Borders Within: Citizenship and the Paradox of Belonging for Turkish-Origin Youth

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Abstract

Birthright citizenship is intended to align legal membership with social inclusion. But how does it change immigrant youth's experience of belonging, and does it do so equally across origins? I study these questions by analyzing Germany's 2000 Nationality Act, which introduced *jus soli* birthright citizenship conditional on parental residence requirements and sharply increased the share of second-generation children who were German citizens from birth. Using data from a nationally representative survey of ninth-grade students, aged around 15, I compare the immigrant-native outcome gaps across birth cohorts right before and after the policy cutoff with a difference-in-differences design. Among Turkish-origin pupils, outsider feelings and perceived grading disadvantage increase relative to natives by 0.33 and 0.40 standard deviations, respectively. In the pre-reform birth cohort, Turkish-origin pupils report greater group- and personal-level disrespect but fewer outsider feelings at school and greater ease making friends than natives. Across the cutoff, these advantages erode without detectable improvement in either disrespect measure. Turkish-origin pupils also show no detectable increase in attendance at Germany's academic secondary school track. More favorable changes emerge among children of other origins on selected outcomes. Among second-generation immigrants, the change in Turkish-origin pupils' personal experience of origin-based disrespect, relative to other origins, is more adverse inside the academic track than outside it. This comparison is consistent with the paradox of integration, although it does not identify a causal effect of track attendance. I interpret these findings through a recognition gap: citizenship at birth can rightfully strengthen young people's claims to equal membership and expectations of equal treatment, while the social recognition accorded to their origin differs across origin groups and changes more slowly. A reform that narrows the legal distance to membership can therefore expose the social distance that remains.

Keywords: Migration, Citizenship, Identity Economics, Ethnicity, Integration

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1 Introduction

Immigration occupies a prominent place in current public discourse and political debate, shaping electoral competition and public attitudes towards national membership (Alesina and Tabellini, 2024). Much of that debate concerns who should be allowed to enter and remain. It is, however, equally important to consider what happens to people with an immigrant background who already live in the receiving country, especially second-generation immigrant children born and raised there. For these children, belonging is experienced in everyday encounters: whether they feel accepted at school, respected by others, and treated fairly. These experiences matter for well-being and for the conditions under which young people pursue education. Identity and a school's social environment can shape educational choices (Akerlof and Kranton, 2002); experimental evidence also shows that addressing belonging concerns can improve college persistence when institutions afford opportunities to belong (Walton et al., 2023).

Citizenship's role as an important policy instrument for promoting integration is well documented. Earlier access can strengthen labor-market attachment and investment in human capital, while naturalization can improve long-term earnings, political participation, and social integration (Gathmann and Keller, 2018; Hainmueller et al., 2015, 2017, 2019). By conferring legal membership and widening access to rights and opportunities, citizenship strengthens individuals' claims to equal treatment and recognition. Yet this legal claim does not necessarily bring recognition as a member in everyday life. A child may expect to be accepted and treated as an equal while others continue to see them primarily through their origin. I therefore ask whether access to birthright citizenship improves the experience of belonging for second-generation children, and whether its consequences differ across immigrant-origin groups.

Germany provides a revealing setting here. The Turkish-origin community constitutes one of its largest and most established immigrant-origin populations, yet faces persistent socioeconomic disadvantages and contested claims to German membership (Kristen

and Granato, 2007; Çelik, 2015; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). On January 1, 2000, Germany changed the legal position of children born only days apart. Children born in Germany to non-German parents acquired citizenship at birth automatically if at least one parent had lawfully resided in the country for eight years and held a qualifying residence status. For children of non-German parents born shortly before the cutoff, citizenship depended on naturalization, including a transitional application route (Howard, 2008). Using the 2001 German Microcensus, Dahl et al. (2022) report that the share of German-born children with two foreign-born parents qualifying for German citizenship rose from 28 percent in the 1999 birth cohort to 80 percent in the 2000 cohort. The pre-reform figure includes citizenship through descent and the transitional application route. The reform substantially expanded early access to legal membership.

To investigate these questions empirically, I use the IQB Education Trend 2015, a nationally representative survey and assessment of ninth-grade students in Germany, aged around fifteen (Stanat et al., 2018). I compare pupils born in the six months before the reform (July–December 1999) with those born in the six months after it (January–June 2000); both birth cohorts are observed in the same 2015 survey. In a difference-in-differences design, I compare each immigrant-origin group's change in outcomes across these birth cohorts with the corresponding change among native-origin pupils, whose access to citizenship did not depend on the new provision. The principal analysis uses a common sample of respondents to five questions about school belonging and perceived treatment. I distinguish Turkish, former-USSR, and Balkan origins, representing populations with established migration histories in Germany, alongside a residual category of other origins. These groups may face different barriers to social recognition, raising the question of whether a common expansion of legal membership translates into similar experiences of belonging. Individual citizenship at birth is not observed. The estimates capture a policy intention-to-treat (ITT) effect of exposure to expanded citizenship access.

The results reveal a distinctive pattern among Turkish-origin youth. In the pre-reform

birth cohort, they report higher levels of perceived disrespect at both the group and personal levels. In the all-origin model, their gaps relative to native pupils amount to 0.53 and 0.90 standard deviations, respectively, the largest estimated gaps on both measures among the origin groups examined. Yet these same pupils report fewer outsider feelings at school and greater ease making friends than natives. Stronger school belonging thus coexists with substantial perceived disrespect because of origin.

Across the cutoff, Turkish-origin pupils' initial advantages in belonging erode without a detectable improvement in either disrespect measure. In the separate Turkish–native comparison, the outsider and perceived grading-disadvantage gaps increase by 0.33 and 0.40 standard deviations, respectively. The all-origin model corroborates this adverse pattern and also indicates increased friendship difficulty. In point-estimate terms, its changes nearly erase both initial belonging advantages. For Turkish-origin children, expanded access to legal membership is thus followed by weaker school belonging, while substantial disparities in perceived respect remain.

Turkish-origin pupils also show no detectable increase in attendance at the academic secondary-school track, *Gymnasium*, which prepares students for university. More favorable changes emerge among other origins on selected outcomes. Balkan-origin pupils report a decline in perception of group-level disrespect of 0.52 standard deviations, while academic-track attendance increases among former-USSR girls, with weaker evidence of a gain among Balkan boys. These findings locate the adverse Turkish pattern within a broader set of responses to the same reform.

I interpret these findings through a recognition gap. The framework distinguishes the membership position an individual can claim and enact from the recognition accorded to members of their origin group. Citizenship and academic advancement can strengthen claims to membership and expectations of equal treatment; if social recognition changes more slowly, the remaining distance becomes more consequential. Drawing on identity economics (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000), this interpretation connects individual expectations to the social boundaries through which membership is assigned. Alba's (2005)

distinction between *bright* and *blurred* boundaries helps explain why recognition may differ across origins. A common change in legal membership need not have the same social meaning for every group. The framework offers an interpretation of the observed pattern; the data do not separately identify changes in expectations and treatment by others.

Academic advancement provides a further setting in which to examine the relation between membership and recognition. I ask whether the reform-related pattern differs among pupils who have reached the academic track. Among second-generation immigrants, the change in Turkish-origin pupils' personal disrespect relative to other origins is more adverse inside this track than outside it. The Turkish–other-origin gap in outsider feelings also increases inside the academic track, although the difference between tracks is imprecisely estimated. Since track placement is not randomized and may respond to the reform, this comparison does not identify a causal effect of track attendance. It provides suggestive evidence on the paradox of integration: academic advancement need not coincide with greater social recognition.

Supplementary analyses show lower English confidence among Turkish-origin pupils, alongside no detectable change in attachment to either German or home-country identity. Weaker school belonging thus emerges without a detectable shift in these measures of national attachment. The main pattern for Turkish-origin pupils persists under alternative reference groups and geographic classifications, although the precision of individual estimates varies. Placebo comparisons in the 2018 wave do not reproduce the adverse Turkish pattern for the three available outcomes: outsider feelings, friendship difficulty, and academic-track attendance.

This paper makes three contributions. First, it extends the literature on citizenship and immigrant integration, which documents economic, political, and social consequences across national settings (Gathmann and Garbers, 2023). Evidence from Germany includes changes in parental integration and investment (Avitabile et al., 2013, 2014), educational gains (Felfe et al., 2020), and lower well-being among immigrant girls (Dahl et al., 2022). Building on this work, I examine whether expanded legal membership translates into

perceived recognition and school belonging, with particular attention to differences across origins under the same reform. This comparison places the distinctive experience of Turkish-origin pupils within a broader account of how the consequences of citizenship access vary across immigrant-origin groups. The analysis also relates to research on citizenship access and perceived discrimination in Germany (Cardozo Silva and Prömel, 2025), and on restrictive citizenship reform and national identification in France (Baudin et al., 2025).

Second, the paper brings the receiving society more directly into the economic analysis of integration. Research on cultural transmission, family relations, and responses to new opportunities identifies important mechanisms. When attention centers on the practices and adaptation of immigrant families, however, the social conditions under which their claims to membership are received can recede from view. This risks treating integration as a one-sided process of assimilation. I treat recognition as part of integration itself. This perspective builds on sociological and ethnographic accounts of how formal membership and social advancement can coexist with contested belonging (Çelik, 2015; Beaman, 2017; Moffitt et al., 2018). I complement these accounts with reform-based comparisons across birth cohorts and origins, using individual-level survey data on perceived treatment and school belonging. The social environment helps determine what legal inclusion comes to mean in practice.

Third, the paper contributes to research on the paradox of integration. Immigrants and their descendants who are more structurally integrated sometimes report more discrimination (Schaeffer and Kas, 2024). In Germany, this relationship differs across groups: among German-born people of Turkish origin, stronger German identification and language proficiency are associated with more perceived discrimination (Diehl et al., 2021). I bring reform-based variation in access to legal membership to this question and examine whether the paradox is visible during adolescence, before adult educational and labor-market trajectories have fully unfolded. The academic-track comparison provides complementary, suggestive evidence on whether advancement within the school system

coincides with greater social recognition.

The remainder of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 presents the institutional and social context; Section 3 develops the conceptual framework. Section 4 describes the data and empirical strategy, and Section 5 reports the results. Sections 6 and 7 discuss their implications and conclude.

2 Institutional and Social Context

2.1 From Guest Workers to an Immigration Country

Germany entered the postwar era with a nationality regime organized primarily around descent. The 1913 Nationality Law consolidated *jus sanguinis*: birth on German territory did not ordinarily make the child of foreign parents German. Citizenship instead followed parentage, reflecting a conception of national membership in which ancestry carried greater legal weight than place of birth (Brubaker, 1992; Green, 2000). Naturalization remained possible, but it was not the expected route through which immigrant workers and their children would become members of the nation.

This legal order shaped the migration that accompanied West Germany's postwar economic expansion. Bilateral recruitment agreements brought workers from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and other countries into industries facing labor shortages. The agreement with Turkey, signed in 1961, became the foundation of Germany's largest guest-worker migration. The language of the *Gastarbeiter* was revealing: workers were recruited for their labor, but their settlement was treated as temporary. Immigration policy managed their presence without initially imagining them as future citizens (Martin, 1998; Münz and Ulrich, 1998).

The recruitment stop of 1973 curtailed organized labor recruitment from countries outside the European Economic Community, but it did not reverse settlement. Family reunifi-

cation continued, children were born and educated in Germany, and a labor program became a permanent social fact. Public policy adjusted more slowly. For decades, the Federal Republic continued to define itself as a non-immigration country (*kein Einwanderungsland*), even as immigrant families became part of its demographic and economic life (Joppke, 1999; Green, 2000). The contradiction was especially visible among the descendants of Turkish workers: many had never lived outside Germany, yet remained foreigners in law.

For immigrants and their German-born children, citizenship remained something to be sought through an individual administrative process. Naturalization generally followed long residence and, in most cases, required the surrender of an existing nationality. Reforms during the 1990s gave long-term residents and young people raised in Germany clearer claims to naturalization, but they did not introduce citizenship by birth on the territory. A child born in Germany to foreign parents still did not become German simply by being born there (Green, 2000; Mushaben, 2008; Howard, 2008).

By the end of the decade, the question was no longer whether permanent immigration had occurred, but whether nationality law would acknowledge it. The distance between Germany's immigrant population and its legal conception of membership had become increasingly difficult to sustain (Hess and Green, 2016; Howard, 2008). The scale of this mismatch is visible in the population statistics: at the end of 2000, approximately one-third of the nearly two million Turkish citizens registered as foreign nationals in Germany had been born in the country (Deutscher Bundestag, 2002, p. 109).[1] Appendix Figures A1 and A2 place the 2000 reform within this longer history, from descent-based citizenship through the guest-worker era and the gradual liberalization of naturalization.

[1]This figure covers German-born Turkish nationals of all ages. It is neither a count of second-generation children alone nor a measure of the entire Turkish-origin population, since people holding German citizenship are excluded from these foreign-national counts.

2.2 The 2000 Nationality Act

The Nationality Act adopted in 1999 marked a break with this history. Effective January 1, 2000, it introduced a conditional form of birthright citizenship. A child born in Germany to foreign parents acquired German citizenship at birth if at least one parent had lawfully resided in the country for eight years and held a qualifying secure residence status. For eligible children, citizenship was automatic: it no longer depended on a later application by their parents (Green, 2000; Howard, 2008).

Comparable children born before the cutoff remained dependent on naturalization, including a limited transitional procedure that required an application. This transitional route was little used (Felfe et al., 2021). The reform therefore changed both the status conferred at birth and the process through which immigrant families could obtain it. It did not make all children of foreign parents German citizens, but it substantially expanded access for those meeting the parental residence conditions.

The reform's consequences extended beyond the legal status conferred at birth. Prior work documents changes in educational participation, cooperation, and well-being among immigrant-origin children (Felfe et al., 2020, 2021; Dahl et al., 2022). I examine a different margin: whether expanded access to citizenship altered how young people experienced recognition and belonging. The empirical design relies on the reform's timing. Implementation created a sharp distinction in access to citizenship at birth between children born only months apart. Section 4.1 documents the resulting change in citizenship acquisition and explains how I use the January 1 cutoff.

2.3 Turkish-Origin Germans and Persistent Social Boundaries

The reform entered a social field already structured by older distinctions. People of Turkish origin constitute one of Germany's largest and most established immigrant-origin populations (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). Their position cannot be reduced to the

circumstances of recent immigration: by 2000, children of the guest-worker generation had been born, educated, and socialized in Germany. Yet Turkish origin continued to function as a public marker of foreignness—a recurrent form of othering through which people embedded in Germany remained positioned outside the national "we." Settlement had become permanent long before the language through which national membership was assigned had fully adjusted.

Survey evidence makes this association unusually clear. In a national probability sample, 58.3 percent of respondents identified people of Turkish background as the group they had in mind when asked to think about "foreigners." No other origin group approached this share. Respondents whose image of the foreigner included Turks also expressed greater prejudice (Asbrock et al., 2014). The category *foreigner* operated as more than a description of legal nationality. It had acquired a social content in which Turkish origin occupied a central place.

Media discourse helped reproduce this boundary. Examining a corpus of German newspaper coverage from 2008 to 2018, Möllering and Schmidt (2022) show that people of Turkish background were repeatedly framed as "other" and evaluated through the question of whether they had integrated. Majority belonging remained unmarked; integration became the continuing responsibility of those positioned as different. Their analysis of the public treatment of Mesut Özil, a German-born footballer of Turkish descent, makes this asymmetry especially visible. His contribution to Germany's 2014 World Cup victory did not prevent his Germanness from becoming an object of public judgment during the controversy surrounding his departure from the national team in 2018. Exceptional achievement had made Özil a symbol of German integration; it had not made his belonging unconditional.

More overt expressions of exclusion make the distinction between legal status and social recognition concrete. A demand such as "Türken raus" ("Turks out") addresses people through their origin, without distinguishing between foreign nationals and German citi-

zens, or between recent arrivals and those born and raised in Germany.[2] Being born in the country, or holding its citizenship, does not by itself remove the possibility of being addressed as someone who belongs elsewhere.

These boundaries also enter institutional decisions. In a field experiment on applications for student internships, applicants with Turkish-sounding names received fewer interview invitations than otherwise comparable applicants with German-sounding names (Kaas and Manger, 2012). Evidence from schools points to a related role for origin in assessments of competence. When otherwise identical essays were randomly assigned Turkish- or German-sounding first names, primary-school teachers gave lower grades and weaker recommendations for the academic secondary track to essays bearing Turkish names (Sprietsma, 2013). In a separate study, teachers' expectations of Turkish-origin primary pupils' German-language achievement were lower even after accounting for measured performance (Lorenz et al., 2016). The experimental evidence identifies a response to an origin cue; the expectations study documents a conditional disparity. Together, they show how origin can enter judgments that appear to concern academic performance alone.

These findings do not imply a uniform experience among Turkish-origin people. They establish something narrower and more pertinent to this paper: Turkish origin has remained a durable marker of foreignness across public discourse and institutional encounters, including for people born and educated in Germany. Legal categories can change on a fixed date; the social categories through which individuals are seen need not change at the same speed. This asymmetry provides the setting for the distinction between legal membership and social recognition developed in Section 3.1.

The educational consequences of such judgments depend, in turn, on the institutions through which they operate. Where children are allocated to different pathways early and upward movement between tracks is limited, a biased assessment may have consequences

[2] A photograph captioned as racist graffiti in Berlin-Kreuzberg in 2007 appears in the German Institute for Human Rights' *Jahresbericht 2007*, p. 16. For an earlier example of exclusionary public imagery, see *Der Spiegel*, issue 16/1997, whose cover carried the headline "Gefährlich fremd." These examples illustrate forms of public exclusion; they do not establish their prevalence.

beyond a particular grade or classroom encounter. Germany's secondary-school system makes this connection especially relevant: judgments formed during primary school can influence access to educational opportunities that become difficult to recover later.

2.4 Secondary-School Tracking and *Gymnasium*

Education in Germany is governed by the federal states, and the precise organization of secondary schooling varies across them. Its traditional structure nevertheless rests on early differentiation into distinct tracks. Primary school usually ends after grade four, at around age ten; in Berlin and Brandenburg, it generally continues through grade six. Students then enter pathways that include *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium*, alongside comprehensive and combined forms (Kultusministerkonferenz, nd). *Gymnasium* is the academically oriented secondary-school track leading most directly to the *Abitur*, the qualification granting general access to university study. Figure 1 summarizes the main pathways.

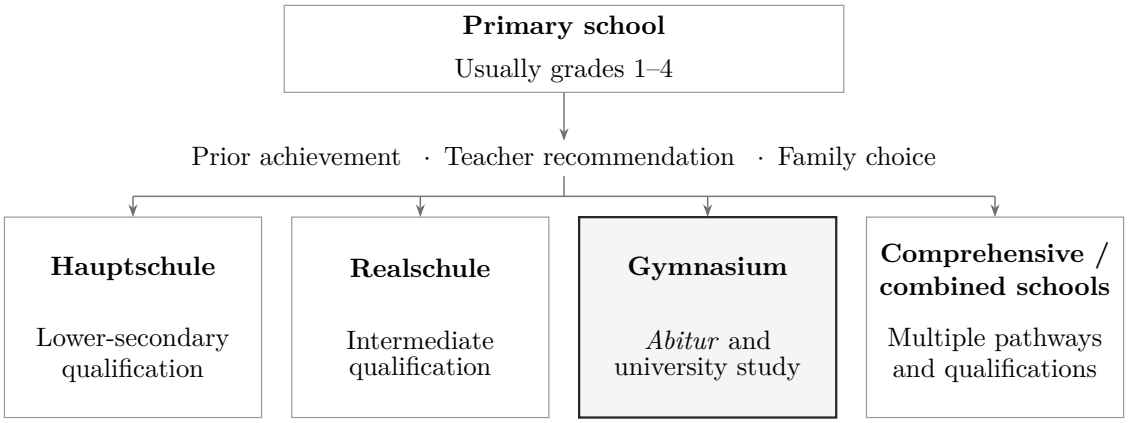


Figure 1: Secondary-school pathways in Germany

Notes: Simplified structure; arrangements vary across states. Transfers and later routes to the *Abitur* are omitted. *Source:* KMK (nd).

Track placement reflects prior achievement, teachers' recommendations, parental decisions, and state-level rules. Because this sorting occurs early, it connects family resources and prior schooling to later attainment by placing students in distinct learning environments (Maaz et al., 2008; Schindler, 2017). The assessments discussed above therefore

occur at a consequential institutional transition: teachers evaluate pupils while helping to determine which educational pathways they will enter.

The system permits subsequent changes, but initial placement is not readily undone. Evidence on school-type transfers documents limited upward mobility during lower secondary education, with downward transfers outnumbering upward transfers (Bellenberg, 2012). Later routes to higher qualifications remain available, including opportunities to obtain the *Abitur* outside the conventional *Gymnasium* pathway (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020). An early placement is therefore consequential without being irreversible. This combination of early differentiation and limited upward mobility makes inequalities at the first transition particularly important.

Turkish-origin students have historically been less likely than native students to reach the academic track. Research traces this disparity through the interaction of social origin, earlier educational opportunities, and the institutional transitions at which academic careers are separated (Kristen and Granato, 2007). Evidence of biased assessment identifies one possible contributor to this process; it does not establish that discrimination accounts for the entire difference in track placement.

In this paper, *Gymnasium* has two roles. It is an educational outcome: attendance indicates access to the principal academic route toward higher education. It is also a social setting in which academic achievement may strengthen expectations of membership and equal treatment. Students who reach it may advance institutionally without being recognized differently by the people and institutions around them. I use *Gymnasium* as a marker of academic integration, not as a randomly assigned treatment. Section 3.3 develops why the gap between achievement and recognition may become especially visible there.

3 Conceptual Framework and Predictions

3.1 Legal Membership and Social Recognition

Citizenship is a legal status; belonging is a social relation. The distinction matters because the two need not move together. Citizenship draws a legal boundary between formal members and non-members. Crossing that boundary brings rights, security, and access to institutions. Crossing it does not settle who is accepted as a member in everyday life. Citizenship encompasses legal status, rights, participation, and belonging, but these dimensions are related rather than identical (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Beaman (2017)'s analysis of *cultural citizenship* makes this distinction explicit: holding legal nationality need not mean that one's claim to membership is accepted by others.

Social membership depends on recognition. It rests on whether schools, employers, peers, and strangers treat a person as an equal rather than as a permanent outsider. Two people may hold the same legal status and possess similar credentials, yet one may still be viewed primarily through categories of foreignness, religion, or ethnicity. Narratives of Turkish German young adults show how this distinction persists among people born and raised in Germany, whose integration may be demanded while their Germanness remains contested (Moffitt et al., 2018).

Legal status need not be visible in the encounters through which recognition is granted or withheld. A classmate, teacher, or employer may respond to a name, appearance, or perceived origin without knowing whether the person holds German citizenship. The law can therefore change an individual's position without immediately changing the categories through which others see them. This is the central tension of the paper: the state can strengthen a claim to membership that everyday social relations continue to qualify or deny.

The reform studied here changes access to legal membership through a common rule.

Whether this also improves social inclusion depends on how recognition responds. If legal membership and social recognition advance together, they can reinforce one another. If recognition adjusts more slowly, formal inclusion can coexist with continued exclusion, and can change what that exclusion means to those experiencing it.

3.2 Identity Economics and the Recognition Gap

To formalize this distinction, I draw on the identity-economics framework of Akerlof and Kranton (2000), in which utility depends partly on social categories, the prescriptions attached to them, and the actions of oneself and others. The formulation below isolates a particular application of this insight: the returns to membership depend partly on whether that membership is recognized by others.

Let x_i denote the membership position that individual i can claim and enact through identity-affirming statuses, achievements, and actions. Citizenship is such a status; academic success is such an achievement. The index is more than a private belief about the self. It describes a socially meaningful position that supports participation and a claim to equal treatment. Growing up as a citizen may strengthen this position even when citizenship is not known to everyone with whom the individual interacts.

Let x_g denote the recognition accorded to members of origin group g by the receiving society. It summarizes the position assigned to them through institutions and everyday interactions. These judgments are shaped by stereotypes, public representation, and inherited group boundaries. The index does not imply a unanimous social judgment or an identical experience for every member of a group. It represents a common social environment in which individual claims to membership are evaluated. Both indices are expressed on the same stylized scale of membership, distinguishing the position an individual can claim from the position others accord them.

Consider the following utility function:

$$U_i(x_i, x_g) = V(x_i) - \frac{\lambda}{2}(x_i - x_g)^2, \qquad V'(x_i) > 0, \quad \lambda > 0. \tag{1}$$

The function $V(x_i)$ captures the conventional returns to membership, including rights, institutional access, and opportunities for advancement. It is continuously differentiable and increasing over the relevant domain. The second term represents the cost of a discrepancy between claimed and accorded membership; λ measures its importance for utility. The quadratic specification makes this cost increase with the distance between the two positions.

The central case is $x_i > x_g$, or under-recognition. A Turkish-origin student may possess German citizenship, succeed academically, and claim equal membership, yet still be treated as foreign or culturally outside. This is an instance of identity denial: membership that an individual claims is not fully recognized by others (Cheryan and Monin, 2005). The model locates the cost in this discrepancy, rather than treating legal inclusion or academic achievement as harmful in themselves.[3]

Holding social recognition fixed, the marginal effect of a stronger individual membership position is

$$\frac{\partial U_i}{\partial x_i} = V'(x_i) - \lambda(x_i - x_g). \tag{2}$$

The first term is positive. The second shows that, when $x_i > x_g$, an increase in x_i also raises the cost of under-recognition. Allowing both positions to change makes the mechanism explicit:

$$\mathrm{d}U_i = V'(x_i)\,\mathrm{d}x_i - \lambda(x_i - x_g)\Big(\mathrm{d}x_i - \mathrm{d}x_g\Big). \tag{3}$$

[3]The quadratic formulation also assigns a cost when $x_i < x_g$. The analysis here concerns under-recognition and does not require an interpretation of the reverse case. Neither index nor the utility function is estimated directly.

For an existing recognition gap, the cost rises when individual membership advances faster than social recognition. It remains unchanged to first order when the two advance equally, and falls when recognition catches up. The total welfare effect depends on the balance between conventional gains and recognition costs. Material improvement and a worsening experience of belonging can therefore coexist without implying that citizenship reduces overall welfare.

Figure 2 illustrates the case in which both positions advance, but x_i moves further than x_g. Recognition need not deteriorate in absolute terms for the gap to widen. Its improvement may simply fall short of the change in the position the individual can claim.

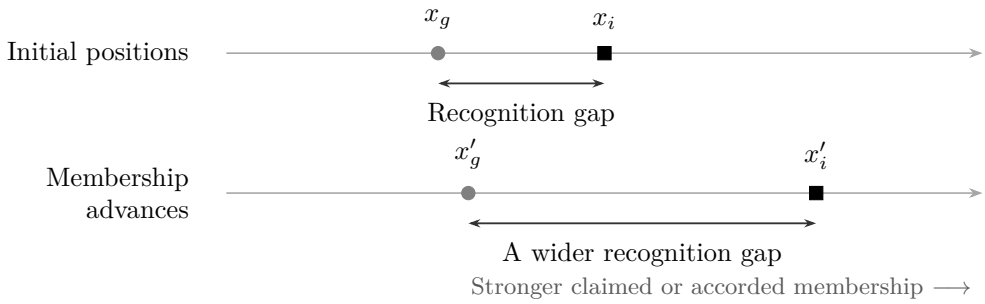


Figure 2: Membership can advance faster than recognition

Notes: Schematic positions on a common scale, not empirical estimates. Squares denote individual membership, x_i; circles denote social recognition, x_g. Both increase, but their distance grows because individual membership advances further.

Citizenship can thus change the terms on which social treatment is experienced. Continued treatment as a foreigner may become a sharper denial of membership when the state already recognizes an individual as a citizen. The mechanism does not require others to become more hostile after the reform. It also allows greater participation to change exposure to unequal treatment. The survey outcomes capture aspects of these experiences, rather than either x_i or x_g directly: reported disrespect, outsider feelings, and friendship difficulties are related but distinct outcomes. Moving from the utility model to these measures requires the additional hypothesis that under-recognition can weaken experienced belonging or make unequal treatment more salient. The data cannot separately identify changes in treatment, exposure, and interpretation, and the model does not require every outcome to respond alike.

3.3 Academic Integration and the Paradox of Integration

The same logic helps explain the *paradox of integration*: immigrants and their descendants who are more structurally integrated sometimes report more, rather than less, discrimination. Educational and occupational advancement can increase contact with majority institutions and comparison with similarly placed native peers. It can also strengthen the expectation that achievement should bring equal treatment. A meta-analysis finds support for this pattern, particularly among minorities who remain readily distinguishable from the majority (Schaeffer and Kas, 2024).

The pattern is not universal. Using longitudinal data from Germany, Diehl et al. (2021) find that more integrated individuals generally report less discrimination. Among German-born Turks, however, improvements in language skills and identification with Germany are associated with increased reports of discrimination. The distinction between differences across individuals and changes within individuals matters: stronger identification can be associated with less discrimination overall while its increase accompanies more reported discrimination within this group.

For adolescents, *Gymnasium* is both an educational outcome and a social setting: a selective route to higher education and a marker of academic integration. Reaching this track may strengthen a student's claim to equal standing. Qualitative research nevertheless documents institutional and interpersonal discrimination among Turkish-origin young adults who attended German *Gymnasium* (Moffitt et al., 2019).

In the model, academic advancement can raise x_i. If recognition does not keep pace, it leaves a larger initial gap. For a given further increase in membership relative to recognition, Equation 3 then implies a larger increase in recognition costs, other things equal. Legal and academic inclusion can therefore reinforce a claim to membership without securing its acceptance. The same institution can open a route to mobility while making unequal recognition more consequential.

This reasoning motivates a comparison across tracks; it does not make track placement exogenous. Students select into *Gymnasium*, and attendance may itself respond to the reform. I therefore interpret the track analysis as conditional heterogeneity in the cohort pattern, rather than a causal effect of attending *Gymnasium*.

3.4 Empirical Implications

The framework guides the empirical analysis in three ways.

First, expanded access to citizenship need not improve all dimensions of inclusion together. Where recognition keeps pace with a strengthened claim to membership, the recognition cost need not rise. Where it lags, conventional gains can coexist with unchanged reports of disrespect or worsening school belonging. The relevant empirical question is whether legal inclusion is accompanied by a corresponding improvement in young people's social experience, not whether citizenship has benefits in other domains.

Second, the response may differ across origins. A larger initial gap or a slower adjustment of x_g makes an adverse recognition response more likely, holding changes in x_i and the importance of recognition costs fixed. The historical context motivates particular attention to Turkish-origin youth, for whom origin has remained a salient marker of foreignness. Comparisons with former-USSR, Balkan, and other-origin youth examine whether the same reform is followed by different social consequences. They do not assume a universal ranking of groups or identical changes in citizenship receipt under the common legal rule.

Third, the recognition mechanism may be especially visible where legal and academic inclusion coincide. Among second-generation immigrants, I examine whether the Turkish–other-origin change across the cutoff is more adverse inside *Gymnasium* than outside it. The relevant comparison is the difference between these changes, not whether an estimate is statistically significant in one track and insignificant in the other. This exercise assesses a pattern suggested by the framework while retaining the conditional interpretation of track comparisons.

The framework does not yield a single directional prediction for identity attachment. Under-recognition may weaken identification with Germany, strengthen attachment to an origin group, or leave either unchanged. Nor does a claim to equal membership require abandoning an origin identity. I treat German and home-country identification, together with academic confidence, as complementary outcomes that describe how young people experience legal inclusion. They are not direct measures of the recognition gap. The central proposition is narrower: a stronger basis for membership can coexist with a more difficult experience of belonging when the social terms of recognition do not change alongside it.

4 Data and Empirical Strategy

4.1 Eligibility and Research Design

I test the framework's predictions using the sharp change in eligibility for birthright citizenship created by Germany's 2000 Nationality Act. In line with prior studies of the reform, my identification strategy exploits its implementation on January 1, 2000. Because the cutoff falls in the middle of the school year, children born shortly before and after this date are typically enrolled in the same grade, yet face different probabilities of acquiring German citizenship at birth. This institutional feature makes it possible to study a change in access to legal membership among children observed at the same stage of schooling.

The cutoff produced a substantial change in access to citizenship. Using the 2001 German Microcensus, Dahl et al. (2022) report a citizenship measure of 28 percent among second-generation children born in 1999 and 80 percent among those born in 2000. The pre-reform measure includes the transitional route available to eligible children born before the cutoff. These figures document a marked difference in access across the two birth cohorts.

To implement the design, I compare cohorts born in a symmetric twelve-month window around the cutoff: July 1999 through June 2000. Children born from January through June 2000 form the post-reform cohort, while those born from July through December 1999 form the pre-reform cohort. I define Post_i accordingly. Both cohorts are observed in ninth grade in 2015: pre- and post-reform refer to dates of birth, not to survey dates.

The identifying assumption is that, absent the reform, the outcome gap between each immigrant-origin group and natives would not have shifted at the January 2000 birth cutoff, conditional on the controls and fixed effects. The reform emerged from long-standing political debates over German nationality law rather than in response to the outcomes studied here (Hansen and Koehler, 2005; Howard, 2008). It was promulgated in July 1999 and entered into force six months later. Using the same cutoff, Dahl et al. (2022) find no evidence that immigrant parents timed births differently from native parents. Comparing the change among immigrant-origin pupils with that among natives also accounts for cohort differences common to the two groups.

The data do not establish each student's citizenship at birth or whether the parental residence conditions were met. The estimates therefore concern exposure to expanded citizenship access under the new legal regime. Under the identifying assumption, they have an intention-to-treat interpretation, rather than measuring the effect of observed citizenship acquisition.

4.2 Data and Analytical Sample

I implement this design using the IQB Education Trend 2015 (*IQB-Bildungstrend 2015*), a nationally representative assessment of ninth-grade students in Germany (Stanat et al., 2018). It records students' migration histories and family backgrounds alongside school placement, identity, perceived discrimination, and school belonging. Because students are sampled through schools, the data also make it possible to compare nearby birth cohorts within a common institutional setting.

Within the twelve-month birth window, the main analysis retains native-origin pupils and strict second-generation immigrants, defined as children born in Germany whose parents were both born abroad. Native origin follows the IQB migration-background classification. Natives provide the reference group: their access to citizenship does not depend on the new birthright provision.

I distinguish four immigrant-origin groups: Turkish, former USSR, Balkan, and other origins. The Balkan category combines Albanian, Bosnian, Kosovar, Croatian, Serbian, and other former-Yugoslav origins, using the parental birthplace categories available in the data. Appendix B.1 gives the precise definition and the composition of the common sample by origin and birth cohort. These classifications do not impose a universal ranking of social acceptance. They allow the analysis to ask whether a common change in access to legal membership has different consequences across origin groups whose positions in German society differ.

4.3 Outcomes and Estimation Samples

4.3.1 Principal recognition outcomes

The principal analysis examines five outcomes. Two concern school belonging: whether the student feels like an outsider at school and whether the student finds it easy to make friends there. Two concern social respect: whether young people of foreign origin are repeatedly treated with less respect in Germany, and whether the respondent has personally been treated with less respect because of their origin. The fifth concerns perceived grading disadvantage: whether students of foreign origin receive worse grades regardless of performance. The distinction between group and personal respect matters: evidence from France shows that reports of discrimination against a group can diverge from reported personal experiences (McAvay and Safi, 2025).

I report the outcomes in the order outsider feelings, friendship difficulty, group disrespect,

personal disrespect, and grading disadvantage. The friendship item is reverse-coded, so higher values indicate greater disadvantage or exclusion for all five outcomes. Personal disrespect is measured on a five-point response scale; the other four items use four-point scales. Each outcome is standardized using its pre-reform native mean and standard deviation in a fixed all-origin reference sample. These reference moments are held constant across origin specifications and sample variants, so a coefficient always expresses a difference in the same reference standard deviation units.

Together, these outcomes capture reported treatment and belonging in three domains: school relationships, social respect, and institutional treatment. They provide observable implications of the recognition mechanism, rather than direct measurements of x_i and x_g. The empirical design asks whether the same change in access to legal membership produces different changes in these outcomes across origin groups, as anticipated in Section 3.4.

For each specification, I use a common sample of pupils with valid responses to all five outcomes. The recognition estimates concern these respondents; keeping the sample fixed ensures that comparisons across outcomes do not reflect changes in the pupils included. After removing school singletons, the all-origin specification contains 2,154 pupils and the separate Turkish–native specification contains 1,153. The pre-reform comparison of natives and pooled second-generation pupils uses 794 observations. Sample restrictions and singleton removal are applied within each specification.

4.3.2 Academic integration and secondary outcomes

I construct an indicator for attendance at a *Gymnasium*, Germany's academic secondary-school track. This outcome provides the paper's principal measure of institutional integration. It shows whether expanded access to legal membership is accompanied by a change in academic-track attendance relative to natives. The attendance analysis uses the larger sample of 18,321 pupils with the required information, without imposing com-

plete responses to the five recognition items.

Gymnasium also provides the institutional setting for the paradox of integration discussed in Section 3.3. I examine the same five principal outcomes in this exercise, using a common sample of 1,014 second-generation pupils. This common set allows the analysis to show where the predicted pattern is most visible and where its reach ends, rather than selecting outcomes specifically for the cross-track comparison.

Secondary analyses consider academic confidence and identity attachment. I examine the IQB measures of self-concept in English and German separately, using pupils in the common recognition sample with both measures available. Each subject measure is expressed in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units.

I also report aggregate measures of home-country and German identity. Each index averages the student's reported comfort with and closeness to people from the relevant group. Both indices are estimated on a separate common sample of 2,143 pupils with complete responses to the six-item identity battery. These outcomes provide secondary evidence on identity attachment; they are not direct measures of social recognition, and the framework does not require them to move in a particular direction. For confidence and identity, higher values retain their original meaning of greater confidence or stronger attachment.

4.4 Empirical Specification

The empirical analysis proceeds in three steps. I first describe the pre-reform difference between natives and second-generation pupils pooled across origins. I then restrict the comparison to Turkish-origin and native pupils. Finally, I distinguish the four origin groups within a single model. The latter two analyses use the following specification:

$$Y_{is}^{*} = \alpha + \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}} \theta_g D_{ig} + \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}} \tau_g \Big(D_{ig} \times \text{Post}_i \Big) + \gamma' \mathbf{X}_i + \mu_{m(i)} + \delta_s + \varepsilon_{is}. \tag{4}$$

Here, Y_{is}^{*} denotes the standardized outcome of student i in school s, and D_{ig} indicates membership in origin group g. The set $\mathcal{G}$ contains Turkish origin alone in the Turkish–native comparison and all four immigrant-origin groups in the full model. Natives are the omitted group. The vector $\mathbf{X}_i$ contains indicators for maternal and paternal education, including explicit categories for missing parental information. Birth-month fixed effects $\mu_{m(i)}$ absorb differences shared by students born in each of the twelve monthly cohorts. School fixed effects δ_s absorb differences across the schools in which students are observed. Because Post_i is determined by birth month, its main effect is absorbed by $\mu_{m(i)}$. I estimate the model by unweighted ordinary least squares and cluster standard errors at the school level.

The coefficients θ_g describe pre-reform differences between origin group g and natives within schools, conditional on parental education and birth month. The coefficients of interest are τ_g: each measures the change in the origin–native gap between the pre- and post-reform birth cohorts. The corresponding post-reform gap is $\theta_g + \tau_g$. Reporting the baseline and the change separately distinguishes a persistent disadvantage from one that emerges or widens across the cutoff. The initial pooled baseline comparison uses only the pre-reform cohort, with a single indicator for second-generation origin and the same controls and fixed effects.

The principal specifications include school fixed effects, placing the comparison within the schools in which recognition and belonging are experienced. When *Gymnasium* attendance is the outcome, I estimate a linear probability model without school fixed effects, since track is defined at the school level. Parental-education controls, birth-month fixed

effects, and school-clustered standard errors are retained. Attendance coefficients are reported in percentage points. I also estimate this model separately for boys and girls to describe the distribution of the attendance changes by gender.

4.5 Testing the Paradox of Integration

The third prediction in Section 3.4 concerns the point at which legal and academic inclusion meet. *Gymnasium* marks an institutionally integrated position: students have reached Germany's academic track, but this achievement need not secure equal social recognition. If legal eligibility and academic advancement strengthen the claim to membership while social judgments adjust more slowly, the recognition gap may be especially visible in this setting.

I examine this prediction within the strict second-generation immigrant sample, restricting attention to German-born students with two foreign-born parents. This keeps immigrant generation fixed. Other second-generation immigrants provide the benchmark for asking whether the relationship between academic integration and perceived treatment is distinctive to Turkish-origin youth. I estimate a model fully interacted in post-reform status, Turkish origin, and *Gymnasium* attendance, retaining parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects, and school-clustered standard errors. Terms absorbed by the fixed effects are omitted.

The table reports the change in the Turkish–other-origin gap separately within non-*Gymnasium* and *Gymnasium* schools, together with the difference between the two:

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta_{\text{non-Gym}} &= \beta_{\text{Post}\times\text{Turkish}}, \\ \Delta_{\text{Gym}} &= \beta_{\text{Post}\times\text{Turkish}} + \beta_{\text{Post}\times\text{Turkish}\times\text{Gym}}, \\ \Delta_{\text{Gym}} - \Delta_{\text{non-Gym}} &= \beta_{\text{Post}\times\text{Turkish}\times\text{Gym}}. \end{aligned} \tag{5}$$

Each track-specific contrast compares the change for Turkish-origin youth with the cor-

responding change among other second-generation youth in that track. The triple interaction tests directly whether these changes differ across tracks. Standard errors for the combined coefficients use their estimated covariance.

Because students are not randomly assigned to *Gymnasium* and track attendance is observed after the reform, these estimates describe conditional heterogeneity rather than the causal effect of attending the academic track. They ask whether the recognition pattern is more pronounced among Turkish-origin youth who have reached this position.

4.6 Secondary Heterogeneity and Robustness Checks

I also examine how the changes in reported treatment and belonging are distributed across girls and boys. I estimate the five principal outcomes separately by gender, retaining the origin definitions, outcome coding, and fixed reference scales used in the main analysis. These subgroup estimates are reported as suggestive secondary evidence in the appendix; they do not by themselves establish differences between boys and girls.

I use alternative reference groups, origin classifications, and a later survey wave to assess the main pattern. First, I pool natives and first-generation immigrants in the reference category. First-generation youth were born outside Germany and were not directly eligible through the reform's birthright provision. Adding them to the reference group tests whether the principal estimates depend on using natives alone as the comparison.

Second, I use an alternative geographic classification. Turkish and former USSR origins remain separate, while the remaining pupils are grouped into other European, African or Arab, and residual origins. Non-Arab Asian origins enter the residual category, preserving the common sample. This specification assesses whether the main pattern depends on the particular aggregation of non-Turkish origins.

Finally, I conduct a placebo exercise using the IQB Education Trend 2018. I compare pupils born from July 2002 through June 2003 around a January 2003 pseudo-cutoff,

applying the same structure of cohort and origin comparisons. Both cohorts were born after the citizenship reform. The exercise covers outsider feelings, friendship, and *Gymnasium* attendance, for which comparable measures are available. It asks whether the pattern observed around the reform cutoff in the 2015 wave recurs at a later birth-cohort boundary without the same change in citizenship eligibility. Supporting estimates are reported in the appendix.

5 Results

5.1 Recognition and Belonging across Origin Groups

The analysis begins with the gaps in the pre-reform birth cohort, then asks how those gaps change across the citizenship cutoff. The five recognition outcomes are expressed in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units, with higher values indicating greater disadvantage throughout. The estimates concern the common sample of respondents described in Section 4.3; both birth cohorts are observed in 2015.

Table 5.1 establishes the baseline comparison between natives and second-generation pupils pooled across origins. Among children born from July through December 1999, second-generation pupils report greater group disrespect and personal disrespect. The personal-disrespect gap is particularly large, at 0.709 standard deviations, compared with 0.284 for group disrespect. Perceived grading disadvantage is also higher, although the estimate is significant only at the 10 percent level. Neither school-belonging measure shows a detectable aggregate gap. These baseline differences describe a social landscape marked by unequal recognition, although that inequality does not take the same form across every outcome or origin group.

Turkish-origin and native pupils. Table 5.2 focuses on Turkish-origin and native pupils, placing the baseline gaps and their changes alongside one another. Both rows

Table 5.1: Pre-Reform Differences between Second-Generation and Native Pupils

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Second generation	−0.001	0.130	0.284**	0.709***	0.208*
	(0.137)	(0.117)	(0.127)	(0.149)	(0.124)
Pupils			794		

Notes: Pupils born July–December 1999, observed in 2015. Entries are adjusted second-generation–native gaps from pre-reform-only regressions. Coefficients are in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units. Higher values indicate greater disadvantage for every outcome; the friendship item is reversed. All models are unweighted and include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

come from the same interaction model: the first reports the Turkish-origin coefficient, and the second reports its interaction with post-reform birth.

Table 5.2: Baseline Gaps and Changes across the Cutoff: Turkish and Native Pupils

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Pre-reform gap	−0.518***	−0.293*	0.421**	0.670***	0.082
	(0.142)	(0.160)	(0.175)	(0.217)	(0.187)
Change across cutoff	0.334**	0.245	0.036	−0.052	0.403**
	(0.143)	(0.168)	(0.199)	(0.226)	(0.197)
Pupils			1,153		

Notes: Turkish-origin and native pupils only, born July 1999–June 2000 and observed in 2015. The first row is the Turkish-origin coefficient; the second is Turkish origin × Post in the same model. The interaction is a change in the gap, not its post-reform level. Coefficients are in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units. Higher values indicate greater disadvantage for every outcome; the friendship item is reversed. All models are unweighted and include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

The Turkish baseline combines substantial disrespect with comparatively strong school belonging. Group and personal disrespect exceed the native levels by 0.421 and 0.670 standard deviations, respectively. Yet Turkish-origin pupils report fewer outsider feelings, by 0.518 standard deviations, and less difficulty making friends, by 0.293 standard deviations; the latter estimate is significant at the 10 percent level. A sense of belonging at school thus coexists with reports of unequal treatment because of origin. The two are distinct dimensions of social experience.

This relative advantage in school belonging does not survive the cutoff intact. Outsider feelings increase by 0.334 standard deviations relative to natives, substantially reducing,

but not reversing, the initial advantage. Friendship difficulty also moves in an adverse direction, by 0.245 standard deviations, although this change is imprecisely estimated. Perceived grading disadvantage increases by 0.403 standard deviations, while neither disrespect measure changes detectably. The contrast is central to the paper: there is no detectable narrowing of the substantial disrespect gaps, even as the initially favorable position in school belonging weakens.

Figure 3 displays the baseline and implied post-reform gaps from this model. In Panel A, the estimated belonging advantages move toward zero. In Panel B, both disrespect gaps remain positive, while the perceived grading gap widens. The figure plots gaps within each birth cohort; the tests of changes between cohorts remain those reported in Table 5.2.

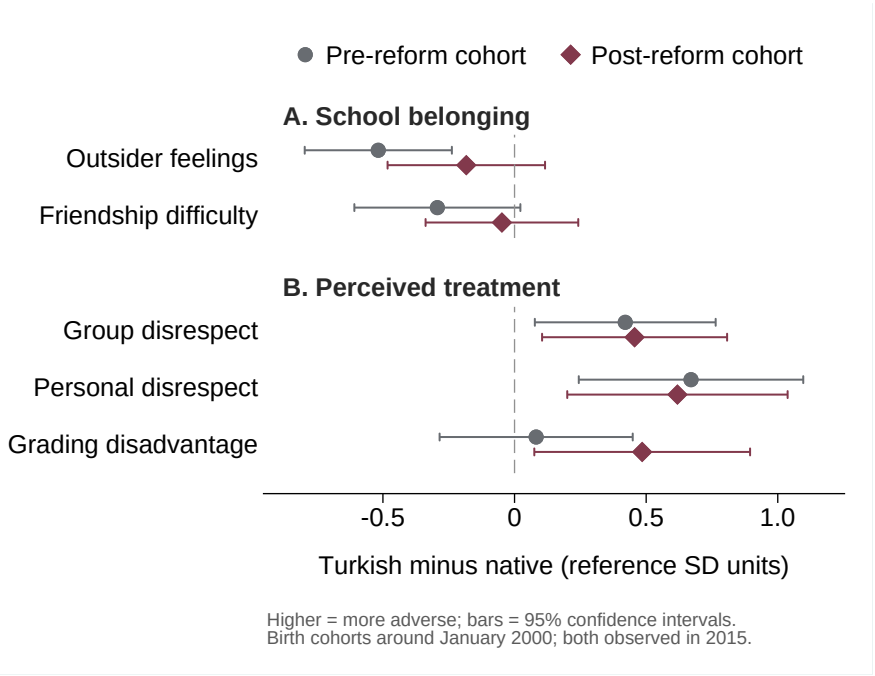


Figure 3: Turkish–Native Gaps across the Citizenship Cutoff

Notes: Adjusted gaps from Table 5.2 (N = 1,153). Post-reform gaps add the Turkish-origin coefficient and its Post interaction; school-clustered 95% confidence intervals account for their covariance. Outcomes use fixed pre-reform native SDs, with higher values indicating greater disadvantage. Both birth cohorts are observed in 2015. Tests of changes are reported in the table.

Differences across origins. Table 5.3 places this pattern within the full set of origin groups. Panel A reports pre-reform gaps and Panel B their changes across the cutoff,

estimated jointly in the same model. All four immigrant-origin groups report greater group and personal disrespect than natives in the pre-reform birth cohort. The Turkish-origin estimates are among the largest: 0.532 standard deviations for group disrespect and 0.897 for personal disrespect. Perceived grading disadvantage is also higher among Turkish-origin and former-USSR pupils.

Table 5.3: Recognition and Belonging across Origin Groups

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Panel A. Pre-reform gaps					
Turkish	−0.345***	−0.261**	0.532***	0.897***	0.319**
	(0.106)	(0.124)	(0.141)	(0.179)	(0.138)
Former USSR	0.098	−0.029	0.252**	0.332**	0.311**
	(0.141)	(0.122)	(0.117)	(0.140)	(0.125)
Balkan	−0.233*	−0.146	0.492***	0.474**	0.191
	(0.125)	(0.140)	(0.165)	(0.194)	(0.184)
Other origins	−0.100	0.025	0.413***	0.862***	0.154
	(0.119)	(0.111)	(0.108)	(0.122)	(0.103)
Panel B. Changes across the cutoff					
Turkish	0.291**	0.271*	0.057	−0.069	0.306*
	(0.124)	(0.141)	(0.165)	(0.194)	(0.157)
Former USSR	−0.142	0.173	−0.147	0.051	−0.004
	(0.154)	(0.141)	(0.150)	(0.159)	(0.142)
Balkan	0.085	0.153	−0.519**	−0.295	0.035
	(0.163)	(0.188)	(0.220)	(0.257)	(0.222)
Other origins	0.081	−0.029	−0.141	0.029	0.135
	(0.128)	(0.122)	(0.123)	(0.146)	(0.122)
Pupils			2,154		

Notes: Native pupils are the reference group. Panel A reports origin coefficients and Panel B reports origin × Post coefficients from the same model and sample. Births July 1999–June 2000; outcomes observed in 2015. Coefficients are in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units. Higher values indicate greater disadvantage for every outcome; the friendship item is reversed. All models are unweighted and include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

School belonging is again the striking exception. Turkish-origin pupils report fewer outsider feelings and less friendship difficulty than natives, despite their large disadvantages in respect. Across the cutoff, outsider feelings rise by 0.291 standard deviations, friendship difficulty by 0.271, and perceived grading disadvantage by 0.306. The outsider estimate is significant at the 5 percent level; the friendship and grading estimates at the 10 percent level. The estimated baseline advantages in both belonging measures are almost entirely

offset. Neither group nor personal disrespect shows a detectable change.

The estimates for other origins do not reproduce this combination. Balkan-origin pupils report a decline in group disrespect of 0.519 standard deviations, while the corresponding personal-disrespect estimate is negative but imprecise. None of the five changes is statistically distinguishable from zero among former-USSR pupils or the residual other-origin group.

The Turkish pattern is consistent with the framework's distinction between legal membership and social recognition. A common legal rule expands access to citizenship, but the outcomes need not move together. In both the focused and all-origin comparisons, the evidence shows no detectable improvement in respect alongside an erosion of school belonging. A stronger legal claim to membership can therefore coexist with a less favorable experience of one's place at school. The results are consistent with a widening recognition gap; they do not separately identify changes in membership claims, social treatment, or the expectations through which treatment is assessed.

5.2 Academic Integration

Table 5.4 turns to *Gymnasium* attendance, the paper's principal institutional outcome. The linear-probability coefficients are reported as percentage-point changes relative to the corresponding change among natives.

Expanded citizenship access is not accompanied by a detectable gain in *Gymnasium* attendance among Turkish-origin youth. The pooled estimate is −4.02 percentage points, with a standard error of 4.06, and neither the boys' nor the girls' estimate is distinguishable from zero. Positive changes appear in some other subgroups: attendance rises by 10.97 percentage points among former-USSR girls and by 13.48 points among Balkan boys, significant at the 5 and 10 percent levels, respectively. These subgroup estimates are suggestive; they do not establish differences between boys and girls.

Table 5.4: Changes in Gymnasium Attendance across the Cutoff

	All pupils	Boys	Girls
Turkish	−4.02	−4.76	−2.49
	(4.06)	(5.64)	(5.91)
Former USSR	5.07	−1.20	10.97**
	(3.92)	(5.56)	(5.50)
Balkan	5.10	13.48*	−2.05
	(5.61)	(7.11)	(8.18)
Other origins	2.17	2.72	2.11
	(3.45)	(4.71)	(4.69)
Pupils	18,321	8,965	9,356

Notes: Entries are changes in origin–native attendance gaps, in percentage points. Births July 1999–June 2000; attendance observed in 2015. Unweighted linear probability models include parental-education controls and birth-month fixed effects; school fixed effects are omitted because track is defined at school level. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

The track remains central to the argument for a different reason: it identifies students who have already reached an institutionally integrated position and allows the analysis to ask whether academic inclusion is accompanied by equal social recognition.

5.3 The Paradox of Integration

Table 5.5 examines the framework's third prediction: the recognition gap may become more visible where legal and academic inclusion coincide. For this exercise, I restrict the analytical sample to strict second-generation immigrant students. The first two rows report changes in the Turkish–other-origin gap outside and inside *Gymnasium*. The final row reports the difference between them. This triple-interaction coefficient tests whether the Turkish-origin change is more adverse in the academic track. A positive coefficient indicates a less favorable change inside *Gymnasium*.

The cross-track difference is clearest for personal disrespect. Outside *Gymnasium*, the Turkish-origin differential is −0.380 standard deviations; inside, it is 0.479. Although neither track-specific estimate is individually distinguishable from zero, their difference is 0.859 standard deviations and is significant at the 5 percent level. The evidence therefore concerns a more adverse relative change inside the academic track, rather than an

Table 5.5: Recognition and Belonging by School Track

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Outside Gymnasium	0.122	0.230	0.332	−0.380	0.433*
	(0.179)	(0.200)	(0.281)	(0.267)	(0.243)
Inside Gymnasium	0.487**	0.207	0.260	0.479	−0.200
	(0.230)	(0.220)	(0.225)	(0.336)	(0.279)
Inside minus outside	0.365	−0.022	−0.072	0.859**	−0.633*
	(0.288)	(0.290)	(0.354)	(0.429)	(0.369)
Pupils			1,014		

Notes: Second-generation pupils only. Entries are changes across the birth cutoff in the Turkish–other-second-generation gap within each track. The final row is the triple interaction testing the difference across tracks; the inside estimate is a linear combination using its estimated covariance. These are conditional track comparisons, not causal effects of track attendance. Coefficients are in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units. Higher values indicate greater disadvantage for every outcome; the friendship item is reversed. All models are unweighted and include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

independently established improvement outside it.

Outsider feelings also increase inside *Gymnasium*, by 0.487 standard deviations relative to other second-generation pupils. The estimate outside the academic track is smaller, at 0.122, but the difference between the two is imprecise. The within-track increase is consequently clearer than the evidence that this increase is larger inside *Gymnasium*. Neither group disrespect nor friendship difficulty shows a detectable cross-track difference.

Grading does not follow the personal-disrespect pattern. Its adverse cohort change is concentrated outside *Gymnasium*, and the inside-minus-outside contrast is −0.633 standard deviations, significant at the 10 percent level. The inside estimate itself is indistinguishable from zero. This outcome concerns perceived grading disadvantage, and the comparison spans schools with different evaluative settings; it need not move with interpersonal recognition in the same way.

The personal-disrespect contrast is consistent with the recognition-gap mechanism. Legal eligibility and academic attainment provide Turkish-origin students in *Gymnasium* with two grounds on which to claim equal membership. In the notation of Section 3.2, both can raise the position represented by x_i. If social recognition, x_g, adjusts more slowly, academic inclusion need not protect against the experience of under-recognition. Be-

cause track attendance is observed after the reform and is not randomly assigned, these estimates describe conditional differences across institutional positions, rather than the causal effect of attending *Gymnasium*.

5.4 Secondary Evidence

Gender. Appendix Table B2 reports the principal specification separately for boys and girls. Among Turkish-origin pupils, the outsider and grading estimates are larger for boys, while friendship difficulty also rises among girls at the 10 percent level. These estimates are suggestive evidence about where adverse changes appear, rather than evidence of an exclusively male response or established differences between genders.

Academic confidence. Appendix Table B3 examines English and German self-concept among pupils in the common recognition sample with both subject measures available. Turkish-origin pupils report lower English confidence relative to natives, by 0.356 standard deviations. The German estimate is also negative but imprecise, and neither subject shows a detectable change among the other origin groups. The English result complements the evidence on weaker school belonging.

Identity. Appendix Table B4 reports aggregate home-country and German-identity outcomes. Neither measure changes detectably among Turkish-origin youth. Home-country attachment declines among former-USSR youth, without a corresponding change in German identity, and no origin group shows a clear change in German identification. Under-recognition may alter how citizenship and social treatment are experienced without producing an immediate reorientation of reported group attachment. These estimates do not establish a turn toward reactive or oppositional identities.

5.5 Robustness Checks

Appendix Table B5 pools natives and first-generation immigrants as the reference category. Because first-generation youth were born outside Germany, they were not directly eligible under the reform's birthright provision. The Turkish-origin outsider and friendship estimates remain adverse and significant at the 10 percent level. The grading estimate also remains positive but is imprecise, while neither disrespect measure changes detectably. The direction of the principal pattern therefore persists with the broader reference group, although its precision varies.

Appendix Table B6 changes the aggregation of non-Turkish origins while preserving the common sample. Turkish and former-USSR origins remain separate; the remaining categories distinguish other European origins, African or Arab origins, and a residual group that includes non-Arab Asian origins. The Turkish-origin coefficients remain close to the main estimates. Group disrespect declines among other European-origin pupils and rises among African- or Arab-origin pupils. The Turkish pattern thus survives a different grouping of the other immigrant origins.

Finally, Appendix Table B7 compares birth cohorts around a January 2003 pseudo-cutoff in the 2018 wave. For the available outcomes—outsider feelings, friendship difficulty, and *Gymnasium* attendance—the later comparison does not reproduce the adverse Turkish pattern observed in 2015. The Turkish outsider estimate is negative and significant at the 10 percent level; the friendship and attendance estimates are imprecise. This exercise suggests that the adverse school-belonging pattern is not a recurring feature of the corresponding later birth-cohort comparison.

Across these analyses, the central contrast remains between substantial baseline disrespect gaps with no detectable improvement and an initially stronger sense of school belonging that erodes across the citizenship cutoff. For Turkish-origin youth, expanded access to legal membership is not accompanied by uniformly better reported treatment or belonging. The conditional evidence from the academic track further suggests that

reaching an institutionally integrated position need not resolve this tension.

6 Discussion

6.1 Formal Inclusion and Social Recognition

> "Cultural identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past." (Hall, 1990, p. 225)

Hall's distinction between being positioned by others and positioning oneself captures a tension at the center of the results. Citizenship changes an individual's formal position in the polity and can alter the terms on which membership is claimed. How that claim is received remains a social question. The German reform changed access to citizenship at a precise legal cutoff; the evidence in this paper suggests that its consequences for belonging and perceived treatment differed across origin groups.

Citizenship remains an important instrument of integration. It can expand rights, opportunities, and participation, and causal evidence from other settings shows that naturalization can generate lasting gains in social integration (Hainmueller et al., 2017). The results here identify a different margin. A reform can strengthen formal membership without producing an equally rapid or uniform change in how minority citizens are treated or recognized. Legal inclusion and social recognition are related processes, not identical ones.

The Turkish pattern makes this tension particularly visible. Before the cutoff, substantial gaps in group and personal disrespect coexist with an advantage in school belonging: Turkish-origin pupils report fewer outsider feelings and less difficulty making friends than natives. Across the cutoff, the outsider advantage erodes, while neither disrespect measure shows a detectable improvement. Friendship difficulty also moves in an adverse direction, although the evidence for this change is less precise, and perceived grading disadvantage

increases. The pattern is therefore more specific than a general deterioration in every reported outcome. A relative advantage in belonging weakens against a background of persistent reported disrespect.

The framework in Section 3 offers one interpretation of this combination. Citizenship can strengthen x_i, the position from which an individual claims and enacts membership, while origin-based judgments continue to constrain x_g, the recognition accorded by the surrounding society. Everyday encounters need not reveal whether a person holds German citizenship; the origin through which that person is perceived may remain unchanged. The recognition gap can consequently widen without an increase in hostility, or even while social recognition improves, if it advances more slowly than the individual's membership position. Continued disrespect may then acquire a different significance for someone with a stronger claim to equal standing. This interpretation connects the results to the mechanism; the estimates do not separately identify these changes in expectations and treatment.

The state can alter the terms of formal membership through a common rule, but it cannot legislate the social meaning of that membership in the same way. Citizenship enters a social field already structured by unequal histories of migration, representation, and group recognition. The consequences of formal inclusion may depend not only on the rights it confers, but also on how readily the surrounding society accepts different groups as ordinary members.

6.2 Policy Implications

The framework gives the policy implication a precise direction. Citizenship acts directly on formal membership and can strengthen x_i, the position from which an individual claims equal standing. The complementary task is to move x_g: the recognition assigned by schools, employers, public institutions, and the wider society. Closing the gap requires social treatment to catch up with the rights and opportunities that citizenship creates.

Where $x_i > x_g$, improvements in recognition narrow the gap to the extent that they outpace further increases in the membership position. Time alone need not produce this convergence.

This implication has concrete institutional margins. In schools, transparent evaluation criteria and systematic monitoring of grades, disciplinary action, and track recommendations can help reveal whether equivalent performance is being treated differently across origins. The experimental evidence reviewed in Section 2.3 shows why these decisions matter: the same essays received lower grades and weaker academic-track recommendations when they carried Turkish-sounding rather than German-sounding names (Sprietsma, 2013). Germany's early allocation into secondary-school tracks makes the fairness of these judgments particularly consequential. Accessible procedures for reviewing decisions and contesting discriminatory treatment are therefore relevant complements to formal rights.

Comparable audit and enforcement mechanisms can be used in hiring and promotion. Because x_g is also formed through repeated public representations, the range of people presented as ordinary members of German society matters alongside institutional enforcement. More plural representation in education, public communication, and the media is a potential means of challenging the association between immigrant origin and permanent foreignness discussed in Section 2.3. This paper does not estimate the effects of these interventions. It points to institutional decisions and public representations as margins on which policies complementary to citizenship reform could operate. The objective is to make the stronger claim to membership sustainable in everyday life.

6.3 The Burden of Belonging and Identity Responses

The recognition gap is also a problem of social categorization. Hall's account of the "Other" emphasizes that difference is not simply possessed by an individual; it is given social meaning through representation, stereotyping, and relations of power (Hall, 1997).

A passport can change a legal classification overnight. It cannot erase, on the same timetable, the historical associations through which a name, a religion, a phenotype, or an origin is read. In the language of the framework, these processes help shape x_g: the position assigned to a group by the surrounding society.

Alba (2005)'s distinction between bright and blurred boundaries gives this problem a more precise form. The reform opened a route across the bright legal boundary of citizenship at birth. It did not necessarily blur the social boundary between those readily recognized as German and those still marked as foreign. Evidence from Germany also links ethnic visibility to reported discrimination (Tuppat and Gerhards, 2021). Beaman (2017) documents a related tension among middle-class French citizens of North African origin: educational and professional attainment can coexist with persistent exclusion from national belonging. Her account places the *Gymnasium* comparison within a broader distinction between socioeconomic attainment and social acceptance.

The burden of belonging is therefore unequally shared. Some young people can take their membership for granted: their place in society is presumed in ordinary encounters. Others may be called upon repeatedly to establish a membership that birth, citizenship, or achievement might have been expected to secure. A person may be born and educated in Germany, hold its citizenship, and still encounter the presumption of being foreign. Participation then carries the additional work of defending one's place within the institutions in which one participates. What is an unspoken starting point for some becomes a recurring demand for others.

The conditional track comparison is consistent with this tension: the Turkish–other-origin change in personal disrespect is more adverse inside *Gymnasium* than outside it. Educational attainment may strengthen a claim to equal standing without securing its acceptance. The comparison does not establish that academic-track attendance causes a recognition cost, but it gives empirical relevance to the distinction between educational position and experienced recognition.

Persistent under-recognition may also affect how individuals negotiate their own identities. Two related responses are useful to distinguish. *Reactive ethnicity* describes a strengthening or renewed salience of ethnic attachment in response to exclusion or discrimination (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 2008). *Oppositional identity*, developed in a different literature on minority students and schooling, describes the possibility that identities or behaviors associated with dominant institutions become socially costly when they are experienced as distancing individuals from their own group (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1993). The concepts overlap in treating identity as responsive to exclusion, but they describe different responses and need not occur together. Attachment to an origin country is not, in itself, evidence of opposition to German society; the two attachments need not be substitutes.

Evidence from Germany shows how these responses can take form in a setting close to the one studied here. Çelik (2015) documents reactive ethnicity and oppositional identity among disadvantaged male Turkish second-generation youth, linking them to experiences of discrimination and social exclusion. Broader evidence is more mixed: Diehl and Schnell (2006) find little indication that disadvantaged Turkish migrants generally respond by reviving homeland-oriented identities. These findings suggest that reactive or oppositional responses can emerge under particular conditions without constituting a general response to disadvantage.

This possibility adds a dynamic implication to the recognition gap. When a claim to membership is repeatedly denied, some individuals may respond by placing greater weight on in-group identification or by distancing themselves from institutions associated with the dominant society. Such responses could change the terms on which participation and belonging are experienced. Where repeated exclusion weakens trust or participation, a recognition gap may become self-reinforcing: institutional withdrawal could deepen social distance and make recognition still more difficult. These possible dynamics depend on how exclusion is experienced and how institutions respond; stronger ethnic attachment alone need not entail withdrawal.

The present data do not show that this feedback process occurred after the reform. Neither German nor home-country attachment changes detectably among Turkish-origin youth. The absence of a detectable decline in home-country attachment does not establish reactive ethnicity; nor does the absence of increased German attachment establish an oppositional identity. The attachment results help distinguish difficulties in everyday belonging from a detectable change in national identification. Whether repeated exclusion eventually alters identification, trust, or participation remains a question for longitudinal research.

Gender and the location of recognition. The gender results provide a secondary view of the same process. The Turkish outsider and grading-disadvantage estimates are larger among boys, while friendship difficulty also rises among girls. These separate estimates do not establish differences between boys and girls. Gendered expectations of achievement, autonomy, or social standing could affect the position from which membership is claimed and the settings in which recognition matters most. That possibility remains a question for further research, rather than an explanation identified by the subgroup results.

6.4 Scope and Future Research

The empirical design concerns exposure to expanded access to birthright citizenship, not citizenship possession for every child born after the cutoff. Parental residence conditions prevented universal coverage, and individual citizenship receipt is not observed. A causal interpretation of the cohort comparison also requires that, absent the reform, the conditional origin–native gap would not have shifted across the cutoff. The placebo comparisons provide supporting evidence for this interpretation without establishing the assumption.

The recognition estimates concern pupils with valid responses to all five principal out-

comes and the required covariates. Holding this sample fixed ensures that differences across outcome regressions are not driven by changes in the pupils included, but it does not eliminate selection into the sample. The results therefore need not generalize to the full population of ninth-grade pupils. Selection related jointly to origin and birth cohort could also affect the estimated changes in the gaps.

The outcomes record how belonging and unequal treatment are reported by students. They cannot separate changes in exposure to discriminatory encounters from changes in expectations or in the interpretation of those encounters. Both matter for the relationship between formal membership and lived recognition, but they are distinct empirical channels. Likewise, the *Gymnasium* exercise compares pupils conditional on an educational position that may itself respond to the reform. The absence of a detectable aggregate attendance change among Turkish-origin pupils does not rule out changes in who enters each track. The estimates describe conditional heterogeneity and do not identify the causal effect of academic integration.

The framework is correspondingly interpretive rather than structural. The data do not directly measure x_i and x_g, and the empirical analysis does not estimate the utility cost attached to their distance. Its purpose is to organize the coexistence of stronger formal membership and uneven experiences of recognition. The adverse changes in some reported outcomes cannot by themselves establish that citizenship reduced overall welfare: the benefits of membership and any recognition costs would have to be assessed together.

These boundaries suggest several directions for future research. Data that follow immigrant youth over time could show whether an early recognition gap persists into higher education and the labor market, and how it relates to educational choices, employment, and subsequent identification. Linking citizenship eligibility and take-up to repeated measures of expectations, belonging, and experienced treatment would help distinguish changes in exposure from changes in how unequal treatment is understood. A further step would bring the receiving society more directly into the empirical design by combining individual outcomes with measures of how minority groups are perceived and treated by

peers, teachers, employers, or other institutions. Such evidence would move x_g from an organizing concept toward an empirically observable margin of social recognition.

7 Conclusion

This paper asks whether expanding access to citizenship is followed by similar changes in recognition, belonging, and academic integration across immigrant-origin groups. I exploit the sharp change in access to birthright citizenship created by Germany's 2000 Nationality Act and compare changes in origin–native gaps across its birth-cohort cutoff. Among pupils in the common recognition sample, the Turkish pattern combines substantial pre-reform gaps in group and personal disrespect with comparatively strong school belonging. Across the cutoff, the initial advantage in outsider feelings erodes and perceived grading disadvantage increases relative to natives. Friendship difficulty also moves in an adverse direction, although the evidence is less precise. Neither disrespect measure shows a detectable improvement. Other origin groups do not reproduce this combination; Balkan-origin pupils, for example, report a decline in group disrespect.

The estimates show no detectable gain in *Gymnasium* attendance among Turkish-origin pupils. Conditional on school track, the Turkish–other-origin change in personal disrespect is more adverse inside *Gymnasium* than outside it. This comparison describes conditional heterogeneity rather than the causal effect of track attendance. Together, the findings give empirical relevance to the distinction between academic position and experienced recognition.

The findings contribute to the economics of citizenship and immigrant integration by bringing the social environment into the analysis of legal reform. Citizenship changes formal status and can alter rights, opportunities, incentives, and the terms on which individuals participate in society. When existing boundaries of origin shape how a claim to membership is received, a common institutional reform can generate different experiences

across groups. Evaluations of citizenship policy should accordingly examine perceived treatment and belonging alongside education, employment, participation, and take-up.

The framework gives this implication a direction. Citizenship can strengthen x_i, the position from which an individual claims equal membership. Complementary policies can help x_g, the recognition accorded by institutions and the surrounding society, catch up. Addressing the social conditions under which membership is exercised can help sustain the rights and opportunities that legal inclusion creates.

More broadly, integration depends on how immigrants respond to institutions and on how institutions and the surrounding society respond to them. For children who grow up within the same national institutions and school system, the distance between membership in law and membership in everyday life is itself an outcome of integration. Understanding integration therefore requires asking not only whether the law has opened the boundary of membership, but whether those who cross it are allowed to belong.

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Appendix A Timeline of German Citizenship and Immigration Policy

Figures A1 and A2 summarize the institutional history discussed in Section 2. The first traces the historical foundations of German nationality law; the second follows the period from guest-worker migration to the introduction of conditional birthright citizenship in 2000.

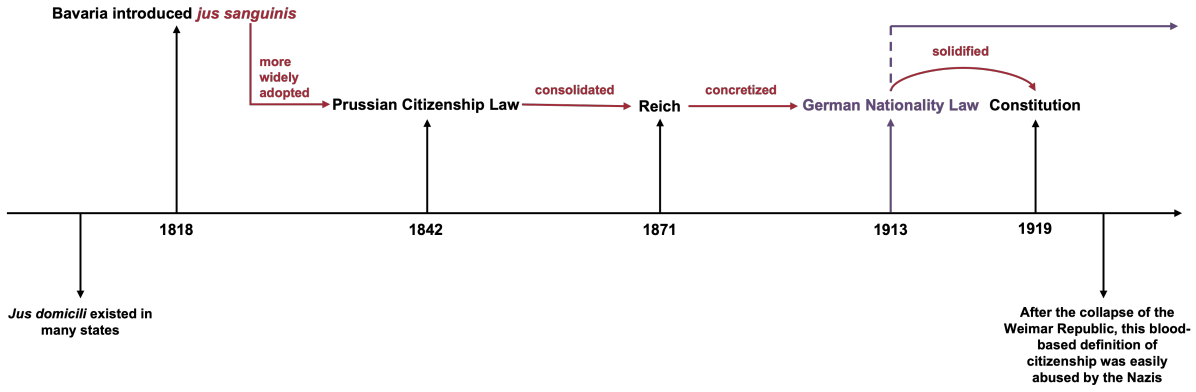


Figure A1: German Citizenship and Immigration Policy: Historical Foundations

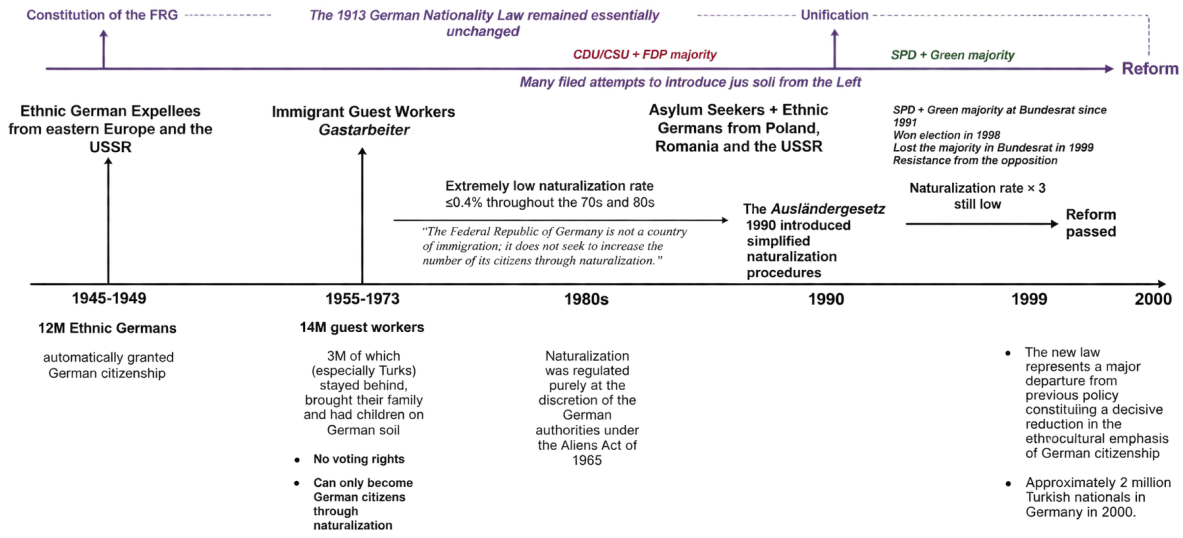


Figure A2: German Citizenship and Immigration Policy: Guest-Worker Migration and Nationality Reform

Appendix B Supplementary Empirical Evidence

This appendix reports the sample composition, secondary outcomes, and robustness checks discussed in Sections 4 and 5.

B.1 Sample Composition and Origin Definitions

Table B1 describes the common sample used in the all-origin specification. The same pupils enter the regressions for outsider feelings, friendship difficulty, group disrespect, personal disrespect, and grading disadvantage.

Table B1: Common Sample by Origin and Birth Cohort

	Birth cohort			
Origin	Jul–Dec 1999	Jan–Jun 2000	Total	Share
Native	503	508	1,011	46.9%
Turkish	117	158	275	12.8%
Former USSR	140	157	297	13.8%
Balkan	59	60	119	5.5%
Other origins	200	252	452	21.0%
Total	**1,019**	**1,135**	**2,154**	**100.0%**

Notes: IQB Education Trend 2015. Counts refer to the all-origin estimation sample after removal of school singletons. Shares are percentages of the total sample. The separate Turkish–native specification contains 1,153 pupils; the pre-reform pooled second-generation–native comparison contains 794. Restrictions and singleton removal are applied separately to each specification, so these counts need not equal the corresponding sums from the all-origin table.

Native and second-generation status follows the IQB classification; the latter are born in Germany to two foreign-born parents. Turkish and former USSR origins follow the corresponding IQB categories. Balkan origin includes at least one parent born in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Croatia, Serbia, or the combined Macedonia/Montenegro/Slovenia category, or assignment to the IQB former-Yugoslavia category. These labels follow the 2015 data. Turkish origin takes priority, followed by Balkan and former USSR; other origins comprise the remaining second-generation pupils with classifiable parental origins.

B.2 Gender Heterogeneity

Table B2 reports the five principal outcomes separately for boys and girls, retaining the outcome coding and fixed reference scales used in the main analysis. These estimates provide suggestive evidence on the distribution of changes within origin groups.

Table B2: Changes in Recognition and Belonging by Gender

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Panel A. Boys					
Turkish	0.480**	0.347	0.121	−0.326	0.549*
	(0.200)	(0.238)	(0.262)	(0.292)	(0.305)
Former USSR	−0.244	0.208	−0.010	0.039	0.103
	(0.210)	(0.230)	(0.265)	(0.269)	(0.244)
Balkan	−0.103	−0.121	−0.431	0.204	−0.098
	(0.311)	(0.319)	(0.376)	(0.477)	(0.390)
Other origins	0.162	−0.178	−0.139	0.508**	0.348
	(0.207)	(0.231)	(0.209)	(0.245)	(0.220)
Pupils			936		
Panel B. Girls					
Turkish	0.295	0.402*	−0.079	0.198	0.224
	(0.231)	(0.223)	(0.260)	(0.328)	(0.253)
Former USSR	−0.136	0.112	−0.423*	−0.120	−0.303
	(0.264)	(0.255)	(0.238)	(0.263)	(0.241)
Balkan	0.278	0.510	−0.151	−0.248	0.321
	(0.264)	(0.310)	(0.304)	(0.409)	(0.310)
Other origins	0.134	0.151	−0.310	−0.231	−0.033
	(0.234)	(0.228)	(0.204)	(0.226)	(0.209)
Pupils			842		

Notes: Each subgroup uses the current five-outcome common sample after removing school singletons within gender. Models include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects, with standard errors clustered by school. Estimates use fixed reference SDs; higher means greater disadvantage, including reversed friendship. The origin benchmark is native pupils of the same gender. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

B.3 Academic Confidence

Table B3 reports changes in English and German self-concept among pupils in the common recognition sample with both confidence measures available. Higher values indicate greater confidence; each subject is expressed in its fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units.

Table B3: Changes in Academic Confidence in English and German

	English	German
Turkish	-0.356^{**}	-0.171
	(0.155)	(0.162)
Former USSR	-0.170	0.015
	(0.149)	(0.163)
Balkan	0.035	-0.135
	(0.203)	(0.228)
Other origins	-0.009	-0.077
	(0.132)	(0.154)
Pupils	1,936	

Notes: Entries are origin–native changes across the cutoff. The sample requires the five principal recognition outcomes and both confidence measures. Coefficients use fixed subject-specific pre-reform native SDs. Higher values mean greater confidence. Unweighted models include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

B.4 Identity Outcomes

Table B4 reports changes in home-country and German identity attachment. The indices retain their original one-to-four scales, with higher values indicating stronger attachment.

Table B4: Changes in Home-Country and German Identity Attachment

	Home-country attachment	German attachment
Turkish	−0.046	−0.005
	(0.134)	(0.115)
Former USSR	−0.238**	−0.034
	(0.118)	(0.106)
Balkan	−0.233	−0.132
	(0.157)	(0.185)
Other origins	−0.054	−0.072
	(0.097)	(0.088)
Pupils	2,143	

Notes: Entries are changes in origin–native gaps across the cutoff. Each index averages closeness and comfort items on their original 1–4 scales; higher values mean stronger attachment. The sample has complete responses to the six-item identity battery. These coefficients are in index points, not SD units. Unweighted models include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

B.5 Alternative Reference Group

Table B5 pools native pupils and first-generation immigrants as the reference group. The second-generation origin categories, outcome coding, and fixed reference scales remain those of the main analysis.

Table B5: Natives and First-Generation Pupils as the Reference Group

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Turkish	0.215*	0.247*	0.102	0.004	0.234
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.158)	(0.190)	(0.154)
Former USSR	−0.209	0.171	−0.161	0.116	−0.027
	(0.150)	(0.133)	(0.142)	(0.154)	(0.136)
Balkan	0.167	0.101	−0.501**	−0.226	0.017
	(0.157)	(0.180)	(0.210)	(0.248)	(0.210)
Other origins	0.108	−0.022	−0.141	0.216	0.113
	(0.122)	(0.117)	(0.115)	(0.142)	(0.115)
Pupils			2,511		

Notes: Entries are changes across the cutoff for each second-generation origin group relative to a pooled reference of native and first-generation pupils. Coefficients are in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units. Higher values indicate greater disadvantage for every outcome; the friendship item is reversed. All models are unweighted and include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

B.6 Alternative Geographic Classification

Table B6 retains Turkish and former USSR origins as separate categories and groups the remaining pupils into other European, African or Arab, and residual origins. Non-Arab Asian origins enter the residual category, preserving the common sample. The table notes give the classification details.

Table B6: Alternative Geographic Origin Classification

	Outsider feelings	Friendship difficulty	Group disrespect	Personal disrespect	Grading disadvantage
Turkish	0.291**	0.274*	0.060	−0.056	0.304*
	(0.124)	(0.141)	(0.165)	(0.194)	(0.157)
Former USSR	−0.148	0.168	−0.151	0.046	0.009
	(0.154)	(0.141)	(0.149)	(0.157)	(0.142)
Other European	0.075	0.082	−0.415***	−0.246	0.015
	(0.149)	(0.148)	(0.156)	(0.179)	(0.141)
African/Arab	0.203	0.183	0.559**	0.195	0.000
	(0.195)	(0.223)	(0.238)	(0.311)	(0.257)
Residual origins	0.071	−0.111	−0.305*	0.108	0.244
	(0.157)	(0.162)	(0.158)	(0.186)	(0.149)
Pupils			2,154		

Notes: Entries are origin–native changes across the cutoff. Turkish and former USSR origins remain separate. The African/Arab category includes African origins and Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and other Arab countries, using parental-country information and the provider Arab classification when consistent. Non-Arab Asian and mixed African/Arab–Asian origins remain in the residual category, alongside other mixed, US and unresolved origins. The same pupils enter as in the main all-origin specification. Coefficients are in fixed pre-reform native standard deviation units. Higher values indicate greater disadvantage for every outcome; the friendship item is reversed. All models are unweighted and include parental-education controls, birth-month and school fixed effects. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.

B.7 Placebo Comparisons in the 2018 Wave

Table B7 compares pupils born from July 2002 through June 2003 around a January 2003 pseudo-cutoff. Both cohorts were born after the citizenship reform and are observed in 2018. The table combines the available outsider, friendship, and *Gymnasium* attendance outcomes. The first two share a paired-response sample; attendance uses the larger sample with the required information.

Table B7: Placebo Cohort Comparisons in the 2018 Wave

	Outsider feelings (SD)	Friendship difficulty (SD)	Gymnasium attendance (pp)
Turkish	−0.131*	−0.093	4.67
	(0.074)	(0.089)	(3.73)
Former USSR	−0.158*	−0.050	−2.85
	(0.090)	(0.086)	(3.75)
Balkan	0.008	0.060	0.19
	(0.097)	(0.130)	(4.77)
Other origins	0.075	0.018	1.35
	(0.060)	(0.063)	(2.56)
Pupils	20,704	20,704	22,130

Notes: Pupils born July 2002–June 2003 and observed in 2018; Post denotes birth from January 2003. Both cohorts were born after the citizenship reform. Origin grouping is harmonized as far as available categories permit: Bulgaria is separately identified in 2018, while Slovenia is not. Each entry is an origin–native change at the pseudo-cutoff. The first two outcomes share a paired-response sample and use fixed 2015 reference SDs; higher values are adverse. Attendance uses a larger sample and is in percentage points. All models include parental-education controls and birth-month fixed effects. School fixed effects apply to belonging outcomes only. School-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.