

**The Integration Paradox:
The Association Between Education and Host Society Disengagement Among Immigrant
Groups in the Netherlands**

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Abstract

Background This study analyses the *integration paradox*, the phenomenon that higher-educated immigrants are turning away from the host society instead of becoming more oriented towards it. By using the *relative deprivation theory* and the *theory of exposure* to explain this phenomenon, the relation between educational level, perceived discrimination and host society disengagement is investigated. In addition, ethnic differences in this relation between the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands are examined.

Methods The integration paradox is investigated within the Dutch context among a large sample (N = 2499) of immigrants, by using data of Survey Integration Minorities (SIM2015). First and second-generation immigrant adults of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean origin are included. Data were analysed through correlations, parametric and nonparametric tests.

Results This study reveals that the integration paradox, which has been repeatedly identified in previous research, cannot be found among immigrant adults in the Netherlands with more recent data. Higher education is directly associated with lower host society disengagement. Nevertheless, findings do reveal that the higher immigrants' educational level, the more personal discrimination they perceive. Finally, while results show that there are ethnic differences in group discrimination and in host society disengagement, the negative association between education and disengagement was not different for the four immigrant groups.

Conclusions The findings indicate that the integration paradox cannot be considered a paradox in this study. However, higher-educated immigrants are thereby not automatically protected against discrimination. This evidence therefore forms the basis for suggestions for future research and policy implications.

Introduction

Although immigrant groups normally perform less well in education than the native majority (OECD, 2016), the educational level of immigrants seems to be rising (Eurostat, 2016). Recently, Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2018) showed a predominantly positive trend regarding the educational achievement of members of all four major non-western immigrant groups in the Netherlands. These groups – including migrants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean origin – attained both in secondary and higher education a higher educational level compared to ten years ago. Classical immigration theories (Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964) expect that this structural integration (improvement of one's educational level) goes hand in hand with socio-cultural integration (a sense of belonging/positive attitudes towards the host society). However, the opposite appears to be true: while immigrants' educational level improved over the last decade, they generally became less positive about their opportunities and life in the Netherlands (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). This relation between *education* and *host society disengagement* is known as the integration paradox.

The *integration paradox* can be defined as the phenomenon that highly educated immigrants are turning away from the host society, instead of becoming more oriented towards it (Buijs et al., 2006). A higher educational level thus leads, paradoxically, to greater host society disengagement among immigrants.

Several studies have investigated this phenomenon among immigrants from various ethnic groups in the Netherlands. Empirical support varied, however, by outcome measure: studies linked immigrants' educational level to several indicators of host society disengagement. Most studies focused on attitudes towards natives and found that higher-educated immigrants had less positive attitudes towards the native majority, via lower perceived acceptance and higher perceived discrimination (De Vroome et al., 2014; Ten Tije et al., 2013; Verkuyten, 2016). Others concluded that higher-educated immigrants perceived greater dissatisfaction with the host society (De Vroome et al., 2014), and greater identification with their ethnic group (Tolsma et al., 2012), or linked education directly to higher levels of perceived discrimination (Steinman, 2019; Van Doorn et al., 2013). Contrastingly, more recent data showed that the integration paradox is not present at an earlier stage in the lives of immigrants, during adolescence (Van Maaren & Van de Rijt, 2018). Since there is some conceptual ambiguity about the definition of the term integration paradox and variation in outcome measures studies considered (Van Maaren & Van de Rijt, 2018), this research will test the integration paradox with more recent data among immigrants using various outcome

measures. It thereby offers a more comprehensive view of what host society disengagement entails and thus creates a better understanding of the complex problem of the integration paradox.

This research will investigate the relation between educational level and host society disengagement among immigrants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean origin. While some studies found evidence for the paradox among these groups (De Vroome et al., 2014; Ten Tije et al., 2013; Tolsma et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2016) and others did not (Van Maaren & Van de Rijt, 2018), meaningful differences between these four immigrant groups in the Netherlands that might impact the integration paradox have not yet been addressed explicitly. While Moroccan and Turkish migrants came as traditional guest-worker groups and are predominantly Muslim, Surinamese and Antillean migrants came as nationals from former Dutch colonies (CBS, 2018). Next to contrasting migration backgrounds and different group characteristics such as religiosity or native language, there are some essential differences between these groups regarding their structural and socio-cultural integration (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016) and regarding the evaluation of these groups within the Dutch society (Vasta, 2007). This research thus aims to investigate whether these differences between immigrant groups are relevant for understanding the relationship between education and host society disengagement. Therefore, I derived the following research question: *What is the relation between educational level and host society disengagement among immigrant groups and are there differences in the integration paradox between these groups in the Netherlands?*

It is important to address this issue since host society disengagement among immigrants can have negative consequences for both the host society and immigrants themselves. For the host society, the cohesion is threatened when groups perceive a lack of feelings of belonging, because such feelings can put a strain on a unified society and national solidarity (Verkuyten, 2016). For immigrants, this socio-cultural distance from the host society can have consequences on several domains, including health and well-being, social trust, (political) participation and deviant behaviour (Huijnk et al., 2015). The influence on health and well-being is considered most important as it affects immigrants' overall quality of life, which in turn influences the other domains. Appau et al. (2019) highlighted the importance of the perceived strength of belonging to a country for one's subjective well-being. Besides, based on the acculturation strategies (Berry, 2001), Huijnk et al. (2015) specifically addressed that host society disengagement affects health and well-being. Immigrants who are part of the segregated or

ethnic isolated group, linked to the acculturation strategy *separation* (when immigrants maintain their origin culture but avoid interaction with the host society) (Berry, 2001), were at greatest distance to the Dutch society (Huijnk et al., 2015). These groups had the worst health, reported high levels of unhappiness and perceived their situation as much worse than other people in the Netherlands (Huijnk et al., 2015). To come up with policy implications for these problems associated with host society disengagement, this research aims to investigate group-specific differences in the integration paradox.

Furthermore, current immigration and integration policies in the Netherlands, just like other countries within the European Union, lack in ‘structural initiatives targeting the host population to reinforce its ability to adjust to diversity’ (Commission of the European Communities 2007, p. 8). In line with Van Doorn et al. (2013), this research argues that integration policies should also direct at the acceptance of immigrants among the native majority group, instead of only focusing on the integration of immigrants themselves. This research should thus make the government reconsider their integration policies, by also focusing on a native majority perspective to reduce discrimination, instead of only focusing on an immigrant integration perspective.

Theoretical approach

There are several explanations as to why higher-educated immigrants are turning away from the host society, instead of becoming more oriented towards it. In the following, I theoretically explain this paradox via the arguments related to perceived discrimination, using the relative deprivation theory and the theory of exposure. Additionally, argumentations regarding the expected differences between the four ethnic groups are given. Figure 1 combines these theoretical mechanisms into a conceptual model.

Relative deprivation theory

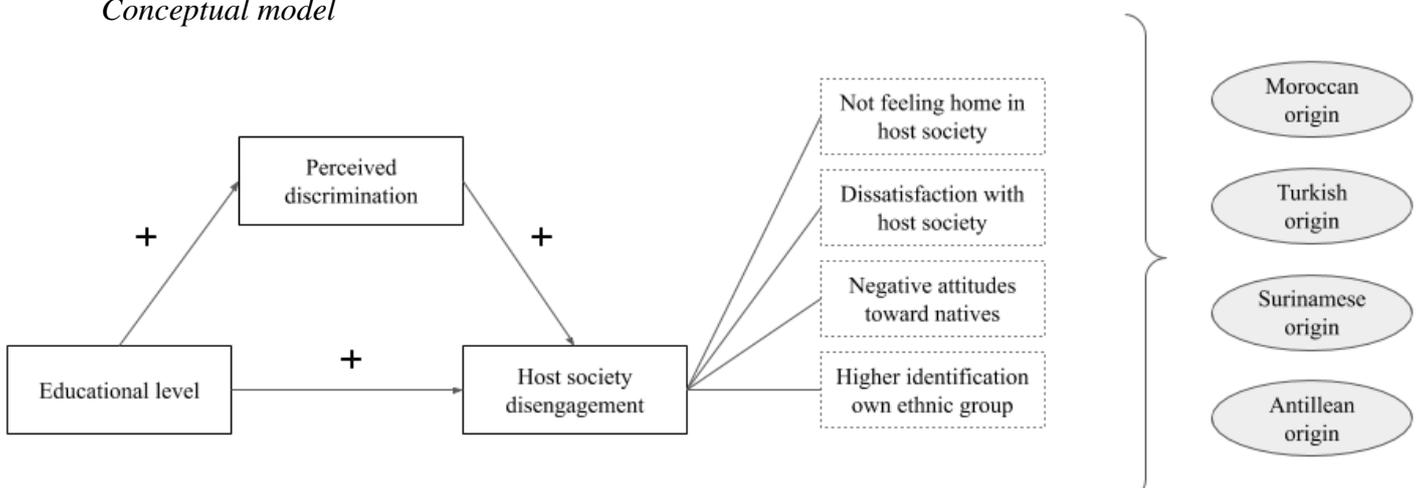
One of the key mechanisms described in the literature to explain the integration paradox is based on relative deprivation. *Relative deprivation* is defined as the perception that one is at an unfair disadvantage on an individual or group level compared to others (Smith et al., 2012). The process of relative deprivation consists of three steps (Smith et al., 2012): an individual first makes comparisons at an individual or group level, next, perceives that they or the group one belongs to is at a relative disadvantage and third, believes this disadvantage is unfair. The *theory of rising expectations* and the concept of *cognitive sophistication* both explain why one would expect higher levels of relative deprivation among higher-educated immigrants.

Theory of rising expectations

First, the theory of rising expectations argues that immigrants who pursue higher education also develop higher expectations. Their opportunities, however, have not developed at the same pace, thus their expectations are not met with equal rewards (Buijs et al., 2006).

Figure 1

Conceptual model



This makes higher-educated immigrants more strongly disappointed about unequal opportunities and treatment. It has indeed been found that immigrants tend to be employed at a lower level and have more temporary jobs compared to natives with a similar educational level (Alba & Nee, 2003). Besides, Gijsberts and Vervoort (2009) found evidence that higher-educated ethnic minorities experience more trouble finding a job than native majority members with the same educational level. Huijnk and Andriessen (2016) recently confirmed this finding. They report that, despite the rising educational level and improving command of the Dutch language among second-generation migrants, access to the labour market remains a major barrier. Less than half of the unemployment gap between second-generation migrants and Dutch natives is explained by characteristics such as education, which makes the remaining unexplained difference likely to be associated with discrimination (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Several studies found this to be true and report high levels of ethnic and racial discrimination against ethnic minority applicants (Andriessen et al., 2012; Zschirnt & Ruedin, 2016).

Higher-educated immigrants among these groups may thus perceive more deprivation since the relevant comparison to natives with a similar educational level turns out negatively (De Vroome et al., 2014). So, in contrast to the lower educated where economic disparity with natives could be explained by a lack of knowledge and skills, higher-educated immigrants can more confidently claim that this happens due to a lack of opportunities and discrimination (Verkuyten, 2016). This unequal treatment creates, through higher expectations, feelings of disappointment, which explains why the higher educated feel relatively more deprived than lower-educated immigrants.

Cognitive sophistication

The concept of cognitive sophistication offers another explanation as to why feelings of relative deprivation are higher among better-educated immigrants. High education is generally associated with more cognitive sophistication, which means that higher-educated immigrants have stronger cognitive abilities to reflect critically on unfair processes (Wodtke, 2012). They thereby have a better understanding of the low level of acceptance of immigrants within society and the processes of discrimination (Verkuyten, 2016). Researchers indeed found that higher-educated immigrants are more informed about the political debate and thereby confronted with the negative public opinion towards ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (Van Doorn et al., 2013). So, their high education level enables them to become more informed and concerned

about the unfair treatments and lack of acknowledgement of immigrant groups (De Vroome et al., 2014). This again creates high feelings of relative deprivation among higher-educated immigrants.

Theory of exposure

Another underlying mechanism of the integration paradox is the *theory of exposure*, which explains why higher-educated immigrants perceive more discrimination than lower-educated immigrants (Van Doorn et al., 2013). The higher-educated is generally more exposed to interethnic contact with the majority population (Martinovic, 2013). They tend to have more contact with majority members on the labour market and also more often use host country media, compared to lower-educated immigrants (Verkuyten, 2016). This could lead to an increase of exposure to negative attitudes from members of the majority group towards ethnic minority groups (Van Doorn et al., 2013). Higher-educated immigrants are thereby more exposed to the adverse public climate towards ethnic minorities (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009) and thus, to a bigger extent exposed to discrimination and derogating messages.

Several studies have found evidence for this mechanism. Dagevos and Gijsberts (2007) showed that, in the Netherlands, higher educational attainment is related to higher perceptions of ethnic discrimination among immigrants. Gijsberts and Vervoort (2009) and Ten Tije et al. (2013) confirmed these conclusions as they also found that higher-educated immigrants perceived lower levels of general acceptance and higher levels of group discrimination, due to exposure.

Host society disengagement

Both the relative deprivation theory and the theory of exposure explain why higher-educated ethnic minorities perceive more discrimination compared to lower-educated immigrants. Discrimination is considered an important predictor for host society disengagement among immigrants (De Vroome et al., 2014; Ten Tije et al., 2013; Tolsma et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2016). More specifically, Verkuyten (2016) emphasized that *host society disengagement* is about immigrants who *psychologically* disengage from the host society, which is measured using indicators such as not feeling at home in the host society, stronger identification with their ethnic group, dissatisfaction with the host society and negative attitudes towards natives.

Researches addressed that among immigrant-origin groups, feelings of perceived high discrimination by the majority group are associated with increased ethnic group identification (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) and a weaker identification with the host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Furthermore, De Vroome et al. (2014) have found empirical evidence that higher education is related to higher levels of discrimination and lower levels of perceived subgroup respect. This, in turn, leads to less favourable attitudes towards the host society and native population. Thus, it can be expected that *educational level is positively associated with host society disengagement among immigrants, via higher perceived discrimination*. I therefore derived the following hypotheses:

H1: The higher the educational level of immigrants, the higher the perceived discrimination.

H2: The higher the perceived discrimination among immigrants, the higher the host society disengagement.

H3: The higher the educational level of immigrants, the higher the host society disengagement.

H4: The positive relation between immigrants' educational level and host society disengagement can be explained via higher perceived discrimination.

Ethnic differences

As argued-above, the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands have meaningful differences that might impact the integration paradox. Based on different migration backgrounds, one can distinguish between Turkish and Moroccan migrants on the one hand and Surinamese and Antillean migrants on the other. Turkish and Moroccan men were recruited as labour migrants on a large-scale in the early 1960s, and a process of family reunification and formation started in the mid-1970s. At the same time, large numbers of Surinamese and Antillean migrants from the former Dutch colonies settled in the Netherlands (CBS, 2018).

Concerning group characteristics, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are considered being distinct from Dutch natives regarding their looks, language, habits and Islamic religion. Contrastingly, Surinamese and Antillean immigrants are, although being distinct regarding looks, culturally quite similar to Dutch natives as they speak the same language and do not differ in the dominant religious ideology (Ten Tije et al., 2013). These different characteristics affect both social and cultural integration. To illustrate, for Surinamese and Antillean immigrants, interethnic contact with Dutch natives increases more over time (Martinovic et al.,

2009) and they are more in favour of intermarriages (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016) than Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Religion thus appears to be a stronger barrier for socio-cultural integration than race in the Netherlands. This could influence feelings of relative deprivation and levels of exposure, creating differences in host society disengagement.

Regarding relative deprivation, linked to the theory of rising expectations, one can argue that higher expectations among higher-educated Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are less often met with equal rewards than among higher-educated Surinamese and Antillean immigrants. Ethnic discrimination against ethnic minority applicants appears to be particularly high among Muslim minorities (Di Stasio et al., 2019). More specifically, immigrants with a Moroccan or Turkish background perceive predominantly more discrimination than the other non-western immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Andriessen et al., 2014). Higher-educated Turkish and Moroccan immigrants may thus feel more deprived, since the relevant comparison to natives with a similar educational level turns out more negatively for them than for Surinamese and Antillean immigrants.

Regarding the theory of exposure, higher-educated Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are argued to be more exposed to the negative public climate towards ethnic minorities, as this has specially hardened towards Muslim immigrants with the electoral successes of the Party for Freedom (PVV) (Van Doorn et al., 2013) and with the increasing fear for radicalism, extremism, terrorism and the Islamic State (IS) (Huijnk et al., 2015). The native majority in the Netherlands generally sees the Islamic religion as a barrier to integration (Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). Higher-educated Muslim minorities, including Turks and Moroccans, are therefore more likely to be exposed to discrimination and derogating messages than Surinamese and Antillean immigrants.

Since Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are culturally and religiously less close to the majority than Surinamese and Antillean immigrants and are thereby more likely to experience discrimination, it can be expected that *the positive association between education and host society disengagement is stronger for Turkish and Moroccan immigrants than for Surinamese and Antillean immigrants*. I therefore derived the following hypotheses:

- H5:** Turkish and Moroccan immigrants perceive more discrimination than Surinamese and Antillean immigrants.
- H6:** The relation between education and host society disengagement, via perceived discrimination, is stronger for Turkish and Moroccan immigrants than for Surinamese and Antillean immigrants.

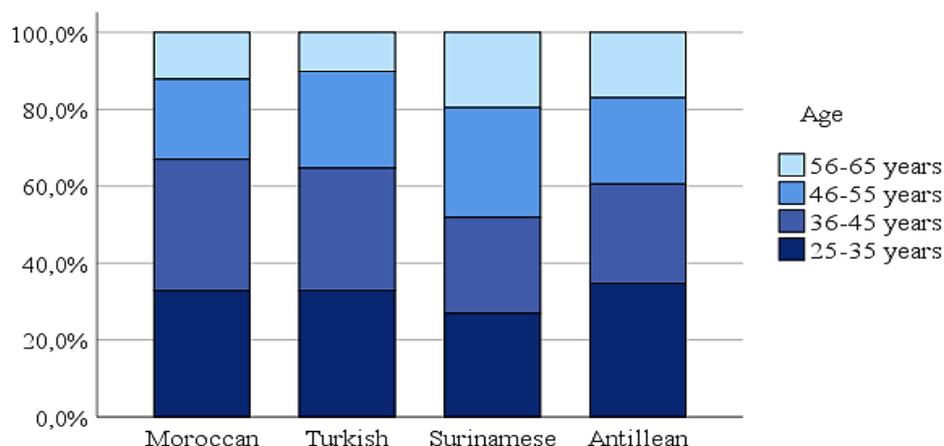
Research methods

To study the integration paradox among immigrant groups in the Netherlands, I performed quantitative research and used data of Survey Integration Minorities (SIM2015) collected by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP, 2015). The Survey Integration Minorities 2015 is held for the third time, next to SIM2006 and SIM2011. It is set up to gain insight into different domains of integration among immigrant groups in the Netherlands. The SIM2015 data are very suitable for the aim of this paper since they contain comprehensive information on immigrants in the Netherlands regarding their education, social and cultural integration and discrimination, which are all linked to the integration paradox.

Data and participants

The data of SIM2015 is collected among ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, including Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, Poles and Somalis, and a native-Dutch comparison group. Response rates varied between 35 per cent among the Somalis and 55 per cent among the Turks and Dutch natives. SIM2015 used a mixed-method design whereby participants first were being approached online, supplemented by a face-to-face approach. Bilingual interviewers held the face-to-face interviews.

Using this dataset, this research further selected the four non-western migrant groups: Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, and Antilleans. These groups are selected because they are the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). For each ethnic group, data were collected among participants aged 15 years or older. For this research, the integration paradox is investigated among adults, since Van Maaren & Van de Rijt (2018) recently argued that the integration paradox is predominantly due to a labour market mechanism, and not present among adolescents. Therefore, this research selected immigrants ranging from the age of 25 to 65 years. As of last inclusion criteria, this research included both first-generation migrants (born in their origin country), and second-generation migrants (born in the Netherlands, with at least one parent born outside the Netherlands). After cleaning the data, 297 respondents are excluded because they were classified as missing on the key variables. This resulted in a final $N = 2499$, including migrants of Moroccan ($N = 576$), Turkish ($N = 581$), Surinamese ($N = 665$) and Antillean ($N = 677$) origin. Of these participants, 47 percent is male, and 53 percent is female. Since age is measured in categories, Figure 2 is created to show the distribution of age by ethnicity. Most of the participants, 74 percent, are first-generation migrants.

Figure 2*The distribution of age by cultural origin*

Measures

Independent variables

The main independent variable in this research is *educational level*. This was measured by asking respondents about the highest level of education completed. Respondents who were still in school are treated as having achieved the level of education they are currently enrolled in. The answer categories ranged from no education to university, where The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP, 2015) assigned these categories to no education (0), low education (1), middle education (2) and high education (3). These categories are based on the standard classification of education by Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2019) where low education contains primary school and lower secondary education (vmbo), middle education contains higher secondary education (havo, vwo) and vocational education (mbo) and high education contains higher professional education (hbo) and university.

To test whether the effect of education on host society disengagement differs between the four immigrant groups, this research included all four *ethnic groups*, distinguishing between immigrants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, or Antillean origin.

Dependent variables

To measure *host society disengagement*, the four indicators considered being important by Verkuyten (2016) are chosen. Important to note here is that a higher score on these variables reflects lower host society disengagement.

The first dependent variable is *feeling at home in host society*, which was measured by asking ‘Are you feeling at home in the Netherlands?’. Respondents could answer this question with ‘no’ (1), ‘sometimes, sometimes not’ (2) or ‘yes’ (3).

The second dependent variable is *identification with host society*, which was measured with the question ‘Are you feeling more [own ethnic group], more Dutch or both?’. Answers ranged from ‘I feel completely [own ethnic group]’ (1) to ‘I feel completely Dutch’ (5), on a five-point scale.

The third dependent variable is *satisfaction with host society*, which was measured with the question ‘What is your opinion on Dutch society?’ Participants could grade the Dutch society on a 10-point scale ranging from feeling very dissatisfied (1) to very satisfied (10).

The last dependent variable is *attitudes towards natives*. Respondents were asked the following question: ‘What is your opinion on Dutch natives?’ This was measured using a feeling thermometer ranging from very negative feelings about this group (0) to very positive feelings (100).

Mediator

The mediator used to explain the relationship between education and host society disengagement is *perceived discrimination*. Two items in the survey assessed discrimination on a five-point scale ranging from ‘never’ to ‘very often’. The questions asked are ‘Have you yourself ever been discriminated against by native Dutch? How often did this happen?’ and ‘Some people say that [own ethnic group] are being discriminated against by native Dutch. How often does this happen?’. Both perceived personal discrimination and perceived group discrimination are included.

Analysis

For the analyses, SPSS Statistics 25th edition is used. The SIM2015 data are safely stored on the U-drive, and results of the analyses will not allow re-identification of participants, thereby protecting anonymity and confidentiality. Further, preliminary tests were first executed and are only discussed if assumptions concerning normality, sample size or homogeneity of variances were violated. After considering the correlation analyses, relations between education, discrimination and host society disengagement are investigated using Kruskal Wallis H tests and one-way ANOVA’s. Additionally, ethnic group differences are examined using these same tests.

Results

In the following, findings of the statistical tests are presented. First, descriptive statistics and correlations are discussed. Next, factor analysis for the host society disengagement items is executed to facilitate further parametric analyses. Furthermore, results of relations between education, discrimination, and host society disengagement are discussed, concluding with ethnic differences within these relations.

Descriptive analysis

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 shows the mean scores for the different measures by cultural origin. For the total sample, the educational level was close to middle education ($M = 1.77$, $SD = .90$), as for Moroccans and Turks the average educational level was slightly lower than for Surinamese and Antilleans. To visualize this, Figure 3 shows the distribution of education by ethnicity.

Regarding discrimination, results showed that every ethnic group perceived considerable discrimination. For the total sample, respondents reported more discrimination at the group level ($M = 3.21$, $SD = .89$) than at the personal level ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.08$). A Wilcoxon signed-rank test revealed that this difference was significant ($z = -30.79$, $p < .001$).

Figure 3

The distribution of education by cultural origin

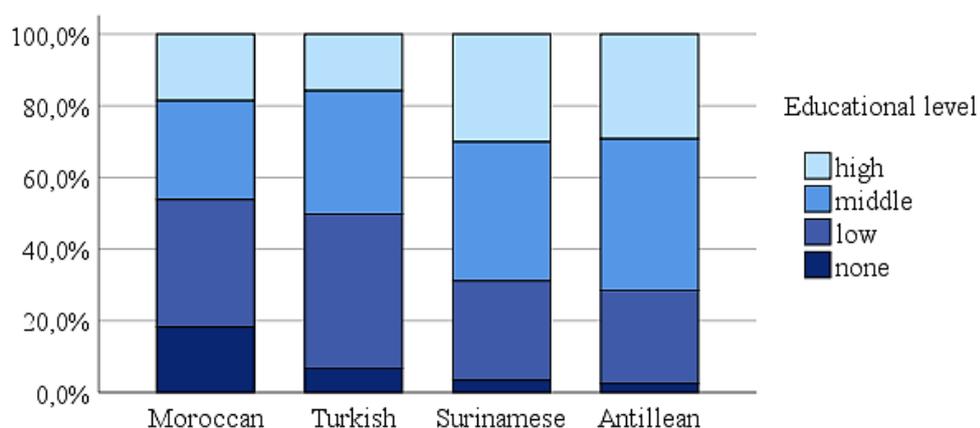


Table 1*Descriptive statistics by cultural origin*

	Full sample			Moroccan		Turkish		Surinamese		Antillean	
	<i>(N=2499)</i>			<i>(N=576)</i>		<i>(N=581)</i>		<i>(N=665)</i>		<i>(N=677)</i>	
	Range	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Educational level	0-3	1.77	.90	1.47	.99	1.59	.83	1.95	.85	1.98	.81
Perceived personal discrimination	1-5	2.40	1.08	2.32	1.06	2.43	1.11	2.47	1.06	2.38	1.09
Perceived group discrimination	1-5	3.21	.89	3.32	.93	3.06	.88	3.14	.87	3.31	.87
Feeling home in host society	1-3	2.59	.57	2.55	.59	2.52	.63	2.71	.51	2.59	.56
Identification with host society	1-5	2.81	1.08	2.55	.89	2.33	1.03	3.18	1.00	3.06	1.16
Satisfaction with host society	1-10	6.59	1.71	6.65	1.85	6.29	1.85	6.77	1.53	6.62	1.61
Attitudes towards natives	0-100	66.75	20.10	67.18	20.51	64.16	21.00	68.34	18.65	67.03	20.17

Concerning the four indicators of host society (dis)engagement, participants reported on average on the positive end of the three-point scale on feeling at home in the Netherlands ($M = 2.59, SD = .57$). Regarding respondents' identification with the Dutch society, the average score was a little beneath the midpoint of the scale ($M = 2.81, SD = .1.08$). However, Moroccans and Turks reported on average to identify more with their ethnic group than Surinamese and Antilleans. Furthermore, all respondents reported moderate levels of satisfaction with the Dutch society ($M = 6.59, SD = 1.71$) and moderate levels of positive attitudes towards Dutch natives ($M = 66.75, SD = 20.10$). Comparing the ethnic groups here, mean scores revealed that Turkish immigrants reported the lowest levels of satisfaction and positive attitudes while Surinamese immigrants reported the highest on both measures.

Correlations

To identify the existence and direction of the associations between the variables, first correlation analyses are conducted. Since the data includes variables that are measured on an ordinal scale, Spearman's rank-order correlations were executed. Table 2 shows the intercorrelations between the variables relating to demographics, discrimination and host society disengagement. Significant relations are highlighted.

As seen in the correlation matrix, education was negatively correlated to age ($r_s = -.26, p < .01$), and positively to generation ($r_s = .26, p < .01$). Additionally, there was a positive correlation between both educational level and personal discrimination ($r_s = .07, p < .01$) and educational level and group discrimination ($r_s = .04, p < .05$). Furthermore, correlations showed that the higher immigrants' education, the more they feel at home in the Netherlands ($r_s = .03, p < .05$), the more they identify with the Dutch identity ($r_s = .22, p < .01$), the higher their satisfaction with the Dutch society ($r_s = .06, p < .01$), and the more positive their attitudes towards Dutch natives ($r_s = .08, p < .01$). So, a higher educational level was associated with lower host society disengagement.

Personal and group discrimination were strongly intercorrelated ($r_s = .46, p < .01$). Next, they both showed negative correlations with age ($r_s = -.08, p < .01$), but only personal discrimination was significantly negatively correlated to gender ($r_s = -.01, p < .01$). Furthermore, both discrimination variables showed significant negative correlations with all host society engagement indicators. Hence, more perceived discrimination was associated with higher disengagement.

Table 2*Correlations (Spearman) between variables concerning demographics, discrimination and host society disengagement*

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Educational level	1.00									
2. Gender	-.01	1.00								
3. Age	-.26**	-.02	1.00							
4. Generation	.26**	-.01	-.42**	1.00						
5. Personal discrimination	.07**	-.01**	-.08**	.03	1.00					
6. Group discrimination	.04*	-.01	-.08**	.02	.46**	1.00				
7. Feeling home in HS	.03*	.01	.10**	.01	-.33**	-.28**	1.00			
8. Identification with HS	.22**	-.03	-.01	.29**	-.12**	-.10**	.29**	1.00		
9. Satisfaction with HS	.06**	-.03	.14**	-.04	-.29**	-.29**	.47**	.21**	1.00	
10. Attitudes towards natives	.08**	-.06**	.04*	.04	-.23**	-.24**	.31**	.21**	.39**	1.00

Note. $N = 2499$. HS = host society.** $p < .01$ (2-tailed). * $p < .05$ (2-tailed).

Except for identification with the host society, all variables of host society engagement were positively correlated to age. Further, only identification with host society showed a significant positive correlation with generation ($r_s = .29, p < .01$). Moreover, all indicators of host society (dis)engagement are intercorrelated. Therefore, a factor analysis is performed to investigate whether they measure the same construct. Subsequently, further parametric and nonparametric tests will be performed to examine the relations of the integration paradox.

Factor analysis

A factor analysis (FA) was conducted to reduce the four dependent items into one principal variable of host society disengagement. Answer categories of all four questions were reverse coded in order to make sure that a higher score on an item reflects higher host society disengagement. Besides, all the items that make up the scale were standardized since they contained different measurement levels. To check the homogeneity between variables, a reliability analysis was conducted. The scale had a moderate level of internal consistency, as determined by a Cronbach's alpha of 0.66. This is below the recommended value of 0.7 but is still considered acceptable (Hinton et al., 2004). As presented in Table 3, FA revealed one component that had an eigenvalue greater than one, which explained 47.5 % of the total variance. Finally, communalities were all above .3, further confirming that each item shared common variance with other items. This resulted in the principal variable host society disengagement, suitable for parametric statistical analyses.

Table 3

Factor analysis of the items for host society disengagement

Items	Factor loading	Communality
Feeling at home in host society	.77	.33
Identification with ethnic group	.76	.60
Satisfaction with host society	.64	.58
Attitudes towards natives	.57	.41
Eigenvalue	1.90	
R ²	0.48	
Cronbach's α	0.66	

Note. $N = 2499$.

The integration paradox

Education and discrimination

To further analyse the relations between education and discrimination, Two Kruskal Wallis tests were conducted for both personal and group discrimination. Personal discrimination was significantly different between the four differently educated groups $\chi^2(3) = 23.64, p < .001$. By interpreting mean ranks, personal discrimination scores increased from no education to low, middle and high education. Subsequently, pairwise comparisons were performed using Dunn's (1964) procedure with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. This post hoc analysis revealed statistically significant differences in personal discrimination between none and low education, none and middle education and none and high education ($p < .001$). The other group differences were not statistically significant. For group discrimination, discrimination scores were not significantly different between the different educational levels $\chi^2(3) = 5.43, p = .143$.

Thus, an increasing educational level was associated with an increase in perceived personal discrimination but was not associated with more perceived group discrimination.

Discrimination and host society disengagement

To test the relationship between discrimination and host society disengagement, two one-way ANOVA's were conducted. Regarding personal discrimination, scores of host society disengagement were significantly different between groups that reported different levels of discrimination, $F(4, 2494) = 100.15, p < .001$. Host society disengagement scores were the lowest within the group that perceived no personal discrimination ($M = -.39$), and the highest within the group that reported being discriminated against very often ($M = 1.20$). Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that the mean increase of host society disengagement differed significantly between every level of perceived personal discrimination.

For group discrimination, similar results were found. Host society disengagement scores differed significantly between the different levels of group discrimination, $F(4, 2494) = 86.70, p < .001$. Host society disengagement scores increased sequentially from never perceiving group discrimination ($M = -.44$) to perceiving it very often ($M = .91$). Here, Bonferroni post hoc analysis also showed the mean increase of host society disengagement being significantly different between every level of perceived group discrimination, except for the difference between never and almost never perceiving group discrimination (.01, 95% CI [-.29, .31]).

These results revealed that an increase in level of perceived discrimination was associated with higher host society disengagement, for both personal and group discrimination.

Education and host society disengagement

To examine the association between education and host society disengagement, a one-way ANOVA was performed. Results showed that host society disengagement scores were significantly different between groups with a different educational level, $F(3, 2495) = 15.15, p < .001$. Host society disengagement scores decreased from no education ($M = .14$), to low ($M = .11$), middle ($M = .03$) and high education ($M = -.23$). Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that the mean decrease of host society disengagement from none to high ($-.37, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.59, -.14], p < .001$), low to high ($-.34, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.48, -.19], p < .001$), and middle to high education ($-.25, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.39, -.12], p < .001$) differed significantly, but no other group differences were statistically significant.

This means that an increase in educational level was associated with a decrease in host society disengagement. Hence, the higher the educational level of immigrants, the lower the host society disengagement.

Education, discrimination and host society disengagement

Since there is a negative instead of the expected positive relation found between education and host society disengagement, discrimination does not serve as a mediator. However, a moderating effect, whereby discrimination influences the strength or direction between education and host society disengagement, could be possible. Therefore, a two-way ANOVA was performed, by including discrimination as a moderator. Independence of observations and normality were ensured. However, for both personal and group discrimination, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was violated since sample sizes were not roughly equal and as assessed by Levene's test, $p < .001$. As unequal variances affect the Type I error rate, no correct statistical conclusions can be made. Furthermore, no nonparametric equivalent of a two-way ANOVA is suitable for this data. The indirect effect of discrimination could thus not be tested.

Ethnic differences

Perceived discrimination

To examine differences in personal and group discrimination between the four ethnic groups, two Kruskal Wallis tests were conducted. Perceived personal discrimination was not significantly different between the four ethnic groups $\chi^2(3) = 6.73, p = .081$. Results on perceived group discrimination, however, showed that discrimination scores were significantly different between the four ethnic groups, $\chi^2(3) = 47.19, p < .001$. By interpreting mean ranks, discrimination scores increased from Turkish immigrants to Surinamese, to Antillean, to Moroccan immigrants. Dunn's (1964) procedure revealed statistically significant differences in group discrimination scores between Turkish and Antillean immigrants ($p < .001$) and Turkish and Moroccan immigrants ($p < .001$), Surinamese and Antillean immigrants ($p = .001$) and Surinamese and Moroccan immigrants ($p = .001$).

Although ethnic group differences were not associated with differences in personal discrimination, they were associated with differences in group discrimination. Regarding group discrimination, Moroccan and Antilleans perceived the most discrimination, while Turkish and Surinamese immigrants perceived lower discrimination.

Host society disengagement

To test differences in host society disengagement between the four ethnic groups, a one-way ANOVA was performed. Results showed that host society disengagement scores were significantly different between groups with a different migrant background, $F(3, 2495) = 34.52, p < .001$. Host society disengagement scores increased from Surinamese ($M = -.25$), to Antillean ($M = -.07$), Moroccan ($M = .08$) to Turkish ($M = .30$) immigrants. Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that mean differences in host society disengagement differed significantly between all pairwise comparisons of the ethnic groups.

This means there are ethnic differences in host society disengagement. Moroccan and Turkish immigrants reported the greatest disengagement, while Surinamese and Antillean reported lower disengagement.

Education, discrimination and host society disengagement

As stated above, the indirect relation between education, discrimination and host society disengagement could not be tested. Nevertheless, ethnic differences in the direct relation

between education and disengagement were investigated by including ethnicity as a moderator in a two-way ANOVA. Independence of observations, normality and roughly equal variances were ensured. Results showed that the interaction effect between education and ethnicity on host society disengagement was not statistically significant, $F(9, 2483) = 1.46, p = .157$.

Hence, the effect of educational level on host society disengagement was not different for migrants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese or Antillean origin.

Conclusion and discussion

This research is set out to examine the relation between immigrants' educational level and their host society disengagement, also referred to as the *integration paradox*. This paradox suggests that a higher educational level among immigrants leads to them turning away from the host society, instead of becoming more oriented towards it. More specifically, *host society disengagement* is about immigrants who *psychologically* disengage from the host society (Verkuyten, 2016), which is measured using the indicators: not feeling at home in the host society, stronger identification with their ethnic group, dissatisfaction with the host society and negative attitudes towards natives. To explain this phenomenon, this study includes perceived discrimination. In addition, differences in the integration paradox between the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands, including migrants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese or Antillean origin, are investigated.

Education, discrimination and host society disengagement

Based on the relative deprivation theory and the theory of exposure, it is expected that the higher immigrants' educational level, the more discrimination they perceive from the native majority, and thereby the more they disengage from the host society. The first four hypotheses examine this expectation.

First, the expected positive relation between education and discrimination is tested by hypothesis 1. Results show that an increasing educational level is associated with an increase in personal discrimination, but is not associated with more group discrimination. These findings thus support hypothesis 1 partly. Next, hypothesis 2 examines the positive association between discrimination and host society disengagement. Results reveal that for both personal and group discrimination, the higher the perceived discrimination among immigrants, the higher their host society disengagement, thereby supporting the second hypothesis. Further, the third hypothesis tests the expected positive relation between education and host society disengagement. Contrastingly, results indicate that an increase in educational level is associated with lower host society disengagement, thus rejecting hypothesis 3. Finally, the indirect effect of discrimination on the relation between education and disengagement is examined by hypothesis 4. However, due to violated assumptions and the lack of a robust nonparametric two-way ANOVA in SPSS Statistics, no statistical conclusions can be drawn. Results of the direct relations nevertheless indicate that discrimination does not serve as a mediator, but could be a moderator.

Ethnic differences

As migrants of Moroccan and Turkish origin are culturally and religiously less close to the Dutch majority than migrants of Surinamese and Antillean origin, it is expected that they are more likely to be discriminated against. Hypothesis 5 and 6 test whether the effect of education on host society disengagement, via higher perceived discrimination, is stronger for Moroccan and Turkish immigrants than for Surinamese and Antillean immigrants.

First, ethnic differences in discrimination are examined by hypothesis 5. Results show that personal discrimination does not differ between the groups but group discrimination does. Moroccan and Antillean immigrants perceive the most group discrimination while Turkish and Surinamese immigrants report lower levels. These results thus reject hypothesis 5. Further, hypothesis 6 aims to investigate ethnic differences in the indirect relation between education, discrimination and disengagement. As mentioned-above, this indirect relation could not be tested. Therefore, ethnic differences in host society disengagement and in the direct relation between education and disengagement are examined. Findings reveal that Moroccan and Turkish immigrants report the greatest disengagement, while Surinamese and Antillean immigrants report lower levels. There are however, no ethnic differences in the effect of education on host society disengagement, thereby rejecting hypothesis 6.

The integration paradox

To answer the research question: *What is the relation between educational level and host society disengagement among immigrant groups and are there differences in the integration paradox between these groups in the Netherlands?*, results indicate that immigrants' educational level is negatively related to their host society disengagement. Higher-educated immigrants thus become more oriented toward the host society instead of psychologically disengaging from it. In fact, this means that the integration paradox cannot be considered a paradox in this study. On the other hand, results do show that an increasing educational level is associated with more personal discrimination, and that higher perception of both personal and group discrimination is related to higher disengagement. Furthermore, concerning ethnic differences in the integration paradox, findings reveal that there are ethnic differences in group discrimination and in host society disengagement, but the negative effect of education on disengagement does not differ between the immigrant groups.

Alternative explanations for the negative instead of the expected positive relation between education and disengagement can be found in social psychological and sociological literature, based on the contact theory (Allport, 1964). A higher educational level namely tends to lead to an increase in interethnic contact (Martinovic et al., 2009), which in turn, has positive effects on attitudes toward other groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, more interethnic contacts lead to better labour market positions (Kanas et al., 2011) and result in lower interethnic prejudice among immigrants (Ten Berge et al., 2017). As higher-educated immigrants thus tend to have more interethnic contacts, all these positive effects could explain lower levels of host society disengagement.

The finding that higher-educated immigrants perceive more personal discrimination by the native majority, however, contrasts the contact theory. A possible explanation is that the contact theory applies to immigrants, but not to the native majority. Martinovic (2013) indeed shows that immigrants more often engage in contact with natives than the other way around, and that higher-educated immigrants have more, while higher-educated natives less, interethnic contact. Immigrants could thereby still perceive more discrimination by the native majority, as their higher educational level leads to more relative deprivation and higher levels of exposure. Moreover, since this research cannot test the indirect relation between education and disengagement, a moderating effect whereby discrimination influences the direction in this relationship could still be possible.

Next, an alternative explanation for the different order in perceived discrimination among the four ethnic groups can be found in the ethnic hierarchy in the Netherlands (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). In this hierarchy, ethnic groups are placed in a specific order which reflects the degree of distance one wants to keep from a certain group. Existing stereotypes and perceived deviation from Dutch norms unfold this ethnic hierarchy (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989). Groups which are lower in the hierarchy more often experience discrimination (Snellman, 2007). Previous research shows that migrants of Surinamese and Turkish origin were placed higher in the hierarchy than migrants of Antillean and Moroccan origin (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016; Nievers & Andriessen, 2010). This sequence is based on the extent to which a group is culturally adapted to society and the degree to which it is perceived as a threat. The order of the ethnic hierarchy in the Netherlands exactly corresponds to the order of reported levels of discrimination among the ethnic groups: the lower a group's position in the hierarchy, the more discrimination they perceive.

Finally, the lack of ethnic differences in the negative relation between education and host society disengagement could be explained by the fact that the positive relation between education and interethnic contact also applies to all ethnic groups (Martinovic, 2013).

Limitations and future research

Some important limitations of this study must be considered. First, measurement of relative deprivation was restricted to personal and group discrimination, which are both only measured with a single question. More extensive measures of relative deprivation, including perceived discrimination in different contexts concerning jobs, housing, public places or official institutions, could be considered in future studies. On the other hand, despite Cronbach's alpha being moderate, this study does contribute to a more extensive measurement of host society disengagement by including four indicators.

Second, the measurement level of education and discrimination was limited to a categorical level, thereby not allowing to conduct parametric multivariate analyses and determine causality. Further research should explore multiple group structure equation modelling, to properly test indirect relations and ethnic differences within these relations.

Third, while this study looks into differences in discrimination and host society disengagement between immigrant groups, it remains unclear what causes these ethnic differences. Additional research is needed to investigate differences in length of stay, location of education, gender or age, but also in political orientation or ideological beliefs, as these could be essential for understanding the underlying processes involved in the integration paradox.

Implications and concluding remarks

Despite its limitations, this study shows that the integration paradox, which has been repeatedly identified in previous research, cannot be found among immigrant adults in the Netherlands with more recent data. Higher education thus appears to be directly linked to lower instead of higher host society disengagement. Nevertheless, results do reveal that the higher immigrants' educational level, the more personal discrimination they perceive. Finally, while there are ethnic differences in discrimination and host society disengagement, the association between education and disengagement is not different between the immigrant groups.

These findings illustrate that while higher-educated immigrants become more oriented towards the host society, they are not automatically protected against discrimination. This

stresses the importance for integration policies to shift their focus from an immigrant integration perspective, towards a focus on policies targeting the host population to increase the acceptance of immigrants and embrace diversity.

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