

Education and Cultural Integration among Ethnic Minorities and Natives in The Netherlands: A test of the Integration Paradox

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Accepted for publication in: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies

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Abstract

This contribution pursues to identify the main determinants of two attitudinal indicators of cultural integration that figure in the construction of acculturation strategies: opposition toward ethnically mixed relationships and identification with the origin country. We derive expectations from Social Identity Theory on the direct *and* indirect effects of education. To test our hypotheses we use data from the Survey Integration of Minorities 2006 (SIM 2006) and apply multiple mediator models. The SIM 2006 survey covers random samples from the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands – Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antilleans – and a native Dutch comparison group. We do not consistently observe the presumed negative effect of education on opposition toward ethnically mixed relationships and identification with the origin country among ethnic minorities. On the contrary, the presumed beneficial impact of education on cultural integration is absent for second generation migrants, which is considered to be evidence of an integration paradox.

Introduction

Non-western minorities in the Netherlands – as in most other western countries – more often have a disadvantaged position as compared to the native population. They are in general lower educated, more often active in the lower echelons of the labour market, and unemployment rates are higher (Statistics Netherlands, 2008). This low degree of structural integration at the ethnic group level is persistent over time (Gijsberts, 2004; Tolsma, Coenders, & Lubbers, 2007). Besides a structural dimension, integration also has a cultural dimension. Ethnic intermarriage is a final step in the cultural integration process. Opposition to ethnically mixed relationships measures the preferred ethnic distance towards other groups and is as such an attitudinal indicator of cultural integration. To what extent minorities identify themselves with their host country as opposed to their origin country is also an important indicator of cultural integration. In the literature on acculturation strategies, the underlying dimensions of acculturation are composed of these indicators (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder 2006). In this contribution we will investigate to what extent indicators of structural integration, especially educational attainment, are related to cultural integration, as expressed through views regarding ethnically mixed relationships and identification with the host country. We focus on both first and second generation migrants of the four major non-western ethnic groups in the Netherlands; the traditional guest workers groups of Turks and Moroccans, who are predominantly Muslim, and ethnic groups from the former Dutch colonies, the Surinamese and Antilleans.

Studies on ethnic hostility among Muslim minorities in western European countries hint that especially among highly educated and also otherwise structurally well integrated Muslim minority members, Muslim fundamentalism is prevalent (Buijs, Demant, & Hamdy, 2006; Werbner, 2001). In the Netherlands, higher educated minority members more often than lower educated migrants perceive that they or their group are being discriminated against and more often feel rejected by the host country (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). Among Moroccans and Turks in Rotterdam, in particular the higher educated perceive larger cultural distance (Entzinger, 2008) and compared to lower educated counterparts, higher educated Moroccans do not differ in their perception that the Dutch hold negative views on ethnic minorities (Jaspers & Lubbers, 2005). These findings may be regarded as somewhat contra-intuitive since it is often expected that cultural integration and structural integration go hand in hand (e.g. Alba

& Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990); and since previous research consistently showed a negative effect of education on ethnic hostility, nationalism and extreme right-wing voting behaviour among native or dominant ethnic groups (Gijsberts, Hagendoorn, & Scheepers, 2004; Lubbers, 2001; Quillian, 1996). We label the (presumed) phenomenon that increasing structural integration *does not* go hand in hand with increasing cultural integration as an “integration paradox” (c.f. Buijs et al., 2006; Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009).

Studies on the effect of education on personal feelings of hostility towards the host country are rare (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). As a result, the effect of education on ethnic hostility among minority groups is not clear. The effect of education on ethnic identification is also ambiguous since previous studies revealed inconsistent findings. Nesdale (2002) has shown (in Australia) that migrants with higher educational levels identify more to their ethnic group. In France, on the contrary, the odds that higher educated migrants identify to France compared to their own ethnic group are higher than among lower educated migrants (Abu-Rayya, 2007). In Germany, Skrobanek (2009) found only a small negative correlation between level of education and ethnic identification.

In this contribution we will investigate the *direct* and *indirect* influence of educational attainment on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships and on identification with the origin country versus the host country. We focus on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner 1986) but combine this theory with Gerbner’s Cultivation Theory (Gerbner, 1969) and Contact Theory (Allport, 1979 [1954]; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) as a strategy to explain these effects of education. We will use data from the Survey Integration of Minorities 2006 (SIM 2006), a large scale and representative data set among the major ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands and a Dutch control group. The Netherlands is an interesting site of study for the cultural integration of migrants since it is a move away from the classic immigration countries (e.g. United States, Canada, Australia) where most previous studies have been concentrated.

Expectations

Social identity, ethnic competition and discrimination

Acculturation strategies are expected to be dependent on one’s human capital and level of

discrimination in society. Acculturation strategies can be summarized into four profiles: integration, ethnic orientation, national orientation and a diffuse profile. The underlying dimensions consist of acculturation attitudes (e.g. opposition towards ethnically mixed relationships) and cultural identity (ethnic and national identity) (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Most research on acculturation has studied to what extent the acculturation profiles affect well-being and adaptation in various domains. As for predictors of acculturation attitudes, there has been a focus on the relevance of (perceived) discrimination. Research on the extent to which human capital and structural integration in general affect acculturation profiles is scarce.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) poses that (ethnic) groups strive for a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Gijssberts, Hagendoorn & Scheepers 2004). By ways of social comparisons of the own group with that of other groups, group members shape this identity. A positive comparison would lead to a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner 1986). Emphasizing the ethnic identity is one of the possible strategies to turn a negative social identity into a positive one. Skrobanek (2009) sees constraints imposed on ethnic minorities by discrimination to obstruct the maintenance and development of a positive social identity and, as a consequence of this, to stimulate ethnic re-vitalization. As such, perceived discrimination would lead to a stronger opposition towards ethnic intermarriage and stronger identification with the ethnic origin group.

From SIT, the same proposition can be applied to a lack of human capital. Members of social groups that occupy less favourable social positions will try to improve their social identity. Members of groups with unfavourable characteristics, who lack human capital relative to other members of the same social groups, are even stronger encouraged to improve their social identity. Where Skrobanek expects that in particular individuals who perceive discrimination re-ethnicise because of “precariousness of access to preferred capital” (Skrobanek, 2009, p. 540), we foresee, following SIT, that individuals who actually lack valued (educational and economic) resources will follow such a strategy. From SIT we thus derive that lower educated ethnic minorities identify themselves stronger than higher educated with their ethnic group, and that lower educated ethnic minorities are more opposed to ethnically mixed relationships (Hypothesis 1). Because Turks and Moroccans are lower educated than Surinamese and Antilleans minority groups, we expect that, in general, the need for this strategy is less strong among the latter groups.

Ethnic Competition Theory (ECT) poses that ethnic groups compete for scarce resources such as jobs, housing, power and cultural values (Blalock, 1967; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Coenders et al., 2005; Coser, 1956; Quillian, 1995). This competition is experienced in a zero-sum type relationship (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996); e.g. ‘they’ take ‘our’ jobs. Perceptions of group threat – and not so much perceptions of threats to one’s self-interest – reinforce the need to maintain or achieve a positive social identity. As a result of this need for a positive social identity, boundaries between the ethnic ingroup and outgroup become more rigid and the salience of the ingroup identity increases, as described in SIT. According to ECT, less (economic) resources and larger percentages of outgroups in the living environment increase (perceptions of) inter-ethnic competition and feelings of group threat, especially for social groups more directly in competition with members of ethnic outgroups and for social groups who can rely on fewer resources. This explains, at least among natives, why the lower educated perceive more ethnic threat than the higher educated and it explicates a large part of the negative effect of educational attainment on ethnic hostility.

In contrast to natives, higher educated ethnic minorities are more likely than lower educated ethnic minorities to be in circumstances with relatively more outgroup members (i.e. natives), either due to their place of residence or due to the ethnic composition of their work place, and hence to experience ethnic threat. Due to the presumably more common ethnic competitive experiences among higher educated minorities groups than among their lower educated counterparts, we expect the negative effect of education on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships – as explicated in hypothesis 1 – to be smaller for ethnic minority groups than for native Dutch (Hypothesis 2). Contributors to the idea of the integration paradox posed an absent or reversed (i.e. positive) effect of education. We regard a negative effect of education – even when smaller than among native Dutch – as a refutation of the integration paradox thesis.

From ECT, it is expected that higher educated migrants are stronger and more often in competition with natives. Consequently, they are more likely to perceive discrimination, both at the group level as on the individual level. Although Skrobanek (2009) found a contrasting negative effect from education on perceived discrimination for young Turks in Germany, Gijsberts and Vervoort’s results on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands indicated a positive relation between education and perceived discrimination (Gijsberts & Vervoort,

2009). Besides the positive effect of both perceived personal and perceived group discrimination on ethnic identification and opposition to ethnically mixed relationships (Hypothesis 3), we thus expect that perceptions of personal and group discrimination suppress the (presumed negative) effect of education (Hypothesis 4).¹

Media usage and perceptions of group discrimination

Perceptions of discrimination among higher educated do not have to stem from own experiences of competition. An alternative explanation for an integration paradox is located in differences between educational categories in media usage (Gijssberts & Vervoort, 2009). Better educated migrants have better language proficiency and hence are more likely to take notice of the news supply from the host country (Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). Media coverage studies have often reported that ethnic minorities in the media are associated with problems and criminality (Lubbers, Scheepers, & Vergeer, 2000) or were otherwise portrayed stereotypically (Shadid, 2006). Minorities themselves report that they do not recognise themselves in the host country media (Bonfadelli, Bucher, & Piga, 2007). For many Moroccans adolescents in the Netherlands, the media are a symbol of the Islam phobia of the host country (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 238) .

Gerbner's cultivation hypothesis describes that people's reality is affected by media messages, and more so when one consumes those messages more (Gerbner, 1969). It is thus to be expected that native Dutch who consume more (Dutch) media hold more hostile attitudes toward minorities. Compared to migrants using ethnic media, migrants who use national – host country – media more often think that the majority holds negative views on minorities, and perceive higher levels of group discrimination (Gijssberts & Vervoort, 2009). We expect that ethnic minorities who make use of Dutch media perceive more discrimination and are more likely to be opposed to ethnically mixed relationships and to identify with their origin country (Hypothesis 5).

In order to be able to consume Dutch media, one should have at least some grip of the Dutch language. Due to language constraints, lower educated ethnic minorities are less exposed to negative images on them from the Dutch media. As a consequence, lower educated ethnic minorities will have less hostile attitudes to the group producing these images. Following this line of reasoning, a negative relation between education and hostility among minority groups may be suppressed by media usage (Hypothesis 6). To

assess the net effect of Dutch media consumption, we will control for the impact of proficiency in Dutch.

Migrants who consume more (Dutch) media may also consume more media in general and thus more media from the origin country. In order to investigate the net effect of Dutch media, it is therefore necessary to control for media use of the origin country as well. Consumption of origin country media helps to establish and maintain relations within the ethnic group (Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005) and is therefore expected to be related to higher levels of ethnic hostility and ethnic identification (Hypothesis 7).

Contact experiences

The mechanism we described based on Social Identity Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory, ignored that (positive) contact reduces prejudice, even if the optimal meeting conditions as formulated by Allport (1979 [1954]) are not met (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Positive contact with members of ethnic outgroups leads to the recognition of heterogeneity within the outgroup, causes negative stereotypes to diminish and ultimately causes the in- and outgroup to be decategorised (Brown, 2000). As a consequence, members of outgroups are perceived as less threatening and prejudice is reduced (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Given that higher educated migrants are surrounded more by native Dutch than lower educated migrants, higher educated migrants have a greater opportunity to associate with native Dutch than lower educated migrants (Martinovic, Tubergen & Maas, 2008). Hence, the negative effect from interethnic contacts on ethnic hostility is expected to interpret the negative effect of education on ethnic identity and opposition towards ethnically mixed relations (Hypothesis 8).

Data and methods

In this contribution we use data from the Survey Integration of Minorities 2006 (SIM 2006). These data were collected among minority groups in the Netherlands by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) in 2006. A two-stage sample was drawn from the population registers of all communities in the Netherlands (for more information, see Dagevos, Gijsberts, Kappelhof, & Vervoort, 2007). The survey covers random samples from the four largest ethnic minority groups – Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antilleans – and a native Dutch comparison group. First generation migrants are born in the

respective origin country, second generation migrants are born in the Netherlands and have at least one parent born outside the Netherlands. For each ethnic group around 1000 participants aged fifteen years and older were interviewed face-to-face. Only participants who were expected not to be fluent in Dutch were interviewed in their native languages by bilingual interviewers. The response rate varied between 46% among the Surinamese and 60% among the Turkish (55% among the native Dutch). These response rates are higher than comparable research among ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands.

The dependent variable *opposition to ethnically mixed relationships* was measured with the following survey item: ‘Would it bother you if one of your children chooses a (native Dutch / non-native Dutch) as his/her partner?’, with answer categories (4) Yes, it would bother me a lot, (3) Yes, it would bother me, (2) Neutral, (1) No, it would not bother me, and (0) No, it would not bother me at all. The *ethnic identification* question, which we use as our second dependent variable, reads: “Do you feel more (ethnicity of origin country) or Dutch?’, with answer categories: (4) I feel completely (ethnicity of origin country), (3) I feel more (ethnicity of origin country) than Dutch, (2) I feel just as much (ethnicity of origin country) as Dutch, (1) I feel more Dutch than (ethnicity of origin country), and (0) I feel completely Dutch.² Higher values thus correspond to lower levels of attitudinal cultural integration. The dependent variables correlated positively with each other (Pearson correlation of .42).

Our main independent variable is *educational attainment* and was measured in years: 4, no education; 6, primary education only; 8, lower vocational education (LBO); 10, lower general education (mavo); 10.5, medium vocational education (MBO); 11.5, medium general education or higher general education (havo or vwo); 15, higher vocational education (HBO); and 16, university. Students currently in school were treated as if successfully having completed their current level.

Our dataset offers information on perceptions of ethnic group discrimination, which we assume will be closely related to perceptions of group threat. The variable we label *group discrimination* is measured by the item ‘Some people say that non-natives are being discriminated against by native Dutch. How often does this happen?’, (1) never, (2) almost never, (3) once in a while, (4) often, (5) very often. *Personal discrimination* is operationalised as ‘Have you yourself ever been discriminated against by native Dutch? How often did this happen?’, (0) never, (1) almost never, (2) once in a while, (3) often, (4)

very often. *Dutch media usage* and *origin country media usage* are the means score of ‘How many times a week do you read Dutch/origin country newspapers?’, and ‘How many times a week do you watch Dutch/origin country TV channels?’, with answer categories: (1) never, (2) less than once a week, (3) once or twice a week, (4) three or four times a week, (5) five or six times a week, and (6) every day. *Positive contact* is operationalised by the survey item ‘In your leisure time, do you often, sometimes or never associate with native Dutch/non-native Dutch’. We recoded it to (0) never, (1) sometimes, and (2) often contact with outgroup members in leisure time.

We will briefly discuss control variables that may affect ethnic views and possibly influence the effect of education as well; age, sex, social class, language proficiency and religiosity. *Sex* was coded as (1) male and (0) female. *Age* is measured in years. Since education is an important determinant of social class we will control for respondents’ labour market position. We categorised respondents who were currently employed for 12 hours a week or more and not following education in the following social classes: technocrats, socio-cultural specialists, routine non-manual occupations, small employers, manual supervisors and skilled manual occupations, semi-unskilled manual occupations and farm labourers, based on Güveli’s adaptation (Güveli, 2006) of the original class schemata of Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero (Erikson, Goldthorpe, & Portocarero, 1979). We included an additional category indicating if someone was currently following education. Other respondents who did not work 12 hours a week or more were categorised as ‘non- or un-employed’. The variable *proficiency in Dutch* is the mean score on the following items: ‘Do you experience problems with the Dutch language while conversing in Dutch?’, ‘Do you experience problems with the Dutch language while reading newspapers, letters, or flyers?’, ‘Do you experience problems while writing in Dutch?’, with answer categories: (1) yes often, (2) yes sometimes, and (3) no, never. The Cronbach’s alpha of this scale was .91. Finally, opposition to ethnic intermarriage is likely to overlap with opposition to religious heterogamy and ethnic identification is likely to coincide with religious identification. We therefore decided to control for *church/mosque attendance* (measured in times per year) as well. Generational status, group and personal discrimination and proficiency in Dutch are not available for native Dutch.

To test our hypothesis, we apply multiple mediator models (Preacher and Hayes, 2008). Since preliminary analyses showed that effects diverged across ethnic groups, we

estimated the models separately for each ethnic group and generation. Figure 1 represents a schematic overview of our main hypotheses. Descriptive statistics and bivariate relationships are summarized in Table 1.

<Figure 1 around here>

<Table 1 around here>

Results

Bivariate relationships

In Table 1 we see that Turks and Moroccans are more opposed to mixed relationships than native Dutch, and Surinamese and Antilleans less. Second generation migrants are less opposed to mixed relationships than first generation migrants. More or less the same ethnic and generational differences are found with respect to identification with the origin country. Turks identify most with their origin country, followed by Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese. Once again, second generation migrants identify less with the origin country than the first generation.

Multiple mediator models

In Table 2 and Table 3, we summarise estimates of the multiple mediator models, respectively for opposition to ethnically mixed relationships and ethnic identification. The estimate of the *total* effect of education (after controlling for age, sex, social class, language proficiency, and religiosity) is shown in the first row. Below the total effect of education, we see the parameter estimates of the *direct* effect of education and the mediator variables on the dependent variable. In the bottom rows we see the bootstrapping results for the indirect effect of education through the proposed mediators. A summary of the direct effect of education on the mediator variables are available at www.***).

Opposition to ethnically mixed relationships

For native Dutch, we see the expected significant negative relationship between (the total effect of) education and opposition to ethnically mixed relationships ($b=-0.06$, $se=0.01$), as well as for first generation Turks ($b=-0.06$, $se=0.02$), first generation Moroccans ($b=-0.10$, $se=0.02$) and first generation Antilleans ($b=-0.02$, $se=0.01$, Table 2). For first generation

Antilleans the negative impact of education on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships is weaker than for native Dutch. For first generation Surinamese and all immigrants of second generational status, education is not significantly related to opposition to mixed relationships at all. This finding goes into the direction of an integration paradox. Because we did not find a negative effect of education for all ethnic minority groups, we have to refute our first hypothesis. In accordance with our expectation, in general, the relationship between education and ethnic hostility among minorities is weaker than among the native Dutch (hypothesis 2).

<Table 2 around here>

Perceived group discrimination only increases ethnic hostility among first generation Antilleans. Perceived group discrimination is thus in general not a determinant of personal feelings of ethnic hostility. This is contrary to what we expected on the basis of ECT (hypothesis 3). Since perceptions of group discrimination do not influence ethnic hostility, they did not suppress the education effect (contrary to hypothesis 4).

Perceived personal discrimination predicts opposition to mixed relationships as expected (hypothesis 3), for first generation Turks ($b=0.10$, $se=0.05$), first generation Surinamese ($b=0.12$, $se=0.04$), second generation Moroccans ($b=0.19$, $se=0.10$), and second generation Antilleans ($b=0.09$, $se=0.05$). In accordance to hypothesis 4, personal discrimination suppresses the negative effect of education for first generation Turks and first generation Surinamese. Surprisingly, it *interprets* the education effect for second generation Antilleans, which indicates that perceptions of personal discrimination are related differently to educational attainment across ethnic groups.

Dutch media usage is (fairly) consistently negatively related to opposition to mixed relationships among minorities of first generational status (Table 2). We find more corroborative evidence that Dutch media usage is an indicator of involvement with the host country (c.f. Abu-Rayya, 2007; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005) and as such is negatively related to ethnic hostility than that Dutch media is an important source of negative feelings toward natives, refuting hypothesis 5. For Moroccans of the second generation and for Antilleans, the negative effect of Dutch media usage is not found. Somewhat surprisingly, Dutch media usage is negatively related to opposition to mixed relationships among native

Dutch $b=-0.08$ ($se=0.04$; Table 2). Dutch media usage interprets in part the negative effect of education on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships among ethnic minorities (not for second generation Moroccans and Antilleans). Dutch media usage does not suppress the negative effect of education as was expected in hypothesis 6.

Origin country media usage is positively related to more opposition to ethnically mixed relationships, in line with hypothesis 7. We do not observe an indirect effect of education through origin country media consumption. Higher educated ethnic minority members do not use less media from their origin country than lower educated ethnic minorities.

We find a strong negative effect of positive contacts on ethnic hostility. Positive contacts interpret the negative effect from education on ethnic hostility among minorities of the first generation, as predicted in hypothesis 8. Similarly, for Surinamese and Antilleans of the second generation there is a significant indirect effect of education via positive contacts with outgroup members. Among Turks and Moroccans of the second generation, we also observe a significant relation between positive contact and reductions in ethnic hostility, but higher educated Turks and Moroccans do not have (significantly) more positive contact with natives in leisure time.

We find far less significant mediation effects for second generation minorities than for their first generation counterparts. Variation across generations is mainly due to differences in the direct effects of educational attainment on the mediator variables. The positive effect of educational attainment on Dutch media usage, and contact in leisure time, and the negative effect of education on personal experienced discrimination, is weaker for second generation Turks and Moroccans than for their first generation counterparts. This may be part of the explanation of the absence of the effect of education among second generation Turks and Moroccans: higher educated Turks and Moroccans do not make more use of Dutch media, do not have more contact with natives in leisure time and do not experience less personal discrimination than their lower educated counterparts.

Ethnic Identification

We see a consistent picture with respect to ethnic identification (Table 3) but effects are more pronounced than for opposition to ethnically mixed marriages and especially so for second generation migrants. Consequently, we find fewer differences in explanatory

mechanism between generations. In agreement with hypothesis 1, for most groups we find a significant total negative effect of education (after controlling for sex, age, social class, language proficiency, and religiosity) on identification with the origin country. The absence of a negative education effect among first generation Surinamese and second generation Moroccans hints – but only for these two groups – towards an integration paradox.

<Table 3 around here>

The higher educated first generation Turks and Surinamese are, the stronger their perception of perceived group discrimination, and the stronger this perception, the stronger their identification with the origin country. For other ethnic categories we do not find corroborative evidence for hypothesis 4 in which we formulated the expectation that group discrimination would suppress the negative education effect. In general, personal experiences of discrimination strengthen identification with the origin country.

Dutch media consumption is related to less identification with the origin country for first and second generation Turks and Moroccans, and for first generation Antilleans. The use of media from the home country is consistently related to stronger identifications with the origin country. This effect was substantially weaker with respect to opposition to ethnically mixed relationships. Involvement with the host country may thus strengthen ethnic group identifications but not necessarily ethnic hostility. Contact in leisure time with native Dutch is also consistently related to less identification with the origin country for all ethnic groups. These findings once again support the idea that involvement with the host country, as indicated by Dutch media usage and contact with natives, are positively related to cultural integration. Given our findings, we conclude that negative contact (in this case, personal experience of discrimination) has a less consistent impact on (attitudinal indicators of) cultural integration than positive contact.

Our mediators significantly interpret the education effect for all ethnic categories where a significant total effect of education was found. Although consumption of media from the origin country was strongly positively related to identification with the origin country, origin country media usage does not interpret the education effect, because educational attainment was not related to this mediator. We find that the negative effect of education is (fairly consistently) interpreted by Dutch media usage and contact with natives

in leisure time.

Conclusion

In this contribution our aim was to identify the effect of educational attainment on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships and identification with the origin country. Educational attainment has consistently been shown to be negatively related to ethnic hostility, nationalism and far right-wing voting behaviour among native populations. However, for ethnic minorities, several authors reported the possibility of an integration paradox: higher educated minorities supposedly perceive more discrimination, supposedly express more, not less ethnic hostility and supposedly identify more, not less to their origin country.

Compared to native Dutch, educational achievement was substantially weaker negatively related to opposition to ethnically mixed relationships for most ethnic minority groups considered. A negative effect was even absent for second generations migrants. Similarly, we observed no effect of education on identification with the origin country among second generation migrants. Note however that we did not observe a positive relationship between educational attainment and our indicators of cultural integration – which the integration paradox would have predicted. The term integration paradox should thus be used with care.

For ethnic minority groups, most of the effect of education on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships and identification to the origin country could be interpreted by measures of involvement with the host country, that is through media usage and positive contact experiences. Perceptions of group discrimination suppressed the education effect on ethnic identification for first generation Turks and Surinamese, since higher educated Turks and Surinamese experience more group discrimination, not less. We tentatively conclude that the group threat mechanism of Ethnic Competition Theory is less applicable to minority groups than to native populations; perceptions of group discrimination and hence presumably group threats are not predominantly concentrated among lower educated minorities and perceptions of group discrimination do not consistently lead to more ethnic hostility and less cultural integration.

We found extensive evidence for contact theory among both ethnic minority groups and the native Dutch. Contact in leisure time is negatively related to opposition to

ethnically mixed relationships and to identification to the origin country among all ethnic groups. Personal experiences of discrimination – a form of negative contact – is positively related to opposition to ethnically mixed marriages and to identification with the origin country for most distinguished ethnic categories as well. However, as with all cross-sectional research on contact theory, we must be cautious to interpret these relationships in a causal manner.

Although higher educated migrants have more contact opportunities with native Dutch than lower educated migrants, second generation Turks and Moroccans do not experience more positive contact experiences and (together with second generation Surinamese) do not experience less personal discrimination the higher they are educated. Ethnic hostility among the native population may be part of the reason for this. We tentatively conclude that, in the Netherlands, ethnic hostility among the dominant ethnic group hampers the (cultural) integration of especially second generation – mainly Turkish and Moroccan – migrants.

Previous scholars suggested that the negative effect of education on cultural integration could be suppressed by national media usage, since the higher educated presumably consume more Dutch media and Dutch media consumption would presumably lead to negative meta-views. This in turn would increase ethnic hostility and identification with the origin country. We showed that, indeed, higher educated minorities generally consume more Dutch media usage than lower educated counterparts but that Dutch media usage is foremost an indicator of involvement with the host country and to a lesser extent a feeding source for ethnic hostility.

Second generation migrants are less opposed to ethnically mixed relationships and identify more with the Netherlands than their first generation counterparts. The second generation is also higher educated than the first generation but among the second generation, educational attainment does not have the expected negative impact on ethnic hostility. For second generation Turks and Moroccans this is worrisome since these groups are still relatively opposed to ethnically mixed relationships, this in contrast to second generation Surinamese and Antilleans who are fairly tolerant.

Opposition to mixed relationships is closely related to ethnic distance and ethnic hostility. We therefore applied theories with considerably merits in explaining a wide array of indicators of ethnic hostility; Ethnic Competition Theory – a synthesis of Social Identity

Theory and Conflict Theory – and Contact Theory. We conclude that for ethnic minority groups Ethnic Competition Theory turned out to be more appropriate to explain group identifications than ethnic hostility. But all in all, the threat mechanism could not be convincingly corroborated by our analyses. Within the contact theory research tradition, to focus on minority populations and to investigate the impact of negative contact is still a relative novelty. Albeit with a cross-sectional dataset, we found strong support for contact theory; both positive and negative contact (i.e. personal experiences of discrimination) turned out to be important.

Our aim in this contribution was to investigate the direct and indirect effects of education on attitudinal indicators of cultural integration and thereby to investigate if, and why, higher educated minorities express more ethnic hostility and identify more to the origin country than as could be expected if one only considered the well known effect of education on ethnic hostility among natives. As a result, the ‘integration paradox’ is no longer a paradox. We now understand why the effect of education on cultural integration may differ across ethnic groups; higher educated minorities not necessarily have more positive contact with natives and not necessarily experience less discrimination.

Notes

1. A suppressor effect is present when the mediator is positively correlated to both education and the dependent variable. Consequently, the direct negative effect of education would become stronger after controlling for this mediator. Conversely, we speak of an interpretation effect when the direct negative effect of education becomes smaller after introduction of the mediator.

2. It is possible that someone who identifies more with the ethnicity of origin than with the Netherlands identifies stronger with the Netherlands than someone who exclusively identifies with the Netherlands. A dichotomous variable with the categories: (1) feel completely ethnicity of origin country versus (0) do not feel completely ethnicity of origin country does not suffer from this ambiguity. We did not observe differences in signs among the effects of education and the mediators on both these variables within respectively OLS and logistic regression models.

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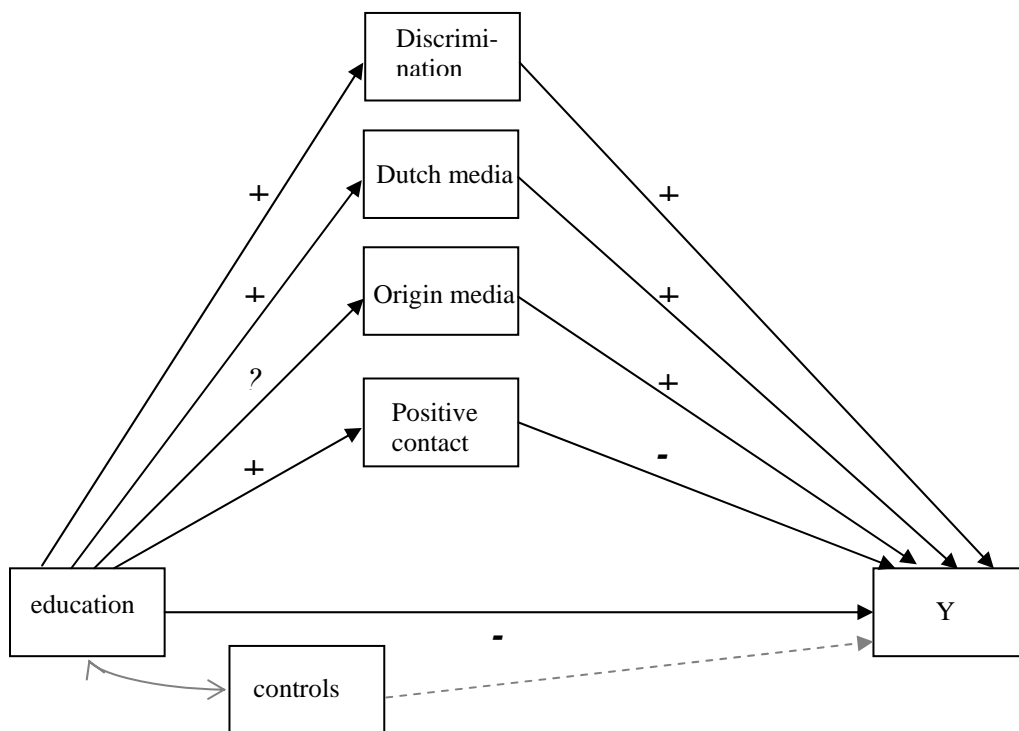


Figure 1 Multiple mediator model of the impact of education on opposition to ethnically mixed relationships and identification with the origin country (Y) (paths from controls to mediators not shown)

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and bivariate relationships

	univariate relationships				bivariate relationships			
	N	%	mean	SD	mean ethnic intermarriage	SD	mean ethnic identification	SD
<i>Dependent variables</i>								
ethnic intermarriage (0-4)	4907		1.25	1.33				
ethnic identification (0-4)	3893		2.28	1.24				
<i>Ethnicity by generation</i>								
first generation Turks	791	16.12			2.12	1.36	3.03	1.05
second generation Turks	261	5.32			1.54	1.37	2.18	1.01
first generation Moroccans	777	15.83			1.96	1.41	2.68	1.07
second generation Moroccans	177	3.61			1.38	1.28	2.16	0.95
first generation Surinamese	707	14.41			0.52	0.89	1.81	1.12
second generation Surinamese	273	5.56			0.44	0.80	1.30	1.07
first generation Antilleans	734	14.96			0.40	0.74	2.25	1.21
second generation Antilleans	173	3.53			0.25	0.57	0.90	1.08
native Dutch	1014	20.66			1.43	1.20		
<i>Education and mediator variables</i>								
education (4-16)			9.63	3.40				
missing education	48	1.00						
group discrimination (1-5) ^a			2.93	0.99				
missing group discrimination ^a	103	2.65						
personal discrimination (0-4) ^a			2.06	1.07				
missing personal discrimination ^a	12	0.31						
Dutch media (1-6)			4.65	1.37				
missing Dutch media	1	0.00						
Origin media(1-6) ^a			2.42	1.41				
missing origin media	1	0.03						
positive contact (0-2)			0.98	0.77				
missing positive contact	1	0.00						
<i>Control variables</i>								
age (15-95)			39.52	16.01				
missing age	5	0.00						
Male	2291	46.70						
Female	2616	53.30						
language (1-3) ^a			2.55	0.67				
church / mosque attendance (0-20)			2.01	4.10				
<i>labormarket position</i>								
un/non-employed	1800	36.68						
technician	314	6.40						
socio-cultural specialists	332	6.80						
routine non-manual	520	10.60						
small self-employed	108	2.20						
manual supervisors / skilled manual labourers	279	5.70						
unskilled manual laborers	705	14.40						
Student	785	16.00						
missing labormarket position	64	1.30						

Note ^anon-Dutch only

Table 2. Parameter estimates of multiple mediator models predicting opposition to ethnically mixed relationships (direct effects of education and mediator variables and indirect effects education through mediator variables).

	1st gen. Turks			1st gen. Moroccans			1st gen. Surinamese			1st gen. Antilleans			native Dutch		
	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se	b	se	
Education (total)	-0.06	**	0.02	-0.10	**	0.02	-0.01		0.01	-0.02	*	0.01	-0.06	**	0.01
<i>Direct effects</i>															
Education (direct)	-0.02		0.02	-0.05	**	0.02	0.00		0.01	-0.01		0.01	-0.05	**	0.01
Group discrimination	0.05		0.05	0.03		0.05	-0.01		0.04	0.08	*	0.03			
Personal discrimination	0.10	*	0.05	0.04		0.05	0.12	**	0.04	0.01		0.03			
Dutch media	-0.14	**	0.04	-0.23	**	0.04	-0.10	**	0.03	0.01		0.03	-0.08	*	0.04
Origin media	0.08	*	0.04	0.15	**	0.04	0.11	**	0.04	0.01		0.02			
Positive contact	-0.56	*	0.07	-0.26	**	0.07	-0.16	**	0.05	-0.10	*	0.04	-0.43	**	0.06
<i>Indirect effects^a</i>															
	b	90% CI		b	90% CI		b	90% CI		b	90% CI		B	90% CI	
Total indirect effect	-0.35	-0.45	-0.26	-0.35	-0.40	-0.29	-0.12	-0.15	-0.09	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02	-0.09	-0.15	-0.03
Group discrimination	0.03	-0.01	0.09	0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.00	-0.04	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.04			
Personal discrimination	0.03	0.01	0.08	0.02	-0.01	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.07	0.00	-0.01	0.00			
Dutch media	-0.16	-0.26	-0.08	-0.27	-0.39	-0.18	-0.09	-0.16	-0.03	0.00	-0.01	0.02	-0.03	-0.07	-0.01
Origin media	0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.01	-0.04	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.06	0.00	-0.02	0.01			
Positive contact	-0.26	-0.39	-0.16	-0.11	-0.20	-0.05	-0.07	-0.13	-0.04	-0.04	-0.08	-0.02	-0.05	-0.11	0.00
<hr/>															
	2nd gen. Turks			2nd gen. Moroccans			2nd gen. Surinamese			2nd gen. Antilleans					
	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se			
Education (total)	-0.02		0.04	-0.04		0.05	0.02		0.02	-0.01		0.02			
<i>Direct effects</i>															
Education	0.01		0.04	-0.03		0.05	0.03		0.02	0.00		0.02			
Group discrimination	0.07		0.11	-0.25	~	0.13	0.04		0.06	-0.07		0.05			
Personal discrimination	-0.07		0.10	0.19	~	0.10	0.08		0.05	0.09	*	0.05			
Dutch media	-0.19	*	0.08	0.03		0.10	-0.08		0.05	0.02		0.04			
Origin media	0.18	*	0.07	0.13		0.09	0.05		0.07	-0.05		0.08			
Positive contact	-0.35	**	0.12	-0.35	*	0.14	-0.18	*	0.09	-0.11		0.08			
<i>Indirect effects education</i>															
	B	90% CI		B	90% CI		b	90% CI		b	90% CI				
Total	-0.25	-0.43	-0.04	-0.12	-0.33	0.09	-0.11	-0.24	-0.09	-0.11	-0.24	-0.04			
Group discrimination	0.01	-0.04	0.07	-0.04	-0.24	0.08	0.00	-0.02	0.04	-0.01	-0.08	0.02			
Personal discrimination	0.00	-0.04	0.08	0.00	-0.20	0.12	-0.01	-0.06	0.02	-0.05	-0.18	-0.01			
Dutch media	-0.15	-0.37	-0.03	0.01	-0.07	0.07	-0.04	-0.14	0.00	0.00	-0.06	0.01			
Origin media	-0.08	-0.24	0.04	-0.04	-0.21	0.05	-0.01	-0.08	0.01	0.00	-0.04	0.01			
Positive contact	-0.03	-0.15	0.10	-0.05	-0.25	0.10	-0.06	-0.16	-0.01	-0.05	-0.14	0.00			

** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; ~ $p < 0.10$ (two sided test of significance)

Note ^aparameter estimates of indirect effects have been multiplied by 10 to facilitate interpretation

Table 3. Parameter estimates of multiple mediator models predicting identification with the origin country (direct effects of education and mediator variables and indirect effects education through mediator variables).

	1st gen. Turks			1st gen. Moroccans			1st gen. Surinamese			1st gen. Antilleans		
	b		se	B		se	b		se	b		se
Education (total)	-0.03	*	0.02	-0.04	**	0.01	0.02		0.02	-0.03	~	0.02
Direct effects												
Education (direct)	0.00		0.01	0.00		0.01	0.02		0.02	0.00		0.02
Group discrimination	0.20	**	0.04	0.03		0.04	0.09	~	0.05	0.02		0.05
Personal discrimination	-0.02		0.04	0.05		0.04	0.17	**	0.05	0.13	**	0.04
Dutch media	-0.14	**	0.03	-0.13	**	0.03	-0.05		0.04	-0.10	*	0.04
Origin media	0.13	**	0.03	0.17	**	0.03	0.19	**	0.05	0.20	**	0.04
Positive contact	-0.26	**	0.05	-0.28	**	0.05	-0.19	**	0.06	-0.28	**	0.06
<i>Indirect effects^a</i>												
	b	90% CI		B	90% CI		b	90% CI		b	90% CI	
Total indirect effect	-0.18	-0.25	-0.11	-0.25	-0.29	-0.18	-0.02	-0.07	0.02	-0.21	-0.26	-0.15
Group discrimination	0.09	0.04	0.16	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.09	0.00	-0.01	0.03
Personal discrimination	-0.01	-0.04	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.09	-0.01	-0.05	0.02
Dutch media	-0.16	-0.24	-0.10	-0.16	-0.24	-0.09	-0.04	-0.11	0.02	-0.04	-0.09	-0.01
Origin media	0.01	-0.02	0.06	0.01	-0.04	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.09	-0.04	-0.10	0.01
Positive contact	-0.12	-0.20	-0.07	-0.12	-0.19	-0.07	-0.09	-0.16	-0.04	-0.12	-0.20	-0.07
	2nd gen. Turks			2nd gen. Moroccans			2nd gen. Surinamese			2nd gen. Antilleans		
	b		se	B		se	b		se	b		se
Education (total)	-0.06	*	0.03	0.03		0.04	-0.04	~	0.03	-0.01		0.03
Direct effects												
Education (direct)	-0.04		0.03	0.05		0.03	-0.03		0.03	0.02		0.03
Group discrimination	0.07		0.08	-0.01		0.09	0.03		0.08	0.03		0.09
Personal discrimination	-0.07		0.07	0.18	**	0.07	0.17	*	0.07	0.30	**	0.08
Dutch media	-0.13	*	0.06	-0.19	**	0.07	-0.03		0.07	0.02		0.07
Origin media	0.22	**	0.05	0.24	**	0.06	0.22	*	0.09	0.63	**	0.14
Positive contact	-0.19	*	0.08	-0.40	**	0.10	-0.16		0.11	-0.37	**	0.14
<i>Indirect effects^a</i>												
	b	90% CI		B	90% CI		b	90% CI		b	90% CI	
Total indirect effect	-0.21	-0.32	-0.03	-0.13	-0.38	0.13	-0.13	-0.28	-0.07	-0.29	-0.58	-0.09
Group discrimination	0.00	-0.03	0.06	0.00	-0.07	0.04	0.00	-0.02	0.04	0.00	-0.03	0.07
Personal discrimination	0.00	-0.03	0.07	0.00	-0.17	0.09	-0.01	-0.11	0.04	-0.17	-0.40	-0.03
Dutch media	-0.10	-0.23	-0.03	0.00	-0.15	0.12	-0.02	-0.11	0.03	0.00	-0.08	0.03
Origin media	-0.09	-0.26	0.05	-0.07	-0.23	0.13	-0.04	-0.13	-0.01	0.05	-0.06	0.22
Positive contact	-0.02	-0.09	0.05	-0.06	-0.26	0.12	-0.05	-0.17	0.00	-0.17	-0.33	-0.04

** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; ~ $p < 0.10$ (two sided test of significance)

Note: ^aparameter estimates of indirect effects have been multiplied by ten to facilitate interpretation

