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Published on: 07 Apr 2014 - [Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology](#) (Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol)

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The Integration Paradox: Level of Education and Immigrants' Attitudes towards Natives and the Host Society

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NOTE: post-print version, July 22, 2013
(post-refereeing, for information see: <http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/search.php>)
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The definitive version is available online:
De Vroome, T., Martinovic, B., Verkuyten, M. (2014).
The Integration Paradox:
Level of Education and Immigrants' Attitudes towards Natives and the Host Society.
Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20(2), 166-175.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0034946>

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This research was supported by a grant from Instituut Gak.

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Abstract

The so-called integration paradox refers to the phenomenon of the economically more integrated and highly educated immigrants turning away from the host society, instead of becoming more oriented towards it. The present study examined this paradox in the Netherlands among a large sample (N = 3,981) of immigrants, including two generations and four ethnic groups. The assumed negative relationship between level of education and attitudes towards the host society and the native population was expected to be mediated by two indicators of perceived acceptance by the native majority: discrimination and subgroup respect. Results show that higher educated immigrants perceive more discrimination and less respect for minorities, and these perceptions, in turn, relate to less positive evaluations of the native majority and the host society. This pattern of associations is quite similar for the two generations and for the four migrant groups.

Keywords: integration paradox, education, intergroup attitudes, immigrants, discrimination

The Integration Paradox: Level of Education and Immigrants' Attitudes towards Natives and the Host Society

Despite their disadvantaged socio-economic background, children of immigrants sometimes outperform native peers on a variety of outcomes, such as academic progress and better health (Fuligni, 1998; Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto & Virta, 2008). Furthermore, as immigrants acculturate to the host society, their developmental outcomes sometimes deteriorate (Garcia Coll et al., 2012). This so-called 'immigrant paradox' has received considerable attention in the recent literature on immigrant integration in the United States (e.g., Fuligni, 1998; Palacios, Guttmanova & Chase-Lansdale, 2008) and also in Europe (e.g., Sam, et al., 2008; Van Geel & Vedder, 2011).

The current study focuses on a related paradox for which some tentative evidence has been found in Europe, namely the 'integration paradox'. This paradox describes the phenomenon of the economically more integrated and highly educated immigrants turning away from the host society, instead of becoming more oriented towards it (Buijs, Demant & Hamdy, 2006; Entzinger & Dourleijn, 2008). Classical immigration theories suggest that structural integration (improving one's education and economic position) will lead to other forms of integration, such as a more positive attitude towards the host society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Esser, 2001; Gordon, 1964). Yet, the integration paradox suggests that education might form an obstacle for developing positive attitudes towards the majority population and the host society. A key reason for this would be that higher educated immigrants perceive lower acceptance by the majority population, which in turn leads to more negative attitudes (Buijs, et al., 2006; Van Doorn, Scheepers, & Dagevos, 2012).

In this paper, we empirically investigate this reasoning by focusing on perceived ethnic discrimination and perceived subgroup respect as two separate indicators of acceptance. Discrimination implies unfair treatment and such treatment tells immigrants that

they are not equal members of society and that society itself is less valuable (Tyler, 2001).

Subgroup respect refers to immigrants' sense of whether the majority population recognizes and values their minority group and immigrants more generally (Huo & Molina, 2006). Thus, in investigating the integration paradox we focus on perceived 'negative' reactions (i.e. discrimination) and perceived 'positive' reactions (i.e. respect) towards immigrants as two possible mediators in the relation between education and attitudes towards the majority population and host society.

Another key aspect of our study is that we test whether education in the host country is differently related to perceived discrimination and respect compared to education in the origin country. This is important, because one of the central arguments in the integration paradox is that immigrants might perceive that they themselves or members of their ethnic group get lower returns for exactly the same educational investments in the host society (Baumgartner, 1998). The native population is a relevant comparison group for immigrants who are educated in the host society (Zagefka & Brown, 2005), while this is probably less so for those who were educated in their country of origin.

Our main research question is whether higher education is related to less favorable attitudes towards natives and the host society, and whether this association is due to perceived discrimination and lack of respect. We also consider the robustness of the proposed relationships by examining whether they hold for two generations of immigrants and for four different migrant groups. We use data from a sample of more than 3900 first and second generation immigrants of the four largest groups in the Netherlands: of Surinamese, Antillean, Turkish and Moroccan background.

Education and Perceived Acceptance

The integration paradox suggests that perceived acceptance is lower among immigrants who are structurally more integrated, such as the higher educated. Previous research has found a negative relation between level of education and perceived acceptance among immigrants in countries such as the United States and the Netherlands (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2007; Sizemore & Milner, 2004; Van Doorn, et al., 2012; Wodtke, 2012). There are a number of possible reasons for this relation.

First, the theory of exposure suggests that higher educated immigrants may actually experience more discrimination and lower subgroup respect in everyday life. The higher compared to the lower educated more often use host country media and tend to have more contacts with majority members on the labor market and in associations, and therefore might be more likely exposed to discrimination and derogating messages (Van Doorn, et al., 2012).

A second, related argument is that higher education implies more cognitive sophistication, which can mean that higher educated immigrants are more aware of, and have a better understanding of, the processes of discrimination and the lack of respect for immigrants in society (Kane & Kyyro, 2001; Wodtke, 2012). Education enables immigrants to become more sophisticated social critics of unfair treatments of immigrants and the lack of acknowledgment and recognition of immigrant groups and cultures.

Third, the theory of rising expectations suggests that higher educated immigrants tend to be more sensitive to (in)equality and respect by the majority population. Immigrants who pursue higher education and thereby try to participate and make a contribution to society, also develop higher expectations. They therefore are more strongly disappointed about perceived unequal treatment: their higher expectations are not met with equal rewards (Buis et al., 2006; Entzinger & Dourleijn, 2008). Higher educated immigrants may thus feel more deprived because the relevant comparison to similarly educated natives turns out unfavorably. We expected that this is particularly true for those who have been educated in the host society

because for them the native majority is an especially relevant and meaningful comparison group, and they have the same types of qualifications as natives. Yet, at the same time, immigrants with higher credentials from the origin country might already have high expectations before migration, which can then also lead to disappointment in the host country. Therefore, we investigate separately the role of origin and host country education.

Perceived Acceptance and Attitudes towards Natives and the Host Society

The integration paradox suggests that higher education is associated with lower perceived acceptance, which in turn leads to more negative attitudes towards the host society and majority population. This is in line with the body of research among immigrants and ethnic minorities showing that perceived discrimination is (causally) associated with more negative attitudes towards the majority population and the host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009; Schildkraut, 2005; Ten Teije, Coenders & Verkuyten, 2012). The perception of unfair and unequal treatment makes that immigrants turn away from the host society. Furthermore, research on subgroup respect has shown that for ethnic minorities higher perceived respect predicts more positive out-group attitudes, as well as more positive feelings towards the host nation and higher levels of trust in its institutions (Huo & Molina, 2006; see also Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2010). Perceived respect is positively related to attitudes towards the nation, because it signifies that the host nation recognizes and values immigrants as part of the collective.

Putting together the expected associations, our main hypothesis is that *there are negative indirect relations between education on the one hand and favorable attitudes towards natives and the host society on the other, via lower perceived subgroup respect and higher perceived discrimination.*

The Context

Our study was conducted in the Netherlands which has a large and historically dominant native majority. Some 50 years ago immigrants started arriving in relatively large numbers, most of them originally from Turkey, Morocco, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles (Nicolaas, Wobma, & Ooijevaar, 2010). In the 1960s, the Netherlands was one of the European countries that recruited labor migrants from Morocco and Turkey. From the 1970s onwards, family reunification and formation led to a further increase in the Turkish and Moroccan immigrant population in the Netherlands (Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003; Nicolaas et al., 2010).

The early immigration from the former colony of Surinam to the Netherlands mainly consisted of students who came for educational reasons. Following the independence of Surinam in 1975, immigrants from diverse socio-economic backgrounds came to the Netherlands. Similarly, the immigration of the Antilleans to the Netherlands, which rapidly increased in the 1990s, concerned people with diverse socio-economic backgrounds, including students but also many underprivileged youth (labor migrants) (Hagendoorn et al., 2003; Nicolaas et al., 2010).

Method

Data and participants

We used data from the Survey Integration of Minorities (SIM 2006), which was set up by the Statistics Netherlands and the Netherlands Institute for Social Research and (Dagevos, Gijsberts, Kappelhof, & Vervoort, 2007). The dataset contains information on the four largest minority groups in the Netherlands and the samples were randomly drawn from the population registry. Interviews were held by bilingual interviewers. Response rates ranged between 46% for the Surinamese respondents to 60% for the Turkish respondents, which is

usual for large-scale survey research in the Netherlands (Stoop, 2005). The sample originally included 4,217 respondents from the four migrant groups. Because we deleted cases with missing values on one of the dependent variables, the present study includes 3,981 respondents. The respondents are equally divided among the four origin groups and 54 percent is female. Age ranges from 15 to 87, with average age being 37. About a quarter of the respondents belong to the second generation.

Independent Variable

The main independent variable in our analyses is *educational level*. It was measured by asking respondents about the highest level completed. Eight categories were available, ranging from no education, through primary education, lower vocational education, lower general education, medium vocational education, medium or higher general education, higher vocational education, to university education. We entered education in the analysis as a continuous variable (see De Graaf, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000).¹ Respondents still in school were treated as having achieved the level of education they are currently enrolled in. About a third of the respondents were educated in the country of origin only ($N = 1013$), another third both in the country of origin and in the Netherlands ($N = 1366$), and the remaining respondents only in the Netherlands ($N = 1314$). In separate analyses, we investigated whether the expected relationships differ according to where immigrants received their education.

Mediators

Perceived subgroup respect focused on ethnic minorities in general and was measured with four statements (five-point scales): ‘In the Netherlands, minorities have all possible opportunities’, ‘In the Netherlands, minorities’ rights are respected’, ‘The Netherlands is a

hospitable country for immigrants', and 'The Dutch society is open to foreign cultures'. The four items form a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .80).

Perceived discrimination was assessed with the two items available in the data set (five-point scales). The items are 'Minorities are often discriminated against in the Netherlands', and 'Do you ever get discriminated against by natives?'. Analysis showed that the items form an acceptable scale ($r = .50, p < .001$). The bivariate correlation between perceived respect and perceived discrimination is $-.39 (p < .001)$.

Dependent Variables

Our first dependent variable, *positive attitude towards natives*, was measured with the well-known 'feeling thermometer'. The thermometer is a reliable and valid measure that has been used in many studies, including research in the Netherlands (e.g., Riordan, 1987; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). After the interviewer's statement 'I would like to know how you feel about the different ethnic groups in Dutch society', the respondents were asked the following question: 'What is your opinion on Dutch natives? Imagine a thermometer ranging from very negative feelings about this group (0) to very positive feelings (100)'. Respondents thus evaluated the native Dutch on a scale from zero to one hundred, which we recoded for our analyses to range from zero to ten.

Our second dependent variable, *satisfaction with the host society*, was measured in a similar manner. First, the question was introduced by the interviewer with the statement 'I would like to know how you feel about Dutch society'. Then, respondents were asked the following question: 'What is your opinion on the Dutch society? You can grade Dutch society on a ten-point scale ranging from 1 if you are very dissatisfied to 10 if you are very satisfied with Dutch society'. Respondents thus evaluated the host society on a ten-point scale, which

we recoded for our analyses to range from zero to nine in order to give the scale a meaningful starting value that facilitates interpretation of the unstandardized results.

Control variables

We controlled for the variables that are likely to be related to education and to perceived respect, discrimination, and attitudes towards the host society and the native majority (Ten Teije, et al., 2012; Tolsma et al., 2012; Van Doorn, et al., 2012). We included country of origin, minority generation, age, years since migration (for the first generation; $M = 20.97$, $SD = 11.04$, age was imputed for second generation respondents), gender, and occupational status in the analysis. Furthermore, we have taken frequency of contacts with majority members into account, measured by the question “How often do you have personal contact with native friends and acquaintances?” (five-point scale; 1 = ‘never’ and 5 = ‘daily’). Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the variables included in our study.

- Table 1 about here -

Analysis

All models were fitted in Mplus using maximum likelihood estimation. Because missing values amounted to about 11 per cent across all variables, we used multiple imputation with five replications. Because it is not recommended to impute values for the dependent variables, we deleted the cases with missing values on these variables. As suggested by Kline (2010), we used a two-step approach for our structural equation models: we first tested the measurement models before testing the structural model with the hypothesized relations.

Confirmatory factor analysis was used to determine whether perceived subgroup respect and perceived discrimination are two separate latent constructs. The fit of a one-factor model was unsatisfactory ($\chi^2 = 645.3$, $df = 8$, $p < .001$; $CFI = .900$; $RMSEA = .141$). A two-factor measurement model did have a satisfactory fit ($\chi^2 = 5.1$, $df = 7$, $p = .647$; $CFI = 1.000$; $RMSEA = .000$), and fitted the data significantly better than a one-factor measurement model ($\Delta\chi^2 = 640.2$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).²

Additional tests of cross-group measurement equivalence showed that the two latent constructs are sufficiently comparable across the two generations and across the four immigrant groups. For generations as well as for immigrant groups, the statistical tests indicated that the measurement of the latent factors is largely equivalent at the level of metric invariance. Only two of the four items measuring perceived respect were not invariant across immigrant groups (although the loadings were all positive and above .58, they were somewhat lower for Turks). This means that the hypothesized relationships can be validly compared across generations and immigrant groups.

In our structural model, the dependent variables are predicted by education, perceived respect, perceived discrimination, and the control variables. The mediators, perceived respect and perceived discrimination, are predicted by education and the control variables. We also added the covariances between the mediators, and between the dependent variables.

In separate multiple group analyses, we investigated whether the hypothesized relations differ for immigrants who were educated in the origin country, in the Netherlands, or both in the origin country and the Netherlands. Additionally, to investigate the robustness of the model, we used multiple group comparison to assess the extent to which the proposed model holds across the generations and immigrant groups.

Results

Structural Model

Figure 1 presents the findings for the hypothesized relations.³ The proposed model had a good fit, $\chi^2/df = 7.339$, $p < .001$, $CFI = .954$, $TLI = .911$, $RMSEA = .040$ (low = .036, high = .044). Regarding the indirect relations between education and attitudes towards the host society and towards natives, the results support our hypothesis. As can be seen in Figure 1, education is negatively related to perceived respect which, in turn, is positively related to attitudes towards the host society and towards natives. The relations with discrimination are less strong, but also in the expected direction. Education is positively related to perceived discrimination, and perceived discrimination, in turn, is negatively related to attitudes towards the host society and towards natives. The standardized relations in Figure 1 indicate that perceived respect and perceived discrimination are more strongly related to attitudes towards the host society than towards natives. Furthermore, Figure 1 indicates that education is directly and positively related to the attitude towards natives, whereas there is no significant direct relationship between education and attitude towards the host society.

- Figure 1 about here -

Table 2 shows the total, direct and indirect relations between education and the two attitude measures. There are no positive total relations between education, on the one hand, and favorable attitudes towards natives and the host society, on the other. Furthermore, the results in Table 2 confirm the importance of the proposed indirect relationships. The total indirect relations between education and the two attitude measures are negative and significant. Perceived respect is a significant mediator for both attitudes, whereas the indirect relation through perceived discrimination is significant for the attitude towards the host society and marginally significant for the attitude towards natives.

- Table 2 about here -

Location of Education

We used multiple group analyses to determine whether the hypothesized relations differ between respondents who were educated in the Netherlands only, in their origin country, and those who followed education both in the origin country and in the Netherlands.⁴ The relations in the model turned out to be quite stable. Whereas a model in which all the structural relations are constrained to be equal across the three groups does fit the data more poorly than the unconstrained model ($\Delta\chi^2 = 34.03$, $df = 16$, $p = .005$), releasing only one constraint (on the relation between education and perceived respect) yields a model with good fit ($\chi^2 = 577.70$, $df = 198$, $CFI = .945$, $RMSEA = .039$), which fits the data equally well as the unconstrained model ($\Delta\chi^2 = 22.85$, $df = 14$, $p = .063$). The remaining hypothesized relations do not differ for the location of education.

Importantly, education is negatively related to perceived respect among those respondents who were fully or at least partially educated in the Netherlands, but not among those who were educated in the origin country. Thus, the level of host country education rather than origin country education is associated with a perceived lack of respect. On the other hand, origin and host country education are similarly related to higher perceived discrimination. However, perceived discrimination is, in turn, less strongly associated with attitudes towards natives and the host society than perceived lack of respect. Thus, the integration paradox seems more applicable to immigrants who have invested in host country education than for those who only followed education in the origin country.

Robustness Checks

We used multiple group analyses to determine whether the hypothesized relations apply equally to first and second generation immigrants. A model in which the structural relations were constrained to be equal across the two generations fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 485.10$, $df = 112$, $CFI = .951$, $RMSEA = .041$), and did not fit the data more poorly than the unconstrained model ($\Delta\chi^2 = 14.45$, $df = 8$, $p = .071$). This indicates that the proposed relationships are similar for the two generations.⁵

For immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and the Dutch Caribbean (Antilles),⁶ a model in which all the structural relations are constrained to be equal across the four groups fit the data more poorly than the unconstrained model ($\Delta\chi^2 = 76.88$, $df = 24$, $p < .001$). However, separate χ^2 -difference tests indicate that three of the hypothesized relations (i.e. between education and satisfaction with Dutch society, between education and perceived discrimination, and between perceived discrimination and attitudes towards natives) do not differ significantly across the immigrant groups. Moreover, the remaining hypothesized relations differ significantly in strength between the groups, but are in the same direction. This means that the proposed mediation model finds support among all four groups. The most striking difference between the four groups is that the direct relationship between education and attitudes towards natives is positive and significant for immigrants from Surinam ($B = .118$, $t = 3.436$, $p = .001$) and the Antilles ($B = .075$, $t = 2.046$, $p = .041$), while it is not significant for immigrants from Turkey ($B = -.021$, $t = -.555$, $p = .579$) and Morocco ($B = .013$, $t = .354$, $p = .723$).

Discussion

Whereas the ‘immigrant paradox’ indicates that immigrants and their children sometimes outperform native peers on a variety of outcomes, such as educational achievement, the ‘integration paradox’ raises concerns about what happens when immigrants

and their children advance their educational and socio-economic position. The integration paradox suggests that the more highly educated immigrants will show relatively high levels of dissatisfaction with the host society and more negative attitudes towards the native majority. Our study on minorities in the Netherlands confirms this proposition. Looking at the total relations between education and favorable attitudes towards the host society and the native population, we did not find the positive relation that would be expected from classical assimilation theory (e.g., Gordon, 1964). More importantly, we found that there is a negative indirect relationship between education and these attitudes. Higher education is associated with lower levels of perceived subgroup respect and higher levels of discrimination, which in turn are associated with less favorable attitudes towards the host society and the native population. The pattern of associations was quite similar for the first and second generation, and for Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean immigrants.

Previous research among immigrants in the Netherlands suggests that higher education is associated with higher perceived discrimination (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2007; Ten Teije et al., 2012; Van Doorn, et al., 2012) and this was also found in the North American context (Sizemore & Milner, 2004; Wodtke, 2012). We add to this research by showing that education is negatively related to immigrants' perception that minorities are valued and respected in society. The negative indirect relations through the perceived lack of respect were stronger than the indirect relations through perceived discrimination. This suggests that subgroup respect has a more general meaning for the orientation on the host society of the higher educated. However, it should be noted that perceived discrimination was a less reliable measure than subgroup respect.

Furthermore, our findings show that higher education is associated with higher perceived lack of respect among immigrants who were educated in the host country but not among those educated in the country of origin. This suggests that the integration paradox is

most meaningful for the experiences of the former group of immigrants. Education of natives is perhaps a less relevant standard of comparison for immigrants who were educated in the country of origin, and who might consider the human capital obtained in the home country as not being fully transferrable to the host country. Because host country education is more important than origin country education, and because the model works similarly for first and second generation (who do differ with respect to where they got educated), we find little support for the theoretical idea of the integration paradox being driven by higher expectations among immigrants with higher imported credentials.

We also go beyond existing research by showing that perceptions of discrimination and lack of subgroup respect are related to a more negative evaluation of the host society in addition to negative out-group attitudes (Ten Teije et al., 2012). Importantly, our study shows that the attitude towards the host society is independently and at least as strongly related to perceptions of acceptance as is the attitude towards natives. This is important because a critical evaluation of the host society as being in need of change, is a more likely precursor of immigrant's endorsement of and participation in initiatives and actions that aim to improve the rights, power and influence of their group, than negative attitudes and stereotypes towards the native out-group (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008).

Our findings are in line with the argument that higher education might increase one's awareness and concern about the vulnerable and relatively marginal position of immigrants in society (Kane & Kyyro, 2001; Wodtke, 2012). However, the current data do not allow us to empirically examine this interpretation. It is also possible that education is associated with higher expectations and when these are not met this might lead to feelings of discrimination, lack of subgroup respect, and relative deprivation (Buis et al., 2006; Entzinger & Dourleijn, 2008). Moreover, another possible explanation is that the higher compared to the lower educated are actually more exposed to discrimination and lack of respect, because of their

higher participation in the labor market, more frequent use of host country media, and better knowledge of the negative political debates on immigration (Van Doorn, et al., 2012). An important direction for future research is to investigate the possible mechanisms underlying the relations between education and perceived acceptance among immigrants.

Another limitation of our study is that we relied on cross-sectional data from a single country in Western Europe. Therefore, we could not test the causality of the proposed relationships or the generalizability of our findings to other countries. Our path model was theoretically derived and other research has shown, for example, that perceived discrimination drives immigrants' attitudes towards the host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), but different and mutual directions of influence are possible. And although there is some qualitative evidence for similar processes in small-scale studies among minority groups in the US context (e.g., Baumgartner, 1998; Ogbu, 1993), there might be country differences that moderate the associations found.

Furthermore, we relied on a large dataset containing different immigrant groups and different generations but the operationalization of the core constructs could be improved. Perceived discrimination was measured with only two questions, and both dependent variables were measured with a single item. There is often a trade-off between the advantage of using data from existing large scale immigrant surveys and the disadvantage of a limited measurement of constructs. Future studies should consider more extensive measures.

Despite these limitations, our study shows that higher education can be associated with more negative attitudes toward the majority population and the host society, especially for immigrants who get educated in the host country. The higher educated tend to be more negative because they are more concerned about the existing discrimination and lack of societal respect for minorities. These findings raise questions about classical immigration theories that suggest that improving one's education will lead to other forms of integration,

such as a more positive attitude towards the host society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964).

They also suggest that integration policies that focus on structural integration will not necessarily be successful in developing a positive attitude towards a host society when questions of ethnic discrimination and subgroup respect are not also addressed.

Notes

- ¹ We have checked the robustness of our results with a recoded education variable indicating years of education, instead of levels. The results of analyses with such a variable lead to exactly the same conclusions.
- ² Based on preliminary analyses, we have included the correlation between the error terms of the 3rd and 4th ‘perceived respect’ items in our measurement models, to improve model fit.
- ³ An overview of all estimated relations can be found in Table A.1 in the appendix.
- ⁴ An overview of all hypothesized relations can be found in Table A.2 in the appendix.
- ⁵ Results are available upon request (but see Table A.3).
- ⁶ Results are available upon request (but see Table A.4).

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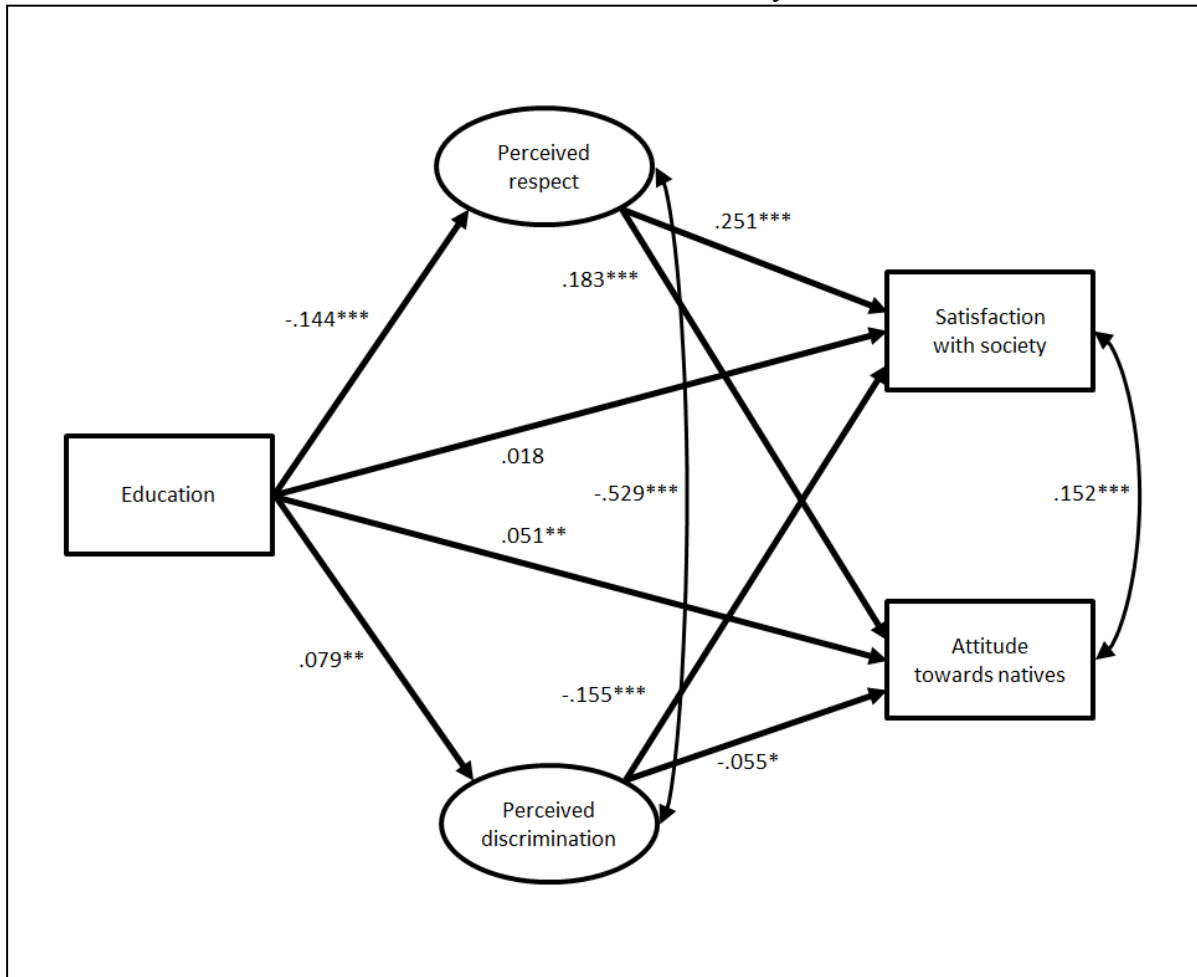
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Figure and Tables:

Figure 1

Path diagram of standardized direct and indirect effects of education on immigrants' positive attitude towards natives and satisfaction with the host society



Note: Rectangles are observed variables, ovals are latent factors.

Not presented in the figure are the factor indicators, the error terms and the control variables.

Table 1
Descriptive statistics

	Range	Mean / Proportion	sd
Dependent variables			
Satisfaction with the host society	0-9	5.539	1.575
Positive attitude toward natives	0-10	6.726	1.869
Independent			
Education	0-7	3.425	1.922
Mediators			
Perceived respect			
Opportunities immigrants	0-4	2.062	1.185
Respects rights immigrants	0-4	2.407	1.031
Hospitable immigrants	0-4	2.466	1.057
Open to foreign cultures	0-4	2.538	.988
Perceived discrimination			
Personal discrimination	0-4	1.061	1.072
Group discrimination	0-4	1.933	.994
Control variables			
Turks	0/1	.268	
Moroccans	0/1	.236	
Surinamese	0/1	.253	
Antilleans	0/1	.239	
Second generation	0/1	.248	
Age	15-87	37.272	14.775
Years since migration	1-60	21.644	10.556
Female	0/1	.535	
Employed	0/1	.494	
Contact	0-4	2.491	1.406

Source: SIM 2006, own calculations. N=3981.

Table 2

Specific relations between education and attitudes towards natives and the host society

Path	b	se	p
Satisfaction with society			
Satisfaction with society ← Education (Total)	-.024	.015	.113
Satisfaction with society ← Education (Direct)	.014	.015	.329
Satisfaction with society ← Education (Indirect)	-.039	.006	***
Satisfaction with society ← Respect ← Education	-.029	.005	***
Satisfaction with society ← Discrimination ← Education	-.010	.003	.002
Attitude towards Natives			
Attitude towards natives ← Education (Total)	.020	.018	.268
Attitude towards natives ← Education (Direct)	.049	.018	.006
Attitude towards natives ← Education (Indirect)	-.029	.005	***
Attitude towards natives ← Respect ← Education	-.025	.005	***
Attitude towards natives ← Discrimination ← Education	-.004	.002	.069

Source: SIM 2006, own calculations. N=3981. ***: p < .001.

Entries are the result of a SEM analysis in MPLUS.

Reported are the unstandardized coefficients (b), standard errors (se) and p-values.

Appendix:

Table A.1

Direct and indirect effects of education on satisfaction with the Netherlands and attitudes towards natives

Structural part	DV: Satisf. Society			DV: Attitude Natives			DV: Respect			DV: Discrimination		
	b	se	β	b	se	β	b	se	β	b	se	β
Education	.014	.015	.018	.049**	.018	.051	-.061***	.009	-.140	.029**	.008	.079
<i>Mediators</i>												
Respect	.475***	.044	.251	.411***	.053	.183						
Discrimination	-.347***	.055	-.155	-.147*	.068	-.055						
<i>Controls</i>												
Age	.008**	.003	.079	-.001	.003	-.005	.001	.002	.025	-.008***	.002	-.161
Years since migration	-.007*	.003	-.050	.007	.004	.039	-.000	.002	-.001	.003	.002	.050
Female	.203***	.048	.064	.033	.059	.009	-.082*	.030	-.049	-.018	.028	-.013
Employed	.064	.050	.020	.046	.062	.012	-.015	.030	-.009	.067*	.028	.047
Contact	.109***	.018	.098	.075**	.023	.056	.035**	.011	.058	-.005	.010	-.009
Turks = ref.												
Moroccans	.100	.066	.027	-.131	.081	-.030	.159***	.041	.081	-.071	.038	-.043
Surinamese	.052	.070	.014	.122	.086	.028	.391***	.043	.204	-.294***	.039	-.182
Antilleans	.154*	.070	.042	-.062	.085	-.014	.156**	.043	.080	-.026	.040	-.016
2 nd generation	-.050	.076	-.014	.312**	.093	.072	.033	.047	.017	-.170***	.044	-.105
Measurement part							Factor: Respect			Factor: Discrimination		
Opportunities for immigrants							1.000	.000	.702	1.000	.000	.655
Immigrants' rights respected							.840***	.023	.678	1.075***	.050	.759
Hospitable for immigrants							.939***	.026	.739			
Open to foreign cultures							.834***	.024	.703			
Model Fit												
Chi ² /DF	7.339											
CFI	.954											
RMSEA	.040											
R ² Satisfaction society	.148											
R ² Attitude natives	.073											
N	3981											

***=p<.001; **=p<.01; *=p<.05.

Note: Model includes covariances between the latent factor respect and discrimination (b=-.295; se=.017; p<.001), and between the dependent variables satisfaction with the Dutch society and attitude towards natives (b=.399; se=.043; p<.001).

Table A.2
Hypothesized relations for three education groups

	M1: Education in NL			M2: Education NL + origin			M3: Education origin only		
	b	se	β	b	se	β	b	se	β
Effects on Satisfaction society									
Education	.050	.027	.054	.034	.027	.035	-.014	.035	-.013
<i>Mediating Variables</i>									
Respect	.438***	.072	.241	.532***	.073	.279	.594***	.100	.291
Discrimination	-.297**	.103	-.130	-.430***	.097	-.183	-.181	.110	-.083
Effects on Attitude natives									
Education	.109**	.034	.096	.094**	.032	.083	-.011	.041	-.008
<i>Mediating Variables</i>									
Respect	.532***	.090	.238	.416**	.087	.188	.424***	.119	.181
Discrimination	.014	.131	.005	-.281*	.115	-.103	-.059	.132	-.023
Effects on Respect									
Education	-.082***	.017	-.161	-.085***	.017	-.166	-.025	.020	-.047
Effects on Discrimination									
Education	-.011	.015	-.027	.021	.014	.050	.043*	.019	.086
R-square Satisfaction society	.115			.181			.167		
R-square Attitude natives	.072			.091			.080		
N	1314			1366			1013		

***=p<.001; **=p<.01; *=p<.05

Factor loadings not shown in table.

Covariances not shown in table.

Control variables not shown in table.

Available upon request (robustness checks):**Table A.3**

Hypothesized relations for the two generations

	M1:		M2:	
	1st generation		2nd generation	
	b	se	b	se
Effects on Satisfaction society				
Education	.004	.017	.047	.031
<i>Mediating Variables</i>				
Respect	.479***	.052	.402***	.079
Discrimination	-.371***	.065	-.300**	.114
Effects on Attitude natives				
Education	.045*	.021	.106*	.037
<i>Mediating Variables</i>				
Respect	.399***	.063	.478***	.095
Discrimination	-.156*	.079	-.128	.141
Effects on Respect				
Education	-.057***	.011	-.067**	.019
Effects on Discrimination				
Education	.036***	.010	-.012	.018
R-square Satisfaction society	.163		.097	
R-square Attitude natives	.062		.080	
N	2992		989	

Note: Unstandardized effects reported.

***=p<.001; **=p<.01; *=p<.05

Factor loadings not shown in table.

Covariances not shown in table.

Control variables not shown in table.

Table A.4
Hypothesized relations for the four origin groups

	M1: Turks		M2: Moroccans		M3: Surinamese		M4: Antilleans	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Effects on Satisfaction society								
Education	-.015	.032	.009	.030	.006	.028	.021	.031
<i>Mediating Variables</i>								
Respect	.791***	.117	.494***	.085	.424***	.074	.225**	.083
Discrimination	-.064	.134	-.466***	.123	-.202*	.097	-.589***	.110
Effects on Attitude natives								
Education	-.021	.039	.013	.037	.118**	.034	.075*	.037
<i>Mediating Variables</i>								
Respect	.519***	.137	.263*	.104	.620***	.094	.339**	.099
Discrimination	.086	.155	.068	.150	-.207	.120	-.311*	.127
Effects on Respect								
Education	-.047*	.018	-.019	.019	-.076***	.018	-.104***	.019
Effects on Discrimination								
Education	.031	.017	.031	.016	.040*	.016	.002	.018
R-square Satisfaction society	.176		.195		.123		.135	
R-square Attitude natives	.082		.041		.118		.081	
N	1081		941		1009		950	

Note: Unstandardized effects reported.

***=p<.001; **=p<.01; *=p<.05

Factor loadings not shown in table.

Covariances not shown in table.

Control variables not shown in table.