et al., 2020; Thapa et al., 2013; Wang & Degol, 2016). This mounting evidence points to the impact of school climate on shaping students' psychosocial development, their academic success, and their physical wellbeing. Of particular relevance to the present study, school climate—and particularly the NSCC dimensions of engagement and safety—speaks to the interactions of immigrants and members of the national ingroup which shape the identity formation process. Seen through the lens of SIT and ecological systems theory, increasing the number of positive

ecosystem influences in schools supports the development of students' national identity. For these reasons, school climate has clear implications for the positive adaptation of immigrant children to—and their sense of belonging to and identity with—their settlement nation.

### **Fostering and Complicating National Identity**

In the preceding sections, I outlined how social identity formation—and, more specifically, the formation of national identity—among immigrant youth is related to the school ecology which may promote or hinder inclusive environments which facilitate that identity formation. In this section, I focus specifically on research relevant to the role of school climate in fostering immigrant students' sense of inclusion, focusing more narrowly on the relational and participatory components of the National School Climate Council's model's "engagement" and "safety" dimensions. I then turn to several factors known to complicate the process of identity formation.

### **Fostering Immigrant Inclusion Through School Climate**

#### ***Participatory Processes***

As discussed above, student engagement through participatory process in schools are widely considered to be a fundamental building block of a positive school climate. Democratic school experiences, such as participation in school voting activities that determine decisions that are made in the school, running in an election as a student representative, supporting a fellow student as candidate for a student body council, participating in debates in school assemblies, or even working to improve the physical appearance of one's school are examples of democratic and cooperative learning experiences that shape students' understanding of their relationship as a member of a

civic community and which promote the performance of expected civic norms such as voting and political engagement (Callahan et al., 2008; Callahan & Obenchain, 2012; Samuelsson, 2016; Slavin et al., 2003).

Participatory processes can help set the stage for positive intergroup relationships. Allport (1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) proposed “optimal” conditions for intergroup contacts, which, when met, support the development of greater empathy, understanding, and the development of shared identities. These conditions include opportunities (1) in which the members of the groups represented in these times of interaction hold equal status, (2) in which the members of both groups share common goals, (3) in which they take a cooperative approach toward achieving those goals, and (4) when this cooperative approach has the support of authority. Strong participatory structures foster these optimal conditions, assuming that those school structures support cooperation, equal status, and common goals (G. W. Allport, 1954; Banks, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). While simple intergroup contact has been found to be a positive influence on ingroup attitudes about outgroups, participatory school norms prompting outgroup participation have been found to magnify these effects (Banks, 2009). Supporting, structuring, and encouraging student engagement through democratic experiences can create opportunities for these optimal conditions to arise.

In addition, these activities strengthen students’ sense of political efficacy within the school—their belief that their voice is heard by those in authority and that their engagement can effect changes in the school. Bandura, whose theory of self-efficacy shapes much of the current discourse on political efficacy, spoke of both internal and

external political efficacy, with external political efficacy strengthening one's internal sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, 1997). High external political efficacy is found where authorities establish structures to support and respond to the individual and collective voices of community members (Bandura, 1997). In such conditions, external political efficacy strengthens an individual's personal beliefs about their ability to effect changes in their society. Prior studies of ICCS datasets have shown that students' beliefs about their political efficacy within the school setting correlates positively with their expected electoral and political participation as adults (Schulz, 2005; Schulz & Sibberns, 2004). Thus, seen from the perspective of social identity theory, participatory processes in the school setting are positively linked with students' overall sense of political efficacy and with their future likelihood of participating in the civic activities that reflect a strong sense of national identity (Gibbs et al., 2021; Gibbs & Bartlett, 2021).

In the past decade, a limited number of studies have explored the role of these democratic processes in supporting immigrant students' healthy adaptation to their settlement nation, including the role of these processes in fostering their sense of belonging within the school and within the settlement nation. Hajisoteriou et al.'s (2011) study of inclusive practices in Greek schools found that student government activities in schools foster immigrants' sense of inclusion. Likewise, Higdon (2015) found evidence that students' participation in their schools' democratic processes was significantly correlated with more positive intercultural attitudes, and Rutkowski et al. (2014)'s analysis of the same dataset found positive associations between immigrants' school participation and their attitudes toward their settlement nation. Sirlopú and Renger (2020) found that school participation was significantly correlated with students' belief that they



felt respected by their peers, and Peguero and Bondy (2015) found that democratic practices in schools establish norms of fairness and justice that support immigrant students' adaptation to the settlement nation. Given the support of a school ecosystem, interactions between immigrants and non-immigrants through school-based participatory structures suggest the possibility of creating these optimal conditions in which empathy and inclusion can develop.

### ***Peer Relationships and Bullying***

As discussed above, peer relationships are a central focus of research on school climate, and safe, positive peer relationships are fundamental in developing students' sense of inclusion (Long et al., 2021; Petrie, 2014). Peer relationships factor in as strongly or more strongly for students' socioemotional health and sense of school belonging than nearly all other school climate factors (Cemalcilar, 2010; DeNicolo et al., 2017; Loukas & Murphy, 2007). This has been found across national contexts. For immigrants, as was found in Umaña-Taylor's (2004) study of 1,062 Mexican-origin adolescents in the U.S., positive interactions with non-immigrant peers were found to be positively correlated with students' ethnic identity and self-esteem. By the same token, Motti-Stefanidi et al.'s (2008) study of 500 immigrant students in two Greek schools found that lower discrimination was associated with better grades and fewer absences. Conversely, the discrimination students identified in Oxman-Martinez et al.'s (2012) analysis of 1,053 immigrant students in Canada was significantly correlated with low self-esteem and poor academic performance. Similarly, Kirova's (2001) qualitative study with immigrant children in Canadian schools found that a weak sense of school belonging correlated with greater levels of loneliness and decreased self-esteem, while

the 434 immigrant students in Walsh et al.'s (2010) study in Israeli schools found positive correlations between negative peer relationships, increased risk behaviors, and poor mental health. Clearly, as with non-immigrant students, healthy childhood development is strongly linked to the sense of inclusion immigrant students experience in school. The added risk for immigrants, as was found in two separate studies of Turkish students living in Europe (Çelik, 2015; Vedder et al., 2006), is that social rejection is associated with a weak sense of national identity and is likely to have long-term implications, as the experience of discrimination from non-immigrant peers can lead immigrant youth into what Berry (2006a) described as separation or, worse, diffusion (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006).

In a positive school climate, students experience less victimization and greater levels of connectedness. Wilson's (2004) study of 2,327 middle and high school students found that school connectedness significantly correlated with decreased incidence of victimization in school. Similarly, in their path analysis of survey data from 2,834 students in 14 middle schools, Acosta et al. (2019) found that positive relationships between teachers and students and between students within the school were the largest factors in predicting a lower incidence of victimization. Studies such as these illustrate the powerful effect of school climate on students' sense of inclusion. For immigrants, such relationships signal group acceptance and lay the foundation for attempting to self-identify with the national ingroup (Berry, 2006a; Berry et al., 2006a; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009).

Peer relationships can, unfortunately, be shaped by national policy contexts, and these have been found to correlate with the attitudes of youth toward immigrants and

ethnic minorities. In countries with weak policies for immigrant integration, non-immigrant youth are more likely to have negative views of minorities (Kim & Byun, 2019), and non-immigrant youth are more likely to bully immigrant peers when they hold these views (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2016, 2018). Immigrant status can add new dimensions to bullying in schools, with some studies finding that immigrants are more frequently the victims of bullying than non-immigrants (McKenney et al., 2006; Scherr & Larson, 2010; Strohmeier & Spiel, 2003; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002; Vitoroulis & Schneider, 2009). This victimization in turn has been found to result in greater psychological distress for immigrant students than for non-immigrants students (Abada et al., 2008; Bjereld et al., 2015; Fandrem et al., 2009; Maynard et al., 2016; McKenney et al., 2006; Strohmeier & Spiel, 2003).

Such experiences have implications for identity formation, and prior work in the ICCS dataset (the dataset analyzed in the present study) has found that immigrant youth who experience bullying in school are significantly less likely to report positive attitudes toward their settlement nations than their peers who experience less bullying (Gibbs, 2019; Gibbs & Pivovarova, 2020, 2021). The student voices documented in Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's (2008) five-year, qualitative, interview-based study of over 309 first-generation immigrants—several of which were quoted in the introduction to this study—demonstrate the destructive impact of toxic peer relationships on immigrant students' sense of national identity. Thus, peer relationships loom large for the long-term acculturation of immigrant youth. A school climate that promotes healthy intergroup contact supports the self-identification of immigrant students with the national ingroup.

### ***Teacher-Student Relationships***

Teachers have been found to serve as important protective factors within the learning environment who facilitate students' sense of inclusion (Pianta, 2006; Pianta et al., 2003; Roeser et al., 1998; Schneider & Duran, 2010; Thapa et al., 2013; Zullig et al., 2011). Roeser et al.'s (1998) two studies of 1,041 adolescents found that students were less likely to feel alienated at school or to experience emotional distress if they had a supportive relationship with their teachers. More broadly, Stroet et al.'s (2013) systematic review of 71 studies of the effects of teacher-student attitudes on students' sense of motivation and school engagement found consistent evidence for the role of teachers in supporting their students' socioemotional development. Because teachers provide the crucial adult support that helps provide access to academic and social support systems and contributes to the daily experience of students in schools (Brinkworth et al., 2018; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Wentzel, 1998), the role of teachers is central in establishing school norms of respect and caring across difference (Banks, 2009).

Among immigrants, this dynamic holds true as well. For immigrant students, their non-immigrant teachers provide a lens through which to view their settlement society (E. G. Cohen & Lotan, 1995; E. G. Cohen & Roper, 1972; G. Green et al., 2008; Parker, 2012; Subedi, 2008). A study of immigrant participants in the 2005 PISA (Chiu et al., 2012) found that teacher relationships correlated positively and significantly with a stronger sense of school belonging. As Green et al. (2008) found in their study of 179 immigrant students in the United States, teacher caring was found to predict school engagement for both boys and girls. Inclusive environments created by non-immigrant teachers signal acceptance by the national ingroup, further supporting identity formation.

The influence of teachers is felt not only through their direct interactions with the students themselves, but also in their role as norm-setters who establish expectations for what an inclusive community should look like, not only through choices to represent multiple cultures in classroom talks (Banks, 2009; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006), but also through fair treatment of all students and in voicing their direct and indirect support for cross-cultural friendships. This norm-setting influence has been previously demonstrated. In a study of Turkish immigrants in German schools, Jugert et al. (2011) used a set of questions developed by Green et al. (1988) and Molina and Wittig (2006) to study the role of Allport's optimal conditions for creating an inclusive climate for inter-ethnic relational development. The researchers asked students to state their agreement with school climate statements, including, "In this class the teacher is fair to all children no matter what country they are from," "All children in this class are treated equal no matter what country they are from," "In this class the teacher encourages children to make friends with children from other countries." Students' endorsements of these statements positively predicted the development of cross-ethnic friendship preferences over time. Similarly, Tropp et al.'s (2016) three-part study on inter-ethnic friendships in Chile and the United States found that school norms established by the teachers positively predicted the number of cross-ethnic friendships held by ethnic minority students. Studies with students randomly assigned to groups have yielded similar results (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011; Nipedal et al., 2010). Further, fair treatment in the school has been associated with decreased sense of ethnic discrimination. Benner and Graham (2011) found in a study of Spanish-speaking Latino youth in the U.S. that students' were likely to report less discrimination in school contexts in which students believed they were treated fairly, and,

in Orozco and López's (2015) study of Mexican-American students, a lower incidence of discrimination correlated with a greater sense of school attachment.

Yet, teachers, as members of the larger national society, often reflect the attitudes of that society. Thus, Motti-Stefanidi et al.'s (2008) study of Albanian and Pontian adolescent immigrants in three Greek schools observed consistently more negative teacher attitudes toward their immigrant students than toward their non-immigrant students, and studies in the United States and Canada have documented immigrant students' sense of alienation at school on account of teachers whose attitudes toward them were perceived as discriminatory (Gonzales et al., 2015; Katz, 1999; Selimos & Daniel, 2017). Therefore, while teachers can play a significant role in immigrant student inclusion, this role is not always positive, and schools must be intentional in fostering a climate in which immigrant students sense that they are welcome—in every teacher's classroom.

### ***Civil Discourse in the Classroom***

Within the NSCC model presented above (Figure 1), an important component of school engagement is respect for diversity. As discussed in the prior section, teachers can set school norms by demonstrating their respect for diversity in their instructional decisions, by setting a tone that insists on fairness and respect for all, and by their willingness to speak against hostile currents in public discourse. In addition, teachers can support diversity through teaching their students how to have constructive, safe conversations in the classroom on polarizing political issues. Growing evidence has shown that discussion of controversial or political issues in classrooms, when carefully guided by teachers, serves to build understanding and civility across differences

(Bickmore & Parker, 2014; Hess, 2004; Ho et al., 2017; McAvoy & Hess, 2013). Such conversations help provoke students' curiosity about the beliefs, lived experiences, and emotional responses of others who differ with them and, ultimately support the development of empathy for others in their society—and in the classroom—who differ from them (Barton & McCully, 2012; Ho et al., 2017).

This classroom discourse serves a dual purpose. First, it allows teachers to register their support for respecting a diversity of beliefs and experiences in the classroom, behaviors which have been linked both to fostering immigrant students' sense of inclusion and to helping immigrant students better understand the nature of the democratic society mirrored in these classroom activities (Bickmore & Parker, 2014; Parker, 2012, 2016; Subedi, 2008). Structured classroom dialogue allows teachers to help students address and navigate tensions which sustain inequitable attitudes (Bickmore & Parker, 2014; Parker, 2012) and to foster empathy and inclusive attitudes across social groups (Parker, 2016). By engaging with their students in difficult conversations about the experiences of minorities and immigrants, as Jaffe-Walter et al. (2019) explain in their study of two US schools, classroom dialogue allows teachers to provide “sanctuary and safety” (p. 266) amidst sometimes-xenophobic public discourses and helps immigrant students see the multidimensional nature of the national population, carving out spaces for national belonging within this larger population.

Second, such experiences provide opportunities for immigrant students to communicate their experiences to their peers in a controlled setting, a practice which has been found to build empathy among immigrants and their non-immigrant peers in a diverse range of national contexts (Chapman et al., 2014; Flecha, 2014; Solbue et al.,

2017). However, without the structure of a teacher who guides students through difficult conversations and creates intellectual safety for all participants, the voicing of these experiences can work against students and increase intergroup conflict (E. G. Cohen & Lotan, 1995; E. G. Cohen & Roper, 1972; Riordan & Ruggiero, 1980). Thus, teacher-led classroom dialogues that are scaffolded (Dávila, 2021) to protect the dignity and respect of immigrant students provide a context for intergroup contact that produces positive outcomes for immigrant students' national identity (Brezicha & Miranda, 2022).

And, indeed, the inclusive tone set in classroom discourse has been previously linked to national identity development. Schwarzenhal et al.'s (2018) study of nearly 2,000 young people in German schools found that immigrant students had a stronger orientation toward the national culture in those classrooms in which teachers performed a norm-setting role by promoting equal and inclusive practices in their treatment of immigrant students. Similarly, Nesdale and Lawson (2011) theorized, based on their study of 384 children, that schools may moderate—though not entirely extinguish—negative outgroup attitudes through setting norms on inclusion and kindness toward outgroup peers. Tropp et al. (2016) found in their studies of children in Chile and the United States that school norms act on outgroup identity over the long term, shaping children's attitudes and leading to more positive perceptions of outgroup children—among both ingroup participants and among the outgroup participants. Teachers play a key role in facilitating this inclusive inter-cultural contact (Pavlopoulos & Motti, 2012).

Solbue et al.'s (2017) qualitative study of an inclusive secondary classroom in Norway describes how conversations across differences promotes immigrant students'



sense of inclusion. The authors relate the words of one second-generation immigrant girl as she reflected on these classroom dialogues:

In some of our social science lessons we sit in a circle and talk about things. That makes us get to know each other better. We talk about how we feel and we have talked a lot about the class environment and how we would like it to be. And if something is wrong we discuss it and everyone is allowed to have their say in the matter. All of us have different opinions, but we are able to agree on something in the end. That might be one of the reasons why the class environment is so good (Solbue et al., 2017, p. 137).

While discussion of differences in a classroom may accentuate the differences between students, such conversations—particularly when well-structured by the teacher—also present an opportunity for immigrant students to find that others are receptive to their experiences and beliefs, and, in turn, to them as individuals (Banks, 2001; Subedi, 2008).

### **Complicating Factors in Identity Formation**

In the prior section I reviewed several ways in which school climate factors—particularly those that promote student engagement and safety—support the formation of immigrant students’ settlement nation identity. Complicating the positive impact of school climate and national identity formation are a number of factors which, within the bioecosystem of a student’s development, influence the formative processes that students encounter in schools. Factors such as gender, family psychosocial support and acculturation, parental income and education, the affluence and ethnic composition of the community, immigration status, and race are all demographic factors over which the school has no control, while other factors, such as prior academic or behavioral history or

prior exposure to ethnic discrimination, are factors over which a school *might* have control, depending on whether the student has been in a school previously or has transferred into that school (Loukas & Murphy, 2007). These student- and neighborhood-level characteristics have been known to influence students' perceptions of school climate (Gordon & Fefer, 2019; Loukas & Murphy, 2007; Maxwell et al., 2017; Rohatgi & Scherer, 2020; Thapa et al., 2013) and to complicate its measurement (Bottiani et al., 2020; George et al., 2021; Grazia & Molinari, 2021).

Similarly, these variables have been found to shape the acculturation process for immigrant students, as well (Berry et al., 2006a; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Immigrant students' experiences in schools are situated within the context of the policies and rhetoric of the settlement nation, creating a formidable influence which schools, as explored in the present study, may seek to counteract (Brezicha & Miranda, 2022; Jaffe-Walter et al., 2019). As a full discussion of each of these elements is beyond the scope of the present study, I highlight several which are pertinent to the ICCS dataset analyzed here, with attention to their role in adaptation and identity formation.

### ***Gender***

Prior research has found distinctions by gender in the way in which immigrant youth come to adopt the identity of the settlement nation, with girls tending to navigate the process of acculturation and adopt the national identity of the country of settlement more rapidly than boys (Hernandez, 2009; Makarova & Herzog, 2011; Ojeda et al., 2011; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Qin, 2006; Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Waters, 1999). Girls are also more likely than boys to adopt

a “hyphenated” integration that maintains a stronger connection to their ethnic heritage, allowing them to maintain their heritage identity while adopting the civic identity of the settlement nation (Feliciano & Rumbaut, 2019; Rumbaut, 1994; Sirin & Fine, 2007; Song, 2010; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). This practice is seen as a potent blend for long-term upward assimilation, according to Portes and his colleagues (Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993), and it is an acculturation strategy that Berry et al.’s (2006a) internationally comparative ICSEY study found to be associated with the “integration” profile and with the healthy psychosocial adaptation of immigrant youth. And, indeed, the ICSEY study found that girls were more likely to assume an integrated ethnic-national identity than boys, while boys were found to be more likely to adopt Berry’s “separation” and “marginalization” strategies (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006).

It has been widely theorized that girls’ propensity for the maintenance of a heritage identity is due not only to the faster rate at which girls mature—which leads to more rapid acculturation (Hernandez, 2009)—but also, and even primarily, due to a “keeper of the culture” assumption which is placed upon many immigrant girls (Billson, 1995; Quan et al., 2022; Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019). In their review of more than 20 studies across a wide range of immigrant heritage cultures in multiple nations, Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006) found that immigrant girls were consistently found to live under stricter parental control than boys, to have more responsibilities for the daily upkeep of the home, to be more frequently called upon to support their families in navigating government offices and providing translation, and to encounter much stricter limitations on friendships and dating. These tighter familial bonds have been correlated with stronger maintenance of ethnic identity (Feliciano & Rumbaut, 2019). Related to

this dynamic is the fact that girls from some ethnic backgrounds are more likely to display outward religious markers on a daily basis—e.g., the hijab—thus making the maintenance of ethnic identity highly salient both to these girls and to their peers (Leet-Otley, 2020; Ngo et al., 2020). None of this is to imply that girls' experiences are easier than boys: in fact, these factors, in addition to more experiences of sexual harassment, have been found to create higher levels of stress and depression for girls (Abada et al., 2008; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Rumbaut, 1994). However, the cumulative effect of the protective influences of the family and ethnic community better situate immigrant girls for the maintenance of ethnic identity while adopting a settlement nation identity.

In contrast, boys are less likely than girls to adopt a settlement nation identity and are more likely to engage in high-risk behaviors than girls (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006). Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006) argue that the social mirrors boys experience—society's beliefs about prototypical immigrant boys—are more likely to be shaded by negative racial stereotypes. These negative social mirrors subsequently become self-fulfilling prophecies, and, with families imposing fewer restrictions on boys than girls, a reactive ethnicity (Portes & Lagae, 2017; Rumbaut, 2008) has been found to combine with these negative stereotypes to drive greater at-risk behaviors (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2018; C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Thijs et al., 2015). It is perhaps partly due to such experiences that boys have been found to sense greater degrees of isolation (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012) and are more likely than girls to experience bullying in schools (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2016, 2018). At the same time, boys are also more likely to be perpetrators of bullying themselves (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2018; Leeman & Pels, 2006), a behavior that is often driven by a reactive ethnicity-

linked desire for self-assertion and empowerment (Masten et al., 2012; Qin, 2006; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). In a related dynamic, boys have been found to exhibit a more rapid embrace of the settlement culture, but this comes at the expense of leaving their ethnic identity behind, increasing the likelihood of adopting a diffuse identity, should the ethnic core reject their attempts to self-categorize into the national ingroup (Phinney, 2000). As Phinney et al. (2006) wrote, “Immigrant boys appear to experience fewer psychological problems than girls but at the cost of having more difficulty in fitting in to the larger society” (p. 222).

Further, interaction effects have been found between gender and other demographic variables, such as socioeconomic status. Prior studies in school climate have found that girls perceive school climate more positively than do boys (Wang & Dishion, 2012; Way et al., 2007), and immigrant boys are more likely to be perceived by their teachers as problematic and more likely to have behavioral problems than their female counterparts (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Qin, 2006; Schachner, Van de Vijver, et al., 2018). At the same time, however, Sam et al.’s (2008) study of 1,479 15-year-old immigrant adolescents in Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Sweden found that boys differ from girls in the way that SES relates to psychosocial adaptation, with immigrant boys from lower-income and less-educated families having higher success in acculturation than those from higher-SES families. School climate perceptions and SES and demonstrate the ways in which these student-level factors work in combination with other demographic and ecological factors to complicate and differentiate the acculturation experiences of boys and girls.

### *Socioeconomic Status*

Early research on school climate, running through the 1960s and 1970s, was shaped by several studies which reported that schools had little effect on counteracting the influence of students' socioeconomic background (J. S. Coleman, 1966; J. S. Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks et al., 1972). However, as discussed above, a second generation of research, often leveraging hierarchical/multilevel modeling (Kreft, 1993; Kreft & de Leeuw, 1998; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002), has demonstrated that schools have greater influence over students' learning outcomes than previously understood, when controlling for differences between schools, school types, student perceptions, and other organizational characteristics. In a systematic review of 78 studies published between 2000 and 2015, Berkowitz et al. (2017) found consistent evidence that school climate mitigates the negative effects of low SES on young people, and subsequent studies have further sought to demonstrate the ability of school climate to mitigate the impact of low SES on student learning (R. Berkowitz, 2020; Gustafsson et al., 2018; Nilsen et al., 2016). Among immigrant and non-immigrant youth alike, SES has been positively linked to their likelihood to be engaged in civic activities. Prior research has found that individuals with higher SES are more highly educated in how democracies function, have stronger connections to influential actors, and have more liberty in time and finances for political engagement—and, therefore, are more likely exhibit higher levels of civic engagement (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Verba et al., 1995).

Such findings are of import for the adaptation and identity formation of immigrant youth. Since, as discussed above, national identity is tied to the enactment of normative behaviors such as voting and political engagement, it would be unsurprising to see

positive relationships among youth between SES and national identity. This, in fact, has been the findings of several previous studies. Portes et al.'s (2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993) research on the segmented assimilation of second-generation youth positively linked SES and the national identity formation of immigrant youth. Similarly, positive associations were identified in the ICSEY study between SES and national identity, with the researchers finding that students whose parents were better educated were likely to have a stronger sense of national identity (Phinney, Berry, Sam, et al., 2006). Comfortable conditions in the settlement nation, such as buying a home and enjoying a high-quality education, are linked to socioeconomic status and therefore influential in positively shaping immigrants' attitudes about the context of reception (Alba & Nee, 1997; Heath et al., 2008). Children from higher-SES families are also more likely to have parents with greater social capital and linguistic competence, factors which provide greater support in navigating the new society (Phinney, Berry, Sam, et al., 2006).

The inverse implication is also true: as the ICSEY study found, immigrants who encounter greater degrees of hardship will encounter higher levels of acculturative stress, limiting their capacity to successfully adapt to their settlement environment (Berry, 2006b). This has been demonstrated in Moymerman & Forman's (1992) meta-analysis of 49 studies, which found similar correspondence between SES and acculturation, and in de Vroome et al.'s (2014) study of more than 1,700 immigrants and 2,000 non-immigrants in the Netherlands, which found that both immigrant and non-immigrant respondents from lower-SES backgrounds had lower levels of national identification (which the researchers associated with SES-related social exclusion).

At the same time, the evidence does not point exclusively to the positive association between SES and national identity. Rutkowski et al.'s (2014) study of immigrant dispositions in the 2009 ICCS data found that socio-economic status significantly and negatively predicted students' civic dispositions—that is, high-SES immigrants displayed more negative attitudes toward their country of settlement and anticipated less involvement in civic activities than lower-SES immigrants. Less conclusively, Leszczensky et al.'s (2020) study of immigrant Muslim youth in four European nations found no significant effect from SES on participants' national identity.

On the balance of these studies, it can be said that SES shapes the acculturation experience—for better or for worse—and that school climate may mitigate these effects.

### ***Immigrant Generation***

Immigrant generations refer to the birthplace and time in country for those who have an immigrant background. A common classification—and the classification followed in the IEA's ICCS—is that the first generation refers to those born abroad to at least one foreign-born parent, while second-generation refers to those who are born in the test country to at least one foreign-born parent (Schulz et al., 2018). In the literature, a third generation has also been proposed, referring to the grandchildren of immigrants (or those even further removed), born in the country of settlement to parents who were also born in the country of settlement (Jensen, 2001). Beyond this, a wide range of other generations have been proposed, including generations 1.25, 1.5, and 1.75, depending on the age of migration and other factors (Jensen, 2001; Rumbaut, 2004), and many more—the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries* study proposed 13 separate generations, from generation 1 to 3.75 (Dollmann et al., 2014). As



the IEA dataset I use in this study does not permit for these finer-grained distinctions, I focus here on the first and second generations, as defined above.

First-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants have been found to differ in their rate of adaptation, with some researchers finding that first-generation immigrants show better psychological adaptation, better success in school, and higher levels of optimism than those of the second generation and later (Fuligni, 1997; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). This generational dynamic has been found to affect relationships in school, with more positive teacher-student relationships in the first generation and weaker relationships in the second and third generations (Peguero & Bondy, 2011). This “immigrant paradox” has been theorized to result from an optimism among first-generation immigrants which produces high settlement-nation engagement and initial success but which is then followed by reactive ethnicity in the second generation as these children grow up more aware than their parents of the discrimination manifested by those within the ethnic core (Portes & Lagae, 2017; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 2004).

However, other studies have questioned the generalizability of these findings to contexts outside of the United States. The ICSEY study found that differences between acculturation patterns of the first and second generations varied by nation and, in some cases, by ethnic groups. Across 17 ethnic groups in 10 nations, results were nearly evenly divided between nations in which there were significant differences in developmental adaptation between first- and second-generation immigrants and between immigrants and their non-immigrant peers (Sam et al., 2006). Sam et al.’s (2008) follow-up study of immigrant youth using a narrower subset of ICSEY data in five European nations yielded

similarly mixed results. In a more direct contradiction to the immigrant paradox thesis, Rutkowski et al.'s (2014) analysis of the 2009 ICCS dataset found that second generation immigrant students were more likely to indicate higher levels of national attachment than their first-generation peers. Similarly, among young adults, de Vroome et al.'s (2014) study of 1,700 immigrants in the Netherlands found that second-generation immigrants had a stronger national identity than first-generation immigrants, and that language and SES played a stronger role in national identity formation than immigration generation.

Even within North America, some have suggested that these generational differences are largely the result of school climate or of parents' home-country orientation than of a reactive ethnicity resulting in the multi-generational decline identified in Portes et al.'s (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993) segmented assimilation theory (Greenman, 2013; Monscheuer, 2020). Similarly, studying national identity explicitly, Huddy and Khatib's (2007) study of the General Social Survey in the United States looked explicitly at national identity among immigrants in the United States and found no significant differences between generations. Thus, as with socioeconomic status, it is unclear as to the extent to which findings of prior research on generational status may be generalized.

### ***National Policy Contexts***

Finally, over and above the individual-level and school climate factors that shape immigrants' processes of identity formation, the national contexts in which schools and young people are situated supply macrosystem narratives that shape immigrants' expectations of the national ingroup's openness to their inclusion.

As a macrosystem script, national migration policy has been found to play a normative role in the formation of intergroup attitudes (Bourhis et al., 1997; Hooghe & de Vroome, 2015; Kim & Byun, 2019; Pettigrew, 1991). In their norm-setting role, pro-immigrant integrationist policies in one nation may be associated with non-immigrants' positive attitudes toward immigrants while, in another nation, exclusionary or restrictionist policies may portray immigration as problematic, leading to a general disdain for immigrants among the national ingroup. These policies both create and build upon national narratives regarding the place of immigrants in society—an interplay between popular attitudes and migration policy that is readily illustrated in the rhetoric of immigration in the United States since the early 1900s.

Recounting the history of American attitudes toward immigration, Portes (2020) and Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2009) document the cyclical, repetitive scripts in American history which alternately characterize immigrants as both a blessing and a threat to American prosperity. Excerpts from the popular press of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century echo contemporary sentiments, though stripped bare of political decorum and laced with graphic metaphor. One commentator in 1923, the novelist Cornelia James Cannon, expressed her fear in the *North American Review* that the nation's identity would be overwhelmed by immigrants:

They no longer come, like the hordes of old, on horseback, fantastically dressed in skins, brandishing spears and uttering strange war cries. But they come in far greater numbers, vermin infested, alien in language and in spirit, with racial imprints which can be neither burned out nor bred out, packs on their backs, leading little children by the hand. And like the hordes of old they are destined to

conquer us in the end, unless by some miracle of human contriving we conquer them first. (Cannon, 1923, p. 330)

Cannon argued that Americans are self-sufficient, and she expressed concern that immigrants may fill jobs that otherwise would have been filled by Americans, such as “garbage and ash collection, waste disposal and hoeing, with carpentering, painting, plumbing, and occasional plastering and bricklaying thrown in” (Cannon, 1923, p. 327).

Kenneth Roberts, a popular commentator writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* in the 1920s (Wattenberg, 2000), expressed his concern that some immigrant populations refused to assimilate and brought poverty with them:

If the United States is the melting pot, something is wrong with the heating system, for an inconveniently large portion of the new immigration floats around in unsightly indigestible lumps ... America has largely become the dumping ground for the world’s human riffraff, who couldn’t make a living in their own countries. (Roberts as cited in C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009, p. 39)

Roberts goes on to declare that the danger which the new wave of immigrants brought with them was their propensity to incite communism: “The smartest and the most cunning and frequently the most resourceful among them are the Bolshevik agitators” (Roberts, cited in Moffett, 2020, p. 5). Thus, the fear of immigrants sweeping away the cultural ethos of the nation was accompanied with a concern that they might also undermine the nation’s political and economic systems. Yet, this public mood was also tempered by sentiments of hospitality (Portes, 2020). The same journal in which Roberts was quoted above, the *Saturday Evening Post*, was also home to more positive assessments of immigrants (Moffett, 2020). Some who were critical of contemporary

immigration reflected warmly upon prior waves of immigrants who were believed to have been more apt to “melt” into American culture. This dual psychology is described by Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2009) as a warm, proud reflection on America’s history of welcoming immigrants—immigrants who were somehow more deserving to become Americans than those of the present generation.

Falling at the beginning of what has become known as the “American Century” of U.S. dominance, these fears of cultural erosion, immigrant criminality, job loss, and rising poverty, coupled with a paradoxical pride in America’s immigrant heritage are still harbored by many Americans at the beginning of a new century (Schrag, 2011; cf., Huntington, 2004). Sounding echoes from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a “bad hombres” xenophobic mood (quoting Donald Trump’s campaign speech; cf., Rhodan, 2016) has threaded through the U.S. media, rooted in fears that immigrants bring crime and presage a dystopic future for American society (Silber Mohamed & Farris, 2020). These attitudes toward immigrants, in combination with latent ethnic, racial, and linguistic discrimination toward minorities regardless of nationality, complicate the reception for immigrants entering the United States. This hostility has been described by Portes and Rumbaut as “intransigent nativism” (Portes, 2020; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014a), a negativity that has at times characterized political dispositions in the United States and other Western nations, shaping the cultural and legal context in which immigrant children live their lives (Bozorgmehr et al., 2012; Pivovarova & Powers, 2019; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014b).

These attitudes find their way into the proximal contexts that immigrant students encounter every day. Studies conducted among students (Wray-Lake et al., 2018) and teachers (Rodriguez, 2019) during the period of the Trump administration’s restrictionist

immigration policies highlight this correlation of national policy with school ethos, with teachers found to mirror national policy scripts in classroom talk and immigrant students found to be emotionally impacted by increasingly hostile rhetoric. De Graauw and Gleeson (2020) documented how, on the introduction of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in 2012, numerous immigrant youth who sought DACA guidance from their schools were met with uncooperative coldness by counselors when it was revealed that their advisees were undocumented. Yet, conversely, inclusive policymaking can also have a positive impact. Filindra et al. (2011) found significant and positive correlations in a study of U.S. policy contexts between inclusive state and regional policies and second-generation immigrants' academic performance.

In the European Union (EU), the participation of EU nations in multiple waves of attitudinal studies, such as the European Social Survey and the European Values Survey attitudinal surveys (O'Shea et al., 2002), have prompted several comparative studies which examined the relationship between immigration policy and citizens' dispositions about immigrants (Callens & Meuleman, 2017; Hooghe & de Vroome, 2015; Kauff et al., 2013; Schlueter et al., 2013). Focusing on European youth, Kim and Byun (2019) conducted a comparative analysis of the relationship between national immigration policy and students' attitudes toward immigrant populations. Using European data from the 2009 and 2016 ICCS administrations, the researchers found that native-born youth in nations with more restrictive immigration policies had more negative attitudes toward immigrants than youth in nations with more inclusive immigration policies. Similarly, Barber et al. (2013) found that youth living in nations with high levels of nationalism were likely to have negative attitudes regarding immigrant rights. Such studies highlight

the norm-setting role of national policy and its implications for immigrant students as they interact with non-immigrant youth and adults in the school setting.

Formally, there is broad international support for welcoming migrants. Krieken (2001) documents 10 U.N. charters, conventions, and resolutions recounting the rights of migrants and the responsibilities of nation-states and the international community to provide safety and human services to international migrants. The years leading up to 2016—the year in which the ICCS data used in this study was collected—were a period of massive refugee movement, and European and North American nations became home to hundreds of thousands of displaced persons. Thus Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2009) observe, despite resurgent currents of public resentment toward migrants, the official policies of Western democracies may also reflect alternative narratives in which these nations also see themselves as immigrant-welcoming nations.

Yet those policies maintain a delicate relationship to public sentiment, as seen with the changes enacted at the beginning of the Trump administration, when government policy began to tilt more heavily toward nativist narratives. This is reflected in the change in total migrant intake between 2017 and 2019. During this timeframe, the United States's lead in refugee resettlement was ceded to Canada, not by significant increases in Canada's share of refugee intake but by precipitous declines in the United States' reception rates. Refugee resettlements to the United States declined from 97,000 in 2017 to 23,000 in 2019—a decline of 76%, largely due to stricter refugee qualifications set in effect by the Trump administration (Radford & Conner, 2019). This decline in the total intake of refugees was accompanied by a similar decline in the issuance of lawful residencies, as issuances of permanent residencies in United States dropped from

1,127,167 in 2017 to 577,000 in 2019 (USCIS, 2020; Witsman, 2018). Accompanying this shift has been a proliferation of English-only and labor-protectionist legislation that has been enacted at the state level since 2005 (Good, 2013; Pivovarova & Powers, 2019; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014a). These patterns demonstrate how policy structures, given time, can come to reflect narratives echoing throughout the national ecosystem.

These nativist and restrictionist policy contexts have been found to increase the level of anxiety immigrant children face. Of special interest is Asad's (2020) study of Pew surveys conducted in the United States between 2007 and 2018. Asad found that, while fears of deportation remained constant across all years for undocumented immigrants themselves, fears among U.S. citizens that their undocumented family members might be deported increased by 42% between 2013 and 2018. In reality, however, actual deportations *dropped* between 2013 and 2018 (Hutchison, 2020), suggesting that these growing anxieties are not so much responding to actual increases in enforcement activity but to heated rhetoric in the legal macrosystem. Sharpened macrosystem narratives may, therefore, impact perceptions of the national context and affect the psychological stability of immigrant youth, even when they, themselves, are unlikely to be the direct subject of law enforcement activity.

As an estimated 9.5 million children live in mixed-status families in which one or more parent is not an authorized resident (Fortuna & Porche, 2014; Wylonis & Billick, 2020), children's fear of either their own deportation or that of their parents is an abiding stress which can create severe psychological trauma (Gómez & O'Leary, 2019; Valdez et al., 2013). The abrupt removal of both parents can trigger a premature transition to adulthood as teenagers take responsibility for their younger siblings while staying in the



home of extended family—or even foster homes (Golash-Boza, 2019). Amuedo-Dorantes and Arenas-Arroyo (2018) found that the number of Hispanic children who entered foster care increased by 21 percent over the period of 2001-2015, a period marked by aggressive increases in deportations under the Obama administration. When a parent is deported, basic childhood needs for attachment to family are traumatically ruptured, thus jeopardizing the potential for an immigrant child’s long-term adaptation. Zayas and Gulbas (2017) recounted the constant fear of deportation as expressed in one girl’s description of her recurring nightmare:

They were looking for people, and I didn’t know who they were looking for. I heard people saying, “Show me your papers!” My friends, they had black hoodies, and they could cover themselves well. But I had a pink sweater... I was left out... until they found me, and they took me into... this jail. That’s when I woke up. (p. 2469)

In studying cases such as these, Fortuna and Porche (2014) found that children in mixed-status or wholly undocumented families have high incidences of PTSD, chronic anxiety, and depression and that these psychological conditions may lead to bouts of misbehavior and learning difficulties in school. Brabeck and Sibley’s (2016) study of 180 immigrant families, 89 of whom were mixed-status, also recorded heightened anxiety among children of mixed-status parents (though hyperactivity was negatively correlated with mixed-status families in their sample). The looming threat of deportation has been found to produce similarly damaging psychological effects internationally (Å. W. Smith, 2020) and in children of families within a range of ethnic and national backgrounds (Wylonis & Billick, 2020).

For many immigrant children, national contexts such as these—much less the process of immigration itself, along with the trauma that often precipitates migration—take a heavy toll on the mental health of immigrant youth (C. Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Ironically, though, the same fear of a deportation which contributes to poor mental health in the first place also leads many families to avoid seeking mental health services (Castañeda & Melo, 2014)—a behavior documented in Derr’s (2016) systematic review of 62 articles explicitly focused on the use of mental health services among immigrant families in the U.S. Derr found that the cost of care, lack of insurance, and language of treatment prevented many immigrants from seeking care. In the absence of professional mental health care, Franco (2018) highlighted the critical support provided by schools in supporting such children through trauma-informed care.

Thus, national policy, projected through law enforcement, popular media and mirrored in the general population, can stress the immigrant children’s adaptive response systems and dissuade them from identifying with a settlement culture that views them as members of an undesirable outgroup (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009). This, in turn, has been linked to the retreat from national identity described in Portes and Zhou’s (1993) notion of downward assimilation—a cultural withdrawal and declining wealth in the second and third generations. A key need of immigrant students, then, is positive relational mirroring in the proximal contexts outside the home—a social mirroring which recognizes and values them as members of the settlement nation community.

## **School Climate and National Policy Contexts**

Schools, too, perform a norm-setting role, as well, and may amplify or counteract the attitudes imposed by the national macrosystem (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018). As outlined above, national policy shapes the social mirrors in the school to inform immigrant youth on whether their non-immigrant peers and teachers consider them to be members of the national ingroup. In doing so, schools amplify both positive and negative signals (Murillo, 2017). In the context of exclusionary policies, immigrant children may seem themselves through “distorted mirrors” (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009, p. 148), through civics courses and literature classes in which national society may be projected in racially and culturally exclusive frames, contesting the place of immigrants within a settlement nation (Banks, 2009; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). Schools may also—and have historically—become zones of legal battles, as the case of *Plyer v. Doe* (1982). Further, the language of the school itself can also add to this sense of exclusion: English-only curricula, English-speaking teachers, English-speaking peers, and English-only laws can become, as Valdés (1998) wrote, a “rallying point in boundary maintenance, as a way of defining ‘us’ in comparison to ‘them’” (p. 14), leaving non-fluent speakers outside the in-group and dampening their sense of national inclusion.

Through mechanisms such as these and through those described in the preceding sections, national policy speaks through the school context, informing immigrant children on their state of inclusion and fostering or obstructing their development of a national identity. As Gonzales et al. (2015) concluded in their study of the legacy of *Plyer v. Doe* (1982) on immigrant children, schools are societal “integrators” and “constructors of

citizenship”; but, as the authors also write, “while schools hold the potential to engender a sense of belonging and membership,” they “often fall short of this promise” (p. 318).

Thus, both national policies and school contexts play a role in shaping attitudes among student populations toward immigrant populations. For those nations in which national policy veers toward restrictive or exclusionary policies, the school plays a pivotal role in creating “countercultural spaces of belonging for their immigrant students” (Brezicha & Miranda, 2022, p. 2), providing a constructive context for national identity formation. In the chapters that follow, I explore this countercultural role of the school in mitigating the influence of national policy contexts on the formation of immigrant students’ sense of national identity.

CHAPTER 3  
METHODOLOGY

**Data**

To answer my research question on how school climate moderates the effect of national political contexts, I employed hierarchical linear modeling, drawing from two sources of data. Nation-level policy data is drawn from the 2015 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), while student- and school-level data is drawn from the 2016 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS).

**National Policy Contexts**

To provide insight into national policy contexts for immigrants, I draw upon the 2015 MIPEX, a study categorizing 38 nations' immigrant integration policies under eight domains (Helbling, 2013; Huddleston et al., 2015): (1) *labor market mobility* (the ease with which immigrants can find work, gain equal pay and benefits as non-immigrants, and obtain job training), (2) *education* (the right to attend public schools, get support for individualized needs, and learn in an environment with policies that prioritize inclusion), (3) *political participation* (ability to vote, freedom of expression, responsiveness of the courts), (4) *family reunion* (eligibility of immigrants to sponsor their foreign family members to immigrate to the country and join them), (5) *access to nationality* (eligibility and speed of naturalization, ability to hold dual citizenship), (6) *health* (eligibility of immigrants to access affordable health care at the same levels as non-immigrants), (7) *permanent residence* (ease and speed of gaining residency, equal privileges provided to residents as to native-born citizens), and (8) *anti-discrimination* (protection against multiple forms of discrimination, protection equal to non-immigrants, and enforcement of

policies). A single overall score is computed for each country (discussed in the Measures section, below), with high numbers representing integrationist policies and low numbers representing less inclusive policies.

The MIPEX is developed by Barcelona Centre for International Affairs under funding from the European Union and the International Organization for Migration, first published in 2003 and updated on a cycle of approximately 3-5 years between each edition. The researchers work with a set of 167 policy indicators which are used as a benchmark for national laws and policies (Huddleston et al., 2015). The data used in this analysis was collected between 2013 and 2015 and thus reflects the current policy contexts at the time of the ICCS data collection.

My study focuses on 13 nations within the European Union whose data were included in the 2016 ICCS. These nations and their MIPEX index scores are listed in Appendix C. In my study, in addition to estimating effects across all 13 nations, I include smaller regional analyses to explore the way the effects may differ by region. I include three regions in this analysis, largely adhering to the national clusters identified by Isac et al. (2019).

### ***Northern European nations***

These six nations include Sweden, Norway, Finland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Ranked in order by their occurrence within the MIPEX scale, the Northern nations, which Isac et al. (2019) divided into Nordic and Western regions, not only share proximity but also maintain immigrant integration policies which placed them above the remaining eight nations in the study. In addition, within these six nations there is consideration of shared history, culture, and language. Within these nations, Belgium, the

Netherlands, and Denmark rank below their counterparts, with Denmark ranking lowest. These nations are among those with the most receptive policies to immigrants in the world, and the MIPEX researchers consider these nations to set a standard against which other European nations have been catching up since the index was released in 2003 (Huddleston et al., 2015). While Isac et al. (2019) treated divided these nations into two separate regions, I bring them together in this study both due to their geographical proximity and due to the degree to which their policies encourage the integration of immigrants.

### ***Southern European nations***

Included in the dataset are Malta and Italy, the only nations in the dataset that could be considered to be both Western European and Southern. These nations share both proximity and similar conditions of increasing levels of humanitarian migration, with sea migration and the poverty and educational levels of immigrants preceding the 2016 ICCS pressing migration to crisis levels and to the forefront of national policy in both Italy (Caneva, 2014; Fontana, 2020; Molnár, 2019) and Malta (Klepp, 2011; Lutterbeck, 2009; Mainwaring, 2014). A Pew Research study (M. Anderson & Conner, 2018; Conner, 2018) found that, by comparison with the adult migration of Sub-Saharan immigrants to the United States, a majority (56%) of whom were found in 2015 to have started or completed a college degree, only 10% of Sub-Saharan migrants in Italy—the country in the ICCS database with the largest number of Sub-Saharan migrants—were estimated to have had a similar level of education. These nations have become sites of net immigration in the years preceding the 2016 ICCS, in contrast with their history throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (D. Coleman, 2009; Colombo & Dalla-Zuanna,

2019). Within the MIPEX index of nations included in this study, Italy ranks next lowest from the Northern European nations, falling behind Denmark. In contrast, Malta is second-lowest among the 13 nations, below several central and Eastern European nations.

### ***Eastern European nations***

Included in these nations are Estonia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Latvia. Besides sharing the common history of former Soviet influence, these nations have the most restrictive immigration policies, and they rank highest among 27 European nations in perceptions of immigrants as posing a group threat, according to a 2013 analysis drawing upon the 2006 MIPEX index as well as on data from the 2009 Eurobarometer and from European Value Study data from 2008 and 2009 (Schlueter et al., 2013). Also drawing on 2009 Eurobarometer data, Teney et al. (2014) observe that these nations are also marked by stronger sense of what the authors describe as “communitarian”—as opposed to cosmopolitan—identity and a weaker sense of European identity, which the authors link to decreased tolerance for immigration. This is reflected in a growing trend of nationalism and illiberalism in some Eastern European nations (Krastev, 2018; Minkenberg, 2013) and in the perception in Baltic nations (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) of Baltic-born Russians as immigrants (Geddes & Scholten, 2016).

## **Student Demographics, National Identity, and School Climate Perceptions**

### ***2016 ICCS***

Data on school contexts and students’ attitudes is drawn from 2016 ICCS, the IEA’s fourth international large-scale assessment of 14-year-old students’ civic learning (Papanastasiou et al., 2011; Torney-Purta et al., 1975, 1999, 2001). While the primary focus of the present study is on civic knowledge and reasoning, the ICCS includes a



nationally representative sample of the attitudes of students, teachers, and principals about a wide range of school climate-related concerns, together with a series of behavioral questions. The test was administered in European nations between February and June of 2016. The dataset contains students' responses to questions about their participation in school activities, school decision-making, their sense of inclusion or exclusion in the school's culture, and their sense of identification with the nation of settlement, along with students' general demographics, including whether or not they or their parents were born in the ICCS test country. Students' responses on their experiences in school and their attitudes towards the country in which they live are included as scaled indices created through item response modeling of the questionnaire items associated with these respective constructs.

My choices on data are in keeping with several prior studies which used the present data set to pursue related research lines of research. Rutkowski et al. (2014) also studied the effect of school climate factors on immigrant students' national identity, using data from the prior ICCS study, ICCS 2009. While this study did not incorporate any national-level indicators, and while some ICCS survey items and scales changed between the two test administrations, it included a number of variables similar to those described above. Rutkowski's study found significant relationships between school climate factors and immigrant students' national identity, as well as trust in and value of participating in civic institutions. Based on this research, I expect to see similar significant and positive relationships between school climate factors and national identity in my own study, and I believe that these factors will have a moderating influence on national policy contexts, as represented by the MIPEX index.

Similarly, Higdon's (2015) study of the 2009 ICCS survey results found significant correlations between native students' attitudes toward immigrants and their observations of the school climate. However, this analysis explored neither the impact of those attitudes on immigrant students nor how immigrants' perceptions of their school climate predicted their sense of national identity. Further, it did not include a national climate indicator. Related, Munck et al. (2018) extended Higdon's work, concluding that attitudes among non-immigrant girls were more positive toward immigrants than were those of boys and that European students' attitudes toward immigrants reflected an improvement between the original 1999 CIVED study and its 2009 ICCS successor.

Kim and Byun's (2019) study of the 2016 ICCS dataset used the MIPEX as a framework in their analysis, finding that native-born students' attitudes toward immigrants were influenced by the degree to which the MIPEX ranking indicated that the nation was restrictive or welcoming to immigrant populations. However, the study did not explore the ways in which the national climate may predict immigrant students' sense of national identity. Nor did this study address the peer effects of native-born students' attitudes toward immigrants on their immigrant classmates' sense of national belonging.

My study will advance this prior research by integrating both national climate and the local climate, as represented by the immigrant students' own perceptions of the school climate and by the peer effects of non-immigrant students toward immigrant students within the school. In addition, I further seek to understand how the peer effect of other students' sense of national identity influences the national identity of the students themselves. Finally, these studies have not explored the differences in peer effects and

school climate between boys and girls. Thus, in my study, I integrate and extend the key concerns of these prior works, building on the most recent ICCS dataset.

### *Analytic Dataset*

From the ICCS, I am analyzing data for 43,483 students, 1,711 of whom were first-generation immigrants (as defined in the following section) and 2,373 of whom are second-generation immigrants. These students have been sampled from the following 13 EU nations: (1) Belgium, (2) Bulgaria, (3) Denmark, (4) Estonia, (5) Finland, (6) Italy, (7) Latvia, (8) Lithuania, (9) Malta, (10) Netherlands, (11) Norway, (12) Slovenia, and (13) Sweden. Records missing data from any variables used in the study were dropped from the analysis by listwise deletion (McCoach, 2018). Dropping incomplete records reduced the number of observations from 47,441 to 43,483.

The ICCS utilizes cluster sampling with random sampling of schools within countries and classes within schools (Schulz et al., 2018). The sample is then weighted to represent the demographic and geographic distribution of the nation from which it was drawn, thus facilitating international comparisons (Köhler et al., 2018). Applying the ICCS weights to the data I have chosen for this study results in a weighted sample of 1,053,826 students, of whom 55,460 would be first-generation immigrants and 60,838 of whom would be second-generation immigrant students. The random sampling approach employed in the ICCS resulted in a large number of schools which are represented by only a single immigrant student. While large numbers of singletons have been found to negatively affect the confidence intervals of higher-level estimates of variance in multilevel analyses such as the present study, a set of Monte Carlo studies by Bell et al. (2008, 2010) found that, even as the number of level 2 groups declined, the number of

singletons did not substantially affect the estimates of the level 1 predictors—the level of estimates with which the present study is concerned.

By including 13 EU nations only, my sample remains part of the same general European population and provides contrasts between nations of varying MIPEx index levels. While the ICCS 2016 also included data for Croatia, I dropped this nation from the analysis because the IEA employed a sampling approach in that country which mixed sampling strata within a single school, in contrast with the method used in the other nations included in the current dataset. I also excluded data from Germany. While a recent study analyzed the 2016 ICCS responses of immigrants in Germany to the same scale of national identity used in the present analysis (Matafora et al., 2021), the ICCS data for Germany was regional (North Rhine-Westphalia) and, while Germany was included as a benchmarking participant in the 2016 ICCS, participation rates were low; thus, the IEA does not recommend the inclusion of Germany’s results in comparative analyses of the ICCS dataset (Schulz et al., 2018).

## **Measures**

### **Dependent Variables**

The analytic model used in this study consists of nine variables: with five student-level variables, three school-level variables, and one nation-level variable.

#### ***Primary Outcome Variable: National Identity (NATIONALID)***

The primary outcome variable in this study is national identity (*NATIONALID*), an ICCS-derived index scaled on a 0 to 100 scale, with higher levels indicating greater degrees of national identity. The scale is derived from five items with four response options (“strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”): (1) the nation’s flag is important to the

student; (2) the student has “great respect” for the country; (3) the student takes pride in the country’s achievements; (4) the student is proud to live in the country; and (5) the student believes that the country is better to live in than most other countries. This scale, described by the IEA as a measure of an individual’s attitudes toward the nation, maps well to a comprehensive framework of national identity described above with each item in this scale having relevance to the construct of national identity as presented above; as such, the index has been previously used as a broad measure of national identity (Ziemes et al., 2019). Taken together, the questions in this index speak to the notion of national identity described by Phinney et al. (2006) as “feelings of belonging to, and attitudes toward, the larger society” (p. 77). As this scale is the primary outcome in this analysis, I discuss below the relevance of each item as a measure of national identity.

The first question, “The flag of [test country] is important to me” (ICCS item IS3G27A) is a question used on the American National Election Studies patriotism scale and which relates both the flag and the national anthem with one’s sense of national identity (Karasawa, 2002; Schatz et al., 1999), tending to associate more with “constructive” patriotism than with ethnic nationalism (Schatz et al., 1999).

The second question, “I am proud to live in [test country]” (ICCS item IS3G27D), communicates a sense of general national pride which, as discussed in the literature review above, is a fundamental aspect of national identity (Meitinger, 2018; T. W. Smith, 2007). While this ICCS item itself does not qualify which type of national pride this is—e.g., grounded or normative, political or cultural (Fabrykant & Magun, 2016; Meitinger, 2018)—pride is an important component of national identity.

Pride that is grounded in the achievements of the nation is expressed in the third question, “In [test country] we should be proud of what we have achieved” (ICCS item IS3G27C). This question, paralleling the domain-specific measures of national pride included in the 2003-2004 International Social Survey Programme’s study of national identity (ISSP, 2012), additionally situates the respondent in the first-person plural, as part of a “we,” providing an additional dimension of personal membership in the national ingroup (Huddy, 2016; Huddy & del Ponte, 2019).

This same grounded national pride is also expressed in the fourth item, “[Test country] is a better country to live in than most other countries” (ICCS item IS3G27E). While this item may construe a sense of national chauvinism due to its comparison with other countries (B. Anderson, 1991), this comparative lens on national identity nevertheless conveys a heightened saliency for national identity and a sense of group membership (Huddy & del Ponte, 2019). This same rationale supports the inclusion of a variant of this same question, “Generally speaking, America is a better country than most other countries,” on both the 2003-2004 ISSP study of national identity (T. W. Smith, 2009) and on the 1996 General Social Survey (NORC, 1996). On these latter two surveys, the question aims to tap into a sense of American chauvinism (Huddy & del Ponte, 2019). However, the ICCS version of this question, in contrast with both the 2003-2004 ISSP study and the 1996 General Social Survey, incorporates the phrase “to live in.” By including this wording, the ICCS grounds the respondent’s pride in the notion of appreciation for living conditions within the test nation. The inclusion of this phrase takes the item closer to what Citrin et al. (2001) described as “affective attachment, patriotism”—the sense of the nation being “best for me” (p. 95). While a sense of

chauvinistic nationalism remains in the ICCS version, the item primarily communicates grounded pride. In either case, both forms of national pride—both chauvinism and grounded pride, or “patriotism”—connect in a very salient way with the respondents’ sense of national identity (Citrin et al., 2001).

Finally, the fifth item, “I have great respect for [test country]” (ICCS item IS3G27B), is an additional measure of positive, affective attachment for the nation that reflects a conventional form of patriotism closely linked to national identity (B. Anderson, 1991; Schatz et al., 1999).

***Secondary Outcome Variables: Expected Electoral (ELECPART) and Political Participation (POLPART)***

In addition to national identity, I also measure for civic dispositions using two ICCS-derived indices: *ELECPART*, an index of future intentions to vote; and *POLPART*, an index of future intention to engage in political activity), both of which are indicators of immigrant adaptation (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006). Higher scores on these indices (0 to 100) indicate greater degrees of national identity and civic dispositions. Given similar predictors, *ELECPART* and *POLPART* indices should rise or fall with my primary outcome variable of *NATIONALID*. Items for *ELECPART* include the following response to the items, “When you are an adult, what do you think you will do?”: “Vote in local elections,” “Vote in national elections,” and “Get information about candidates before voting in an election; the scale *POLPART* contains the responses, “Help a candidate or party during an election campaign,” “Join a political party,” “Join a trade union,” “Stand as a candidate in local elections,” and “Join an organization for a political or social cause.” These indices serve as exploratory measures to probe whether strong

enough similarities warrant further analysis of linkage between anticipated future political activity and students' sense of national identity.

### **Independent Variables: Demographics**

Independent variables at the student level include immigrant status, gender, and socioeconomic status (SES), which I include as control variables.

#### ***Immigration status: IMMIGRANT and SECOND***

As discussed in the literature review above, first-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants have been found to differ in their rate of adaptation, and I therefore include in the analysis below variables indicating first- and second-generation immigrant status. Since, as also discussed above, the IEA's ICCS classification system does not allow for finer-grained distinctions (Schulz et al., 2018), my analysis is limited to the first and second generations. To indicate immigrants of either generation, I computed a binary variable (*IMMIGRANT*) indicating 1 for first- or second-generation immigrants and 0 for all other students. Similarly, to indicate second-generation immigrants only, I created another binary variable (*SECOND*) with a 1 for second-generation immigrants and 0 for all other students.

#### ***Gender: MALE***

The IEA database provides demographic selectors for male and female students. In this analysis, gender (*MALE*) is included as a binary variable. As discussed above, there have been conflicted findings in prior research on the role of gender in fostering the identify formation of immigrant youth (Billson, 1995; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Quan et al., 2022; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). The inclusion of this variable will allow me to control for these differences and explore these prior findings.



### ***Socio-economic status: SES***

My measure of SES is an ICCS-weighted composite (*SES*) constructed from three indices: parental occupation, parental education, and books in the home. Because parental education has been found to be associated with students' perceptions about school climate (Thapa et al., 2013), this measure provides a partial control for the perceived school climate measures provided below. As discussed above, the evidence surrounding SES and its role in the acculturation of immigrant students is mixed, with Rutkowski et al.'s (2014) study the 2009 ICCS finding significant and negative correlations between SES and students attitudes toward their settlement nation, while the ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006a) and others found positive correlations between SES and students' acculturation. Similarly, positive links have been found between SES and democratic participation (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Verba et al., 1995). Including this variable allows me to explore this variance to see if Rutkowski et al.'s (2014) results are replicated within the ICCS 2016 database, given a range of school climate covariates. Despite the findings of Verba et al. (1995) positively linking SES with political participation and the extensive findings from the ICSEY study and from research on segmented assimilation, I anticipate, with Rutkowski et al.'s (2014) findings, that SES will be negatively associated with my primary outcome variable, *NATIONALID*, as well as my secondary outcome measures, *ELECPART* and *POLPART*.

### **Independent Variables: School Climate**

I incorporate seven indicators of school climate indicators in my analysis, drawn from student perceptions as indicated on a set of IEA-generated indices (0-100). These are described below.

While the ICCS database includes a separate school principal survey which asks principals to describe school factors such as perceived attitudes of students and teachers toward their schools and their beliefs about the level of bullying in the schools, the IEA does not provide measurement invariance analyses of the scales created from these items, and the ICCS *Technical Report* cautions against the use of this data in due to potential sampling errors (Schulz et al., 2018). In this study, therefore, I use the responses of students themselves about their own perceptions of their schools, and I assume these perceptions to be authentic proxies of school climate. Since, as discussed above, student perceptions of school climate have been found in multiple studies to be influenced by students' background characteristics—particularly socio-economic status, behavioral problems, prior educational experiences (e.g., being held back a grade), gender, and ethnic background (Thapa et al., 2013)—I control for several key characteristics (SES, gender, and immigration status) in the demographic variables identified in the prior section.

***Perceptions of school participation: CURRENTPART, FUTUREPART, and EFFICACY***

As discussed in the literature review above, immigrant students' sense of personal agency and efficacy within the school context is related to their sense of inclusion within the school community and, in turn, to their sense of national belonging. I therefore include three ICCS scales that relate students' beliefs about their own current and likely future levels of active engagement in the political life of the school (*CURRENTPART* and *FUTUREPART*) and their perceptions regarding the degree to which their schools enable students to effect changes (*EFFICACY*).

**Current levels of school participation: *CURRENTPART*.** Students' beliefs about their level of engagement in the life of the school, particularly in those capacities in which they are able to shape decision-making on matters that affect them, are indicated through *CURRENTPART*, an IEA-derived index (0-100) in which higher values indicate greater levels of students' self-perceived participation in the life of the school. Students are asked to respond on a 3-point scale—with 1 being “Yes, I have done this within the last twelve months,” and 3 being “Never”—to questions about the frequency with which they have (1) “Participated in an organized school debate” (ICCS item IS3G16A), (2) “Voted for a class representative” (item IS3G16B), (3) “Taken part in decision-making about how the school is run” (item IS3G16C), (4) “Taken part in discussions in a school assembly” (item IS3G16D), (5) “Run as a candidate in a school election” (item ISG16E), and (6) “Participated in an activity to make the school more environmentally friendly” (item IS3G16F).

**Likely future levels of school participation: *FUTUREPART*.** Students' beliefs about future activity in the school communicate their belief that the school climate is receptive to their active participation in decision-making roles within the school. Students' sense of likely future school participation is conveyed by *FUTUREPART*, an IEA-derived index (0-100) in which students respond to five questions on a 1-4 scale (1 being “Very likely” and 4 being “Not likely at all”). Higher values on this index indicate a greater likelihood of being involved in the following activities: (1) “Vote in a school election of class representatives or school parliament” (item IS3G32A); (2) “Join a group of students campaigning for an issue you agree with” (item IS3G32B); (3) “Become a candidate for class representative or school parliament” (item IS3G32C); (4) “Take part

in discussions in a student assembly” (item IS3G32D); and (5) “Participate in writing articles for a school newspaper or website” (item IS3G32E).

**Sense of efficacy in school: *EFFICACY*.** Students’ perceptions regarding the degree to which their schools enable students to effect changes in the way their schools are run are indicated in *EFFICACY*, a five-item IEA-derived index (0-100) in which higher values indicate higher perceived levels of student efficacy in schools. Students recorded their level of agreement on a scale of 1-4 (1 being “Strongly agree” and 4 being “Strongly disagree”) with the following questions: (1) “Student participation in how schools are run can make schools better” (item IS3G21A); (2) “Lots of positive changes can happen in schools when students work together” (item IS3G21B); (3) “Organizing groups of students to express their opinions could help solve problems in schools” (item IS3G21C); (4) “Students can have more influence on what happens in schools if they act together rather than alone” (item IS3G21D); and (5) “Voting in student elections can make a difference to what happens at schools” (item IS3G21E).

***Perceptions of civil discourse in class: CIVICDIALOG***

As discussed in the literature review above, classroom discussions, when well-structured by teachers, can provide opportunities for students to talk across differences, build empathy, and foster inclusion (Banks, 2001; Bickmore & Parker, 2014; Parker, 2012, 2016; Subedi, 2008). School climate is thus positively or negatively impacted by the tone teachers set in classrooms. Students’ beliefs about the openness of the classroom to conversations in which conflicting beliefs are surfaced and discussed in a civil and respectful manner are included in the *CIVICDIALOG* scale, an ICCS scale (0-100) in which higher scores indicate higher frequency of perceived civil dialogue within the

classroom. Students responded on a scale of 1-4, with 1 being “Never” and 4 being “Often,” about the frequency with which (1) “Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds” (ICCS item IS3G17A), (2) “Teachers encourage students to express their opinions” (item IS3G17B), (3) “Students bring up current political events for discussion in class” (item IS3G17C), (4) “Students express opinions in class even when opinions are different” (item IS3G17D), (5) “Teachers encourage students to discuss issues with people having different opinions” (item IS3G17E), and (6) “Teachers present several sides of issues when explaining them in class.”

***Perceptions of Student-Teacher Relationships: TEACHERREL***

As discussed in the literature review above, prior research in school climate and in comparative and international research has found that the quality of students’ relationships with their teachers has been found to be an important factor in the students sense of inclusion—and particularly that of minority and immigrant students—in their school community (Chiu et al., 2012; Schneider & Duran, 2010; Thapa et al., 2013; Zullig et al., 2011). Students’ beliefs about the quality of relationships between students and teachers is indicated by *TEACHERREL*, an ICCS scale (0-100) in which higher values represent more student-perceived positivity in the quality of student-teacher relationships. Students are asked to express their agreement (1-4, with 1 being “Strongly Agree” and 4 being “Strongly Disagree”) to the following statements: (1) “Most of my teachers treat me fairly” (IS3G19A); (2) “Students get along well with most teachers” (IS3G19B); (3) “Most teachers are interested in students’ well-being” (IS3G19C); (4) “Most of my teachers listen to what I have to say” (IS3G19D), and (5) “If I need extra help, I receive it from my teachers” (IS3G19E).

### ***Perceptions of relationships with other students: STUDENTREL and BULLYING***

Related to student-teacher relationships is student perceptions of relationships among students and the students' own experiences with other students. As discussed in the literature review above, positive, safe peer relationships operate at a fundamental level to project a sense of inclusion into the national community (Berry, 2006a; Berry et al., 2006a; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009). As such, these relationships comprise an essential building block of a positive school climate (Long et al., 2021; Petrie, 2014), factoring in as strongly or more strongly for students' socioemotional health and sense of school belonging than nearly all other school climate factors (Cemalcilar, 2010; Loukas & Murphy, 2007). For immigrants, who encounter bullying more frequently than non-immigrant students, these experiences inflict disproportionately greater harm on their psychosocial adaptation (Bjereld et al., 2015; Fandrem et al., 2009; Maynard et al., 2016; McKenney et al., 2006). A positive school climate will support the healthy adaptation of immigrant children and promotes their sense of inclusion.

Students' beliefs about the quality of relationships between students in their school is indicated by *STUDENTREL*, an ICCS scale (0-100) in which higher values represent more student-perceived positivity in the quality of student-student relationships. Students are asked to express their agreement (1-4, with 1 being "Strongly Agree" and 4 being "Strongly Disagree") to the following statements: (1) "Most students at my school treat each other with respect" (item IS3G19G); (2) "Most students at my school get along well with each other" (item IS3G19H); and (3) "My school is a place where students feel safe" (item IS3G19I).

Students' experiences with bullying in the school are captured in *BULLYING*, an ICCS scale (0-100) in which higher values represent more student-perceived experiences of bullying. In contrast with the other scales above, this scale would be expected to negatively relate to immigrant students' national identity. Students are asked to respond to 1-4 scale (1 being "Not at all" and 4 being "5 or more times") in which they indicated the frequency over the past three months with which they encountered the following situations: (1) "A student called you by an offensive nickname" (item IS3G20A); (2) "A student said things about you to make others laugh" (item IS3G20B); (3) "A student threatened to hurt you" (item IS3G20C); (4) "You were physically attacked by another student" (item IS3G20D); (5) "A student broke something belonging to you on purpose" (item IS3G20E); (6) "A student posted offensive pictures or text about you on the Internet" (item IS3G20F). This scale incorporates both relational and direct bullying, both of which have been found to result in potentially severe psychosocial maladaptation (Wolke et al., 2000), and also includes a measure of cyber bullying, which Modecki et al. (2014) found in a meta-analysis of 80 studies to be highly correlated with non-cyber forms of bullying. The inclusion of gender and SES in my analysis controls for findings that boys and students from lower SES have reported a higher incidence of victimization than both girls and higher-SES students (Pereira et al., 2004; Silva et al., 2013; Tippett & Wolke, 2014; Underwood & Rosen, 2010).

***Peer Effect: ETHRIGHTS***

In addition to the MIPEX index, I constructed a variable which took the mean response of non-immigrant students in each school to a scale which centered on questions regarding those students' attitudes toward ethnic minorities (*ETHRIGHTS*). This IEA-

generated scale (0-100), in which higher scores indicate more inclusive and equitable views towards all ethnic groups, is comprised of the following questions, to which students responded on a scale of 1-4 (1 being “Strongly agree” and 4 being “Strongly disagree”): (1) “All ethnic/racial groups should have an equal chance to get a good education in [test country]” (item IS3G25A); (2) “All ethnic/racial groups should have an equal chance to get good jobs in [test country]” (item IS3G25B); (3) “Schools should teach students to respect members of all ethnic/racial groups” (item IS3G25C); (4) “Members of all ethnic/racial groups should be encouraged to run in elections for political office” (item IS3G25D); (5) “Members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities” (item IS3G25E). As discussed in the literature review above, Kim and Byun (2019) previously demonstrated that the 2015 MIPeX index was positively correlated with European students’ responses to the questions in this scale. A positive relationship between this scale and immigrants’ sense of national identity indicates that immigrant students have stronger sense of national identity in schools in which their national counterparts have a more positive view toward the inclusion of all ethnic groups in their nation’s society. For this variable, I calculated an average for the school for each student that excluded that student’s own score.

### **Independent Variables: Country-Level Variables**

As discussed above, I have chosen the MIPeX country index as the *country-level* variable. In MIPeX, nations are ranked on a scale of 0 (“Critically unfavorable”) to 100 (“Favorable”) with a mean score of 52 across all nations included in the 2015 edition and a mean score of among the 13 nations included in my analysis is 54. I conduct my analysis using both the full index value and then repeat the analysis using each of the



eight domains (outlined above) individually in order to understand whether participatory structures have a stronger moderating effect on different domains of national policy. Among these eight domains, Kim and Byun (2019) noted significant positive relationships between the responses of European non-immigrant students on the *ETHRIGHTS* scale mentioned above and the following four MIPEX subdomains, which the authors averaged together into a separate index: (1) Political participation, (2) Access to nationality, (3) Anti-discrimination, and (4) Education. In the analysis below, I explore all eight dimensions.

A list of all variables included in this analysis is provided in Appendix A.

## **Data Analysis**

### **Analytic Approach**

In my primary analysis, I draw from a population of students within the EU whose responses are nested within schools which are in turn nested within their respective nations. Hierarchical linear modeling (HLM; also known as multilevel modeling) is designed for the analysis of nested data and partitions the variance from nesting effects as separate nuisance variables (Enders, 2010; Nezlek, 2013; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). HLM is well-suited to this multinational study, in which I seek to partition out the variance from countries and from a very large number of schools to more accurately understand the common influence of school climate across European subpopulations (Barber & Torney-Purta, 2009).

Methodologically, the choice of HLM extends prior research, both in the general field of school climate research and within research on the effects of school climate on immigrant populations in particular. Within the study of school climate, HLM is an

underrepresented research method, despite its clear relevance to the study of students nested within schools (Thapa et al., 2013). In a 2013 analysis of over 200 studies, Thapa et al. (2013) found few studies that employed multilevel/hierarchical analytic methods. By employing a hierarchical approach, I aim to contribute to this literature an international perspective on school climate and its role in shaping the adaptation of immigrant students. In addition, the study most similar to my own, Rutkowski et al.'s (2014) multilevel study of the effects of school climate on immigrants' national identity and trust/participation in civic institutions, included 24 European nations, but, as discussed above, did not incorporate a nation-level predictor at the highest level, leaving in question how much the results were impacted by national policy. Nor did the authors include subpopulation analyses of school climate effects by region, which, given the regional differences listed above, should highlight the differential effects of national policy on immigrant students. The present study builds on this prior research by employing HLM to explore the way that school climate predicts immigrants' national identity across subpopulations as diverse as the European Union.

### **Model Estimation**

Estimations in hierarchical linear modeling are normally conducted under one of two estimations methods, maximum likelihood (ML) and restricted maximum likelihood (REML). When the number of highest-level groups is large—e.g., more than 30—both estimation approaches yield nearly identical results (Enders, 2010; Huang, 2018; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). However, as the number of groups begin to decline (e.g., 10 top-level groups, or 13, as in this case of this study), REML—which estimates only the variance that does not depend on fixed effects—yields more accurate estimates of the

variance components. For this reason, the use of REML is advised when working with fewer groups than 30 (Huang, 2018). Nevertheless, Maas and Hox's (2005) study of the effect of the number of top-level groups on estimates found that, even with only ten groups of five subjects each for a total of 50 observations, both the level 1 variance and the predictor coefficients were estimated without bias and the standard errors of the fixed effects were reasonable, though downwardly biased. As my sample size is far larger, with hundreds of L2 groups (4,084 immigrants in 781 schools in 13 countries), and as my interest is on the fixed effects rather than on the variance estimates, the use of ML rather than REML is acceptable.

Multilevel modeling allows the analyst to apply separate weights to units at different levels, accounting for the complex nature of the survey design. Like most large-scale international surveys, the ICCS uses a complex survey design employing weights to minimize biased estimates of the populations they represent (L. Rutkowski et al., 2010; Snijders & Bosker, 2012). These weights include components for school selection, class selection, student selection, and non-response adjustments. While these weights are conveniently calculated into a single total weight that can be used in single-level estimations, in multilevel models, weights must be computed from the components parts and applied at the appropriate levels. Furthermore, in multilevel models these weights must also be correctly scaled. For the present study, I scaled ("standardized") student-level and school weights; nations are equally weighted (Asparouhov, 2006; Mang et al., 2021; Muthén & Muthén, 2008; detailed procedure provided in Appendix B).

Centering is often used in multilevel modeling to help in the interpretation of intercepts in the presence of random effects (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002; Snijders &

Bosker, 2012). As my analysis incorporates random intercepts only, not random effects, all variables were left in their original scale rather than centered. To compare the relative magnitude of the effects estimated in my analyses, I provide standardized coefficients, following the approach presented by Snijders and Bosker (2012; see also Hox et al., 2010): *standardized coefficient = (standard deviation of the explanatory variable/standard deviation of the outcome variable)/unstandardized coefficient*.

As my focus is on the estimates of fixed effects of school climate on national identity, the second (school) and third (nation) levels are estimated for random intercepts only, meaning that, while the intercepts vary between schools and nations, the coefficients are assumed to be equal (Snijders & Bosker, 2012). In other words, by assuming random intercepts, the ML estimation partitions out the variance introduced by differences between groups (schools and countries) on the primary outcome variable (Snijders & Bosker, 2012).

To explore my research question, I estimate seven models:

- (1) a *NATIONALID* model with all students;
- (2) a *NATIONALID* model for immigrant students only;
- (3) a *NATIONALID* model for immigrant students, specified by region;
- (4) a *NATIONALID* model for immigrant students, with specifications by gender, with one for male students and another for female students;
- (5) a *NATIONALID* model for immigrant students, with specifications for each of the eight MIPEX subindices;
- (6) a *POLPART* model with immigrant students only; and
- (7) an *ELECPART* model with immigrant students only.

For each of these models, I begin by specifying an unconditional null specification incorporating the outcome variables, weights, and school and nation clusters. I then specify two additional specifications, including a model with student demographics and the MIPEX index and a full model with student demographics, MIPEX, and school effects.

### ***Null Model***

The null model provides an estimate of the mean of the outcome variable (*NATIONALID*) and quantifies the amount of variance in the mean of that variable contributed by differences between nations, between schools, and between students. It is specified as follows:

$$\text{Level 1 (Student):} \quad Y_{ijk} = \beta_{0jk} + r_{ijk}$$

$$\text{Level 2 (School):} \quad \beta_{0jk} = \delta_{00k} + u_{0jk}$$

$$\text{Level 3 (Nation):} \quad \delta_{00k} = \gamma_{000} + v_{00k}$$

where  $Y_{ijk}$  is the outcome variable for national identity (*NATIONALID*) for student  $i$  in school  $j$  in nation  $k$ , predicted by the school intercept from Level 2 ( $\beta_{0jk}$ ) and a random student effect ( $r_{ijk}$ ). At the school level (Level 2), the school level intercept  $\beta_{0jk}$  is predicted for school  $j$  in country  $k$  by a nation intercept from Level 3 ( $\delta_{00k}$ ) and a random school effect ( $u_{0jk}$ ). At the country level (Level 3), the nation intercept  $\delta_{00k}$  is predicted for nation  $k$  by a general intercept for all nations ( $\gamma_{000}$ ) and by a random country effect ( $v_{00k}$ ).

### ***Student Demographics Model***

I then estimate a student demographics model to estimate the effects of gender, socioeconomic status, immigrant status, and the MIPEX country effect on students' sense of national identity. The student demographics model is specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{Level 1 (Student):} \quad & Y_{ijk} = \beta_{0jk} + \\
& \text{Demographics:} \quad \beta_1 (\text{MALE}) + \beta_2 (\text{SES}) + \\
& \beta_3 (\text{IMMIGRANT/SECOND}) + r_{ijk} \\
\text{Level 2 (School):} \quad & \beta_{0jk} = \delta_{00k} + u_{0jk} \\
\text{Level 3 (Nation):} \quad & \delta_{00k} = \gamma_{000} + \gamma_{001} (\text{MIPEX}) + v_{00k}
\end{aligned}$$

where  $Y_{ijk}$  is the outcome variable for national identity (*NATIONALID*) for student  $i$  in school  $j$  in nation  $k$ , predicted by the school intercept from Level 2 ( $\beta_{0jk}$ ), male gender ( $\beta_1$ ), socioeconomic status ( $\beta_2$ ), immigrant classification ( $\beta_3$ ), and a random student effect ( $r_{ijk}$ ). At the school level (Level 2), the school level intercept  $\beta_{0jk}$  is predicted for school  $j$  in country  $k$  by a nation intercept from Level 3 ( $\delta_{00k}$ ) and a random school effect ( $u_{ijk}$ ). At the country level (Level 3), the nation intercept  $\delta_{00k}$  is predicted for nation  $k$  by a general intercept for all nations ( $\gamma_{000}$ ), by the MIPEX index value ( $\gamma_{001}$ ), and by a random country effect ( $v_{00k}$ ).

### ***Full School Effects Model***

Finally, I estimate a full model including country, student, and school predictors.

The equation used in my full model is specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Level 1 (Student):} \quad Y_{ijk} &= \beta_{0jk} + \\ &\text{Demographics:} \quad \beta_1 (\text{MALE}) + \beta_2 (\text{SES}) + \\ &\quad \beta_3 (\text{IMMIGRANT/SECOND}) + \\ &\text{Climate Perceptions:} \quad \beta_4 (\text{CURRENTPART}) + \beta_5 (\text{FUTUREPART}) + \\ &\quad \beta_6 (\text{EFFICACY}) + \beta_7 (\text{CIVICDIALOG}) + \\ &\quad \beta_8 (\text{TEACHERREL}) + \beta_9 (\text{STUDENTREL}) + \\ &\quad \beta_{10} (\text{BULLYING}) + r_{ijk} \\ \text{Level 2 (School):} \quad \beta_{0jk} &= \delta_{00k} + \delta_{01k} (\text{ETHRIGHTS mean}) + u_{0jk} \\ \text{Level 3 (Nation):} \quad \delta_{00k} &= \gamma_{000} + \gamma_{001} (\text{MIPEX}) + v_{00k} \end{aligned}$$

where  $Y_{ijk}$  is the outcome variable for national identity (*NATIONALID*) for student  $i$  in school  $j$  in nation  $k$ , predicted by the school intercept from Level 2 ( $\beta_{0jk}$ ), male gender ( $\beta_1$ ), socioeconomic status ( $\beta_2$ ), immigrant classification ( $\beta_3$ ), current levels of school participation ( $\beta_4$ ), likely future levels of school participation ( $\beta_5$ ), sense of efficacy in the life of the school ( $\beta_6$ ), perceived levels of civic dialogue in the classroom ( $\beta_7$ ), perceived student-teacher relationships ( $\beta_8$ ), perceived relationships between students in the school ( $\beta_9$ ), experiences with being bullied ( $\beta_{10}$ ), and a random student effect ( $r_{ijk}$ ). At the school level (Level 2), the school level intercept  $\beta_{0jk}$  is predicted for school  $j$  in country  $k$  by a nation intercept from Level 3 ( $\delta_{00k}$ ), the peer effects of other students' beliefs about ethnic minorities ( $\delta_{01k}$ ), and a random school effect ( $u_{ijk}$ ). At the country level (Level 3), the

nation intercept  $\delta_{00k}$  is predicted for nation  $k$  by a general intercept for all nations ( $\gamma_{000}$ ), by the MIPEX index value ( $\gamma_{001}$ ), and by a random country effect ( $v_{00k}$ ).

The null model provides the basis for calculating the amount of group-level and residual variance reduced by the addition of the student demographics and full specifications. For each specification, the interdependence between students within schools and schools within nations is modeled through the intraclass correlation coefficient (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002; Snijders & Bosker, 2012). At the national level, the interclass correlation coefficient (ICC) is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\varphi_0^2}{\sigma^2 + \tau_0^2 + \varphi_0^2}$$

Where  $\varphi_0^2$  is the amount of variance at the national level,  $\tau_0^2$  is the amount of variance at the school level, and  $\sigma^2$  is the amount of residual variance at the student level. At the school level, the formula for calculating the ICC is as follows:

$$\frac{\tau_0^2 + \varphi_0^2}{\sigma^2 + \tau_0^2 + \varphi_0^2}$$

I further calculate an  $R_1^2$  (or “pseudo- $R^2$ ”) following Snijders and Bosker’s (2012) model for three-level random intercepts models: that is, the amount of level-1 variance explained by the predictors is equal to the ratio of the total variance for all three levels of the model being estimated to the total variance of all three levels of the null model:

$$1 - \frac{\text{estimated model } (\sigma^2 + \tau_0^2 + \varphi_0^2)}{\text{null model } (\sigma^2 + \tau_0^2 + \varphi_0^2)}$$

In the next chapter, I turn to the results of these estimations.



## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for all variables included in this analysis, including mean and standard error and t-test results comparing non-immigrant and immigrant populations, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

*Descriptive Statistics*

Variable	All Students		Non-Immigrant Students		Immigrant Students		<i>t</i> (1,990)	<i>p</i> -value
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>		
NATIONALID	46.89	0.13	47.22	0.14	44.10	0.27	10.84	< 0.01
SES	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.02	-0.46	0.03	16.31	< 0.01
POLPART	49.70	0.11	49.63	0.12	50.22	0.27	2.16	0.03
ELECPART	52.18	0.16	52.48	0.17	49.63	0.33	8.26	< 0.01
CURRENTPART	47.70	0.21	47.72	0.22	47.53	0.36	0.55	0.58
FUTUREPART	48.99	0.18	48.98	0.19	49.05	0.31	0.23	0.82
EFFICACY	50.25	0.12	50.25	0.13	50.21	0.28	0.16	0.87
CIVICDIALOG	51.58	0.18	51.60	0.18	51.43	0.32	0.53	0.60
TEACHERREL	51.99	0.17	52.06	0.17	51.35	0.39	1.91	0.06
STUDENTREL	49.37	0.16	49.46	0.16	48.68	0.29	2.68	< 0.01
BULLYING	48.77	0.14	48.61	0.14	50.17	0.30	5.04	< 0.01
ETHRIGHTS	51.77	0.15	51.54	0.16	53.72	0.34	6.45	< 0.01
MIPEX	60.11	0.18	59.82	0.18	62.56	0.34	9.07	< 0.01
<i>Labor Market Mobility</i>	69.81	0.30	69.50	0.30	72.39	0.58	5.96	< 0.01
<i>Family Reunion</i>	67.41	0.27	67.22	0.28	68.99	0.40	4.98	< 0.01

Variable	All Students		Non-Immigrant Students		Immigrant Students		<i>t</i> (1,990)	<i>p</i> -value
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>		
<i>Education</i>	42.83	0.49	42.32	0.48	47.11	0.89	6.43	< 0.01
<i>Health</i>	57.37	0.33	57.09	0.35	59.70	0.34	7.76	< 0.01
<i>Political Participation</i>	55.96	0.28	55.59	0.30	59.12	0.33	9.67	< 0.01
<i>Permanent Residence</i>	66.54	0.23	66.35	0.23	68.23	0.46	4.61	< 0.01
<i>Access to Nationality</i>	53.90	0.32	53.54	0.32	56.98	0.54	7.18	< 0.01
<i>Anti-Discrimination</i>	66.13	0.30	66.02	0.30	67.05	0.50	2.41	0.02
<i>N</i>	1,109,286		992,988		116,298			
Male	557,714		500,005		57,709			
Female	551,572		492,983		58,589			
In Eastern Europe	113,979		109,148		4,831			
In Northern Europe	468,377		413,288		55,089			
In Southern Europe	526,930		470,551		56,378			
First-Generation					55,460			
Second-Generation					60,838			

*Note:* All values weighted by total adjusted student sampling weights.

Table 2 displays descriptive statistics all variables used in the present study, including mean and *N* for all variables, with statistics broken down by immigrant and non-immigrant students. In addition, I performed a t-test on each variable between immigrant and non-immigrant students to indicate the degree to which these two subpopulations differ on each statistic. The numbers of students listed here refer to weighted values adjusted by the ICCS total adjusted student weight (ICCS weight variable TOTWGTS; see discussion of weighting methodology above). The analytic dataset contains 43,483 observations, and, of these, 39,399 are nonimmigrants and 4,084

are immigrants, of whom 1,711 are first-generation immigrants and 2,373 are second-generation immigrants. 19,975 non-immigrants and 2,063 immigrant students are female, while 19,424 non-immigrants and 2,021 immigrants are male.

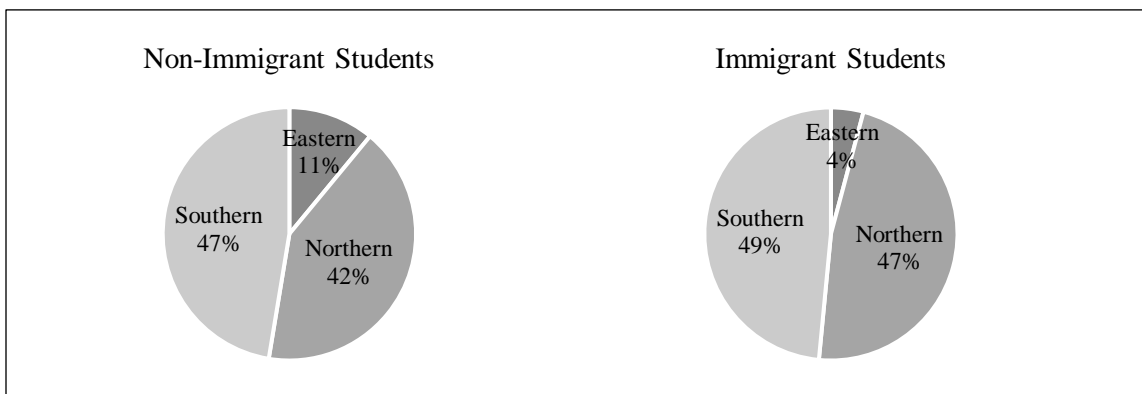
There are significant differences between these two populations on several key variables. After SES, the primary outcome variable, *NATIONALID*, represents the variable with the greatest difference between the two populations,  $t(1,990) = 10.84$ ,  $p = < 0.01$ , with the responses of non-immigrant (national) students significantly (7%) higher than the those of their immigrant peers. My secondary outcome variables in this study, expected political participation (*POLPART*) and electoral participation (*ELECPART*), also significantly differ between subpopulations. Immigrant students' expected political participation is significantly—albeit slightly (1%)—higher than that of non-immigrant students,  $t(1,990) = 2.16$ ,  $p = < 0.01$ , while their expected electoral participation is significantly (6%) lower,  $t(1,990) = 8.26$ ,  $p = < 0.01$ . Immigrant students also report a stronger belief in the rights of ethnic minorities (2% higher), differing significantly from their non-immigrant counterparts,  $t(1,990) = 2.18$ ,  $p = < 0.01$ . Taken together, these findings indicate that the average immigrant student has a weaker sense of national identity, believes more strongly in the rights of ethnic minorities, and intends to be politically active as an adult, yet does not anticipate being as involved in formal electoral processes as their non-immigrant counterparts. In addition, as discussed above, there is a significant difference between these populations in socio-economic status (*SES*), with immigrant students having significantly lower SES than non-immigrant students,  $t(1,990) = 16.31$ ,  $p = < 0.01$ .

There are significant differences in students' perceptions about the quality of student relationships in schools. Immigrant students see peer relationships in their schools less positively than do their non-immigrant peers, with immigrants responding 2% lower on questions regarding the perceived quality of peer relationships in their schools,  $t(1,990) = 2.68, p = < 0.01$ . In turn, these students also report a significantly greater (3%) frequency of being victimized by other students (*BULLYING*) than do their national counterparts,  $t(1,990) = 5.04, p = < 0.01$ . In comparison with non-immigrant students, therefore, these results indicate that, on average, immigrant students are in schools which immigrants perceive to be weaker in the quality of peer relationships and in which they experience greater amounts of victimization.

Also as seen in Table 2, on average, immigrant students live in European nations that have higher MIPEX values. As shown in Figure 4-1, below, a smaller proportion of European immigrants live in Eastern Europe than the proportion of non-

Figure 2

*Region of Residence, by Immigrant Status*



immigrant students. As discussed above, the average MIPEX scores for Eastern Europe is lower than that of Northern and Southern Europe, helping to account for this distinction.

Thus, the average immigrant student represented by the current dataset lives in a country that maintains policies which promote better integration of immigrants across sector. Among the MIPEX subindices, the one with the greatest significant difference is that of political participation,  $t(1,990) = 9.67, p = < 0.01$ . While other indicators have larger differences in the mean scores (e.g., education, in which immigrant students, on average, lived in nations with a mean education index that is of 10% higher than that of the larger European population), the higher significance of political participation indicates a sharper distinction between the political environments in which immigrant students lived relative to that of the average European student.

### **Analytical Results**

#### **National Identity, All Countries, All Students**

As discussed in the prior chapter, I employed hierarchical linear modeling to explore my research question of how school climate moderates the effects of students' national political contexts. I began by estimating the effects of the predictor variables on national identity for the entire European student population, with immigrant students through a dummy variable, across the null, student demographics, and full school effect models. The results of are shown in Table 3 (detailed results for all models are provided in Appendix D).

Table 3

*National Identity, All Countries, All Students*

Variable	Null (M0)		Student (M1)			School (M2)		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	48.58	0.71	50.36	2.18	-	31.24	4.40	-
MIPEX General Index			-0.03	0.05	-0.05	-0.03	0.04	-0.04
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			-0.02	0.14	<0.01	-0.29	0.12	-0.03*
Male			0.82	0.35	0.04*	1.35	0.32	0.07***
Immigrant			-3.44	0.57	-0.10***	-3.45	0.50	-0.10***
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						0.02	0.01	0.02**
Future Participation						0.10	0.01	0.10***
Efficacy						0.12	0.01	0.11***
Civic Dialogue						0.02	0.01	0.02*
Teacher Relationships						0.12	0.01	0.12***
Student Relationships						0.12	0.01	0.12***
Bullying						<0.01	0.01	<0.01
Ethnic Rights Mean						-0.12	0.08	-0.05
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	5.95 (6.29%)		5.18 (5.62%)			4.28 (5.21%)		
School-Level Variance	7.67 (8.12%)		6.99 (7.58%)			5.91 (7.20%)		
Student-Level Variance	80.85 (85.59%)		80.05 (86.80%)			71.97 (87.59%)		
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level	0.063		0.056			0.052		
School-Level	0.144		0.132			0.124		
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC	27,5512.9		27,5047.4			27,0945.5		
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-		0.02			0.13		

Note:  $N = 43,482$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 3, the null model indicates that 85% of the total unexplained variance ( $\sigma^2 = 80.85$ ) was at the student level within schools, with 8.12% of the variance occurring between schools ( $\tau^2 = 7.67$ ) and 6.29% occurring at the national level ( $\phi^2 = 5.95$ ). The high student-level variance estimate indicates that individual student experiences play a larger role in shaping students' national identity than all other factors. At a national level, the ICC value of 0.064 means that the average national identity scores for two randomly drawn schools within Europe will have a mean correlation in their average scores for *NATIONALID* of 0.064. Similarly, the school ICC of 0.144 indicates that two students randomly drawn for a randomly selected school within Europe will have a correlation of 0.144—a within-school correlation value commonly found within multilevel studies of students nested in schools (Snijders & Bosker, 2012). The  $R_1^2$  values indicate that, while the incorporation of student demographics explained two percent of the variation in the null model, the incorporation of school factors in the full model had much greater predictive value, explaining 13% of the variance in the null model, with 1% of the national variance and another 1% of the school variance in the null model shifting to the individual student level. This means that these school climate factors explained six times more than student demographic factors alone. Thus, for the average European student represented in this model, students' perceptions of school climate are a greater predictor of students' national identity than are national or demographic differences.

The direction and significance of the factors included in the full model indicates that, for the general European student population, the MIPEX index is not a significant predictor of student's sense of national identity, while SES, gender, and immigrant status are all significant predictors of national identity. This means that, for the average student

in Europe—90% of whom are non-immigrants—the nation’s policies toward immigrant students have no significant influence over their sense of national belonging. Since these students are already citizens, this conclusion is to be expected. Immigrant status, in contrast, is a significant and negative predictor, regardless of whether school climate perceptions are included in the model ( $\beta = -0.10$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , in both the student demographics and full school effects models). Turning to the full school model, we find that there is a difference in gender, with males having higher average levels of national identity than female students,  $\beta = 0.07$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , though for boys who are also immigrants, the effect of immigrant status outweighs that of gender. The coefficient for socioeconomic status is also significant and negative,  $\beta = -0.03$ ,  $p = 0.12$ , though it is a weaker predictor than gender or immigration status. In the descriptive statistics (Table 2), it was seen that the average immigrant student has a significantly lower socioeconomic status,  $t(1,990) = 16.31$ ,  $p = < 0.01$ , so these two factors would have a compounding negative effect for immigrant students relative to their non-immigrant counterparts. (Both gender and immigrant status are explored in more detail in the models which follow.) These results indicate that male students have higher levels of *NATIONALID*, but these positive effects are outweighed by the experience of being an immigrant student.

In reviewing the effects of school climate perceptions, we find a cluster of positive and significant predictors of national identity which, as is seen in the findings which follow, generally persist throughout the models presented in the current study. For the general European student population, the full model indicates the positive and significant relationship between national identity and students’ perceptions that the schools they are in offer present and future opportunities for making their voice heard



through participatory activities such as student government and public debates. Specifically, when students have been or are currently active in the participatory life of the school, they are more inclined to have a stronger attachment to the nation,  $\beta = 0.02$ ,  $p = 0.02$ , and those students who view themselves as being likely to engage in participatory processes are predicted to have an even stronger sense of national identity,  $\beta = 0.10$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . Similarly, the coefficients for students' perceptions of both teacher and student relationships are positive and significant,  $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , and the relationship between national identity and students' belief in their ability to make a difference in how their school is run is similarly positive and significant to nearly the same degree,  $\beta = 0.11$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . In contrast, neither bullying nor peer beliefs about ethnic rights had any significant relationship with *NATIONALID*. As will be seen in the following models, this last result is persistent across all *NATIONALID* models, with the exception of the estimates computed for immigrant students in Eastern European nations. Taken together, these findings indicate that, for the average European student, their experience and perceptions of school climate positively and significantly predict their sense of national identity.

### **National Identity, All Countries, Immigrants Only**

The all-students model above indicated that being an immigrant significantly and negatively predicts a student's sense of national identity. In the pages below, I explore this phenomenon further by narrowing the focus of my study specifically to the experience of immigrant students. I began by estimating a model predicting national identity as the outcome variable for immigrant students only, incorporating all 13 nations included in the study. These estimates are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

*National Identity, All Countries, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	44.07	0.65	38.30	2.17	-	12.99	4.23	-
MIPEX General Index			0.10	0.04	0.13**	0.07	0.03	0.10*
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			-0.28	0.19	-0.03	-0.37	0.22	-0.04
Male			-0.50	0.30	-0.03	-0.01	0.33	<0.01
Second Generation			0.70	0.67	0.04	0.68	0.62	0.03
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						-0.02	0.02	-0.02
Future Participation						0.15	0.02	0.14***
Efficacy						0.10	0.02	0.10***
Civic Dialogue						0.07	0.02	0.07***
Teacher Relationships						0.14	0.02	0.15***
Student Relationships						0.11	0.01	0.12***
Bullying						-0.01	0.02	-0.01
Ethnic Rights Mean						-0.01	0.07	-0.01
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	4.21 (4.70%)		2.44 (2.79%)			1.61 (2.19%)		
School-Level Variance	8.72 (9.74%)		8.48 (9.70%)			6.63 (8.97%)		
Student-Level Variance	76.58 (85.56%)		76.46 (87.50%)			65.60 (88.84%)		
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level	0.047		0.028			0.022		
School-Level	0.144		0.125			0.111		
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC	26,168.9		26,125.9			25,599.1		
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-		0.02			0.17		

Note:  $N = 4,084$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 4, the null model for all immigrant students reveals that the differences between nations account for 4.7% ( $\phi^2 = 4.21$ ) of the shared variance in the general European population. Differences between nations and within schools account for 9.74% of the shared variance ( $\tau^2 = 8.72$ ), while differences between individual students at the school level account for 85.56% ( $\sigma^2 = 76.58$ ) of the variance in this analysis. The school-level ICC indicates that two students randomly drawn from an average school will correlate at 0.144, similar to the prior model's ICCs (Table 3). Adding both student demographics and school effects models reduced nation- and school-level variance, with the strongest reduction occurring at the nation level.

The student demographics and school climate predictors in this model provide a closer look at the significant difference found in the all-students model (Table 3) for immigrant students when contrasted against the larger non-immigrant European student population,  $\beta = -0.10$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . A significant and positive effect for the MIPEX index is found in the student demographics model,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = 0.009$ , as well school climate models,  $\beta = 0.10$ ,  $p = 0.018$ . This means that, on average, immigrant students in countries with higher MIPEX values have a stronger sense of national identity while students in nations with lower MIPEX values feel lower levels of national attachment. SES, male gender, and immigrant generation are not significant predictors of *NATIONALID* in the models presented in this model, a phenomenon which is repeated throughout these immigrant models presented in this study.

When school climate factors are included in the model, the MIPEX coefficient is lower than it is in the student-demographics model,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = 0.009$ . Thus, in response to my research question, the presence of significant school climate factors presented in

the full model here weaken the strength of the relationship between national context and the average immigrant student's sense of national identity. The coefficients for future participation, efficacy, civic dialogue, and teacher and student relationships are all positive and significant. Of these, the strongest predictor is teacher relationships,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . Students who are in schools in which they perceive their teachers to be caring and supportive are more likely to report a stronger sense of national identity. The same is true for those who perceive student relationships in their school to be positive and inclusive,  $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , and for those who perceive the school as open to their future participation in participatory processes,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . The coefficient for civic dialogue in the classroom is lower but still significant,  $\beta = 0.07$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , meaning that those students who believe that their schools' classrooms invite a diversity of opinions are more likely to report higher levels of national identity. The coefficients for current participation, bullying, and the peer effects for the school's mean attitude toward ethnic rights for minorities are not significant in this model.

### **National Identity, Immigrants Only, by Region**

The three regions identified in the prior chapter differ in the degree to which their migration policies provide an inclusive national context for their migrant populations. Thus, to explore my research question by region, I estimated three models, predicting national identity as the outcome variable for immigrant students only. These estimates appear below.

#### ***Northern European Nations***

I began with the Northern European region, which includes the nations of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, and Belgium. Of the three regions included in

this study, the Northern nations have the highest weighted MIPEX mean for immigrant students ( $M = 68.03$ ,  $SD = 7.98$ ); conversely, while on average the non-immigrant students in this region enjoy the highest SES ( $M = 0.90$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ), immigrant students in Northern countries have the lowest SES values ( $M = -0.53$ ,  $SD = 1.19$ ). The results of the HLM estimations for this model appear in Table 5.

Table 5

*National Identity, Northern European Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	45.02	0.96	33.76	8.37	-	9.01	8.53	-
MIPEX General Index			0.16	0.12	0.12	0.14	0.08	0.10
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			-0.37	0.21	-0.04	-0.41	0.25	-0.05
Male			-0.58	0.39	-0.03	-0.39	0.37	-0.02
Second Generation			0.57	1.00	0.03	0.56	0.95	0.03
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						-0.01	0.02	-0.01
Future Participation						0.15	0.03	0.16***
Efficacy						0.10	0.03	0.10***
Civic Dialogue						0.07	0.03	0.07*
Teacher Relationships						0.14	0.02	0.15***
Student Relationships						0.13	0.02	0.14***
Bullying						0.02	0.01	0.03
Ethnic Rights Mean						-0.06	0.07	-0.03
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	4.22 (4.80%)		3.37 (3.89%)			2.24 (3.09%)		
School-Level Variance	5.73 (6.53%)		5.44 (6.29%)			3.03 (4.17%)		
Student-Level Variance	77.85 (88.67%)		77.71 (89.82%)			67.37 (92.75%)		

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level		0.048			0.039			0.030
School-Level		0.113			0.102			0.073
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC		16,332.1			16,329.11			15,987.7
$R_1^2$		-			0.01			0.17

Note:  $N = 2,021$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 5, the variance estimates null model once again indicate that, while differences between nations (4.8%,  $\varphi^2 = 4.22$ ) and differences between schools (6.53%,  $\tau^2 = 5.73$ ) account for some of the differences between students' sense of national identity, the largest amount of unexplained variance was attributed to the differences between individual students within schools (88.67%,  $\sigma^2 = 77.85$ ). The introduction of school climate indicators resulted in an increase in the  $R_1^2$  from 0.01 in the student demographics model to 0.17 in the full school mode, and this is reflected in the decreasing school- and nation-level variances and ICCs across models. Put another way, the model predictors explain more of the school variance than they do of the nation- and student-level variance.

Neither the MIPEX index nor SES, gender, or immigrant generation indicators were significant predictors in the models specified here. However, the predictors at the school level were similar in significance and magnitude to the all-students model. In the Northern European countries, students' beliefs about their future potential for school participation was the biggest predictor of national identity,  $\beta = 0.16$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ ,

followed by their perceptions of student-teacher relationships in school,  $\beta = 0.14$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , as well as their perception of student-student relationships,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . The coefficients for students' current school participation, experience of bullying, and the attitudes of their classmates toward ethnic minorities were not significant.

### ***Southern European Nations***

I next estimated these models for immigrant students in the Southern European region. Since this region includes only Italy and Malta, the MIPEX index serves as a fixed effect for Italy/Malta, so I therefore did not include variance estimates at the third (nation) level. The weighted average MIPEX value for immigrant students is 58.90 ( $SD = 0.75$ ) in these two nations. The results appear in Table 6.

Table 6

#### *National Identity, Southern European Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	43.77	0.42	44.71	2.32	-	25.30	7.41	-
MIPEX General Index			-0.03	0.05	-0.03	-0.05	0.04	-0.06
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			-1.00	0.36	-0.12**	-1.36	0.36	-0.16***
Male			-0.06	0.80	<0.01	0.61	0.76	0.04
Second Generation			1.10	0.82	0.06	0.72	0.69	0.04

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						0.03	0.04	0.03
Future Participation						0.14	0.05	0.15**
Efficacy						0.10	0.04	0.11*
Civic Dialogue						0.07	0.04	0.09
Teacher Relationships						0.13	0.05	0.16**
Student Relationships						0.09	0.04	0.10*
Bullying						-0.07	0.04	-0.08
Ethnic Rights Mean						-0.08	0.13	-0.03
<i>Variance Components</i>								
School-Level Variance	2.32 (3.12%)		1.12 (1.53%)			1.66 (2.77%)		
Student-Level Variance	72.07 (96.88%)		72.04 (98.47%)			58.21 (97.23%)		
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
School-Level	0.031		0.015			0.028		
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC	4,536.5		4,535.3			4,432.1		
$R_1^2$	-		0.02			0.20		

Note:  $N = 632$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As shown in the full school climate perceptions model in Table 6, the within-school variance between students represents the largest share of the variance in these estimates (97.23%,  $\sigma^2 = 58.21$ ). While the nation-level variance in the full model ( $\tau^2 = 1.66, 2.77\%$ ) was reduced relative to the null model ( $\tau^2 = 2.32, 3.12\%$ ), the student demographics-only model yielded lower between-school variance ( $\tau^2 = 1.12, 1.53\%$ ). In addition, introducing school factors increased within-school similarities from 0.015 in the student demographics model to 0.028 in the full model. The results show an increase in between-school variance when the school climate variables were introduced. The  $R_1^2$



value in the full model increased to 0.20, while the overall AIC model fit value decreased in the full model (AIC = 4432.1) relative to the prior models, both indicating improved model fit over the null and student demographics-only models.

Within the indicators for student demographics, the coefficient for SES is both significant and negative in Southern Europe. This is the only region among the three that recorded a significant negative relationship between SES and national identity,  $\beta = -0.16$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , a relationship seen in both the student demographic and full models. Neither the MIPEX index, gender, nor immigrant generation predictors had a significant relationship with *NATIONALID*. Thus, students from lower SES backgrounds—fewer books at home, with parents who were less well-educated—recorded higher levels of national identity than those from higher SES backgrounds. This negative relationship was also found in the full model for all European students (Table 3).

Among the school climate predictors, the coefficient for students' expectation of future participation in school participatory processes was both positive and significant,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = < 0.003$ , as was perceptions of relationships between students and teachers,  $\beta = 0.16$ ,  $p = < 0.004$ , and students' sense of school efficacy,  $\beta = 0.09$ ,  $p = < 0.015$ . The remaining climate indicators, including current participation, civic dialogue in the classroom, experience of bullying, and the peer effects for beliefs on the rights of ethnic minorities, had no significant relationship to *NATIONALID* in this model.

### ***Eastern European Nations***

The final region included here is Eastern Europe, which includes the nations of Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Slovenia. The Eastern cluster of nations has the lowest weighted MIPEX rankings for immigrant students ( $M = 42.88$ ,  $SD = 12.03$ )

among the three regions included in this study (see Appendix C). Results for the HLM estimations appear in Table 7.

Table 7

*National Identity, Eastern European Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	43.06	1.11	30.13	2.43	-	5.53	9.37	-
MIPEX General Index			0.32	0.07	0.17***	0.27	0.09	0.15**
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			0.44	0.33	0.04	0.40	0.42	0.04
Male			-0.74	0.75	-0.04	0.33	0.75	0.02
Second Generation			0.48	0.87	0.02	1.11	0.78	0.04
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						-0.09	0.03	-0.09**
Future Participation						0.14	0.02	0.13***
Efficacy						0.14	0.01	0.13***
Civic Dialogue						0.07	0.06	0.06
Teacher Relationships						0.18	0.01	0.16***
Student Relationships						0.08	0.03	0.07**
Bullying						-0.06	0.02	-0.06**
Ethnic Rights Mean						0.07	0.20	0.03
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	3.12 (3.07%)		0.21 (0.21%)			0.22 (0.27%)		
School-Level Variance	24.89 (24.48%)		25.37 (25.76%)			19.53 (23.41%)		
Student-Level Variance	73.65 (72.45%)		72.91 (74.03%)			63.67 (76.32%)		

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level		0.030			0.002			0.002
School-Level		0.276			0.259			0.237
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC		5,277.3			5,276.4			5,181.5
$R_1^2$		-			0.03			0.18

Note:  $N = 933$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 7, the nation-level variance drops when student demographics and MIPEX indicators are added (from  $\varphi^2 = 3.12$  to  $\varphi^2 = 0.21$ ) and then increases slightly when school indicators are added to the model (from  $\tau^2 = 0.21$  to  $\tau^2 = 0.22$ ). Conversely, student-level variance increased with the addition of the MIPEX and student demographics indicators, while the full model's addition of school indicators decreased the student-level variance. Overall, ICCs decreased across models, indicating that the predictors controlled for increasingly higher levels of variance across models. This is indicated in the AIC fit statistics, which decrease with each model.

For both the student demographics and full models, the MIPEX coefficient is significant and positive ( $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = < 0.001$  in the full model), while those for the gender, SES, and immigrant generation variables are not. This means that, given the factors presented in this model, immigrant students' national identity scores were more affected by the policy context in this region—the region with the lowest MIPEX levels—than in the other regions.

Similar to results seen in the other models thus far, the coefficients for expected future school participation,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , teacher-student relationships,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , student relationships,  $\beta = 0.70$ ,  $p = < 0.003$ , and students' sense of school efficacy,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , were all significant and positive, indicating a link between students' perceptions of their school climate and their sense of national belonging. In this model, the civic dialogue predictor is not significant, similar to the results obtained in the Southern European nations but differing from the Northern Europe's significant and positive results. In contrast with the other two regions, the coefficient for current participation is negative and significant,  $\beta = -0.09$ ,  $p = 0.006$ , meaning that students who reported current greater involvement in school also reported lower national identity scores. It is unclear why this relationship is negative and significant in Eastern Europe alone. In this region—and in this region alone—the coefficient for bullying was significant,  $\beta = -0.06$ ,  $p = 0.004$ . This relationship is negative, indicating that students in these countries who experienced greater degrees of bullying had more negative attitudes toward their countries of settlement. As in all models for *NATIONALID*, the peer effects indicator for school-wide attitudes toward the rights of ethnic minorities was not significantly correlated with immigrant students' sense of national identity.

### **National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants Only, by Gender**

#### ***Female Students***

As discussed above, immigrant students have been found to differ in their national adaptation by gender. This difference was evidenced in the larger student sample (Table 4-2), in which the dummy variable for male gender was both significant and positive,

$\beta = 0.07, p = < 0.001$ , indicating that, on average, boys had higher scores for *NATIONLID* than girls. To explore this relationship, I estimated separate specifications by gender for immigrant across all European nations in this sample. The results for girls appear in Table 8.

Table 8

*National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants Only, Female*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	44.45	0.55	39.61	2.01	-	10.02	4.52	-
MIPEX General Index			0.08	0.04	0.12**	0.06	0.03	0.08
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			-0.04	0.26	<0.01	-0.18	0.26	-0.02
Second Generation			0.42	0.76	0.02	0.31	0.71	0.02
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						-0.04	0.03	-0.04
Future Participation						0.14	0.03	0.14***
Efficacy						0.11	0.02	0.11***
Civic Dialogue						0.08	0.02	0.08***
Teacher Relationships						0.14	0.03	0.15***
Student Relationships						0.14	0.01	0.15***
Bullying						0.03	0.02	0.03
Ethnic Rights Mean						0.02	0.06	0.01
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	2.51 (3.27%)		1.67 (2.21%)			1.02 (1.60%)		
School-Level Variance	8.73 (11.36%)		8.71 (11.48%)			8.18 (12.85%)		
Student-Level Variance	65.58 (85.37%)		65.49 (86.31%)			54.50 (85.56%)		

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level		0.033			0.022			0.016
School-Level		0.146			0.137			0.144
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC		12,901.8			12,901.8			12,603.7
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>		-			0.01			0.17

Note:  $N = 2,063$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 8, the addition of variables with each model successively reduced the unexplained variance at all levels. This is accompanied a decline in the AIC values (from 12,901.8 in the null and student demographics models to AIC = 12,603.7 in the full model), indicating the improved fit of the full student climate perceptions model ( $R_1^2 = 0.17$ ). In the full model, including number of positive and significant school-level predictors increased the school-level variance proportion as well as the school-level ICC. Thus, controlling for girls' perceptions of school climate decreased within-school variance.

While in the demographics-only model the MIPEX coefficient was significant and positive,  $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $p = < 0.020$ , this was not the case for the SES and immigrant generation predictors, and, in the full model, neither the MIPEX nor the student predictors had significant results, after controlling for the school climate indicators.

As with the all-Europe, Northern and Southern immigrant models, current participation was not a significant predictor of national identity. Similarly, neither the bullying nor the peer effects predictor for ethnic rights yielded significant results.

However, anticipated future school participation,  $\beta = 0.14, p = < 0.001$ , and perceptions of student efficacy in school,  $\beta = 0.11, p = < 0.001$ , civil dialogue in the classroom,  $\beta = 0.08, p = < 0.001$ , teacher-student relationships,  $\beta = 0.15, p = < 0.001$ , and student-student relationships,  $\beta = 0.15, p = < 0.001$ , were all significant predictors. The all-Europe results for immigrant girls were most similar to the results yielded from the full school effects model in the Northern nations' model. Thus, on average, the immigrant girls represented in these results report higher levels of national identity when they perceive their school climate to be receptive to their participatory engagement, when they see that a diversity of opinions are engaged respectfully in classrooms, and when they believe that they have positive relationships with their teachers and their peers.

**Male Students**

The estimates for male immigrant students appear in Table 9.

Table 9

*National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants Only, Male*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	43.63	0.82	36.33	2.67	-	13.23	6.12	-
MIPEX General Index			0.12	0.05	0.15*	0.08	0.04	0.11*
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			-0.52	0.28	-0.06	-0.61	0.28	-0.07*
Second Generation			0.94	0.67	0.04	1.10	0.61	0.05

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						-0.01	0.03	-0.01
Future Participation						0.15	0.03	0.15***
Efficacy						0.10	0.03	0.09**
Civic Dialogue						0.06	0.03	0.06*
Teacher Relationships						0.14	0.03	0.15***
Student Relationships						0.10	0.02	0.10***
Bullying						-0.03	0.03	-0.03
Ethnic Rights Mean						-0.01	0.10	<0.01
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	6.56 (6.40%)		3.87 (3.91%)			2.68 (3.20%)		
School-Level Variance	8.93 (8.72%)		8.23 (8.30%)			5.28 (6.30%)		
Student-Level Variance	86.95 (84.88%)		86.99 (87.79%)			75.87 (90.50%)		
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level	0.064		0.039			0.032		
School-Level	0.151		0.122			0.095		
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC	13,274.0		13,264.7			12,999.1		
$R_1^2$	-		0.03			0.18		

Note:  $N = 2,021$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 9, the proportional amount of variance was reduced at all levels with each successive model, as were the ICC estimates. In addition, the AIC statistic in the full model (AIC = 12,999.1) was lower than in both the null model (AIC = 13,274.0) and the student demographics model (AIC = 13,264.7), and the  $R_1^2$  in the full model ( $R_1^2 = 0.18$ ) value was six times higher than that of the student demographics-only model ( $R_1^2 = 0.03$ ). These values indicate the superior fit of the full student-demographics model in



explaining the variance in *NATIONALID* among the immigrant boys represented in these models.

In contrast with female students, there was a significant and positive relationships for male immigrant students in Europe between the MIPEX index and *NATIONALID*,  $\beta = 0.11$ ,  $p = 0.001$ . Conversely, this means that, holding all other factors equal, immigrant boys living in nations with a low MIPEX index will record lower levels of national identity. In the full school climate perceptions model, the coefficient for SES is negative and significant,  $\beta = -0.07$ ,  $p = 0.029$ , meaning that immigrant boys with lower SES scores have higher *NATIONALID* values. As the highest degree of immigrant poverty in Europe occurs in the region with the highest MIPEX values, and since MIPEX is positively and significantly related to *NATIONALID*, these two results are consistent.

Similar to girls, the no significant relationships exist between national identity and the predictors for current participation, experience of bullying, or peer effects of beliefs about the rights of ethnic minorities. Also similar to the results found with girls, the relationships between national identity and expected future participation,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , student efficacy in school,  $\beta = 0.09$ ,  $p = 0.001$ , civic dialogue in classrooms,  $\beta = 0.06$ ,  $p = 0.018$ , student-teacher relationships,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , and student-student relationships,  $\beta = 0.10$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , were all significant and positive. The standardized coefficients for expected future participation and teacher relationships were larger than those for MIPEX and SES, meaning that, in the full model presented here, while low SES and low MIPEX would predict lower levels of *NATIONALID* among immigrant boys, these inclusive school climate features could offset the negative predictions of both the MIPEX and SES coefficients.

### **National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants Only, by MIPeX Subindex**

As discussed above, Kim and Byun (2019) found that a researcher-derived MIPeX index—created by taking the mean of Political Participation, Access to Nationality, Anti-Discrimination, and Education MIPeX subindices—positively predicted national students’ attitudes toward the rights of ethnic minorities. Further, in the preceding sections, a significant positive relationship was identified for the general MIPeX index on immigrants’ sense of national identity in the all-countries analysis as well as in Eastern Europe and among boys. To further explore the relevance of Kim and Byun’s finding for immigrant students and the predictive value of school climate, I repeat the analyses above with each MIPeX subindex and consider this influence relative to school climate. The results appear in Table 10.

Table 10

*National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants only, by MIPEX Subindex*

Variable	Labor Mrkt. Mobility			Family Reunion			Education			Health		
	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	14.23	4.82	-	12.89	4.04	-	14.92	4.52	-	14.89	4.49	-
MIPEX Subindex	0.04	0.03	0.08	0.05	0.03	0.07*	0.04	0.02	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.07
<i>Student Demographics</i>												
SES	-0.38	0.22	-0.04	-0.39	0.22	-0.04	-0.38	0.22	-0.04	-0.38	0.22	-0.04
Male	-0.01	0.33	0.01	-0.02	0.33	0.01	-0.01	0.33	0.01	-0.01	0.33	0.01
Second Generation	0.66	0.62	0.03	0.64	0.61	0.03	0.66	0.62	0.03	0.68	0.63	0.03
<i>School Climate</i>												
Current Participation	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02
Future Participation	0.15	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.14***	0.15	0.02	0.15***	0.15	0.02	0.15***
Efficacy	0.10	0.02	0.10***	0.10	0.02	0.10***	0.10	0.02	0.10***	0.10	0.02	0.10***
Civic Dialogue	0.07	0.02	0.07**	0.07	0.02	0.08**	0.07	0.02	0.07**	0.07	0.02	0.07**
Teacher Relationships	0.14	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.15***
Student Relationships	0.12	0.01	0.12***	0.12	0.01	0.12***	0.12	0.01	0.12***	0.11	0.01	0.12***
Bullying	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01
Ethnic Rights Mean	-0.01	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.07	0.01	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	-0.01	0.07	0.01
<i>Variance Components</i>												
Nation-Level Variance	1.95 (2.63%)			1.97 (2.66%)			1.79 (2.42%)			2.02 (2.73%)		
School-Level Variance	6.65 (8.96%)			6.69 (9.01%)			6.68 (9.02%)			6.64 (8.94%)		
Student-Level Variance	65.60 (88.41%)			65.58 (88.33%)			65.58 (88.56%)			65.60 (88.33%)		
<i>Model Fit: AIC / R<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup></i>	25,601.5 / 0.17			25,602.3 / 0.17			25,600.7 / 0.17			25,602.0 / 0.17		

(Table 10, continued)

Variable	Political Participation			Permanent Residence			Access to Nationality			Anti-Discrimination		
	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	14.92	4.25	-	12.80	4.32	-	14.90	4.13	-	13.90	4.02	-
MIPEX Subindex	0.04	0.02	0.10*	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.07*
<i>Student Demographics</i>												
SES	-0.37	0.22	-0.04	-0.38	0.22	-0.04	-0.38	0.22	-0.04	-0.39	0.22	-0.04
Male	-0.01	0.33	0.01	-0.02	0.33	0.01	-0.01	0.33	0.01	-0.01	0.33	0.01
Second Generation	0.69	0.63	0.04	0.65	0.62	0.03	0.67	0.62	0.03	0.67	0.61	0.03
<i>School Climate</i>												
Current Participation	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02
Future Participation	0.15	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.14***	0.14	0.02	0.14***	0.14	0.02	0.14***
Efficacy	0.10	0.02	0.10***	0.10	0.02	0.10***	0.10	0.02	0.10***	0.10	0.02	0.10***
Civic Dialogue	0.07	0.02	0.07**	0.07	0.02	0.07**	0.07	0.02	0.07**	0.07	0.02	0.08**
Teacher Relationships	0.14	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.15***	0.14	0.02	0.15***
Student Relationships	0.11	0.01	0.12***	0.11	0.01	0.12***	0.11	0.01	0.12***	0.11	0.01	0.12***
Bullying	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01
Ethnic Rights Mean	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.07	0.01
<i>Variance Components</i>												
Nation-Level Variance	1.47 (1.99%)			2.09 (2.81%)			2.07 (2.78%)			1.91 (2.57%)		
School-Level Variance	6.59 (8.94%)			6.65 (8.94%)			6.64 (8.93%)			6.64 (8.96%)		
Student-Level Variance	65.63 (89.06%)			65.60 (88.25%)			65.61 (88.29%)			65.61 (88.47%)		
Model Fit: AIC / R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>	25,598.3 / 0.17			25,602.5 / 0.17			25,602.3 / 0.17			25,702.6 / 0.17		

Note:  $N = 4,084$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

The null model for the subindices estimated in Table 10 is identical to the null model in Table 4, for all immigrant students in all included countries. Relative to the null model, all estimated subindex models decreased the proportionate share of nation- and student-level variance. AICs for all models are also lower than that of the null model, indicating an improved fit. The  $R_1^2$  for all subindex models is 0.17, similar to that of the prior full models estimated above.

The MIPEX predictor is significant only in the subindices for Family Reunion,  $\beta = 0.07$ ,  $p = 0.033$ , Political Participation,  $\beta = 0.10$ ,  $p = 0.030$ , and Anti-Discrimination,  $\beta = 0.07$ ,  $p = 0.039$ . In no subindex are the coefficients for SES, gender, and immigration generation significant.

The school climate indicators are nearly identical across all subindices, with positive and significant relationships estimated for future participation, efficacy, civic dialogue, and relationships between students and their teachers and peers. For the Family Reunion and Anti-Discrimination subindices, all significant school climate coefficients are equal to or larger in magnitude than the coefficient for the MIPEX subindex; of the significant predictors in the political participation MIPEX subindex, only the civic dialog indicator has a lower coefficient than that of the MIPEX predictor. This indicates that, for the average immigrant student represented in these estimates, school climate has a stronger relationship with national identity than does national policy context.

### **Expected Political Participation, All Nations, Immigrants Only**

As discussed above, political participation and electoral participation are believed to be indicators of immigrant adaptation and may function as secondary indicators of immigrants' beliefs about their relationship to the nation, though school climate may

differ in the way in which it predicts these secondary outcome variables. To explore this possibility, I computed two models, one each for the *POLPART* and *ELECPART* secondary outcome variables. The results for the political participation outcome variable appear in Table 11.

Table 11

*Expected Political Participation, All Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (Exp. Pol. Part.)	49.62	0.45	49.86	1.80	-	24.67	2.59	-
MIPEX			<0.01	0.03	<0.01	<0.01	0.04	0.01
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			0.08	0.15	0.01	-0.11	0.15	-0.01
Male			0.50	0.37	0.03	1.36	0.45	0.07
Second Generation			-0.61	0.38	-0.03	-0.88	0.27	-0.05
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						0.01	0.02	0.01
Future Participation						0.41	0.02	0.43***
Efficacy						0.03	0.01	0.03*
Civic Dialogue						0.05	0.01	0.05**
Teacher Relationships						-0.01	0.02	-0.01
Student Relationships						-0.01	0.02	-0.01
Bullying						0.01	0.02	0.01
Ethnic Rights Mean						0.01	0.04	0.01
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	1.88 (2.22%)		1.71 (2.02%)			1.85 (2.74%)		
School-Level Variance	1.46 (1.73%)		1.68 (1.99%)			0.16 (0.23%)		
Student-Level Variance	81.18 (96.05%)		80.86 (95.98%)			65.45 (97.03%)		

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level		0.022			0.020			0.027
School-Level		0.039			0.040			0.030
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC		26,145.4			26,121.6			25,319.3
$R_1^2$		-			< 0.01			0.20

Note:  $N = 4,084$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 11, including the student variables and MIPEX index in the student demographics model decreased the proportional share of nation-level variance (from  $\varphi^2 = 1.88$ , 2.22%, to  $\varphi^2 = 1.71$ , 2.02%) and increased the proportional share of the school-level variance (from  $\tau^2 = 1.46$ , 1.73%, to  $\tau^2 = 1.68$ , 1.99%). The full model reduced unexplained school-level variance found in the null model (to  $\tau^2 = 0.16$ , 0.23%), while increasing the proportional share of between-nation difference (to  $\varphi^2 = 1.85$ , 2.74%). ICCs increased at the nation-level in the full model (from 0.022 in the null model to 0.027 in the full model) and decreased at the school level (from 0.039 in the null model to 0.030 in the full model). The introduction of both student and school models increased the proportional share of student-level variance (from  $\tau^2 = 81.18$ , 96.05%, in the null model to  $\tau^2 = 65.45$ , 97.03% in the full model) and decreased the AIC fit indices (from AIC = 26,145.4 in the null model to AIC = 25,319.3 in the full model), while the full model's  $R_1^2$  was 0.20. This indicates that the introduction of school climate predictors served to accentuate the differences between nations in students' expected political participation while reducing the differences between schools.

None of the demographic or MIPEX coefficients had a significant relationship with immigrant students' expected future political participation. Only three school perceptions coefficients were significantly related to *POLPART*. Students' expectation of future school participation (*FUTPART*) was positively related to their expectation of future political participation,  $\beta = 0.43$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , the largest coefficient found in the present study. There were also significant and positive relationships between anticipated political participation and students' belief in the efficacy of student participation in school,  $\beta = 0.03$ ,  $p = 0.021$ , and their beliefs that classrooms promoted civil exchanges between different points of view  $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $p = 0.001$ . In summary, this means that, on average, the immigrant students represented in this study were more likely to anticipate future political engagement as adults if they believed that students' voices in their school had the ability to effect change, if they believed that their school's classroom exchanges were marked by constructive dialogue across differences, and if they believed they would likely be engaged in participatory processes in their school in the future.

### **Expected Electoral Participation, All Nations, Immigrants Only**

In my final model, I estimated the effects of national context, student demographics, and school climate on students' expectations of future electoral participation as adults (*ELECPART*). The results appear in Table 12.



Table 12

*Expected Electoral Participation, All Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null		Student			School		
	B	SE	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
Intercept (Exp. Elec. Part.)	48.13	0.71	42.19	1.94	-	8.781	4.19	-
MIPEX			0.11	0.04	0.15**	0.07	0.02	0.10**
<i>Student Demographics</i>								
SES			1.21	0.19	0.14***	0.95	0.16	0.11***
Male			-0.62	0.62	-0.03	0.45	0.68	0.02
Second Generation			0.87	0.47	0.04	0.50	0.45	0.03
<i>School Climate</i>								
Current Participation						0.04	0.02	0.05**
Future Participation						0.27	0.03	0.27***
Efficacy						0.11	0.02	0.11***
Civic Dialogue						0.12	0.03	0.13***
Teacher Relationships						0.02	0.03	0.02
Student Relationships						0.00	0.02	0.00
Bullying						-0.02	0.02	-0.03
Ethnic Rights Mean						0.16	0.06	0.08**
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Nation-Level Variance	5.33 (5.78%)		3.77 (4.25%)			0.86 (1.21%)		
School-Level Variance	3.18 (3.45%)		2.20 (2.49%)			0.65 (0.92%)		
Student-Level Variance	83.71 (90.77%)		82.72 (93.27%)			69.52 (97.87%)		
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>								
Nation-Level	0.058		0.042			0.012		
School-Level	0.092		0.067			0.021		
<i>Model Fit</i>								
AIC	26,301.6		26,229.69			25,552.6		
$R_1^2$	-		< 0.01			0.23		

Note:  $N = 4,084$ ; \* =  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

As seen in Table 12, with the introduction of the student demographics model, the proportional amount of variance was reduced from the null model at both nation-level (from  $\varphi^2 = 5.33$ , 5.78%, to  $\varphi^2 = 3.77$ , 4.25%) and school-level (from  $\tau^2 = 3.18$ , 3.45%, to  $\tau^2 = 2.20$ , 2.49%). Variance was reduced again with the introduction of the school climate perceptions model at nation-level (to  $\varphi^2 = 0.86$ , 1.21%) and school-level (to  $\tau^2 = 0.65$ , 0.92%). ICCs at both levels declined across models, as did the AIC model fit statistic (from AIC = 26,301.6 in the null model to 25,552.6 in the full model). In the full model,  $R_1^2$  was 0.23. These values indicate that the full model's introduction of school climate perceptions provided an improved fit and accounted for more of the unexplained variance at both nation and school levels than either the null model or the student demographics model.

At the student level, the MIPEX composite index and SES were both positive and significant predictors of students' expected future electoral participation. This was the only occurrence in this study of a significant and positive relationship for SES, which occurred here in both the student demographics-only model,  $\beta = 0.14$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , and in the full model with school climate perceptions,  $\beta = 0.11$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . The MIPEX index was a significant predictor of future electoral participation in both the student demographics model,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $p = 0.003$ , and in the full model,  $\beta = 0.10$ ,  $p = 0.002$ . This means that students from high socio-economic backgrounds and students from more-inclusive national policy contexts are more likely to anticipate voting in the future. Thus, students' national context and wealth played a significant role in predicting students' expectation of future voting activities.

The coefficients for school climate perceptions were positive and significant for students who reported higher levels of current and future activity in school participatory processes (*CURRENTPART*,  $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $p = 0.007$ ; *FUTUREPART*,  $\beta = 0.27$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ ). Students who anticipated higher levels of future voting were, on average, in schools which they characterized as having positive classroom dialogue,  $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ , and in which they believed that students had a voice in how the school was run,  $\beta = 0.11$ ,  $p = < 0.001$ . No significant relationship was estimated for the relationships between *ELECPART* and students' experiences of bullying or their perceptions of relationships in their schools, either between teachers and students or between peers. Finally, this model resulted in the first occurrence of a significant peer effect for beliefs about the rights of ethnic minorities,  $\beta = 0.08$ ,  $p = 0.005$ . This coefficient indicates that, on average, immigrant students who were more likely to say they would vote as adults were in schools where their peers felt more positively about the rights of ethnic minorities.

Taken together, while the MIPEX and SES predictors had positive and significant relationships with students' beliefs about their future electoral participation, several school climate factors had coefficients that were equal to or larger than these national- and school-level indicators. Thus, these analyses of my secondary outcome variables of *POLPART* and *ELECPART* demonstrate the significant and positive relationships between inclusive, participatory school climate and immigrants' sense of future inclusion in the civic processes of their settlement nations.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study, I found that, in answer to my research question, while national immigration policy does positively correlate with immigrant students' sense of national identity, it is greatly outweighed by students' experience of school climate. For immigrant students included in this sample, an inclusive school climate—an environment in which students felt that they had a voice, that they were cared for by teachers and fellow students and that their voices mattered—was a larger factor than national policy context in predicting their sense of national identity. In this final chapter, I summarize the results above and suggest several implications for policy and practice.

#### **Summary**

##### **National Policy Context**

This analysis explored the relationship of school climate and national identity formation under different national policy contexts, considering both regional differences and differences by MIPEX policy subindex. I found that, controlling for school climate, the general MIPEX index significantly and positive predicted national identity in the all-nations immigrant analysis (Table 4), in the Eastern (Table 7) region, and among boys (Table 9). The coefficients for the MIPEX index, however, were consistently smaller than those of the school climate indicators, meaning that, even in low-MIPEX nations, students in more inclusive schools will have a stronger sense of national identity than students in high-MIPEX nations who attend schools with a less inclusive school environment. These results correspond with previous findings that the context of reception—and particularly those contexts characterized by a high degree of

discrimination—can have positive or negative effects on students’ sense of inclusion (Berry et al., 2006a; Koser, 2007; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012) as well as on their general academic performance and classroom behavior (Filindra et al., 2011; Orozco & López, 2015; Santos et al., 2018). The present study’s findings that MIPEX index is positively correlated with immigrants’ sense of national identity supports these prior studies which found significant relationships between the policy structure of the settlement nation and the healthy adaptation of immigrant youth (Kim & Byun, 2019; Phinney et al., 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014a; Reeskens & Wright, 2014; Rumbaut, 2008). Further, the present study extends these prior investigations by highlighting the relationships between immigrant students’ national identity formation, school climate, and the national context of reception.

In my analysis by MIPEX subindex, I found that the subindices for Family Reunion, Political Participation, and Anti-Discrimination were all significantly related to national identity, though not to the same degree as the school climate predictors. The finding for the MIPEX subindex for Anti-Discrimination, in particular, indicates that these students had a higher sense of national identity when they were in a nation which had policies in place to protect immigrants against discrimination. Since Kim and Byun (2019) found that non-immigrant students’ attitudes toward ethnic minorities correlated significantly with this MIPEX index, I had expected to see this relationship paralleled at the school level in the peer effects for attitudes toward the rights of ethnic minorities. However, as I discuss in the section below on the peer-effects variable, this was not the case. The magnitude of Anti-Discrimination coefficient was fully offset by the school climate factors identified in this study, highlighting the importance of creating school

environments in which all students—including immigrants—are valued and respected. The significant and positive correlation of the Anti-Discrimination index suggests that students' national identity will be fostered in contexts in which students sense that their ethnic identity is respected and that the society in which they live has established a legal context to protect them from discrimination (Reeskens & Wright, 2014).

These results confirm the theory, discussed in the literature review above, that the macrosystem scripts of nation policy contexts are reflected in students' proximal contexts and shape students' experience of their nations. Students are affected by national policies and rhetoric that serve as social mirrors (C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009), making salient the beliefs of the national ingroup on the place of immigrants in the larger society. Thus, national policy context *does* matter. However, as I discuss next, schools play an even larger role in helping immigrant students develop a sense of national belonging. Schools can become safe havens of respect and tolerance—even when the nations in which they are located do not (Brezicha & Miranda, 2022).

### **School Climate**

In this study, I focused on the student engagement and student safety dimensions of the NSCC's three-part school climate model (NSCC, 2007; see also Figure 1). The results above reflect the positive and significant relationship—across all immigrant models, regardless of subgroup analyzed—between national identity and (1) students' future plans to be engaged in school participatory activities, (2) their beliefs about the efficacy of students to positively shape the school experience, and their (3) perceptions about the quality of relationships between teachers and students and (4) between students

and their peers. For both boys and girls, regardless of region or MIPEX subindex, these factors were significant and larger in magnitude than policy context.

Civil dialogue in the classroom was a significant and positive predictor in all models except for the Eastern and Southern European regions, while students' beliefs about their current level of school participation was significant only in Eastern Europe—where it was, unexpectedly, negative in direction. Bullying and peer beliefs about ethnic minorities played a minor role, though each of these nevertheless surfaced as significant in at least one of the models above. Relative to national policy contexts, therefore, these results study consistently point to the outsized relationship between school climate and the formation of immigrant students' sense of national identity.

### ***Perceptions of School Participation***

This study included two variables for school participation, one of which asked students about their current activities in school participatory governance—involvement in debates, school assemblies, running in a school election—and one of which asked about their anticipated future participation in activities of the same nature. A third variable pertained to students' perceptions of the efficacy of these kinds of activities, expressing the degree to which students believed that their participation in the democratic processes of the school would make a tangible difference in how their schools function. While all three measures may be seen as indicators of the degree to which the school is open and responsive to their involvement, the latter two provide an indicator of students' beliefs about the school's receptivity and inclusion, regardless of whether the circumstances of life permitted students to actually avail themselves of the opportunities.

In the present study, it was the measures of anticipated future participation and student efficacy that were most closely tied to students' sense of national identity. In the analyses above, across all nations, subpopulations, and MIPeX subindices, beliefs about future participation, along with beliefs about the efficacy of students' participation to create meaningful changes, significantly and positively predicted the strength of students' national identity. In contrast, current participation was only significantly correlated to national identity in the Eastern Europe subpopulation. In other words, students' personal history of school participation was not as salient to their sense of national inclusion as their beliefs about whether or not the schools were *open and responsive* to their participation. Thus, students who sensed that their school was open and inclusive were predicted to feel a stronger personal attachment to their settlement nations.

In providing what Gray et al. (2018) describe as “opportunity structures”—such as access to student government opportunities or the ability to express one's opinions safely without rejection (addressed further in the civil discourse section below)—schools allow their immigrant students to build their sense of belonging in the community and to shape from these experiences their idea of the nation in which they live. The results above corroborate prior research which has argued that school participatory processes foster contact between immigrant groups and non-immigrants and, therefore, strengthen immigrant students' sense of inclusion (G. W. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). According to social identity theory, self-categorization occurs as individuals interact with—and in—groups, and the social ecology structures the nature of these interactions, for better or for worse. As discussed in the literature review above, Allport described the optimal conditions for positive contact to emerge from a setting in



which members of different groups hold equal status, common goals, a cooperative approach, and the support of authority (G. W. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Given the support of a school ecosystem, interactions between immigrants and non-immigrants through participatory structures hold forth the promise of creating these optimal conditions in which empathy and inclusion can flourish. In the present study, immigrant students who see the school ecosystem as open and supportive of their engagement are likely to report higher levels of national identity than those who report less optimism about future engagement and student efficacy. In combination with the other findings below in which classroom interactions, teacher-student relationships, and peer relationships are all significantly and positively correlated with national identity, I argue that, as schools create these optimal conditions for intergroup contact, they are more likely to provide inclusive spaces in which students feel connected both to the school and to the nation in which they live.

The results above also indicate that future engagement in participatory activities at school was significantly and positively—and strongly—related to the likelihood that immigrant students would engage in both participatory and electoral processes as adults. These results support those of Callahan et al. (2008), who found that students' co-curricular or extra-curricular engagement across social groups strengthens their sense of belonging at school and also increases their likelihood to register to vote as adults. Speaking of the link between belonging and voting activities, the authors wrote,

Perhaps most interesting is the importance of school climate and students' own sense of connection to the school, of belonging. At the school level, the aggregate social connection of the student body has an almost synergistic effect, increasing

the likelihood of both registering and voting during young adulthood among all students. (p. 12)

The results in this study echo this prior research, providing additional evidence for the link between immigrants' sense of national identity, their expected future civic engagement, and the inclusive school ecosystem which provides structured opportunities—Allport's optimal conditions—for students to connect across groups.

Further, these results stand in line with the limited research on the relationship between immigrant students' sense of inclusion and their involvement in democratic school processes, including Hajisoteriou et al.'s (2011) study of inclusive practices in Greek schools and Rutkowski et al. (2014)'s analyses of intercultural attitudes and student participation in the ICCS 2009 dataset, among others (Higdon, 2015; Peguero & Bondy, 2015; Sirlopú & Renger, 2020). Such studies suggest the critical role of school participation in developing immigrant students' sense of inclusion. The present study supports this prior research and extends it by demonstrating that participation in the democratic processes of the school is associated with a national sense of inclusion and can effectively offset the negative strength of the policy context of the nation in which the school is located.

### ***Civil Discourse in the Classroom***

This study also found that civil discourse in the classroom significantly and positively predicted national identity in the all-nations immigrant-only model (Table 4), in the Northern regional subpopulation (Table 5), for both girls and boys (Tables 8 and 9), for all MIPEX subindex analyses (Table 10), and for the secondary outcome variables of anticipated adult political and electoral participation (Tables 11 and 12).

While civil discourse was the smallest in magnitude of the school climate predictors in those models in which it was a significant predictor, it nevertheless had significance across most models, indicating the importance of classroom dialogue in supporting the formation of national identity. Students are more likely to report higher levels of national identity when they are in classrooms in which teachers help students surface and then navigate political differences.

As discussed previously, classroom dialogue allows teachers the opportunity to demonstrate their respect for the difficult and often little-understood experiences of immigrant children (Bickmore & Parker, 2014; Parker, 2012, 2016; Subedi, 2008). Such conversations may allow teachers to give voice to students in a psychologically protective environment and carve out a safe space—the “sanctuary and safety” described by Jaffe-Walter et al. (2019, p. 266)—for immigrant students to process the sometimes overheated xenophobic public discourse. Such contexts provide opportunities for teachers to demonstrate to their immigrant students that the national community is not monolithic and that there are members of the national ingroup who welcome and receive them into the settlement nation. Within social identity theory, this receptivity validates immigrants’ attempts to identify with the national community. Further, these conversations provide opportunities for immigrants to share their stories with their non-immigrant peers, facilitating both understanding and the development of empathy (Chapman et al., 2014; Flecha, 2014; Solbue et al., 2017). The present study supports these prior findings.

### ***Student-Teacher Relationships***

The significant and positive relationship of student-teacher relationships to national identity across all models indicates the important role of teachers in fostering an

inclusive environment in schools. As discussed in the literature review above, teachers provide confirmation to immigrant students that they are supported and protected by the national ingroup they represent, and they perform a critical norm-setting role that mirrors or contests the attitudes of the larger national society (E. G. Cohen & Lotan, 1995; E. G. Cohen & Roper, 1972; Parker, 2012; Subedi, 2008). As teachers provide the crucial adult support that helps provide access to academic and social support systems and contribute to the daily experience of students in schools (Brinkworth et al., 2018; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Wentzel, 1998), the role of teachers is therefore central in establishing school norms of respect and caring across difference (Banks, 2009). Since the questions in this scale reflect on students' beliefs that their teachers are fair and caring (e.g., "Most of my teachers treat me fairly" or "Most teachers are interested in students' well-being"), a positive correlation between this indicator and national identity means that immigrant students with higher sense of national identity have teachers who create fair and caring classrooms. This corresponds with Benner and Graham's (2011) findings among Spanish-speaking Latino youth that school climate, and especially a climate in which students are treated unfairly, correlates significantly with students' experience of discrimination in schools. As discussed above, Brezicha and Miranda (2022) describe fair and caring teacher practices as creating "nested" (p. 2) spaces of inclusion in which inclusion in the school resonates outward to a sense of national inclusion. A fair, respectful, and caring relationship between students and their teachers is, in the results of the present study, positively correlated with immigrant students' sense of national inclusion.

### ***Peer Relationships***

Related to the findings above, the results in this study confirm the important role played by students' peer relationships in their schools. Those students who described themselves as being in schools where students were respectful and kind to each other were more likely to indicate a stronger sense of national identity. These findings align with social identity theory's self-categorization assumptions (Tajfel, 1981; Turner et al., 1987), which hold that individuals place themselves into groups based on their interactions with others around them, and positive interactions lead to a greater sense of group inclusion. The consistently positive and significant results for peer relationships found in this study lends support to an ecological model of immigrant acculturation which holds that, as the proximal context of the school mirrors the dispositions of the wider society, students will form their beliefs about that larger society through these peer-to-peer and teacher-to-student interactions (Berry, 2006a; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Rumbaut, 2008; Sam et al., 2006). Social mirroring in the context of the school (C. Suárez-Orozco, 2005) communicates to immigrant youth what their settlement society thinks about them, thus strengthening or weakening their sense of belonging. For the students included in this study, the proximal context of the school plays a significant and positive role in predicting their sense of national belonging.

### ***Bullying***

As noted above, the bullying variable and the peer effects indicator of students' attitudes toward ethnic rights were only significant in two analyses. Bullying, which I have elsewhere identified to be a significant predictor of national identity for immigrant students (Gibbs, 2019; Gibbs & Pivovarova, 2020, 2021), was a significant predictor in

the present study only in the case of immigrant students living in Eastern Europe. I see two possible explanations for this unexpected result. First, since my prior studies were conducted using OLS regression, it is possible that some of variance for bullying in the previous study was, in fact, part of the between-school variance which was not accounted for in the OLS regression. While my prior study included fixed effects for nations, schools were not included as fixed effects in that study due the large number of schools included in this study (see Appendix C). Second, it may be that the school climate factors provided in the full model used here accounted for some of the variance previously explained by the bullying index. In particular, the scale for student-to-student relationships used here, with its question, "Most students at my school treat each other with respect," has conceptual overlap with the construct of bullying. And, indeed, peer relationships were, ultimately, a positive and significant factor in all of the models estimated here. Thus, despite the lack of significance for bullying in this study, it is nevertheless evident that immigrant students who reported a school climate with disrespectful peer relationships were predicted to report a lower sense of national identity. In other words, poor peer relationships in school—whether conceived as general disrespect or in more direct forms of bullying—negatively predict immigrant students' sense of national identity.

### ***Ethnic Rights***

The peer effects variable indicating classmates' attitudes toward the rights of ethnic minorities was significant only in the case of immigrant students' expected future electoral participation. Since future electoral participation has been theoretically portrayed as a signal of immigrant students' sense of national inclusion (Motti-Stefanidi

et al., 2012), it was unexpected to find that this factor was not significant for the analyses of national identity. However, this may be due to the variegated nature of the immigrant experience, such as the strength of ethnic identity relative to national identity (Phinney, Berry, Sam, et al., 2006)—factors that were not available for analysis within the ICCS dataset. While prior research by Berry et al. (Berry et al., 2006a; Berry & Kalin, 1979) has found that immigrants' successful integration is significantly related to the attitudes of non-immigrant students towards their immigrant peers, the formation of ethnic and national identities in the presence of perceived discrimination has differed depending on time in the country, cultural distance, racial difference, parental support, and language fluency, among other factors (de Vroome et al., 2014; Grigoryev & van de Vijver, 2017; Phinney, Berry, Sam, et al., 2006; Polek et al., 2010; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Reeskens & Wright, 2014; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006; White & Glick, 2009). The availability in the ICCS of variables such as these may have allowed me to control for these factors and detect a significant peer effect.

Nevertheless, despite its minimal presence as a significant peer-level effect, at the national level, there remains a significant positive correlation for the MIPEX Anti-Discrimination subindex, demonstrating that contexts of reception have significant implications for immigrant students' sense of national inclusion.

### **Student-Demographic Factors**

The inclusion of gender, SES, and immigration generation in this study allowed me to control for several factors known to complicate the reliability of student perceptions of school climate (Thapa et al., 2013). Further, these variables also allowed

me to explore in what ways these demographic factors may relate to the formation of national identity, when controlling for national and school climate factors.

### *Socioeconomic Status*

I found that SES was a significant factor in national identity only in the case of the Southern European region, where the relationship was negative. As the Northern European region had the poorest immigrants and wealthiest nationals, the fact that SES was not a factor in these nations may indicate that their largely wealthy national populations see immigrants as less of a labor market threat to their economic wellbeing than in Southern European countries in which the socio-economic gap is narrower (Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). If, according to social identity theory, this social dynamic is reflected back through the attitudes of students, this dynamic would correspond with the negative association in Southern Europe between SES and national identity. However, as this region recorded no significant relationship between the peer effects for ethnic rights, it may be that other factors are at work. Indeed, as discussed above, prior research on the role of SES and national identity formation is mixed, as positive associations were previously identified in the ICSEY study between SES and national identity (Phinney et al., 2006)—the opposite effect of that found here, and theoretically in conflict with the labor-market conflict theory for which Grigoryan (2016) offered supporting evidence in his study of the 2003 International Social Survey Programme and Russian respondents' attitudes toward immigrants. Further research is needed to better understand these results—and, indeed, to identify at a more fundamental level as to whether or not this dynamic is relevant to the formation of young immigrants' national identity in schools.



Conversely, the results above indicate that SES *was* a positive and significant predictor of immigrant students' expectation of future electoral participation. This corresponds with a long tradition of prior research which has found that SES to be a significant predictor of formal political and electoral participation (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Verba et al., 1995), and the present study offers extended support for this thesis. In addition, in combination with the negative correlation of SES with national identity in Southern Europe, this positive correlation of SES with expected electoral participation complicates the theory discussed in the school participation section above—namely, that future electoral participation signals the development of students' national identity (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). It may be that, at least among some subpopulations, having higher levels of SES may predict lower levels of national identity but higher levels of anticipated electoral participation. These results suggest the need for further exploration as to how immigrants' national identity may be linked to—or, sometimes, become separated from—electoral participation. For example, as discussed in the literature review chapter above, Portes et al. (Portes & Lagae, 2017; Rumbaut, 2008) have described a disconnect between national identity and electoral participation as “reactive ethnicity,” in which immigrant minorities resist discrimination in a settlement nation by building ethnic solidarity—apart from national identity—and by engaging in political and electoral action. In Çelik's (2015) study of second-generation Turkish immigrant youth in low-income schools in Germany, the researcher described the way that adolescents' experience of discrimination in German schools led these Turkish youth—who were German citizens—to feel alienated from their settlement nation. As one participant in Çelik's study explained, “Having a German passport will not make me German”

(p. 1654). Thus, there are socioeconomic conditions under which the legal citizenship, with its access to electoral participation, can proceed along a separate path from national identity formation. Whether reactive ethnicity or other regional dynamics are at work in these seemingly conflicted results requires further research.

### *Gender*

The all-students all-nations model above (Table 3) revealed a difference between boys and girls, with European boys having higher levels of national identity on average than girls. However, the immigrant-only models revealed few differences between the ways that national identity related to the variables introduced in this study. In all of the immigrants-only models (Tables 4 and following), which included both boys and girls and demarked gender by a dummy variable, there were no significant differences for gender in any of the models. When immigrant males and females were analyzed separately (Tables 8 and 9), some minor differences were evident. In the student demographics-only models, both immigrant boys and girls had positive and significant relationships between MIPEX index and national identity, yet, for girls, this relationship was no longer significant when school climate perceptions were introduced into the model. For boys, MIPEX retained significance in both models, and SES became significantly and negatively related to national identity after school climate variables were introduced (though the strength of this relationship was not as strong as factors such as MIPEX or school climate). In other words, immigrant boys from lower-SES families are predicted to report higher levels of national identity, while boys from wealthier families report lower levels of national identity. This distinction between the relationships of SES and boys' psycho-cultural adaptation was previously identified by Sam et al.

(2008)'s study of 15-year-old immigrant adolescents in five European nations, which found that boys from lower-SES families acculturate more quickly than boys from higher-SES families. Given that the lower-SES families in the present study were located in higher-MIPEX nations, and given that MIPEX is positively related to boys' sense of national identity, it is possible that the SES relationship for boys reflects underlying MIPEX differences in contexts of reception. In either event, for both boys and girls, the school climate indicators were similar for both in strength and significance. Thus, in this analysis, it can be said that immigrant boys' sense of national identity was more closely related to both national policy context and socioeconomic status than it was for girls, but that school climate nevertheless plays a stronger role in supporting the formation of national identity.

### ***Immigrant Generation***

The dummy variable for immigrant generation was not significant in any of the models analyzed in this study. When controlling for differences between schools and between nations, neither the student demographics-only model nor the full school climate model revealed any significant difference in the strength of national identity by immigrant generation, regardless of whether the analysis was run separately by region, gender, or policy index. Neither was generation significant in the secondary outcome variables of anticipated futural political and electoral participation.

These results differ from prior research which found an immigrant paradox in which first-generation immigrants surpassed their second-generation immigrant and non-immigrant peers in their developmental adaptation (Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Monscheuer, 2020; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; D. Rutkowski et al., 2014). It is possible that

additional controls not available in the present dataset might have drawn out this distinction more clearly. For instance, controls for the length of time spent in the settlement nation, racial distance, or academic ability—additional variables known from prior research to influence immigrant students’ adaptation (Phinney, 2000; Phinney et al., 2001)—may have provided sufficient demographic and contextual controls to draw out these distinctions.

However, it may also be that the national and school climate variables included in this analysis accounted for sufficient variance in immigrant generation as to make this distinction insignificant. Certainly, as discussed in the literature review above, not all researchers have found strong evidence for an immigrant paradox. Sam et al.’s (2008) study of immigrant youth in five European nations found that the immigrant paradox pertained more to school adjustment than to psychosocial adaptation, with no significant differences between generational status. And while Rutkowski et al.’s (2014) analysis of the 2009 ICCS dataset found significant relationships between immigrant generation and students’ positive attitudes toward their settlement country, their model did not include a separate variable for student-student relationships or for national policy contacts, both of which were included here. In other words, it is possible that the differences between national policy contexts and school climate largely explain many of the differences previously found between immigrant generations. While differences may exist between the first- and second-generation immigrant experience in areas other than national identity, national identity for both generations was largely predicted in this analysis by school climate.

## **Implications**

Taken together, the present study advances prior research on the role of school climate in immigrant adaptation by demonstrating that, for immigrant students in Europe, the positive relationship between an inclusive school climate and the formation of national identity can mediate the detrimental effects of weak immigrant policy provisions in the national context, as indicated by MIPeX index. In this section, I draw from these results several implications for policy and practice.

### **National Contexts**

At a national level, the results in the study above demonstrate the relationship between the national policy context and immigrant students' acculturation. In combination with the extensive findings of prior research provided in the literature review, the evidence in the present study points to the critical role of national policy in supporting immigrant students' understanding that they are members—in fact, proud members, according to the ICCS *NATIONALID* questionnaire items—of a national community. Heated rhetoric at the national level and reactionary policymaking increase the likelihood that immigrant children will be left feeling alienated and marginalized—a proven recipe for reactive ethnicity and social conflict. The results of the present study suggest that creating immigrant integration policies which directly benefit immigrant youth can mitigate these risks. Such policies, such as the creation of legal pathways for immigrant students (most of whom had little control over their lawful status in the country), or policies that keep—or bring—immigrant families together create better acculturated young people who are both proud and thankful for their settlement country—for the country they come to perceive as their own.

In addition, national-level policy can help to promote practices that create an inclusive school environment. And, in fact, nations have begun to promote practices that create school ecosystems which advance inclusion and the holistic wellbeing of students (Cowan et al., 2013; European Commission, 2022; USDOE, 2021). In the United States, for example, the federal government’s Office of Safe and Supportive Schools, in alignment with the Every Student Succeeds Act’s 2015 guidance to include school climate in state accountability systems (Jordan & Hamilton, 2019; Schweig et al., 2019; USDOE, 2019), has created programs to promote and fund state initiatives that aim to create positive school climate (Center on PBIS, 2022; USDOE, 2022), and 19 US states require or encourage districts to administer school climate surveys in their schools (NASBE, 2022). In Europe, the EU’s “Five Pillars” strategic plan incorporates inclusive schooling as a principal aim for continuous improvement, specifically aiming to bring students together across cultural and racial divides to foster social cohesion (European Commission, 2022). Funding and extending programs and policies such as these have direct implications for immigrant students’ national acculturation and integration while benefiting all children, regardless of migration status.

### **School Climate**

As was discussed in the literature review section above, national policy contexts are filtered through the dispositions of teachers and students in school. As Kim and Byun (2019) demonstrated, the national mood that non-immigrant students adopt moves in consonance with the MIPEX index and, as demonstrated here, immigrant students’ dispositions toward their settlement nations are also sensitive to the MIPEX index—for better or for worse. Yet, despite the xenophobic tones often signaled by protectionist

policies, educators have reason to believe that the inclusive communities they seek to build can effectively contravene that influence.

### ***Fostering Engagement In the School***

As discussed above, an effective school climate sets the stage for optimal intergroup contact. As seen in the results of this study, positive relationships between teachers and students, between students and their peers, participatory engagement in the life of the school, and civil dialogue in the classroom all predict national identity. A growing research base has demonstrated that a positive school climate can emerge regardless of the socioeconomic status of the community, creating safe spaces in troubled communities in which youth can build social cohesion and trust across difference and moderate xenophobic attitudes (C. Flanagan et al., 2010; C. A. Flanagan & Stout, 2010; Karakos et al., 2016; Spyropoulou et al., 2020; Thapa et al., 2013).

While a number of research-based school-wide frameworks exist to guide schools in the development of strong peer relationships in the schools (Banks, 2019; M. W. Berkowitz et al., 2017; CASEL, 2022; Center on PBIS, 2022; Gould et al., 2011; J. V. Lerner et al., 2009; R. M. Lerner et al., 2005; Responsive Classroom, 2022; USDOE, 2022), the primary point of contact for all of these programs are the teachers who structure the optimal conditions for positive intergroup relationships. Prior research has found significant and positive relationships between school climate and teachers' self-efficacy for the enactment of school climate best practices, yet not all teachers feel adequately prepared for this work (Li, 2021). System-wide teacher training initiatives—supported by non-profit organizations, such as the Center for Learning in Practice's Refugee Educator Academy—can provide teachers with the resources they need to

facilitate rich intergroup engagements which allow immigrant students to share their experiences with those who differ from them in a context of respect and inclusion (Banks, 2001, 2009; Parker & Bickmore, 2020; Subedi, 2008). Classroom dialogue can be directed toward issues of concern to immigrants by working interculturally to represent the diversity of immigrant backgrounds in the curriculum (Banks, 2009; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). Curricular supports for teachers can further facilitate an inclusive environment, and a growing international movement to introduce cosmopolitan, intercultural, global competence into schools and teacher preparation programs—as signaled by OECD’s introduction of global competence measures into the 2018 PISA—may provide a framework for fostering school climates in which immigrant children are better understood and valued by their school communities (OECD, 2020; Reimers, 2010; Zhao, 2010).

Reducing the size of student groups in the classroom can amplify the effectiveness of teachers. Working with smaller heterogeneous groupings of immigrant and non-immigrant students under the direction of adults has been found to further leverage the value of dialogue for immigrant inclusion (Valero et al., 2018). However, the funding and staffing models employed in most countries limit the number of adults in the classroom, making it impractical for teachers to structure dialogic learning in teacher-led small group discussions. The challenge to bring such heterogeneous groups together is further accentuated when immigrant students are placed into separate streams—or even into special education programs—due to language ability or missing academic content knowledge (Ansalone, 2003; Artiles & Trent, 1994; Schachner, Juang, et al., 2018; Selimos & Daniel, 2017, 2017; Youdell, 2003), as separately streaming immigrant



students or assigning them disproportionately to special education programs over the course of many years limits the opportunities for dialogue that might provide opportunities to foster belonging with their non-immigrant peers (Valero et al., 2018). The use of teaching teams (MLFTC, 2020) can both introduce greater instructional diversity into the classroom and incorporate additional adults through the inclusion of parents and community partners. When these teams are trained for this work, schools can provide smaller, more-intentionally diverse groups of students under the nurture of adults who can facilitate the development of authentic and humanizing relationships. Providing regional- or state-level support to local districts and schools on how to introduce and train community educators for roles such as these will capitalize on the value of teacher-student, student-student, and classroom dialogue factors for immigrant inclusion that have been documented in the present study.

### ***Fostering Engagement in the Community***

Schools can also support the immigrant student experience by engaging the parents of immigrants. Parents provide a first line of defense for helping schools better understand the processes of alienation that are in play within their schools. Through parent connections, teachers and school leaders hear the case-by-case stories on how their immigrant students may be suffering from poor peer relationships, how they may feel mistreated by teachers, or how they may feel excluded from the participatory processes of the school. A wide-ranging literature has demonstrated the ways in which parental engagement supports student learning (Barger et al., 2019; Boonk et al., 2018; Hattie, 2008; Jeynes, 2007).

This engagement, however, must be school-initiated, as immigrant parents differ in the level of engagement they are able to provide (Antony-Newman, 2019; Turney & Kao, 2009), and waiting for parents to initiate contact fails to appreciate the unique challenges immigrant parents face in supporting their children through their school experiences. For instance, the culture of schooling differs from nation to nation, and immigrant parents who are fluent in a language of the settlement nation may nevertheless be separated by cultural distance from the nation's school culture and may not always understand the values and processes that are at play in their children's education (Antony-Newman, 2019; Turney & Kao, 2009; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). Further, immigrant parents also differ in their levels of "school-specific social capital"—the number of relationships they turn to in order to support and advocate for their children (Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Turney & Kao, 2009). In addition, language barriers also add to the challenge that many immigrant parents face in their efforts to support their children's success, with immigrant parents sometimes unable to communicate with teachers and school staff to support their children (Mogge et al., 2017; S. Nieto, 2020; Shufflebarger Snell, 2018). Factors such as language, cultural distance, and school-specific capital complicate the job of otherwise dedicated and optimistic parents who seek to support their children in school.

Many schools respond to these needs by providing direct services or collaborating with community organizations to help parents overcome these barriers (de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2017), combining adult language learning with network-building to cultivate trust and understanding between parents and school staff, increasing the school-specific social capital of parents, and extending their resource networks to trusted nationals who

directly support their children (A. M. Nieto & Yoshikawa, 2013). Such school-family linkages have been found to be especially advantageous for lower-SES families and offer opportunities for families to extend their network to other immigrant families in different ethnic communities (Benner et al., 2016). A number of community organizations in the United States collaborate with public schools to provide legal services using the school as a central hub, as is the case with Logan Square Neighborhood Association in Chicago (Hong, 2011), whose mission is to develop “full-service community schools” (LSNA, 2020); in some cases, as with the Framingham Adult ESL Plus program in Framingham, Massachusetts, these partnerships are structured by local municipal governments (FAESLP, 2022; Heller & Slungaard Mumma, 2020). By partnering with organizations and municipal governments, schools can facilitate educational services to immigrant families, coordinate language programs, and provide guidance on navigating health care and immigration policy (A. M. Nieto & Yoshikawa, 2013; NYIC, 2020). These outreaches offer a first line of defense in schools’ holistic support of immigrant children, allowing schools to support families—and families to support schools—by bridging families and schools and by concentrating key services that support immigrant children and their families.

Making the school a hub for whole-family inclusion, a central point for linking together immigrant families with the government offices and non-profit organizations that exist to serve those immigrant families offers a powerful message of inclusion. In this way, the local public school becomes an official, government-endorsed site of inclusion not only for students themselves but for the entire family.

## **Limitations**

This study is subject to several limitations. First, and most importantly, this analysis is cross-sectional in nature and thus can only suggest, rather than demonstrate, causal connections between school climate and immigrants' acculturative response. In this respect, studies such as the present one provide a helpful exploration to guide longitudinal or qualitative research, which in turn can further inform future data collection and refine the questionnaires used in studies such as these (Creswell et al., 2007; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Second, this study has limited generalizability. The nations sampled in this study were European nations and, thus, the students represent a European population. However, even within the European Union, the individual historical context of a nation must be considered in any attempt at generalization. Germany provides a classic example of this limitation, as the nation's unique 20<sup>th</sup>-century history has created a context in which common patriotic symbols—such as the flag—have only recently begun to enter shared notions of national identity (Matafora et al., 2021). Thus, the present study provides a starting point for exploring these dynamics on a country-by-country basis.

Third, the ICCS database does not contain a consistent means for discerning the country of origin or ethnicity of each immigrant student. If this information was available, it would be possible to compute a cultural distance variable by which immigrants are ranked as immigrants from within Western or Eastern Europe or whether the immigrant is from outside of the EU. As discussed above, the degree of cultural difference between the country or origin and settlement nation (differences in race, language, religion, SES, etc.) has been found to predict the psychological adaptation and

degree of perceived discrimination experienced by immigrants (Polek et al., 2010). The inclusion of these variables on future versions of the student questionnaire would allow researchers to undertake richer analyses of the relationship of demographics to immigrant acculturation.

Fourth, the ICCS does not provide data on how long students have been in the country, which is a key factor in immigrant acculturation (Berry et al., 2006b; de Vroome et al., 2014). For instance, a student whose family moved to the country one year after the child's birth is likely to encounter fewer challenges resulting from language mastery and cultural understanding than a child of similar SES whose family moved the year before the ICCS was administered. The lack of variables for time-in-country means that there is currently no way to distinguish between these two students within the ICCS data. The inclusion of this key data point would have helped to more accurately control for the effects of school climate on national identity formation.

### **Future Research**

These limitations suggest three new directions for future study. First, given the argument advanced in this study that students' sense of national identity is connected to their sense of belonging in the context of the school, it would be helpful to more directly analyze the relationship between school climate features and students' direct statements of belonging. The PISA student questionnaire (OECD, 2019) incorporates a set of questions designed to measure students' sense of belonging. These questions ask students to express their level of agreement with the following statements: "I feel like an outsider (or left out of things) at school," "I make friends easily at school," "I feel like I belong at school," "I feel awkward and out of place in my school," "Other students seem to like

me,” and “I feel lonely at school.” The PISA also includes a range of school climate variables which largely overlap with the variables included in this study. Replicating—or partly replicating—using the present study with PISA’s data from the same countries used here and using school belonging as an outcome should produce similar outcomes for immigrant students as national identity variable used here, thus providing further validation to the SIT and bioecological assumptions employed in the present study.

Second, this exploratory study has exposed school dynamics that warrant further analysis through qualitative case study. The present study emerged from my experiences of observing the dynamics of immigrant inclusion and exclusion in the city of Santiago, Dominican Republic, where I lived for eight years. In my time in the city, I worked with three different schools, each of which had vastly different student populations. In one school, a PK-12 English-language international school, students were wealthy and often traveled between countries. One quarter of the student population in that school was migrant, living temporarily or permanently in the Dominican Republic. In the second school, a donor-funded, Spanish-language, PK-6 school serving many high-poverty families, nearly all students were Dominican, with several students of Haitian background. In the third school, another donor-funded school, nearly all students were of Haitian background. Many of the students in the school were stateless, lacking birth certificates and living in the Dominican Republic, which had, controversially, recently revoked its *jus soli* birthright citizenship (Aber & Small, 2013; DeLugan, 2018; Sears, 2014); these students had no claim to citizenship in any nation. In this context, my interest lay in seeking to understand how the experiences of these children differed by both school and neighborhood climate. Given a context in which the national policy was

growing increasingly restrictive to immigration, and given the vast differences in wealth and a privilege between students across these schools, there is value in understanding what steps an individual school can take to build inclusive communities. However, the COVID pandemic and associated travel restrictions—not to mention school closures—fortuitously led me to the present study leveraging data from multiple nations. In the future, building on the present study, case study work in schools that represent differences in student experiences—such as the three schools I described in the Dominican Republic—would provide a context for qualitative exploration of the present study’s findings. Such a study would follow the line of the current study, focusing on immigrant students’ attachment to the settlement nation and the ways in which immigration policy, relationships with teachers, and relationships with peers affected their perceptions of and identification with the nation and plans for future political and electoral engagement. It would explore the specific experiences that positively or negatively left them with a sense of exclusion or inclusion and would seek to outline specific school practices—teacher talk, structures of participatory activities, etc.—that are effective in creating the positive conditions linked in the present study to students’ self-categorization as members of the national community.

### **Conclusion**

For immigrant youth, the development of national identity is a key indicator of healthy childhood development that has been linked in prior research to a broad range of positive long-term outcomes, not only for children themselves but also for their children and grandchildren. Immigrant youth with strong national identities are more likely to become voting and participatory citizens in adulthood and are more likely to find

socioeconomic success in their settlement nation. Such outcomes are of concern not only to the families, friends, and teachers who have contact with these students every day but also to a larger society which desires that all members of the national community contribute to the common good.

For better or worse, however, the policy context in which these students live can positively or negatively impact their sense of national identity—and, therefore, their integration into the settlement nation. The narratives that shape these policies also shape the attitudes of the teachers and fellow students with whom immigrant children interact in schools on a daily basis. Yet, despite these narratives, the results of this study indicate that schools can nevertheless serve as safe havens—countercultural sites of national incorporation in which immigrant children develop strong and positive emotional attachments to the settlement nation. As microcosms of the greater society, schools provide a window for immigrant youth into the complex soul of a settlement nation. By building an inclusive school climate, they serve as bridges to shared national identity.



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APPENDIX A  
INDEX OF VARIABLES

Variable	Description	References
<i>Outcome Variables</i>		
National Identity	<i>NATIONALID</i> : An ICCS scale (S_CNTATT, 0-100, mean 47; higher scores indicate higher levels of national identity) comprised of five items eliciting students' sense of identity within the settlement nation: "The <flag of test country> is important to me" (item IS3G27A); "I have great respect for <country of test>" (item IS3G27B); "In <country of test> we should be proud of what we have achieved" (item IS3G27C); "I am proud to live in <country of test>" (item IS3G27D); and "<country of test> is a better country to live in than most other countries" (item IS3G27E).	Citrin et al., 2001; Fabrykant & Magun, 2016; Huddy, 2016; Huddy & del Ponte, 2019; Karasawa, 2002; Meitinger, 2018; Phinney et al., 2006; Schatz et al., 1999; Smith, 2007; Ziemes et al., 2019
Expected Electoral Participation	<i>ELECPART</i> : An ICCS scale (S_ELECPART, 0-100, mean 52; higher scores indicate higher levels of expected adult electoral participation) comprised of three items eliciting students' beliefs on the likelihood of their future electoral participation: voting in local and national elections and searching for information on candidates before voting.	Appiah, 2007; Callahan et al., 2008; Çelik, 2015; Fabrykant & Magun, 2016; Garcia, 2010; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Huddy, 2016; Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Rumbaut, 2008; D. Rutkowski et al., 2014; Verba et al., 1995
Expected Political Participation	<i>POLPART</i> : An ICCS scale (S_POLPART, 0-100, mean 50; higher scores indicate higher levels of expected adult political participation) comprised of five items eliciting students' beliefs on the likelihood of their future participation in political processes aside other than voting, such as joining a political party or other political organizations; supporting a candidate's election; running for office.	Appiah, 2007; Callahan & Obenchain, 2012; Fabrykant & Magun, 2016; Garcia, 2010; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Huddy, 2016; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Rumbaut, 2008; D. Rutkowski et al., 2014; Samuelsson, 2016; Verba et al., 1995

### *Policy Context*

MIPEX General Index	<i>MIPEX</i> : A national index (0-100, mean 60; higher scores indicate policy contexts that offer higher levels of integration for immigrants) comprised of each nation's policies eight dimensions of immigrant integration: (1) labor market mobility, (2) education of children, (3) political participation, (4) family reunion, (5) access to nationality, (6) health, (7) permanent residence, and (8) anti-discrimination.	Helbling, 2013; Huddleston et al., 2015; Isac et al., 2019; Kim & Byun, 2019
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### *Student Demographics*

SES	<i>SES</i> : An ICCS weighted composite ( <i>S_NISB</i> , -3 to 3, mean 0.02; higher scores indicate higher levels of) comprised of three indices, including the highest occupational status of parents, highest educational level of parents, and number of books at home.	Berry et al., 2006a; Ganzeboom et al., 1992; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; D. Rutkowski et al., 2014; Thapa et al., 2013; UNESCO, 2012; Verba et al., 1995
Male	<i>MALE</i> : A researcher-derived binary variable in which 1 indicates that the student is female and 0 indicates that the student is male.	Barber & Torney-Purta, 2009; Billson, 1995; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Quan et al., 2022; C. Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006
Immigrant	<i>IMMIGRANT</i> : A researcher-derived binary variable in which 1 indicates that the student is either a first-generation immigrant (student and at least one parent born outside the country) or second-generation immigrant (at least one parent born outside the country) and 0 indicates that the student is a non-immigrant (neither the student nor either parent born outside the country)	Dollmann et al., 2014; Jensen, 2001; Schulz et al., 2018
Second Generation	<i>SECOND</i> : A researcher-derived binary variable in which 1 indicates that the student is second-generation immigrant (student born in the country and at least one parent was born outside of the country) and 0 indicates that the student is not a second-generation immigrant.	de Vroome et al., 2014; Fuligni, 1997; Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Peguero & Bondy, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Sam et al., 2008

*School Climate*

Current Participation	<i>CURRENTPART</i> : An ICCS scale (S_SCHPART, 0-100, mean 48; higher scores indicate greater self-perceived current and past participation in the life of the school) comprised of six items describing students' level of engagement in the life of the school, particularly in those capacities in which they are able to shape decision-making on matters that affect them: voting in a school election; becoming a candidate for a student officer position; working to improve the school environment; participating in discussions in a student assembly.	Banks, 2009; Callahan et al., 2008; Callahan & Obenchain, 2012; Peguero & Bondy, 2011; Samuelsson, 2016; Schulz, 2005; Schulz & Sibberns, 2004; Sirlopú & Renger, 2020; Slavin et al., 2003
Future Participation	<i>FUTUREPART</i> : An ICCS scale (S_SCACT, 0-100, mean 49; higher scores indicate greater likelihood of being involved in participatory activities in the school in the future) comprised of five items describing students' likelihood to be involved in school governance activities: voting in a school election; joining a group of students to campaign for an issue; becoming a candidate for a student officer position; participating in discussions in a student assembly; participating in writing articles for a school newspaper or website.	Banks, 2009; Callahan et al., 2008; Callahan & Obenchain, 2012; Peguero & Bondy, 2011; Samuelsson, 2016; Schulz, 2005; Schulz & Sibberns, 2004; Sirlopú & Renger, 2020; Slavin et al., 2003

Efficacy	<p><i>EFFICACY</i>: An ICCS scale (S_VALPARTS, 0-100, mean 50; higher values indicate greater levels of student efficacy) comprised of five items describing students' belief in the effects of student participatory engagement: student participation improves the school; positive changes happen when students work together; students solve problems when they organize in groups to express their opinions; students have more influence when they work together; voting in student elections can make a difference in what happens at school.</p>	<p>Banks, 2009; Gibbs et al., 2021; Schulz, 2005; Schulz &amp; Sibberns, 2004; Slavin et al., 2003</p>
Civic Dialogue	<p><i>CIVICDIALOG</i>: An ICCS scale (S_OPDISC, 0-100, mean 52; higher values indicate greater levels of student-perceived civic dialogue in classrooms) comprised of six items describing students' beliefs about the openness of the classroom to conversations in which conflicting beliefs are surfaced and discussed in a civil and respectful manner: teachers encourage students to express opinions and make up their own minds; students' are willing to express their opinions about political issues and express themselves when opinions differ; teachers encourage students to discuss ideas with people who differ from them; teachers presenting multiple perspectives on issues.</p>	<p>Banks, 2001; Bickmore &amp; Parker, 2014; Flecha, 2014; Jaffe-Walter et al., 2019; Nesdale &amp; Lawson, 2011; Parker, 2012, 2012, 2016; Pavlopoulos &amp; Motti, 2012; Riordan &amp; Ruggiero, 1980; Schwarzenhal et al., 2018; Solbue et al., 2017; Subedi, 2008; Tropp et al., 2016, p. 2016</p>

Teacher Relationships	<p><i>TEACHERREL</i>: An ICCS scale (S_STUTREL, 0-100, mean 52; higher values represent more student-perceived positivity in the quality of student-teacher relationships) comprised of five items describing students' beliefs about the quality of relationships between students and teachers: teachers treat students fairly; students get along with teachers; teachers are interested in students' well-being; teachers listen to the students; teachers provide extra help when needed.</p>	<p>Benner &amp; Graham, 2011; Chiu et al., 2012; E. G. Cohen &amp; Lotan, 1995; E. G. Cohen &amp; Roper, 1972; Gonzales et al., 2015; G. Green et al., 2008; Katz, 1999; Parker, 2012; Schneider &amp; Duran, 2010; Selimos &amp; Daniel, 2017; Stroet et al., 2013; Thapa et al., 2013; Tropp et al., 2016; Zullig et al., 2011</p>
Student Relationships	<p><i>STUDENTREL</i>: An ICCS scale (S_INTACT, 0-100, mean 49; higher values represent more student-perceived positivity in the quality of student-student relationships) comprised of three items describing students' beliefs about the quality of relationships between students in their school: students treat each other with respect; students get along well with each other; the school is a place where students feel safe.</p>	<p>Berry, 2006a; Berry et al., 2006a; Çelik, 2015; Cemalcilar, 2010; DeNicolo et al., 2017; Kirova, 2001; Long et al., 2021; Loukas &amp; Murphy, 2007; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012; C. Suárez-Orozco &amp; Suárez-Orozco, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Vedder et al., 2006; Walsh et al., 2010</p>
Bullying	<p><i>BULLYING</i>: An ICCS scale (S_ABUSE, 0-100, mean 49; which higher values represent more student-perceived experiences of bullying) comprised of six items describing the frequency over the past three months with which a student was victimized: the student was called by an offensive nickname; others said things to make others laugh about the student; a peer threatened to hurt the student; a peer physically attacked the student; a peer broke something that belonged to the student; a peer posted offensive pictures or text about the student online.</p>	<p>Acosta et al., 2019; Bayram Özdemir et al., 2016, 2018; Berry, 2006a; Bjereld et al., 2015; Fandrem et al., 2009; Maynard et al., 2016; McKenney et al., 2006; Modecki et al., 2014; Pereira et al., 2004; Petrie, 2014; Silva et al., 2013; Tippett &amp; Wolke, 2014; Underwood &amp; Rosen, 2010; Vitoroulis &amp; Schneider, 2009; Wilson, 2004; Wolke et al., 2000</p>



Ethnic Rights Mean	<p><i>ETHRIGHTS</i>: An ICCS scale (S_ETHRGHT, 0-100, mean 52; higher scores indicate more inclusive and equitable views towards all ethnic groups) comprised of five items regarding those students' attitudes toward ethnic minorities: all ethnic groups should have equal access to education and jobs in the country; schools should respect all ethnic groups equally; all ethnic groups should be encouraged to run for political office; all ethnic groups should have the same rights and responsibilities.</p>	<p>Brezicha &amp; Miranda, 2022; Gonzales et al., 2015, p. 20155; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Orozco &amp; López, 2015; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, et al., 2006; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Portes &amp; Rumbaut, 2001; Portes &amp; Zhou, 1993; A. D. Smith, 1991; C. Suárez-Orozco &amp; Suárez-Orozco, 2009</p>
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APPENDIX B  
SCALING PROCEDURES

To create scaled weights, I began by calculating school weights using the decomposed weight components provided in the ICCS dataset (L. Rutkowski et al., 2010). I derived a student weight variable by multiplying the class base weight indicating the inverse of the class's random selection probability (ICCS variable WGTFACTS), the class weight non-response adjustment (variable WGTADJ2S), and a student non-response adjustment (variable WGTADJ3S). In nearly all cases, all students in each school had the same weights. I calculated a school weight variable by multiplying a school base weight indicating the inverse of the school's selection probability (variable WGTFACT1) and a school weight adjustment for non-response (variable WGTADJ1S). These weights were then scaled—or standardized—by dividing the number of units in each cluster (the number of students in each school) by the sum of the weights for that cluster (Asparouhov, 2006; Mang et al., 2021; Muthén & Muthén, 2008), and the scaled weights used in model estimations. Nations were equally weighted as participating nations constitute a census of all nations that chose to participate rather than a random draw from the participating nations.

## APPENDIX C

### DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS BY NATION AND REGION

Table 13

*Descriptive Statistics, Northern European Nations*

	Variable	Sweden		Finland		Norway		Belgium		Netherlands		Denmark		N. Europe	
		M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE
204	NATIONALID	46.07	0.31	51.28	0.26	52.22	0.16	45.44	0.21	45.59	0.27	47.46	0.21	47.16	0.15
	Non-Immigrant	46.14	0.39	51.47	0.26	52.75	0.16	45.83	0.22	45.99	0.26	47.72	0.23	47.52	0.16
	Immigrant	45.80	0.44	46.49	1.02	48.34	0.35	43.41	0.65	41.70	0.62	44.94	0.52	44.42	0.35
	<i>t-stat</i>	0.53		4.75		11.97		3.42		6.51		4.95		8.42	
	POLPART	50.16	0.24	48.81	0.15	48.58	0.14	46.39	0.30	47.77	0.19	50.84	0.14	48.54	0.10
	Non-Immigrant	49.96	0.28	48.82	0.16	48.54	0.15	45.91	0.26	47.69	0.21	50.81	0.13	48.40	0.11
	Immigrant	51.04	0.47	48.32	0.80	48.92	0.41	48.88	0.73	48.53	0.53	51.04	0.47	49.60	0.27
	<i>t-stat</i>	1.92		0.62		0.87		4.38		1.43		0.49		4.23	
	ELECPART	53.44	0.24	50.73	0.25	54.66	0.15	48.63	0.26	47.01	0.28	52.62	0.20	50.27	0.20
	Non-Immigrant	53.64	0.31	50.89	0.26	55.05	0.14	48.76	0.27	47.19	0.28	52.91	0.19	50.42	0.21
	Immigrant	52.55	0.42	46.56	0.99	51.82	0.42	47.94	0.73	45.30	0.70	49.87	0.50	49.14	0.37
	<i>t-stat</i>	1.82		4.21		7.75		1.05		2.69		6.39		3.38	
	SES	0.038	0.03	0.002	0.04	0.022	0.03	0.017	0.05	0.007	0.04	0.013	0.03	0.016	0.02
	Non-Immigrant	0.155	0.03	0.019	0.04	0.097	0.03	0.149	0.05	0.053	0.04	0.084	0.03	0.088	0.02
Immigrant	-0.481	0.05	-0.450	0.15	-0.531	0.06	-0.662	0.10	-0.444	0.11	-0.673	0.09	-0.527	0.04	
<i>t-stat</i>	11.01		3.09		10.89		8.52		4.81		9.28		15.18		
CURRENTPART	52.76	0.27	48.36	0.30	54.30	0.19	47.14	0.41	42.35	0.38	49.66	0.19	47.71	0.27	
Non-Immigrant	52.65	0.27	48.30	0.30	54.44	0.19	47.28	0.44	42.24	0.39	49.68	0.19	47.56	0.28	
Immigrant	53.24	0.62	50.08	1.19	53.28	0.44	46.43	0.56	43.51	0.64	49.51	0.54	48.80	0.43	
<i>t-stat</i>	0.94		1.46		2.66		1.45		2.02		0.31		2.93		

Variable	Sweden		Finland		Norway		Belgium		Netherlands		Denmark		N. Europe	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
FUTUREPART	46.93	0.23	46.65	0.20	48.95	0.16	45.72	0.27	43.56	0.31	46.90	0.16	45.77	0.15
Non-Immigrant	46.45	0.29	46.62	0.21	48.84	0.16	45.43	0.26	43.41	0.32	46.75	0.17	45.53	0.16
Immigrant	49.06	0.49	47.57	0.98	49.80	0.40	47.21	0.75	45.00	0.65	48.33	0.46	47.55	0.32
<i>t-stat</i>	<i>4.17</i>		<i>0.94</i>		<i>2.34</i>		<i>2.37</i>		<i>2.46</i>		<i>3.39</i>		<i>6.01</i>	
EFFICACY	49.13	0.37	50.26	0.23	50.93	0.17	49.53	0.24	47.63	0.25	49.26	0.21	48.99	0.14
Non-Immigrant	49.00	0.38	50.32	0.24	51.04	0.17	49.41	0.25	47.49	0.25	49.22	0.20	48.91	0.14
Immigrant	49.73	0.55	48.76	1.14	50.15	0.41	50.13	0.53	49.00	0.71	49.64	0.51	49.62	0.29
<i>t-stat</i>	<i>1.49</i>		<i>1.31</i>		<i>2.14</i>		<i>1.31</i>		<i>2.06</i>		<i>0.90</i>		<i>2.41</i>	
CIVICDIALOG	52.62	0.48	49.26	0.22	52.74	0.30	49.77	0.30	47.52	0.25	54.11	0.32	50.24	0.18
Non-Immigrant	52.41	0.53	49.28	0.22	52.75	0.31	49.73	0.30	47.46	0.25	54.14	0.32	50.13	0.18
Immigrant	53.56	0.54	48.79	1.07	52.64	0.44	49.96	0.51	48.13	0.67	53.79	0.72	51.11	0.33
<i>t-stat</i>	<i>1.97</i>		<i>0.45</i>		<i>0.25</i>		<i>0.48</i>		<i>1.03</i>		<i>0.49</i>		<i>3.06</i>	
TEACHERREL	52.54	0.48	52.78	0.29	52.59	0.29	51.21	0.26	49.69	0.33	54.48	0.30	51.59	0.17
Non-Immigrant	52.35	0.53	52.81	0.29	52.66	0.32	51.37	0.26	49.97	0.31	54.62	0.31	51.69	0.17
Immigrant	53.41	0.66	52.17	0.87	52.07	0.58	50.37	0.59	46.94	0.83	53.10	0.55	50.82	0.43
<i>t-stat</i>	<i>1.49</i>		<i>0.75</i>		<i>0.93</i>		<i>1.62</i>		<i>3.90</i>		<i>2.73</i>		<i>2.09</i>	
STUDENTREL	49.79	0.33	50.09	0.24	51.88	0.26	49.79	0.31	51.32	0.28	51.74	0.28	50.77	0.14
Non-Immigrant	49.87	0.35	50.10	0.25	52.01	0.27	50.05	0.31	51.57	0.27	51.82	0.28	50.96	0.14
Immigrant	49.44	0.54	49.84	0.85	50.94	0.48	48.49	0.50	48.82	0.67	50.96	0.56	49.38	0.30
<i>t-stat</i>	<i>0.76</i>		<i>0.29</i>		<i>2.09</i>		<i>3.21</i>		<i>4.22</i>		<i>1.58</i>		<i>5.27</i>	
BULLYING	49.02	0.36	47.70	0.23	50.27	0.30	49.64	0.25	47.25	0.27	48.98	0.23	48.49	0.15
Non-Immigrant	48.86	0.33	47.66	0.24	50.21	0.32	49.40	0.27	47.01	0.28	48.93	0.24	48.29	0.15
Immigrant	49.75	0.72	48.82	1.01	50.69	0.47	50.87	0.46	49.68	0.91	49.47	0.58	50.00	0.35
<i>t-stat</i>	<i>1.39</i>		<i>1.15</i>		<i>0.93</i>		<i>2.86</i>		<i>2.84</i>		<i>0.94</i>		<i>4.99</i>	

Variable	Sweden		Finland		Norway		Belgium		Netherlands		Denmark		N. Europe	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
ETHRIGHTS	57.72	0.30	52.67	0.28	55.61	0.24	50.37	0.29	48.90	0.32	51.21	0.24	52.16	0.22
Non-Immigrant	57.60	0.35	52.70	0.29	55.43	0.24	50.06	0.26	48.70	0.30	50.94	0.25	51.88	0.22
Immigrant	58.25	0.44	51.84	1.02	56.98	0.52	52.00	0.77	50.91	0.98	53.78	0.50	54.27	0.41
<i>t-stat</i>	1.17		0.81		2.97		2.63		2.32		5.43		5.96	
Degrees of Freedom	79		104		73		87		61		108		874	
MIPEX	78		69		69		67		60		59		66	
Labor Market Mobility	98		80		90		64		73		79		80	
Family Reunion	78		68		63		72		56		42		63	
Education	77		60		65		61		50		49		59	
Health	62		53		67		53		55		53		57	
Political Participation	71		79		82		57		52		64		64	
Permanent Residence	79		70		70		86		55		74		69	
Access to Nationality	73		63		52		69		66		58		65	
Anti-Discrimination	85		77		59		78		73		50		73	
Schools ( <i>N</i> )	154		179		148		162		123		183		949	
All Students ( <i>N</i> )	90,163		49,632		49,848		68,498		162,480		47,756		468,377	
Male	44,510		25,541		24,344		34,889		78,397		22,911		230,592	
Female	45,653		24,091		25,504		33,609		84,083		24,845		237,785	
Unweighted	2,831		3,011		5,567		2,762		2,646		5,559		22,376	
Immigrant ( <i>N</i> )	16,600		1,854		5,968		11,073		15,065		4,529		55,089	
Second-Generation	8,193		860		3,005		6,023		9,944		2,917		30,942	
Male	8,661		919		2,876		4,815		6,480		2,180		25,932	
Female	7,939		935		3,092		6,258		8,585		2,348		29,157	
Unweighted	547		118		698		404		236		516		2,519	

*Note:* Student values weighted by total adjusted student sampling weights.

Table 14

*Descriptive Statistics, Southern and Eastern European Nations*

Variable	Italy		Malta		S. Europe		Estonia		Slovenia		Bulgaria		Lithuania		Latvia		E. Europe	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
NATIONALID	46.04	0.22	50.78	0.26	46.07	0.22	48.36	0.41	47.96	0.24	52.13	0.29	47.60	0.26	47.60	0.33	49.60	0.19
Non-Immigrant	46.30	0.23	51.51	0.22	46.33	0.23	49.14	0.39	48.47	0.25	52.18	0.29	47.72	0.26	48.00	0.31	49.90	0.19
Immigrant	43.89	0.45	43.37	0.61	43.89	0.44	40.71	0.71	45.07	0.71	44.55	2.24	41.28	0.94	38.60	1.01	42.97	0.47
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>5.11</i>		<i>13.78</i>		<i>5.16</i>		<i>11.41</i>		<i>4.65</i>		<i>3.41</i>		<i>6.60</i>		<i>9.68</i>		<i>14.31</i>	
POLPART	50.69	0.18	49.88	0.23	50.69	0.19	48.51	0.21	49.09	0.21	49.51	0.28	51.67	0.23	49.84	0.23	49.87	0.16
Non-Immigrant	50.66	0.18	49.67	0.24	50.66	0.19	48.63	0.21	49.05	0.24	49.54	0.28	51.73	0.23	49.80	0.24	49.92	0.17
Immigrant	50.95	0.46	52.07	0.58	50.95	0.47	47.28	0.60	49.34	0.47	45.14	2.61	48.18	1.19	50.55	0.89	48.74	0.38
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>0.60</i>		<i>4.00</i>		<i>0.62</i>		<i>2.24</i>		<i>0.53</i>		<i>1.66</i>		<i>2.91</i>		<i>0.78</i>		<i>2.81</i>	
ELECPART	54.34	0.19	50.26	0.28	54.31	0.19	48.13	0.24	49.75	0.25	49.84	0.27	52.32	0.21	49.64	0.24	50.18	0.15
Non-Immigrant	54.82	0.19	50.38	0.28	54.79	0.19	48.39	0.25	50.23	0.26	49.87	0.27	52.39	0.22	49.81	0.23	50.34	0.15
Immigrant	50.37	0.59	49.04	0.53	50.37	0.58	45.64	0.61	46.97	0.55	46.06	2.97	48.19	0.95	45.86	1.02	46.62	0.40
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>7.21</i>		<i>2.69</i>		<i>7.37</i>		<i>4.28</i>		<i>5.79</i>		<i>1.26</i>		<i>4.25</i>		<i>3.89</i>		<i>8.72</i>	
SES	0.015	0.04	0.030	0.06	0.015	0.04	0.009	0.05	0.003	0.03	0.068	0.04	0.010	0.04	0.001	0.03	0.032	0.03
Non-Immigrant	0.068	0.04	-0.003	0.06	0.067	0.04	0.020	0.05	0.078	0.03	0.067	0.04	0.008	0.04	-0.002	0.03	0.042	0.03
Immigrant	-0.426	0.05	0.368	0.10	-0.422	0.05	-0.102	0.06	-0.425	0.06	0.262	0.22	0.162	0.12	0.066	0.08	-0.199	0.05
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>9.56</i>		<i>4.26</i>		<i>9.12</i>		<i>1.62</i>		<i>7.49</i>		<i>0.89</i>		<i>1.23</i>		<i>0.79</i>		<i>4.61</i>	
CURRENTPART	47.32	0.36	50.64	0.37	47.34	0.36	47.02	0.31	49.57	0.23	49.45	0.34	50.60	0.28	48.13	0.33	49.32	0.18
Non-Immigrant	47.45	0.37	50.60	0.36	47.48	0.37	47.03	0.33	49.73	0.22	49.43	0.34	50.58	0.28	48.26	0.34	49.36	0.18
Immigrant	46.19	0.63	51.02	1.09	46.22	0.61	46.97	0.76	48.68	0.66	52.33	3.34	51.82	1.34	45.17	0.82	48.39	0.46
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>2.20</i>		<i>0.42</i>		<i>2.17</i>		<i>0.08</i>		<i>1.60</i>		<i>0.88</i>		<i>0.91</i>		<i>3.36</i>		<i>2.11</i>	



Variable	Italy		Malta		S. Europe		Estonia		Slovenia		Bulgaria		Lithuania		Latvia		E. Europe	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
FUTUREPART	51.65	0.23	50.56	0.28	51.65	0.23	47.78	0.25	48.78	0.22	50.37	0.30	51.49	0.24	48.69	0.23	49.92	0.15
Non-Immigrant	51.78	0.23	50.48	0.29	51.77	0.24	47.83	0.27	48.91	0.23	50.35	0.29	51.48	0.25	48.76	0.23	49.98	0.15
Immigrant	50.57	0.56	51.29	0.60	50.57	0.54	47.31	0.57	48.04	0.47	53.35	2.49	52.17	1.00	47.15	0.47	48.49	0.38
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>2.08</i>		<i>1.47</i>		<i>2.07</i>		<i>0.82</i>		<i>1.72</i>		<i>1.23</i>		<i>0.67</i>		<i>3.09</i>		<i>3.83</i>	
EFFICACY	51.35	0.17	51.34	0.25	51.35	0.18	51.47	0.29	50.47	0.24	51.16	0.24	48.58	0.24	49.31	0.24	50.28	0.14
Non-Immigrant	51.41	0.19	51.37	0.24	51.41	0.19	51.75	0.30	50.60	0.24	51.15	0.24	48.55	0.24	49.47	0.24	50.33	0.15
Immigrant	50.86	0.51	51.04	0.62	50.86	0.50	48.72	0.66	49.72	0.68	53.06	2.84	50.59	0.84	45.76	0.73	49.27	0.45
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>0.99</i>		<i>0.56</i>		<i>1.00</i>		<i>4.30</i>		<i>1.32</i>		<i>0.68</i>		<i>2.35</i>		<i>5.16</i>		<i>2.29</i>	
CIVICDIALOG	53.37	0.28	49.79	0.25	53.34	0.28	49.58	0.23	49.78	0.29	48.35	0.31	49.24	0.29	48.96	0.24	48.94	0.16
Non-Immigrant	53.53	0.28	49.72	0.24	53.51	0.29	49.72	0.24	49.81	0.28	48.36	0.32	49.27	0.29	49.04	0.25	48.96	0.16
Immigrant	51.98	0.59	50.52	0.86	51.97	0.58	48.21	0.58	49.61	0.59	46.70	1.55	47.74	1.16	47.30	0.72	48.68	0.36
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>2.71</i>		<i>0.97</i>		<i>2.65</i>		<i>2.48</i>		<i>0.39</i>		<i>1.06</i>		<i>1.31</i>		<i>2.35</i>		<i>0.74</i>	
TEACHERREL	52.66	0.29	52.49	0.28	52.66	0.30	48.82	0.30	48.39	0.30	53.31	0.33	50.03	0.34	46.37	0.27	50.55	0.21
Non-Immigrant	52.72	0.29	52.62	0.29	52.72	0.30	49.00	0.31	48.52	0.30	53.31	0.33	50.02	0.35	46.38	0.26	50.66	0.22
Immigrant	52.16	0.69	51.18	0.65	52.15	0.69	47.06	0.60	47.66	0.57	53.12	2.98	50.54	1.20	46.35	0.98	47.97	0.42
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>0.84</i>		<i>2.27</i>		<i>0.85</i>		<i>3.17</i>		<i>1.58</i>		<i>0.07</i>		<i>0.42</i>		<i>0.03</i>		<i>6.11</i>	
STUDENTREL	48.24	0.25	49.19	0.35	48.25	0.27	48.27	0.35	49.22	0.33	50.15	0.31	47.37	0.29	47.14	0.30	48.84	0.18
Non-Immigrant	48.26	0.25	49.33	0.36	48.27	0.28	48.55	0.34	49.28	0.31	50.15	0.31	47.37	0.30	47.21	0.30	48.89	0.18
Immigrant	48.07	0.50	47.71	0.83	48.06	0.51	45.52	0.72	48.88	0.64	51.30	3.17	47.22	1.19	45.41	0.75	47.76	0.46
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>0.38</i>		<i>1.99</i>		<i>0.39</i>		<i>4.40</i>		<i>0.74</i>		<i>0.37</i>		<i>0.13</i>		<i>2.52</i>		<i>2.46</i>	
BULLYING	48.64	0.24	51.89	0.33	48.66	0.24	50.36	0.27	50.91	0.24	50.37	0.34	50.82	0.25	49.71	0.24	50.46	0.17
Non-Immigrant	48.45	0.25	51.79	0.34	48.47	0.25	50.21	0.28	50.78	0.24	50.37	0.35	50.83	0.26	49.58	0.24	50.40	0.17
Immigrant	50.19	0.53	52.86	0.77	50.21	0.53	51.86	0.58	51.66	0.60	50.06	1.90	50.43	1.09	52.49	1.19	51.60	0.40
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	<i>3.11</i>		<i>1.39</i>		<i>3.16</i>		<i>2.70</i>		<i>1.48</i>		<i>0.16</i>		<i>0.34</i>		<i>2.47</i>		<i>2.74</i>	

Variable	Italy		Malta		S. Europe		Estonia		Slovenia		Bulgaria		Lithuania		Latvia		E. Europe	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
ETHRIGHTS	51.73	0.25	50.97	0.25	51.72	0.25	52.78	0.29	51.07	0.25	49.09	0.27	52.99	0.23	47.77	0.23	50.36	0.17
Non-Immigrant	51.52	0.27	50.74	0.25	51.52	0.26	53.04	0.30	50.79	0.28	49.10	0.27	52.99	0.23	47.77	0.23	50.33	0.17
Immigrant	53.41	0.56	53.26	0.66	53.41	0.56	50.16	0.70	52.66	0.65	46.64	2.20	52.82	1.18	47.82	0.73	51.16	0.45
<i>t-stat, p-value</i>	3.25		3.93		3.25		3.71		2.63		1.11		0.15		0.09		1.77	
Degrees of Freedom	95		49		219		89		72		72		144		72		747	
MIPEX	59		40		59		46		46		42		37		31		40	
<i>Labor Market Mobility</i>	66		45		66		73		38		50		40		46		48	
<i>Family Reunion</i>	72		48		72		67		80		64		59		55		64	
<i>Education</i>	34		19		34		58		26		3		17		17		16	
<i>Health</i>	65		45		65		27		18		28		26		17		25	
<i>Political Participation</i>	58		25		58		21		23		13		16		13		16	
<i>Permanent Residence</i>	65		50		65		71		61		67		59		53		63	
<i>Access to Nationality</i>	50		34		50		18		41		21		35		17		26	
<i>Anti-Discrimination</i>	61		51		61		32		67		89		43		34		63	
Schools ( <i>N</i> )	170		47		217		164		145		147		181		147		784	
All Students ( <i>N</i> )	523,508		3,422		526,930		10,074		16,764		47,320		24,399		15,421		113,979	
Male	267,698		1,656		269,353		5,068		8,559		24,959		11,884		7,299		57,769	
Female	255,810		1,766		257,576		5,006		8,205		22,361		12,515		8,122		56,210	
Unweighted	3,251		3,267		6,518		2,753		2,737		2,681		3,435		2,983		14,589	
Immigrant ( <i>N</i> )	56,071		307		56,378		931		2,500		301		440		659		4,831	
Second-Generation	26,162		77		26,239		788		1,931		149		279		512		3,658	
Male	28,952		137		29,089		536		1,396		163		236		358		2,689	
Female	27,119		170		27,289		396		1,104		138		204		301		2,142	
Unweighted	341		291		632		262		392		17		126		136		933	

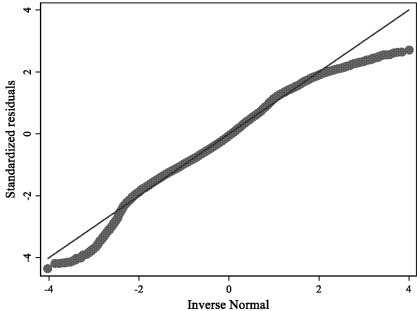
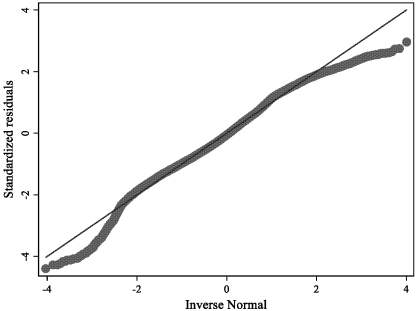
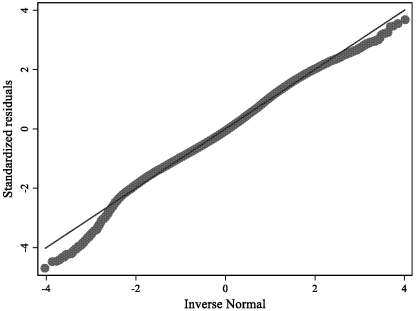
*Note:* Student values weighted by total adjusted student sampling weights.

APPENDIX D  
ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table 15

*National Identity, All Countries, All Students*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)					
	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	
Intercept (National Identity)	48.576	0.709	68.500	< 0.001	-	50.363	2.184	23.060	< 0.001	-	31.243	4.407	7.090	< 0.001	-	
MIPEX General Index						-0.035	0.045	-0.770	0.441	-0.049	-0.025	0.042	0.610	0.539	-0.036	
<i>Student Demographics</i>																
SES						-0.022	0.138	-0.160	0.872	-0.002	-0.287	0.122	2.350	0.019	-0.029	
Male						0.821	0.351	2.340	0.019	0.042	1.350	0.322	4.190	< 0.001	0.069	
Immigrant						-3.442	0.570	-6.040	0.000	-0.103	-3.450	0.499	6.920	< 0.001	-0.104	
<i>School Climate</i>																
Current Participation											0.017	0.006	3.030	0.002	0.017	
Future Participation											0.101	0.011	9.610	< 0.001	0.099	
Efficacy											0.117	0.010	11.790	< 0.001	0.113	
Civic Dialogue											0.018	0.008	2.250	0.025	0.018	
Teacher Relationships											0.117	0.011	11.050	< 0.001	0.118	
Student Relationships											0.120	0.007	17.880	< 0.001	0.117	
Bullying											-0.004	0.009	0.440	0.663	-0.004	
Ethnic Rights Mean											-0.116	0.081	1.440	0.150	-0.049	
<i>Variance Components</i>																
Nation-Level Variance																5.95 (6.29%)
School-Level Variance																5.18 (5.62%)
Student-Level Variance																4.28 (5.21%)
																7.67 (8.12%)
																6.99 (7.58%)
																80.85 (85.59%)
																80.05 (86.80%)
																71.97 (87.59%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>																
Nation-Level																0.063
School-Level																0.144
																0.056
																0.132
																0.052
																0.124

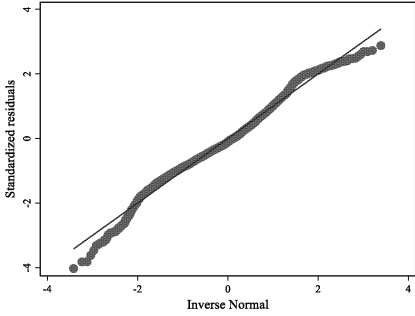
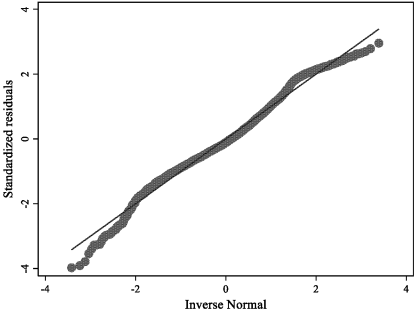
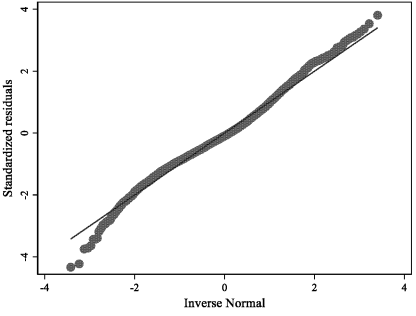
	Null (M0)	Student (M1)	School (M2)
<i>Model Fit</i>			
AIC	27,5512.9	27,5047.4	27,0945.5
$R_1^2$	-	0.02	0.13
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>			

Note:  $N = 43,482$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 16

*National Identity, All Countries, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)				
	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	44.073	0.646	68.200	< 0.001	-	38.299	2.172	17.630	< 0.001	-	12.991	4.696	2.770	0.006	-
MIPEX General Index						0.100	0.038	2.620	0.009	0.135	0.072	0.030	2.360	0.018	0.097
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES						-0.282	0.186	-1.520	0.129	-0.033	-0.374	0.217	1.720	0.085	-0.043
Male						-0.498	0.302	-1.650	0.099	-0.026	-0.009	0.329	0.030	0.979	0.000
Immigrant						0.701	0.669	1.050	0.295	0.036	0.681	0.622	1.090	0.274	0.035

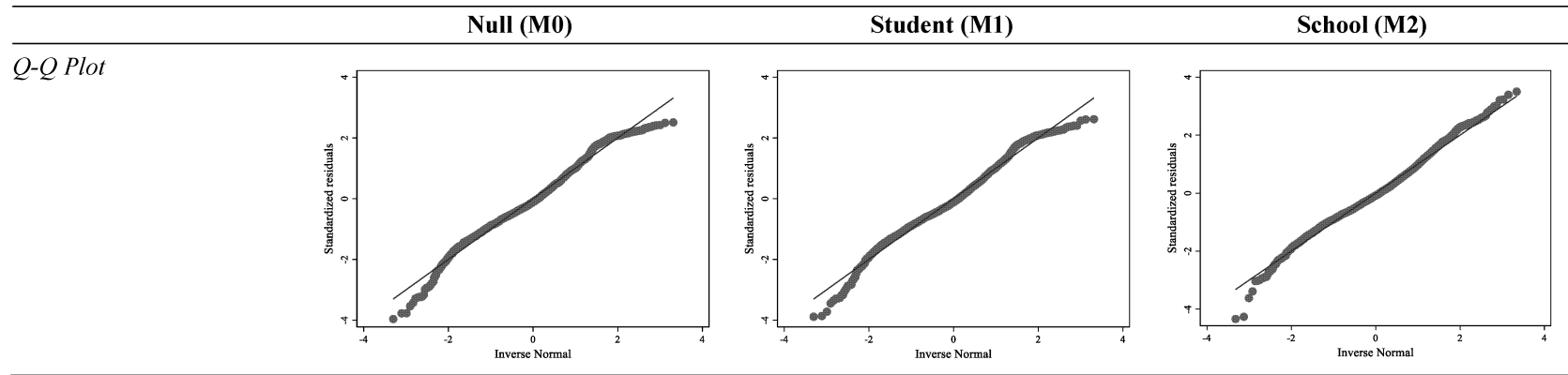
	Null (M0)	Student (M1)	School (M2)
<i>School Climate</i>			
Current Participation			-0.018 0.023 0.790 0.432 -0.019
Future Participation			0.145 0.017 8.530 < 0.001 0.145
Efficacy			0.102 0.022 4.620 < 0.001 0.102
Civic Dialogue			0.070 0.020 3.420 0.001 0.074
Teacher Relationships			0.140 0.016 8.680 < 0.001 0.148
Student Relationships			0.115 0.014 8.190 < 0.001 0.118
Bullying			-0.006 0.017 0.360 0.720 -0.006
Ethnic Rights Mean			-0.012 0.070 0.170 0.867 -0.005
<i>Variance Components</i>			
Nation-Level Variance	4.21 (4.70%)	2.44 (2.79%)	1.61 (2.19%)
School-Level Variance	8.72 (9.74%)	8.48 (9.70%)	6.63 (8.97%)
Student-Level Variance	76.58 (85.56%)	76.46 (87.50%)	65.60 (88.84%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>			
Nation-Level	0.047	0.028	0.022
School-Level	0.144	0.125	0.111
<i>Model Fit</i>			
AIC	26,168.9	26,1258.9	25,599.1
$R_1^2$	-	0.02	0.17
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>			
			

Note:  $N = 4,084$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 17

*National Identity, Northern European Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)					
	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	
Intercept (National Identity)	45.022	0.958	46.990	< 0.001	-	33.759	8.373	4.030	< 0.001	-	9.008	8.529	1.060	0.291	-	
MIPEX General Index						0.165	0.124	1.330	0.183	0.117	0.137	0.076	1.790	0.073	0.097	
<i>Student Demographics</i>																
SES						-0.372	0.208	-1.780	0.074	-0.045	-0.415	0.247	1.680	0.093	-0.050	
Male						-0.576	0.387	-1.490	0.137	-0.030	-0.390	0.366	1.060	0.287	-0.021	
Immigrant						0.569	0.999	0.570	0.569	0.030	0.555	0.952	0.580	0.560	0.029	
<i>School Climate</i>																
Current Participation											-0.011	0.024	0.470	0.642	-0.012	
Future Participation											0.153	0.029	5.250	< 0.001	0.156	
Efficacy											0.098	0.031	3.200	0.001	0.099	
Civic Dialogue											0.065	0.027	2.390	0.017	0.071	
Teacher Relationships											0.136	0.021	6.370	< 0.001	0.147	
Student Relationships											0.133	0.019	7.060	< 0.001	0.138	
Bullying											0.023	0.013	1.800	0.072	0.025	
Ethnic Rights Mean											-0.062	0.065	0.940	0.345	-0.029	
<i>Variance Components</i>																
Nation-Level Variance																4.22 (4.80%)
School-Level Variance																5.73 (6.53%)
Student-Level Variance																77.85 (88.67%)
																3.37 (3.89%)
																5.44 (6.29%)
																77.71 (89.82%)
																2.24 (3.09%)
																3.03 (4.17%)
																67.37 (92.75%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>																
Nation-Level																0.048
School-Level																0.113
																0.039
																0.102
																0.030
																0.073
<i>Model Fit</i>																
AIC																16,332.1
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>																-
																16,329.11
																0.01
																15,987.7
																0.17



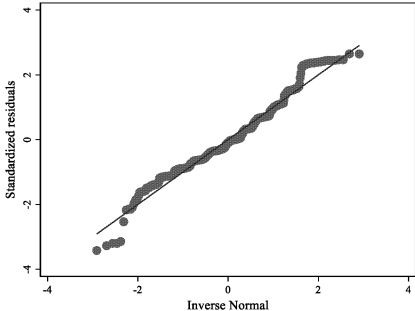
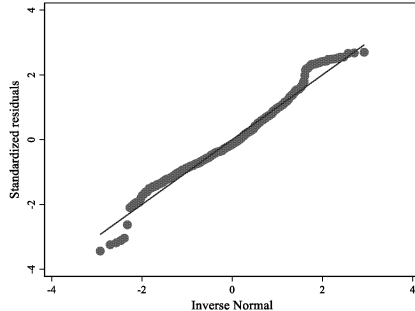
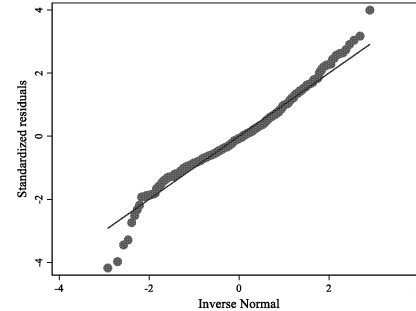
Note:  $N = 2,519$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 18

*National Identity, Southern European Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)				
	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	43.774	0.417	104.96	< 0.001	-	44.706	2.315	19.310	< 0.001	-	25.300	7.406	3.420	0.001	-
MIPEX General Index						-0.028	0.046	-0.620	0.535	-0.031	-0.053	0.043	1.250	0.212	-0.059
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES						-1.004	0.359	-2.800	0.005	-0.117	-1.356	0.363	3.730	< 0.001	-0.159
Male						-0.062	0.795	-0.080	0.938	-0.004	0.606	0.755	0.800	0.423	0.035
Immigrant						1.098	0.824	1.330	0.183	0.061	0.723	0.694	1.040	0.298	0.040
<i>School Climate</i>															
Current Participation											0.028	0.036	0.790	0.429	0.033
Future Participation											0.139	0.047	2.990	0.003	0.151



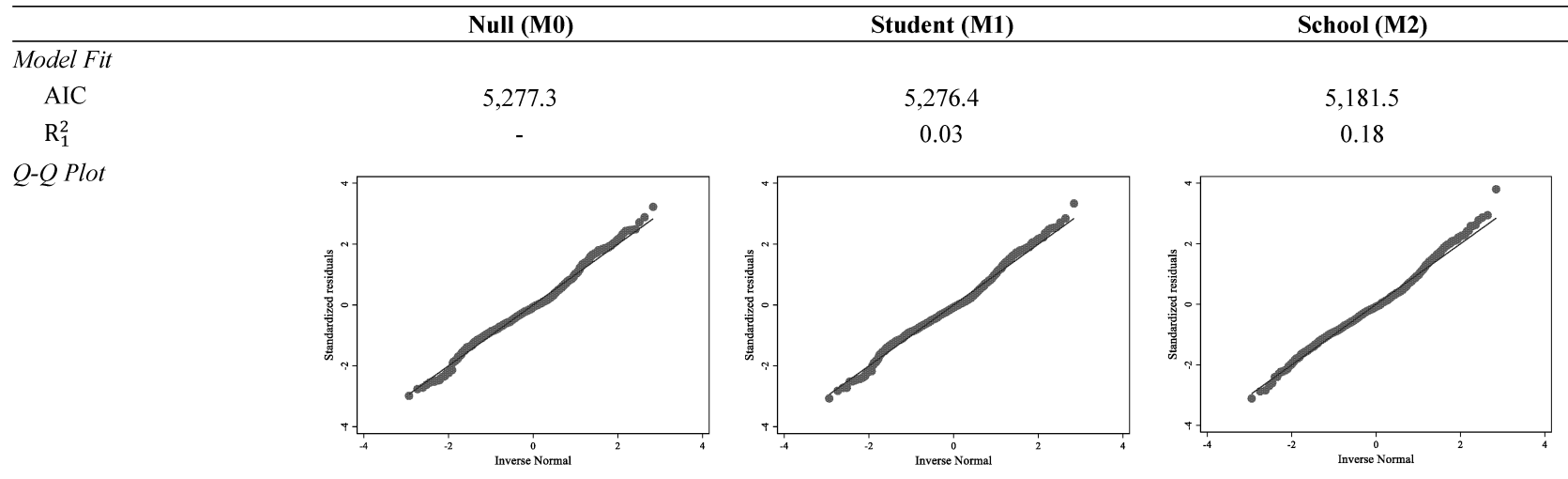
	Null (M0)	Student (M1)	School (M2)				
Efficacy			0.099	0.041	2.440	0.015	0.106
Civic Dialogue			0.073	0.040	1.840	0.066	0.086
Teacher Relationships			0.133	0.046	2.880	0.004	0.155
Student Relationships			0.092	0.041	2.240	0.025	0.105
Bullying			-0.072	0.039	1.820	0.069	-0.082
Ethnic Rights Mean			-0.084	0.126	0.670	0.505	-0.032
<i>Variance Components</i>							
School-Level Variance	2.32 (3.12%)	1.12 (1.53%)	1.66 (2.77%)				
Student-Level Variance	72.07 (96.88%)	72.04 (98.47%)	58.21 (97.23%)				
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>							
School-Level	0.031	0.015	0.028				
<i>Model Fit</i>							
AIC	4,536.5	4,535.3	4,432.1				
$R_1^2$	-	0.02	0.20				
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>							
							

Note:  $N = 632$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 19

*National Identity, Eastern European Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)					
	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	
Intercept (National Identity)	43.060	1.114	38.640	< 0.001	-	30.134	2.426	12.420	< 0.001	-	5.528	9.369	0.590	0.555	-	
MIPEX General Index						0.318	0.071	4.450	0.000	0.174	0.272	0.090	3.020	0.003	0.149	
<i>Student Demographics</i>																
SES						0.435	0.326	1.330	0.182	0.043	0.395	0.417	0.950	0.343	0.039	
Male						-0.738	0.746	-0.990	0.323	-0.036	0.332	0.747	0.440	0.657	0.016	
Immigrant						0.480	0.870	0.550	0.581	0.019	1.105	0.781	1.420	0.157	0.045	
<i>School Climate</i>																
Current Participation											-0.090	0.033	2.730	0.006	-0.088	
Future Participation											0.143	0.016	8.860	< 0.001	0.133	
Efficacy											0.138	0.014	10.070	< 0.001	0.130	
Civic Dialogue											0.065	0.064	1.020	0.309	0.060	
Teacher Relationships											0.177	0.015	11.860	< 0.001	0.165	
Student Relationships											0.077	0.026	3.020	0.003	0.075	
Bullying											-0.060	0.021	2.840	0.004	-0.059	
Ethnic Rights Mean											0.074	0.203	0.360	0.715	0.025	
<i>Variance Components</i>																
Nation-Level Variance																3.12 (3.07%)
School-Level Variance																24.89 (24.48%)
Student-Level Variance																73.65 (72.45%)
																0.21 (0.21%)
																25.37 (25.76%)
																72.91 (74.03%)
																0.22 (0.27%)
																19.53 (23.41%)
																63.67 (76.32%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>																
Nation-Level																0.030
School-Level																0.276
																0.002
																0.259
																0.002
																0.237



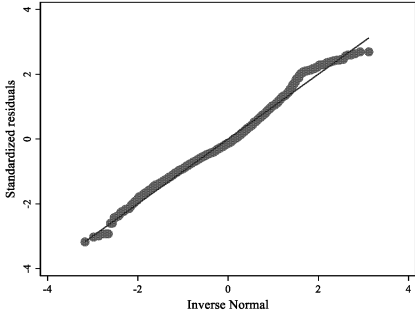
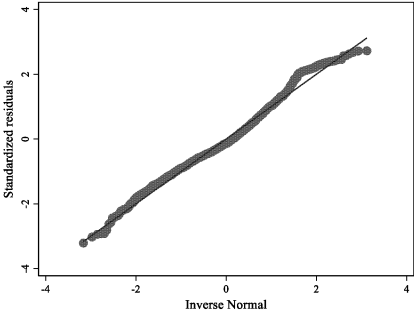
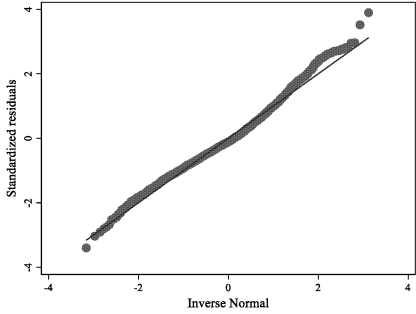
218

Note:  $N = 933$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 20

*National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants Only, Female*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)				
	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	44.452	0.550	80.840	< 0.001	-	39.604	2.011	19.690	< 0.001	-	10.017	4.519	2.220	0.027	-
MIPEX General Index						0.081	0.035	2.330	0.020	0.117	0.056	0.029	1.960	0.050	0.081
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES						-0.039	0.263	-0.150	0.881	-0.005	-0.177	0.261	0.680	0.498	-0.022
Immigrant						0.423	0.759	0.560	0.578	0.024	0.308	0.706	0.440	0.662	0.017
<i>School Climate</i>															
Current Participation											-0.035	0.025	1.390	0.166	-0.039
Future Participation											0.137	0.029	4.700	< 0.001	0.142

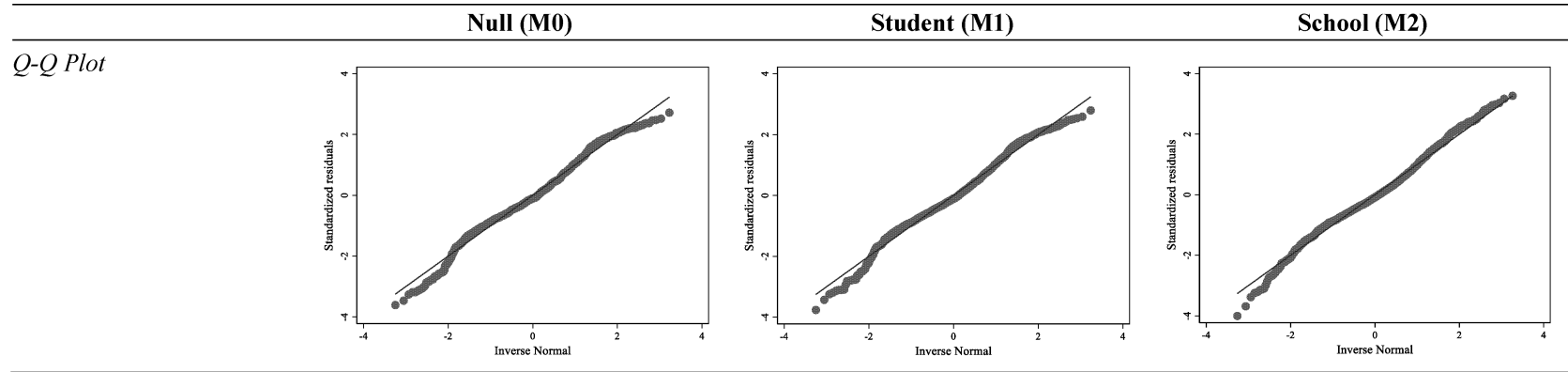
	Null (M0)	Student (M1)	School (M2)
Efficacy			0.111 0.022 5.030 < 0.001 0.112
Civic Dialogue			0.078 0.019 4.040 < 0.001 0.085
Teacher Relationships			0.137 0.029 4.670 < 0.001 0.151
Student Relationships			0.136 0.010 14.000 < 0.001 0.147
Bullying			0.031 0.023 1.360 0.175 0.034
Ethnic Rights Mean			0.025 0.063 0.390 0.693 0.013
<i>Variance Components</i>			
Nation-Level Variance	2.51 (3.27%)	1.67 (2.21%)	1.02 (1.60%)
School-Level Variance	8.73 (11.36%)	8.71 (11.48%)	8.18 (12.85%)
Student-Level Variance	65.58 (85.37%)	65.49 (86.31%)	54.50 (85.56%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>			
Nation-Level	0.033	0.022	0.016
School-Level	0.146	0.137	0.144
<i>Model Fit</i>			
AIC	12,901.8	12,901.8	12,603.7
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-	0.01	0.17
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>			
			

Note:  $N = 2,063$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 21

*National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants Only, Male*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)					
	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	
Intercept (National Identity)	43.634	0.817	53.410	< 0.001	-	36.335	2.680	13.560	< 0.001	-	13.229	6.106	2.170	0.030	-	
MIPEX General Index						0.119	0.046	2.550	0.011	0.151	0.084	0.040	2.100	0.036	0.107	
<i>Student Demographics</i>																
SES						-0.519	0.281	-1.850	0.064	-0.056	-0.612	0.280	2.190	0.029	-0.066	
Immigrant						0.944	0.674	1.400	0.161	0.045	1.101	0.610	1.810	0.071	0.052	
<i>School Climate</i>																
Current Participation											-0.009	0.034	0.250	0.800	-0.009	
Future Participation											0.153	0.027	5.640	< 0.001	0.148	
Efficacy											0.096	0.030	3.210	0.001	0.095	
Civic Dialogue											0.062	0.026	2.360	0.018	0.064	
Teacher Relationships											0.145	0.026	5.570	< 0.001	0.148	
Student Relationships											0.104	0.024	4.240	< 0.001	0.103	
Bullying											-0.034	0.026	1.300	0.192	-0.035	
Ethnic Rights Mean											-0.008	0.102	0.080	0.935	-0.004	
<i>Variance Components</i>																
Nation-Level Variance																6.56 (6.40%)
School-Level Variance																8.93 (8.72%)
Student-Level Variance																86.95 (84.88%)
																3.87 (3.91%)
																8.23 (8.30%)
																75.87 (90.50%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>																
Nation-Level																0.064
School-Level																0.151
																0.039
																0.122
																0.032
																0.095
<i>Model Fit</i>																
AIC																13,274.0
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>																-
																13,264.7
																0.03
																12,999.1
																0.18

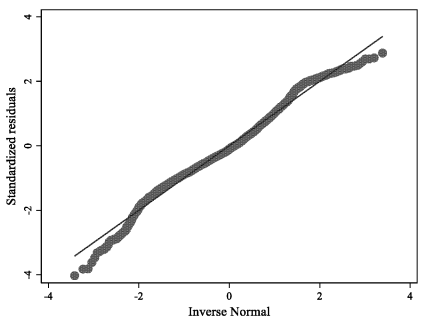
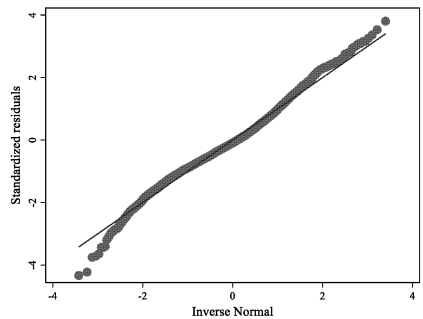
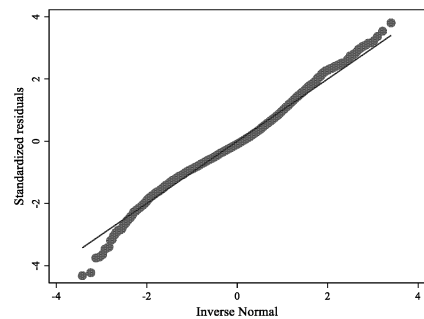


Note:  $N = 2,021$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 22

*National Identity, All Nations, Immigrants only, by MIPEX Subindex*

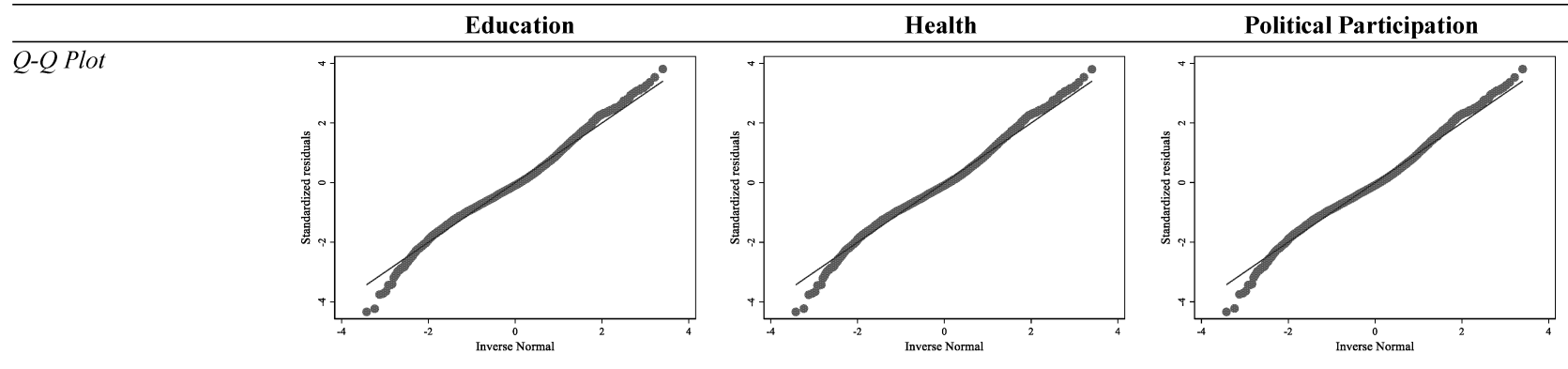
Variable	Null (For All Subindices)					Labor Market Mobility					Family Reunion				
	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$
Intercept (National Identity)	44.073	0.646	68.200	< 0.001	-	14.227	4.815	2.950	0.003	-	12.894	4.043	3.190	0.001	-
MIPEX Subindex						0.039	0.029	1.330	0.183	0.080	0.054	0.025	2.130	0.033	0.068
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES						-0.382	0.215	-1.780	0.076	-0.044	-0.389	0.218	1.780	0.074	-0.045
Male						-0.013	0.331	-0.040	0.968	-0.001	-0.018	0.330	0.050	0.956	-0.001
Second Generation						0.662	0.623	1.060	0.288	0.034	0.640	0.612	1.050	0.296	0.033
<i>School Climate</i>															
Current Participation						-0.018	0.023	-0.800	0.421	-0.019	-0.018	0.023	0.770	0.442	-0.019
Future Participation						0.145	0.017	8.490	< 0.001	0.145	0.144	0.017	8.230	< 0.001	0.144
Efficacy						0.102	0.022	4.610	< 0.001	0.102	0.102	0.022	4.620	< 0.001	0.102

	Null (For All Subindices)	Labor Market Mobility	Family Reunion
Civic Dialogue		0.070 0.020 3.430 0.001 0.074	0.071 0.021 3.440 0.001 0.075
Teacher Relationships		0.140 0.016 8.680 < 0.001 0.148	0.141 0.016 8.840 < 0.001 0.149
Student Relationships		0.115 0.014 8.260 < 0.001 0.119	0.115 0.014 8.280 < 0.001 0.119
Bullying		-0.006 0.017 -0.360 0.716 -0.006	-0.006 0.017 0.370 0.712 -0.007
Ethnic Rights Mean		-0.008 0.072 -0.120 0.906 -0.004	0.001 0.069 0.020 0.986 0.001
<i>Variance Components</i>			
Nation-Level Variance	4.21 (4.70%)	1.95 (2.63%)	1.97 (2.66%)
School-Level Variance	8.72 (9.74%)	6.65 (8.96%)	6.69 (9.01%)
Student-Level Variance	76.58 (85.56%)	65.60 (88.41%)	65.58 (88.33%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>			
Nation-Level	0.047	0.026	0.027
School-Level	0.144	0.116	0.117
<i>Model Fit</i>			
AIC	26,168.88	25,601.52	25,602.29
$R_1^2$	-	0.17	0.17
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>			
			

(Table 22, continued)

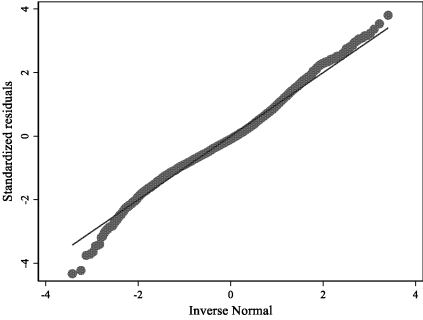
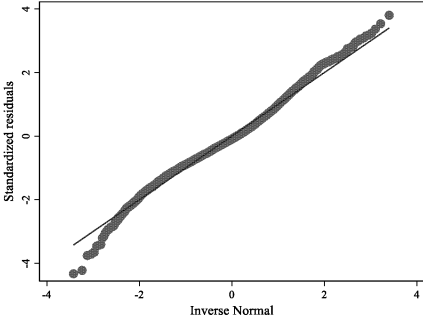
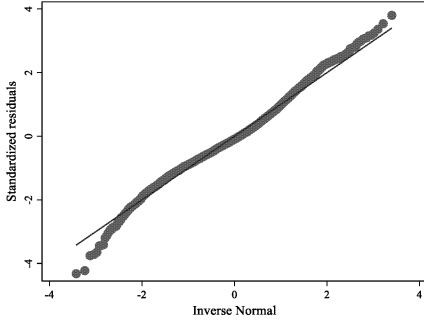
Variable	Education					Health					Political Participation				
	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β
Intercept (Nat. Identity)	14.929	4.524	3.300	0.001	-	14.892	4.489	3.320	0.001	-	14.922	4.247	3.510	< 0.001	-
MIPEX Subindex	0.040	0.022	1.850	0.064	0.082	0.039	0.035	1.110	0.268	0.068	0.043	0.020	2.170	0.030	0.104
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES	-0.379	0.216	-1.760	0.079	-0.044	-0.385	0.216	-1.780	0.075	-0.044	-0.374	0.216	1.730	0.083	-0.043
Male	-0.009	0.330	-0.030	0.978	0.000	-0.010	0.328	-0.030	0.975	-0.001	-0.007	0.329	0.020	0.983	0.000
Second Generation	0.656	0.618	1.060	0.288	0.034	0.683	0.634	1.080	0.281	0.035	0.693	0.629	1.100	0.271	0.035
<i>School Climate</i>															
Current Participation	-0.018	0.023	-0.790	0.430	-0.019	-0.018	0.023	-0.780	0.438	-0.019	-0.018	0.023	0.790	0.430	-0.019
Future Participation	0.145	0.017	8.590	< 0.001	0.145	0.144	0.017	8.380	< 0.001	0.144	0.145	0.017	8.520	< 0.001	0.145
Efficacy	0.102	0.022	4.620	< 0.001	0.102	0.102	0.022	4.600	< 0.001	0.102	0.102	0.022	4.600	< 0.001	0.102
Civic Dialogue	0.070	0.020	3.420	0.001	0.074	0.070	0.020	3.440	0.001	0.074	0.070	0.020	3.420	0.001	0.074
Teacher Relationships	0.140	0.016	8.700	< 0.001	0.148	0.140	0.016	8.650	< 0.001	0.148	0.140	0.016	8.670	< 0.001	0.148
Student Relationships	0.115	0.014	8.280	< 0.001	0.119	0.115	0.014	8.310	< 0.001	0.118	0.115	0.014	8.240	< 0.001	0.118
Bullying	-0.006	0.017	-0.360	0.717	-0.006	-0.006	0.017	-0.370	0.708	-0.007	-0.006	0.017	0.350	0.725	-0.006
Ethnic Rights Mean	-0.007	0.072	-0.100	0.922	-0.003	-0.005	0.069	-0.080	0.940	-0.002	-0.011	0.070	0.160	0.873	-0.005
<i>Variance Components</i>															
Nation-Level Variance			1.79 (2.42%)					2.02 (2.73%)					1.47 (1.99%)		
School-Level Variance			6.68 (9.02%)					6.64 (8.94%)					6.59 (8.94%)		
Student-Level Variance			65.58 (88.56%)					65.60 (88.33%)					65.63 (89.06%)		
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>															
Nation-Level			0.024					0.027					0.020		
School-Level			0.114					0.117					0.109		
<i>Model Fit</i>															
AIC			25,600.74					25,601.95					25,598.30		
R <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>			0.17					0.17					0.18		





(Table 22, continued)

Variable	Permanent Residence					Access to Nationality					Anti-Discrimination				
	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$
Intercept (Nat. Identity)	12.795	4.316	2.960	0.003	-	14.902	4.131	3.610	< 0.001	-	13.901	4.024	3.450	0.001	-
MIPEX Subindex	0.056	0.038	1.490	0.136	0.059	0.034	0.021	1.670	0.095	0.058	0.043	0.021	2.060	0.039	0.069
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES	-0.384	0.216	-1.770	0.076	-0.044	-0.383	0.216	-1.770	0.077	-0.044	-0.385	0.216	1.780	0.075	-0.044
Male	-0.015	0.329	-0.050	0.964	-0.001	-0.009	0.329	-0.030	0.979	0.000	-0.012	0.329	0.040	0.972	-0.001
Second Generation	0.650	0.616	1.060	0.291	0.033	0.669	0.619	1.080	0.280	0.034	0.665	0.614	1.080	0.279	0.034
<i>School Climate</i>															
Current Participation	-0.018	0.023	-0.800	0.425	-0.019	-0.018	0.023	-0.780	0.437	-0.019	-0.018	0.023	0.770	0.439	-0.019
Future Participation	0.144	0.017	8.370	< 0.001	0.144	0.145	0.017	8.410	< 0.001	0.144	0.144	0.017	8.270	< 0.001	0.144
Efficacy	0.102	0.022	4.630	< 0.001	0.102	0.102	0.022	4.610	< 0.001	0.102	0.102	0.022	4.620	< 0.001	0.102
Civic Dialogue	0.070	0.021	3.430	0.001	0.075	0.070	0.021	3.410	0.001	0.075	0.071	0.021	3.440	0.001	0.075
Teacher Relationships	0.140	0.016	8.800	< 0.001	0.148	0.140	0.016	8.700	< 0.001	0.149	0.140	0.016	8.720	< 0.001	0.148
Student Relationships	0.115	0.014	8.280	< 0.001	0.119	0.115	0.014	8.240	< 0.001	0.118	0.114	0.014	8.160	< 0.001	0.118
Bullying	-0.006	0.017	-0.370	0.712	-0.007	-0.006	0.017	-0.370	0.713	-0.007	-0.006	0.017	0.370	0.711	-0.007
Ethnic Rights Mean	-0.002	0.070	-0.030	0.978	-0.001	-0.003	0.068	-0.050	0.963	-0.001	-0.002	0.068	0.030	0.975	-0.001

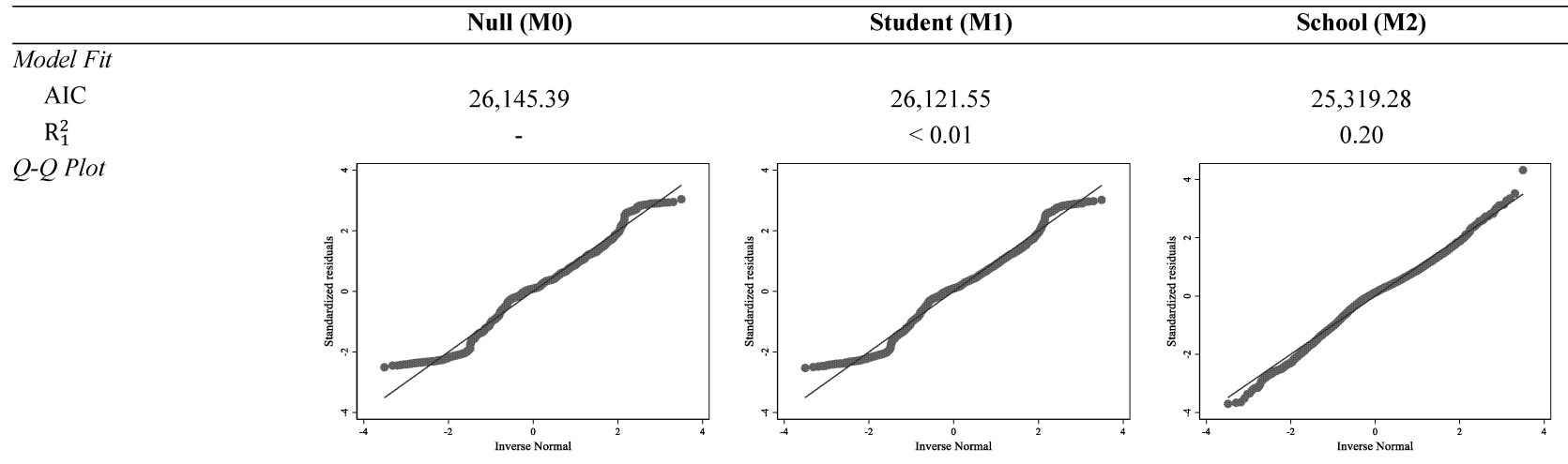
	Permanent Residence	Access to Nationality	Anti-Discrimination
<i>Variance Components</i>			
Nation-Level Variance	2.09 (2.81%)	2.07 (2.78%)	1.91 (2.57%)
School-Level Variance	6.65 (8.94%)	6.64 (8.93%)	6.64 (8.96%)
Student-Level Variance	65.60 (88.25%)	65.61 (88.29%)	65.61 (88.47%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>			
Nation-Level	0.028	0.028	0.026
School-Level	0.118	0.117	0.115
<i>Model Fit</i>			
AIC	25,602.52	25,602.27	25,601.54
$R_1^2$	0.17	0.17	0.17
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>			
			

Note:  $N = 4,084$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 23

*Expected Political Participation, All Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)					
	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	B	SE	z	p	β	
Intercept (Exp. Pol. Part.)	44.073	0.646	68.200	< 0.001	-	49.857	1.803	27.650	< 0.001	-	24.679	2.570	9.600	< 0.001	-	
MIPEX General Index						-0.002	0.032	-0.060	0.955	-0.003	0.005	0.036	0.130	0.899	0.006	
<i>Student Demographics</i>																
SES						0.079	0.152	0.520	0.606	0.009	-0.108	0.150	0.720	0.470	-0.013	
Male						0.496	0.366	1.350	0.176	0.027	1.363	0.446	3.060	0.002	0.073	
Immigrant						-0.609	0.380	-1.600	0.109	-0.032	-0.880	0.273	3.230	0.001	-0.047	
<i>School Climate</i>																
Current Participation											0.006	0.019	0.330	0.741	0.007	
Future Participation											0.414	0.019	21.990	< 0.001	0.429	
Efficacy											0.028	0.012	2.310	0.021	0.029	
Civic Dialogue											0.048	0.014	3.430	0.001	0.053	
Teacher Relationships											-0.008	0.024	0.340	0.735	-0.009	
Student Relationships											-0.010	0.024	0.400	0.690	-0.010	
Bullying											0.006	0.022	0.290	0.769	0.007	
Ethnic Rights Mean											0.012	0.040	0.310	0.760	0.006	
<i>Variance Components</i>																
Nation-Level Variance																1.88 (2.22%)
School-Level Variance																1.71 (2.02%)
Student-Level Variance																1.85 (2.74%)
																1.46 (1.73%)
																1.68 (1.99%)
																81.18 (96.05%)
																80.86 (95.98%)
																1.85 (2.74%)
																0.16 (0.23%)
																65.45 (97.03%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>																
Nation-Level																0.022
School-Level																0.040
																0.020
																0.040
																0.027
																0.030

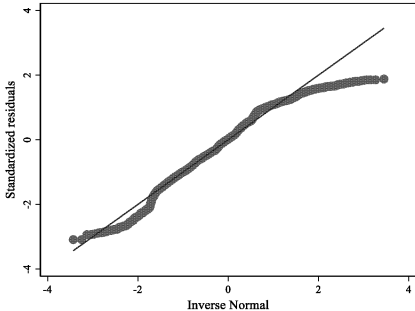
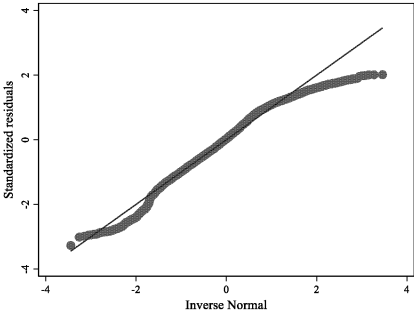
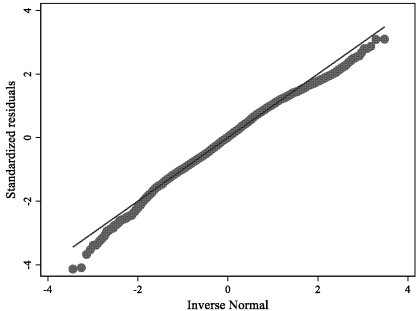


Note:  $N = 4,084$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.

Table 24

*Expected Electoral Participation, All Nations, Immigrants Only*

Variable	Null (M0)					Student (M1)					School (M2)				
	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$	B	SE	z	p	$\beta$
Intercept (Exp. Elect. Part.)	48.134	0.713	67.520	< 0.001	-	42.185	1.941	21.730	< 0.001	-	8.781	4.188	2.100	0.036	-
MIPEX General Index						0.112	0.038	2.920	0.003	0.151	0.072	0.023	3.120	0.002	0.097
<i>Student Demographics</i>															
SES						1.208	0.191	6.320	< 0.001	0.139	0.951	0.157	6.070	< 0.001	0.109
Male						-0.623	0.615	-1.010	0.311	-0.032	0.448	0.677	0.660	0.508	0.023
Immigrant						0.873	0.474	1.840	0.066	0.045	0.503	0.450	1.120	0.264	0.026

	Null (M0)	Student (M1)	School (M2)
<i>School Climate</i>			
Current Participation			0.045 0.017 2.680 0.007 0.048
Future Participation			0.272 0.025 10.730 < 0.001 0.271
Efficacy			0.109 0.024 4.490 < 0.001 0.109
Civic Dialogue			0.125 0.028 4.530 < 0.001 0.132
Teacher Relationships			0.020 0.029 0.690 0.492 0.021
Student Relationships			-0.003 0.016 0.170 0.864 -0.003
Bullying			-0.024 0.017 1.350 0.176 -0.025
Ethnic Rights Mean			0.163 0.058 2.800 0.005 0.076
<i>Variance Components</i>			
Nation-Level Variance	1.88 (2.22%)	3.77 (4.25%)	0.86 (1.21%)
School-Level Variance	1.46 (1.73%)	2.20 (2.49%)	0.65 (0.92%)
Student-Level Variance	81.18 (96.05%)	82.72 (93.27%)	69.52 (97.87%)
<i>Intraclass Correlation</i>			
Nation-Level	0.058	0.042	0.012
School-Level	0.092	0.067	0.021
<i>Model Fit</i>			
AIC	26,301.56	26,229.59	25,552.63
$R_1^2$	-	< 0.01	0.16
<i>Q-Q Plot</i>			
			

Note:  $N = 4,084$ . Variance proportions are reported in parentheses.